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**„Planning of the Amharic language against a background of planning
processes in ethnic and of artificial languages”**

**„Planowanie języka amharskiego na tle procesów planowania w językach
etnicznych i języków sztucznych”**

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1. Introduction

1.1. Theme

Planning of the Amharic language against a background of planning processes in ethnic and of artificial languages is a rarely touched upon theme by linguists because of two reasons. Firstly, not many people in the world have any idea of the Ethiopian culture not mentioning the Amharic or even Ge'ez language, which are its main carriers. What is more, both languages are written by means of the Ge'ez syllabary, which has its roots in the ancient culture of Southern Arabia, and because of that studying them requires a good command of the script, used uniquely in Ethiopia and Eritrea, which may discourage potential learners of the Amharic language from studying it. Nevertheless, the Ge'ez syllabary has many regularities that make it learnable in two or three weeks of practice. What may pose some difficulties in mastering Amharic is its quite complicated syntax, especially in complex compound sentences, but one can learn it successfully thanks to regular conjugation patterns and derivation rules.

The other reason for the shortage of publications on similar topics can be explained by the fact that language planning, even if it is often mentioned in the works on the Ethiopian language policy, it is not appreciated by many linguists because they used to associate it with artificial languages. Even though international auxiliary languages had been created for centuries, they were largely ignored in the field of language planning for some reason, though they should be included in the field of language planning and be treated seriously by linguists.

Despite a number of linguistic prejudices, language planning can be applied to each natural or planned languages in order to make a number of essential changes not only in the writing system, grammar or lexicon but also the status and acquisition of these languages. Such scholars as K. Schubert (1989), A. Sakaguchi (1996) and I. Koutny (2015b) criticise the classical dichotomy of natural vs. artificial language and by claiming that even the slightest improvement to the language (e.g. reforms of orthography) make such languages no longer entirely natural and that is why language planning is a fully-fledged sub-domain of applied linguistics even if its tools and methods are prescriptive in character and thus they may oppose to the precedence of speaking over writing. Although the field of interlinguistics may apparently seem not worth being studied, this branch of science has really much to offer. Its tools not only enable to study how an artificial language can be planned but also to use its methodology to analyse the planning of natural languages. Because all languages, both natural and planned, have their imperfections, a reasonable language planning allows a linguist to remove some of them in order to improve a language to meet the expected standards. It should be mentioned that human languages can never be perfect, even though many philosophers tried to create a perfect language in which one could no more err.

The theory of language planning has been developed since the 1960s by Valter Tauli and Einar Haugen. Language planning is now being studied by scholars from different parts of the world, for example K. E. Gadelli, J. A. Fishman, R. B. Kaplan and B. E. Antia as well

as J. Benjamins (see articles in the journal *Language Problems & Language Planning*). In regard to the language planning in Africa, most of the authors focus on Arabic, Swahili or languages in Western Africa, but the case of Amharic is almost never mentioned. Although some European scholars (Ronny Meyer 2006) write about status or even acquisition planning of Amharic as part of language policy in Ethiopia, the corpus planning of Amharic is researched predominantly by linguists in Ethiopia, who describe and analyse different processes of coining neologisms in Amharic and Ge'ez (see Aschale 2013, Anbessa Teferra 2013, or Takkele Taddese 2000). To the new coinages in Amharic in different domains are devoted more and more publications in Ethiopia, mostly written in English, though these laid down in Amharic are not in short supply.

The theme that is to be worked out in this dissertation aims to illustrate the three layers of language planning in Amharic by presenting it against a background of planning in natural and artificial languages such as Sanskrit, Norwegian, Bahasa Indonesia and of Esperanto. All of these languages were the subject of deliberate language planning from the antiquity (Sanskrit) through the 19th (Norwegian, Esperanto) and the 20th century (Bahasa Indonesia) and most of them are still planned so that they could be used by their speakers in all domains. The background knowledge of the history, various types and processes of language planning presented in the first part of the dissertation are expected to help the reader to understand their gravity for the Amharic language, which is still buoyantly developing in Ethiopia. Thanks to the even broader contacts of the country with the western civilisation, Amharic has to be adjusted to the new cultural and linguistic realities in order not to be replaced by English in Ethiopia, to which can contribute some flawed practices of the younger generations of the Ethiopian nationalities tolerated by the current Ethiopian government. What deserves to be praised is the use of the Ge'ez lexicon for the coining of many neologisms for the Amharic language. By that one can understand that the users of Amharic seem not to be at the mercy of English or other European language when it comes to scientific terminology and by using Ge'ez vocabulary they seem to return to the roots of their civilisation.

1.2. Aims of the dissertation

Even though the status and acquisition planning of the Amharic language have been discussed in many books and articles on the language policy in Ethiopia, mainly from the sociolinguistic point of view (e.g. Ronny Meyer 2006), the corpus planning of Amharic is rarely being described outside Ethiopia. Evidently, it was attempted to collect various sorts of Amharic neologisms from different branches of science even in Europe, though the coinages were usually listed in alphabetical order without a detailed linguistic analysis. Over the past several decades, some reference books or manuals on linguistic have been published and their authors envisaged to create glossaries where linguistic terminology was explained in Amharic and the English equivalents were provided. Some Ethiopian linguists (e.g. Takkele Taddese 2000) have successfully published their doctoral theses on how the specific terminology was constructed in Amharic. One of the aims of my dissertation is to analyse the Amharic technical terminology in a few elected branches of science, e.g., linguistics, literature, journalism, press and mass media, translatology, publishing as well as natural sciences

(biology and chemistry), though to a much lesser extent, but the main objective of this work is to research the three layers of language planning and their thorough analyses in one place, which so far has not been attempted, neither in Poland or Europe nor beyond Ethiopia. The professional vocabulary will be explored in terms of etymology, semantic relations of the words as well as linguistic worldview.

Before the three layers of language planning of the Amharic language has been discussed in detail, the preceding three chapters will inform about the idea and needs of language planning in natural languages such as Sanskrit, Bahasa Indonesia and Norwegian. One subsection will be also devoted to the planning of artificial languages such as Esperanto and Occidental/Interlingue i.e. those planned languages that fulfil almost all conditions of a fully-fledged language.

As the current theories of language planning have been already applied to such African languages as Arabic and Swahili as well as other so-called niche languages in Asia and Latin America, the aim of the dissertation is to explore the application of the language planning theories of V. Tauli and E. Haugen to the Amharic language, which was never done before. This can be achieved by a thorough study of Amharic not so much in terms of its status and acquisition as in terms of its corpus, especially changes in morphology, syntax and vocabulary. One of the aims of my dissertation is to present different linguistic processes both in the formation of coinages and selected syntactic structures so that the reader can be well acquainted in such linguistic procedures as compounding, clipping, hybridization and various methods of affixation as well as the influence and role of Ge'ez lexicon, morphology and word order on them.

Some selected metaphor-based technical notions in Amharic, both from humanities and science will be analysed in the final chapter of this thesis in terms of linguistic worldview. The purpose of this sort of linguistic analysis of technical vocabulary is to present different ways of the perception of modernity by the native speakers of Amharic, which is often hidden in the meaning of a number of neologisms. The so-called worlds concealed in the metaphor-based notions in Amharic are worth being described because of the cognitive experiences of the Amharic speakers and their ways of modelling the reality in which they live. From a linguistic point of view, the specific terminology should be researched because of their linguistic worldview for several reasons. Different parts of speech are juxtaposed with each other whose provenance is not only Amharic but also Ge'ez and partly English. The notions clotted in Amharic or Ge'ez are being given their new meanings. Thus the author can observe the ways of perception of the world by the Ethiopians through the lens of Amharic.

1.3. Methodology

It is generally accepted by linguists, language philosophers, psychologists or sociologists that language as a system of signs serves for communication. They share an assumption that language is an instrument that can be evaluated, altered or improved, provided that its essential character as a social institution i.e. a communication tool is taken into account. As for the theory of language planning, it presupposes language evaluation, which means that evaluation is arguably a form of empirical knowledge whose efficiency can

be evaluated with scientific methods if we assume that language is a means of communication. Despite the negative attitude towards language evaluation shared by many linguists of the 20th century, who claimed that linguists' prescriptive improvements to the language are rather worthless, one can evaluate a language from the viewpoint of social prestige as well as from the aesthetic point of view, though their opinions may be unverifiable and subjective.

Even though it can be impossible to evaluate languages as wholes and prove their superiority over one another, it can be found out that languages differ from each other from a certain point of view, for example by shortness, clarity, complexity and so on. As for the ethnic languages, they were not constructed methodically according to a plan but they originated and developed by infinite momentary groping attempts of individual members of thousands of generations for the purpose of mutual communication with each other. It should be pointed out that these individuals had no consciousness of the entire language system but solely of the needs of the moment, which means that various linguistic changes depend on several extralinguistic conditions as well as different psychological, geographical and historical factors that don't have any logical connexions with one another. It has been stressed by many linguists that all human languages are fatally imperfect and unsystematic and this particularly concerns their lexicons and grammars. If we assume that language is a tool or a machine, we can improve and adjust it just like improving our tools. However, the arbitrary language improvement should not be confined only to vocabulary but also to grammar, which means that new derivation or inflectional morphemes as well as syntactic structures can also be constructed arbitrarily.

Tauli (1968) argues that the possession of one common language is the prerequisite for normal and efficient communication in a society, which implies that some interdialectal nationwide common language referred to as standard language should be used to facilitate the inter-regional communication of the citizens. Because standard language means deliberate choice and planning, its improvement must be done by competent linguists. As the language as a system of signs is a social convention and code for the expression of every meaning, the linguistic norm is inherent in the nature of language. Language planning is thus a normative science that prescribes the best norms for the further evolution of a standard language. Just as in the case of improving tools, people are anxious to improve also their languages and this is the most natural and rational attitude towards language on which the methodical improvement of language is based, which is by all means the most difficult tasks of language planning. The goals, principles, methods and tactics of language planning are methodically investigated by the theory of language planning as an applied science, though the practical implication of the results of this theory don't belong to it as a science.

As opposed to a descriptive or factual science, the theory of language planning is a normative science that deals with values and thus implies by definition that one cannot be satisfied with the factual state of things but they have to evaluate the facts and give such norms that would improve these languages conforming to the ideal. Since the factual state of ethnic languages is imperfect, the language planning theory's task is to solve the problem how the factual state could be improved. The first step is to establish the ideal norms, by which the

language ideal can be fixed. As for an ideal language, it must do all of the job that is necessary for its purpose, i.e. the means of communication. All necessary information and shades of meaning have to be conveyed. What is more, an ideal language must be economical both for the speaker and the listener. Additionally, it must be elastic in order to be easily adapted to the new tasks for the expression of new meanings. What is also important is that such a language must have an aesthetic form. Of all the most difficult problems of language planning the most important are the reconciliation of the contradictory demands of clarity and economy, the choice of the most efficient and economic structures as well as establishing a definition of the most expedient relation between tradition and ideal.

As for the evaluation and comparison of linguistic elements in conformity with the principles of clarity, economy and beauty, they must be based on empirical facts and stated in quantitative terms for the experimental methods to be used there. Only by this one can evaluate the competing structural forms and features. It is necessary for all these expressions to be evaluated as to all principles and the entire paradigmatic and syntagmatic structure of the language. In the theory of language planning the results of phonetics, psychology, pedagogy, sociology and other empirical sciences can be used as well. With the unavailability of other appropriate methods of evaluation of certain structural features and the impossibility of solving a crucial dilemma between antagonistic principles by the deductive method, helpful for the solution of the problems of linguistic evaluation can be the diachronic facts and tendencies of linguistic change. If so, the history, structures, tendencies and the factors behind them of all the existing language groups and types must be taken into account. When it comes to a methodical language planning the existing competing variants of standard language must be evaluated prior to deciding which of them are to be preferred and favoured. One should discover the deficiencies of the language in order to work out a plan how to eliminate these deficiencies and how to improve the language.

There are some linguists who share an opinion that in case of competing variants only that language should be favoured that corresponds to the assumed trend of the respective language. Evidently, the solution of the urgent language planning problems of a language at a certain period exceeds the capacities of a single person and demands collective efforts. This doesn't mean that the linguistically trained language planners are the only ones to be entitled in language planning. An expert in language planning should also be marked by inventiveness, artistic skill and imagination apart from having some elementary knowledge on the language planning theory and having a good command of the respective language. Thus writers, professionals or even linguistic amateurs and other language users cannot be excluded from language planning. Nevertheless, it is the task of language planning specialists to deal competently with the problems of orthography, phonology and morphology, though technical terms are mostly coined by non-linguists as in the case of Amharic in Ethiopia.

Even though the aforementioned methodology pertains to the general methods of language planning as part of applied linguistics, I actually use not all of its tenets in relation to Amharic. I assume that the theory of language planning launched by Tauli and Haugen and thus followed by the younger generations of linguists (Kaplan, Baldauf, Fishman, Antia, Hornberger and others) can be applicable to the Amharic language, which has not, admittedly,

been done before. In order to prove the veracity of my assumptions, I critically analysed the former and the current problems of status and acquisition planning in Ethiopia based on the books and articles written mostly by the Ethiopians themselves. For the purpose of corpus planning in Amharic, I studied the Amharic lexicon and selected elements of its syntax in a descriptive way by the etymological and semantic analysis of neologisms and sentences. As for the Amharic lexicon that was necessary for the scope of my studies, it was taken from diverse sources for the purpose of versatility and objectivity of my research. I studied the Ethiopian newspapers *Addis Zāmān* from the years 2004-2010 that were accessible in Poland as regards the diversity of neologisms used in the selected articles (see Kozicki 2015), I carefully analysed the professional vocabulary that appeared in the books and articles of Takkele Taddese (2000), Anbessa Teferra (2013), Alealign Aschale (2013a and 2013b) and Z. Poláček (1994), in the glossaries written by Abera Lemma (2002) and those attached to the books on the Amharic grammar written by Bayye Yimam (2000) and Getahun Amare (1990) as well as the professional vocabulary of T.L. Kane's (1990) *Amharic-English dictionary* and the neologisms noted by the *SelamSoft* and *Abyssinica* online dictionaries. The diversity of the Amharic expressions that I collected from different sources helps me to support and illustrate my assumptions about the legitimacy of the application of the theory of language planning in Amharic that will let me draw proper conclusions about this problem. As for the transliteration of the Amharic words and expressions into the Latin alphabet, the transcription system applied in Kane's *Amharic-English dictionary* will be used.

1.4. Steps

This research explores the planning of the Amharic language against a background of planning processes in ethnic and artificial languages. In my thesis I shall examine how Amharic can be planned by means of its status, corpus and acquisition in order to prove the statement that the Tauli's and Haugen's theory and tools of language planning can also be applied to Amharic. A great deal is being written and said that the native languages of the Third World need a sound language planning for their development in order not to be replaced by some colonial or more significant vernacular languages in the areas where they are spoken. It is a well-known fact that most of the indigenous and not standardised African languages are on the verge of extinction. This is because most of the indigenous communities are generally closed to foreigners and their knowledge about the world is often limited to the areas they live in and the specific cultural and religious practices that are thought to ensure them prosperity and peace inside.

This problem can be illustrated more precisely by the example of Ethiopia, where considerable efforts are made to preserve the indigenous languages by their codification, standardisation and modernisation to meet the expectations of the local people to have access to the modern world. For such an ethnically diversified country as Ethiopia this task faces serious challenges as relevant governmental and scientific bodies have to formulate proper policies towards the languages of regional and local communication, which implies the adequate education of the local communities and their ruling elites. In order to do that properly, the scientific and technical staff should be educated, preferably those coming from

the countryside and thus knowing the customs and problems of the local communities from which they originate. It should be also emphasised that passing the torch of education to the ignorant local communities should be done with care and not by force, otherwise it may be counterproductive and not economically feasible. It is important to be clear about that none of the vernacular languages spoken in Ethiopia was entirely standardised and modernised and that goes for Amharic too.

Divided into two major parts, i.e. the theoretical basis of language planning and its application in the selected ethnic and artificial languages and the practical implementation of the theory of language planning in Amharic in its three dimensions, which is illustrated by the scientific analysis of the status and acquisition planning of this language and by the extensive study of the corpus planning of the working language of the Ethiopian government. Thoroughly explored are changes and improvements of Amharic, starting from its written system, the choice of its variety for the purpose of standardisation and the characteristic traits of today's Amharic. This is followed by an ample description of the morphological, syntactic and lexical peculiarities of that language, which is accompanied by appropriate examples. Included in the dissertation are the author's separate explorations on the linguistic worldview of the selected Amharic neologisms and modern words from the scope of humanities but not exclusively.

As for the theoretical part of this dissertation, it comprises the first four chapters that feature the concise presentation of the theme, the research's methodology and steps (chapter 1) and the theoretical issues of language planning and its application in linguistics (chapter 2) including problems of human languages' imperfection, the systematization of artificial languages and the analysis of the crucial assumptions of Tauli's and Haugen's theory of language planning. It should also be noted that the author is not entirely limited to their scientific work, but also he scrutinizes and assesses the achievements of the younger generations of linguists that specialise in language planning. What deserves particular attention is that the author's aim is not only to present and criticise the respective approaches in language planning but also to relate them to the linguistic situation in Ethiopia, by which serious political problems of that country in terms of language policy and the supremacy of Amharic are discussed from different perspectives and their real solutions are also proposed.

In chapter 3 the contemporary knowledge on language planning is discussed, which includes the theoretical analysis of all the three domains of language planning that is supported by the examples of their political and linguistic implementation in Ethiopia. Featured in chapter 4 are different settings of language planning in ethnic and artificial languages. Starting with the problem of philosophical languages and their inestimable value for the improvement of human languages, the author analyses how natural and artificial languages can be successfully planned. In a chronological order are presented efforts of a prescriptive intervention to a language performed either by individuals (Sanskrit, Norwegian, Occidental/Interlingue) or political or linguistic bodies (Bahasa Indonesia) as well as by the speaking communities. I used the example of Sanskrit to show how natural languages were planned and standardised in the antiquity, though I am aware that this problem pertains more to Ge'ez rather than to Amharic. By the example of the Ge'ez language I intend to demonstrate

that the problem of the language's reform by the model of Sanskrit was not alien to the Axumite culture, where Ge'ez was vocalised and had the direction of writing changed from right to left. It can be surely assumed that the extension of changes in the Ge'ez language could have been much wider in the fourth century AD but this can scarcely be proved because of the lack of written documents from that time. I also gave the example of New Norwegian to support my statement that the origin of Amharic is still the subject of intense discussions both in Ethiopia and beyond its borders. Because of the scant records that we have on the former varieties of Amharic that went extinct before several hundreds of years, it is now almost impossible to retrieve their structures as it was in the case of the Old Norwegian dialects that partly survived in the rural areas of Norway, though mostly in their spoken form. If some similar research aiming to record the spoken forms of the rural dialects of Amharic had been performed in the 19th century and not only later in the 1950s, the local varieties of Amharic could have been properly studied, which would make it much easier to study the language's origin. Having left this digression, I mean that in regard to Ethiopia the Amharic language survived almost a millennium, though it was primarily used for oral communication, and that it didn't have to be created almost from scratch as in the case of *nynorsk* and *bokmål* (the current Norwegian languages). Thus I only indicate the similarities in the virtual impossibility of delving into the roots of the evolution of Norwegian and Amharic.

By giving the example of Bahasa Indonesia, I strove to find the similarities between Amharic and the mentioned Asian language when it comes to the existence of a common language that was created from the neutral variety of Addis Ababa as a standardised version of Amharic and the common Indonesian language that came into being as an improved and relexified variety of Malayan. In both cases the languages were democratically approved by the authorities and citizens of the respective states in order to avoid strong biases from the competitive language varieties or the languages of the colonial occupants, i.e. Dutch and Italian languages, though it should be made clear that even though Ethiopia avoided the British colonisation, its citizens have always favoured the dominance of English, either political or linguistic in their country. Another similarity between those languages is that in both cases the Ethiopian and Indonesian authorities strongly approved the use of these languages in official communication and promoted these languages to be used abroad. As a result, both languages are appropriately developed in a numbers of domains and nowadays we have millions of the active Amharic and Bahasa Indonesia language users that live in diasporas in all over the world. What is more, tens of millions of people learn Amharic and Indonesian as their secondary languages.

Finally, by setting the planning of Amharic with the planning of such artificial languages as Esperanto and Occidental/Interlingue, I would like to illustrate the role of the speaking communities of both Amharic and Esperanto (though Occidental/Interlingue has much less speakers) in the current growth of these languages. It is the language users and not the grammarians who often have a decisive influence on the shape and usage of these languages. The speaking community often decides about the forms of the incorporation of neologisms, which is predominantly visible in Amharic where the creation of the Ge'ez based neologisms was met with little interest from ordinary people. As opposed to Amharic, the

problem is not so acute in Esperanto that has all of its words borrowed from the European languages but the proper choice and the popularity of loanwords for the same notion that is simultaneously derived from several languages also matters there. The users of both languages can as well introduce some neologisms from slangs or sociolects that sooner or latter are being approved by the language academies.

Before going to the core part of the dissertation (chapters 5-9), the author concludes how these diverse language planning experiences gathered from the improvement of both natural and artificial languages can be used in the further development of Amharic. Hopefully, it can be shown by the example of Amharic that the effort was worth it when it comes to the application of the theory of language planning also in this language. This science sets out more guidelines and shows the way forward not only in the Ethiopian linguistics but also in related disciplines.

When it comes to chapter 5, it is devoted to the description of the Amharic language from a historical perspective, which constitutes an introduction to the main explorations targeted in this dissertation. As for the origins of the Ethiopian civilisation and the role of the Ge'ez language, different historical and linguistics approaches are presented and critically assessed. This also concerns the history of Amharic and of language policy in Ethiopia. Even though these two themes are deeply intertwined, the author takes a closer look at the main but extreme hypotheses as to the origin of Amharic and tries to settle which theory can be more or less probable. It should also be noted that because of the scarcity of documents written in Amharic before the 19th century, the problem of mapping out the most convincing history of that language that could be to some extent compatible with the explorations of the frequently extremist groups of scientists is even more difficult. Apart from scrutinizing these rather divergent approaches to the history of Amharic, the author endeavours to outline the history of language policy in Ethiopia and confront it with the current problems of multilingualism and the role of English in that country. These problems of today's Ethiopia cannot be properly understood without reference to the language policies adopted by miscellaneous Ethiopian rulers in the history of Ethiopia's statehood.

In the next two chapters the status and acquisition planning of Amharic is featured. Even though the status planning of Amharic is closely linked with the history of language policy in Ethiopia, the author focuses on the problems of the status of Amharic that the Ethiopian authorities have been facing since the beginning of the 20th century up to now. It should be pointed out that in the previous century the ruling camp changed three times in Ethiopia. Obviously, with the change of the ruling elites different approaches as to the status of Amharic were proposed and eventually put into practice, which had its advantages and flaws. The collapse of the imperial government in 1974 brought equal rights for the use of each Ethiopian language. Nevertheless, not many facilities for the citizens related to the freedom of use of their mother tongues were carried out not so much because of the limited financial resources of the ruling military junta as due to the proper ideological policies of the Soviet occupying power. It would seem that the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front that managed to topple the communist government could eventually turn from the flawed policies of their predecessors. In fact, that did not happen and the new quasi-

democratic authorities that have been ruling in Ethiopia since 1991 only solidified the old order, also when it comes to the continuation of the previous language policy that has never worked. This is closely linked with the acquisition planning of the Amharic language that is considerably replaced by English, though its mediocre command among the Ethiopians will certainly not make it the national language of the country, at least for now, that the ruling elites seem to be pushing for. Discussed in the chapter on the acquisition planning of Amharic is also the policy pursued for saving other Ethiopian languages from extinction, which is supported by a critical analysis of the possible steps to maintain the linguistic diversity in the country.

The most comprehensive chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 8) is devoted to the practical exploration of the corpus planning of Amharic. Starting from the graphicisation of the Amharic language, where the topical issues of the evolution and improvement of the Amharic syllabary and sound system are tackled, the author advances to the question of standardisation of the language, which is followed by the appropriate linguistic research on the modernisation of Amharic morphology, syntax and lexicon i.e. a key part of the study. The modernisation of morphology comprises a thorough analysis of the norms related to the morphology of current neologisms, the problem of number and gender along with the cases in the Amharic language. This is followed by the use of verb paradigms in current coinages and the question of tenses in Amharic. As for the syntactic improvements of the Amharic language, the author shows them on concrete examples of simple and compound sentences.

When it comes to the modernisation of vocabulary, different linguistic processes are presented, which is shown by proper examples of the Amharic neologisms and modern words. The author describes the adaptation of foreign words in Amharic and lists possible problems. It should be noted that this African language is no more dependent from English in terms of loan words as it offers a great amount of alternative linguistic devices that can be used to create the lacking terminology in Amharic. This can often be done by compounding, affixation or semantic shift, but other solutions such as hybridisation, clipping and creolization can also be used if necessary. Each linguistic device is presented theoretically and practically with the help of the proper examples found by the author in dictionaries and glossaries. What is more, some of these expressions were also thrown in the original Ethiopian press from the early 2000s.

In chapter 9 the author presents his parallel explorations on the linguistic worldview of the metaphorized professional terms in Amharic. The research's methodology was adapted from that of the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin in Poland. The extensive theoretical considerations on the linguistic worldview in general are substantiated by the relevant examples from the Amharic scientific terminology, mainly from literature, the study of theatre and art. By a thorough analysis of these expressions the author proves that some linguistic worlds are hidden in each of these neologisms, which makes it easier to understand the world categorisation of the Ethiopians and to know their mentality through the prism of their language. The last chapter summarises the author's explorations and proves their suitability for the Amharic language. By this extensive study, the author bridges the gap in the study of Amharic in relation to the theory of language planning.

2. Language planning

2.1. The criticism of the dichotomic classification of natural vs. planned languages

Before the problem of language planning has been discussed, it can be of interest to consider what naturalness and artificiality of languages really means. For many years it was accepted in linguistics that languages can be classified either as natural or artificial. Such views were shared by e.g. Gaston Moch, Louis Couturat and Léopold Leau in the early 1900s (Barandovská-Frank 2017). Natural languages were understood as languages that evolved naturally in humans through use and repetition without conscious planning while artificial languages were those languages whose phonological, grammatical and lexical properties were consciously devised for human or even human-like communication, which means that they did not evolve in a natural way. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that both natural and planned languages are subjected to constant changes for making human communication easier.

Jean Badouin de Courtenay (in Barandovská-Frank 2017) shared an opinion that there is no qualitative difference in the change of conscientious language details and the whole language. He considered what is the proportion of spontaneous and conscientious aspects in a language. Having studied the Esperanto language, Badouin de Courtenay concluded that neither in Esperanto nor in any artificial language created *a posteriori* is there anything that could be non-existent in the traditionally or spontaneously developing natural language. In the interlinguistic literature the opposition of artificial language vs. natural language can be also misleading since languages created with an intention of facilitating international communication are often equated with machine or formulaic languages which serve for totally different purposes. Because of the different kinds of human interventions in almost every language of the world, natural and planned languages no longer form a dichotomy but rather a continuum. The idea that the dichotomy of natural vs. artificial language is unfounded was conceived by Otto Jespersen in the 1930s (Jespersen 1960) but developed only later in the 1980s and the 1990s by Klaus Schubert (1989) and Alicja Sakaguchi (1996). According to Otto Jespersen (1960) the difference between an artificial and natural language is gradual as much in the artificial language can be natural while much in the natural language can be artificial. Thus Jespersen opposed to the dichotomic division of languages into natural and artificial favoured by many linguists living in his days. In 2015 Ilona Koutny discussed the idea of placing both natural and artificial languages at the two extremis of a continuum in her article *Can complexity be planned?* (Koutny 2015b) as she claimed that the naturalness and artificiality of languages is relative and depends on many factors such as adequately performed language planning. But Jespersen had only indicated the problem whereas Koutny offered a specific solution to it. A completely natural language in the viewpoint of Koutny is such a language that is spoken in the jungle and thus it has not yet been discovered by civilized men. As it is not subjected to the process of codification and standardisation, such a

language is 100% natural since its alphabetisation or regulation of orthography and grammar is one of the basic efforts of language planning. Thus such languages as Japanese or Turkish where the simplification of orthography, grammar or terminology occurred are natural languages with the presence of artificial elements. In regard to the standardisation and modernisation of vocabulary, this is the following step towards the artificiality of a language. As in the case of Japanese or Turkish, these languages underwent not only the changes of the simplification of their writing system but also their lexicon was standardised and modernised as in the case of the 19th century renewal of the Hungarian language as she (Koutny) references.

The creation of a standard language on the basis of existing dialects is the next step towards the artificiality of languages. This process can be supported by the example of New Norwegian that in truth consists of the two separate languages, namely *nynorsk* and *bokmål*. Both languages were professionally elaborated by Ivar Aasen and Knud Knudsen from the remaining local dialects of Old Norwegian (*nynorsk*) and the Danish language (*bokmål*) respectively (see in 4.3.1.). It can be of interest to say that a similar situation of creating new language on the basis of the existing ones took place also in Indonesia, where the Bahasa Indonesia language was made up mostly from the Malayan language with the use of loan words from Chinese, Arabic, Sanskrit or even English for the coining of neologisms (Barandovská-Frank 2017) (further see 4.3.2.).

The human intervention in the life of languages can proceed even further when some languages are revitalised. Such a revitalisation took place in the New Hebrew language that was reworked by the Jewish intellectual Eliezer Ben Yehuda towards the end of the 19th century, just at the same time when the Polish Jew Ludovic Zamenhof was occupied with his project of the international language Esperanto. As for the grammar of New Hebrew, it is not so much different from the historic one but it is quite simpler as the traditional category of verbal aspect was replaced by the tense system, i.e. present, past and future, just as in the case of the Indo-European languages. The Language Committee of New Hebrew reformed also the original Sephardic pronunciation of the language. When it comes to the creation of neologisms for modern expressions, they were mostly taken from the biblical Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic, though some words come from Yiddish and even Russian (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

In the grade of artificiality or naturalness model proposed by Koutny (2015b) natural languages can be to some extent artificial, as it was shown by the aforementioned examples. On the other hand, some of the planned languages can be more or less natural as in the case of Interlingua or Esperanto while others can be placed at the opposite extreme in the language continuum, i.e. those going to the full artificiality, such as Solresol or different program languages. As for Interlingua, the structure of this language is more naturalistic than that of Esperanto and because of that it was placed on the continuum axle directly after New Hebrew. Conversely, the structure of Esperanto is schematic in view of the process of decomplexification or reducing the meanings of the original words to the main meanings as well as the simplification or generalisation of the derivation systems that exist in different languages. Despite the presence of various rules of the actual lack of some forms in a number

of ethnic languages, the same pattern is followed by the agglutinative forms of Esperanto. Even though Esperanto is a planned language in terms of its birth, it is simultaneously a natural language, taking into consideration its current functioning and development. It was shown by many scholars (e.g. Blanke, Liu) that Esperanto is a structurally normal language with well established morphology and syntax. What is more, the Esperanto language serves as a natural tool for the expression of thoughts and feelings in the international communication of people with different cultural backgrounds (Koutny 2015b).

Some other auxiliary languages such as Volapük were also planned on the basis of existing languages but through the generalization of their features. As opposed to the clear derivation rules in Esperanto, the morphology of Volapük is admittedly more confusing because of the lack of some sounds such as /r/ that is replaced by // in the lexicon of that language and the lack of transparency in word formation. It can be quite hard for the learners of Volapük to deduct that *bel* means 'mountain' or *nol* means 'knowledge' and that is why the lack or even ineptitude of conducting crucial language reforms finally decided that this once buoyantly developing interlanguage was almost completely forgotten and thus it couldn't handle the competition of Esperanto and other planned languages (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

As for Solresol, this project was developed by F. Sudre beginning from 1827 where words were made from one to five syllables or notes. Worth mentioning is the fact that the language's grammar and script was created by B. Gajewski. In Solresol there are different ways of representing syllables that is by musical notes, the seven colours of the rainbow, symbols or gestures so it is not surprising that the communication in Solresol is possible by speaking, singing, signing or even painting. In order to form words in this language one has to connect the symbols in the order they appear in the word. The Solreol Latin alphabet contains 7-12 letters where capitals are strictly necessary. Curiously, Solresol words are not inflected apart from stress and length, though word order is rather strict. Solresol enjoyed little popularity and soon vanished in the face of the more popular planned languages such as Esperanto. When it comes to various computer program languages, they are situated closest to the right extreme of the continuum, namely the completely artificial languages. Such languages can be scarcely planned and if so, they are improved for the better functioning of computer programmes rather than for the purposes of human communication. From the aforementioned examples of languages one can draw a conclusion that there are different changes that occurred between these languages so the artificial languages created on the basis of natural languages are solely a quantitative transition. This means that the more people interfere with a natural or planned language, the more artificial is the language (Koutny 2015b).

2.2. What is language planning?

Language planning as deliberate efforts to influence the function, structure and acquisition of a given language or its variety within a speech community has probably been as old as the recorded history of humanity but the very notion of language planning (known as *Sprachplanung* in German) was only introduced by Eugen Wüster in the first half of the 20th century. In the years 1950s the term „language planning”, apart from its interlinguistic

connotation, was used for the purposes of ethnic languages, which concerned the elaboration of the already existent natural languages or dialects for the national use. This was the case of, for example, Modern Hebrew, Norwegian (*bokmål* and *nynorsk*) or Bahasa Indonesia. Language planning was then associated by the Norwegian and American linguist Einar Haugen with the activity of creating normalised grammar, orthography and lexicon of the language so that it could be used in speech and writing by the respective language communities. In this sense such tasks as the normative work of language academies and committees as well as each forms of language cultivation and language reforms proposals are included in the scope of language planning. Curiously, such linguists as T. Thorburn or R.L. Cooper assert that language planning can be not only one of the factors of language conducts in a given community but also an instrument for the solution of language problems (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

In 1968 the concept of language planning was wider defined by V. Tauli as the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages that included the creation of new common regional, national or international languages. In his book *Introduction to the theory of language planning*, Tauli defined interlinguistics as the science of international language planning or, to be more precise, the branch of the theory of language planning for the investigation of the principles, methods and tactics that are used in language planning. He understood the notion of international language as a universal language that should be used for the purpose of communication of individuals from different language communities. With the irrationality of the international communication in numerous official languages – as it was claimed by Tauli, it is advisable for people to learn a common international language and use it as a second language. In spite of having opened the door of language planning also for planned or artificial languages, Tauli contributed to the treatment of language planning as a means for solving the language problems of certain national communities by the appropriate language policy that can be applied for the choice of a suitable dialect or the elaboration of linguistic norms (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

Even though language planning started to be regarded as a field of linguistics not earlier than in the 20th century, it is known to have been already practised from the antiquity up to the present in different forms usually as practical language form or language policy solutions either by individuals or by the government. For example, in the 4th century BC the Indian grammarian Pāṇini created the first grammar of Sanskrit that consisted of 3959 rules. His work was the first description of grammar in the world and despite the passage of centuries it now remains the basic reference on the Sanskrit studies. The Sanskrit reform can thus be a good example for a successful attempt of making improvements to a language by an individual (Maurus 2014). Language planning was also performed, however to a much lesser extent than now, by the ancient Greeks and particularly Romans. With the conquest of a new territory the Romans imposed on the conquered communities the models of their administration and forced the inhabitants to use Latin as a *lingua franca*. From the linguistic point of view, a number of towns that were put on maps drawn by the Romans were named according to the Latin nomenclature. Not only geographical names but also the names of fortifications and cities were coined on the basis of the Latin vocabulary and grammar.

As it is claimed by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), the elements of language planning were visible in the European colonialism over the past 500 years, in the internationalisation of business and mass media along with the development of international tourism after the end of the Second World War. An adequate language planning had to be used in the colonies all over the world in order to ease the communication and between the European newcomers and indigenous people as well as to facilitate the commerce in the conquered territories. Many decisions had to be made by the colonialists as to how the country should be administered, how and what the tribal communities should be taught so as to be assimilated with the European ways of life usually as soon as possible. As the main purpose of a language is communication, apt political moves should be also made in regard to the language policy. A language or its variety should be properly chosen in a given country so that it could be planned as to the status, corpus and acquisition. Even though the goals of language planning differ depending on the nation or organisation, they generally include making adequate planning decisions as well as other changes for the benefit of communication. Having been adequately planned or improved, the effective language communication may involve some social changes such as language shift or assimilation, by which language planners could have more motivation to plan the function, structure and acquisition of languages. Decision making in language planning can be motivated by four language ideologies, that is linguistic assimilation which implies that one should learn the dominant language irrespective of their native language, linguistic pluralism that recognises and supports multiple languages within one society (for example in Switzerland), vernacularisation and internationalisation. By vernacularisation one should understand the restoration and development of an indigenous language and adopting it as an official language by the state, while internationalisation can be achieved by the adoption of a non-indigenous language for wider communication or even as an official language in certain domains. It is of interest to say that all the four mentioned language ideologies have been practised in Ethiopia from the very beginning of the Ethiopian statehood up to the present. With the seizure of power by the Amharas in the 13th century, the Amharic language started to be legally recognised as the language of the imperial court and everyone was expected to know, particularly if they wanted to hold governmental offices. The imperial authorities promoted the use of Amharic but did not entirely forbid the use of other languages for local purposes, especially if the users of these languages respected the Amharic monarchy. As for the three remaining approaches of language policy, they were applied after the abolition of the imperial regime in Ethiopia. The communist junta selected multiple Ethiopian languages for standardisation and they tried to support the use of different languages within the Ethiopian multinational and multi-ethnic society. Their approaches were continued by the post-communist government that sanctioned the language pluralism in Ethiopia by the 1995 constitution, which gave the green light for the process of vernacularisation in the country. The speakers of different Ethiopian languages are thus encouraged to use their languages at school and in local media. The policy of internationalisation in favour of English, in turn, intensified after the end of the communist rule in Ethiopia. Since then English has been used for higher and university education as well as it became the working language of the state-owned corporations. Although the command of

this language among the Ethiopians leaves much to be desired, English still enjoys its growing prestige in Ethiopia, despite its non-indigeneity in this part of Africa (see Alelign Aschale 2013a and 2013b or Sharma 2013).

M. Nahir (2003) recognises eleven language planning goals of which the most important are language revival, language reforms in standardization, orthography and grammar, lexical modernisation along with the unification of terminology, interlingual communication as well as auxiliary code standardisation, that is standardisation of auxiliary aspects of a language in terms of place names, signs for the deaf and rules of transliteration and transcription. These aims of language planning were thoroughly analysed by V. Tauli in his book on the theory of language planning. For each community that uses their local dialects, it is important to have an interdialectal nation-wide common language i.e. standard language that cannot be identical with any of these local dialects, even if they serve as a basic language material for it. If some languages have their literary forms introduced by old grammarians apart from their spoken forms, the unification of the code elaborated by professional language is also particular important for these language. As the linguistic norm is inherent in the nature of language, it is the basic precondition for an efficient linguistic communication, even though no standard language speaker can be absolutely free from the heritage of differences and deviations from the norm that appear in native dialects. Having been aware of the existence of more than one expression for something, the language user will try to inquire which of these forms is correct or wrong so as to speak the efficiently. Because of this such language reforms as the standardisation of morphology, syntax and lexicon are indispensable for the right functioning of the standard language (Tauli 1968). Other improvements such as the unification of terminology and other aspects of language such as geographical names standardisation as well as the uniformity of transcription rules that are both mentioned by Nahir and Tauli are also of particular importance not only for the improved language. As an example can be given the problem of the transliteration of the Ethiopian proper or person's names as well as the transcription of Amharic phrases into Polish. For such an independent and standardised language as Polish, this problem is quite serious as most of the translators rely on the English transcription of these lexical units, which is the source of numerous phonetic errors that often bastardise the original Amharic pronunciation of these words or phrases that can further lead to the inflectional mistakes of the Amharic proper names in Polish.

As stated by Tauli, there are three main domains in the planning of a language, namely status planning, that is choosing of a language or its variety to functional domains within a society, corpus planning, that is the prescriptive intervention in the forms of a language involving decisions as to changes in the structures of a language and acquisition planning, by which one means governmental or non-governmental aims to influence a language particularly in education and literacy so that the chosen language could be introduced on state, national or even local levels in the educational curricula from primary school up to university. One should also bear in mind that language status is different from language prestige, even if it can be to some extent intertwined with the status of a language. A language achieves its status when it fulfils the four prescribed criteria such as language provenance, degree of

standardisation, juridical status as well as vitality, i.e. the percent of language users in relation to the entire population or similar variable (Tauli 1968).

As for the prestige of the language, it is a purely sociolinguistic notion that means the degree of esteem and social value that is attached by members of a speech community to certain languages or dialects. Referred to as prestige varieties, these varieties of languages are usually regarded by a society as the most correct or superior variety to which the social prestige are given. It can be of interest to say that language prestige can be both overt and covert. The overt prestige relies on the social evaluation that lies in a united and widely accepted set of social norms while the covert prestige means that the positive social significance lies in the local culture of social relations. In case of Amharic in Ethiopia, its standardised variety of Addis Ababa enjoys overt prestige in the country because this dialect of the language that came into being in the late 19th century was regarded by the royal authorities and ordinary men as neutral and thus it has been taught at schools and disseminated in the media up to now. With the almost final disappearance of the regional varieties of Amharic, there are virtually no serious problems with the promotion of any non-standard dialects of this language. Nevertheless, the covert form of prestige is to some extent associated with the use of the English language in Ethiopia by uneducated men. Since many Ethiopians, who are not related to the people being in power in their country, have limited access to good universities and international scholarships in order to practise their English skills, their command of English that they pass on to the younger generations of the Ethiopians is very poor and infested with mistakes of different calibres. Notwithstanding, they believe that even their limited language skills will be of use in the contact with foreign tourists that visit Ethiopia. Because of many errors in grammar and pronunciation that can lead to serious misunderstandings and the influence of Amharic or native vocabulary, this variety of English that is far from the British or American standards has solidified in the conscience of a number of predominantly uneducated Ethiopian people and without significant expenses from the government's treasury or foreign donations it is not likely to disappear in the nearest future. But the local Ethiopians have to fight for survival every day and there the vicious circle goes on (Gensler 2015).

The corpus planning of a language consists of three types, namely graphicisation, standardisation and modernisation. Graphicisation means that the scripts and orthographic convention of a language can be developed, selected or modified. Standardisation is a process that consists in the introduction of uniform norms to the language of it variety that can take the precedence over other social or regional dialects that the language has. Standardisation can have important societal consequences both on the language and its speakers. When the spoken and written dialect of a language is closest to the accepted standard norms, its speaking communities enjoys many privileges, while the chosen standard norm is imposed upon the less powerful groups. By the process of standardisation the norms are being made uniform and eventually codified.

When a language needs to expand its technical vocabulary in order to meet new functions and to be used in other domains, one has to do with the process of modernisation. It occurs when a shift in the status of a language is undergone or when the language education

policy is changed. The process of modernisation of the lexicon is now present in such languages as Amharic that is being adjusted to be used in scientific and technical domains by the expansion and modernisation of its lexicon with the use of the extinct Ge'ez language's vocabulary. New lists and glossaries are being created by language planners in order to describe the new technical terminology that should be used by appropriate sectors within a society (see Takkele Taddese 2000 or Abera Lemma 2002).

The acquisition planning of a language involves not so much some essential modification of a language or its variety but also conscientious political decisions. By choosing the preferred language the authorities should make right decisions based on state or local evaluation reports. For example, if the Ethiopian government revives one of the southern Ethiopian languages in the Omo River Valley, they have to consider preparing good curricula and incorporate the essential materials to the syllabi, determining the amount of teachers as well as establishing a state and local assessment system so that the progress can be monitored. Other aspects of language planning should be included by the state or local authorities of a country because the effects of language planning are never certain. What is more, the governments have to channel enough financial resources to a good language planning and they have to take into account that acquisition planning, no matter how well it is prepared, can be financially draining for the budget of the country that makes it (Haugen 1972). Nevertheless, from the linguist's point of view, the process of revitalisation of the local languages elsewhere in the world will always be worth the effort as the codification and standardisation will help to save these lesser spoken languages from extinction and thanks to the linguists who do that we will not only have broader knowledge about these endangered languages but also will be able to apply it for the elaboration of the neighbouring or related languages. It has to be admitted that the Ethiopians got down to the scientific description of the local languages spoken in their country rather too late, which has different causes. Even though most of the Ethiopian emperors didn't allow for the local languages to be recorded, also the country's closure to the European influences resulted in the lack of innovative methods of the study of language in Ethiopia. In spite of having a centuries-old tradition of the grammatical description of Ge'ez and Amharic, the traditional Ethiopian studies had somewhat other objectives than those performed in Europe. With the advances of linguistics in the last decades, the Ethiopian scholars managed to do a great deal of scientific work for the conservation of the local languages, but the opportunities to do more, albeit for the preservation of the Amharic dialects, have been lost irrevocably (see Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

These three aforementioned levels of language planning can be sufficiently well illustrated by the case of Amharic that is the working language of the federal government of Ethiopia next to 80 other languages used in that country with different degrees of standardisation. The Amharic language was principally used for oral communication in Ethiopia until the 19th century because of different historical conditions in the state. Although it was attempted to use Amharic for writing in various periods of the country's history, it was Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) that played the role of the language of instruction and of the liturgy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Even though there were some varieties of the Amharic

language in various province of the country in the 19th century, with the extension of the capital city of Addis Ababa and its surroundings it was decided that the variety of Amharic spoken in the capital and thus bound with no group of Ethiopians living in Addis Ababa was chosen for standardisation. This decision proved to be right and thus any possible social unrest between the Ethiopians that were coming to the city from different parts of the country was avoided. This allowed for the Ethiopian imperial authorities to develop the grammar and lexicon of Amharic, that so much reflected its spoken form at the end of the 19th century (see Zelealem Leyew 2004).

Even though the European colonial powers failed to conquer Ethiopia at the beginning of the 20th century, the educational system was heavily influenced by them. Not only was the teaching of the leading European languages introduced in Ethiopia, but also the role of the traditional church education was significantly diminished, which was met with the dissatisfaction of the local clergy that was afraid of the excessive secularisation of the country. Despite the increasing popularity of the European school system in Ethiopia, the Amharic language still enjoyed its superior status in the country, which meant that the European teachers and missionaries had to be fluent in Amharic and teach foreign languages and other subjects including religious education only via Amharic. This resulted in the coining of a number of neologisms for Amharic in different fields of science. In order to increase the language's prestige, emperor Haile Sellase founded the National Academy of the Amharic Languages in 1972, which still exists in Ethiopia, though with a slightly changed structure and more extended fields of research.

Admittedly, the imperial policy of amharisation had many opponents in Ethiopia. On the one hand, the Amharic language was rapidly developed in terms of specialist terminology and the standardisation of its syntax, by which it became a wide-scale carrier of the Ethiopian civilisation in the country. On the other hand, the role of other Ethiopian languages was more and more deflated, which resulted in the protests of the other language communities in Ethiopia that finally degenerated in social unease and the deposition of Haile Selassie by the communist junta in 1974. The socialist government indeed promised for the Ethiopian language communities to care for their languages and cultures, but their politics was illusory, which only created the pretence of the equal treatment of every language and culture in Ethiopia. As the policy of indigenization eventually fizzled out in Ethiopia, the communist authorities had to return to the policy of amharisation at the end of their rule (see Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

Only the current Ethiopian authorities help to develop the local languages and cultures in the country, though their activities are not always well-conceived. With the extended financial resources for maintaining the indigenous language communities, they simultaneously spend substantial amounts of money on the policy of internationalisation in favour of the English language, which has their advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand the possibility of learning a global language is good for the citizens that serves as a medium of secondary and university education in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the use of such a language, that is competing both for the linguistic and cultural heritage of that country can be extremely disadvantageous for Amharic, all the more that English is successfully used in

almost all governmental institutions and the state-owned companies in Ethiopia. From a linguistic point of view, a number of Amharic loanwords from English are crippled because of the different pronunciation rules in both languages or they come into being by the distortion of the grammatical and lexical rules of Amharic. Since it can be very difficult for ordinary Ethiopians to get an international scholarship, their command of English is rather unsatisfactory despite many efforts. It should be pointed out that the farther is the distance from the Ethiopian capital the smaller is the English proficiency among the Ethiopians living there (see Anbessa Teferra 2013).

An adequate language planning should be often taken into consideration in multilingual countries. In some states a single language of instruction can be preferred in order to support national unity and homogeneity but some countries including Ethiopia aim to foster social and linguistic diversity by offering education to the students in several ethnic languages. This can have its advantages as students who learn in several languages are being given better perspectives in their lives.

2.3. The problem of imperfection of languages

As the ethnic languages originated and developed by means of infinite grouping attempts of numerous generations of individuals and they were not constructed according to a schedule, they are fatally imperfect and unsystematic as some linguists and language philosophers such as Descartes or Leibniz wrote. When it comes to languages that were constructed according to a plan such as Esperanto, Ido or Novial, they are admittedly more regular than ethnic languages and thus easier for use in the communication or in data processing, though it cannot be affirmed that they are perfect at all in spite of facilitating human communication or computer science. As the human nature is not perfect, also the human actions and discoveries have many deficiencies. Thus it is not possible to create a language which could be un mistakeable, because it is human to err. Nevertheless, it is not entirely bad to strive for perfection in language or technology. The language users had only the needs of the moment when it comes to communication having no consciousness of the entire system of a language. It is chance that plays an essential part, so the various linguistic changes depend on some extralinguistic conditions as well as on historical, geographical, social and psychological factors. They usually have no logical connexion with one another but interlingual and interdialectal contacts and blendings play an important role there. Even though the languages cannot form logical, harmonious or perfect system, nor is every element in every language or dialect the most efficient one, language lags behind the thought. The language contains signs that no longer have meaning in the speaker's mind, which often refers to phraseology rather than grammar. On the other hand, there are notions that have not yet been given an adequate linguistic expression, which refers to vocabulary.

As in the case of Amharic in Ethiopia, languages lag behind the needs predominantly in the periods of cultural revolution when the lack of adequate expressions is particularly felt by the speaking communities which suddenly have been faced with the need to express a mass of new contexts. For example, a new scientific and technical vocabulary had to be expanded in Amharic since the end of the 19th century when Ethiopia was opened to the European

civilisation and the European engineering solutions started to be adapted in that country. The Ethiopian linguists or in other cases journalists have to coin the specific vocabulary in order to name the concepts from IT, natural sciences, mathematics or even linguistics or other humanities in Amharic. Not only the shortage of specific terminology but also the inadequacy of grammar may be felt when a language has to adopt itself to a new type of thought, which can also be visible in Amharic (Taddese Takkele, 2000). To illustrate the Amharic grammar inadequacies in the professional terms, we can give the examples of such coinages as *yä-sälälla darsät* (detective story), where the English adjective 'detective' is replaced by the noun construction in the Amharic construct state that literally means 'spying story', *ənṭəbṭab* (double effect reasoning) where the noun *ənṭəbṭab* (metaphorically translated as effect to effect but not calqued directly from English by the same construction) is derived from the verb *täntäbätṭabä* (it fell drop by drop), probably because of the tenets of such reasoning where the two or more effects (or drops) are caused by one action, of which one effect (good) is intended while the other (bad) is unwanted, or *sälännē* (a contraction of *sälä ənñe*) *angar* (monologue), where the direct calque from English is impossible and thus it is replaced by a metaphorical construction *sälä ənñe* (of me, about me) *angar* (talk) (Kane 1990).

It is wrong to say that one can express anything in any language because no language can express everything in an adequate way, even if its possible to explain many things by more than one word. Many things cannot be translated literally from one language into another and one has to use various vocabulary and grammar structures to say the same thing in another language, as it was shown by the Amharic expressions in the previous paragraph. What is more, any language contains random holes in patterns that make the speech awkward and because of these imperfections and irrationalities modern ethnic languages are often perceived by some scholars as primitive, archaic or even barbarian. As examples can be given some dilemmas of the irregularities of the English pronunciation or those of the English indirect speech, e.g. in *Elisabeth told Amanda that she had a problem* it is not always clear who has a problem.

The most important trait of a language is that language is a means of communication. As language is a system of signs, it is not decisive for the process of communication as to where it comes from and whether it is natural or planned. Crucial is the fact to which non-verbal reality it refers and which meaning it carries. The question is that in which dimensions the development of a language is implemented and to what extent it can be consciously or artificially controlled. Even though this question is not new, it constantly gaining weight as it is of a key importance both for the planned development of national languages and the conscious requirement for the development of the new national languages. The conception of language as an organism, developed by Mutsch, Neuman and Humboldt (in Blanke 1985) but having its roots in the philosophy of Enlightenment, doesn't allow that the language can be developed with the intervention of men and there was no way for people to create any artificial language. Moreover, the traditional schools of linguistics at the turn of the 20th century didn't recognise that even parts of a language could be consciously created by its users. The construction of a language was often perceived as the mockery of certain aspects in the natural history of languages, which implied that constructed languages were considered as

abnormality. But from the 1950s onwards, the approaches as to the language planning were radically changed because of the arguments of modern researches on the influence of language users on the form of a language, especially when some changes in the languages are necessary. As the social behaviours are rapidly being changed, some controversies have arisen between the language's capacity and the expectations towards it. The problem is visible particularly when it is necessary to name in a short way some term in the language, which led to a fall of a number of Asian and African languages in the early 20th century. However, some ethnic languages in Africa or Asia were equipped with new alphabets on time and on the ground of political changes they have to play a significant role of national languages (Blanke 1985). Even though the planners of Amharic set great store to the conciseness of the professional terms adapted from English, though rendered by diverse figures of speech, some of the expressions can be quite wordy, e.g. the equivalent of the word schizophrenia in Amharic, that is translated descriptively as *yättälayayyu bahri yämmiyasayy bäššəta*, i.e a sickness (*bäššəta*) that manifests itself by different persons, objects, etc. (*yättälayayyu bahri*) that appear (*yämmiyasayy*) in the patient's conscience in the form of delusions. This problem is virtually known in all languages that undergo different changes in their lexicon and grammar. Troublesome can also be the translation of e.g. English names of cultural products or customs that are only typical for the Anglo-Saxon cultural circle and don't usually appear in other cultures, for example, the American *Twinkies* (golden sponge cakes with creamy filling) or *TP and egging* (the American Halloween tradition of throwing toilet paper (TP) and eggs at people's houses) that are quite hard to be translated word by word into e.g. Polish let alone the African or Asian languages.

Although the development of knowledge led to the appearing of new terminology in the past, today it may be quite difficult to coin new terms, especially in African languages such as Amharic where a number of Greco-Latin terminology can be untranslatable into that language not only because the civilisation differences between Europe and Ethiopia. For example, the Ethiopians use metaphors to designate such terms as cervix, syntax or quorum, where the lexicon is adapted from the extinct Ge'ez language. The Ethiopians understand cervix as the mouth of womb (*afä mahşän*), syntax as the linking of phrases with a chain (*aggäbab*) and quorum as a full assembly (*mil'ate guba'e*) (Takkele Taddese 2000), to mention just a few examples.

The problem of the imperfection of languages was well known in the 19th century by linguists who occupied with the problematic aspects of international planned languages. In 1880 Schuchardt stood for the conscious improvement of languages by saying that the linguists have right to perfect everything that is superfluous, insufficient, difficult or absurd in a language. These activities had been already proposed by such thinkers as F. Bacon who encouraged the language's improvement by the classification of notions and the empirical explanation of natural phenomena, Comenius, who strove for a wider access to the education of ordinary people through a general mutual understanding by means of fully perfected language attainable for all people or W. Leibniz who emphasised the ability of creating a perfect logical systems of signs for the simplification of complicated notions (Barandovská-Frank 2017). Also Jean Badouin de Courtenay (in Blanke 1985) criticised the thinking of

conservative linguists of the 19th century that recognised only what was spontaneously developed in a language. He claimed that language is an instrument that a linguist has an obligation to improve or even replace if needed. Some linguists followed the theories of Schuchardt and Badouin de Courtenay, that is Björn Collinder, Eugen Wüster or Otto Jespersen, to name a few, with due regard to the language planning realities. It was during the second interlinguistic conference in Geneva in 1931 when Otto Jespersen said in front of the public, sharing the views both of spontaneous language development and conscious language planning, that the scholars should not confine to the organic linguistic philosophy but to modify and improve linguistic conditions each in their own country (Blanke 1985). This world-famous English scholar and phonetician asserted that interlinguistics as a branch of linguistics that occupies with the structures and basic ideas of all languages aiming at the establishment of a norm for interlanguages can be very helpful to solve this problem satisfactorily, even though there was evidently no satisfactory solution for that at that time that would be acceptable enough for not only all authors of the auxiliary languages but also different nations or groups of people. Also little has changed in present times when it comes to the universal human communication by means of one language, be it ethnic or artificial. Even though numerous ethnic languages spoken on a world-wide basis have been proposed as a medium of global communication, there are still some groups of people for whom the use of English, Spanish, Arabic or Chinese as a global language is simply incompatible with their various political, social or economic interests.

One of the alternatives that people can make when they are dissatisfied with the impossibility of language reforms in natural languages, which was proposed by Jespersen in 1931, is to create an artificial language that will be perfectly planned in order to meet all the communicative needs of the overall population. Some of such languages can be used as auxiliary systems for international communication such as Esperanto, others can be designed for artistic use (*Klinton*), still others can test some hypotheses as in the case of *Loglan* or *Láadan*. There are such artificial languages that can satisfy the needs of disabled people (*Blissymbolics*), be used for psychoanalysis (*aUI*) or for the communication with extra-terrestrial life forms (such as *Lincos*). Invented languages are performing well in language engineering, borrowing from prestigious varieties and the creation of compounds, relexification of pidgins or poetic creations, to name just a few of their usages. By the application of the so-called controlled languages one can also make spontaneous and intentional changes in natural languages, remodel the usual linguistic material such as baby talk, jargons or poetry, create abstract languages or even design sign systems for sign, gestural, symbolic and formal languages (Stria 2016).

In order to understand the phenomenon of planned language one has to understand the meaning of artificiality in relation to the language and the question of planned language is closely bound with the role of conscious planning in the development of such a language. Under the term 'artificial language' one can understand many things since it can be understood in many ways by many scholars. From different approaches the notion of artificial language can mean universal, global, philosophical, auxiliary or international language in compliance with the aims of their construction. Barandovská-Frank (2017) explains that both language

planning and language-building existed from the antiquity and was the subject of philosophical, philological, educational and other similar research fields but it was not associated exclusively with linguistics nor with any particular science such as interlinguistics. Similar opinions are shared by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) who emphasise that even though language planning has admittedly been practised continuously from ancient times, it was applied for political reasons rather than for linguistic divagation. Not until the second half of the 19th century did the problem of artificiality intensify significantly and started to be explored more seriously, which was dictated by the emergence of Volapük, the first widely functioning interlanguage created in 1879 that even saw its language academy and extensive movement of users across the world.

In most cases planned languages are undifferentiated as the systems of formula symbols, programming languages and other sign systems of ethnic and national languages. One can assume that artificial languages are such languages as Volapük, Esperanto or Ido that remain in the category of planned languages while natural languages are those which grew through the centuries as ethnic languages. The comparison of natural and planned languages can impede the approach to the nature and understanding of a planned language and the origin or the way of formation of a language is decisive for its function and efficiency. It should be remarked that artificial elements in a language are the consequence of more or less conscious intervention of language users in its development. So these interventions are related to the language planning if they are regulatory in character.

A number of languages can be placed under the term 'artificial' such as programming and machine languages, formal or experimental languages, international auxiliary languages, artistic languages or reconstructions. Since all languages are the result of deliberate and conscious planning, their planning can occur at different levels. According to the classification of Albani and Buonarotti (in Stria 2016) languages can be natural or imaginary in character. What is the crucial difference between such languages is that a natural language can be learnt by oral transmission from parents and from the surrounding environment whereas an imaginary language is the result of work at the desk of one or more people. Nevertheless, there are some ethnic languages such as Sanskrit, Church Latin, Modern Hebrew, Norwegian or Bahasa Indonesia that were highly regularised to be maintained at a particular stage of development. Because of that it is quite difficult to distinguish which languages are natural and which are artificial. If we assume that an artificial language has been created by people from various materials but it was not developed in a speech community as in the case of natural languages, we still don't know which languages are artificial and which are not. After all, a pidgin can also be constructed by human beings from diverse components and this can even occur in revitalised languages such as Cornish or Modern Hebrew that yet are not classified as artificial ones.

. In the early 1900s there were linguists who used to label regularised and normalised literary languages as artificial languages in contrast to dialects. They also claimed that some ethnic languages that are characterized by strong regularisation both in a sense of their conservation on their levels of development (e.g. Sanskrit and church Latin) and in respect of their further development (Hebrew, Bahasa Indonesia or Landsmål can be classified as semi-

planned languages). Linguist R.M. Meyer (Blanke 1985:29) tried to classify linguistic phenomena from languages that are characterised by conscious planning even in the slightest way to the complicated systems of signs. In the first and second group are featured varieties of languages that are used in the bosom of one's family (professional language, language of ceremonies) or in the process of school education (poetic language, game language). Some languages (in the fourth group) may come into being by the combination or contamination of individual languages such as Volapük or other language projects. One can create artificial languages or their parts (if they serve only for writing) by means of glossolalies, neologisms in fairy tales or magic words. Languages can be also procured from the abstraction such as philosophical and a priori language projects by Leibnitz or Kircher or even arbitrarily that is taboo languages of indigenous people. In the last category of Meyer's classification of languages one can find languages such as music notes, sign languages for the deaf, flag words or mathematical symbols (Blanke 1985:30). Also Monnerot-Dumaine and Kuznecov place the music notes, mathematical, phonetic and similar symbols in their typologies of planned languages, which are classified either as non-philosophical planned languages with artificial roots (Monnerot-Dumaine) or as semiotically motivated *a priori* systems (Kuznecov). It can be of interest to say that also D. Blanke classifies diverse pasygraphies and pasylalies such as pasygraphic systems, sign languages, pictographies, ideographies, and cryptographies as well as universal alphabets or other codes as the forms of languages according to the language realisation level (see Barandovská-Frank 2017).

From the 1970s comes the classification of artificial languages proposed by Bausani because of their types according to the grammatical and morphological prisms coming from the criterion of R. Jakobson's linguistic freedom (Blanke 1985:31) There are planned languages that have their own specially created syntax but they retain the morphological and phonetic inventory of a natural language. In the second category are included languages in which a new vocabulary was created, though the morphology of the natural language use remains more or less maintained. The third category features such languages as Esperanto where new morphology was proposed along with new lexicon (correlatives) but where the phonetics of the natural language of its deviser remains fairly intact. Finally in the fourth category of Bausani's classification can be found projects of languages where the pronunciation of the deviser is perfectly reshaped to form some kind of universal language or fictive child language (Blanke 1985:31).

As for the question of language planning, the inheritance of linguistic scholars from the 19th century as to the correctness and efficiency of linguistic forms is still prevalent even in today's linguistic circles. Although telling people how they should use their language is not the duty of a descriptive linguist, professionally trained language planners should not hesitate to recommend the preferred forms where it is possible and to justify their choices. V. Tauli wrote in 1968 that dealing with the problems of language planning should be as evident as the handling of educational problems by pedagogic scientists. Nevertheless, a number of contemporary scholars who refute the achievements of interlinguistics and in the consequence those of language planning are not willing to accept that the language planning or the prescriptive intervention to the form of language is still necessary for the survival and

development of many endangered languages of the world, and therefore it contributes to the global language heritage. Had it not been for the language planners, many unelaborated languages used in our planet wouldn't now be the subject of linguistic research, also by the scholars from other fields of this science.

2.4. Why is competent language planning needed?

2.4.1. The usefulness of language planning in ethnic and of artificial languages

Some linguists of the early 1900s (e.g. Bloomfield) stressed that the task of the 20th century's linguist is no longer to cultivate purely historical or psychological linguistics, which had been already done earlier but to focus on furthering the speech forms of language users so that linguistics could be more creative and constructive. The linguists were advised to spread the existing better forms as well as to make new solutions in the structure and usage of a given language. Even though several modern scientists of that time stressed the need of language planning, it was the Estonian linguist Johannes Aavik who in his work *The extreme possibilities of language reform* (1924) outlined a revolutionary theory of language planning. From Aavik's point of view language was an instrument that should be improved just as man can improve their tools. He shared the viewpoint that if all languages are imperfect, the improvement of a language is indispensable, which must be artificial, that is free, arbitrary and methodical. For him existing phonemes could be arbitrarily combined to make new words, though arbitrary language improvement should not be limited to vocabulary. It was also important for Aavik that new grammatical forms should be introduced to a language in order to improve the communication of its users. For the Estonian language, Johannes Aavik constructed arbitrarily new derivation and inflectional morphemes not to mention new syntactic constructions, which smashed all mystical prejudices about languages and opened unprecedented improvements of ethnic languages. Some of the followers of Aavik as well stressed the need of language improvement. They claimed that languages had to be improved and redesigned to be adjusted to the present age. Any linguist who refused to deal with the concrete problems of language use in daily life was supposed to fail their mission (Haugen 1972). Nevertheless, a great deal of work for the modernisation and improvement of such ethnic languages as Estonian or New Norwegian that Aavik, Aasen and Kundsén had done was not only unappreciated by many traditional linguists but also was met with their harsh criticism. The critics of these significant language reforms accused these distinguished linguists of the prescriptive intervention they had done to revitalise these languages as such activities were beyond the scope of the linguistic exploration of that time. Satisfactory is however the fact that these deeply entrenched linguistic tendencies have been fading for some time and the linguistics of the 21st century is open to the new directions of the research, also with the use of the tools offered by language planning. After all, every human language needs its appropriately conducted planning at each stage of its development. As Koutny (2015b) points it out, both ethnic and planned languages undergo substantial changes in morphology, syntax and lexicon with the development of the world's economy and many other factors that

are related with it. Also the use of languages in the social media matters there since it causes different changes in the structure of these languages. Even though the language academies are opposed to the usage of strange looking abbreviations, acronyms or clipped words, these constructions will sooner or later become officially accepted norms by the representatives of these bodies. In spite of having been initially perceived as incorrect, these expressions will be widely disseminated in various social groups, the younger generations in particular, to become the exemplary norm after some time.

In my opinion, all languages in the world need to be constantly improved regardless of their level of development. For many local languages spoken in the Omo River valley in Ethiopia, appropriate language planning is particularly important for their codification and standardisation. It is also necessary for such remote communities to reassess their values so that they could adopt the process of even the simplest education. With the massive influx of foreign tourists to the south-western parts of Ethiopia, the most rudimentary literacy and numeracy skills should be all the more acquired by the locals in order to avoid serious problems associated with the proper calculation of money when it comes to giving the change in a bar or shop or issuing charges for photographing the indigenous people in their traditional attire by foreign tourists. Also the most developed languages of the world need substantial improvements, though not to such extent as in the case of the lesser-spoken languages, to facilitate the constant development of economy and technological solutions. I also share the views of Haugen that a good linguist should keep up to date with the problems of languages in daily life. As the languages change constantly with the improvement of human life, their evolution should be not merely recorded but also the problems of their adaptation to the new social and technical demands should be appropriately solved. This is not only the task of applied linguistics but also of related branches of science. As the language is used by people with different educational environments who apply it not only for linguistic purposes and who need ongoing language solutions for their specific study areas, its constant evolution should be the subject of interest of each linguist regardless of their specialisation.

It is commonly assumed that the possession of one common language is the prerequisite for normal, efficient and easy communication in a society. Even if the citizens of a nation may use different dialects in their country, for official communication they have to use an interdialectal nation-wide language called standard language. Its standard form can be called literary language whereas its colloquial form is referred to as colloquial standard language. Even though the standard language may be based on one of the local dialect, standard language can never be identical with any of them. In the process of education children or adults are taught a new standard language which may differ more or less from their native dialects. Because standard language means deliberate choice and planning, it should be done by linguists in the most competent and efficient way. Language planners are also expected to eliminate the harm done to language by the incompetent and antiquated grammarians of the past. After the abolition of prejudices, which is a prerequisite for a good language planning, one has to eliminate the unnecessary differences between the colloquial or literary language for the purpose of easier communication. In some cases effective language planning can mean the repudiation of newer colloquial language forms and the retaining of

archaic, extinct or unnecessary forms in the literary language thanks to the influence of grammarians. As language development is often directed in a wrong decision or can be stopped altogether, which is contrary to the spontaneous and beneficial development, it is the task of a scientific and methodical language planning to eliminate these errors of the past.

It may be that there is a considerable gap between standard language and the dialects owing to the grammarians where the stage of standard language can be many centuries older than the living dialects. This is the case of German standard language fixed more than 400 years ago which is very different from the dialects that have assumed their more analytical structures. What is more, the Czech standard language was partly based on the 15-16th century language. In regard to English, there was a trend in the 18th century to simplify its conjugation by making the past tense and participle become identical, which was widely promoted by such writers as Milton, Dryden or Swift. French in turn is characterised by the antiquated notorious rule of concord (Haugen 1972).

The language is a social phenomenon and serves as a code for a certain society. As in the case of human behaviour and customs that are common for the entire community, uniformity is also inherent in the language. Because the code is an integral feature of a language as a system of signs, there is only one expression for every meaning in principle. Assuming that neither phonemic nor morphological variants can generally occur in a normal dialect except in the mixed border areas, linguistic norm is inherent in the nature of language. On this precondition is based an efficient and economic function of linguistic communication. Even though the speakers of some dialect endeavour to conform to a standard, the colloquial standard language can never be the same. No standard language speaker can be free from the heritage of the native dialects which are the sources of differences and deviations from the norm. Thus language planners have to deal with the problem of linguistic correction and to find out the best norms, which doesn't mean that absolute standards should be enforced on all members of a language community. Nevertheless, the language planning cannot prescribe norms nor can it decide which expressions are correct. It can solely try to point out and prove which expressions are preferable. Even though efficiency and correctness are two different things, though they both belong to language planning, these concepts are often mixed by linguists (Tauli 1968). As for the problems of efficiency and correctness in certain compounds that appear in Amharic, their structure is being increasingly influenced by the English language, which results in that they are no longer classified as compounds but as juxtapositions. This is exactly about some of the structures in the Amharic and Ge'ez construct state e.g. *(yä)-səm gälač'* (noun modifier) or *rə'əs-(ä) anqäs* (editorial) that are void of the grammatical elements *yä-* and *-ä* respectively, that on the one hand don't have an impact on the meaning of these structures, but on the other hand there may be doubts about their correctness despite their efficient use by the Amharic speaking community (Kozicki 2018).

The methodical improvement of a language is by all means the highest and the most difficult task of language planning. As man is never satisfied with a language that is correct, he or she wants to use a good and improved language. Language is said to be a tool that needs to be constantly perfected in order to meet the standards of efficient communication in every social group.

The importance of language is great both in science and social life. One generally recognises the salience of the adequate vocabulary in the development of sciences and technology. It is also agreed by some linguists (e.g. Benjamin Lee Whorf) that syntactic structures influence the facility and the way of thinking but other linguists such as J.P. Lee and M. Handford are inclined to assume that they don't have an impact of thinking as different languages organise sounds in different ways and therefore they differ in the ways they organise thoughts. Since different languages provide their speakers with different semantic resources, the syntactic structures can distort these semantic ones by the process of lexicalization and grammaticization in such a way that their distance from thoughts can be increased. If someone (e.g. a Pole) is learning Amharic, that is a Semitic language and not an Indo-European one, he or she will have serious problems with the syntactic differences of both languages for some time no matter how extensive is the vocabulary they have mastered. Even though both languages are inflectional, they are different from the viewpoint of syntactic typology, i.e. Polish is a right branching language (though not entirely as the noun can be preceded or succeeded by the attribute) whereas Amharic is a left branching one, which means that in Polish the core word is followed by complements (e.g. attribute, relative clause, possessor) while in Amharic the situation can be opposite. These differences stem from the fact that both languages have different word orders SVO and SOV respectively. Then I support the idea of Lee and Handford that the transition from one's mother tongue to languages with different syntactic properties can impede the acquisition of these foreign languages as long as these peculiarities have been fully exercised over a couple of years. Also for this reason the categorisation of the world by ordinary men depends more likely on the vocabulary of the native language. Worth mentioning is that vocabulary is supposed to direct perception and cognition into certain habitual channels so that the individual's entire perception of the universe can be intimately related to the lexical or even grammatical structure of the native language.

Every language has its own needs as far language planning is concerned. There are languages with a long literary tradition, relatively simple morphology but with quite extensive at times dialectal differences like English, whose speakers are deliberately opposed to any form of planning in their language. But one can list a number of languages in America, Africa or Asia with young literary tradition, complicated morphology, great dialectal differences not to mention many competing forms for standard language. These languages are in need of mass coining of new words in a few years for they never became vehicles of a complex culture until the turn of the 19th century. This refers particularly to the Amharic language which was never used in writing until the second half of the 19th century. Even though many loan words from the classical Ge'ez language were always present in Amharic, they were often insufficient to name the concepts from the European culture. Predominantly after the fall of the communist regime in Ethiopia in 1991, many neologisms started to be coined for Amharic, which resulted in the publication of a number of dictionaries and glossaries where the latest technical terminology was collected. Takkele Taddese (2000) says that the practical problems in such languages can scarcely be imagined by linguists whose mother tongue is a language with vocabulary and grammar that were stabilized a long time before such as

English or French. Also for the speakers of the Polish language it can be quite hard for them to imagine how the Ethiopians can handle a lack of a number of professional terms from the fields of biology, chemistry or IT, that are crucial for every day life from the perspective of the Europeans. Notwithstanding, Polish is a language with an extensive literary tradition dating to the Middle Ages by contrast to the Amharic language that started to be seriously modernised actually in the 20th century with a significant influence of the English language and culture. Even though the scientific terminology was introduced to the Polish language at the turn of the 20th century, it has so far been solidified in the Polish formal discourse as opposed to the Amharic one, of which most technical notions have been introduced only in the last decades. This makes the Amharic technical lexicon quite fluid and not yet standardised, of what the Polish language went through in the early 1900s. It should not be overlooked that also in Polish a number of neologisms particularly from IT have been adapted from English in the recent decades and there can be serious problems as to the pronunciation or grammatical genre of such words. However, these problems are much bigger in Amharic than they are in Polish.

Other problems are faced by countries where no national or regional common language exists. In such situations language planners have to establish linguistically sound principles in order to create new common and literary languages. This is a quite acute problem all over the world that concerns an enormous number of languages and people. When it comes to a new common language that is to be created, its formation should be founded on linguistic and not extralinguistic considerations or political factors so that it could be as efficient as possible within the respective speaking communities. Of all the possible problems the most difficult are usually choosing a dialect or dialects on which standard language will be based, the establishment of norms for standard language, the adaptation of a language for the new cultural and social needs as well as creating of an appropriate orthography.

2.4.2. Planning in ethnic languages

According to E. Haugen (1972), language modification has five different aims that can be achieved both by governments and trained language planners. The choice of a regional dialect for a standard language is often supported by political movements, state institutions or by individuals. The state can change the dialect's or language's social status as well its normalisation and codification for the benefit of native literature. Other important objective is the equipment of a non-written language with an appropriate script. This involves the choice of appropriate script and in the consequence the reforms of orthography. What already belongs to the task of linguists is the systematic coining of not yet existing terms for new concepts, especially for the scope of science and technology and their standardisation. Of particular importance is also the replacement of the foreign terminology existing in a language by native linguistic devices. It is necessary as well to make appropriate regulations in the lexicon and phraseology. Finally, conscious influences should be exerted on grammar and stylistics (Haugen 1972). These steps of language modification were almost entirely followed in Ethiopia when it comes to the Amharic language. The neutral dialect of Addis Ababa was selected for standardisation in the 19th century by the courtesy of the imperial government.

The script was adapted from the Geez syllabary by the extension of graphemes for writing the characteristic Amharic sounds. Consequently, the Ethiopian linguists and other educated people coined and are still coining lots of new terms for science and technology and they standardise the existing terminology by native means of expression. A number of substantial regulations were made in the scope of grammar and stylistic, by which the Amharic language no longer reflects its spoken form as it did at the turn of the 20th century.

The triumph of the capitalistic economy in the 19th century in various parts of the world was linked with the development of nations and national languages. The emergence and enforcement of national languages with their literary form as the highest form of existence of national languages was heavily influenced in many European countries. This was exerted to a great extent by the national and political movements as well as state institutions. These reforms allowed that a number of languages in Europe were upgraded to the range of national languages especially in the early 1900s, even though the degree of conscious influence was rather differential. For example, the German translation of the *Bible* made by Martin Luther influenced the development of a unified German language. He consciously chose an appropriate language material so that these language forms achieved higher status in the society. What is more, it was Dante Alighieri who by having written his *Divine Comedy* in popular Italian contributed in decisive degree to the formation and spread of Italian as a national language which was consciously based on the selection of respective dialects. Also the Amharic writers heavily influenced the modernisation of their language in a very short time. Even though Amharic was situated on the fringe of the manuscript culture for many centuries, it was the language of ordinary men and not of the Ge'ez scribes. With the centralization of power and the introduction of the printing press to Ethiopia in the late 19th century, the new Amharic literature started to produce new literary genres such as novels and travel writing. Crucial for the history of the Amharic literature were the two *Chronicles of Emperor Tewodros* that were written in the dialect of Shoa in 1856, which was on the one hand breaking with the tradition of previous emperors but on the other hand instituting Amharic as the official language. The consolidation of the Ethiopian imperial authority brought the translation of the European books into Amharic, such as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, that greatly influenced the germinating Amharic literature. With Ethiopia's opening up to the outside world, many young Ethiopians had an opportunity to travel overseas to become the true creators of the new literary genres in Amharic. For example Afä Wärq published the first Amharic novel in 1908 under the title *Ləbb Wälläd Tarik* (A story from the heart), though he was also a famous grammarian and lexicographer. Other well-known Amharic writer is Heruy Walda Selassie, who occupied predominantly with the history of Ethiopia and one of his chief historical oeuvres is a *History of the reign of Yohannes IV*. He also was the author of a series of little essays on the customs in his country. The achievements of the key Amharic men of letters made it possible to translate into Amharic the works of Shakespeare, Molière, Tolstoy and Pushkin (see Ricard 2004).

Language planning also played an important role in the formation of literary Norwegian. It should be mentioned that in Norway there are presently used two varieties of language, namely *nynorsk* and *bokmål*, and this phenomenon is commonly referred to as

diglossia. During the Danish occupation of Norway which lasted several hundred years the Old Norwegian literary language disappeared to be replaced by *riksmål*, the Danish-Norwegian literary language. After the independence of Norway in 1814 the question of the Norwegian national language became topical again. It should be emphasised that the creation of a new Norwegian language based on its old dialects was made by an individual, namely by dialectician Ivar Aasen at the end of the 19th century. *Riksmål* and *nynorsk* are used in Norway as two national language that have an equal status of recognition. Even though there were some reforms in Norway aiming at the creation of unified Norwegian called *samnorsk*, they failed but thanks to numerous resolutions both Norwegian languages were brought closer to each other (Haugen 1972).

The reform of the Old Hebrew language in the late 19th century was without a doubt the most successful attempt of a large-scale language planning. In order to serve as a medium of communication, the New Hebrew language was based on the vocabulary and grammar from biblical Hebrew which underwent substantial modernisation and normalisation also in the field of orthography. Neologisms were initially coined from other Semitic languages such as Arabic and from Jewish languages used in Europe.

Of particular importance for the development of an independent Indonesian state was the political and linguistic unification of the Indonesian islands where around 400 different languages are spoken with the predominance of Malayan which was spread mainly in the west archipelago since at least the 16th century. It was just the new language created on the basis of the Malayan language that was chosen to be propagated as Bahasa Indonesia, that is the unified language of independent Indonesia after 1945. After the necessary changes in terms of lexicology, syntax and orthography made by the Japanese commission, Bahasa Indonesia started to be widely used as a form of planned language in that post-colonial country. The neologisms were coined usually on the basis of Asian languages, for example Chinese, Hindi or even Arabic.

The demise of the British empire from 1945 onwards meant for a number of African colonial states the hope for independence. Worth mentioning is the fact that the forming of colonies in Africa was performed in defiance of ethnic conditions and the disregard of ethnic borders, which has been resulting up to now in numerous conflicts all over Africa. After having gained the independence, in the former African colonial countries started the process of vernacularisation, which meant that the European official languages should be replaced by ethnic ones. For example, the Swahili language was proclaimed official in Tanzania and Kenya in 1967 and 1970 respectively. A number of local ethnic languages in Western Africa started to be used by the governments, which had its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the locally used ethnic languages underwent the process of more or less rational language planning so that they could be used by in governmental communication as well as in the mass media. On the other hand, language pluralism in some African countries became a source of disquiet and conflicts between different ethnic groups, for example in the Congo (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997).

The alphabetisation of non-written languages is one of the substantial and purposeful intervention of men in the development of their languages as the fixation of language in its

written form is the precondition for creating its literary and spoken form. The normalisation of script is the further step of language planning because the replacement of the traditional writing system by the more uniform one is one of the most significant contributions of men to a language. The best known language reforms in terms of adopting or changing writing systems were those performed in the Soviet Union just after the October Revolution of 1917, in Turkey at the time of Atatürk and in Western Africa. Shortly after the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union steps were taken to alphabetise numerous languages in the Soviet Empire and develop them so that they could meet the standards of literary languages in a relatively short time. Over forty languages were codified by means of the Cyrillic or Latin alphabet. This reform was to some extent based on linguistic and socio-political research and was promoted by the linguistic and language-political institutions of the Soviet state of that time.

In Turkey, there was a Young Turkish political movement guided by Atatürk which conducted a revolution in 1928 in regard of changing the writing system from the Arabic script into the Latin alphabet. This transition was made in a year and it was not very problematic for the citizens, most of whom were illiterate at that time. Thanks to the reform in writing systems the Turkish government along with their citizens had better access to the advanced economies of European states. What is more, the influence of Islam was pushed back and the literacy campaigns were supported by the Turkish state. It is worth to be mentioned that similar literacy revolution was conducted in Uzbekistan where the Arabic script was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet in 1940. The change of writing system in Uzbekistan was more severe for its citizens than for the Turkish population as the rate of literacy was much bigger there and the users of the Uzbek language had to get used to the quick change of customs (Haugen 1972).

Also the political, economical and social upheavals associated with the development of the recently liberated African colonial states involved the creation of writing systems for the non-codified languages that started to be used for official communication. For those languages that had no script, one had to create writing systems usually based on the Latin alphabet. Such scripts were prepared particularly for West African languages such as Hausa or Kanuri but they were also adjusted to the languages all over Africa (Haugen 1972).

The orthographical reforms are not rare in languages and they often result from certain divergences on the ground of the developing customs or practices between the grapheme and phoneme. The entire change of common language customs of a community occurs when the commonly used writing system is replaced by another one and that is a quite rare but very significant case of people's intervention in the sphere of their languages (Haugen 1972).

More difficult than the planning of script and orthography is the conscious planning of lexicon. To the scope of the lexical planning of a language can be bracketed the creation of terminology which in a short time can acquire a new social function. This refers predominantly to the languages of Africa or Asia. The new terminology is often coined in accordance with the nationalistic or puristic endeavours, which is particularly visible in the sophisticated Ge'ez based terminology that nobody actually uses it in today's Ethiopia. In addition, one has to standardise technical and scientific terms so that the effective national and

international scientific collaboration can be made possible. One should also remember that some words and phrases must be normalised in their semantic aspects.

As for the idea of language planning, Tauli (1968) wrote that it denotes methodical activities consisting in the regulation and improvement of an existing language or the creation of a new common regional, national or international language. Language planning comprises all aspects of the oral or written forms of a language, that is phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology and orthography. By the term normalisation of language Tauli means efforts and methods that serve to the morphological and semantic standardisation of scientific and technical terminology and for the coining of new terms.

The theoreticians of language planning commonly agree that language planning involves both the assessment and improvement of a language. Otherwise no decisions as to the form and the alteration of language could not have been made so language improvement conditions a set of criteria and features that allow the language to be improved in any direction. I agree with their statement as the properties of a given language, particularly an unalphabetised one, should be appropriately assessed prior to the application of the consequent steps of language planning. Apart from studying its structural features one should take into consideration also the extralinguistic circumstances such as the stage of the community's development, its social structure and relations with neighbouring peoples as well as its willingness to integrate with other societies with a higher degree of education and living conditions. In this way the problems of enforcing the Amharic culture on a number of indigenous communities in Ethiopia could be avoided and the state treasury could spare sufficiently more financial resources than they spend on the improvement of living standards of their citizens.

Blanke (1985) remarks that if the efforts of a conscious influence on the development of language had been carried out in the 18th and 19th century by the activities of individuals or associations, the respective efforts in the 20th century would have been protected to a greater extent by social powers and state institutions and properly integrated in the policy of the states. This is particularly true when it comes to the numerous changes in languages proposed by conservative grammarians. As most of these improvements were not consulted with the speaking communities, ordinary people thought them to be very cumbersome and because of that they rarely used them. Hopefully, this situation has changed for the better with the settling down of the global economy and the possibility of easy travels around the world. Nowadays it is the language community who proposes the improvements to the languages for their own use. Nevertheless, there should be appropriate standards respected by both language academies and the language users, otherwise the too far-reaching changes to the language can get out of control.

2.4.3. Planning of artificial languages

There is a close relation between the phenomenon of language planning and the creation of planned languages as there is no clear difference between the conscious regulation of a language and the use of e.g. the Romance language material, for example in Esperanto. In these examples the language planning influence on people remained in the field of a language

so the language planning is related to the entire system in case of an international planned language. Some linguists including Tauli conscientiously link language planning with planned language claiming that interlinguistics is the branch of the theory of language planning as it studies the principles, methods and tactics in the international language planning. Having written about the international language, he meant a universal language that could be used as a medium of communication by people from diverse language communities. Tauli (1968) explained that since the current (at his time) international communication by means of different official language had not worked so far, he saw the best solution of this problem in the mass learning of the same auxiliary language by people as their second language. Curiously, such planned languages of that time as Esperanto, Ido or Occidental turned out to be inappropriate because of their too big dependence on European language models. In the opinion of Tauli (1968), the most appropriate language for the global communication must be devised and elaborated by a team of competent linguists and he recommended the use of English as long as the perfect interlanguage would come into being. It should be noted that even though Tauli actually opened the door of language planning for planned languages, in most cases today's language planning is focussed on solving the problems of certain communities by the use of applicable language policy (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

I share an opinion that if planned languages are constructed on the basis of the natural language material, they reflect grammatical and lexical rules that exist in these languages regardless of the number of languages from which their author or authors drew inspiration. But if they are created *a priori*, i.e. with a number of features not based on existing languages and thus rather invented or elaborated for different purposes, the problem may be more serious as the provenance of some elements from philosophical languages can make the structure of such planned languages practically useless, though not necessarily inferior.

As for the number of planned languages, there are divergent informations up to the present. Often included to that data are the projects of non-spoken planned languages, that is the so-called pasigraphies or universal scripts. The concise number of planned languages is not known. One estimates that up to now more than thousand of language projects were successfully published but there are also many constructed languages that are still waiting for publication. One should remark that today's auxiliary language projects are coined mainly by polyglots all over the world as language construction became now a sort of hobby.

The motives of creating planned languages are different. Some of them aim at the facilitation of international communication. This motive occurs in different variants that come from the philosophical position of the authors. There are also planned languages that came into being for language political and nationalistic reasons. Their objective is usually to reconcile the feuding societies. But some of such languages especially constructed languages may be created exclusively for fun.

In the 17th century some philosophers and language theoreticians concerned themselves with the relation to language and thinking in a specific way. They strove to create the so-called philosophical languages which were expected to be the medium of thought and cognition much better than the ethnic languages. The philosophers wanted to express the logical relations between the notions in a language in order to formulate the principles of

perfect languages on the basis of the knowledge of language and the philosophical ideas of that time. Some artificial languages were supposed to test the philosophical hypotheses of the thinkers of the 20th century such as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which assumed that language could influence human thinking. The compatibility of the aforementioned hypothesis was tested in the Loglan language project by James Browns who claimed that if a language influences thinking, there must be a logical language not oriented to ethnolinguistic backgrounds that conveys thinking in certain ways. Also A. Gode drew inspiration from the theory of Benjamin Whorf by modelling his conception of the Standard Average European language, known as Interlingua, so that it could correspond to the modern ways of thinking in the European civilisation (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

Some planned languages such as Esperanto were created for the reasons of pacifism and the reconciliation between diverse nationalities. By the conception of an international language Zamenhof meant that Esperanto would bring peace to the ruptured world. He sought the main cause of wars in the difficulties in the mutual understanding among diverse nationalities. Zamenhof spent his youth living in the city of Białystok in the Polish part of tsarist Russia where the Russians, the Poles, the Germans and the Jews lived together. They had constant conflicts between one another which were aggravated by the tsarist colonial policy. But the cause of all discord not only between the inhabitants of Białystok was the language diversity in the understanding of Zamenhof. With his project of Esperanto he aimed to end the hatred between the nations and this hatred would disappear if the humanity shared one language and one religion and they would be no more wars if men understood each other (Korjenkov 2009).

There are a number of studies and articles on what an artificial language can achieve and which properties it has to possess (Blanke 2003). In these publications are also featured the studies of such languages from different linguistics and language political perspectives as well as the attitudes of language planners as to the political conditions and world views in the specific periods. Planned languages seem to be better for international communication as they are usually easy to learn, they can be easily applied in different circumstances and the precision what they were created with is often remarkable.

The linguists are rather divided in their opinions that the languages or their traits can be compared with each other but for language planners this question is of particular importance. Such linguists as Wüster, Tauli and Back dealt with that question. For Wüster (in Blanke 1985) the standards of assessment of an intended language is the relation of its scope and energy consumption. In a planned language there should be small energy consumption or cargo loss. In every case Wüster studied languages from the perspectives of writing form and sound system in order to prove their capabilities as target languages (Blanke 1985). Tauli (1968) emphasised the commonly accepted fact that language is an instrument which can be improved in terms of its economy, clarity, elasticity and exactness so that it could meet the standards and exigencies in a society. Tauli wrote that no language is a perfect, logical and harmonious system because each language lags in its development behind the transformations made by thinkers and the communicative needs of men. Back refutes the linguistic and axiological egalitarianism that is the notion that all languages are supposedly equally difficult

and any structural weaknesses are compensated by the structural advantages in other language that are optimal for a speaking community (Tauli 1868). In terms of planned languages Back (in Blanke 1985) agrees that even if well-known artificial languages such as Esperanto, Ido or Occidental-Interlingue are relatively easier to learn than ethnic languages, the experiments for the easy acquisition of Esperanto were almost exclusively conducted on the users of European languages and there is a lack of data on the feasibility of learning Esperanto by the speakers of African or Asian languages. But the statement that artificial languages are easier to learn than ethnic languages has to be based on the grounds of their comparability as the international means of communication.

Many advocates of planned languages agree that such languages have to fulfil a range of conditions so that they can be easily applied in the international communication. Curiously, there is no consensus as to the scope of the use of artificial languages, which often depends of their authors themselves. It is agreed that there are two aspects of the use of planned language, namely that a planned language must be suitable for all areas of international linguistic communication not so much for science or technology but also for other forms of artistic expressions. Even though artificial languages are not always applicable for the creation of original literature and the translation of literary works from other languages, the author of Esperanto demonstrated that his language is suited for various literary works, either originally written or translated from other European languages. Zamenhof wrote that the literature is important for a real form of existence of his language and it is a precondition for its development. He himself initiated the numerous translation of literary works crucial for the European culture into Esperanto, not to mention the original poetry he wrote in that language. Nevertheless, not all interlinguists share the opinion as to the capabilities of planned language for original literature as it not necessarily belongs to the aspects of application of artificial languages. Worth being mentioned here is Blanke's (1985) categorization of a posteriori auxiliary languages based on the sociolinguistic and communications distinction that was considerably extended in 2006. These planned languages that aim to be used in a community are presented on a 28-step scale according to which diverse language projects can be assessed (in Barandovská-Frank 2017). To meet all of the requirements of a fully-fledged language (which was managed only by Esperanto), such languages have to be published, used as a means of journalistic and social communication, be suitable for literary expression, either original or translated, have their norms stabilised, be recognised for their utility in pedagogy, cybernetics, machine translation or professional language exploration, to be used in state and private organisations and institutions as well for the teaching on the national and international levels, have their proper history and culture with traditions, ideals, myths, literature or theatre, possesses specific language variants to be used in different regions, professional languages, slangs and finally have their use regulated for the purpose of advertisement, television and official institutions (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

Otto Jespersen (1960) was of the opinion that an artificial language does not have to have such potential in emotional spheres as a mother tongue because it is not always worth of translating word for word from the mother language as one should try to express their thoughts in artificial language in the simplest possible way. As a result, one should not expect

from an artificial language that it would be able to have all of its functions that are assigned to a natural language. In addition, an auxiliary language should obviously be an intellectual language, that is a language for the brain and not necessarily for the heart. Jespersen claimed that it is difficult for an artificial language to express very deep emotions and it is wrong to translate deep lyrics into an auxiliary language. I don't necessarily agree with Jespersen that deep emotions and deep lyrics are difficult to be translated into an artificial language. This can admittedly be true for some language projects that are not sufficiently spread around the world, but when it comes to Esperanto, this assumption can be easily disproved. We can just look on the body of work of Zamenhof himself, Antoni Grabowski as the father of Esperantic poetry, Kálmán Kalocsay, William Auld, Marjorie Boulton, Edwin de Kock, to name just a few. Even though the Esperanto literature could have been not so popular over the years of Jespersen's life, its expressional capacity was proved, by which its contribution to the world's literary heritage is by all means tremendous.

Erroneous is also the assumption that one can compare an artificial language suited for international communication with ethnic languages which are used for national communication. Even though it is often alleged to planned languages that they can never be as good as natural languages, but planned languages also have good capacities that are valued in natural languages. Auxiliary languages can be more than a medium of international communication but they are fully functional when they are used in the main areas of the communication process as well as in literature. But they would be deprived of their important function in human life if their use was limited only to the domains of science, technology or tourism. Evidently, metaphors and wordplays are welcome to the literary language but they are not very suitable for the language of documentation where monosemy plays an important role (Tauli 1968).

Even though in the Esperantologic circles dominates the view that an international language has to be marked by easiness and regularity, the non-Esperantic linguists who analyse and systematize the languages are not inclined to express such ideas. Nevertheless, the easiness refers not only to the acquisition but also to the use of a language but it is a relative notion and its interpretation depends on many factors. Although many authors of language projects claim that their languages are easy to learn, they seem to be quite amateurish when it comes to a question what is easy or difficult in a foreign language and on what grounds this problem has a social aspect. One should agree that the easier to learn is a language for the learners who use different mother tongues the more likely can wider social strata adopt to the different degree of education. It is often assumed that any world language would be easier to learn if the sound system and syntax was possibly easy, which means that there are no difficultly pronounced letters or combined sounds, no superfluous declination and conjugation forms and no sentient features in the meaning of words or in syntactic structures. Worth being mentioned is Jespersen's formula that was discussed in his article *A new science: Interlinguistics* published in 1930 for the most appropriate international auxiliary language. He argued that the use of an ethnic language would be little democratic as Europe is rich in language groups that are mutually incomprehensible. Also the Latin language was supposed to be not corresponding to modern demands as not many people speak it fluently. From hundreds

of planned language projects that existed in the 1930s, Jespersen chose only six of them, i.a. Esperanto, Occidental and his own project – Novial, but he eventually concluded that neither of them was perfect for international communication (see Barandovská-Frank 2017). Nevertheless, the construction of a flawless interlanguage could be, in the words of Jespersen not so difficult since there is a number of Graeco-Latin internationalisms in most of the European languages. From this point of view he was certain that the future auxiliary language could be Romance in character and that its grammar could be as simple as in Chinese or in pidgin languages. Barandovská-Frank (2017) writes that the prediction of Jespersen turned out to be right as it was realised after twenty years in the form of Interlingua, whose launch he did not live to see.

Even though Jespersen assumed that the best international languages offers its remarkable easiness to the biggest number of people, his formula is to some extent defective because he failed to specify to which group of people and to which aim the easiest language should serve. Nevertheless, the link between the wider communicational function and the easiness of learning of an auxiliary language seems to be of great importance as it involves both the active and passive command of a language as well as its usefulness for scientific and non-scientific purposes. Even if a planned language has a number of rules and morphological forms of lexemes, it can be insufficient for its proper use by speaking community as a language that is based solely on universals can be harsh and unsuitable for potential speakers (Blanke 1985). I support the statement of Blanke that the simplicity of a planned language is not always the key to the author's success. For example Esperanto is easily learnable for Europeans who speak at least one Romance language but for Ethiopians it is not so simple to learn. As the languages spoken in Ethiopia are usually inflectional, the Ethiopian people have no reference to the agglutinative structure of Esperanto. Even if there are numerous political and economic reasons for the unpopularity of Esperanto in Ethiopia, its linguistic peculiarities play here an important role. As for the experiments that prove the ease learnability of such artificial languages as Esperanto, Ido or Occidental-Interlingue, they were mainly conducted in Europe, by which one cannot be certain of the easiness of such planned languages constructed on the basis of the European language would be just as simple for Asians or Africans as the are for Europeans.

A regular structure is one of the most important conditions for a planned language apart from the question of its inherent difficulty. Planned languages are expected to be regular, which means that the description of the same idea should be made with the help of the same terms or their modification through the same methods. An artificial language which has the maximum of regularity and naturalness can be in the opinion of Paul Mitrovich easier that the easiest language of the world. However one should bear in mind that the naturalness of planned language in the sense of its latinisation always conditions concessions towards the regularity of the language. After all not everyone in the world is expected to have a good command of Latin or any Romance language. Also logic plays an important role in the creation of planned languages, for the language can be theoretically and practically perfect only if it consists of a clear assignment between the symbols and notions. It is also obvious that some conditions can contradict each other because the application of a planned language

for different aims can be achieved at the cost of its regularity and its easiness to learn. Decisive for the good of a planned language may be also how its author manages to realise all these conditions on the particular structure levels in their project in a proportional ratio to each other (Blanke 1985).

For the codification of planned languages usually the Latin alphabet is preferred, while its orthography should be phonetically oriented as it makes the language easier to learn and the correlation between the sound and grapheme is of crucial importance when it comes to the computational processing of an artificial language. In such languages it is also necessary to define the borders between phonemes and accept capital and minuscule letters at least at the beginning of a sentence. If such planned languages are written by means of specific scripts or combinations of letters and symbols devised by their authors, they will be hardly successful as their command would need some special efforts from people who want to know them. It is generally assumed that people are lazy in principle and thus not many of them would take on this task, even if it was really worth trying it.

As far as the origin of lexicon in a planned language is concerned, there are principally two possibilities of the adaptation of the linguistic material to them, namely in an a priori and a posteriori way. The vocabulary can be created in accordance with the fixed rules independently from ethnic languages where the classification of ideas and notions along with the notations of their classes and subclasses through the consonants and vowels can be made on the basis of the construction of morphemes. However, such lexical material can hardly be classed as international and such language is not likely to be seriously considered by linguists because of its structure. There is also other possibility of the adaptation of vocabulary from ethnic languages which is a posteriori in character. This is necessary for an artificial language to achieve its internationality which can be Romance (but not only, e.g. Slavic), European and global. The advocates of Romance internationality take the line that their languages have the traits of Western European latinised languages and thus they can be easily understood by people who have a good command of at least one Romance language. On the other hand, however, such languages whose lexicon consists of Romance word stems and internationalisms can be not necessarily so much easy to learn for people from other cultural circles. The supporters of European internationality of planned languages include non-Romance languages as source languages, for example English or Russian. Such languages according to Jespersen should be equipped with a vocabulary that is rooted in the European civilisation but their chief disadvantage is that the words from latinised languages may pose serious difficulties associated with the command of such languages by Asians or Africans to whom the European cultures and lifestyles may be unknown. For such people the condition of planned language's easiness cannot be met, say, on its lexical level. The global internationality of a planned languages consist in the proportional consideration of non-European vocabulary into an artificial language, which is practically impossible. Such languages could be positively accepted in the Islamic, Indian, Far-Eastern and African and American cultures. Nevertheless, this solution would be quite harshly opposed by people living in the Western culture circle. Most of them would not favour the idea of devising a language that would be based at least on Arabic, Sanskrit or even Bantu languages, that is universal languages whose amalgamation

could be taken into consideration in the future. Even though the absolute internationality of a planned language was ever accomplished, which would include the peculiarities of all world's languages, such internationality would serve to no one as the lexicon would offer no help in the international communication because of its too large heterogeneity. It should not be overlooked that the number of words should be limited in a planned language in order to ease its learnability, whereas its roots must remain invariable (Haugen 1972). It can be of interest to say that even if the introduction of a universal language was ever achieved for global communication, it would be of particular importance to think about a universal culture, which would be rather doomed to failure as the language is deeply entrenched in culture. Since language is the carrier of cultural values in a given community, a neutral culture for such a global language would have to be created, which could be rather impossible. Nevertheless, such a neutral culture could admittedly be incompatible for some ethnic groups, for example for the Arabs who despise the Western European culture of the infidels.

Tauli (1968) wrote that an appropriately planned language should be marked by simple grammar. Simple grammatical solutions in the so called contact languages or pidgins may be a good cue for language planners, while the easiness and regularity of artificial languages has to be expressed by an unambiguous correlation between the symbol and its grammatical function. It is useful for a planned language (usually based on the European lexicon) to possess a relatively simple grammar that can be practical for computational processing. Even though I don't fully believe if the mankind will ever be able to create such an auxiliary language that would be reconcilable with the cultural norms of all people living in our world by their eventual amalgamation, it is worth trying to create such language at least for computational processing, which would ease the specialists from different fields of science (also linguists) the processing of data that is now hindered by the existence of diverse systems of writing. If we had a uniform language for IT processing, our world would be developing even quicker, which in the consequence would result in long awaited scientific discoveries.

2.5. The feasibility of language planning in ethnic and of artificial languages

Even though several linguists in the past were of the opinion that a language cannot be deliberately directed or changed, they overlooked the social phenomenon of a language which implies that language can undergo some specific changes in the same way as some social customs or codes can be changed. Even Saussure seemed to show the ignorance of facts when he claimed that people are bound to the language as it is. Based on these changes are even standard and literary languages which are arbitrary creation either to a greater or a lesser extent. When linguist Schuchardt maintained in 1904 that all the natural languages are more or less artificial and all artificial languages are more or less natural, he meant that the difference between the natural and artificial language is only one of degree. By this it can be understood that both arbitrary and created elements occur in all languages. The fact that grammarians can heavily influence literary and colloquial standard languages proves that deliberate change in the language use are also possible. However, it should be admitted that planning in artificial languages is feasible only in Esperanto as this language met all the

criteria for a fully-fledged natural language. As for other auxiliary languages, most of them are solely written projects with no language community, so it is not possible to plan them in such a way that Esperanto can be planned inside its structure and use. For example the planning of Esperanto means the selection of language and its structure, its codification, writing textbooks and issuing periodicals, the existence of original or translated literature, elaboration of terminology by a language academy or similar bodies, while the planning in Esperanto is associated with a language community that passes this language to their children, decides about the provenance of neologisms and modern words and makes substantial changes in the structure of Esperanto if necessary. The lack of language communities in other less developed planned languages means that only the planning of such languages and not in them is attainable. Language changes can be beneficially influenced by grammarians and writers, especially in syntax and vocabulary, as the new words can be created not only for new concept but also replace everyday words by other ones, which is a deliberate intervention into a language both by purists and language planners. In Ethiopia, for example, the Amharic linguists prefer to replace the Amharic word for 'carriage' (*furgo*) that was derived from the French word 'fourgon' – baggage car for *särägälla* 'chariot', even though the word *furgo* of the French roots which was fossilised in the Ethiopian culture for decades is now widely used by the Ethiopian journalists in the context of the new railway that was constructed not by the French but by the Chinese. Nevertheless the role played by conscious intervention in the new national languages in Africa is still little studied.

Not much is presently known about the deliberate changes of linguistic usage in the languages of preliterate people because of their strict social norms and numerous taboos. Individual intervention, deliberate planning and improvement are also possible in the Amharic language. Many Ethiopian linguists and journalists coin the necessary equivalents of notions from foreign languages. There are numerous linguistic commissions for various fields of science and technology and also for linguistics and other humanities which discuss the needs of technical vocabulary in Amharic and by evaluating the suggestions of specialists from science as to the possible denotations of terminology make binding decisions about the shapes of neologisms for Amharic. They also deal with the question of replacing old and lame terminological borrowings from European languages with the predominance of English by the distinguished equivalents constructed with the usage of the Ge'ez lexicon. After that the use of new coinages is promoted in the scientific articles and the Ethiopian press but it's often up to the users of Amharic whether the proposed neologisms will be permanently included into the corpus of that African language. Even though there are sizeable vocabularies and glossaries in which the current neologisms are featured, a number of the coinages will probably be never used. This is because of a very poor command of the Classical Ethiopic language by today's Ethiopians (Takkele Taddese 2000). As for language planning, it is also important in science as well as in social life because syntactic structures influence and facilitate thinking while the categorisation of the world by ordinary people is dependent on the vocabulary of the national languages. Since every language has its proper needs when it comes to language planning, there are languages with a long literary tradition, a relatively simple morphology and small dialectal differences and languages with a short literary tradition, a complicated grammar,

extensive dialectal differences not to mention numerous competitive forms of the standardised languages which can be found in Asia and Africa. Such languages need a number of neologisms as they have never been the carriers of a complex culture until the 19th century. This is the case of Amharic, where it was difficult or almost impossible to coin the equivalents of the European cultural terminology on the basis of the Amharic and Ge'ez vocabulary (for reference see Kozicki 2018).

Particularly after the end of the communist rule in Ethiopia in 1991 there was a rapid development of neologisms in the Amharic language. Various linguistic and scientific commissions have been discussing on the shape of Amharic as a means of scientific communication in the country and they have published numerous dictionaries and books with technical terms for the Amharic speakers in Ethiopia. Other problems are faced by the authorities of the countries where there are no national and regional languages. In such cases good principles are necessary to be set by experienced linguists in order to create new familiar and literary languages. Also the extralinguistic factors play a significant role in the mentioned cases that have to be considered in the formation of new languages so that they could be effective for language communities. Not only should a proper dialect or more dialects be selected on the basis of which the standardised language should be created. Of particular importance is also the formation of norms in this language as well as its adaptation to the new cultural and social needs (Takkele Taddese 2000).

Language planning is also feasible in artificial languages, usually to a much more extent than in natural languages. As the natural and social environments of human beings are plannable, which can be transferred to languages and implied in their terminology. It is generally understood that the most important languages, also with regard to the artificial ones, in which the scientific terminology is to be fixed, should have the capacities to express the word families with the use of derived forms of the same morphemes in the noun, verbal or adjectival forms of the word so that the coining of different terms could be relatively easy and realisable.

In the understanding of E. Wüster and his followers, planned languages are targeted for international communication, though to their specific communicational role can be attributed the fact that the construction of such languages should be used in the interest of unambiguous clarity when it comes to such systems as Esperanto, Ido or Interlingua. There are however different relations between the phenomenon of language planning and the creation of artificial languages. Firstly, there is no clear difference between the conscientious regularisation within a national language and the use of e.g. Romance (but not only) vocabulary in the creation of an artificial language. If the language planning influence of men was focused on the discussed examples on specific domains of the language, this would concern the planning of a language as the entire system (Haugen 1972).

In the synopses of planned languages which can be found in some scientific works, different systems are not rarely juxtaposed as undifferentiated. Even though their most important traits are properly described, it is not sufficiently known whether those project were functioning in practice and if so then to what extent. Some interlinguists have a predilection to present the structural details of their projects in an overvalued way when it comes to their

practical use in a real social communication. Even if some projects have all the necessary traits of the functioning languages and thus they can be classified as languages, a language can have fully developed phonetics and grammar along with notions with stable meanings only if it is used in every day communication because the construction of morphemes can be ascertained as the carrier of a single meaning solely in the process of communication. It is commonly understood among linguists that systems without the existent semantic levels are not languages as languages are recognised as social phenomena, which is not clear enough for some conlangers. Although it is not difficult for a philologist or a linguistically educated individual to create an artificial language, the main problem is to bring the project in the communicational practice. It can be of use to reiterate that for the clarification of different degrees of a planned language's use, Blanke created a scale corresponding to the 28 grades of their application (see in Barandovská-Frank 2017), which was fully met as a condition only by Esperanto. This scale allows the interlinguist to classify artificial languages into three categories with regard to their real role in communication, namely language projects, semi-planned languages and planned languages.

2.6. The theory of language planning of Valter Tauli and Einar Haugen

Even though language planning is a relatively new term in linguistics, the phenomena described by it are familiar to all. In many places and at many times different programs have been proposed by men so as to influence the development of language in one way or another. It should be borne in mind that a number of such projects pertained to the matters of orthography and phonology as well as grammar, lexicon and style. According to Haugen (1972), in the term language planning are included normative activities of language academies and committees, in other words all what is commonly known as language cultivation. It is the planning of language that brings the entire enterprise of cultivation and reform of language under the viewpoint of social planning, which becomes more and more an important feature of modern life. On the one hand, social planning can be defined as the establishment of policies, goals and procedures for a social or economic unit. On the other hand, one can define language planning as the establishment of goals, policies and procedures for a language community.

Many linguists categorise language planning as part of applied linguistics because of the considerable differences from pure linguistics in terms of the requirement of the exercise of judgement in regard to the problems of language teaching. Nevertheless, language planning is also a social problem that requires the aid of social sciences for its solutions. So language needs an applied science for it, which serves for the elementary needs of communication. One can thus infer that language planning as a social science must have adequate methods in order to investigate the social functions of the language not to mention the respective prerequisites in the linguistic structure and in society. For the tremendous tasks of applied linguistics one should dispose of specially trained scientists who can be wholly devoted only to this work. Language planning can be abandoned neither to amateurs nor to traditional linguists. In the words of Tauli (1968), the theory of language planning can be classified as applied science

only in the meaning that its results are applicable to practical goals. I am inclined to support the idea of language planning as part of applied linguistics as the scientific treatment of this phenomenon needs a significant reference to social sciences for the right solutions of its problems. Language planning relies not only on the improvement of the language's corpus but also on the status and acquisition planning of different languages of the world. If one wants to change the status of a language, political and social sciences have to be taken into consideration for the plan to succeed. Consequently, the acquisition planning of a language requires a good knowledge of education science and psychology for the deployment of well-conceived and effective strategies of education. That is why the results of language planning should be practical and goal-oriented. If they are not, the theory of language planning makes no sense (Tauli 1968).

Haugen (1972) wrote that planning as a human activity arises from the need to find a solution to a problem which can be either completely informal or ad hoc or organised and deliberate. This means that not only private individuals but also official authorities can undertake the task of language planning. If it is well done, language planning can include such steps as effective fact-finding, the consideration of alternative plans of action, decision making as well as its implementation in specified ways. Wherever there are language problems or a linguistic situation is felt to be unsatisfactory, there is much to be done by adequate language planning. Although it can be possible to put into question a scientific value to the process of value and choice, the matter of choice in language still remains open, for each individual has to learn a language anew and they never learn the language of their teachers. It is sufficient to guarantee that there must be some area of choice because people can change their languages in the course of their lives and language planning is an attempt to influence these choices. As in the case of any evaluation, one can assume that there are standards against which different linguistic innovations can be evaluated. However, language planning is not committed to advocating either uniformity and diversity among different speakers or groups nor to the promotion or prevention of change. Even though language planning may work either for purification or hybridisation by advocating expanding or restricting the resources of a language, it should not be too efficient at the expense of beauty. Language planning may work for a shift to some other language but it is never committed to the maintenance of a language for which it plans. Also making right decisions holds for language planning for it results in the selection from a socially defined and limited number of problematic or alternative versions of one project so as to precipitate the particular future state of affairs conceptualized by decision makers.

Of particular importance for language planning are the respective roles of speech and writing but it is commonly recognized by linguists that writing is historically secondary to speech. But in the study of language planning this relationship is being reversed and this may be one reason for the comparative lack of interest among linguists in the planning of language. By considering as primary what the linguist regards as secondary and assigns value to something which the linguists consider as a shadow of reality, language planning is often not taken seriously by traditional linguists. But the main reason for this reversal is that writing functions as the medium of communication between speakers separated in time and space so

that the importance of writing for the community requires a different kind of treatment from that which is accorded in natural speech. In this sense writing no longer remains solely as a mere record but it comes to embody a code of its own, by which the community speech may be influenced (Tauli 1968).

One can analyse the relation of a written language to the idiolectal codes of its users into a dual translation. Having started with any given idiolect, a linguist can apply his techniques and come up with an accurate and exhaustive record of the idiolect in the form of a standard linguistic description, which is known as the speaker's grapholect or a precise record of their idiolect. There are however perceptive differences between grapholect and idiolect as the grapholect can be edited, analysed, delayed and stabilized. If the grapholect can be edited, it means that it contains none of the innumerable and unpredictable erroneous utterances and false starts of the real speaker. When the grapholect is analysable, such sequential units as the phonemes and the words are separated instead of being fused. Delayed means that one can learn the grapholect as a second language. The stability of a grapholect implies that it has greater storage capacity and carrying power and therefore encourages repetition as well as stability in its forms. Nevertheless, the grapholect is not yet an orthography for the second translation has to take place in order to adapt it to the needs of other idiolects, which is called a compromise of grapholects. Some linguists point out that an ideal orthography should provide some degree of morphemic stability by being morphonemic. This means that it should permit alternate interpretation of the symbols for the different idiolects to read their own sounds into it. Moreover, an ideal orthography should be uniform so that diverse speech habits can be translated into it (Haugen 1972).

Even though I understand the claims of linguists for whom it is irrational to make a prescriptive improvements for a language since writing is used for communication by people separated in time and space, I support the arguments of Tauli and Haugen that writing is much more useful for the influence of the community's speech than speaking. As for writing, this form can be edited, analysed and stabilized, which is not always manageable for speaking. Advantageous for the grapholect is also that it is devoid of unpredictable and erroneous utterances as opposed to speaking and that its storage capacity is much greater than in the case of speaking. Admittedly, an idiolect is necessary for the formation of orthography, otherwise it can be marked by the lack of morphemic stability and the wrong interpretation of the symbols. Notwithstanding the fact that even the best improved writing still remains a record, it can be regarded by the community as a code, which can exert an impact on people's speech.

Nevertheless, a standard orthography can be to some extent independent of the speech habits of its users, so it becomes a language of its own and not just a reflection of speech. This means a double learning problem for its learners as the gap between speech and writing is purely an encoding technique whereas the second gap appears between their idiolects and those reflected in the writing. It should be borne in mind that the second gap can lead to actual linguistic change under the influence of writing because writing can generate its own speech by being read aloud. So the reader can produce an idiolect different from his own by applying the translation rules he has learned to the extent that the grapholect is not identical with his. No matter how phonemically a language is spelled is this effect possible. Even though a

completely phonemic spelling will promote the uniformity of pronunciation, spelling pronunciations are rather unpopular among linguists but there are such languages as German where other pronunciation than the spelling one would be inconceivable (Tauli 1968).

Also important in a consideration for language planning is the problem of style in language. The style goes back beyond the invention of writing even if it is closely associated with the distinction between speech and writing. Certain genres of discourses can be identified which promote linguistic formality even in non-literate societies such as laws, rituals or epics. In those aforementioned example the language departs from that of everyday speaking. It is marked by being more dignified, distinct and memorable. As the styles are particularly important for the life of the community, they must be memorized and passed on unaltered form from generation to generation. Having been entrusted to the priest, the lawyer or the bard, they are evidently conserved by them. In this way the language that comes down from the past is usually public and official as it is based on the situation of one speaking to many and for many. It is also commonly assumed that writing enormously extends the size of memory storage along with its accuracy (Tauli 1968).

In the opinion of Haugen (1972), language planning is in principle conceivable wherever there is a failure of communication, which ranges along a scale from complete success to complete failure. Having taken these extremes and the mean of that parameter, one can establish three kinds of communicatory situations, namely the face-to-face primary speech community, the secondary and tertiary speech community. In the primary speech community the differences between the speakers are idiosyncratic or idiolectal, whereas in a secondary speech community there is partial understanding. No understanding is though in the tertiary speech communities, which requires interpreters. It is the secondary speech community that is ripe enough for a national language while the tertiary one needs an international or auxiliary language and both of them are instances of situations where language planning can be called on for assistance and development. Language planning is however superfluous in a primary speech community as the immediate necessities of communication could have provided the corrective to individual anarchy. This means that each learner is corrected on the spot both by other learners and their other models until they have learned to conform to the best of their abilities so the linguistic code is internalised by each member of the community.

These three kinds of communicatory situations can be accurately observed in Ethiopia, where we have primary speech communities such as the peoples living in the Omo River Valley who use local languages, the secondary speech communities such as the Somalis or the Gurage who have a good command of Amharic and other African languages as well as the tertiary speech communities who speak Amharic as a national language and who are more or less fluent in a super-regional and super-national language, for example English. In the primary situations language planning is not necessary as the learners correct each other on the spot and they quickly conform to the language's rules. Even if such languages are marked by significant dialectal differences, the process of communication is rather not hindered. As the new languages for regional and international communication are needed by secondary and tertiary speech communities, language planning policies are there all the more necessary for

the maintenance of local languages and cultures. These languages are thoroughly developed and modified so that they can be used in all domains of life. This can be illustrated by the rapid development of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinia and other languages of regional communication in Ethiopia (for reference see Mesfin Wodajo 2014).

In unwritten languages there is a problem of providing an orthography. Even if such languages have an orthography, it may be either inadequate for its users or there may be competing orthographies. Although the orthography seems to be adequate or so well established without a reasonable hope of change, there may be variations within the standard which are subject to evaluation which may affect pronunciation, grammar, syntax or lexicon. There can be divergent opinions on which is either desirable and therefore to be promoted or undesirable and therefore to be discouraged. Apparently, such judgements can be made in all speech communities, that is from the simplest to the more complex ones (Haugen 1972).

In the recorded history of humanity, there have been various interventions to the form of language from the antiquity up to the present. Even though the grammars of Greek and Latin appeared already in ancient times and curiously after the classical periods of these languages, they were essentially codifications of an already accepted norm. It is usually assumed that codification is one of the marks of a standard language but there is a considerable difference if it is merely a linguist's description of an accepted norm for example in literature or polite speech or is conceived of as fixing or even creating that norm. Despite the term codification means the explicit statement of the code in the form of an orthography, a grammar or a lexicon, the attitude towards the codifier and his own conception of their role has radically changed through time including the meaning of the word 'code'. It was not until the 19th and 20th century when the heaviest demand for codifiers did arise, primarily as a consequence of the American and French Revolutions as well as the spread of literacy.

The problem of teaching was then reaching the masses and books became the instruments of instruction. What required standardisation were the technological demands of the printing press and some population were being pressured into a new language, the incognizance of which resulted in the fact that they became second-class citizens in their own country. As a result of codifications either by individuals or government commissions and academies new languages were established in different countries. Such linguists or patriots as Aasen in Norway, Mistral in Provence or Aavik in Estonia left in their work something to be desired as pure linguistics. As for the Ministries of Education in many European countries with a universal public school system exercised control over the orthography or grammar in their language. There is also a wide range of organisations between the extremes of private initiative and dictatorship which have undertaken language planning on behalf of some linguistic form including churches, societies or schools of literature and science.

Open to a program of language planning are also some of the alternative courses of action, especially within the second speech community i.e. nations. Although such sub-national groups as the Welsh or such trans-national groups like the Jews have language problems of the same order as nations, they lack official organs of support and because of that they must get along as best they can in their language planning efforts. One should bear in mind that language doesn't serve solely as a means of social cooperation but it is also a means

of individual expression which leads to the uniformity of code and to diversity respectively (Haugen 1972). I support the statement of Haugen that language not so much is used for social communication as for the individual expression. If a language is not sufficiently planned and standardised, it is difficult to be used in writing as it too much resembles its written form. This problem is clearly visible in the 19th century varieties of Amharic. Even though they were successfully used for social communication, the lack of their proper standardisation caused that their use in writing was rather awkward and stylistically poor. To make matters worse, the relatively short history of the use of written Amharic and its limited capacity of incorporating neologisms from the European cultural terms, at least at the turn of the 20th century, posed and still poses a major challenge for the Ethiopian linguists and technical professionals so that the language could be used on a large scale in every domain of life and science. Without a well-conceived language planning, these capacities of modern Amharic could not have been widely extended.

The goal of planning cannot be identified as an absolutely uniform code, which is the source of errors made by some would-be planners. It is impossible to fix a language for all time or to impose a single standard on speakers with the most diverse dialects. This is the case of the incompetent interference of the Ethiopian authorities into the compulsory unification of some Oromo ethnic groups in the 1990s. On the strength of the governmental decisions the Ethiopian linguists created a notorious *Wogagoda* language project which was based on the Wolaita, Gamo, Gofa, Dawro and Kano varieties of the Oromo language. The Ethiopian government failed to take into consideration that these ethnic groups lived at loggerheads with one another and even though a considerable sum of money was spent on the printing of educational facilities, all the money was thrown down the drain, for the ethnic groups rebelled against the imposition of a new language (Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

Interestingly, planning can envisage the replacement of many by one or of one by many, which means that there can be planning for diversity as well as for uniformity or stability. As this is the definition of any language form even that of the primary speech community, which is nothing peculiar to a standard language. It should be remarked that stability is the diachronic correlate to uniformity but flexibility is the diachronic correlate to diversity. A living language norm provides for its users a varying margin of elasticity and diversity being constantly stable and uniform. One can also define all change as replacement as the evaluation of a language may decide in favour of many rather than one or one rather than many (Tauli 1968).

It is necessary for language planners to establish the limitations of change before any decision on language planning is made. Having entered the situation at a given point in time or space, the first task of language planner is to identify the language in question, which may not be an easy thing to do. For example, the Norwegian language reformer Ivar Aasen had to identify the Norwegian language as a norm existing only in a variety of rural dialects when he set out to recover the Norwegian language from its eclipse in the Middle Ages, which was thought by most people as degenerate varieties of Danish. For the identification of language, its planner has to establish its history so that language norms can be created by a combination of internal reconstruction and comparative linguistics. It is the task of linguistic geography

and history to combine to fix limits of the possible proposals that one can make (Haugen 1972). For example, a similar situation with the identification of the roots of the Amharic language took place in Ethiopia. Because of the scarcity of written documents in the oldest varieties of Amharic it was assumed that this language had come into being in south-western Ethiopia either as a pidgin or as a language heavily influenced by Ge'ez and different Cushitic languages in the neighbourhood of the Amhara region. Also the Norwegian language was claimed to have descended from the Old Norse dialects, though this cannot be firmly proved because of the lack of written data. Although Amharic rapidly evolved in speech, it was not popular in writing until the middle of the 19th century. As opposed to the linguistic situation in Norway around the same time, when Aasen's Norwegian was compiled from a variety of rural dialects, Amharic in Ethiopia was a fully-fledged language, though marked by several dialects. While the standardised variety of Amharic based on the neutral dialect of Addis Ababa was met with approval of the Amharic speakers, the partly artificial project of Norwegian by Ivar Aasen brought a fierce conflict among the Norwegian elites until it was approved for official use in 1885.

The projections of the planner can be further limited, which is constituted by the state of the spoken and written tradition that is proposed to be reformed. Only the speech norms of the community are considered when one has to standardise the language of a non-literate nation. When there is only one norm, the problem of a language planner to provide an orthography is only technical in character whereas in case of plural norms, they are faced with a set of choices that will incite not only the entire panoply of problems but also the need of evaluation. The task of language planner can be more complicated in case of two or more existing orthographies if they don't choose to build on one of these and solely patch it up in some way. The planner can however be powerless in case of any illiterate community with some tradition behind and where there is a whole set of convictions and realisations concerning both speech and writing (Haugen 1972).

There are different criteria for language planning which should be taken into account by professional planners. First of all, modern linguist should refute the models that are found in the past, especially the organismic view that language is an evolving organism which is beyond the control of the human reason. One should bear in mind that most of these criteria are aspects of efficiency which means that the best language is most easily uttered and understood. Even though the interests of the speaker may not be identical with those of the hearer, communication is in practice achieved by a precarious balance between the speaker economy of utterance and the hearer's economy of perception as writing lacks the immediate correction of an audience and because of that it requires that the writer anticipates the needs of reader. What is more, writing lacks a number of the devices of speech for securing clarity that is intonations and gestures and therefore it has to make up for these by explicit signals. For example, Chinese characters are supposed by those who know them to be more rapid to read than the alphabetic representations of the same units but the cost of learning is clearly quite high. Despite English spelling bears only an imperfect relationship to any kind of English pronunciation, its unphonemic quality gives it morphemic identity, which means that it is of greater familiarity and ease for learning for European learners. It is commonly

understood by linguists and language planners that a form is efficient only if it is easy to learn and use (Tauli 1968). To illustrate the aforementioned statement of Tauli, the problem of the use of the Ge'ez structures for the replacement of English loanwords can be given. Even though these Ge'ez-based neologisms, that on the one hand refer to the classical heritage of Ethiopia, seem to be the most appropriate when it comes to the care for the contemporary form of Amharic, their use in the everyday communication of the Amharic speakers can be on the other hand counter-productive, all the more that their command of Ge'ez is rather unsatisfactory. As an example one can give the Ge'ez counterpart of the term 'university' (*awdä məhər*) [lit. the place of science] that nobody uses in today's Ethiopia. This indicates that even the best ideas of the Amharic linguists or other educated people may be turned down regardless of their good intentions (see Kozicki 2018).

Adequacy is another criterion of language planning wherever it occurs. It is the capacity of the language that meets the needs of its users as an instrument of referential meaning. At this point language planning is brought into play in creating terms to correspond to the needs of modern science. In order to extend the lexicon as far as speakers need it for everyday purposes, these devices are always available in the primary speech community whereas in the secondary speech community such needs are often stimulated by contact with other nations as well as translations from their languages. Another kind of adequacy that is nourished within the nation is not so much less likely to affect the purely national area but it rather fall within the more intimate personal life of its users. Not only is a language extended in adequacy by an extensive terminology of science and philosophy but also by a well-developed terminology of emotional and poetic expressiveness. So that a more vivid and homely flavour be imparted to writing, language planning may call for the encouragement of words from rural dialects. This is also typical for all countries of Scandinavia where language planners have long regarded a study of the dialects as a stimulus in order to enrich standard languages (Tauli 1968).

Acceptability as the third important criterion for successful language planning can be understood as the sociological component of evaluation which corresponds to what previous students of the subject called usage as a standard of correctness. According to Jespersen (1960), there are three types of usage, namely intelligible, correct and good. The intelligible usage meets the barest minimum of communication whereas the correct one meets all the conventional requirements of the language norms. The good usage, in turn, meets certain higher standards of either clarity and beauty, which stirs the admiration of its audience. These differences refer to varying degrees of acceptability within the secondary speech community and because this community is neither homogeneous nor completely heterogeneous as a complex pattern of disjunctions can be shown that build up usage differentials and consequent drifts in language.

A channel of communication with the outer world can be simultaneously formed by the standard at least to the extent that translations from other languages are made into it. This means that even though its user may be excluded from direct participation in the life of other nations, they gain greater access to them than they otherwise would. That is because they have a language that is capable of rendering the ideas of other and possible more significant

nations. The outside world influences the national standard and this standard can be threatened in its distinctiveness by the languages of that world. A language planner is faced with choices as to whose usage to follow whether they are setting up a national standard or attempting to modify it. Although in most European nations it is accepted that it is an elite which is marked by power, wealth, birth or education leads all the proposed changes in a language, in newer nations and more recent times this elite is either non-existent or is deliberately bypassed. Apart from these problems there may be also a conflict of geographically separated dialects that can claim their rights as a language but the right form of a proposed language should be adopted or adoptable by the lead of whatever society is involved. Although these three rules of efficiency, adequacy and acceptability may diverge or converge in any concrete instance, they overlap to some extent and interact in different ways so their relevance differs according to circumstances (Haugen 1972).

As far as the implementation of language planning is concerned, it can be done either by private individuals or governmental organisations. Even though private persons have no other weight than their personal and professional authority, it is the government who has control over the school system and thus it can train or retrain a population in its writing habits. It should be borne in mind that the success of such programs differs considerably according to the extent of need which they fulfil in the population. When the implementation of language planning is considered as a problem in language learning, it resolves itself into the usual dilemma of the language teacher, for language teaching has basically only two kinds of instruments at its disposal, namely models for imitation in the form of spoken or written texts provided by informants as well as a set of rules known collectively as grammar which are provided by linguists. Although a language can be best learned from informants who provide models of behaviour, they should be supplemented for adults with explicit rules. It is not only necessary for a competent language planner to codify the language but also to produce texts (Tauli 1968). This was achieved by Aasen and Zamenhof in Norwegian and Esperanto respectively who apart from the sole codification of their languages wrote poetry and prose, which established the possibility of writing as well as it inspired others to follow their examples.

Crucial for the adequate language planning is the role of linguists as well as technical specialists, even if they are not necessarily equipped to pursue language planning. As literary men rarely possess the technical knowledge of linguistic patterns in order to be able to say what they do with language, it is the linguist (though not always) who can make substantial changes to the language. From a historical point of view, linguists have participated in all successful programs of language planning in the history of the world and they were either technical consultants or prime movers. They can help to foster any forms of language planning as historians, descriptivists, theoreticians and teachers (Tauli 1968). It is no different in the case of Amharic where linguists substantially change their language in order to get it right for all the domains of its use. Thus I share the opinion of Tauli that even for the best literary scholars that prepare the monolingual dictionaries for Amharic it is important to consult linguistic patterns with linguists as their sensitivity to linguistic nuances can be sometimes insufficient for what they do with their language in spite of their best intentions.

3. The contemporary knowledge on language planning

As for the structural framework of language planning, it looks at the various stages and activities which are supposed to occur as part of the planning process. It was attempted by researches in language planning to differentiate two kinds of activities, namely those that are concerned specially with attempts to modify the language itself as well as those concerned with attempts to modify the environment in which the language is used, which are designated as corpus and status planning respectively. In practice it is virtually impossible to separate these two activities because any change in the character of a language is likely to result in a change in the use environment. What is more, any change in the usage environment is likely to induce a change in the character of the language.

It has been repeatedly attempted over the years to define the activities which make up the language planning process and provide a descriptive model of these processes, which was made by Haugen in 1983. His model shows that one can view the activities which make up the language planning from either a societal or a language focus. The first one is called status planning and it consists of those decisions that should be made by a society about language selection and the implementation to choose and disseminate the language or languages that were selected. By the language focus one should understand corpus planning which consists of linguistic decisions that are needed to be made in order to codify and elaborate a language or languages. By these two foci the basis for an overview is made for all these activities that make up the language planning process. One can also examine this model in terms of form or policy planning with its emphasis on both basic language policy decisions and their implementation and on function or language cultivation where language teaching along with extended language development and use should be highlighted.

3.1. Status planning

Haugen's model (Haugen 1983) implies that the planning process always begins with a status planning decision. Also in Ethiopia the status of Geez and of Amharic at a later time was officially sanctioned by their rulers. One can define the status planning as these aspects of language planning that reflect primarily social issues and concerns and because of that they are external to the language being planned. Language selection and language implementation are thus the two status issues that make up the model. In regard to the selection of a language, it focuses on the development of language policy and involves the choice of a language or languages for a society through its political leaders and these decisions are usually made from among competing languages or dialects. The selected language or language items set up the particular linguistic form and such form is to be the norm which is to have status within society. Taking the example provided by the former colonial territories in Sub-Saharan Africa that became independent states in the early 1960s, there are some immediately identifiable problems that need political solutions. First and foremost, a state must have a language or languages in which it should communicate with its citizens. What is more the need for a

language or languages for communication must be recognised by the state, which must subsequently choose one or more languages for official purposes. This is of course not an easy task especially in many African countries where polyglot communities that contain populations speaking anywhere from two or three to several hundred languages. As for Africa, it has been argued that if Africa's autochthonic languages, that is the non-European African ones, are to contribute to this process, one should create an appropriate environment through the revalorising of these languages where there is an appreciation of the contribution that they make to social and cultural life (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). This problem can be illustrated by the example of linguistic situation in Ethiopia, where the Amharic language is one of the 80 languages spoken in the country. In spite of the growing popularity of English as an interlanguage in a number of the Ethiopian nations and nationalities, for many local communities the English language (as well as the Amharic one in some places) is a symbol of foreign domination and even colonisation to some extent. The current Ethiopian government is forced to confront this problem, all the more that they equated the status of Amharic with other 80 languages used by the Ethiopians. This can be solved by the introduction of regional and super-regional languages for the official communication. But for it to work, the Ethiopian authorities have to reckon with their citizens as only by the efficient co-operation at the local, regional and national level the desired results can be achieved. It should be however borne in mind that some of the local communities don't want for their languages to be adapted for the official communication and their opinion should be respected by the government. It is obviously much better to spend money for the modernisation of such languages whose speakers are willing to integrate with the central government. If their standard of living has been substantially improved, this can encourage some other local communities to make them civilized (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

It should be borne in mind that the selection of a national language or languages is not as simple as it seems to be. Even though vernacular languages provide the opportunity to establish a common history and heritage by which the unity can be facilitated, exogenous language often provide access to the external world. The choice of a national language should not isolate the country from the outside world but it shouldn't result in a big disruption to the social structure. Although different criteria for selecting a national language were proposed by Kloss and Steward (1968, in Cobarrubias 1983), which include such things as political neutrality, dominance, prestige, a great tradition and areal affinity, one should be aware that such criteria are themselves value laden so they cannot all be weighted equally. An exogenous language may be a feasible alternative when a country is at the point of making a language-selection decision and if it is also concerned about modernisation. Indisputable is also the fact that both language modernisation and the translation of key materials into a new language is a time-consuming and resource-intensive process and because of that most scientific and technical information is available in the major storage and retrieval networks and it occurs in one of the very few languages such as English, French, German or Russian. The fact that the vast majority of scientific and technical texts that are either published or abstracted in English and that most databases are organised using an English sociology of knowledge make English and other so-called world languages grave competitors for the position as national language.

Taking into considerations these conditions, the polities must choose among the available alternatives and their choices are not always easy. If the aim of the choice is to facilitate national unity, the former colonial language may not be a good choice even if it is spoken by an elite and probably provides access to the larger modern world. Not only may the colonial language be regarded as a symbol of oppression by some segments of the population but also it may not be spoken by any significant segment of the population. According to the criteria of domination, a language that is spoken by a clear numerical majority may be chosen on the condition that the choice is not opposed by other significant parts of population but it is in fact relatively rare that any single language is really spoken by a clear numerical majority in genuinely polyglot communities. Additionally, there may be other types of dominance that include the language of the capital city, the language of the wealthiest group (usually the military one) and the language of the political elite (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). For example in Ethiopia, the status of a national language, either Ge'ez or Amharic, was exclusively sanctioned by the government. This was on the one hand good for the prestige of that language and its unifying factor in Ethiopia, but on the other hand devastating for a number of the local communities whose languages, cultures and beliefs were always ruined by the emperors. In today's Ethiopia the attitude towards the leading status of Amharic is no longer as high for many Ethiopians as it used to be. With the excessive promotion of English by the ruling elites and the dislike of Amharic by the growing number of the young people in the areas where it was used for a not very long time, the Amharic language can be no longer the carrier of the Ethiopian civilization in the country and it may eventually disappear from the public space in favour of English or other vernacular languages of wider communication in Ethiopia if the appropriate measures are not taken on time. This can result in the eventual collapse of the Ethiopian state, which could be a total denial of the life's works of the most distinguished emperors of Ethiopia. This approach is even more baffling that after the time of the Fascist occupation of the country the Italian language has never been deeply rooted in the Ethiopian society that regarded it as the oppressor's language. Conversely, the germinating prestige of English in Ethiopia is more often regarded by the Ethiopians as the opening window to the world, though they don't seem to be conscious of the fact that the growing domination of English in their country will eventually strip them of their cultural identity (see Sharma 2013).

The language prestige is assumed to be the third dimension to status and corpus planning. If a national language is being chosen, it should create the least possible disruption in the polity. It makes little sense to chose the English language as a national language when other language are used in the function of an official language and no one in the polity speaks English or there is no particular emotional attraction to it among the population. The aforementioned example suggests that the leaders of a polity should have basic sociolinguistic information about the language situation in the country in order to make right decisions on language selection. Of particular importance is the knowledge on what segments of the population speak what languages, on the registers in which each language may be used, on the purposes served by the available languages and on the resources that are available for each of the competing language. What is more, an understanding of the emotional attitudes of the

population in regard to the primary candidate languages should be subsumed. Even though there are a number of ways that can be used to collect the information that is needed to provide a detailed description of the actual language situation and it is possible to change attitudes towards a particular language, such population-wide attitude modification is extremely expensive and time-consuming. In case of the selection of a foreign language that is likely to have its standard form, it often turns out that the variety of the colonial language most widely spoken in a given polity is not the same variety that is spoken in the former colonial power. Although the metropolitan variety has a number of advantages, it may not be spoken by many people. On the other hand, the local variety may be spoken by many people but it may preclude to some extent the wider communication for which it was chosen in the first place (Haugen 1972).

No less complex than the initial identification of a language is the allocation of norms. Having assumed that the choice of a language for a specific purpose was already accomplished, the next step is to deal with a series of problems with respect to the establishment of norms. As English has many varieties, there may be some problems associated with the selection of a variety that promises the greatest access to the world of commerce. In case of the selection of a local vernacular language one should take into consideration that it may not be standardised. One should also make right decisions as regards the variety of the local vernacular to be officialised. It may turn out that the local vernacular will have neither standardised lexicon or grammar nor standardised orthography. Possible may be also the fact that the lexicon of the local vernacular may not be particularly well suited to the needs of a modernising society, which means that new lexical items may need to be created in order to facilitate the language's ability to deal with modern concepts, especially in education (Haugen 1972). Also the Amharic languages had many varieties that eventually disappeared from use because of the lack of interest from the Ethiopian scholars, which resulted in the scarcity of written documents and records, and the growing hegemony of the variety of Addis Ababa that was heavily supported by the central ruling elites. Nevertheless, thanks to the selection of a neutral variety many social disturbances were avoided in the country. In spite of its standardised grammar, the Amharic language is not sufficiently well developed as for the new lexical items. A number of concepts intended for the replacement of English loanwords are based on Ge'ez that is not well known by the majority of Amharic speakers, which causes that the phonetically awkward notions taken from English are deeply ingrained in Amharic. Even though substantial sums of money are spent on publishing glossaries with current neologisms based on Ge'ez, rarely do such books meet with a positive response from the users of Amharic (Kozicki 2018).

As for the language implementation plan, it focuses on the adoption and spread of the language form that was chosen and codified, which is often done through the educational system as well as through other laws or regulations which encourage or require the use of the standard and probably discourage the use of other languages or dialects. With the coming of mass education the language implementation became major issue. Nevertheless, the choice of any standard will surely disadvantage some members of a heterogeneous community.

Language planners also use the term 'correction' in order to describe the specific

measures that are taken to implement the social aspects of a language plan. It is necessary to devise strategies not only to promote language spread but also to prevent the development of a linguistic underclass that has no access to the language change. Even though the major role in the implementation of correction procedures is played by the formal educational system, it is obvious that the education sector alone is not capable of providing for language correction, which occurs partly because dissemination through the education system requires several generations and partly because of the lack of the authority in the education system to impact on other segments of society. It is the Ministry of Education that decides for example what segment of the school day will be allocated to language education, what the objectives of instruction are at each level, what training the teachers will receive over what period of time or how to induce students to undertake study seriously and how to convince their parents that language study is a good idea. Evidently, other agencies of government may contribute to the spread of a given language or its variety by instigating tax incentives as it is done for French in Quebec in Canada, or by requiring bilingualism as a condition for employment in the civil service. Such strategies can be powerful incentives to the acquisition of a particular language or variety as only the government has the resources to mount a major campaign so as to modify attitudes in the population at large (Haugen 1972).

Apart from the implementation of strategies in order to modify a particular language situation, it is equally important to monitor and evaluate the success of the strategies and progress shown towards implementation. It is obligatory for such evaluation to occur simultaneously at two levels, namely at the level of the plan itself and as an evaluation of the effect of the plan on different sectors of the population since language plans and their consequences involve complex social change. As that evaluation is generally a neglected area of language planning, it is imperative to monitor that change not only at the level of the plan but also at the level of its societal outcomes as well as to make appropriate modifications where necessary (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). This also applies to the creation of technical terms in Amharic and their respective monitoring when it comes to the use of such notions in the speaking community. As the instruction of Ge'ez has small chances for success in today's Ethiopia, it is more useful for such terms to be coined on the basis of the Amharic morphology as often as it is possible.

Both Kaplan-Baldauf and Haugen (1997) emphasise that the selection of a standard language in a multilingual and multi-ethnic country is associated not only with a linguistic situation but also with socio-economic conditions in the state. Before a decision as to the adoption of a vernacular language or a language of the former coloniser is made, many socio-political issues should be given into consideration that were not exactly mentioned by Haugen and Kaplan-Baldauf. Of particular importance can be the social and economical ties with the coloniser or their lack, the diversity of nationalities in the country and the ethnic strife resulting from setting the boundaries irrespective of the ethnic groups that ended up in two or more separate countries. The reciprocal hostility of such nationalities to one another in a post-colonial country can be easily deteriorated by some not well thought through decisions of the authorities and language planners as to the choice of a standard language or its variety. This means that some conflicted ethnic groups might start fighting among themselves if a language

of their enemies is intended for codification and standardisation. That is why a well-thought language planning policy should be applied depending on the political and social circumstances in each country separately as a language policy that proved good in one country can not necessarily be applicable in another one with different problems. The implementation of a colonial language as the official language of a given country can be good in case of the ethnic tensions that could degenerate into a civil war but one should also bear in mind that the poor command of a European language among the indigenous people resulting from the coloniser's educational policy may involve too big expenses of the country's authorities on education and because of that it may be inefficient.

On the other hand, in some countries a vernacular language can be adopted for official communication. This requires a thorough study of an indigenous language and its varieties so that its standardisation could proceed without serious hindrances. From the political point of view, the variety for standardisation should be aptly chosen, taking into account the social circumstances of the language uses in order not to make unnecessary tensions between each of the groups. If a given country is comprised of more nationalities who communicate in many languages, it is wise to introduce a wider-spoken language on each level of communication i.e. local, regional and national. This is presently done in Ethiopia, where each ethnic language enjoys an equal status of recognition. Thanks to this policy, a great number out of almost 80 languages have been codified and standardised and they are more or less successfully used in primary, secondary or even university educational levels. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) rightly pointed out that governments should oversee and control and modify, if necessary, the language planning processes in their countries as without their intervention these linguistic efforts may get out of control. In a multilingual country it is good not to impose the standardisation policies on nationalities that are inclined to live in their own cultures as this may result in the reluctance of some ethnic groups to the central government and end up with physical violence. It is much better to standardise first the languages of such ethnic groups for whom it is important to change their living conditions by the affinity with central government and their policies. In this way the expenses on the standardisation of local languages will not be thrown down the drain.

3.2. Acquisition planning

As for the acquisition planning, it is a sub-category of status planning. It involves both the users of a language and the teaching and learning of that language. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) set out the following main aims of acquisition planning. Firstly, one has to decide what languages should be taught within the curriculum. Then the amount and quality of teacher training should be determined. Necessary can be also the involvement of local communities. With respect to the materials that will be used in education, they should be appropriately determined and incorporated into the syllabi. What is more, a local and state assessment system should be established in order to monitor progress. Finally, financial costs of the planning should be also taken into consideration.

The implementation of acquisition planning to a given community usually faces many problems associated with the lack of satisfaction from some segments of the community as

there will always be people for and against the plans, the expenses borne by governments and the time taken from constructing the plans, implementing them and seeing the results that can be very long to see the change. Obviously, these plans take years to have effect, which means that they need to be maintained long after initial efforts so as to have a lasting effect. Other problems are that acquisition planning may have the effect of removing a language from education, which can lessen people's sense of identity and culture. This is because many people see their language not only as the words that they use but also their culture, lifestyle and identity. Even though declaring a state language would lessen diversity in the community, this would be on the other hand advantageous for it as it would give the people a common ground in the way of language and could create a national identity (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). In Ethiopia, the Amharic language is the working language of the state sanctioned by the 1995 constitution. Nevertheless, many Ethiopian people are still dissatisfied with the status of Amharic, of which the largest group is arguably represented by the Oromos. As the capital city of Ethiopia is placed in the Oromo province, this ethnic group is strongly opposed to the domination of Amharic in the official communication in Addis Ababa. It is still not enough for the Oromo people that they have access to the press and media in their own language and that it is used even for university education. Their claims are partly justified as for most people with a poor command of Amharic it is difficult to apply for official positions in the central government. Notwithstanding this, if the Amharic language as a language of national communication has been removed from the Oromo province, many other nations and nationalities of Ethiopia can follow their steps and claim their regional or even local languages for official communication. If that happened, then the Federal Republic of Ethiopia would exist theoretically at most as the rejection of the Amharic language and Christian culture would soon cause too excessive fragmentation of the country and put its national integrity into question (see Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

With respect to the governments and state authorities, they can use their power to manipulate and influence certain aspects of language but they should be aware of the fact that raising the profile and prestige of one language will always be detrimental not only to the other languages spoken in the state but also to the speakers of these languages. There are a number of reasons for which language policies and laws relating to language and education can be introduced which can also include a desire to revive a dying or threatened language as well as to prevent language shift. Worth mentioning is that the most successful attempt of that took place in a Basque region of France where the Basque minority revitalised their language within education. Also in Latvia, the language shift in favour of Russian was prevented after the fall of the Soviet Union where the Latvian government passed a law which allowed teachers to teach only in the particular language i.e. Latvian. Although the UNESCO claims that the best medium of teaching a child is always in the mother language, it is not always possible to be taught in the mother tongue even in schools for the linguistic minority.

It is language planning that is an essential part of sound language revival program, which includes school-based revival programs. The research process not only helps the community to set realistic goals and strategies but also allows smaller projects to be incorporated into the overall strategy, which leads to more cohesion between what might

otherwise be a series of separate or disparate projects. An effective community voice contributes to the help of language planning to ensure that the community remains in control of setting the agenda for its internal language policy and not relinquishing it to outside agencies such as governments and educational bodies even though one cannot deny their roles within the plan (Dundon, 2004). I agree with the opinion of Dundon that the languages cannot be fully revived without a sound acquisition language planning. This can be supported by the example of language policy in Ethiopia where the language acquisition programs are mostly imposed top-down by the central government. On the one hand, the Ethiopian authorities have an unquestioned right to manage and control the language revival programs in their country, but on the other hand these plans will not necessarily get good results without an effective voice of the community. The failure of the language policy conducted by the communist junta in the years 1974-1991 should give the current ruling elites something to think about on the participation of the respective speaking communities in the revitalisation of their languages and the possible assimilation with the Amharic culture, all the more that the solutions approved by the central government don't differ significantly from these of their socialist predecessors. Even though many Ethiopian nations and nationalities have their own ideas as to the corpus revival of their languages, they are rather unlikely to be implemented Ethiopia-wide as the fixed plans of the central authorities are usually all that matters (Meyer 2006).

The entire language revival process is described by some linguists as a continuum the highest aspirational goal of which is to develop the programs that result in re-establishing a language that is no longer the language of communication in the speech community and to bring it back into full use in all domains of life. As part of the language revival project such issues as the loss of language in various domains can be dealt with, which might include the results of English dominance as the language of technology such as for example the loss of that type of vocabulary in the threatened language.

In the case of most languages spoken in south-western Ethiopia, they are under threat of extinction. Even though the goal of the language revival in the Federal Republic of Ethiopia may not be to restore all these languages to all domains, it is important that the program gets smaller and more manageable goals which can be seen by communities as important milestones that are reached during a much longer language reclamation project. In this project may be also included such elements as the development of language learning materials and resources. As this kind of program fits within the current policy and planning environment in Ethiopia, the funding can be thus allocated for discrete projects rather than ongoing programs. These projects will more effectively move the communities towards its ultimate goal only if they are planned in a way that enables the progressive achievement of smaller language revival outcomes. What will assist these communities in presenting a case for further funding commitments is a series of well-planned and inter-linked programs that can be shown to be advancing (Strazny 2011). I support the opinion of Strazny that the participation of the south-western Ethiopian communities in the revival programs of their languages should be more significant than it is now. They are expected to face up to the challenges that are tackled on them by the federal government, though they should not hesitate to prove their own inventiveness by drafting such revitalization programs for their

languages and cultures that will be in line with the specific conditions and situations at the local level. The engagement of such communities is worth an effort, all the more that their duly substantiated requests to the central government may receive a large amount of funding from the state budget.

One cannot understate the importance of the language revival process that is initiated by the community or by a member of the community. A language program that is initiated by people outside this community will be extremely unlikely to succeed in the long term unless it gathers strong community support and it is tailored to meet the needs of the community. For any language work carried on endangered languages is important and valuable it is useful for those involved in language planning for language revival projects to take into account all the three types of language planning, namely the status, corpus and acquisition ones as language revival is an essentially sociological process and because of that it is necessary to place a language within its wider social context. The concept of language planning can however be dangerous for the requirement for plans that are tailored in order to meet the needs of each individual community which it may seem to restrict. This can be avoided by some common steps that the communities can follow on their way to developing a language revival program for their languages. Before the program has begun, a number of questions have to be addressed, which can help language planners to develop a clear picture of the language's oral, written and historical resources including the number and age of speakers and the domains in which that language is currently being used. If these conditions are taken into account, this will make it easier to determine what type of language revival program will be best suitable for the particular community situation as well as to determine specific goals that the community will aim for.

L. Hinton produced in 2001 an improved version of Fishman's eight steps for reversal of language shift, which is needed to understand the language environment from which communities come. In this revised model it was emphasised that these steps are not necessarily to be followed sequentially and some of them may happen simultaneously. The first step is to find out the linguistic situation of the community by which one means the number and age of the speakers as well as the availability of other resources in a language. It is also important to recognise the attitudes of speakers and non-speakers towards the language revitalisation and its realistic goals in the community. Secondly, one should use available resources to reconstruct the language and develop the language pedagogy if the language has no speakers. Thirdly, the language of the elderly speakers should be documented particularly when the language has only elderly speakers. The fourth step is to develop a second-language learning program for adults so that these professional-age and parent-age adult second-language learners can be important leaders in later steps. As proposed in the fifth step, the cultural practices should be redeveloped and enhanced in order to support and encourage use of endangered language at home and in public by first- and second-language speakers, which can be followed by the development of intensive second-language programs for children preferably with a component in the schools. The endangered language should be possibly used as the language of instruction. The next step stipulates that the endangered language should be used at home as the primary language of communication in order to become the

first language of young children. Moreover classes should be developed along with the support for the groups of parents so that they can be assisted in the transition. The penultimate step suggests that the use of an indigenous language should be expanded into broader local domains such as in community government, media, local commerce and so on. Finally, the language domains should be expanded outside of the local community and into the broader community so as to promote the language as one of wider communication also in regional and national government. Even though there are many types of language revival programs used by communities along with school-based programs and each program has its advantages and disadvantages, of crucial importance is that all language and cultural programs need to work alongside each other in order to support the overarching goal of language revival (Hinton 2001).

When it comes to the application of this model for the linguistic situation in Ethiopia, the situation is as follows. Of all the 102,4 millions of the Ethiopian citizens (as of the data from the World Bank from 2016) only one fifth speaks Amharic as their native language. With that figure the current Ethiopian government should presently reckon if they want to pursue the scheme of the Amharic as the chief language for official communication. What is more, the number of Oromo peoples in the country that exceeds 35 million makes up about 40% of the population according to the 2007 census. In view of the above, one question is whether the Ethiopian authorities should recognise the domination of the Oromos in their country and start to use their language for official communication. After all, the model of Hinton (2001) assumes that the attitudes of both speakers and not-speakers of Amharic should be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, it is up to the central Ethiopian authorities whether the leading status of Amharic will be maintained in their country or not. In case the Oromo language has been selected for the national communication, the Amharic language and culture may disappear step by step from the linguistic landscape of Ethiopia. On the other hand, such a decision may end up in a civil war between the Amharas and the Oromos and its consequences can be disastrous not only for the role of the Amharic language and its script for the national heritage, after all the Oromos use the Latin alphabet for writing, but also for the future of Christianity in the country as more than half of the Oromos are Muslim or they follow their traditional beliefs. With the dominance of the Oromo peoples and their language, the character of Ethiopia will not be the same as it is now, which can have both advantages and disadvantages. As an advantage one can consider the increasing prestige of the Oromo language not so much in Ethiopia than in the entire world. From the other side, the Oromos are perceived as an inferior and much less civilised nation not only by the Amharas but also by the outer world and that can be very disadvantageous for the international commerce with Ethiopia. As opposed to the Oromos, the Amharas as the exporting producer are already well established on the market and because of that the possible dominance of the Oromo peoples in the country may be associated with an increased risk of the global economic operators to invest in Ethiopia.

What forms an important and valuable part of any community language revival program are the school-based language revival programs as the communities should have supportive educational contexts so as to assist in the process of revitalising their languages.

Different are the types of school-based language programs which need to be tailored to the linguistic background of the students regardless of their advantages and challenges. Of particular importance for language planning is also the development of a separate syllabus for indigenous languages. Having been included and valued within the mainstream school curriculum, such languages are thus given greater prominence and increased status not only within the indigenous but also the non-indigenous communities. If an indigenous language is included within the school environment, the community can perceive their language and culture as valued by the education system in general and by the school in particular.

Essential for the introduction of indigenous languages into the school framework is the development of strong and sustainable partnerships between the school and community as it can help to promote better relations between schools and communities. If the program is to succeed at the local level, it is necessary to make partnerships that are aimed at the developing community ownership of culturally appropriate programs and that encourage cultural awareness and promote concepts of inclusion and respect. Worth mentioning is also the fact that the introduction of an indigenous language into the school entails an increased presence of indigenous people not so much in school classrooms but also with both employees and volunteers. When indigenous language and culture are included as part of the school curriculum, it can have a beneficial effect on indigenous students as the promotion of their language and culture can help increase students' self-esteem predominantly in front of their peers. Additionally, indigenous learners are thus helped to be engaged with a subject that holds much interest and promotes their self-confidence. As the particular ways of knowing and learning are brought by children to school, programs that build on their cultural knowledge and oral language skills can help with other areas of learning, e.g. literacy and numeracy skills (Dundon 2004). In my opinion Dundon is right about this. The indolently conducted language revitalisation policy in Ethiopia under the communist regime showed that without the appropriately tailored school-based language programs for the local community and the translation of textbooks from Amharic regardless of different cultural patterns of the indigenous people not only resulted in failure but also re-established the old order with the predominance of Amharic. Even though the situation has seen a slight chance for the better in today's Ethiopia, still much has to be done for the development of closer relations between the central government and local communities so that the economic and social potential of the state could be utilised in the best possible way, also with benefits for the indigenous people to whom the promotion and maintenance of a local language and its related cultural norms could be more affordable. After all it was proved that the possibility of education in a native language is good for increasing the students' self-esteem and yet so efficient for combating illiteracy among young people.

As for the acquisition planning in school-based learning programs, the main aim to be achieved by students is to get to a level where they can develop a degree of conversational ability as the use of language within the classroom will quite often flow not only to the school grounds but also to the community. This is because children are incorporating into their daily lives what they are learning. That is why it is vital that other community-based language programs are in operation to support the acquisition of language within school-based language

revival programs and a school program can both help a student to move towards fluency in the language and create an appreciation for the language and the culture including the process of language revival only if the teaching methodology is sound. Moreover, the development of written documentation and resources in the language is necessary for incorporating the language into formal education system. There is also a possibility that resources can be shared between schools and that mentoring relationships can be developed between those schools with language programs and those without once teaching programs have been developed. Of particular importance is also that school-based programs can link into other community-based programs even though there is a danger that school programs can become too focused on individual schools and forget to link in with both other community initiatives and other schools. Very important for school programs that are short on time, money and expertise is also resource sharing as the closer the school project is to a larger community language revival program, the more necessary is for schools to be aware of issues and event at the state and national level (Dundon 2004).

The mainstream context in which the school system operates has implications for the way in which languages will be taught and the belief system that will be imparted. The current pedagogy tends to integrate indigenous languages into the current education system rather than allow the development of alternative frameworks for the teaching of indigenous languages within schools, which means that the school culture and values will inevitably influence and be integrated into the way language is taught and learned. A critical role in determining and fostering school culture is played by school principals while the successful introduction of indigenous languages into the school is highly dependent on their ongoing support. It is also important for school-based language instruction not to be the sole form of instruction for it can play a limited role in teaching language and culture and it should be borne in mind that school-based language revival programs should incorporate within the classroom environment as much of the indigenous culture, framework and traditional objects as possible (Dundon 2004). In my opinion it is important for children who speak indigenous languages not to be ashamed of their culture and traditional objects. If they feel that their language and culture are inferior to the prestige of the language of wider communication in which they are educated, they will certainly avoid to communicate in their own language that they will associate with poorer prospects for their lives. That is why the ongoing financial support of indigenous language instruction is only half the game. Without a proper co-operation with the indigenous language community, even the best language revival programs are doomed to fail right from the start.

In regard to acquisition planning there are other challenges for school-based programs. As they may not include enough exposure to the language to allow the fluency to develop, successful language programs should provide students with the access to either native speakers in or from the language's country of origin. Other challenges are provided when the school program's need for written materials and teaching resources is essential to sustain real language learning. Issues may be raised that the community will need to grapple with and make decisions on, for example, the drive to standardise the language forms. This arises out of the linguistic process of developing a written grammar and orthography, which can not

only be a very sensitive issue but also have the potential to be the cause of disagreement within the community and that can be extremely destructive for a language program. What needs to be taken into account when developing a program is the lack of commercially developed products and materials suitable for teaching indigenous languages which is cause for many schools not to implement a language program. It is true that a number of indigenous language programs are developed from scratch but it is important to rewrite them so that they reflect the outcomes of the syllabus even if other community language programs have been running for some time. Although the introduction of the syllabus in schools calls for indigenous community control and their active involvement in the development of school language programs, which can be a way for schools to foster better relations with communities, there are challenges involved with this such as the precise ascertaining who comprises the community and how to be sure that the community is not only adequately but also actively represented (Dundon 2004).

Once it was decided to implement the syllabus, there are some further challenges to overcome. These include finding appropriate people to teach the language in the school as community language teachers need to have appropriate cultural knowledge and language proficiency not to mention the support of the community to teach the language. Even though it is not strictly necessary for such teachers to have teaching experience and qualifications, they will be required to teach in a team-teaching environment with a qualified teacher. What is extremely important for schools and communities is that they should put together a team of people who will work with each other so as to develop and implement the program. It is necessary for such teams to include indigenous community members with links to the community and appropriate knowledge of language and culture, teachers with a good understanding of language teaching principles and practices as well as people with linguistic knowledge of indigenous languages in order to assist with the more technical aspects of language revival work in terms of corpus planning. The community can be assisted by a language team with the overall language planning process and this team can be involved in advocacy or lobbying in order to ensure support for language revitalisation within the community (Dundon 2004). It is worth noting that from the perspective of language planning it is important for linguists who standardise a given indigenous language to consider the suggestions of elders and local teachers who are usually marked by a good command of this language. As Dundon put it, language improvement can be a very sensitive matter, especially if one has to work with traditionally educated people who know little about the civilised world. Thus linguists should be trained in the cultural norms of such tribes, the contravention of which may become counterproductive to the objective pursued.

3.3. Corpus planning

With respect to corpus planning, it occurs when planning involves a change within the body of a language, which may mean the standardisation of a language along with its pronunciation and spelling. Because the standardisation of one dialect over another has obvious implications for the status of both dialects, this aspect of corpus planning is closely linked to status planning. What is more, corpus planning may also involve language adaptation and in some

cases the modernisation of vocabulary and grammatical rules so that the language can be able to express new communicative functions, new technologies as well as new political goals. As an example of the development of ways to express new technologies in Amharic and other Ethiopian languages can be given the creation of new words such as computer and the other ones associated with IT. Such developments have been not only repeated in Amharic but also in other more developed languages of Ethiopia although there have been attempts to introduce technical terminology to the lesser spoken languages of Ethiopia not so much in IT but also in politics, for example, to translate parts of the Ethiopian constitution and other important laws into the languages of south-western Ethiopia.

In their book on language planning from practice to theory Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) enumerate a set of underlying corpus planning principles that shape the way a corpus is planned. It is shown by these principles that language planners that are involved in the corpus planning process are not merely applying the technical linguistic knowledge. They are also involved in choices or alternatives which have a social aspect and which must be resolved so that such planning can be successful. One can group these principles into the four major categories, namely internal linguistic principles such as phonemicity, morphophonemicity, simplicity, etymology, invariance and stability, principles related to attitudes towards other languages such as rapprochement or adaptation and reaction (purism), principles concerning the relationship between the language and its users such as majority, liberality, prestige, counter-prestige, usage aestheticism and rationalism and finally principles derived from societal ideologies such as nationalism, liberalism, traditionalism, democracy, modernity or authority.

3.3.1. Codification (graphicisation)

As for language codification, it is focused on the standardisation procedures that are needed to develop a linguistic and usually literate set of language norms, which is usually performed by individuals with linguistic training who decide explicitly the form that the language is to take. As the process of codification has been so extensive for many languages, language agencies had to be created in order to do the necessary corpus planning work. Those involved in corpus planning are increasingly conscious that standardisation has its social, cultural and political consequences not only for language planners themselves but also individual language users not to mention minority language communities. As corpus planning takes a prevalent place amidst conflicting interests in the social context, the need to standardise a language at a national level so as to meet economic and political goals should not be used as an argument to eliminate community languages whose function is to serve as the social and interpersonal fabric for numerous linguistic minorities.

In the view of Haugen (1972), codification consists of three areas namely graphicisation, grammatication and lexication, which virtually ignores aspects of spoken languages. Even though the typical results of codification are a prescriptive orthography, grammar and dictionary, most studies apart from those which provide specific details across each of these three areas relate to only one of them, which can be thus considered separately. Many linguists consider graphicisation as the first step in the standardisation of a language as

writing systems, be it alphabets, syllabaries and systems of ideograms, provide the basis on which one can establish literacy materials that have a potential to reduce the linguistic variation in a language community. Worth mentioning is the fact that the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has accomplished a great deal of work on graphisation and it has provided orthographies for more previously unwritten languages than any other single source, even though this work has been not without controversy as in some instances dialect variation has been sacrificed in the interest of normative graphisation as in the case of Quechua. Although graphisation activities are often associated with the transformation of oral languages to literate ones, aspect of this type of standardisation apply equally to modernised written languages because script reform is a matter that is considered for a number of languages and the choice of alphabetic or character script is part of a continuing debate e.g, for many East Asian languages. It should be borne in mind that the standardisation of spelling may not be appropriate in all situations, particularly when a language is still developing as a communicative medium (Haugen 1966). In case of the Amharic language, the spelling of words is not entirely standardised. Even though there are specific characters for the spelling of certain words adapted from Ge'ez, many people often use the equivalents of these letters that are available from the Amharic syllabary. As not many people are sufficiently competent in Ge'ez in Ethiopia, the non-standard use of alternative letters for the words derived from Ge'ez nor the discretion of the use of similar letters in Amharic words are perceived as a spelling error. These alternatives are freely used in magazines, joke books and glossaries with technical terms that appear in today's Ethiopia (Kozicki 2015).

Graphicisation becomes necessary to occur in case of a local vernacular language which has neither a developed standard orthography nor a written history. Needed to be devised is an orthographic system that reflects the phonology of the language and one must resolve local dialect differences in the process of graphicisation so as to arrive at a standardised representation of a language.

What involves the extraction and formulation of rules that describe how a language is structured is the process of grammatication. As most of the developed grammars have been prescriptive and based on the standardised variety of the language, it must be recognised that the grammar of any language is probably too complex to be represented in a simple way. Because a living language is constantly changing its shape in order to meet its communicative needs, the best grammar book is not only a historical document reflective of the past but also such one that where additional choices were made for the pedagogical purposes, for example, what segment of the grammar will be taught and how it can be taught most effectively, especially to the speakers of other vernacular languages whose grammars may be compatible with or may differ substantially from the target language. Even though the grammar of a language can admittedly be too complex to be simply represented and the pragmatics of a language are almost impossible to be captured, the frequency and distribution of grammatical features changes with the circumstances under which a given speech act occurs while the grammar remains fairly constant. Taken into account must be also such sociolinguistic factors as relative power status, socio-economic class and relative degree of education as such changes occur not so much in the linguistic production of a given individual but in the

production of identifiable sub-populations and across populations, for example, when a native speaker of Amharic interacts with a non-native speaker or during the interaction of two non-native speakers. As for pragmatic issues, they are almost never discussed even in the most sophisticated grammars of a given language, though there are exceptions from that (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997).

With the existence of pedagogical grammars, the polity is usually faced with three additional non-linguistic problems such as how to produce and distribute the grammars to the population, how to train teachers so that they can use the new grammar books as well as how to update and republish and redistribute the grammars on a continuing basis. Significant economic implications can have not only book production and distribution which can be at times expensive but also the capability to produce and distribute books over a vast geographic area that may be beyond the means of exchequer in a number of poorer states (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). In Ethiopia, the accessibility of grammar books or glossaries of Amharic is not always easy. The longer is the distance from Addis Ababa, the poorer are the chances for accessing such books for schools and universities and that concerns English grammar books as well. Even though some good quality study materials are accessible in local book stores, not many students can afford them. Some learners even ask foreigners who visit their region to buy them such books and if their requests are responded, their gratitude for the sponsors can be very enormous.

As for lexication, it refers to the selection and development of an appropriate lexicon, which in the words of Haugen (1966) involves the assignment of styles and spheres of usage for the words of the language. Lexication in its initial stages may involve specifying how words are used in particular domains and it was proved to be an ongoing procedure both in predominately orate and literate cultures. Issues related not only to lexical development but also to usage are being currently examined, which shows the solid anchoring of, for example, a number of many American dictionary definitions and handbooks in the cultural world of the Eurocentric American people, which urges language planners to treat fully and seriously gender and issues related to ethnic languages. Although the lexicon of a local vernacular language functioning as a national language will inevitably be rich in resourced so as to deal with all the traditional areas of communication, it may be not rich enough in the kind of technical terms that are necessary for permitting modernisation. As new lexicon is being devised, a number of various principles may be employed. One may borrow foreign words directly from other languages which can be either phonologically modified or remain in their original forms. What is more, one can invent words from borrowed roots, which is a common enough process in English naming where Graeco-Latin words are employed to coin new words. One can also revive words that are no longer in use in the language or use new combinations of existing words to reflect new concepts such as 'morpho-syntactic' or 'periphrasal' (Haugen 1966).

All of the processes of graphicisation, grammatication and lexication are corpus planning matters. Although the status decisions are noted as primarily political matters, the corpus planning issues remain essentially linguistic. While it is the politicians who often accomplish status planning, the activity of corpus planning must be undertaken by linguists.

It was already mentioned that standardisation is not only concerned with such linguistic forms as corpus planning but also with the social and communicative functions of language such as status planning, though standard languages are also discursive projects while standardisation processes are typically accompanied by the development of specific discursive practices. By these discourses should be emphasised the desirability of uniformity and correctness in language use, the primacy of writing not to mention the very idea of a national language as the only legitimate language in the speech community. As linguistically-oriented approaches to language standardisation often were focused on the identification of the regional and social dialects that form the phonological, morphological and syntactic basis of a standard language, very rare are the standard languages based on a single dialectal source, while most standard language histories were shaped by dialect levelling and koinézation. Haugen wrote that the norm becomes virtually impossible to identify its base by the time it has been codified and elaborated by its users, which means that the majority of standard languages are thus composite varieties marked by multiple selections as their history is shaped by different types of language contact. I support the view of Haugen that the norms in most of the standardised languages were based from at least several dialectal sources (Haugen 1966). Thanks to the different types of language contact between the speakers of multiple varieties of the same language the standardised variety can be eventually elaborated. This happened not only in ancient Greece but also in many European and African languages. Even the standardised variety of the Amharic language, i.e. that of Addis Abeba, that was seen as the most neutral was based on the most influential dialects that were not too much isolated territorially. This means that the standardised variety of Amharic was heavily influenced by the central Ethiopian dialects whereas the variety of Gojjam remained much less intelligible because of the significant geographical isolation of their speakers from these of central Ethiopia (Zealelem Leyew 2004).

One can conceptualize standardisation from a variationist point of view as movement towards linguistic uniformity through a competition-selection process, which means that certain variants of linguistic habits are selected as part of the standard norm and they are generalised to new linguistic and communicative contexts. Even though linguistic variability and heterogeneity become indexical of non-standard varieties, variability doesn't imply the absence of norms. As non-standard varieties are marked by a multiplicity of highly context-specific particularistic norms that have emerged in response to the local needs of the loosely networked social groups which make up the speech community, the norms of standard languages are universal and show little contextual, geographical and social variation. It should be borne in mind that both variation and standardisation contribute to the formation of ethnic groups and it is standardisation that promotes social and political unification as well as common identity while the maintenance of variation marks social, ethnic and regional differences within the larger speech community (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997).

Having been understood as a process of variant reduction, language standardisation doesn't only include deliberate intervention by regulating authorities, for example, language societies and academies, individual dictionary and grammar writers as well as government institutions, but also processes of cumulative micro-accommodation, levelling and dialect

convergence. These processes are the outcome of the everyday linguistic activities of individuals such as focusing and projection. While focusing is a type of language change which supports the gradual formation and stabilisation of relatively uniform and well-defined varieties through processes of linguistic accommodation and inter-dialect levelling, projection refers to the meaningful identity-negotiating acts of interpretation which motivate the linguistic choices of speakers. The aforementioned processes are central aspects of language use, which means that speakers and writers adjust their speech either to reduce or to emphasise differences between themselves as well as their interlocutors. Even though an important type of linguistic change is constituted by such identity-oriented linguistic choices, the development of focused linguistic systems is not totally the result of intentional and meaningful speaker actions as the increased inter-group contact exposure can either bring about or support non-functional behaviour convergence, which leads to stimulus-based imitation and repetition for observations of non-functional dialect convergence (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997).

In the context of standardisation such focusing agents as for example migration and urbanisation, industrialisation and unification of the international economic market are studied as well as the rise of a public school system and strongly centripetal social processes such as nationalism and decolonisation. As the norms of focused varieties are not like the prescriptive rules of codified standard languages, they include those regularities or language habits that define language varieties as linguistic systems so that they can be the object of descriptive linguistic analysis. While the identification of subsistent and uncoded norms is usually based on a statistical understanding of norms in terms of distribution frequencies or variants, normative are those variants of a variable for which more tokens can be established than for any other variant. Language codification and prescription are not universal phenomena that show clear signs of cultural invention even though standardisation in the sense of focusing, variant reduction and norm emergence appears to be a sociolinguistic universal. As the history of standard languages is closely linked to societal modernisation and the functional diversification of social, economic and political life, standard languages are not merely uniform linguistic systems and they are also used in different modes, either spoken or written, styles and communicative domains. Even though it has been identified that deliberate codification is a necessary property of standard languages, attention should be drawn to standardisation as an intentional and deliberate act. As the types of codification range from the academy-governed style, which means that the unambiguous norms of a single and monolithic standard code are decided by decree as in the case of French to the free enterprise style that is marked by a diversity of authoritative texts that may seem at times contradictory, for which can be given the example of British and American English (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). I share the opinion of Kaplan and Baldauf that little can be done for the standardisation of language if the country where it is spoken is economically underdeveloped. Also in Ethiopia, the Amharic language started to evolve rapidly with the development of the country's economy that commenced to be socially noticeable with the opening of Ethiopia to the western world at the turn of the 19th century. As the language is not an entity itself, it needs to be adapted to the changing communicational conditions that are triggered by the economical development of

the state or region where it is used. More isolated languages can be influenced by the more developed ones and this is visible in today's Ethiopia, even though its level of industrialisation and the digitisation of infrastructure still leaves much to be desired. It is of particular importance that the vocabulary expansion of an evolving language should be controlled or monitored by the language academy or an official body with similar competences. In Ethiopia this was managed by the National Academy of the Amharic Languages established by Haile Selassie in 1972 until the communist takeover and it is still under the control and supervision of the Addis Ababa Academy of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures (AA AELC).

Since flexible stability and intellectualization have been identified as central linguistic aspects of standard languages, it is the wide range of socio-cultural functions which standard languages fulfil in a society that has linguistic repercussions. As it was noted by Haugen the notion of flexible stability refers to the capacity of languages to be adapted to new functions, genres and styles without its linguistic identity and defining structure while stability implies a slowing down of language change. What has been identified as typical results of the intellectualization process is not only terminological diversification and lexical monosemy but also normalized syntax and complex hypotaxis. As opposed to the norms of language standards, the norms of standard language don't emerge spontaneously in social interaction since they are created by design and enforced formally through the education system, publishing houses, official spelling rules as well as grammar books and dictionaries. Additionally, one legitimises the structural properties and social prestige of standard languages by a specific type of language ideology that implies a metalinguistically articulated belief that there is one and only one correct way of speaking, which leads both to an ideological intolerance of optional variability in language and to the political and social marginalization of varieties and dialects which are located outside the standard norm. A central and effective role in the diffusion of the ideologies and beliefs is played by authors of pedagogical grammars and dictionaries who legitimise the status of standard norms within a society (Haugen 1966). This view can be supported by the example from Ethiopia where the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the indigenous communities were almost never studied thoroughly both under the imperial and communist rule. In spite of his great merits for Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie never set a great store for the development of local languages and cultures in his country as his monolingual policy in favour of Amharic was perceived as the most useful for the state's social integrity. The publication of books and newspapers in the languages other than Amharic was banned and this included also the Bible and other religious materials. If the foreign missionaries were caught red handed publishing forbidden books, they were expelled from the country. That is why the Amharisation policy of the last emperor of Ethiopia was loathed by a great number of discriminated citizens who were duped by the empty promises of the military junta who toppled Haile Selassie in 1974. Even though the communists officially equalized the status of all the languages spoken in Ethiopia, their policy was rather chaotic and giving miserable results. As the limited financial resources of the communist state did not allow for even a rudimentary education of the scientific staff for all these 80 languages, the textbooks for local languages were often translated from the Amharic ones in breach of the different cultural backgrounds of the local

people, which proved totally impracticable and severely counter-productive. The riots in different Ethiopian provinces had to be quelled with extreme cruelty, which failed to bring much appreciation for the government who eventually returned to the hegemony of the Amharic language. As for the current Ethiopian government, they pursue a policy of multilingualism in a seemingly different manner. Various linguistic projects are not well thought out and they are often implemented without the participation of a local community, which would be by all means the key to their success that could prevent the waste of money. Despite many years of hard work of the scientists from the Academy of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures, only very few languages were standardised thoroughly with a significant improvement of the living conditions of peoples who speak them (see Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

3.3.2. Elaboration or standardisation

As for the elaboration of a language, it is focused on the functional development of that language, which means that there is no need to continue the implementation of the norm to meet the functions of a modern word once a language has been codified. In the words of Haugen (1966), such a modernised language has to meet a wide range of cultural demands that are put upon it in terms of both terminology and style. These demands range from those set by technological, intellectual and humanistic disciplines to those associated with the everyday and popular aspects of culture. Even though elaboration was defined by Haugen in terms of terminological modernisation and stylistic development, a final and emerging category needs to be added to these established aspects of functional development. Not merely is elaboration a matter of increasing the richness of vocabulary, which is touched upon under the topic of lexification. For example, if there is nothing to read beyond the literacy materials, literacy in a language is impossible or difficult to be maintained.

It is the task of governments both to actively encourage the publication of newspapers, magazines or comic books in the chosen language and to encourage the establishment of radio and television broadcasting in that language. Moreover, language must be used in the civil service, in religion and in other walks of life and literary artists must be encouraged to produce poetry and fictions in a language that was chosen by a community as standard language. Through the inception of an entire range of published resources and the stylistic development of a language, the use of the language must be encouraged in every possible sector for the internalisation of the language to occur throughout the population at a rate much greater than dissemination through the education sector would allow (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997).

Even though all languages have some mechanism for elaboration, it is a complex and ongoing process. As the languages change, they take on new functions with the emergence of new technologies, or they lose functions with the abandonment of older technologies. Additionally, languages develop contact with new group of speakers of other languages through immigration and the expansion of commercial activities, which requires their further elaboration. Language change and development is both rapid and continuing in the world in which we live, which means that language communities need to have mechanisms in order to modernise their language so that it can continue to meet their needs (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997).

Undoubtedly, one of the areas which had generated the most discussion within corpus planning is the modernisation of terminology involving the development of new lexical items or terminology for a language. If that the language is to be fully expressive in every domain, thousands of new terms must be generated each year in the culturally, technically and economically changing conditions. As terminological development is a major preoccupation of language agencies or academies and specialised international organisations, it must be decided for each language how new terms will be developed. Included in some general strategies are such processes as borrowing a term of other contact or international languages, which often involves transliteration for the term to be suited to the host language, translating the borrowed term into the host language and innovative word building that involves going back to indigenous root words or reusing archaic terms which have dropped from use. For example, in Ethiopia, the basis for the development of the new terminology is nowadays the Ge'ez language, especially in the issue of indigenous roots versus traditional borrowing, which has its many advantages for the Ethiopian cultural heritage but it may be also a problem for many uneducated inhabitants of Ethiopia whose command of Ge'ez is often deplorable.

With respect to the stylistic development of a language, it implies that a language is more than the sum of its lexical, grammatical and syntactic parts as each language has its own discourse that is appropriate for each of the domains in which it is used. It should be borne in mind that language is not fully able to meet all the demands placed upon it without appropriate development of linguistic style in those domains that are important to a language. It has been argued that both educational expansion and the cultivation of a developing language must occur in tandem, which means that even in modernised languages such as Dutch it is necessary to maintain and use styles in domains like science as the vigour of the Dutch language can be undermined by the unnecessary use of English. A similar phenomenon occurs also in Russian where there is a tendency to use English technical terminology regardless of the existence of appropriate Russian terms. As an area of stylistic development of a language is rarely discussed in the literature, there is a need to develop new genres, particularly when a language acquires its written form. Because oral language has a different set of characteristics for certain functions that change as literacy becomes increasingly important in a given society, the lack of awareness among a number of peoples living in south-western Ethiopia, significantly inhibits the ability of the Omo River Valley tribes to control their own destiny. Of particular importance is the fact that written language has functions that oral language doesn't have and it is not solely transcribed oral language. As some genres like those involved in decision and contact making as well as negotiation may differ from oral language situations to written language situations, stylistic development must take into account the development of appropriate rhetorical structures in order to deal with such changes including grammatical and lexical matters (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997).

The use of language for media and cultural expression is a critical aspect of stylistic development and even though such development is often thought of as the end product of the language planning process, some language planners argue that in developing of a post-colonial language as the national language the implementation shouldn't commence at

primary school but at university. This is because a creative minority of both linguistically versatile and knowledgeable scholars can do in their fields the necessary pioneering work in translation and production of research so that an intellectual variety of the language can be created. Unless there are strong and vigorous models of language use in high status language domains such as politics, technology or culture, the systematic building up of language skills through a planned program of language development will not be successful. A good example of that can be the case of the Philippines where there has been a considerable discussion about writing in Tagalog i.e. a vernacular language or in English. In the Philippines, the use of English can be seen in other contexts such as the alienation of the writer from the people, the bilingual Filipino poetry writers use English for two main reasons, namely to capture certain realities not within the lexical capabilities of Tagalog as well as to exploit the musical qualities of the foreign language. Even though Tagalog better expresses the social and political realities of the Filipino world, there is an ongoing struggle to build a continuing literary tradition in modernising languages where it is necessary for all realities to be expressed (Kaplan, Baldauf 2003). As for the Amharic language, it is widely used in media as well as for cultural expression. The intensive literary development of Amharic began under the rule of Emperor Haile Selassie who upgraded the role of the so-called wax and gold Amharic poetry in the cultural and literary education of high school and university students. What is more, the ability to interpret such poems was tested on the baccalaureate exams from Amharic. Additionally, Haile Selassie established a theatre in Addis Ababa, where the plays of the outstanding European classical playwrights were produced in Amharic. Such a challenge involved the creation of a number of neologisms that significantly enriched the Amharic language. Worth mentioning is the fact that the accessibility of European literature translated into Amharic made numerous local writers and playwrights to experiment on the literary capabilities of Amharic. This resulted in the abundance of literary genres in Amharic that imitated the European ones or even were mixed with them. Although the Ethiopian people are quite proud of their contemporary literary output, they have yet a lot to learn (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987).

What can be seen as a particular type of language spread is internationalisation, which affects the corpus of a language. Standardisation problems arise as a language becomes a medium of international communication and these problems parallel each of the previously discussed categories, though they are rather different in regional and international contexts. Communication problems may also arise as discourse and pragmatic strategies don't carry over entirely across cultures even if a shared linguistic medium is used. What has generated a lot of corpus planning interest is the role of English as an international language as well as the related development of its varieties all over the world. As there is a growing literature in English that reflects not only the localisation but also the internationalisation of that language, it is borne in mind by indigenous authors, for example from Africa, that inasmuch as the English language will be able to carry the weight of the authors' African experiences, there will have to be a new English which will be altered to suit its new African surroundings but still in full communication with its ancestral home. Such English language can be used and shaped by the author so that the native language and culture can be reflected in it.

As the linguistic tension between traditional usage and modernisation of language continues along with the necessity of corpus planners to keep attuned to their public, there seems to be a growing awareness that corpus planning doesn't only deal with linguistic issues, which is reflected by the fact that in many instances it is difficult to separate corpus from status planning issues in a particular languages so that they can be neatly fitted into Haugen's model (1983). Even though corpus planning operates in real-world contexts in conjunction with social, historical, political and cultural forces the spread of Englishes, Spanishes and Frenches is a growing area of concern for corpus planning while terminology remains a major focus of interest. Central to information access and dissemination are developments in both of these areas, which is essential for the functioning of modern societies. Also computers make their increasing mark on corpus planning, particularly in the development of dictionaries. It is suggested by each of these trends that a narrow preoccupation with linguistic skills is not a sufficient basis for corpus planning not to mention a critical re-evaluation of the modernist assumptions of language planning that is starting to occur. Clearly, corpus and status planning are completely interdependent, which means that corpus and status planning changes cannot be carried out in isolation. As a planning activity doesn't necessarily start conveniently at the beginning, states at various stages of development, either linguistic or economic, can enter into the planning paradigm at any point. Because planning involves both the language itself and the situation in which the language is or will be used, one cannot in practice separate these two segments of planning paradigm. The changes in the language not only affect the sectors and registers in which the language is used or can be used but also these changes define the language situation in a new way. Evidently, planning must occur across all sectors of the state and not in some cleverly isolated segment of the polity (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). If all sectors of the state fail to come within a reasonably conducted language planning, then the aid that some selected component of the polity is unlikely to bring the desired effect and all the capital invested will be thrown down the drain.

3.3.3. Modernisation

Charles Ferguson (1983) defined language modernisation as the process by which a language becomes the equal of other developed languages as a medium of communication, which is in a sense the process of joining the world community of more and more intertranslatable languages recognised as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse. Having been emphasised by the notion of intertranslatability with developed languages, this exoglossic criterion distinguishes the modernisation of the languages of developing societies such as the Asian and African languages and the less developed languages of developed countries such as Basque from routine language change typical of all languages. As the developing nations directly import advanced institutional structures that emerged elsewhere only after a long period of scientific invention or experimentation, this development has meant that new concepts and expressions have flooded the developing languages at a rate perhaps unprecedented even in the history of presently developed languages. In regard to the languages of the developing nations, they have shown different resource preferences, which ranges from a near-total reliance on indigenous resources to a rather heavy dependency on

other languages, not to mention very interesting compromises in between. It is evident that the developing languages also differ in the linguistic processes employed in modernisation and the effects of these processes on the structure of the language on the creation, maintenance and neutralisation of style difference as well as the sociolinguistic consequences of these changes, by which language modernisation as a process is potentially of interest to a number of areas of linguistic research.

The modernisation of the Ethiopian languages involves quite different needs depending on the language as they are at different stages of development. For the unwritten languages which are spoken in the south of Ethiopia, it is necessary to devise writing systems. Such languages should be more recognised by both the Ethiopian government and by their speakers themselves so that they can be used in institutional domains such as administration, education, mass media and commerce. Modernisation involves not so much graphicisation or legitimisation as the development of additional lexical, syntactic and discourse features and standardisation as far as the major Ethiopian languages are concerned. These languages are still in various stages of development towards functioning as fully-fledged modern languages despite their not too long history of literary cultivation. One of the main reasons for this lag is the fact that these languages never got a chance to serve as media in the fields of education, administration, law, science and technology as well as international communication during the post-Renaissance period of modernisation of the most of European languages.

Not until the abolition of the imperial government in Ethiopia in 1974 had these languages acquired an equal status with Amharic which was claimed by Emperor Haile Selassie as the main carrier of the Ethiopian civilisation. Therefore, it was no wonder that these languages remained confined to the areas of the humanities and thus they were the exponents of the so-called expressive culture instead of acquiring modern registers as in the case of European languages. As all of the regional languages of Ethiopia have been recognised as the official languages of the state in which they are spoken by a significant percentage of the population, there is still a considerable dependence on English particularly in such domains as higher level administration and judiciary system as well as in higher education and research in the fields of science and technology. As for the use of English in Ethiopia, this language enjoys a considerable prestige in this country and its good command is believed to bring a rapid change of people's social status. Even though one cannot entirely resign from English in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian authorities are moving towards the goal of replacing English with indigenous languages in many spheres of activity at the regional level and with Amharic at the federal and national level. Not surprisingly, the need for the modernisation of Ethiopian languages with the predominance of Amharic is felt to be a pressing one, specifically in the context of a rather egalitarian social system, which is envisaged by the Ethiopian constitution (Aleign Aschale 2013a). In my opinion, the decision of the federal government of Ethiopia as to the equal status of all the languages spoken there was good enough for the codification of many of the endangered Ethiopian languages, though its outcome has rather surpassed the financial capacity of the state. This could have been avoided if the central authorities had not followed the flawed language policy of their communist predecessors. I don't want to be misunderstood that I am inclined to be supporting

the imperial policy that after all had many flaws but I think that it would have been of use for the Ethiopian authorities if they had chosen one language for national communication and several ones for regional communication just after having ousted the communist regime in 1991. I agree with the fact that the majority of the remaining languages should be permitted for local use but I don't see the point of using them for the official communication in Addis Ababa, all the more that they are mostly unstandardised and lack technical vocabulary in a number of domains. With the equalized official status of all the 80 languages spoken in Ethiopia, each tribesman from the south-west of Ethiopia can freely use their languages in offices and they don't care if the clerk doesn't understand them. The post-communist ruling elites apparently failed to foresee such situations in their plans for the social and economic recovery of their country after the decades of the gross negligences of the military junta. On that situation loses the prestige of Amharic and gains the popularity of English. After all, it is better for the Ethiopians to use a foreign but neutral language whose good command is associated with a quick rise of social position, which cannot be offered by speaking fluent Amharic. Nowadays this problem is hard to be reversed, but I suppose that the Ethiopian authorities could gain more by the maintenance of Amharic as an official language with the simultaneous promotion of indigenous languages on local levels.

Faced with a range of options, as for the sources of lexical and other elements needed for language development, is a modernising language i.e. this one with a complex history of bilingualism and multilingualism. The so-called macro-strategy in language development consist in the two theoretical extremes the first of which is an exclusive reliance on internal resources that is understood as indigenization whereas the other extreme is the wholesale importation of linguistic devices and elements, which is referred to as cryptocreolization rather than borrowing. As most cases of modernisation involve strategies that are intermediate between these extremes, this may necessitate interesting compromises. Even though languages tend to differ in the degree to which they rely on indigenous or foreign sources for lexical development, every language community seems to have a school of opinion that holds that excessive borrowing dilutes the essential character of the language. Such purist position is the attitude that is often compounded by politico-cultural factors in communities with a history of political or cultural domination by an external power, which means that the developing language can assert its identity by relying on indigenous sources, even if the dominant language would otherwise be the most natural source for borrowing. This is the case of many Asian and African languages which have been victims of attempted suppression, persecution or domination and which are attempting to define and assert their cultural identity, though the strategy of indigenization is advocated as well on grounds of fairness and efficiency. While borrowing is criticised as elitist, creation from native sources is held to be easier to understand so the new language can be closer to the common people (Kaplan, Baldauf 1997). As for the contemporary Amharic language, it prefers coining the words with the help of Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) to borrowing and if the latter strategy is used, the terminology is preferred to be borrowed mainly from English.

It should be borne in mind that the indigenization strategy is claimed to be ideal even for those language communities that don't practise it. Although it is assumed that the material

for coining new words and expressions will come from contemporary varieties of the language, indigenization often involves in practice resorting to archaic or obsolete lexical stock, predominantly from Classical literature. In terms of semantic transparency or naturalness, or even familiarity to the potential users, these coinages are no different from potential borrowings despite their native origin even that is not always certain (Kaplan Baldauf 1997). As in the numerous cases of language's modernisation, there are such strategies that should be followed up in the middle of those two extremes so many compromises have to be made between the language planners and the speaking community. It is good for each such community to have their own school of opinion so that the language is on the one hand not too diluted by excessive loanwords and on the other hand not too much difficult because of the complicated meanings of neologisms coined on the basis of an indigenous language. To illustrate this problem, an example can be given from Ethiopia where the Amharic language is too heavily enriched by modern words from English. Even though the Amharic speakers can truly feel the rapid modernisation of their language and culture, this approach is mostly criticised by the language purists who claim that the Ge'ez lexicon should be predominantly used as the main source of creating modern words. This can have its benefits and drawbacks, which can be supported by an interesting experiment conducted in Ethiopia under the communist regime that was described by Anbessa Teferra (2013). A group of ideologised Amharic scientists wanted to know if their students would quicker acquire the Marxist philosophy through English or through Amharic, where essential neologisms had been coined on the basis of Geez that the students hadn't known well. The results showed that only the English group passed an examination successfully. As for the other student group, they admitted that it had been very difficult for them to understand the Marxist terminology in Amharic without the prior command of Ge'ez.

The situation described above hardly changed in today's Ethiopia and the Amharic language is moving to the cryptocreolization, which means that English will still exert its increasing influence on Amharic, though this problem is not yet taken seriously by the younger generations of Ethiopians. This phenomenon can be after all dangerous for Amharic and its speaking community as they are likely to be the victims of the English neocolonisation of the Amharic culture as in the case of a number of African or Asian nations. Nowadays the Africans and the Asians heavily suffer from the domination of the English culture in their lives because they have to adopt forcibly the norms and ideas that are not only strange but also contrary to their cultural identity in many ways. Even though the indigenization policy has many flaws, it can be good enough even for the communities that don't practice it. As the process of indigenization leads to the use of old and archaic lexical stock, the neologisms thus created in the framework of lexical transparency and naturalism are not different from the potential loanwords despite their indigenous origin, though this can not always be certain (Sharma 2013).

Contrary to the position of purists or nationalists is the pragmatist position, which is equally well-articulated even though it can be less idealistic or popular. This position implies that the source of a word is considered irrelevant and what really matters here is the test of usage. There is no sense in replacing a familiar term with an unfamiliar one only for the sake

of purity if an expression is in current usage. Since the pragmatists are also concerned with supra-regional intelligibility and uniformity, they see little merit in replacing internationally accepted and standardised terminology with indigenous equivalents which are not necessarily intelligible even within the region of the developing language. There are of course a number of intermediate possibilities as any language is neither an exclusively borrowing language nor is any immune to borrowing. As in the case of Amharic, most developing languages attempt to disguise their borrowing both with calques and loan translation. What is typical of cultures with an established Classical tradition, which involves a prestige language such as Latin and Greek for Europe, Sanskrit in South Asia and Ge'ez in Ethiopia, is that there is a strong tendency to draw upon the lexical stock and derivation resources of the Classical language, even if that language may not have been a widely spoken language for centuries. This strategy that is referred to as Neo-Classification generally invites much less virulent opposition from the purists than borrowing from a modern foreign language, which is mainly because the Classical language is felt to be part of the indigenous tradition as opposed to the foreign donor language that is often perceived as a threat to the developing language's identity (Kaplan, Baldauf 2003).

With respect to the choice of sources for modernisation in the Amharic language, it depends on the register, medium and style, which means that, for example, in the sports register the norm is to rely almost exclusively from borrowing from English, whereas in the register of literary criticism, political science, humanities and social science subjects, the tendency is to rely on either borrowings from Ge'ez or creation of new terms from Ge'ez roots. For the users of Amharic, English is the main donor in modernising in general the language of science and terminology, and increasingly the language of informal communication in remote university centres in Ethiopia where both students and teachers have a poor command of Amharic because of their non-Amharic descent. While modernisation using English is much more prevalent in spoken, informal discussions, the formal written styles attempt to draw on the native or classical sources wherever possible. Even though the Ethiopian newspapers such as *Addis Zāmān* are usually more open to English despite the increasing occurrence of Ge'ez based coinages, the government controlled media tend to use the language marked by Ge'ez neologisms. Similar is also the case of Amharic text books and reference works in which are featured glossaries prepared by academic commissions. Inasmuch as the formal establishment language tends to follow a more rationalistic and conservative modernising strategy, English is freely used in informal language (Kozicki 2015).

The choices that are internal to the grammar and vocabulary of the language, such as choice of derivation processes and the transference of functions performed by given syntactic structures, can be understood as micro-strategies. One of the problems associated with creating new words is that the newly coined expression is often as obscure as the foreign term, which means that the advantage gained in national pride and ease of pronunciation is often offset by the non-communicative character of the employed expressions. But this route was followed amongst other in Amharic where the usage of words of the Ge'ez origin depends on the context and familiarity so that their strangeness can be overcome (Takkele Taddese 2000).

As for borrowing, it may be resisted on several grounds. For some people it can be felt that borrowing words from other languages is like admitting the inadequacy of their own languages even if it is often pointed out that many of the world's most developed languages enriched their vocabulary by a shameless resort to borrowing. The speaking community may also resist borrowing from certain sources more than others as it was in the case of Turkish in the twenty-year period between the world wars where the Perso-Arabic vocabulary was supplanted from the language. Also the presence of bilinguals in the community can help borrowing as they can act as a bridge in the transitional stage while new words are being assimilated. In order to meet the lexical needs, many languages relied on borrowing and assimilation, which is as well true of the Amharic language where a borrowed term is combined with the native derivation affix in the process of hybridisation. To illustrate this let us take an example of the hybridised expression *yä-polis tabiya* (a police station [of-police station]) where the phonological English loanword '*polis*' (police) forms a compound with the Amharic word *tabiya*, which originally means a site or a stationing place, and is adjusted to the Amharic rules of genitive structures. Another common device in the Amharic language is to fill a lexical gap with a borrowing and to compensate simultaneously its opaqueness by creating what can be called explicatory compounds. For example, a borrowed word for cancer – amh. *yä-känsär bäššəta* – consists of the word *känsär* - cancer which is followed by the noun that denotes the superordinate semantic category to which it belongs, in this case *bäššəta* – illness, thanks to which the reader gets at least a rough area of what is being talked about. Worth mentioning is also the fact that an alternative compound to cancer has been recently created in Amharic, namely *yä-näqärsa bäššəta*, where the noun *näqärsa* (cancer) is derived from the verb *tänqoräsässä* – walk slowly, probably because of the fact that cancer often progresses slowly and inconspicuously. As modernisation increases a language's dependence on compounding in more than one way, it is not surprising that one is forced to use a compound as a foreign scientific or technical term is difficult to translate into a single word. As it was harsh to translate the term 'diabetes' into Amharic according to its Greek etymology, the Ethiopians proposed *yä-säkwar bäššəta* (of-sugar illness) as an equivalent for diabetes which means not so much an excessive discharge of urine but the increased content of glucose in blood. Other way of the proliferation of compounds is when the donor language is itself rich in compounds, for example the English language. Even though the recipient languages often resort to calques and loan translation in coining equivalents, it may be a quite dangerous process, especially if the original itself is a non-compositional and idiomatic expression, which means that if the calque has not the support of the convention, it becomes doubly opaque (Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

The reinterpretation of existing words is another strategy that is often employed in lexical expansion, which means that existing words are being given a specialised meaning in the modern context. For example the Amharic term for cattle rearing (*ərbata*) is presently used in the sense of inflection (*yä-gəs ərbata* – verb inflection) while the term for vocal cords, which originates from the Ge'ez language, namely *hablä dəmş* literally means the rope of voice. As these terms have easily caught on, especially among linguists, the works of authors who rely on this strategy are more readable than those of the self-conscious neologists.

The choice of the mentioned strategies seems to be governed by a complex set of considerations as authors and translators seem to follow, either unconsciously or consciously, one or the other strategy, which depends on their philosophy of language development as well as subjective notions of efficacy. However, there is no principled strategy of lexical development by which principled motivations for choosing one micro-strategy over another can be provided, particularly in light of the effect of the choices on the communicative efficiency of the resulting language, which means that the empirical study of the intelligibility of different strategies of modernisation is an area of research with a considerable potential.

As for the effects of modernisation on the developing language, they have both its structural and stylistic aspects. First of all, there is the quantum expansion in the size and range of vocabulary in its coverage of different registers and development of new differentiations, which can be achieved by an increased exploitation of derivation processes as well as by the addition of new derivation processes, for example, by treating the first and second element of a compound by a derivation affix or by borrowing of the affixes themselves from a donor language i.e. structural borrowing. Secondly, development of the lexicon based on borrowings from different sources can lead to the existence of multiple levels of lexical structure that is differentiated on formal grounds, which involves assimilation to various extents (Kaplan, Baldauf 2003). The effect of modernisation on the syntactic level for example in Amharic is harder to state with certainty because of the unavailability of detailed studies of the syntax of old Amharic.

When modernisation involves large scale borrowing, this can also lead to the emergence of style strata as well as mixed bilingual and bivarietal codes as it is obvious that modernising communities tend to develop several styles of the new language, which depends on the author's preferences for source development. This means that modernisation in highly multilingual populations appears to have the effect of creating new levels of not only style differentiation but also of mixed bilingual codes.

With the resurgence of interest in the decade leading up to the turn of the millennium, critical and post-modern theoretical developments infused new perspectives and emphases usually in the social sciences, which did not miss language policies and language planning. The heightened interest in language teaching and language revitalisation, which was fuelled both by the imperious spread of English and other global languages and the loss and endangerment of small indigenous languages in the 1990s, resulted in the coalescence of language planning and language policy that were increasingly being referred to as language policy and planning (LPP). A growing number of linguists tend to link language policy and language planning. While language policy provides standards of rationality and effectiveness, the task of language planning is test these ideas against actual practices so that the better language planning models can be promoted. Not always does planning subsume policy or vice versa, nor is policy always the output of planning as a great deal of language policy-making goes on in a haphazard or uncoordinated way and it is often far removed from the language planning ideal. For language planning is first and foremost about social change, planning does not necessarily have policy as its intended outcome. Even though LPP as an activity has been continuing for centuries, it was Einar Haugen (1966) who first used the term of language

planning in the scholarly literature. In his study on the language standardisation in Norway he wrote that language planning was in his opinion the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary in order to guide the writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. Nevertheless, the scope of language policy and planning has since surpassed the limits of orthographic, grammatical and lexical codification. After three decades of the development of LLP marked by addressing practical language problems of new nations, revising and developing new models for LLP and the needs of new theoretical and empirical perspectives to move forward, new frameworks are needed for language planners and policy makers in multilingual contexts who develop threatened local languages in relation to global and spreading ones.

In the framework proposed by N. Hornberger (2006) status planning is understood as efforts that are directed to the allocation of functions of languages in a given speech community, corpus planning is defined as efforts related to the adequacy of the form or structure of languages while acquisition planning is seen as efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages that can be achieved by creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them. What is more, there is a distinction between policy and cultivation approaches to language planning. The policy approach that is often interpreted to be the same as status planning type can be seen as attending to matters of society and nation by emphasising the distribution of ways of speaking and writing. The cultivation approach, in turn, is understood as attending to matters of language literacy and it is often interpreted as a synonym of corpus planning. I would be rather critical about Hornberger's assumption that corpus planning is only related to make the form and structure of the language more adequate. Language is not a phenomenon itself, but it predominantly serves for communication, either spoken or written. However, I would prefer to say that the more the language is developed in terms of its corpus, the bigger capacity it has in the community against the background of other languages. Suffice it to say that the lexical capacity of the language demonstrates its role as a medium of communication at a regional, national and international level. The bigger is the economic power of a given language in the specified region or state, the more people use it as a secondary or tertiary language. For these reasons it is wrong to claim that corpus planning is solely limited to the adequacy of form and structure as it is closely intertwined with the competitiveness of that language among other languages.

Even though language planning types and approaches do not carry in and of themselves a political direction, there is an increasing awareness of LLP scholars as to the political nature of LLP. Nevertheless, such LLP goals as standardisation, graphicisation and modernisation are assigned to language policy and planning activities that determine the direction of the envisioned change. Referring to the development of a literacy norm that overrides regional and social literacies, standardisation along with graphicisation attend to the formal aspects of languages whereas modernisation that aims for the lexical and stylistic development of a language and its expansion into new domains is associated with the cultivation of languages. Language modernisation can however be distinct from language renovation. On the one hand, modernisation finds ways for existing language forms to serve

new functions, on the other hand, renovation does the opposite by finding new forms to serve existing functions (Hornberger 2006).

As Hornberger (2006) emphasised, language planning proceeds best provided that the goals are pursued simultaneously along several dimensions. This means that the stated goal of declaring a language the official national language will not go far if the incentive or opportunity for it to be a school language will not be provided. Even if a national official language has been endowed with a new writing system compatible with certain regional first languages without the opportunity for it to be learned, the language planning activities will also result in failure. This is the case of post-apartheid South Africa where the 1996 constitution stipulated that 9 African languages along with English and Afrikaans would have an equal status of recognition. Despite the constitutional provisions of South Africa, the reality was and is different of the planned one as most of the native African languages have no history of their use as official languages. Because of that it is almost impossible to translate legal documents into them. The situation was aggravated by the lack of funds for their linguistic evolution in the federal government. However, the African citizens of South Africa saw that the command of European languages opens up new economical horizons for them, which cannot be realised by African languages. As the loyalty of ruling elites is increasingly focused on the English language whose prestige is associated with prosperity and cosmopolitan culture, the beautiful language policy of the post-apartheid South Africa seems to be more symbolic in character than real. But nobody dictates the South Africans to favour English and the country passes to a kind of federal monolingualism.

In Ethiopia, the situation is different. First of all, the country was never colonised by the British and because of that it has no close affinity with the English language and culture. What is more, English played no significant role in the liberation of Ethiopians from the Fascist Italy in 1941 as it played in the liberation of the African people in South Africa at the time of apartheid. Nevertheless, the promulgation of English by the government is significant in Ethiopia, which is reflected for example in the official English version of the 1995 Ethiopian constitution. Even though English offers the Ethiopians access to the modern education and better job prospects and it is eagerly learnt by them, one should bear in mind one significant difference. For the African citizens of South Africa, English has been a native language for a very long time, while for the Ethiopians it is a totally foreign language. Given the poor command of English by most Ethiopians, it would be difficult for them to have it as a national language for many reasons. Because of that I share the opinion of Hornberger that an intended official language can be used more successfully in a speech community when it is first learnt as a second language through the domains of religion, work and education.

4. Different settings of language planning

4.1. Attempts of philosophical improvement of languages. Perfect languages

In the Middle Ages, the question of a consciously created language did not play any significant role, though there was an attempt of writing an a priori language probably for mystical purposes by Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) named *Lingua ignota* (Lat. unknown language). This 12th century's abbess of Rupertsberg invented an alphabet of 23 letters or *litterae ignotae* to write her secret language that survived in two manuscripts dating to ca. 1200. The manuscripts comprise of a glossary of 1011 words in *Lingua ignota* where glosses were predominantly taken from Latin, though some of them were of German origin. It is assumed that *Lingua ignota* was an effort of a partial relexification of Latin where the *a priori* coinages that consisted mostly of nouns and adjectives were formed to substitute new vocabulary into the existing grammar of Latin. The project of Hildegard of Bingen is considered as one of the earliest known constructed languages. At the time when Latin was the language of the Church and scholars the problem of international communication in truth existed but not to such a large extent as today. Nevertheless, the first attempts of philosophical improvement of a language in Europe were made as late as in the 17th century. From that time onwards new planned languages were published which could be linked with pasigraphies. The spiritual climate for the interest in the question of language communication was caused by extensive geographical discoveries, the development of new commercial ways, the increasing knowledge of other languages, the germination of the capitalistic model of production as well as the progress of objective wisdom. This concerned also the need for uniform national languages and the improved international scientific communication. What led to the numerous a priori language projects were the philosophical ideas and proposals for universal languages recommended by Raymond Lullus (ca. 1232 – ca. 1315), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), René Descartes (1596-1650) and Gottfried W. Leibniz (1646-1716). The works of Lullus were considerably influenced by the art of the invention of mechanics or mechanical concept art that contained all the principles of the individual disciplines which should generate all the possible questions through the mechanical combination of individual elements and their relations and by the avoidance of errors in reasoning. The combinatorics of Lullus contains 54 ground notions through which one can go from combination to the view (Blanke 1985). The influence of Lullus was considerable on other philosophers who were occupied by the principles of a rational language as an algebra of ideas, which was understood as a universal language for the entire mankind. As for Bacon, he suggested creating a comparative grammar of all languages and deriving a uniform language from the common features of all languages for the entire mankind and this empirical approach was targeted for the creation of an absolute medium of communication on the basis of the most spread European languages. In my opinion, the idea of Bacon as to the uniform language for all mankind is by all means laudable, but it was rather unable to be implemented in practice. Nevertheless, Bacon touched

upon a very serious problem that has been faced by people for millennia when it comes to a multitude of languages in the world that on the one hand are a distinguishing sign for national and cultural identity but on the other hand hinder international communication. Not until the 19th century did the idea of Bacon and other philosophers start to show proper results in the form of such artificial languages as Volapük and Esperanto, which was followed by tens of thousands planned language projects that have been proliferating up to the present. However one should bear in mind that even if planned language project based on European languages can significantly ease the acquisition of European languages such as Esperanto does, but they can be completely useless beyond Europe where people speak for example Semitic, Austronesian or Dravidian languages whose structure is totally different from that of the Indo-European languages. Moreover, the acquisition of foreign languages is closely bound with coming into contacts with the respective cultures. If a universal language for all the mankind was ever created, a neutral culture would need to be devised. This could be rather impossible as even the culture of the Esperanto movement is quite Euro-centrist in character regardless of that it is shared by people with many cultural and religious backgrounds.

In regard to Descartes, he tried to formulate the principles of a philosophical language with a finite number of notions and concept relations from the combination of which one could coin complete words based on the foundation of true philosophy. One of the first formulations of the principles of such a philosophical language can be found in a letter of Descartes to Marin Mersenne from 1629 which implies that one should methodically arrange all their thoughts in such a way that the sequences of numbers are arranged. As one can call and write the numbers into infinity in any language that in any case create an endless series of combinations, one must find a possibility whereby all the necessary words are constructed in order to express all that one can come up with. Descartes wrote that the finding of such a language depends on the true philosophy and only then is it capable of enumerating all human thoughts. What is more, all depends on finding easy ideas that are peculiar to the concepts of all men and that one can deduct from them what all people think. In the words of Descartes such a language should have only one art of conjugation, declination and word formation and it should be devoid of all incomplete and irregular forms that arise as a result of habits. He also wrote that verb modifications along with word formation could be performed by prefixes that should be fixed either at the beginning or at the end of the root and they should be found in dictionaries so that people could learn that language in merely six hours by means of such dictionaries. Even though the problem appears only in a posteriori and autonomous systems like Ido or Esperanto, it seems that Descartes had a philosophical language in mind (Blanke 1985). Although the idea of Descartes as to a simplified and universal human languages has a really high cognitive value, the assumption that such a language can be learnt in only six hours seems to me rather exaggerated. Even the structure of Esperanto that is very close to the concept of Descartes cannot be properly acquired in such a limited period of time. Nonetheless, the proficiency of Esperanto or other similar planned languages can be achieved in less than two years of learning and this is what makes them different from natural languages.

The thoughts on a universal language were expressed by other scholars after

Descartes, for example by Thomas Urquhart, Jan Amos Komensky or Isaac Newton even though the real concepts of philosophical languages were handed down to us by Komensky and Newton. Nevertheless, the first project was published by George Dalgarno in 1661, who divided all the ideas and notions that were known to him into 17 ground classes that were marked by Latin and Greek capital letters, e.g. *A* for objects, *H* for substances or *K* for political affairs while the minuscules signified the under-classes. Influenced by Dalgarno was an English bishop named Wilkins who published his philosophical language which was divided into extensive tomes. Additionally, his work was at that time an encyclopaedia of wisdom which was encompassed by 40 different classes which were marked by two letters, for example *Da* for the world, *De* for element, *Ga* for flower or *Go* for tree. Other consonants allow the further division of word classes into more specific groups while vowels serve to the creation of other sub-groups. The system of Wilkins contains a number of autonomous particles such as the cupolas, 18 pronouns, 36 prepositions, 27 adverbs and 24 conjunctions. For his language project even a specific pasygraphy was created. The easiness of his language consists in that this system allows a learner to acquire a good command of that language within one month thanks to its fast mnemotechnical properties. In contrast to the heavily criticised Latin language, Wilkins' language contains only 3000 words, whose vocabulary is estimated to have around 30000 units. Although his project was never of any particular importance, it was an original interlinguistic work that was based on meaningful linguistic and theoretical research for his time which became a reference for numerous scholars from his century and later centuries (Blanke 1985). In my opinion, artificial languages with a very limited vocabulary corpus have both their advantages and flaws. As an advantage can be perceived a relative short time for acquiring fluency but the main disadvantage of such languages is associated with their rather awkward lexical evolution with the economic growth. As in the case of such projects as for example Basic English with less than 1000 basic words, it is not always easy to coin sufficiently transparent neologisms and modern words, which may at times put its usability into question. Yet, the numerous shortcomings didn't prevent Basic English from gaining its increasing worldwide popularity.

Having been considerably influenced by the *Ars Magna* written by Lullus, Leibniz sought for a language that could lead to a flawless and easy international communication by means of the classification of all ideas as a tool of mind as well as to the discovery of new truths. Leibniz proposed a universal language that could be made by simpler notions and their combinations and he established the a priori direction in the planning of languages which fostered the idea of a universal language on the a priori basis, which along with the *Grammaire de Port-Royal* constituted the development of a common linguistic theory and the concept of universality in a language (Blanke 1985).

It should be borne in mind that also Leibniz had with his ideas of a rational language a significant influence on the development of both a priori and a posteriori language projects as the idea of a universal language can be found in his various works particularly in the *Dissertatio de arte combinatoria* published in Leipzig in 1666. His language had three philosophical functions. Firstly, it should be an easy system of combinable symbols which would serve for the designation of available wisdom. As in the case of Dalgarno and Wilkins,

the vocabulary of such a language should be created through the regulation and combination of elementary notions. Secondly, Leibniz saw in a language a new logical tool for thinking with the help of which one could obtain new findings. Worth mentioning is the fact that here can be visible the influence of Descartes and Lullus. Finally, Leibniz thought about an international auxiliary language that would correspond to his conception of dividing knowledge into classes which means that the notions should be indicated by means of digits, that is the *a priori* digital pasygraphy. So that the words can be pronounced the new digits of the decimal system should be combined with the first nine consonants of the Latin alphabet while the series of numbers should be designated by vowels. Composed notions, in turn, should be expressed by the multiplication product of the elements. Leibniz thought not only about a philosophical language as a universal language but also aimed for the simplification of Latin.

The *a priori* systems can be divided into two groups, namely the so-called philosophical projects based on the classification of ideas and the projects based on other principles. The philosophical projects of planned languages from the 17th to the 19th century are based on the assumption that the whole human knowledge can be combined on a finite number of ground/basic notions and other elements. The classification of these ground ideas along with the under-classes and combinations reflects the philosophical conceptions of the particular time and the basic principles of the system were formulated by the great philosophers of the 17th century. These rationalists attempted not to understand the world from the perspective of the medieval scholastic but to organise and structure it anew. They also wanted to create adequate instruments, which would facilitate this reorganisation of knowledge and allow the finding of new knowledge on the logical basis, which would be true because it guaranteed the philosophical character of the scientific instruments (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

All of the philosophical languages are imperfect and they have common errors and deficiencies. First of all, they are closed systems, which means that the further development of knowledge, which is often associated with new regulations, can lead to the change of the whole system or its part if the philosophical language was developed so that it could meet the conditions for adequate communication. Secondly, the small redundancy of vocabulary creates serious difficulties for the acoustic perception of a language as well as its imprinting. The words are often differentiated by similarly sounding and easy to change consonants or vowels, which can be also found in ethnic languages. Even though the sufficient redundancy is compensated on other levels, such compensation is not available in philosophical languages. Moreover, the vocabulary in such languages possesses hardly any natural mnemonic aid because the international lexicon plays no significant role in the construction of words even if there have been attempts to compensate this shortcoming with mnemotechnical rules (Blanke 1985). Even though the authors of philosophical languages strove to achieve concrete constructions of their systems, the expression 'philosophical language' is not so good. Often did the authors of such languages have to specify their practical considerations, for example the number of classes and under-classes because the Latin alphabet possesses only 20 consonants and 6 vowels. Additionally, in most philosophical language projects is reflected

the knowledge on the world's complexity and its constant development and change. In order to crown it all, language as a social phenomenon is linked with the history and development of human society and because of that it reflects inconsistency. The human being not necessarily needs a logical language for communication, which its author can have in mind, as such languages would be too difficult to learn or not very applicable in different domains of human life.

It should be however simultaneously emphasised that the philosophical planned languages have a considerable scientific value. To begin with, the study of philosophical languages opens up a piece of history of the semiotic thought as well as it conveys insight into the philosophical concepts in different historical periods and this concerns predominantly the projects from the 17th and the 18th century. No matter how fundamental the occupation with planned languages may be, the analysis of philosophical languages conveys insights and views also when there is a lack of preconditions on the ground of development levels of linguistics for a well-founded treatment of this problematic and when most of the ideas concerning this matter seem to be speculative. Moreover, the concept of a philosophical language was an element of advanced world view in the 17th century. The idea of a philosophical language proved to be viable and unrealisable but important impulses for the development of modern science emerged from it whereas the search for universal classification contributed to the creation of practically applicable classifications such as decimal for the library sector and the development of information languages and thesauri. What is more, philosophical languages stimulated the practical work of philologists and linguists. There are also relationships between the modern endeavours of structural semantics and the classifications of ground ideas because the author of a philosophical language progress intuitively and they put the notions together. The semantic analysis of constituents proceeds semasiologically and searches for the smallest units of meaning in order to classify them hierarchically so that the machine is self-capable of its algorithm to analyse the meaning of a given word. Finally, the idea of a philosophical language lived consciously in the effort of creating a uniform, formalised and ideal language for science (Blanke 1985).

The special language of chemistry, mathematics and logic that use abstract symbols or different programming languages fall into the category of philosophical languages. The degree of formalisation and mathematization of the metalanguage of a given science is not necessarily a guarantee, either for new cognition or the appearance of a considerable character of science.

4.2. Language reforms of Pānini (Sanskrit)

Planned international auxiliary languages have a relatively short history, which may lead to doubts about their long-term viability. Some problems related to planning process appeared in such relatively successful languages as Esperanto and Volapük and because of that it would be useful to ascertain if languages that are subjected to immutable rules or effective regulations can remain adequate and preferable media of communication. There is at least one language – Sanskrit – that can fall into that category. Sanskrit was originally a natural and unplanned language but a highly detailed codification of it around 300BC became generally accepted as

normative, which means that the varying rules that Sanskrit provided were transmitted to the present day. That was achieved through a rigorous educational process as Classical Sanskrit and this example proves that a planned language with invariable rules can remain in use indefinitely under the right conditions. Even though Sanskrit is generally learned as a second language it can serve as an interlanguage as well as a medium of cultural expression (Dua 1985). In contrast to the planned languages that came into being in the 19th century, Sanskrit is a planned language whose history of over two millennia and a speakership over that time is considerably greater than that of Esperanto with at most a few million of speakers.

It should be borne in mind that Vedic Sanskrit is a natural Indo-European language which possesses a substantial corpus of Vedic literature to this day and it is still used for religious purposes. Not until around 400-300BC was the spoken language (*bhāṣā*) made the subject of the *Astādhyāhī* by Pānini who was one of the great classics of linguistic science. It should be remarked that from that time this book along with its commentaries was taken as normative by the majority of the language community, which resulted in making it a truly planned language. Even though the majority of population at that time used lower varieties of Sanskrit which gave rise to a number of Indo-Aryan languages, Sanskrit reformed by Pānini came to be learned in school by the children of the advantaged in a highly structured and artificial manner. Having had as his intent the regulating of the existing Sanskrit language by means of describing its usage in the mouths of good speakers, Pānini succeeded in creating what in many ways was a new language. As this language took on a role of a regional and international language, here we have to do with a clear case of language planning.

It was already mentioned that the *Astādhyāhī* was completed by Pānini around 400-300BC, which was the culmination of considerable linguistic study before his time. This was particularly motivated by the sacredness of the Vedic language along with its use in ritual having caused a rather detailed research into articulatory phonetics and morphology from about the 8th century before Christ. Even though writing already existed in India at the time of the *Astādhyāhī*'s composition, which was then intended for oral transmission, the *Astādhyāhī* itself employs a version of generative and partly transformational grammar. Insofar as the use of visual diagrams and formulae was precluded, the work was not composed in the language it is describing but in a kind of the so called Pāninian Meta-Sanskrit which was marked by special conventions for expressing complex categories and relationships in a concise way. The ingeniously coded language of the *Astādhyāhī* permits it to include a remarkably complete description of the complex Sanskrit language even though the aforementioned work only comprises about thirty to thirty-five pages of medium-sized *devanāgarī* type that can be recited in less than two hours. Many talented grammarians followed Pānini which are collectively called as the Sages. These include for example Kātyāyana (ca. 350BC) and Patañjali (ca. 15CE). As this tradition has currently transcended Indian culture, it is now being carried out by such scholars as J.D. Joshi and A.F. Roodbergen (Maurus 2014).

Even though Pānini established the foundations of Classical Sanskrit, he had not intended to distinguish it from Vedic Sanskrit. He acknowledged a difference by specifically marking some parts of his work as applicable to the Vedas. He also considered as his main task the description of *bhāṣā*, that is the contemporary colloquial language. As the Vedas were

still being transmitted orally at his time, he took as models of contemporary conversational Sanskrit solely the utterances of those who were evaluated by him as good speakers. Nevertheless, the language described by Pānini began to take on a life of its own which was increasingly different from the Vedic Sanskrit language. What he didn't desire and anticipate was the collapse of the Vedic tonal accent which was replaced by a positional accent similar to that in Latin, which led to a clear distinction between the two forms of Sanskrit. Of interest can be the fact that around 100CE the Buddhist Aśvaghosa wrote his famous *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana (Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra)* in Classical Sanskrit, which contributed to the style of that language and demonstrated that Mahayanist Buddhists at least accepted Sanskrit even though it was for a long time shunned by Buddhists and Jains as too Brahmanical. But thanks to Hindu and Buddhist influences Classical Sanskrit became an international language from the Philippines to modern Afghanistan and Central Asia and it is used today internationally in broadcast and print journalism not to mention its use in scholarly works. As for the Constitution of the Republic of India, it rules that twenty-one languages including Sanskrit are scheduled to be used for examination for high-level civil service posts. The constitution also stipulates the aid for Sanskrit in terms of corpus planning, which means that the modes of its expressions are being enriched so that Sanskrit can be used for effective communication with regard to modern technology and culture (Dua 1985).

Not only is the Classical Pāninian Sanskrit the sole form of modern i.e. non-Vedic Sanskrit as numerous epic poets patronised this language by producing and reciting such works as the *Ramāyana* and *Mahābhārata*. Even if their Sanskrit was not expressively Pāninian, it is very similar to the language reformed by this person. Although the Golden Age of Classical Sanskrit began with *Aśvaghosa* and ended around 1100AD, it extended for a millennium. As in the case of the world's greatest classical languages such as Greek, Latin and Chinese, Classical Sanskrit was mostly no longer being written by native speakers throughout the period of its height but by persons who had learned it as a second language by means of very artificial and grammar-oriented methods, which seemed to be seen quite discouraging to any creativity.

As for the education in Classical Sanskrit, it was traditionally in the centre of the entire educational process which began at the age of six, when children had to memorise the *Astādhyāhī*. From the standpoint of the learners this was almost two hours of recitation of nonsense syllables for Sanskrit was not their native language not to mention Pāninian Meta-Sanskrit. Curiously, this memorisation process took eight months even though a thorough knowledge of the core text would be later invaluable for further learning. The *Astādhyāhī* remained the principal object of the children's study until the age of fifteen before they began the study of a more advanced commentary on the *Astādhyāhī* for the following five years. After having studied logic and metaphysics, they went to university for two years of advanced study to be later examined at the royal court. For anyone who succeeded in the exam, the monarch gave them land to support them, which freed them to study works by Patañjali along with his commentators for another five years. Despite the difficulty of its codification, the Classical Sanskrit language was able to perpetuate itself and to remain mostly unchanged in regard to the aspects that were covered by the tradition, whereas the vernacular Indian

languages changed around it, which resulted from community values strongly in support of Sanskrit as well as from a dedicated educational system. It was the ever new generations of dedicated Sanskritists who had invested a considerable part of their youth to master the Sanskrit language. It should be also borne in mind that there were other ways to learn Sanskrit, not necessarily from five grammar books for over twenty years. A number of traders or others who used Sanskrit might have picked it up less formally, say, by making use of its similarities to their native languages. Sanskrit was known enough by many common people who appreciated the performances of epics and dramas written in this language. Nowadays it is claimed by some movements that Sanskrit can be learnt in a short time without the use of textbooks. Even though the Indian education continues to teach Sanskrit in a number of public schools, it doesn't do it as extensively as the traditional system, though the traditional method certainly produced persons who were more intimately familiar with Pānini (Maurus 2014). It can be of use to say that the traditional religious education via Ge'ez in Ethiopia is akin to that used in the case of Sanskrit. The young candidates for priests start learning Classical Ethiopic by memorising simple texts from the Holy Script that they don't understand. This method of acquiring foreign languages has one important advantage. It is much easier for learners to learn the vocabulary of Ge'ez and understandably of Sanskrit as thanks to the memorised fragments of classical literature they acquire the lexical contexts of the already extended vocabulary.

The question whether or how Classical Sanskrit developed over the millennia within the apparent straitjacket of its codification is a subject of further discussion. Even though the development of Sanskrit was sometimes instigated by its surrounding natural languages, it was in many cases internally driven and highly idiosyncratic. Even if Sanskrit simply retained forms and features that were changing in the surrounding languages which were mandated forever for this language by its most outstanding work and this concerns e.g. the dual number which was retained by Sanskrit and died in the vernacular languages around it.

Not all the possible ways in which Sanskrit may change were predicted by Pānini. The fact that not all was equally prescribed in that language can be supported by that there is relatively little written in the *Astādhyāhī* about syntax. Insofar as Sanskrit imitated the development in surrounding languages of using participles so as to express past-tense meanings, this became obligatory in the surrounding natural languages but Sanskrit always permitted the use of the traditional finite forms if the speaker wished to apply them. In contrast to the surrounding natural languages, Sanskrit retained the whole original case system where some of the cases began to take on new meanings. Also the use of compounds evolved notably in the Sanskrit language so it is not unusual in Classical Sanskrit to contain five compound words for a fairly short sentence. Each compound has four or five elements and not rarely do appear single compound words that possess over twenty elements. This is in no case used apologetically because of any perceived clumsiness but it is supposed to be an aesthetic contribution to the text, which permits great conciseness even if the absence of internal case marking can lead to ambiguities when the context is not sufficiently clear. It should be not overlooked that Classical Sanskrit developed also in vocabulary. While some older Indo-European terms fell into disuse, many non-Indo-European words were accepted, which wasn't

in any way detrimental to its intrinsic grammatical features (Dua 1985).

It is obvious that neither the production of a monumental grammar nor having a language academy is any guarantee that grammatical laws will be followed. The scholarly genius of Pānini heavily contributed to the development of Sanskrit as no other language was endowed with such a brilliant descriptive grammar. Other thing that has given a tremendous prestige to the language is the Hindu religion by which Sanskrit is acknowledged as a sacred language. What is also typical for planned auxiliary languages is that they are often felt by their promoters as quasi-sacred languages and because of that their adepts are being brought into a community of like-minded idealists that transcend not only linguistic barriers but also cultural obstacles. In language planing there can be evidently nothing impossible or detrimental to linguistic development or communicativity as the example of Sanskrit is highly analogous to an a posteriori planned language such as Esperanto or Ido. Even though Sanskrit was originally a natural language, it became thoroughly codified and regulated, which was later accepted by the society around it.

The Sanskrit experience might teach contemporary planners about planned languages because of the three reasons. Firstly, the case of Sanskrit proves that language planning can work over extended periods of time, which means that it not necessarily collapses due to conflicts with the ongoing planning process. Despite the presence of outside influence from other languages Sanskrit demonstrates that the codified rules of a planned language can be highly detailed so that their implementation can be preserved over a wide geographical extent. Secondly, it is proved by the case of Sanskrit that the existence of rules for which there is no provision for change don't cripple a language or hinder its further evolution, which doesn't preclude that some modifications may take place in certain directions. Finally, the Sanskrit language proves that a language can flourish widely and over an extended period of time as a medium of communication and literary expressions even if it is not a native language for most people.

4.3. Significant language reforms in the 19th – 20th century

4.3.1. Norwegian

In Norway, there are two official languages, namely *nynorsk* and *bokmål*, both of which were constructed according to a plan. The historical reasons for the phenomenon of diglossia in Norway are that the Norwegian written language disappeared at the time of Danish reign in that country which lasted from 1380 to 1814. Even though the Danish language was official at that time and it was used by officials and intellectuals, the peasants used old Norwegian dialects. After the end of the union with Denmark, the Norwegians had no proper literary language so one of the solutions of the problem was to create it on the basis of the actually spoken historical dialects. This was made by the Norwegian linguist Ivar Aasen (1813-1896), though the conservationists preferred the language of the townspeople and intellectuals. The imperial Danish language was reformed by Knud Knudsen (1812-1895) which gave rise to the bokmål language. Nowadays, *nynorsk* is used by about half a million of speakers and spoken by 17% of school learners, while *bokmål* is spoken by around four millions of people and it is

the language of instruction in 80% of Norwegian schools (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

Ivar Aasen was one of the most remarkable linguists in the 19th century. Although he suffered many handicaps in his life, all his work to create a new Norwegian language was appreciated not only in his homeland but also beyond its borders. Aasen lived in a country where an elementary education was available to everyone and he had access to the collections of private libraries in the surrounding area. At the age of 17 he started to keep a diary in which he mentioned all the books he had read. Moreover, he busied himself with writing poetry and prose and some of his works became today's Norwegian classics. Having been orphaned in his early childhood, he was housed by the local Dean thanks to whom he acquired a good command of Latin and Greek. Even though Aasen was offered the possibility of a university education, he refused declaring that he wished to remain within his own class by devoting his life to his benefit. Having been only 22 years old, Aasen conceived the idea that was to be his guiding star through life and having experimented on both methods of creating a new Norwegian language proposed by the writers contemporary to him, he absolutely rejected the idea whereby the proposed new language was to retain the Danish framework. In 1836 he wrote down a plan to construct a national language on the basis of the folk dialects, though it was not his purpose to promote any of these dialects. A revision of his dialect sketch was completed in 1841 but Aasen went on learning the neighbouring Scandinavian languages such as Icelandic and Swedish that helped him not only to find the fixed points in the field of his study but also to see the correspondences in these languages (Haugen 1972).

Even though in the first version of the grammar the material was organised in relation to Danish, the revision was oriented to Old Norse. It was thanks to the learned bishop of Bergen diocese that Aasen was employed by the Royal Scientific Society in Trondheim as the country's dialect investigator. Having been supported both by the aforementioned society and the Norwegian government, Aasen travelled across the country in order to investigate the numerous Norwegian dialects. After five full years of travel his results were published in the form of grammar entitled *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik* (1848), which was followed by a dictionary entitled *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* where Aasen had expanded the framework of his grammar and vocabulary of the local dialect so as to encompass all the so-called genuine dialects of Norway. The next step of Ivar Aasen was to establish the vowel system for his conception of the Norwegian language as he recognised that the vowel system of the Norwegian dialects had retained a more archaic structure than modern Icelandic. As both of these languages were politically and linguistically dominated by Danish, Aasen had in mind a goal of liberation and purification. Although he was advised by his academic mentors, to follow the examples of Icelandic and Faroese, Aasen knew that Icelandic was an unreliable guide for Norwegian which should be built first and foremost on a comparison of the Norwegian dialects so that all the basic features of Norwegian structure could be brought out in order to distinguish Norwegian from its neighbours. Simultaneously fixed points of comparison were fixed by these neighbours including the mother tongue Old Norse and the sister tongues to the east and west. It was also required that the position of Norwegian should fulfil the same functions and have a comparable dignity and value as a standard language so this comparison had to be not only external but also internal. Aasen's hierarchy of values

stipulated that the Norwegian dialects were primary, Old Norse was secondary whereas the sister languages were tertiary. Especially valued by him was the Swedish language because its forms were clearly more conservative and close to those of Norwegian (Haugen 1972).

As no dialect was found by Aasen to be described as perfect and thus be made the basis of a national language, he resorted to a technique of comparative dialectology. For each dialect was established the correspondence among cognate words. This made it possible to find the forms of greatest generality and these so-called permutations included indifferently what one has learned to call sound changes and morphophonemic correspondences, which included both Umlaut and Ablaut. These permutations which a given dialect showed were noted by Aasen for each new dialect he studied so that they could be added to his collection of lexical forms. In the contents of his grammar for the Norwegian language Aasen presented the basic rules that occur in that language in a simple, precise and clear way and in a style that would do honour to any grammarian. For example, in the chapter on phonology, Aasen dealt with the individual sounds, their combinations and their prosodic features which included stress and tone. He presented the rules for Umlaut and Ablaut in the chapter on morphophonemic as the forms of alternation within the grammatical forms of a language. In the two appendices Aasen surveyed the dialects and their chief divisions and summarised the characteristics of his language compared with other Germanic languages, other Scandinavian languages and Old Norse. There was also discussed the nature of the vocabulary of *nynorsk* and the problem that faces the users of a language so that his language could be spoken not merely by peasants and could fulfil the functions of a cultivated standard language.

In the dictionary of the Norwegian language prepared by Aasen are featured around 40.000 words with precise and full information on the inflections, meanings and dialect forms of each word so the two books of his dictionary constitute a thorough description of the language. Moreover, one can still read his grammar with great profit as an introduction to the study of the Norwegian dialects. The terminology, even if it seems at times old-fashioned and traditional, meets the basic requirements of a descriptive grammar which is not one-sidedly limited to phonology and inflection but it covers exhaustively each level from the sounds to the stylistics. It should be of interest to remark that for every rule is provided the evidence on which it is based in the dialect not to mention the reasoning which led the author to establish it in just the way he did (Haugen 1972).

Aasen also had in mind the practical problems of his potential followers by having frequently considered one form preferable to another for reasons of beauty, clarity and elegance, even though the basic decisions were dictated by what he had learned of the methods of linguistic reconstruction. As for the lexical purism of Aasen, a large number of German-derived words that were commonly used in Danish and in the most of Norwegian dialects were excluded and thus the rules of correspondence made it feasible for the first time to separate out the borrowed elements from the native ones. Even though Aasen recognised that Norwegian was entitled to enrich its vocabulary by borrowing like any other language, he rejected it as the right way to develop and enrich the language because of the complication of the phonological and derivation rules of the language which made it difficult for a common man to learn them (Haugen 1972).

Although Ivar Aasen made a great deal of work to reconstruct and standardise the modern Norwegian language, his work was met with considerable criticism from both domestic and foreign linguists. A distinguished linguist from Norway, Johan Storm faulted Aasen that his work was a result of an arbitrary and indiscriminate mixture of dialects. The French linguist Antoine Meillet included it among the new superfluous European languages that were allegedly a result of the takeover of the peasantry. The English historian Arnold Toynbee condemned modern Norwegian as an example of the unfortunate archaizing of modern Europe which served for the striving of new nations to provide themselves with ancestors.

Even though it is undeniable that Aasen's language had some archaic features, they are a direct consequence of the theory of standardisation on which it was based. What is more, the procedures implemented by Aasen in the application of his theory are entirely in harmony with the teachings of the founders of comparative and historical linguistics and there is nothing arbitrary or unsystematic in his approach. Conversely, it was the classic quality of his language that resulted in a great degree from his concern with structural consistency. The Norwegian language is thus a reconstructed language which was based on the rigorous implementation of the methods of comparative linguistics.

4.3.2. Bahasa Indonesia

Language standardisation is necessary in the countries where many people are living and using different languages. This is the case of the Indonesian islands where hundreds of languages are spoken that are not reciprocally understandable. Because the language of the former colonists, namely Dutch was politically unacceptable, while the use of the most spoken language i.e. Javanese would not be democratic. That is why the state commission created at the time of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia the Indonesian language on the basis of commonly used word roots which was identical with the Malayan roots but with Dutch orthography. Around 320.000 words were constructed whereas the loanwords came from Dutch, Javanese, Arabic, Sanskrit and Chinese. After the foundation of the Indonesian Republic, the Bahasa Indonesia language was officially used for writing constitution and other state and religious documents. To the stabilisation of Bahasa Indonesia contributed numerous publishing houses and periodicals. Bahasa Indonesia is currently spoken by around 23 million of native speakers while it remains a secondary language for a population of 142 millions of people (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

One can divide the development of the Republic of Indonesia into four main periods, namely the period of liberal democracy from 1950, the guided democracy of the Sukarno era from 1959, the new order regime of the Suharto era – from 1966 and the current reform period from 1998. Even though these periods were politically important, they don't usually mark the changes in language planning and policy directions but some people argue that it was the charismatic supreme ruler of Indonesia named Sukarno who set the norms for the acceptable use of the national planning. It may be of interest to say that in the 32 current provinces of Indonesia the governors are centrally appointed which means that decisions about language and education are made centrally. In order to deal with language planning and

policy in Indonesia a series of language planning agencies were created some of which were the direct successors to the Indonesian Language Commission of 1943 and the Language Commission of 1947. Presently, the National Centre for Language development is responsible for conducting basic language research on teaching for Bahasa Indonesia and other languages, developing dictionaries and terminology as well as monitoring the planning process. This body has been operating directly under the Ministry of Education of Culture since 1975 and it also coordinates the activities of ten other institutions such as universities, teacher training colleges and different Ministry bodies with language-related functions that provides a comprehensive network that deals with language planning issues in Indonesia (Kaplan, Baldauf 2003).

Even though the original Indonesian spelling system was developed by Van Ophuysen in 1896, it differed from the British Malaya 'Wilkinson spelling' of 1904 where the consonant and vowel system was rendered according to the spelling conventions of both colonizers. It was not until 1947 when the first considerable spelling reforms were made for Bahasa Indonesia, which gave rise to the so-called Melindo common spelling that was phonemically based and presupposed the creation of some new diagraphs. The Melindo system was agreed by experts both from Indonesia and Malaya. After renewed cooperation in the late 1960s, the Improved Spelling Reform was passed in 1972, which related to the spoken variety and corresponded to the written version of Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia, which meant that the reading pronunciation was developed into standard speech. Having been initially based on the principles of phonemicity and rapprochement between the systems of the two countries, the new standard gave consideration to international usage that was particularly English. Because of that the spelling became rather graphemic than phonemic and neither new letters nor diacritics were added.

As the development of terminology for a new language is a major undertaking, it has been the focus of much attention in developing Bahasa Indonesia as standard language. Although there was an official list of 10,130 Malay words compiled by Van Ophuysen during the Dutch colonial period, these were augmented with more technical terms during the Japanese occupation and after the war. For Bahasa Indonesia about 321,000 modern terms were created by the terminology committee between 1950 and 1967, while the first lists were published in *Medan Bahasa* (The field of language) in 1952 and in *Bahasa dan Budaya* (Language and Culture), which was followed by the publications through the governmental printer Balai Pustaka. The Indonesian government re-established the terminology committee in the Ministry of Education's Language Centre in 1975 that collaborated with the Malaysian Language Council so as to standardise terminology in education, science and technology, which has brought the formal terminological efforts of these countries together. It should be borne in mind that the coining of neologisms in Bahasa Indonesia is an on-going process.

The dictionary and grammar development including the terminological work has been part of the charter of different language planning agencies since the beginning of the Japanese occupation. Now it is part of the responsibility of the Language Centre. The early years of the Indonesian Republic brought intensive discussion between the conservatives and modern writers or journalists about the nature of Bahasa Indonesia. Argued by the conservatives was

the fact that Bahasa Indonesia was nothing but the Malay language, though it was resolved during the Congress of Bahasa Indonesia held in Medan in Northern Sumatra in 1954 that the Malay language was the origin and basis of Bahasa Indonesia which was adapted and modified in accordance with its growth and development in society. Worth mentioning is the fact that the official Indonesian Grammar was in its third edition as of 1998 even though other grammars are also available. Also the Poerwadarminta's *General Dictionary of Indonesian* was republished through the governmental printer that has been widely used in tertiary institutions.

A significant impact on the development of Bahasa Indonesia has been exerted by the media and those working in it. It was writers and journalists that were in the front of defining contemporary usage in the early period of the Republic, which often put them at odds with more conservative elements in society such as language teachers. As there was no national press, Bahasa Indonesia had no written standards as exemplars and it was not until the early 1960s when President Sukarno had an impact on the boundaries of language development through his charismatic style and usage in the media by providing examples of non-traditional word formation along with interlingual borrowing. In this way the conventions were attacked and acceptable usage was expanded (Kaplan, Baldauf 2003). It can be of interest to say that the situation of Amharic in Ethiopia at the turn of the 20th century when newspapers were introduced was no less problematic than those of Indonesia after the end of the Second World War. With poorly standardised vocabulary and grammar and the extensive dialectal differences, which was deteriorated by nearly the same stylistic standards in speech and writing, the Ethiopian journalists and educated men faced a very difficult task of elaborating a neutral discourse of the Amharic language that would be from the one side different from spoken Amharic and from the other side lexically and syntactically uniform. Thanks to the increasing growth of mass media in Ethiopia, not only the dialectally neutral form of Amharic succeeded to be shaped but also the formation of neologisms started to be monitored, which is all the more important for the at least partial elimination of English loan words from Amharic.

The growth of Bahasa Indonesia was spontaneous and free-flowing for many reasons. There was the urgent need to develop this language quickly in order to fill the vacuum left by the demise of colonial languages, that is Dutch and Japanese and the lack of a common national language. Since in the early years before the war Indonesian literature was dominated by those whose home language was close to Malay, the most important writers after the cessation of war hostilities were the Javanese to whom Bahasa Indonesia was a new or second tradition, which has helped to transform the old elegance and idioms of Malay into a new and refreshingly dynamic literary language.

Even though radio is the main medium in Indonesia that reaches the mass audience, also the recent access to television and video usage have had the major influence both on language and identity. For the users of Bahasa Indonesia the media are exhibiting models of behaviour, which makes them to be accustomed to a common national output to which they can relate. Thanks to the extensive use of that language a sense of Indonesian identity was created. As it was argued that languages serve four important functions in education and society, that is the cognitive, instrumental, integrative and cultural one, these functions have important implications for the ways that language are used. In relation to the linguistic

situation in Indonesia, all these functions are served only by Bahasa Indonesia, whereas regional vernacular languages serve to enhance the group and cultural identity. As for foreign languages, they are learned in Indonesia for instrumental functions in order to provide learners with the experience of a broader world view (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003).

As for the today's development of Bahasa Indonesia, it occurs spontaneously and fluently because of many reasons. As the new language was urgently needed for the replacement of Dutch and Malayan in Indonesia, a new tradition was introduced where the old elegance of the Malayan language was transformed into a new and dynamic literary language i.e. Bahasa Indonesia. By the extensive use of this language in mass media, not only the development of that language is influenced but also the creation of the national identity was successfully accomplished. When it comes to the linguistic situation in Indonesia, the cognitive, instrumental, unifying and cultural function of the language greatly implicates the way Bahasa Indonesia is used. All these four functions are met not only by Bahasa Indonesia but also by other vernacular languages in the county, which reinforces the sense of the group and cultural identity.

4.4. Planning of schematic languages (Esperanto)

In the understanding of Detlev Blanke (1999), planned languages are a result of the conscious and aim-oriented language construction and because of that they are regarded as the products of language planning. As planned languages are the expressions of searching rational and precise expressive means in a language and they are close to the attempts of regulation and adaptation of ethnic languages also for the purposes of machine communication, they gave the impulses for the evolution of specialized languages particularly for terminological science. Since planned languages have hardly responded for sociologically meaningful and considerable needs of communication, the most numerous of all presently existing results in regard to specialized languages are mainly the product of private attempts that are scarcely sustained by the society. It should be borne in mind that if any language is devoid of specialized areas, it is menaced by the loss of importance as well as the eventual fading of its social significance and because of its limited communicative function it may have the folk significance in the future or be restricted to the usage in the family. Of interest can be the fact that the aforementioned evolution is not only limited to artificial languages but also to the ethnic ones. As an example of it one can mention the current hegemony of the English language which can have a negative impact on other languages in the world.

As far as planned languages are concerned, they can be classified into three categories according to D. Blanke, namely projects without any practical application, some systems with limited practical use, e.g. Volapük, Ido, Latino sine flexione, Occidental-Interlingue or Basic English, and planned languages in the full sense of language with considerably developed communicative functions such as Esperanto. This language was created by the Polish ophthalmologist L. L. Zamenhof in 1887 as a means of reconciliation between the users of ethnic languages who lived in discord. Even though not all Esperantists follow the ideas of Zamenhof, Esperanto serves also other functions for them such as a hobby, a language plaything, an artistic expression (particularly for poets and writers), an instrument for

practical communication or a political alternative for a common language. It should be also mentioned that a certain part of the adepts of planned languages are often engaged with language policies, which means that they are interested for language rights or they criticise the hegemonic position of few languages used for international communication such as English. They also plead for non-discriminated communication in neutral languages by drawing right attention to the phenomenon of linguistic imperialism along with its negative results. The question of the evolution of Esperanto and its communicational potential is not infrequently emphasised by the abundant literature, either original or translated, which undoubtedly exists in a considerable quantity and quality as opposed to the non-significant one in other planned languages. What is more, the literary creation in Esperanto has evidently great significance for the development and stabilisation of expressive powers in a planned language as well as it can be a proof for its independent cultural function. Even though the function of identity doesn't appear in artificial languages, it can be typical of evolved planned languages such as Esperanto, where there is a speaking community for which the language serves to express that someone belongs to that community in the same way as in ethnic languages. As the part of the Esperanto community accepts this identity, they consider that Esperanto is their own language that they use for writing. Although the speaking community of Esperanto with around 2 million of users is bigger than those of numerous ethnic languages, it is different from the ethnic communities because it is self-elected, non-ethnic and non-territorial (Blanke 1999). Worth mentioning is also the fact that Esperanto survived 130 years thanks to the richness of the original and translated literature. Even though some people are critical of planned languages as media of literary expression, the energy of many generations of writers devoted to the creation or translation of literary works from many languages has admittedly not been lost. Because of its uncomplex structures and the abundance of literary texts Esperanto can quite safely compete with a number of ethnic languages also beyond Europe.

A planned language differ from the ethnic ones by their emergence linked to some person and in regard to their sources and structures they can be linked to a language families but only in the case of a posteriori languages. Having created Esperanto, Zamenhof drew the basic vocabulary from the Indo-European languages that is from the Romance, Germanic and Slavic ones not to mention the international words from Greek and Latin. Esperanto as the sole artificial language meets all the 28 criteria of a fully evolved planned languages proposed by Detlev Blanke (see in 2.4.3.) while most of artificial languages remain in the category of proposed language projects. Even though these criteria are not fulfilled by a number of ethnic languages, it is the speaking community that is essential for the survival of both ethnic and planned languages. From the present usage of Esperanto one can draw a conclusion that it is functioning in the same way as other ethnic languages as it is capable of expressing the thoughts and feelings of its users, it develops rapidly in the speaking community and it is used for international communication although it is usually not a mother language for most of its speakers.

As Puškar (2016) pointed it out, it is the language initiator (Zamenhof [for Esperanto]) who chooses the language variety and its purpose, pursues the question of neutrality and ownership (Zamenhof relinquished his rights for his language to the language community),

decides about the ways of its planning in terms of writing system, grammatical rules and vocabulary. If such languages are accepted by the community, they develop by the growth of either proper or translated literature, periodicals and lexicography. After the standardisation of such languages and the crystallization of the forms of literary expression, the further planning can be done to some extent by the specific languages academies (Akademio de Esperanto) and other advisory bodies (Universala Esperanto Asocio).

The Esperanto language, as other ethnic and artificial languages, is subjected to language planning which can occur on many levels such as the sound system, syntax, vocabulary and semantic aspects of a language. According to the typological analysis of Koutny (2015a) based also on the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS), Esperanto with its 27 sounds is a phonetically average language (the average language has from 20 to 40 sounds) but one should bear in mind that apart from the number of sounds it is important for phonetic systems in such languages that the sounds are easily pronounced and combined with the other ones. The five vowels of Esperanto (*a, e, i, o, u*) are the most frequent ones in the world's languages and the fact that they are easily distinguishable ensures a significant internationality for Esperanto. It is generally assumed, also in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) that an average language should have 5-6 vowels not including their length and nasality or the number of diphthongs. As for the 22 consonants of Esperanto, namely *b, ts, tf, d, f, g, dz, h, x, j, ʒ, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, ŝ, t, v, z*, they are quite often in many languages but the minimal pairs which are close in the process of pronunciation can be not simple to be distinguished by those whose languages don't distinguish the voiced and unvoiced consonants like in Chinese. Even though the most frequent consonants (*m, k, j, p, w, b, h, g*) are present in Esperanto, this language contains more sounds such as *ŭ* (*w*) as well as the eventually independent phoneme *dz* e.g. *edzo* (husband) and *nj* which are not considered by Esperantic linguists as distinct consonants (Koutny 2015a). Of interest can be also the fact that the proportion of vowels to consonants (5:22) is one of the characteristic traits of Esperanto. As for the pronunciation of sounds, it is the same in different contexts, though Zamenhof suggested in the *Lingvaj Respondoj* (Linguistic Responds) that each sound should be pronounced distinctly. What is remarkable in the later evolution of Esperanto is a tendency to reduce the sounds by the marginalisation of the uvular consonant *ĥ* (*x*) that is often replaced by *k*, for example *ĥemio* – *kemio* (chemistry). On the other hand, the consonant combinations can impede the pronunciation for the Koreans and the Japanese, e.g., *strato* (street) or *ekstrebi* (to start to make an effort). Even though it was the fault of Zamenhof not to take the words to Esperanto consequently, it is not possible to construct a language which could be easily pronounced for everyone in all of its details. The use of the frequently appearing words really contributes to the internationalisation of Esperanto, which can be on the other hand hampered by the consonant combinations (Koutny 2015a).

In Esperanto, the accent is on the penultimate syllable of the word and there are no changes that occur in the unaccented syllables. Even though the Esperanto prosody shows a difference because of the lack of rules, the influence of the native language of speakers causes no misunderstanding. As for the yes/no questions, they are marked in the form of the particle *ĉu* (whether) that is placed at the beginning of a sentence. In regard to the orthography of

Esperanto, it reflects the pronunciation which is phonemic and regular but the unequivocal mapping between the sounds and letters is not possible because of the phenomenon of co-articulation.

She (Koutny 2015a) goes on with the phrase structure in Esperanto, which is made clear enough by the unambiguous endings marking the categories of words, which is not mentioned in the WALs. In order to justify this, let us consider the following sentence:

La turistoj volonte fotografis la oblikvan turon en la urbo.

The tourists willingly took pictures of the leaning tower in the town.

Evident are the syntactic roles on the morphological basis marked by the endings and prepositions:

subject (the ending *-o* and zero morpheme as a case ending),

object (the accusative case ending *-n*, in nouns, adjectives and pronouns)

predicate (verbal ending along with a word and case ending, here *-is*)

adverbial (the *-e* ending or prepositional syntagma) and

attributive (the *-a* word ending of the adjective with the categorical ending of the determined word).

When it comes to the word order in Esperanto, it is not fixed to which allows the marked object. As an example, one can say in Esperanto 'I eat an apple' (*mi manĝas pomon*) in three ways namely *mi manĝas pomon* (I eat an apple), *pomon mi manĝas* (an apple I eat) and *manĝas mi pomon* (eat I an apple), which is not possible in English. The first mentioned form is usual, the second one is usually emphatic, while the third one is very rare and strongly marked. More fixed is the word order within a syntagma where the preposition, article and numeral is placed before the possible adjective and noun. Even though the noun is usually preceded by an adjective, the inverse word order is also possible especially if there are several adjectives in a sentence. As for the possessive structure, the possession is placed before its possessor.

In regard to relative sentences in Esperanto, the relative clause follows the noun, usually with a relative pronoun, which is typical of the European languages where occurs right-branching construction. A relative clause transformed into participle syntagma is also possible but too unwieldy. Thanks to the flexible structure of Esperanto it is possible to express the same thing in a different way not only by varying the word order but also by using a multiple-word expression or its more synthetic form, for example *altlernejo por plenkreskuloj* (a high school for adults) – *porplenkreskula alternejo* or *dum la sekva monato* (in the following month) – *sekvontmonate*. Koutny (2015a) concludes that this flexibility makes Esperanto a really international language because it makes it possible to transfer diverse structures from other languages and adapt it to different ways of thinking.

Even though Esperanto belongs to agglutinative languages according to the morphological typology, the agglutinateness of Esperanto appears in the basic grammatical

functions such as plural, the accusative ending of the noun, tense or mode in verbs as well as in the word formation but not in the synthetic forms on the phrase level when multiple syntactic functions appear in one word as in the case of Hungarian – as she (Koutny) confronts Esperanto to it. Also the number of lexical morphemes, roots and grammatical morphemes is relatively small in Esperanto with only 40 affixes, which are used in word formation. Additionally, almost all of them are unchangeable with the exception of the affixes *-ĉj* and *-nj* which admittedly change the root *patro* – *paĉjo* (father – daddy) and *patrino* – *panjo* (mother – mummy) but they are used solely with personal nouns and family members. What is specific for Esperanto is that even though the affixes are for the most part independent which means that they became roots, a distinction between affixes and roots should be retained because of their frequent role in word formation. Notwithstanding the fact that there are some closed classes of independent morphemes such as pronouns, numerals, particles, prepositions, articles or simple adverbs, the addition of the new ones to them usually causes acrid disputes. The words of Esperanto have thus the following structure (Koutny 2015a):

prefixes – root – suffixes – word ending – word class ending,

where at least one element has to appear before the word ending if the root doesn't belong to the independent endings. Moreover, a word ending may not appear in case of an independent ending, while there can be several affixes and roots by which a clear structure is given to the words of Esperanto, for example *vetur-il-o* (vehicle), *ge-lern-ant-o* (student [in a group of male and female students]), *ek-bril-as* (it starts to flash), *mult-eg-a* (terrific) or *mal-rapid-e* (slowly).

As for the declination and conjugation in Esperanto respectively, the declination consists of merely two cases, namely, nominative and accusative while other rections are expressed by means of prepositions used with the nominative or accusative forms of nouns. By the structure of these nouns is also manifested the agglutinateness of Esperanto, which means that from a root or a radical the word class ending makes a word that can be either a noun or an adjective. So the basic form with a zero morpheme at the end is a nominative whereas the accusative is created by the additional *-n* ending. The conjugation of the Esperantic verb, in turn, shows both the tense and mood but it fails to mark the number and person by which the obligatory use of the subject with a verb is the consequence on the syntactic level of a sentence. Because of the lack of a step that makes a verb from a root or a radical, the full agglutinateness is not available. One should thus add a respective ending to the verb which can be the marker of verbality, tense and mood. In case of the word *parol-as*, for the verbality of which there is no particular element, the ending *-as* shows simultaneously the verbality, present tense and indicative mood. Having compared this system with other agglutinative or inflectional languages, the Esperantic one is not only much less complex in regard to the grammatical structure of words but also more regular and transparent.

As for the semantic aspects of Esperanto, the elements and meanings can be combinable, which means that the word formation in this planned languages is a regular and

productive process and it is semantics that only limits the combinability of the words and morphemes. This has many advantages for the adepts of Esperanto as it reduces the time necessary for the learning of vocabulary as well as it contributes to the language economy. What is more, multiple morphemes are linked to form the new words in Esperanto, whose meaning can be deducible from the meanings of the elements. For example, the Esperantic word for 'divorce' is *eks-ge-edz-iĝ-o* where the core word '*edz-(o)*' (husband) is modified by a number of affixes.

Having explored the structure of Esperanto Koutny (2015a) claims that it regulates and generalises all that ethnic language do but to a lesser extent. In Esperanto one can choose just one affix that can be used regularly and productively. She considers such Esperantic words as *bel-ec-o* (beauty), *inteligent-ec-o* (intelligence), *modern-ec-o* (modernity) and *natur-ec-o* (naturalness) and compare them with their both German and English equivalents, that is *Schönheit*, *Klugheit*, *Modernheit* and *Natürlichkeit*, and *beauty*, *intelligence*, *modernity* and *naturalness* respectively, we can draw a conclusion that the Esperantic suffix *-ec-* can express all these traits consequentially while in German and English there are two and four different derivational processes respectively. The *ec-*morpheme can be also applied to express other traits such as *plurpied-ec-o* when one has in mind the number of legs that different animal species use to move or *kvinstel-ec-o* referred to the characteristic of a five-star hotel. Furthermore, the word *ec-o* can function independently as a trait. It is not the context but the very word that determines its function, be it verbal or other one. As the process of derivation is a basic principle of Esperanto, the compositionality or derivability of meanings from the meanings of the elements makes this language suitable for computational processing. Thanks to its productive word formation, which gives Esperanto a considerable power of expression, the vocabulary of Esperanto consists of the core word stock with words derived from it (Koutny 2015a).

Planned languages can be schematic or naturalistic. In the field of interlinguistics the notion schematism is usually used for a priori languages that is the philosophical ones which don't have a conscious relation with natural languages even though in most cases their lexicon is purely arbitrary whereas their grammar is generally similar to those of the Indo-European languages. Even though the philosophical languages are schematic in character, the common category of a posteriori languages can also be schematic, by contrast with naturalistic languages such as Interlingua. Naturalism, in turn, is applied for a posteriori languages which consciously imitate the already existing natural languages. Both of these terms are also used in interlinguistics in order to distinguish between the a posteriori languages i.e. those which are based on the intentionally autonomous lexicon and word formation and those whose aim is to imitate as faithfully as possible the lexical content of one or several already existing languages. Very schematic is Volapük even though its lexicon was constructed on the basis of the existing European languages. As for Esperanto, it is evidently a schematic language but it looks as a European and principally a Romance language. More naturalistic than Esperanto are such artificial languages as Novial, Interlingue and Interlingua and they are naturalistic to such a degree that they imitate the derivational processes of the Romance languages. Of interest can be the fact that even the authors of Novial and Interlingue, Jespersen and de Wahl

respectively, criticized Esperanto for having the words that don't exist in other languages, for example the correlatives (E-o. *tabelvortoj*), the endings of word categories (*o, a, as*, etc.) as well as the affixes that are too far from those of the natural languages. However, in esperantology it is not the matter of these two systems between which one should choose or which co-exists in the same language but of the tendencies in choosing of word roots so the consequences of word formation come from that choice and not from the two adverse systems.

The schematism of Esperanto relies on that what one usually understands by regularity which concretises in the lack of modification of morphemes except from the use of *-ĉj* and *-nj* which create peripheral proper or quasi-proper names, the use of always the same morpheme for the same function (*o, as, j, n*), the use of the same affix for the same meaning even if this meaning is so large that one can find in them multiple meanings (*-ad, -aĵ, -uj*). What is evident, this schematism makes Esperanto different from the languages to which it seems close. For example, the Esperantic word *juneco* (youth) is similar to the French word *jeunesse* but one cannot say about the words *libereco* (freedom) and *beleco* (beauty) for which other suffixes are used in French. So in this way Esperanto differs from the so-called naturalistic projects such as Interlingue or Interlingua, which was established in the fundamental grammar of Esperanto (*La Fundamento de Esperanto* 1905) where the 15th paragraph rules that if one takes the roots from more or less international vocabulary, they should be adapted to the phonology, orthography and grammar of Esperanto (e.g. *komedio* [comedy]) and the compounds should be formed by means of the Esperantic system (e.g. *komedio* (n.) - *komedia* (adj.)). This principle is not destroyed by the appearance of neologisms, which means that if there is a term '*trajno*' (train), it can be used competitively with *vagonaro* (lit. a set of carriages) and there can be a difference in meaning. Both notions exist as close synonyms (Duc Goninaz 2004).

On the other hand, the Esperanto language often takes the words which are close to the words received by the naturalistic principle either in the sense or form. Some of the loan words can be analysable or partly analysable by means of Esperantic morphemes but there are numerous notions which cannot be analysed according to the criteria of Esperanto, though they are accepted in Esperanto because of their internationality (e.g. *kreiveco* for 'creativity' even though the morpheme *-iv-* is alien to Esperanto). Worth mentioning is also the fact that both of the aforementioned phenomena collide in the usage of Esperanto, which causes conflicts which have to be solved by the users of that language, probably with the help of lexicologists.

Even though planned languages can be applied in technical terminology, their terminological application remains slightly developed apart from Esperanto. In Volapük created by J.M. Schleyer in 1879, which is a strictly agglutinative language with strongly changed morphemes of the Latin, Romance and German origin, there are only modest attempts of commercial correspondence. As for Peano's Latino sine flexione based on the ideas of Leibniz, lots of diverse specialized texts were published predominantly in *Schola et Vita* (1926-1939) not to mention Peano's work *Formulario Mathematico*. In Ido, which was a reformed version of Esperanto in terms of word formation and lexicon proposed by L.

Couturat in 1907, appeared 6-8 terminological dictionaries among others for biology, chemistry, commerce, mathematics but philological, philosophical and religious texts were not in short supply. Also in Occidental (renamed to Interlingue after 1945) some specialized texts from the philosophical, economic, political and mathematical domains were published including a comprehensive mathematical dictionary. The Interlingua language developed by the *International Association of Auxiliary Languages* under the leadership of A. Gode in 1951 was a lexically profound Romance planned language with reduced inflectional traits was also supposed to be used in science. In the 1950s and the 1960s appeared some medical journals and magazines that featured the summaries of medical research such as *Spectroscopia Molecular* and *Scientia International*. In 2002, the book catalogue of Interlingua mentioned some scientific publications on demography, the history of art, mathematics, modern languages or theology. There are also some technical dictionaries in Interlingua, for example on botany. Scientific texts inter alia on electrotechnics, geology and economy were also written in Basic English with English lexicon reduced to 850 words (Blanke 1999).

Even though L.L. Zamenhof, the initiator of Esperanto, not especially emphasised that his language should play a scientific role, in the first collection of model texts known in Esperanto as *Fundamenta Krestomatio* (1903), can be found popular science texts on medicine or astronomy. It was particularly the French intellectualists who were engaged in the scientific evolution of Esperanto and to whom the Esperanto language should owe its significance as a technical language, which resulted in the establishment of the *Internacia Sciencia Revuo* journal in 1904 when Esperanto was merely 20 years old. Moreover, a number of scientists, physicians, vegetarians or railwaymen created their organisations until 1909, which fostered the evolution of Esperanto in these respective domains. It is quite difficult to present a complete illustration of the attempts of the technical usage of Esperanto as some of the organisations and journals often disappeared after their times of splendour and this unsatisfactory situations has many reasons. Firstly, there is a lack of objective needs for the technical communication in Esperanto in diverse disciplines. What is more, the contemporary Esperantists are not very inclined to contribute to the scientific development of their language. To crown it all, the conscience of the gravity of the technical application of Esperanto is heavily underdeveloped even in its language community.

The most significant scientific journal published in Esperanto since 1904 is the (*Internacia*) *Sciencia Revuo* where as many as 1200 articles were published in 46 domains from 1949 to 2000. Certain contributions to this planned language are made worldwide by sociolinguistic journals and bulletins such as *Language Problems and Language Planning* or *Interlinguistische Informationen*. Every year 20-30 technical monographs are published in Esperanto (Blanke 1999).

Nowadays it is the Internet that takes over the role of information-conveying. A number of journals and periodicals have been appearing online over the past several years such as *Teleskopo*, *Esperantologio – Esperanto studies*, *Interlingvistika Revuo*, *Lingva Kritiko* or *Inkoj*. *Interlingvistikaj Kajeroj* to name just a few.

The linguistic-structural traits of Esperanto make it an effective means of scientific communication, which was shown by E. Wüster, the founder of terminological science, in his

fundamental work. These include an easy combination of morphemes because of the convenient morphophonological syllable structure and the lack of morphemic changes the fully productive system of affixes and the flexibly applicable rules of word formation. This works even in machine translation and speech synthesis. The scientific terminology of Esperanto is recorded in technical dictionaries, either monolingual or bilingual the most comprehensive and rich of which is undoubtedly the monolingual *La Nova Plena Ilustrita Vortaro de Esperanto (NPIV)* that contains the specialised lexicon from 73 fields of science.

After the responsible systematisation of the respective domain and the definition of notions for the formation of specialized terminology one has to go through such processes as the terminologisation of words from general languages by the modification of definition, the borrowing and calking of foreign words and expressions as well as the use of metaphorical forms and metonymy. As Esperanto disposes of a very flexible system of word creation, it is also possible to form technical terminology in accordance with this system but Esperanto has been following the models from national languages up to now. Of particular importance to the terminology are different postulates that sometimes support or eliminate one another to which belong among other the relation to the domain and the system, the notion as the basis for a term, electable precision according to the needs, explicitness, invertible unambiguousness, meaning explanation structure and conciseness. Specific for Esperanto are also the postulates of internationality and congruity with the Fundamento de Esperanto. (Blanke 1999). It should be however borne in mind that even though the terminology of Esperanto has been up to now based on the individual naming proposals which appear in text or dictionaries and they are discussed and practically proven to be eventually accepted in the language, they can be also eliminated after a certain time of use.

4.5. Planning of naturalistic languages (Occidental/Interlingue)

Occidental/Interlingue is a Romance planned language created by Edgar de Wahl (1867-1948) who was a Balto-German polyglot and high school teacher. He taught also in the commercial secondary school in Tallinn, Estonia. De Wahl interested for planned languages and he wanted to create such an artificial language that could be closer to Romance languages and simultaneously more natural and international than Esperanto where the derivation of words is not clearly transparent enough. The Balto-German teacher strove to create a languages whose derivation principles could be less artificial than those in other planned languages, which would make it easier to learn. Even though the proposal that Occidental should become an auxiliary language of the League of Nations was declined in favour of Esperanto, the language of Edgar de Wahl had enough adepts and interested persons, which enabled it to survive the competition of other Romance planned languages such as Interlingua and it has been used worldwide up to now by some interlinguists and enthusiasts. In addition, Occidental or Interlingue is presently used as the language of the *Cosmoglotta* revue edited in the Czech Republic (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

Worth being explained is that the reason why De Wahl's language has two names is fairly political in character. The name Interlingue substituted Occidental after the end of the

Second World War so that it could not be associated with the Western world in the Soviet Union. As the contact with Edgar de Wahl was no longer possible after the cessation of hostilities, the term Interlingue was coined by the western users of that artificial language. With the fall of communism such political correction was no longer necessary but nowadays both terms are used, though the term Interlingue can be confused with other artificial language, namely Interlingua. As a detailed description of Occidental/Interlingue as a naturalistic planned language is beyond the scope of this dissertation, let us focus on the aspects of nouns and verbs in this language.

As opposed to Esperanto, in Occidental/Interlingue nouns have their natural endings. This means that Occidental doesn't prescribe some final vowels for the word classes. The neutral end vowel *e* can be found in a number of words for euphony or in order to distinguish the noun from a similar verbal or adjectival form. All the nouns are masculine, feminine or neutral according to their meanings. But one can indicate the gender for the names of entities and the *-o* ending determines masculine whereas the *-a* ending determines feminine objects. For example, the Occidental word for 'angel' can have three endings, namely *anglese*, *angleso* and *anglesa*. Such words as *patre* (father) or *matre* (mother) doesn't need to have masculine or feminine endings because their genders can be indicated by their meanings. In other nouns the *-o* ending indicates something that is special, concrete or individual while the *-a* ending shows something that is general, common, collective and also the action, tense and place. To some nouns the *-u* ending can be added (mainly to their stems), which means their abstractedness. What is more, these words retain the *-u* ending (alternatively the *-a* one) also in the non-derivable forms such as *manu-manual*, *gradu-gradual*, *dogma-dogmatic* or *aqua-aquatic*. In order to make plural forms, the *-s* or *-es* endings can be added, of which the latter is often used for euphony, without a considerable change of meaning for example *libre-libres* (book-books), *person-persones* (person-people) or *tram-trams* (tramway-tramways).

In all of the grammatical cases the Occidental noun remains unchanged. Only the genitive with the preposition *de* and the dative with the preposition *a* can be distinguishable, for example *Yo vide li sapates de mi fratre* (I see the shoes of my brother) or *Yo da li sapates a mi fratre* (I give my shoes to my brother) (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

As for proper nouns, they are not changed considerably and in case of all Occidental geographical nouns the most international ones are chosen. If this is not possible, one writes these nouns in the most close way as in the original languages (Goethe, Alpes, Danubio, London, Moskwa, etc.).

Also interesting are the processes of derivation of nouns from verbs. To the so-called static verbs one can add the *-ntie* endings after the removal of the infinitive ending in the present tense of all verbs. For example, the noun *tolerantie* can be made from the verb *tolerar* in accordance with the aforementioned methods. In a similar way the nouns can be derived from verbs by adding the *-(e)nd* suffix to the verb stem in the present tense (*demonstra-nd*, *vendi-nd*, etc.). Moreover, the productive *-ment* suffix can be used to create some nouns from verbs. The process occurs after the removal of the infinitive ending of a verb in present, for example, *fundar-fundment*, *experir-experiment* or *mover-movement*. If the root of a verb ends in the vowel, this vowel disappears: *arguer-argument*, *compleer-complement*.

Curiously, there are two variants of the suffixes added to the verbs in order to make the nouns. If the verb ends in *-a*, then the *-abil* or *-ada* suffixes are used, e.g., *durar-durabil*, *promenar-promenada*. When the verb ends in *-i/-e*, one uses the complementary suffixes *-ibil* or *-ida*, for example *audir-audibil*, *carrer-currida*. Some irregular suffixes can also be added to the root of a verb, e.g., *lavar-lavera*, *spiar-spion*, *furter-furtard*, *valer-valore*, *rafinar-rafinage*. In the Occidental language it is possible to create nouns directly from verbs. A verb root can be used to make a noun and add an ending typical for the nouns, for example *li pense*, *li crede*, *li venda*. It is also possible to use a perfective stem of a verb with or without noun endings, e.g. *li flut*, *li resultat*, *li tribut*. Worth mentioning can be also the fact that the perfective stem of a verb is used as an adjective, too (*devot*, *apert*, *pervers*).

With respect to verbs, Occidental has a single and uniform conjugation where some consonants are added to the stem of a verb. The present tense is formed by the addition of one out of three vowels i.e. *-a*, *-e* or *-i* to the verb stem. The vowel is characteristic for all verbs and it remains unchanged in all of the conjugation forms. If those three characteristic vowels are added to the verb stems, e.g., *fabric-a*, *eksped-i* or *construct-e*, one has the verbs whose final vowels appear in all of the conjugation forms. In this way all of the conjugation forms can be based on the present forms and the distinctions can be made by final consonants that are identical for all the three groups of verbs (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

The first, second and third person, both in singular and plural, can be distinguished only by pronouns as in this case the verb remains unchanged. The infinitive can be made by adding the *-r* ending to a verb in the present tense, for example, *fabrica-r*, *ekspedi-r* and *constructe-r*. The present form of a verb is equal to the present tense, e.g., *yo fabrica* (I produce), *tu ekspedi* (you send) or *il constructe* (he constructs). It is also interesting that in the Occidental language there is a verb *esser* (to be) that has an abbreviated form *es* in the present form because of its frequent appearance in sentences. If the *-t* ending is added to a verb stem, the past participle can thus be made, for example *fabricat*, *ekspedit*, *constructet*. The past participle can also be used to express the past tense, e.g., *noi fabricat* (we produced), *vu ekspedit* (you sent), *les constructet* (they constructed).

All the composite past tenses are created in Occidental by the auxiliary verb *har* (to have) that indicates a finished action. Thus one can say *yo ha fabricat* (I have produced), *tu ha expedit* (you have sent) kaj *il ha constructet* (he has constructed). The past perfect tense is formed with the auxiliary verb *ha* in the past (*hat*) and the main verb remains unchanged, for example, *noi hat fabricat* (we had produced), *vu hat expedit* (you had sent) kaj *les hat constructet* (they had constructed) (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

In Occidental, the future simple can be created by auxiliary verb *va* that is the help verb used to express the so-called *futur proche* in French and the chief verb remains in the infinitive (*yo va fabricar* – I am going to produce, *tu va expedir* – you are going to send and *il va constructer* – he is going to construct). In order to put a verb in future perfect, one adds the verb *ha* in the infinitive (*har*) between the auxiliary and main verb, for example *noi va har fabricat* (we will have produced), *vu va har expedit* (you will have sent) and *les va har constructet* (they will have constructed).

So that the simple conditional verb form could be constructed, the *vell* verb along with

the infinitive of a chief verb are needed, e.g., *yo vell fabricar* (I will produce), *tu vell expedir* (you will send) and *il vell constructer* (he will construct). As for the past conditional, it is made with the aid of the auxiliary verb *har* in infinitive that is placed between the verb *vell* and the main verb in the past tense, for example, (*noi vell har fabricat* – we would have produced, *vu vell har expedit* – you would have sent, *les vell har constructet* – they would have constructed).

The present participle is made by adding the *-nt* ending to the verb stem, for example, *fabricant*, *expedient* and *constructent*. As for the verbs that end in *-i* in the form of present participle, they receive the ending *-ent* instead of *-nt*. The adverbial form of present participles can be treated as gerund with the *-e* ending that is added at the end of the present participle, for example, *fabricante* (producing), *expediente* (sending) and *constructente* (constructing). There are also the progressive forms of the present participles with the use of the auxiliary verb *esser* (*es*), i.e., *il es fabricant*, *il es expedient*, *il es constructent* which means that someone is in the state of producing, sending or constructing (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

In regard to the form of imperative in Occidental, it is the same as in the case of verbs in the present tense but with the use of personal pronouns, for example, *fabrica!*, *expedi!*, *constructe!*. As for the verb *esser* – to be, it sounds as *esse!* in the imperative mood. Worth mentioning is also the polite form of the imperative using the verb *pleser* – please, if you please with the infinitive, e.g., *ples fabricar* – please produce it, *ples expedir* – please send it kaj *ples constructer* – please construct it.

By describing the imperative mood in Occidental, the optative and hortative mood should not be overlooked. The optative can be created with the auxiliary verb *mey* (taken from the English *may*) with an infinitive, for example, *il mey fabricar* (may he produce), *il mey expedir* (may he send) or *il mey constructer* (may he construct). In order to make the hortative, the auxiliary verb *lass* (*let*) is needed with an infinitive. The personal pronoun is thus inserted between the auxiliary word and the infinitive, e.g., *lass nos fabricar* (let us produce), *lass nos expedir* (let us send) or *lass nos constructer* (let us construct).

Generally, the passive voice is constructed in Occidental with the auxiliary verb *esser* – to be. The passive verb forms can be made in different tenses, i.e., in present: *il es perlaborat* (he is transformed), in the imperfect: *il esset perlaborat* (he was transformed), in the perfect and past perfect respectively: *il ha esset perlaborat* (he has been transformed), *il hat esset perlaborat* (he had been transformed), in the future: *il va esser expedit* (he will be sent), in the future perfect: *il va har esset expedit* (he will have been sent) and in the conditional: (simple) *il vell esser constructet* (he will be constructed) or (past) *il vell har esset construit* (he would have been constructed) or (optative): *il mey esser constructet* (he may be constructed).

It is also worth being mentioned that one should distinguish between the progressive and finished action, which is rendered in Occidental with the help of the words *ea* (for progressive action) and *sta* (for finished action). There are some examples: *Li dom ea constructet* (The house is in the state of being built) and *Li dom sta constructet* (The house was finally built). For a number of verbs also a reflexive voice can be used: *Li dom es in construction* (The house is in the time of being built) or *Li journal printa se rapid* (The

journal is [being] printed rapidly) (Barandovská-Frank 2017).

Although the indicative is generally used instead of subjunctive in Occidental, in some circumstances (for example in some legal documents) it is possible to use the subjunctive in the form of the word *ye* added either to the verb in the present tense or to the auxiliary verb at the end of it. In the Occidental language one can write, for example, *Il di que il la amaye* (he says that he loves her) or *Il dit que il la haye amat* (he said that he had loved her).

Having described the Occidental verbs from different perspectives, one should mention the verb derivation rules in the language created by Edgar de Wahl. Even though in all languages thousands of nouns and adjectives can be derived from verbal roots by the addition of suffixes, the reformers of a number of European languages resigned from the incorporation of those words because of the irregularities of their creation and sought for the artificial forms for their derivation. Thanks to the inventiveness of Edgar de Wahl, the Occidental language has simple rules of the addition of international endings to international roots. According to the so-called de Wahl's rule such suffixes as *-ion*, *-or*, *-ori*, *-iv*, *-ura* are added to the verb stems in the past but not in present. These endings can be added to dynamic verbs, i.e., those who express action or transformation. If *-r/-er* is removed from verbs in the infinitive, one can add *-t* to the resting forms only if it ends in a vowel, for example, *crear-crea-creat*. If the infinitive ends in *-d* or *-r*, it is being replaced by *-s* (*exploder-explod-explosion*). In all other cases the supine is the past verb stem (*corrupter-corrupt-corruption*). There are also some verbs that are derived in other ways, for example, by the use of the international forms, e.g. *seder-session*, *verter-version* or *tener-tention*. Interestingly, there are the three Occidental verbs, namely *far*, *dir* and *scir*, from which the derivations are formed by the complete roots: *fact*, *dict*, *script*. When these verbs appear with the *-nct-* consonant group, the consonant *c* can be overlooked particularly in non-derivable forms: *contrafaction* – *contrafation*, *distincter-distinter* or *conjunction* – *conjunter*.

The Occidental/Interlingue language is an easily learnable language for those who have a fairly good command of Latin or other Romance languages. The Occidental language is marked by a vocabulary that comes not only from Latin but also other European Romance languages. The language created by de Wahl has a clear and easy structure which was normalised as compared to other Romance (planned) languages. Even though Occidental is the carrier of the European heritage because of its vocabulary, it gives all the people, not only the Europeans the possibility of its use as an international medium of communication after a quite short period of learning it. In his project Edgar de Wahl tried to achieve regularity in the framework of naturalistic language system and its internal qualities are recognized by even critically judging experts (Barandovská-Frank 2014).

The planning processes that occur in ethnic and artificial languages and their linguistic analysis can be very good reference tools as far as the improvement of African languages including Amharic is concerned. There can be many similarities in the planning of such languages as Norwegian, Bahasa Indonesia or Esperanto with similar treatments and procedures that take place in Amharic, even though their respective geographical, cultural or linguistic backgrounds may be different. Many similarities can be observed in the evolution of Norwegian and Amharic. The origin of both languages is barely documented in writing. The

old Norwegian dialects have been irrecoverably lost because of the Danish occupation of a few hundreds of years. Also the Ethiopian linguists who study the history of Amharic have to cope with a shortage of written documents in the dialects of Amharic. Nevertheless, the situation in Ethiopia is incomparably better than that of Norway as some documents of the written use of Amharic from the 14th and 17th century were preserved in Ethiopia, whereas Ivar Aasen had no choice but to study a few remaining local Norwegian dialects as well as other Scandinavian languages such as Icelandic in order to reproduce the morphology, syntax and lexicon of Norwegian. As opposed to the situation in Norway, the Ethiopian linguists didn't have to reproduce the Amharic language from scratch as the history of spoken Amharic dates back to the time of Emperor Lalibela's rule in the 12th century. Both languages drew from the heritage of the classical language (Ge'ez for Amharic) and the language of the occupant (Danish for Norwegian), though it should be borne in mind that the Ge'ez loanwords in Amharic are more welcome for the speaking community in Ethiopia than the Danish ones were for Aasen and the advocates of his reform of Norwegian. Of interest can be also the fact that the significant reforms of both languages coincided in more or less the same time.

In consideration of the presented scientific research sources for the planning processes in natural or artificial languages it can be inferred that the planners of Amharic are encouraged to take inspiration from the scientific achievements from the foreign linguists but their own creativity shall also be counted. Good for the lexical planning of Amharic is also the lexicon of the extinct Ge'ez language, but it should be remarked that this procedure will succeed only with the better command of Classical Ethiopic among ordinary people, otherwise they will use the English loanwords and the work of Ethiopian linguists and specialists will have been for nothing. Essential for the growth of Amharic is also its promotion in the media and education. A good example for the Ethiopians can be given by the language policy conducted in Indonesia. Even if the Amharic language was not constructed from the start as in the case of Bahasa Indonesia, the Ethiopian authorities are encouraged to take a closer look at the language policy in Indonesia where the dominance of English was successfully hampered and the majority of neologisms are taken from the Asian cultural circle. This can be done also in Ethiopia, where the English cultural concepts can be substituted by those taken from Arabic, Aramaic, Ge'ez or even major local languages if necessary.

5. The historical and current state of the Amharic language

5.1. The main characteristics of Amharic

As for Amharic, it is an Afro-Semitic language spoken in Ethiopia and the second most-spoken Semitic language in the world after Arabic. Amharic is the official working language of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia as well as the official and working language of several of the states within the federal system. Throughout medieval and modern times Amharic has been the working language of government, the military and the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. According to the 2007 census, it counted nearly 25 million native speakers in Ethiopia while outside this country the Amharic language is used by around 3 million Ethiopian emigrants. Unlike Hebrew or Arabic, Amharic is written from left to right by means of the *fidäl* syllabary that grew out of the Ge'ez syllabary known as abugida.

In regard to the phonological properties of Amharic, the basic shape of each character is determined by a consonant modified for the vowel even though each character represents a consonant+vowel sequence. Curiously, some consonant phonemes are written by more than one series of characters, for example /ʔ/, /s/, /s̥/ or /h/ of which the last one has four distinct letter forms. This can be explained by the fact that these *fidäl* originally represented distinct sounds that were merged by phonological changes. The Amharic language is also marked by five ejective consonants *č'*, *k'*, *p*, *s* and *t* which correspond to the Proto-Semitic emphatic consonants that are usually transcribed with a dot below the letter. Admittedly, there is no agreed way of transliterating Amharic into Roman characters. One of the phonological traits of Amharic is the process of gemination. Gemination is contrastive to Amharic, which means that consonant length can distinguish words from one another, for example *abay* (liar) and *abbay* (the Blue Nile). Although gemination is not indicated in Amharic orthography, Amharic readers typically don't find it to be a problem. Of interest can be the fact that indicating gemination was proposed as one of the reforms on the Amharic orthography, this practice is rare even if gemination was indicated in the book *Feqer eska meqaber* (Love until grave) by the Ethiopian novelist Haddis Alemayehu (Leslau 1995)

The word order in Amharic is SOV as opposed to the Ge'ez one, namely VSO. As for the Amharic verbs, all of them agree with their subjects in the person, number and gender, which is marked by suffixes or prefixes on the verb. As the affixes that signal subject agreement differ considerably from the particular verb tense/aspect/mood, they are not considered to be pronouns. Amharic is also a pro-drop language, which means that neutral sentences in which no element is emphasised normally don't have independent pronouns, though in such cases the person, number and gender of the subject and object are marked on the verb. An independent pronoun is used when the subject or object is emphasised in such tenses. As for Amharic nouns, they can be either primary or derived and their gender can be masculine or feminine. What is more, Amharic has an accusative marker, the use of which is related to the definiteness of the object. The accusative must be used if the object is definite,

possessed or a proper noun. This phenomenon is called definite or indefinite conjugation. This means that if the object is definite, the definite conjugation of the verb has to be used. Even though the plural can be expressed by the suffix *-očč* or *-wočč*, in a number of words especially those of the Ge'ez origin there are some archaic pluralizing strategies called internal and external plural that were inherited directly from Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) (Leslau 1995). Ge'ez was the official language of the Axumite empire and it is still used by the Ethiopian Church. Its roots are said to be of the South Arabic origin while the ancient Southern Arabia or Arabia Felix is claimed to be the cradle of the Ethiopian civilisation (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987).

5.2. The origins of Ethiopian civilisation

In the most easterly of Ethiopia's Wello Province the paleoanthropologists discovered the fossilized remains of Lucy *Australopithecus Afarensis* on the old shore of a subsequently desiccated lake in 1974. The almost complete skeleton of this relatively hominid woman reveals an ape-faced species that had just begun its evolution towards intelligence. Her compact and rugged body was directed by a small brain one third the size of that of a modern human. Set on pelvic and leg bones that were dense enough to support erect or sustained walking, her body was little more than a meter tall and weighed about thirty kilograms. It is assumed that *Australopithecus Afarensis* survived for at least two million years before it had given way to its closely related cousin *Australopithecus Africanus* from which evolved *Homo habilis* and *Homo erectus*, which later gave rise to *Homo sapiens* (Marcus 1994).

Even though historical distance and scholarly bewilderment combine to obscure a full understanding of the emergence of Ethiopia's peoples along with their material cultures, there is a rather strong evidence that the Afro-Asiatic group of languages developed and fissured in the Sudan-Ethiopian borderlands where the Proto-Cushitic and Proto-Semitic allegedly began their evolution. The Semitic branch grew into a northern and southern group, which is today echoed in Tigrinia and Amharic respectively. This group of languages was supposed to have simultaneously spread to the Middle East from where it returned millennia later in a written form in order to enrich its cousins several times removed. It is said that much of the linguistic development came after the eight millennium BC when population grew to the domestication and herding of animals as well as to the intensive collection of wild grains, which was followed by the cultivation of over thirty crops for most of which Ethiopia was either the primary or the secondary point of dispersion. What enabled proto-Ethiopians to advance into the temperate plateaus and to clear the land, which was cultivated with the plow, was the great versatility of these cultivated foods. The Sudan plateaus came to be dominated by Semitic-speaking northerners as Middle Eastern grains and pottery from Sudan spread during the second millennium BC. Having come into contact with Sabaean traders these pre-Axumites were said to have fashioned a South Arabian-like state known as the kingdom of Da'amat. This kingdom dominated the highlands of western Tigray, exchanging ivory, tortoiseshell, rhinoceros horn, gold, silver and slaves for cloth, tools metals or jewellery, until its collapse between 300-100 BC (Marcus 1994).

In the successor mini-states, the Ethiopians continued to be exposed to South Arabian

culture and religion, which was reflected in the adjacent, irrigated and intensive agriculture fed by the same type of reservoirs that were found in South Arabia. What was best exemplified archaeologically in the region around Axum was the practice of traditional dryland agriculture, where the use of both farming techniques created a vital synergy which was evident in the high culture that developed there. As for the earliest inscriptional fragments, they appear to be in Sabaean, though a closer perusal suggests an amalgam whose features can be derived only from Ge'ez which was then a local language. With respect to the domination of the indigenous culture, it became more marked after 400 BC, which is clearly apparent in surviving monuments in particular in the architecture and sculptures found at Yeha and elsewhere. Even though some of the stiff forms of the heavily stylised seated figures or the characteristic placement of hands on the knees were typically Axumite in realisation, altars and figurines were decorated with South Arabian symbols such as the crescent of Almuqah, the circles of Shams and not with the representations of the traditional snake god and other Ethiopian deities (Henze 2000).

As ambition and greed made for wars of territorial aggrandisement, the five hundred years before the Christian era witnessed warfare that increased in scale as the stakes became greater whose winner was the inland state of Axum. Not only did the kingdom comprise Akele Guzay and Agame but also it dominated food-rich areas to the south-west which were largely inhabited by Agew-speaking farmers. As the Axumites shared in the evolving mercantile life of the eastern Mediterranean-Red Sea regional economy, their hegemony over the coast into Tigray and its subsequent expansion appears linked to the stimulus given to the regional trade by Ptolemaic Egypt and then by the Roman world economy (Henze, 2000).

At the end of the first century AD the state of Axum was a full-blown and well integrated trading state. In the Ethiopia's main port at Adulis anchored visiting foreign ships in order to protect themselves against attacks at night by unruly local peoples. Having been an impressive place with stone-built houses and temples, a dam and irrigated agriculture, Adulis offered profit enough to receive a continuous stream of merchants who offered cloth, glassware, tools, jewellery and Indian iron and steel to be used for manufacturing high-quality weapons in return for ivory. As the state's leaders not only monopolised the commerce but also sought to dominate trade routes and source of supply, it is not surprising that during the fifth century AD Ethiopian armies campaigned northwards to establish control over the commerce that flowed towards Suakin and to pacify the Beja people and south of Tekeze to subdue the Agew-speaking agriculturist of productive but mountainous Simien as well as to command the incense trade south-eastwards into the Afar desert. But the most outstanding campaign was aimed to force Hedjaz across the Red Sea with the help of the Byzantine fleet. In his Christian topography, Cosmas Indicopleustes mentioned that cut pieces of brass and coins were imported to Axum as early as in the first century AD to be used as money in Ethiopian markets, to which Axum responded ultimately at the end of the third century AD by issuing their own coins. Even though the first mintings were rendered in Greek, which clearly indicated that the specie was used primarily in international trade, the mere existence of Axumite money signalled the country's major role in the Middle East. However, it was the Ge'ez speaking masses, who by continuing the use of salt and iron bars as money, kept aloof

from events that brought both the commerce and Christianity to the shores of Axum. Unlike the ruling elites whose interest came to include both advantages, avoided not only the coin but also the cross, of which the latter was accepted a few centuries later thanks to the missionary activities of the Nine Syrian Saints and other indigenous clergymen (Marcus 1994).

It is assumed that the Hellenised elites of Axum had learned about the new faith from Christian traders from the third century or even before, which was widely discussed at court in terms of power, politics and economy. As Christianity became the established religion of the eastern Roman empire by the early fourth century, it was inevitable that it would also penetrate Axum, even though conversion was slow and occurred first in the towns and along major trade routes. It was not until the first third of the fourth century when the coins were embossed with a cross while monuments carried imperial inscriptions that were prefaced by Christian incantations.

The Ethiopian church tradition says that it was the two Syrian boys called Aedisius and Frumentius who brought Christianity to Ethiopia. Having been shipwreck victims, they were brought to court as slaves and forced to work by Emperor Ella Amida. What earned the emperor's gratitude over the years was their piety and reliability in particular the wisdom of Frumentius as a royal secretary and treasurer, which resulted in their manumission by the king. But they were asked by the emperor's wife, who became a regent, to remain in the palace and advise her by the time her infant son Ezanas was ready for the throne. At the same time a number of Christian merchants that were sought out by Frumentius were urged to establish churches and spread the gospel in cooperation with him. Having come to power, Emperor Ezanas agreed for Frumentius to travel to Alexandria so as to urge the patriarch to assign a bishop to Ethiopia so that the country's conversion could be speeded. Frumentius was nominated the bishop of Ethiopia to start a lifetime's work of evangelism by which Ezanas was wrested from his traditional beliefs. As Christianity proved a boon to the monarch, he followed his commercial star westwards into the Nile valley in order to secure Axum's trade in ivory and other commodities. Because the Sudanese state of Meroe was in its decline and it was no longer able to protect the caravan routes from raiding by nomadic Beja, Ezana made his way into Sudan with little resistance being encountered by his army and he raised a stela at the confluence of the Atbara and Nile on which he described the ease of his conquests and thanked God for His protection. No state is known to have challenged Axum's trading monopoly on the African side of the Red Sea for the next few centuries so the trade not only brought prosperity but also stimulated important cultural changes. Even though Greek dominated the courtly language, Ge'ez was increasingly the language of the people. The vernacular was often used in royal descriptions not to mention the Ge'ez versions of the Old and New Testaments which are traditionally claimed to have been translated from the Antioch version of the Gospels during the period of the Nine Saints. As for recent philological scholarship, it is sceptical about the role of Syriac influence in Axumite Ethiopia and it doesn't find any evidence of such a provenance (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko, 1987).

Having found safe haven in Ethiopia, the Syriac monks were warmly welcomed there and they directed east of Axum into the countryside to spread the Gospel. As these monks were proselytising among people that were hostile to the new faith, they demonstrated the

falseness of the old gods by having established religious centres where temples and shrines were being founded. Some of the monasteries are still active including the rightly famous establishment at Debre Damo. Their monastic rule was fashioned around communalism, hard work, discipline and obedience. Worth mentioning is also the fact that young idealists were attracted to an asceticism and mysticism that had been introduced by these monks. Having been educated and trained, the newly ordained went into the countryside where they established the tradition of monks as the purveyors of the Gospels in Ethiopia (Chaillot 2002).

The port of Axum, Adulis, was the region's most important centre which was a hub that converged Byzantine traders who wanted to transship their goods to Arabia, India and regions even further eastwards by means of the Axum's fleet that was leaving for Asia with the summer monsoon winds and went back home in October with the change of the prevailing winds. If the trading lanes and access to foreign markets were threatened, it was the Axumite empire that intervened to restore security as in the case of South Arabia in the early sixth century. With the resurgence of Judaism, many Christians were persecuted along with the Axumites involved in commerce who appealed for help across the Red Sea. Having requested and obtained supplies and support from both the patriarch of Alexandria and the Byzantine government, Caleb went for a major campaign against the Jewish leader Dhu Nuwas. Even though piecemeal pacification failed, Caleb returned after two years with another army that caught the rebel forces in a destructive pincer near the sea, which was followed by de nomination of one of his generals as viceroy in today's Yemen (Marcus 1994).

Even though Axum was then at the apogee of its power, the country's vigour started to weaken after the death of Caleb when Abreha's successors, who sought to be independent from the Axumite Empire, were defeated by Persians in 570. Even though commercial life continued in Adulis and the links to South Arabia were maintained, the connection was put to an end with the triumph of Islam in the mid-seventh century. With the growth of Muslim power in the eighth century, Ethiopian shipping was swept from the Red Sea-Indian Ocean, which changed the nature of Axum that not only became isolated from the eastern Mediterranean ecumene that had influenced its culture and sustained its economy for centuries but also lost its vitality especially in the coastal region. Having consequently suffered a sharp reduction in revenues, the country no longer could afford to maintain a large army, a complex administration and urban amenities. The Christian state had to move southwards to the rich grain-growing areas of Agew in order to support itself, which was marked by the implantation of military colonies whose members established a feudal-like social order and took local wives. But the majority of Agew speakers fought back against the isolated government fortresses taking advantage of the overextension of the Axumite kingdom. Nevertheless, the Agew rulers became assimilated to the Semitic culture and they retained the Axumite political and social order.

Although the new Zagwe dynasty was seen by the churchmen as the dynasty of usurpers, whose achievements such as the Ethiopianization of the state were obscured by church chroniclers as the Zagwe created myths to have descended from Moses, it was their most outstanding Emperor Lalibela who directed the building of twelve rock-hewn churches at his capital Roha (presently Lalibela) in order to demonstrate physically the primacy of the

new order over the Axumite line. But the Zagwe were not able to forge a national unity and even in their home province they squabbled over the throne, which was skilfully used by the Shewans, a small Christian kingdom south of Lasta, who were then ruled by Yekuno Amhak, who was said to have descended from the Axumite dynasty. Having been strongly supported by local clerics, the Amhara ruler invaded the kingdom of Lasta and was appointed the emperor of Ethiopia, though the details of his accession to the throne remain obscure because of the lack of written documents from that time. With the beginning of the new order, the Ethiopian church became a semi-independent institution and exerted a considerable influence on the politics. Ge'ez ceased to be the language of the court in favour of Amharic, though it remained as the language of instruction, literature and the rite of the Ethiopian Church (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987).

5.3. The Ge'ez language as the predecessor of Amharic

5.3.1. The history of Ge'ez

The Ge'ez language or Classical Ethiopic is an Old Semitic language that was spoken in northern Ethiopia in antiquity and the word *gə'əz* derived from the Ethiopic verb *ge'əza* denotes 'to become free'. Worth being mentioned is the fact that the word *ge'əza* is related to the noun *'ag'āzi* which means 'free man, an Ethiopian' (Tropper 2002). Even though Classical Ethiopic as the literary language was developed by missionaries for the translation of the scriptures after the Christianisation of Ethiopia in the 4th century, many scholars share the opinion that the Semitic presence in Ethiopia can be most plausibly explained as the result of migrations from Southern Arabia. These migrations took the form of commercial colonisation that possibly began as early as in the middle of the first millennium BC. Despite of the fact that Ge'ez is linguistically a member of the South-East Semitic family, it cannot be directly derivable from Old South Arabic that is known from Sabaeen, Minaean, Qatabanian and other inscriptions of that time. Although we have irretrievably lost the real ancestral language on Arabian soil, there are some of its descendants in the modern South Arabic dialects, for example, Mehri, Soqotri or Shahri which can be extricated from their North Arabian admixtures (Lambdin 2006). It should be borne in mind that Ge'ez was a South Arabian dialect before it had been formed as a separate language.

With the beginning of the Axumite empire that was established on the area where the Ge'ez language was spoken, the South Arabian religion and culture was transferred to the African continent, which gave rise to the birth of the original and unique Ethiopian civilisation. By its founders which represented the pre-Islamic world of the Arabian culture Ethiopia was linked with the Semitic civilisation circle that was mixed with the local African Cushitic culture. As the African continent was a source of the most searched wares at that time such as ivory, roots or rubber tree, which caused a gradual and continuous influx of South Arabian people to the African coast, it is not surprising that a number of colonies were established that were closely linked with commercial interests to their mother country at the other side of the Red Sea. Because these merchant compartments on the Eritrean shore were useful for the states of Southern Arabia or Arabia Felix, the settlers on the African coast of the

Red Sea lived in a total symbiosis with the states on the opposite Red Sea coast, having transferred there their language, script, beliefs and social organisation not to mention the cultural and artistic traditions they had grown up with (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987).

Nevertheless, from the 5th to the 1st century BC the South Arabian colonies began to grow into the African soil even though they remained in closest relations with their motherland. From around the 1st century AD, this new ethnic group was becoming independent from the South Arabian states, taking advantage of the favourable external situation and geographical location. This meant that the Sabaeen inscriptions were replaced by those written in Ge'ez with the archaic Ethiopian script, which was an expression of the formation of a separate and unique culture although the language and script was closely related with the Sabaeen one. But not until the establishment of the city of Axum and the location of the seat of rulers there was the Axumite country fully independent from its South Arabian motherland (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987).

What became a considerable turning point in the history of the Axumite Empire was the Christianisation of the country during the reign of Emperor Ezana, which was all the more significant for the further development of the Ge'ez literature. As the meaningful role in the conversion of Axum to Christianity was played by the Syriac monks, who settled in the mountain areas and established monasteries there, the liturgical terminology of the Ge'ez language was marked by a number of Syriac loanwords. Worth being mentioned is also the fact that the Ge'ez religious vocabulary was enriched by Greek borrowings as the crucial Christian scriptures such as the Bible were translated from Greek let alone numerous Biblical apocrypha of which some have survived to the present day in Ge'ez only (Chaillot 2002).

In conjunction with the expansion of Islam to the territories of the Axumite empire, the centre of government was moved southwards where the Zagwe dynasty came to power around the 10th century. In the consequence Ge'ez was gradually ceasing to be a spoken language especially when the government was taken over by the so-called Solomonic dynasty in the 13th century. Even though the new Ethiopian authorities were speaking a southern dialect which was probably early Amharic, the Ge'ez language was at its heyday as a literary language and this period lasted to the 19th century. It was then that the *Glory of the Kings* which aimed to the justification of the Solomonic dynasty's right to the throne was translated from Arabic (Brzuski 1972).

The Ge'ez literature comprises mainly theological treatises, hagiography translated predominantly from Arabic as well as the works of domestic literature such as royal chronicles. Curiously, the influence of the living Ge'ez language is visible both in phonetics, morphology and syntax. It is particularly noticeable in the later texts, for example in the chronicles of Iyasu II and Ioas where the Amharic sentences can be found next to the Ge'ez ones (Brzuski 1972). More details about the literature in Classical Ethiopic will be given later in this chapter.

Many scholars agree that the Ethiopic script can be traced back to the South Arabian Epigraphic consonant alphabet which consisted of 26 letters. Not until the reign of Ezanas was the Ge'ez script equipped with distinctions for vowels by the addition of diacritical marks or the change of the basic shape of letters. It was accepted that the letters would be alternated having been divided into seven rows, which would include the syllabic letter variants

depending on the vowel followed by a consonant. It is important to mention that the distinction of vowels was made probably under the influence of the Greek language as indicated by the Greek inscriptions from the 4th century that appear next to the Ge'ez ones.

5.3.2. The short characteristics of the Ge'ez language

What is characteristic for the Ge'ez phonology is the distinction between long and short vowels. This phenomenon is assumed to be a property of earlier Semitic according to the standard reconstruction. This probably persisted into the period when Ge'ez was first reduced to written form, though this argument is not accepted by all scholars as it cannot be proved. In Classical Ethiopic there are seven vowels, the short *a* and *e* and the long *ā*, *i*, *u*, *ē* and *o*. In the transcription adopted in the book of T. O. Lambdin (2006) only *ā* and *ē* are marked with macrons as no confusion can result from leaving *i*, *u* and *o* unmarked. As for the vowels *ē* and *o*, they usually result from the contraction of the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* respectively, even though *aw* and *o* alternate optionally in many situations. Less common but not problematic is the optional alternation between *ay* and *ē*. Of interest can also be the fact that *ē* and *o* are very often preceded by palatal and labial glides, e.g. the word *bēton* (their [fem.] house) can be pronounced [b^yet^won], which is not represented in the script.

In the Ge'ez language there are characteristic labio-velar consonants such as *q^w*, *h^w*, *k^w* and *g^w* that combine with all vowels except *ū* and *ō*. As for the gutturals, there are five such sounds, namely *ʾ*, *ʿ*, *h*, *ḥ* and *x* of which the latter three ones are pronounced as *h* in modern tradition. In regard to the remaining two gutturals (*ʾ*, *ʿ*), they are not pronounced at all in word-initial position in the modern tradition, though both of them are pronounced as a glottal stop internally. One should also bear in mind that *ʾ* is a glottal stop while *ʿ* is the voiced laryngeal continuant and these sounds were originally distinct from each other. Ge'ez has also five glottalised consonants, namely *ḍ*, *ḥ*, *ḡ*, *ṣ*, *ṭ*. As the older pronunciation of *ḍ* has not been preserved, it is now pronounced exactly like *ṣ*.

With respect to the grammar features of Classical Ethiopic, a thorough description of all phenomena is beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, some most important aspects of the Ge'ez lexicon, morphology and syntax have to be mentioned. First and foremost, there is no definite or indefinite article in Ethiopic. As for prepositions, some of them are written as separate words before the nouns they govern but there are some prepositions that are always written as a unit with the following word. Similarly as in Amharic, the basic lexical form of the Ge'ez verb is the 3rd person masculine singular of the Perfect. The Ge'ez word order is VSO, just as in Arabic. As for noun plurals, they are formed either by pattern replacement or addition of an ending (Lambdin 2006).

As in Amharic, there is a phenomenon of the construct state in Classical Ethiopic, but it is formed differently. When it comes to personal pronouns, there is 2nd and 3rd person masculine and feminine gender both in singular and plural. As for the cases, the accusative is the only case marked by a special ending *-a* that is used primarily as the direct object of a transitive verb. Ge'ez uses the noun with pronominal suffixes that indicate pronominal possession. In Classical Ethiopic there are three basic lexical types of verbs which are related to the main triliteral root system. As in the case of Arabic, the Perfect appears with object

suffixes where the pronominal object of a transitive verb is regularly suffixed directly to the verb. In regard to adjectives, they are derived from verbs or nouns and most of them are inflected for number and gender. The passive voice, in turn, is formed by most active transitive verbs by prefixing the element *ta-*, e.g., *qatala* (he killed) – *ta-qatala* (he was killed) (Lambdin 2006).

5.3.3. The Ge'ez literature

Where reference is made to the Ge'ez language, its rich literature should not be overlooked. The oldest Ge'ez scripture testimonies were made on stone inscriptions of which the twelve longest royal inscriptions can be found in Axum. They were written partly in the unvocalised South Arabian script, partly in the vocalised Ethiopic script. The oldest inscription from the second mentioned group come from the rule of King Ezanas (circa 330-365 AD), though they are not productive enough for the understanding of the Ge'ez grammar. The majority of the Ge'ez literary works was passed on in the form of manuscripts. There are two creative periods that make up the Ethiopic literature, namely the one that lasted from the heyday of the Axumite kingdom from the 4th to the 7th century and the other one that followed the demise of the state of Axum and the accession to the throne by the Solomonic dynasty around 1270 until the middle of the 19th century, whose main focus lasted from the 14th to the 16th century. The literary work in Ge'ez continued even though this language had no longer the status of a spoken language since around 1000 AD (Tropper 2002).

It is assumed among the scholars that the oldest Ge'ez manuscripts date from the 12th century as many earlier ones were destroyed or remain only in bad condition. Because of the wars and the wet climate their preservation was quite difficult. Written on parchment from goat, calf and other animal skin, the manuscripts are sometimes illuminated. Of interest can also be the fact that red ink was used to write the beginning of a book or chapter as well as for the names of God, the Virgin and the saints. As for the number of manuscripts in Ethiopia, it is not known exactly, though it is estimated that there must be more than 10 000 ones. What is more, a number of ancient Ge'ez manuscripts were taken or bought by foreigners who visited Ethiopia.

As the Ethiopic literature from the Axumite period is practically entirely translated from Greek, to the oldest literary works can be classified the *Gospel* and the *Book of Psalms*, *The Pastor of Hermas*, *The Physiologos (Fisalagos)*, *The Book of Cyril* and probably a version of *The Monastic Rules of Saint Pachomius* and *The Lives of Saint Paul of Thebes and of Saint Anthony*. After fairly no new literary activity during the fall of Axum and the Muslim dominion, the fecund period of Ge'ez literature flourished anew from the end of the 13th century and culminated from the beginning of the 14th century to the turn of the 17th century. As an important period of translation took place in the 14th century at the time of the Coptic Metropolitan, Abuna Selama (1348-1388), many theological works were translated not from Greek but from Arabic even though the originals were often in Coptic, Syriac and Greek. From a number of liturgical books, the most important at that time were *The Lectionary for Holy Week (Gebre Himamat)*, *The Praises of Mary (Weddase Maryam)* and *The Acts of the Martyrs (Gedle Sama'etat)*. At the same time were written the two main Ethiopian canon law

books, namely *The Synodicon (Sinodos)* and the *Legislation of the Kings (Fetha Negest)*. Additionally, the first apologetic Ethiopian work in Ge'ez, *The Book of Mysteries (Mes'hafe Mestir)*, known as a theological encyclopedia, was written by Giyorgis of Gasitsha. This work was followed by other apologetic and pastoral theological writings attributed to Emperor Zar'a Yaqob (1434-1468) (Chaillot 2002).

Worth being mentioned is also the translation of *The Miracles of Mary (Te'amre Maryam)* from the Occidental and Oriental sources. In the 16th century the works of about fifty Church Fathers were translated mainly from Greek, Coptic and Syriac to be brought together in the book *The Faith of the Fathers (Haymanote Abbaw)*. Of particular importance can also be the work of Emperor Galawdewos called *Confession* which was the first text of this type aiming at the defence of the local traditional faith endangered by the arrival of Roman Catholic missionaries. The following two centuries brought the writing and translation of another dogmatic works catechetical in character, for example *The Ten Questions (Asertu Tselotat)* or *The Columns of Mystery of the Orthodox Faith (A'emade Mistir)*. The original Ge'ez literature entered into its last phase in the late 18th century when the Amharic popular literature started to be affirmed.

The Ge'ez language saw numerous grammatical and lexicographical studies both in Ethiopia and in Europe of which the most important are H. Ludolf's *Grammatica aethiopica* from 1661, A. Dillmann's *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache* from 1857 whose second edition was advanced by C. Bezold in 1899, M. Chaine's *Grammaire éthiopienne* from 1907 and C. Conti-Rossini's *Grammatica elementare della lingua etiopica* from 1941. As for the most important dictionaries, they include H. Ludolf's *Lexicon aethiopico-latinum* from 1661, A. Dillmann's *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino* from 1865, G. da Maggiora's *Vocabolario etiopico-italiano-latino* from 1953 and the *Amharic-Ge'ez dictionary* written by Kidane Weld Kafle and Kefle Giyorgis from 1956. More recent books on the Ge'ez grammar include T.O. Lambdin's *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)* from 1978, S. Weninger's *Das Verbalsystem des Altäthiopischen* from 2001 and J. Tropper's *Altäthiopisch* from 2002 (Brzuski 1972, Tropper 2002).

5.4. The history of Amharic

It should be borne in mind that Amharic is the second most widely spoken Semitic language next to Arabic. It is not only spoken approximately by 80% of the Ethiopian population either as a first or as a second language but also by various expatriate Amharic-speaking communities in Europe, the US and in Israel. Even though the Amharic language is by far a major and well-described and studied language, its origin is not well known. As the origin of Amharic is not clear, there are some widely propagated hypotheses as to its provenance. Taking into consideration the fact that the Amharic language exhibits a number of non-Semitic feature in its vocabulary and grammar, some scholars such as Bender and Fulass claim that this language probably originated as a pidgin with Semitic and Cushitic superstrata in the northern Ethiopian highlands. It is assumed by the aforementioned scholars that the rise of Amharic was given by the Semitic soldiers by means of their military expeditions to the Cushitic territories. There are also some popular oral traditions as to the roots of Amharic,

saying that this language is alleged to have been created by a group of Ethiopian church scholars for whom the existing native languages such as Ge'ez and Tigrinia were not good enough for communication. As the Ethiopian clergy aimed for the Amharic language to be smooth for pronunciation and easy for communication, they apparently created this language on the basis of Ge'ez and Tigrinia.

Nevertheless, the popular tradition as to the provenance of Amharic can be easily disproved by the fact that Amharic is grouped under South Ethio-Semitic and not under the North Ethio-Semitic languages to which belong Ge'ez and Tigrinia so there can be not a slight genealogical evidence that would support the assumption about the origination of Amharic in the process of pidginization with the involvement of Ge'ez or Tigrinia. In the opinion of some other scholars, the Amharic language is likely to have arisen by the migrations of Semitic populations from the north to the south of Ethiopia. According to the assumption of this hypothesis, those who presently speak the Semitic languages in central and southern Ethiopia were of the Cushitic origin and adopted the languages of the immigrants. Although the non-pidgin origin hypothesis for the origin, development and expansion of Amharic seems to be the most convincing in the discretion of more recent scholars, worth being mentioned can be the most important tenets of the theory of the origin of Amharic in the pidginization process that is increasingly gaining ground also outside Ethiopia

First and foremost, the most prominent proponents of the above-mentioned theory are Bender, Fulass and Baye. They claim that the pidginization process started around the fourth century AD when the Semitic speakers were expanding their territories to the south. The Amharic language appears to have come into being in the Bashilo river basin area known as Amhara. It is assumed that pre-Amharic could have been similar to Ge'ez. As the military forces were drawn from a number of diverse ethnic groups, a proper lingua franca was necessary for communication and it was probably marked by Cushitic and Omotic syntax and Semitic lexicon. This language seems to have started to be known as Amarinnia, taking its name from the place where it was spoken.

Even though the Ethiopian tradition attributes the birth of the Amharic language to the period of the Zagwe rule, the essence of Amharic goes back to the 4th century with the Axumite military expeditions to the south. According to the pidginization hypothesis, the Axumite military campaigns to the south were made by soldiers who spoke different Cushitic, Omotic or even Nilo-Saharan languages and their commanders spoke a Semitic language that was slightly different from that of Ge'ez. Having been spread further south with the military expeditions, the Amharic language started to be called *lāsanā nāgus* or the language of the king. For the promoters of the pidginization theory it is important that Amharic exhibits a number of non-Semitic features both in grammar and lexicon. Like many Cushitic and Omotic languages, Amharic has SOV word order and 25% of its core vocabulary is either non-Semitic or has some other non-Semitic features. Nevertheless, the non-concatenative morphology of Amharic is close to those of the Semitic ones.

Notwithstanding its popularity among the European and Ethiopian explorers, the pidginization theory has many flaws and inadequacies. First of all, the idea that Amharic became distinct around the 4th century, that is at the start of the pidginization process, seems to

be theoretically impossible for a pidgin can be promoted to a creole only if it becomes a mother tongue. In addition, much more time is needed for a creole to be developed as a standard language. Secondly, the advocates of the pidginization theory claim that the Argobba language is often considered as a dialect of Amharic, which is no longer spoken in Ethiopia. Even though it is evident that Amharic and Argobba are derived from a single Proto-language, and both languages were linked with the Christian and Islamic culture respectively, the assumptions that Amharic originated as a pidgin in around the 4th century to be a fully functional language in the 14th century and that Argobba was separated from Amharic in the 10th or the 11th century are not plausible because the difference between both languages should be higher at present than in the past.

Doubtful can also be the fact that each of the South Ethio-Semitic languages could have originated from a pidgin even if there are common features characteristic for some related Ethio-Semitic languages. Girma A. Demeke (2009) states that if the process of pidginization played a role in the formation of Amharic at all, then it must have taken place before the formation of Proto-Amharic-Argobba, which is dubious. Even though the followers of the pidginization of terminology claim that the main sources of Amharic loans are of the Cushitic origin, these loanwords are rather not a result of its pidgin past since the loans are not from a single group so the e.g. Oromo lexicon in Amharic has nothing to do with the pidgin stage of Amharic as they cannot provide any information about the origin of Amharic. Moreover, some Cushitic words can also be found in other Southern Ethio-Semitic languages not to mention their presence in the Northern Ethio-Semitic languages such as Tigrinia. Furthermore, the Amharic language has been existing for more than thousand years and it retained 75% of its core Semitic vocabulary, which is a natural expectation all the more that Amharic is not a direct descendant of the Proto-Semitic.

With the fall of the Axumite empire, the administrative power was shifted to the Zagwe dynasty in Lasta, though Amharic or pre-Amharic was spoken in nearby localities, for example in the Amhara Province. Of interest can be the fact that the Amharic speakers took ranks in the administration of the Zagwe rule and they were particularly preferred by Emperor Lalibela (1140-1180) who promoted their language as a language of administration or simple as the language of the king (Ge'ez: *łasanā nəgus*). The promotion of Amharic as a language of administration caused not only the alienation of the speech variety spoken in the Christian kingdom from the speech variety spoken by the Muslims, by which Amharic and Argobba began to diverge as distinct dialects, but also it gave Amharic the possibility of the further expansion. It is assumed that the best opportunity for the development of Amharic for a later period started with the Yekuno Amlak's (1270-1285) accession to the throne, who moved the state's centre from the province of Lasta to the province of Amhara. Even though the centre of power moved from place to place, it remained mainly in the Amharic speaking territories. As most of the emperors were Amharic speakers, this helped Amharic to strengthen its position as the language of administration. With the promotion of Amharic as the administration language in the Christian kingdom, the language started to be spoken by soldiers from different ethnic groups and it became the language of the court, the military as well as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. As the identity of the Amharic speakers became the identity of the Christian

kingdom, it is not surprising that being an Amhara became being an Ethiopian and a Christian. Although the early kings of the Solomonic dynasty expanded their territory further to the south, there is no evidence for the spread of Amharic beyond Shoa, Gojjam, Wollo and Gondar (Girma A. Demeke 2009).

In spite of having been used in various sectors of the government, the Amharic language enjoyed the status of a written language not until the 19th century, though attempts of its use were recorded in the chronicles of emperors Amda Seyon (1314-1344), Dawit (1375-1404), Yisshaq (1413-1430), Zar'a Yaqob (1434-1468) and Galawdewos (1540-1559). Although the foreign Roman Catholic missionaries used Amharic for religious purposes at the turn of the 17th century, there were some documents in Amharic written by people from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, who defended their local religion. Despite Ge'ez started to be replaced by Amharic as a written language for official purposes from the period of Emperor Theodore II (1855-1868), Amharic developed as a standard written language only very recently, though it was used on a regular basis in various administrative sectors, also including the establishment of the first Amharic newspaper in Ethiopia in 1908. Nevertheless, the quality of Amharic writings raised only after the first quarter of the 20th century but today Amharic writings can be found on almost every subject.

5.5. The history of language policy in Ethiopia

Even though Ethiopia had a long history, it had no written constitution before Haile Sellasse but the lack of constitution or clearly stated language policy didn't mean that there was no language policy at all. It is claimed that the *Feteha Negest* (Book of Kings) written under the reign of Emperor Amde Seyon in the 14th century was used by imperial governments as a basic reference in their governance. One can also take the prevailing linguistic status quo in favour of Amharic and to some extent Ge'ez over the centuries as the implicit language policy as those who ruled Ethiopia, be it kings, emperors, emirs, sheikdoms, juntas or prime ministers, have followed different language policies that would outfit their political ideologies. As the kingdom of the Axumites was at its heyday the third most meaningful world power apart from the kingdom of Babylon and Persia, the kingdom of Rome and the kingdom of the Chinese, the Ethiopian monarchy that was an age-old institution to be traced back to Axum or prior appealed to a mythical descent i.e. the so-called Solomonic tradition, which was explicitly incorporated in the 1955 Ethiopian constitution. What contributed to the linguistic profile of Ethiopia was the fact that Ethiopia is the only African country which was never colonized by a European power during the 19th century scramble for Africa as well as that Ethiopia is the only African country where the dominant religion is an indigenous form of Christianity (Amlaku A. Eshetie 2010).

The Ethiopic script is another unique feature of Ethiopia. As the Ethiopia history is strongly connected to the Ge'ez language, which was the early Semitic language of the Axumite kingdom, it is not surprising that it served as the major language of Ethiopia until the 16th century, though the role of Amharic was significant in the royal court since the gaining of power by the Amhara rulers. Even though a devastating Muslim invasion from the Arab world had seriously threatened the Ethiopian Christian empire in the 16th century, the internal

developments after the thirty years' war with the Emirate of Adal also impacted upon the authority of imperial government. After Ethiopia had made strong allies with the Portuguese and their Catholic faith in the face of the Islamic invasion, it turned out that in return for military assistance of the Portuguese, the country had to be catholicised. As the Jesuit missionaries were coming to Ethiopia in the 16th and 17th century, they used Amharic as the language of religious propaganda, which subsequently strengthened its position of Amharic over the rival languages of that time i.e. Arabic and Ge'ez. It was attempted to translate the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church from Latin into Amharic in order to ease the proselytising of Ethiopian Orthodox believers to the Catholic faith. As the common people of Ethiopia didn't understand Ge'ez as the language of liturgy, it was hoped by the Jesuits that the availability of prayers in Amharic along with the translated rite of the Holy Mass would make the Ethiopians faster forfeit their traditional orthodox faith (Záhořík, Wondwosen Teshome 2009).

After the end of Takla Giyorgis II's rule in 1782, the Oromos came to power, which meant that real power in the empire was exercised by the regional lords despite the existence of an empire with its seat of power at Gondar. As there was no centralisation of power in the hands of the emperor, the so-called *Zemena Mesafint* (the Era of the Princes) period was marked by a complete fragmentation of power where the different component principalities of the empire vied for predominance. This period lasted until the middle of the 19th century and during this reign both Amharic and Ge'ez were used with differing statuses and contexts. Of particular importance can be the use of Ge'ez as not only the language of elites and the rites of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church but also as the language of secrets among trusted soldiers and close allies. Even though the Holy Bible was translated from Arabic into Amharic at that time i.e. in 1830 by Abba Roumi, this translation failed to bring a significant change in the development of the Amharic language.

It was not until the advent of Emperor Tewodoros II and with all his endeavours of uniting Ethiopia when Amharic got another impetus or confirmation as a national language as it was proclaimed by the emperor not only as the language of literature but also as the language of instruction at schools. The customary use of Ge'ez in writing the *Royal Chronicles* was changed in favour of Amharic during the reign of Tewodoros II who used a promotive and covert language policy towards Amharic but failed to proclaim its official status in Ethiopia.

Having got such status of privilege, the Amharic language went on serving as a national language of Ethiopia even during the reign of Yohannes IV who was himself a Tigrinia speaker. Worth mentioning is the fact that he made no attempt to change the status of Amharic in order to keep the unity of the country. The role of Amharic as a national language remained unquestioned at the times of Emperor Menelik II who extended considerably the borders of Ethiopia and ordered that Amharic had to be used as a language of overall communication and education in the conquered territories (Alealign Aschale 2013).

While Menelik II (1889-1913) expanded his territory from the northern highlands to the southern lowlands, it was Haile Selassie who contributed to a relative linguistic unification of the country by conducting the first overt and endoglossic language policy in

Ethiopia. Although the regime of Haile Selassie didn't indicate the official language in a constitution written in Amharic for the first time in 1931, the government was unique as to its predecessors in terms of language policy as it aimed at bringing national unity and created an easiness of communication among the diversified Ethiopian people.

At the time of the fascist occupation of Ethiopia (1935-1941) an attempt was made to introduce an ethnically based policy, which resulted in the Italian proclamation to put the country into the six divided administrative regions and the respective languages of education: Eritrea – Tigrinia and Arabic, Amhara – Amharic, Addis Ababa – Amharic and Oromifa, Harar – Harari and Oromifa, Sidama – Oromifa and Kafficho, Somalia – Somali. Even though this policy was put into practice only in Eritrea since it was colonized by Italy for nearly fifty years, the Ethiopian government underwent other language police after Italy had been defeated and left Ethiopia in 1941. By the permission to use several languages the fascist Italians aimed to set the Ethiopians at variance in order to facilitate their domination in that country.

Behind the language policy of the imperial regime was the creation of a centralised and homogeneous state, which resulted in the imposition of Amharic on around 80 ethnicities living in Ethiopia. As the objective of language policy was to serve as a primary tool of nation-building, by which the close connection between language and politics was highlighted, this was well understood by different Ethiopian ruling elites whose aim was to suppress the language identities of the population. Since every person is supposed in such situations to incorporate the monolingual and monocultural behavioural pattern that is considered to be a norm in the country, the basic ideology of the imperial language policy showed a direction to the unification of various speech communities where it was tried to ensure that every member of a speech community was able to use the dominant language i.e. Amharic. Because of that Amharic gained prestige and became superior over other language at that time. As this language policy of the imperial government favoured the use of only one language throughout the country despite its linguistic diversities, it was heavily criticised and opposed because of its goal of assimilation (Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

As Amharic had been the language of instruction since the second half of the 19th century and whose command was expected also by foreign missionaries who worked in Ethiopia, it was the 1955 constitution that gave Amharic the highest status of being an academic language. Apart from some English texts like CONTACT written for academic purposes, there was an increasing number of books and texts written in Amharic, even though most of the contents in the text reflected the common issues of the country and praised at large the imperial regime. As Amharic started to be used as full-fledged language of instruction, the implication of a single language policy was more relevant in the domains of administration, judiciary system and education sectors. Not only academic books but also novels, poetry and other similar literature were written in Amharic at that time. Even though it was incongruous to criticise the imperial government in these publications, some novelists showed the weaknesses of Haile Selassie's regime in their novels, though not many of their novels were accessible in the countryside. It was the emperor himself who continuously promoted and appreciated all artistic activities on condition that they were conducted only in

Amharic. Worth mentioning is also the fact that the translations of world's great literary works were made into Amharic during the imperial regime. All the national media used Amharic as the only permitted language while the books printed in such languages as Tigrinia were burned. Emperor Haile Selassie founded also the National Academy of Amharic Language in 1972 which is known today as the Addis Ababa University of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures (AELC). Of interest can be also the fact that the last Ethiopian emperor spoke only in Amharic at international conferences and summits, even though his English was impeccable (Záhořík, Wondwosen Teshome 2009).

Even though the policy of amharisation was in the opinion of Haile Selassie good for the state, it became one of the reasons of his deposition in September 1974 by the military junta who took on the socialist ideology in order to seek support from the Soviet Union. The Provisional Military Administration Council (PMAC) or Derg in Amharic seemed to give the Ethiopian language minorities the right for the free use and development of their mother tongues by including 14 Ethiopian languages to the literacy campaign. The second half of the 1970s brought a flourishing development of linguistic pluralism, which meant that radios started broadcasting in five languages, namely in Amharic, Oromo, Somali, Tigrinia and Wolayta and first magazines were being published in such languages as Oromo. Despite the socialist government launched a campaign of alphabetisation, which was supported by UNESCO, it turned out that the only language that took advantage of the campaign was Amharic for all major publications were written in it and thus its influence was spread throughout the country. As opposed to the legitimization of Ethiopia's existence and sovereignty by the descend from King Solomon and his son Menelik not to mention the legacy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, religion and history were replaced by national unification in the 1970s and the 1980s. With the proclamation of the 1987 socialists constitution an atmosphere of plurality was created but it was clear from the long-term period that nothing revolutionary was going to happen in terms of language policy as the prominent role of Amharic as the truly national language was stressed at the same time (Amlaku A. Eshetie 2010).

As for the language policy carried out by PMAC, it had many flaws. Firstly, it conditioned that the Ge'ez syllabary should be adapted to all Ethiopian languages, which proved inconvenient not only for the Cushitic languages but also for some Semitic ones. What is more the Amharic teachers were often sent to different parts of Ethiopia without any command of the indigenous languages. Although there were some books written in local languages for the purpose of alphabetisation, they were translated from Amharic and were not adjusted to the cultural norms of the indigenous peoples. All these flaws resulted in the eventual return to Amharic especially in administration, judiciary and education.

As compared to the Eritrean counterpart of the Ethiopian constitution, in the case of language policy it rules that equality is guaranteed to all Eritrean languages, though in reality such languages as English, Tigrinia and Arabic gained the leading role in Eritrea. Nevertheless, several other Eritrean languages such as Tigre, Afar, Saho, Beja, Bilin, Kunama and Nara are part of the elementary school curricula. Both countries chose different ways of solving the problem of multilingualism, which means that Eritrea followed a more centralised

model of state in its language policy while Ethiopia transferred at least partially some degree of responsibility in order to choose an official language to the regions. As the Eritrean government privileged the right to decide which languages are the right ones, the contemporary Eritrean language policy copies to some extent the Marxist Ethiopian model of the 1980s. Even though it recognised the pluralistic character of the state as concerns ethnic and language areas, it controlled every decision in these questions, which means that the government itself chose which languages could become the languages of cultural, educational and social prestige (Záhořík, Wondwosen Teshome 2009).

Soon after the abolition of communist by the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front in 1991 the new Ethiopian authorities that subsequently remained post-communist in character introduced a number of reforms that changed the history of the country. The new 1995 constitution that was written in English stipulated that Ethiopia should be a federal state divided into 9 provinces. As for the language policy, the idea of Amharisation was entirely abandoned since the fifth article ruled that all the nationalities of Ethiopia should have an equal status of recognition while the Amharic language should be the working language of the federal republic. Also specified in the constitution was the right for the members of the federation to freely decide about their respective languages and the use of these language was promoted in such areas as law, administration and education. Of all the languages spoken in Ethiopia, 21 ones were selected as languages of instruction in primary schools (Mesfin Wodajo 2014).

Although the contemporary Ethiopian constitution presents a move away from obvious centralisation and Ethiopianisation as opposed to the imperial constitutions of 1931 and 1955, one of its main flaws is that the federal units were created on the basis of linguistic differences as the Tigrayan elite who wrote the constitution asserted that language is the chief determinant of ethnicity. As the nine Ethiopian provinces are divided into zones which consist of districts or woredas in Amharic, this policy is not only quite expensive but it also causes excessive fragmentation of the local administration. Some ethnic groups from the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) lay claim to the status of their woredas as a separate administration unit by justifying that their language is other from the one of their neighbours even though the differences in the language may be dialectal. Having attempted to solve this problem, the Ethiopian authorities tried to create artificially new nationalities and they even employed some linguists to create a new language called Wogagoda that was based on the Wolayta, Gamu, Gofa, Dawro and Konta language. As the internal conflicts between these nationalities were not taken into consideration by the federal government, the project had to result in failure (Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

Of all the ethnic groups in Ethiopia that don't approve of the central government's policy, excluding the Tigreans who benefit most from being in power, there are two specific ethnic groups in Ethiopia, namely the Amharas and the Oromos, who most seriously oppose the political moves of the Tigrayan elites in terms of the flawed language policy conducted by the present government in the state. As the Amharas, who wielded power in Ethiopia from the 13th century until the military takeover of 1974, assert that their language is the carrier of the Ethiopian civilisation, which in their opinion ensures a heavily centralised

state, they accuse the government elites of their inability to preserve the state's integrity, which can lead to the disintegration of the country in the future.

With respect to the Oromos, they were often excluded from the political life in Ethiopia. The imperial government refused to acknowledge the Oromo language in the mass-media. Up to now they are discriminated against by the Tigrean government who is not inclined to give them the privilege to the education in their mother tongue, even though this is guaranteed by the 1995 constitution. They also have to be marked by the fluency in Amharic while applying for governmental posts. Their opposition to the Ethiopian government is also manifested in writing their language by means of the Latin alphabet, which is contrary to the government's policy of optimization in favour of Amharic. What seems to be marginalised by a number of Amharic speakers is the written tradition of the Oromo language which reaches for the end of the 19th century when the Oromo teacher Onesimose Nasiba published the translations of the *New Testament*, Luther's *Catechism* and the *Bible*. Of interest can be the fact that the Oromo language has less varieties than Amharic which are more intelligible than the Amharic ones and this shows their strong ethnic identity, which reflects the lesser degree of their fragmentation (Záhořík, Wondwosen Teshome 2009).

Of interest may be also the realisation of language policy in such Ethiopian regions as Addis Ababa and the neighbouring areas, the Amhara and the Oromo state. Since Addis Ababa is the centre of all the Ethiopian nations, all the Ethiopian languages are spoken in the capital city of the country. This causes serious problems in the realisation of multilingual language policy as on the strength of the 1995 constitution it is the Amharic language that is the working language of administration. Amharic is there the sole language of administrative communication and all broadcast and newspaper are rendered in this language so as to avoid the possible chaos in the city. But it should be also borne in mind that Addis Ababa is the seat of the National Federal State of the Oromo and this results in conflicts associated with the ubiquitous domination of Amharic. Also excluded from the political life are other ethnic groups living in Addis Ababa unless they are fluent in Amharic.

In the National Regional State of the Amhara there are four languages used for the purpose of elementary education, namely Amharic, Afan Oromo, Awnji and Xamta. As for Amharic, it is taught as a separate subject at all educational levels but Afan Oromo is used mainly in administration, education and mass media. Awnji and Xamta are taught from one to eight class in primary schools as separate subjects. These languages are not developed in many domains so the English language is taught as a separate subject from grade 1 to 8 and after that it is used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools.

In regard to mass media, radio programmes are broadcast in the four aforementioned languages while TV is available mostly in Amharic, though the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation runs ethnic programs in Tigrinia, Somali, Oromo and Afar within one TV program for the entire country. Nevertheless, the Oromo speakers have their proper TV programs. All newspapers and study materials are printed almost only in Amharic.

As guaranteed in the constitution, the Oromos living in the National Regional State of Oromiya enjoy the equal status of languages spoken in their province and the Oromo language is principally used in administration, education and mass media. Oromo is taught at

all levels from primary school to university and there is a possibility to complete BA studies in Oromo at the universities of Jimma, Haromaya, Addis Ababa and Mekkele. Education in Amharic is also available for those who don't speak Afan Oromo. As for newspapers, magazines and legal documents, all of them are printed in Afan Oromo.

The realisation of multilingual language policy in the Ethiopian federal states poses many problems. Most of the local ethnic communities were not asked if they want to communicate in the languages proposed by the government. As there is not enough native speakers, the teaching in the majority of such languages is not utile. With the lack of qualified and competent teachers, the instruction is available almost only in Amharic, which causes a lot of problems for a number of non-Amharic speakers who have to drop schools because they don't understand what they are learning. As the teachers who live and work in the most remote parts of Ethiopia don't know the local mores and customs, this can result in serious conflicts with local communities. Other difficulties include the shortage of textbooks in local language and the notorious practice of translating Amharic handbooks and thus imposing the superiority of the Amharic culture. In order to crown it all, the cost of printing textbooks are usually high, which means that there is always the scarcity of even the most elementary publications (Lukas 2007).

5.6. The current problems of multilingualism and multiculturalism in Ethiopia and attempts of solving them

With a population of around 90 million and 80 languages, Ethiopia is a multilingual and multi-ethnic country. Worth mentioning is also the fact that more than half of the Ethiopian populations is constituted by people less than 18 years old. Even though the young population of Ethiopia has enough education possibilities, as there are many universities even in smaller towns, there are considerable problems of communication in Amharic as well as those associated with inter-cultural education. Despite the Amharic language and culture are promoted in almost all of the Ethiopian provinces, many learners and university students who don't speak the working language in Ethiopia, i.e. Amharic, often don't understand what they are learning. In order to do something about that, the Ethiopian authorities agreed to offer most courses in English while Amharic remains as a medium of communication almost only on Amharic philology, albeit not everywhere. For the young learners or students who live in dormitories, it is sometimes not so easy to understand the cultures and religious practises of their room mates, which in some situations may result in conflicts. Of interest can be also that even though the Amharic language is regarded as a *lingua franca* in Ethiopia, many people, particularly the young ones, increasingly use English as a means of international communication.

Since the Ethiopian population is multi-ethnic and multilingual, it is necessary for the country to promote the cultural diversity and heritage of diverse nationalities living in Ethiopia as the lack of acceptance of cultural diversity leads to the misevaluation of other ways of life as well as ethnocentrism that may result in the stereotypes of people from various cultures. Even if the inter-cultural education was introduced to Ethiopia in the early 1960s, the

problem of both linguistic and cultural diversity has been not efficiently solved up to the present. Particularly during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I it was understood in Ethiopia that the educational programs should be especially focussed on acculturation of immigrants and other national minorities as in view of the emperor the population of Ethiopia was one nation that had to communicate in Amharic as the carrier of the Ethiopian civilisation. During the past three decades the problem of multiculturalism became increasingly visible in Ethiopia and the learners from different backgrounds are presently applying for university studies and because of that universities are becoming the spots where the integration of students from diverse cultures within Ethiopia can be placed in communication. What is evident, the cultural diversity exerts a considerable influence on their ways of communication (Meyer 2006).

Ethnocentrism is the phenomenon that can hamper both inter-cultural and linguistic communication that consist in the over-assessment of one's proper culture below anything other and the adjudication of other cultures from the perspective of one's own criteria. Even if all cultures are ethnocentric to some extent as in all cultures people are educated that their own way of action is natural, ethnocentrism can lead to certain misunderstandings by conducting people to the limited human thinking and behaviour. One can give there the examples of the young Ethiopians from the province of Somali who study at the University of Jimma in southern Ethiopia and they live together in dormitories. This problem was thoroughly explored by the academics from Jimma who surveyed the students of law and social sciences. The students that took part in the survey came from different provinces of Ethiopia such as Tigray, Amhara, Wolayta, Oromo and Somali. Emphasised here should be the fact that if young school leavers apply for university studies for example in Addis Ababa, they can be sent to other universities in different far-away provinces not because of the lack of places in the capital university but to get to know various cultures as well as to learn to live and study with their peers from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. This is done as part of the cultural policy by the present Ethiopian authorities and this policy has many advantages and disadvantages (Zikargae 2013).

Generally, the students from the province of Somali who are accepted for university studies tolerate nothing that is linked with the diversity of cultures and religions other than their own. They have to live and co-operate with different students of other beliefs and customs and learn to tolerate one another and in the consequence promote the progress of their country. Even if there may appear some conflicts in the dormitory or classroom, the students have to learn to respect other cultures so as to live in harmony not only at the university but only in their future lives. The Somalian students that have the same culture, religion and customs can really profit from the cultural diversity at the university of Jimma in their own province, which changes their personality in terms of the tolerance of people from other cultures, religions and ways of life.

Although the studying in a multicultural place may have lots of advantages, there are some grave barriers associated not so much with language but with the everyday ways of life of the students from Jimma. One of the biggest problems is that many young people living in Somaliland have a very poor command of Amharic which is the main language of instruction

at the university of Jimma. Nevertheless, the speakers of Amharic in Ethiopia still think that their language is the carrier of the Ethiopian culture and customs. Even though the peoples of Somaliland are the citizens of Ethiopia, the Ethiopians don't recognize their affiliation to Ethiopia only because the lack of command of the state's language. Moreover, the Somalians are commonly thought to be plotters and the enemies of Ethiopia. This has further consequences as the young Somalian students are being discriminated against their lack of command of Amharic as they apply for university studies. For them the only solution is to communicate in English but many students and even university professors don't speak it fluently. That all the information announced in the university of Jimma is written or printed in Amharic causes the Oromo and Somalian students to complain about the lack of such information prepared in their own languages. Even if they can speak rudimentary Amharic, they don't know the Ge'ez syllabary, which would enable them to read the information. In the classrooms they don't even understand the lectures in Amharic. A similar situation holds also for study materials that are available predominantly in Amharic as in the remote parts of Ethiopia there is a shortage of study materials written in English.

The merging of students from different parts of Ethiopia in the university of Jimma has some disadvantages which are chiefly associated with the cultural norms. It was already mentioned that the culture of Somaliland is totally different from the Amharic one. For example, there may be problems with food in the university cafeterias where the traditional Ethiopian food is served that is enjera or teff pancakes with different sauces, which is the typical food for most parts of Ethiopia. It can happen that some Oromo or Somali students rebel against the unification of dishes in favour of the Ethiopian cuisine because they are customised to eat spaghetti or rice. What is more, some customs of the Somali students associated with the hygiene care or simply its lack in the dormitories are inadmissible for the students from the Amharic culture circle. For the Somalis, it is nothing wrong with not washing their socks regularly as its odour is a sign of manhood in their culture (Melkamu Dumessa, Ameyu Godesso 2014).

The misunderstanding between the students from diverse ethnic groups who live together can result in serious problems, for example the choice of prayer groups or homogeneous sport groups the belonging to which is conditioned according to religious groups or belonging to certain nationalities. This is observed not only at the university of Jimma but also at the university of Addis Ababa. The research performed by an academic from Bahir Dar on the community of students in the capital city of Ethiopia shows that ethnic, cultural or religious antipathies in the university campus are manifested by actions that include coarse language and physical abuse. Both verbal disputes and physical confrontations result from wrong perception, misunderstandings, ideological differences, indirect dominance and the lack of respect to other students and cultures. In order to avoid such abnormalities one has to teach cultural relations to the young people as only the chance that is given to them to engage themselves in the cultural dialogue around the cultural, ethnic and religious differences makes it possible for them to overcome diverse ethnocentrism and stereotypes for the successful acceptance and communication in the multilingual and multicultural surroundings.

Stereotypes that are usually thought up by ethnic groups that assert that their customs and cultural norms surpass those of other people is a serious obstacle for the inter-cultural communication in Ethiopia. As a stereotype is a collection of false hypotheses that are made by people in all cultures about the characteristic traits of other ethnic groups or nations, the stereotypes don't evolve abruptly but they are created by a culture during a period of time. They are made from pieces of information which are conserved by people about a culture. Because the stereotypes generally concern negative traits of people, they straiten the human perception and jeopardize the inter-cultural communication. Even though a stereotype can reduce the threat of what is unknown, it meddles in the human perception as well as the understanding of the world if it is applied to individuals or groups. The persons that confirm negative stereotypes discriminate people or keep other groups away from one another. The stereotypes made by the Ethiopian university students impede the students that have a higher self-esteem such as the Amharas from recognising the cultural diversity, beliefs, world view and perspectives of minor cultures in the country.

Along with ethnocentrism, the stereotypes complicate the inter-cultural exchange of ideas and abilities between the young people, which makes them incompetent in terms of co-operation in group tasks and debates. When the special clubs for the integration of students from different cultures were opened in Addis Ababa at the turn of the 21st century, it turned out that the three dominant groups i.e. Amharas, Tigreans and Oromos didn't allow other minorities to join their cultural centres or if ordered, they did it with bad feelings having excluded them from the preparation of cultural programs after school. Makonnen Haylemariam Zikargae concluded in his research that ethnocentrism and stereotypes are the things that hamper the integration of students from less accepted ethnic groups in Ethiopia with the dominant groups of the Amharas and in order to solve this problem one has not only to prepare proper programs with the aim to integrate the students from all ethnic groups in Ethiopia (Melkamu Dumessa, Ameyu Godesso 2014). Nevertheless, many years have to pass until the new Ethiopian generation have learned to respect all citizens regardless of the command or its lack of the Amharic language

Religious harmony is important to the successful co-existence. As Christianity and Islam are the two most meaningful religions in Ethiopia, it is necessary for all believers to live in relative peace for the good of the country. In today's Ethiopia it is rarely heard about the conflicts between Christians and Muslims as they respect and tolerate the faith of each other. Christians eat in Muslim restaurants while Muslims eat in Christian restaurants, which was unthinkable before. Going back to the dormitories in Jimma, the explorers saw that even if the students differ by creed, the young Christians and Muslims meet in respective groups for prayers and they don't disturb one another.

Returning to the linguistic situation of Ethiopia, its citizens speak around 80 languages, the majority of which is spoken in southern Ethiopia. The Ethiopian history shows that the speaking communities of languages other than Amharic and Ge'ez were discriminated by the court from the time it had come to power. A number of emperors who conquered various kingdoms in Abyssinia imposed the Amharic language, Christian religion and culture on the local communities of all lands that were to be incorporated to the Ethiopian empire.

The Amharic officials along with Ethiopian Orthodox clergymen were sent to the conquered territories that taught the Christian faith to the indigenous people and founded new parishes there. Even though the conquered indigenous people could preserve to some extent their languages and customs, they had to learn Amharic and become Christians if they wanted to climb up the corporate ladder as officials. As the Ethiopian Church remained as the only educator for many centuries up to the second half of the 19th century, the students had to be taught in the extinct Classical Ethiopic and not in their mother languages. Because of such policy of amharisation a number of local languages and dialects perished as neither the Ethiopian Church nor the Ethiopian government allowed them to evolve, especially if they were associated with pagan religions and cultures. Anyone who wanted to be employed in imperial administration had to be fluent in Amharic, which was the basic condition for accepting their candidacy for such professions (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987).

From the rule of Emperor Tewodoros II (1855-1868) the political status of Amharic was raised considerably. With the imperial order all the chronicles of the aforementioned ruler had to be written in Amharic while Ge'ez was being partly forgotten. The Ge'ez language is presently used only in the liturgy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but the majority of the faithful don't understand it. Interestingly, the learners who want to become priests had to learn by heart some parts from the Bible and religious hymns in Ge'ez even though they fail to understand them. At the end of the 19th century many foreign secular schools were founded in Ethiopia where the student started to be taught in the European way and evidently in foreign languages. For the good of the development of Amharic and for the patriotic reasons the emperors Menelek II and Haile Sellase I wanted for these schools to use Amharic as the language of instruction. As the local languages were not included to educational programs, in the remote parts of Ethiopia the fluency in Amharic was required and the teaching in local languages was not available. Because of that a number of learners couldn't make progresses in learning and they had no choice but to quit the school. To make the matters worse, there was a lack of not only different books but also ABC's, which made it possible for the students to learn to read and write in Amharic. Worth mentioning can be also the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century almost none of the minority languages was alphabetised, which excluded the rudimentary education in languages other than Amharic (Melkamu Dumessa, Ameyu Godesso 2014).

Although Emperor Haile Selassie made a lot of good for his country, for example by establishing the first Ethiopian university in Addis Ababa, he failed to do much as far as other Ethiopian languages are concerned. Moreover, the Amharic language was according to the revised Ethiopian constitution of 1955 the only language in all domains of the political, economic and social life of the Ethiopians. Like his predecessors, Haile Selassie conserved monolingualism in favour of Amharic by creating the National Academy of the Amharic Language in 1972 as he asserted that the Amharic language was the best language from the historical viewpoint as the carrier of the Ethiopian culture and civilisation. Such policy caused constant rebellions in Ethiopia from 1960 onwards. It was the Soviet agents that made use of the increasingly escalating perturbations in Ethiopia in order to include this country to the Soviet sphere of influences. As the emperor himself was a serious obstacle for the actions of

Russian spies, they aimed to depose him and to take up the reins of power in the country. The compromised emperor was imprisoned and killed by the Russian agents. One of the most important steps of the military junta after having acquired power in Ethiopia was the literacy campaign made for around 20 Ethiopian languages (Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

The constitution of the Ethiopian socialist state promised the right of the provincial self-governance along with the use of local languages. In the first years of the communist rule it seemed to those citizens who don't speak Amharic fluently that they could freely speak in their mother tongues. However, the promise for the recognition of local languages degenerated into the persecution and killing of those citizens who wanted to exercise their rights for self-government. Even though there are such people who praise the socialist government for having introduced the policy of multilingualism in Ethiopia, it turned out that the literacy campaign in the country served not for the good of the citizens but for the proper interests of the communist government which eventually returned to the policy of one language i.e. Amharic at the end of its rule. There are many reasons for that. Firstly, the adequate language policy was not planned in accordance with the exploration of the Ethiopian linguists and scientists. Secondly, it was attempted to use the Ge'ez syllabary for all minority languages, which was not possible for a number of Cushitic and Omotic languages. What is more, the languages for alphabetisation were selected without the proper linguistic and language political analyses (Amlaku A. Eshetie 2010).

Although the communistic government prepared the language policy in favour of minority languages, the representatives of these people were made happy by force as they had not been asked if they wanted to use their languages in their working and social lives. Since one has to train adequate teachers for any rare language, the communist authorities failed to guarantee economic resources to make the students from remote parts of Ethiopia come to universities so that they could become academically trained for the instruction of those local languages. Because of the scarcity of the indigenous panel that prepared textbooks for all the languages proposed for the literacy campaign the Amharic educationists who often were ignorant of the cultures and customs of the local populations write textbooks that overtook the Amharic culture and values in the texts that were intended for the indigenous people, which caused numerous protests in the remote regions of Ethiopia. With limited financial resources in the socialist budget it was not able to print enough textbooks and ABC's even for rudimentary subjects. It should be finally emphasized that the word stocks of the majority of the Ethiopian languages were then not sufficiently rich so the Ethiopian linguists had to coin the lacking vocabulary and their interference into these languages resulted in protest of the indigenous populations. Having considered all these problems, the communist authorities of Ethiopia had to return to the hegemony of Amharic (Amlaku A. Eshetie 2010).

After the fall of the communist rule in Ethiopia in 1991, the problem of multilingualism became one of the most serious challenges issued to the post-communist government. On the strength of the 1995 constitution Ethiopia was divided into 9 provinces to be administered by the federal government. Written in English, the new Ethiopian constitution stipulated that all the languages spoken in Ethiopia should have an equal status. Of all the 80 languages 21 ones were chosen as the languages of instruction in primary schools, though

only three languages, namely Amharic, Tigrinia and Oromo are used at university levels.

The current policy of multilingualism in Ethiopia has its advantages and disadvantages. From the linguistic point of view, its main advantage is the chance of conservation of a number of endangered languages in the country by writing their grammar and oral literature. Moreover, the learners of lesser spoken languages can develop their command of their national languages and use them in administration to some extent. They can also share their linguistic and cultural heritage with other citizens of Ethiopia.

On the other hand, the realisation of linguistic policy in Ethiopia has numerous flaws that impede the international communication in the country. The so-called democratic Ethiopian authorities seem to have made the same mistake as their predecessors when it comes to the freedom of communication in the remaining 79 languages as they failed to ask the local communities whether they wanted to use their languages in education and administration. In addition, the majority of local languages particularly in the Omo river region weren't or have been not yet explored enough by the Ethiopian or foreign linguists. Many of these languages are not codified not to mention their necessary prudent planning, which would make it possible to translate the constitution and legal documentation from Amharic or English. One can say that the Ethiopian nations have now the possibility of communication in their mother tongues in schools and offices, which is guaranteed in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia, but practically they have to be fluent in Amharic in order to live successfully in their country. However, in many regions of Ethiopia most learners and university students don't know Amharic, which translates into the use of other language of which not many serve as a *lingua franca*. The lack of command of Amharic or English at the state level leads to a more serious problem which has to be solved by the present government as even if Amharic is the main language of Ethiopia, it is no more used by the educated people living in remote provinces. This can result in the provincial partition of the country, which is made possible by the federalism of Ethiopia (Mesfin Wodajo 2014).

For the Ethiopians, the life in a multinational and multicultural country is not an easy thing. From the beginning of governance in Abyssinia there were many attempts to solve this problem, though the direction of language policy in Ethiopia depended principally on the ruling dynasty. Most Ethiopian emperors imposed their proper language, culture and religion to the entire state, which in different periods resulted in anxiety and wars. Even though the idea of linguistic and cultural freedom proposed by the communist and later pseudo-democratic Ethiopian governments was a convenient step to the equal treatment of all Ethiopian languages and communities, there is still a lack of prudent policy to conserve the ethnic groups in the country along with their languages and cultures and co-ordinate this policy with the general interests of the country. If this problem is not solved on time, the country can be divided to which evidently allows the Ethiopian federalism.

5.7. The role of English in Ethiopia

As Ethiopia is a country that was never colonised in the era of colonisation, one of its most indigenous languages i.e. Amharic has maintained the dominance in politics, business and social communication. Nevertheless it is English that had been getting an increasing power

over Amharic with the introduction of modern education and business to Ethiopia at the turn of the 20th century. Even though there was no protracted history of top-down imposition of standard and correct English and the level of teaching English is poor in Ethiopia, it has continued to spread despite the linguistic and ethnic multiplicity of the country. The 1995 Ethiopian constitution stipulates that English will be taught as a subject beginning from grade one and it will be the language of instruction for secondary and higher education. As the most successfully expanded language in the world, English has several considerable roles in Ethiopia, especially in education, business, trade, entertainment and official communication. English is also used side by side with Amharic by most government, public and private organizations in Ethiopia. Also the websites of some predominant domestic sectors and public companies are usually run in English or with the very few use of Amharic. As the role of English in business and economy is one of the most important since it helps a nation to be globally competitive, the increasing use of English in most government and business sectors of Ethiopia can be attributed to such global challenges and benefits. In Ethiopia, a good command of English or at least mixing English while using a local language is perceived by the majority of the societies as a sign of being educated and modernised. However, the level of English of most graduates of schools and colleges leaves a lot to be desired. The fact that teachers in primary and secondary schools as well as in colleges often lack the proficiency to teach well and become role-models translates into the inability of university students to express themselves well in English, which results in the failure of many graduates who join the world of work to write their own CV and application letters for job (Sharma 2013).

In the words of Orin Gensler, who lived in Ethiopia for 9 years and taught linguistics and philology at the Addis Ababa University, a linguistic description of Ethiopian English is a totally neglected topic both in Ethiopia and in “World Englishes”. The Ethiopian English is marked by a large list of mistakes in every domain of language of which the most can be traced to Amharic influence of some kind, if not to some other major Ethiopian languages like Tigrinia or Oromo. As non-Amharic speakers who learn English typically come to English as a third language after Amharic as a second language, non-native English shares with non-native Amharic the social role of the language of wider communication.

There are many problems associated with the teaching of English in Ethiopia. It is commonly agreed there that the level of teaching English is poor and it is said to have declined since the time of Emperor Haile Selassie. As for spelling, it is a huge problem in Ethiopia that goes far beyond the notorious craziness of English spelling. One of the causes of the numerous spelling mistakes of the learners of English in Ethiopia is that the Amharic *fidäl* spelling is phonetic and the concept of fixed spelling don't exist in Amharic since often two or three letters exist for the same sound that can be used interchangeably. As opposed to Amharic, English spelling is very non-phonetic, even though there exist rules for that, which means that each word has exactly one fixed spelling with a few exceptions, for example British vs. American, that must be learned as such. Since learning of English in Ethiopia heavily depends on written materials, it happens that students may not even hear what the word sounds like. To make matters worse, there is no well-engrained habit of using dictionaries even among university students (Gensler 2015).

It should be also borne in mind that English, both structurally, lexically and sociolinguistically is utterly alien to the native Ethiopian linguistic landscape even though its sociolinguistic role is considerable in Ethiopia. Many uneducated people need a few formulas or catch phrases for their jobs which they use very heavily to catch the attention of foreign customers. What is more, a few English stock-phrases are used by everyone when speaking Amharic as a matrix language, for example, *by the way*, *anyway* or *at the end of the day*. As regards those college students who have a good command of English, they usually talk in a real 50-50 mixture so the code-switching between English and their matrix language is strongly displayed. Interesting can be also the fact that non-Ethiopian native English speakers (amh. *faranj*) who live in Ethiopia often use some Amharic words or Ethio-English words in their English. Such expressions as “There is no mabrat (electricity)” or “Do you have some soft (Kleenex, tissue or toilet paper)?” occur very frequently. Of interest can be also the fact that the native speakers of English can be 'corrected' by Ethiopians as to the proper use of their English, which may be unpleasant to the foreigners.

A number of mistakes made by the Ethiopians are related to the English phonology. Since Amharic and many other Ethiopian languages have no vowel length distinction, the English vowel length is neither produced nor heard correctly or it can be not even perceived at all, which leads to countless mistakes in spelling, comprehension and production. Many Ethiopians hardly see the difference between the short and long vowels so such words as *get/gate*, *bit/beat*, *full/fool*, *live/leave* or *test/taste* are largely pronounced in the same way, which results in serious misunderstandings in the communication with foreigners. As the phonetic diphthongs are characteristic for English, they don't exist in Ethiopian English and also not in Amharic. Since English long vowels are thus distinguished neither by length nor by diphthongization such words as *feature/future* are often being confused as the lack of the diphthong [yu] in Amharic causes the assimilation to [i:] by which these two words are made phonetically identical (Gensler 2015).

In regard to central vowels, they pose a problem for Amharic-based speakers of English. Much confusion is made between the short *a* [æ] and short *u* [ʌ], which are typically not perceived as distinct phonemes and in the consequence they are pronounced the same. For example 'staff' can be spelled 'stuff', 'lamp' can be spelled as 'lump' or 'butter' spelled 'batter'. The same problem concerns short [ɛ] where letter is confused with latter or later and message with massage, the latter of which involves failure to perceive stress difference. Also the problem with postvocalic /n/ is an unresearched phenomenon in Ethiopian English as the sound /n/ seems to come and go in postvocalic environment. The word 'invasion' can be spelled as 'invention' whereas the word 'recension' is often spelled as 'recession'. As for English consonant clusters that are unnatural for Amharic speakers, they are often broken up by the misuse of schwa, for example *əsport*, *askəd* or *priestəs*. Because Amharic would show no phonemic difference in initial /Cr/ with and without schwa in free variation, e.g. *kramt* – *kəramt* (rainy season), a word like 'derive' may be spelled as 'drive' and vice versa. In case of English vowel clusters, there may be a confusion that involves English sequences of two vowels, which means that, for example, the word 'caring' may be spelled as 'carrying' and the word 'copying' is not infrequently spelled as 'coping'. This problem apparently results from

the fact that Amharic avoids sequences of two vowels, both in pronunciation and writing.

Other problems are associated with English stress and intonation. As stress plays an enormous role in English as opposed to Amharic, primary and secondary stress poses a second level of difficulty for secondarily stressed vowels can be treated as unstressed and reduced to schwa. For the Amharic speakers it is very hard to distinguish between 'thirty' (one initial stress) and 'thirteen' (two stresses of which the main one is put on final), which is exacerbated by the problem with final /n/. For common practical solution, the English word 'thirty' is rendered as 'three-zero-thirty' for disambiguation. As for intonation, the typical Amharic rising one put on converbs is often imitated when speaking English, which creates a very strange phonetic effect. The English intonation rendered by the Ethiopians is marked by interesting vowel assimilations such as 'cosmetics' – 'cosmotics'* or 'zucchini' – 'zucchuni'*. Multiple phonetic difficulties of English reflect attested cases of extreme spelling confusion, for example, 'endurance' spelled 'hindrance', 'ruminant' spelled 'remnant' or 'couplet' spelled 'copulate' (Gensler 2015).

With respect to morphology and morphosyntax, the English inflectional morphology of verbs is barely commanded by many less educated speakers, which can create the impression of an uninflected pidgin. This means that past and present may be used with any temporal value while aspectual contrasts like 'he has come' or 'he is coming' are either not used or typically used wrong. The Ethiopian English is characterised by very frequent wrong use of an auxiliary verb, especially 'be' or sometimes 'have', e.g. "Where are you go?"* instead of "Where are you going?". Even though 'be' + bare infinitive is always impossible in English, it is common in Ethiopian English. What is more, the auxiliary verb 'be' is used incorrectly with the intransitives in the past tense, for example, 'he was fell down*', 'while he was reigned*', 'he was passed away'* or 'her face was shone like the sun'*. The Ethiopians also tend to omit the possessive -s, for example 'my father car'* and to use singular nouns with numerals ('fifty page'*) (Gensler 2015).

Despite the SOV word order of Amharic the English SVO word order is observed pretty well by the Ethiopian users of English, though the use of embedded speech causes many problems since Amharic pronoun usage is sharply different from English in terms of reference, which often creates much confusion. As for the yes/no answers to tag questions, they are often backwards from standard English, which reflects the Amharic usage. The relative clauses are used correctly by few people. Not surprisingly, there are some serious mistakes that involve the omission of 'who', e.g. "He is the man \emptyset introduced Coca Cola to Ethiopia"* or the wrong use of possession in relative clauses, e.g. "The man that I saw his house"*. The definite and indefinite articles are often omitted, though it happens that the Ethiopians commonly take the definite article to such words as 'heaven', 'hell' or 'paradise' or that they take indefinite article to plural nouns, singular mass nouns and abstract nouns, e.g. 'an accessible world lists'*, 'covers its head by a dust'* or 'hides itself in a mud'*.

With regard to lexicon and usage, many common phrasal verbs deviate from standard English as concerns both wrong inclusion and omission of preposition or particle. For example the phrasal verbs such as 'pick somebody up', 'throw something away' or 'plug it in' are rendered in Ethiopian English as *pick somebody**, *throw something** and *plug it**

respectively. Similarly, the Ethiopian English is marked by omission of prepositions so such expressions as *she said to me*, *refer to something* and *wait for someone* are used by the Ethiopians as *she said me**, *refer something** and *wait someone**. Characteristic in Ethiopian English is the addition of prepositions to some verbs that is incorrect in standard English, for example, *understand out something**, *discuss on/about something** or *lit down/out something**.

Typical for Ethiopian English is that many words have non-standard meanings, e.g., *that's interesting* really means *that's excellent*, *that's boring* means *that's unfortunate*, *I will avoid that* means *I will delete or omit that (from my text)*, *let me jump that* means *let me skip that* or *I will win you* means *I will beat you*. As the expression *by the way* is used in standard English to change the subject, usually to a relatively unrelated side issue, in Ethiopian English it strongly emphasises something that is relevant and pertinent to the subject that is already under discussion. As for collective nouns, they can appear incorrectly as count nouns with plural -s, which can mean either single individuals within the collective or the entire collective itself that is redundantly pluralised. In this way *agendas** mean items in the agenda, *staffs** mean staff members, *vocabularies** mean individual words within a vocabulary, *alphabets** mean individual letters, which is calqued from the Amharic word *fidäl*, *clergies** means the clergy as a whole and *underwears** mean underwear. Calqued from Amharic are also such expressions as “Give me one money”* instead of “Give me one birr [monetary unit in Ethiopia]” or “Wash your body” instead of “Take a shower”. The standard English expression “in front of” means in Ethiopia “across the street” which is a calque from Amharic. The Ethiopians often confuse verb pairs like *to find* (past: *found*) vs. *to found* (past: *founded*) or *to bind* (past: *bound*) vs. *to bound* (past: *bounded*). Worth mentioning is that the standard English expression “the rest” is used in Ethiopia in the form of adjective, for example, “The rest chapters are shorter”* instead of “The rest of the chapters are shorter” (Gensler 2015).

In Ethiopian English there is no distinction between *few* and *a few* and between *very* and *too much* (which is a calque from Amharic), so the sentence “I am too much happy”* has no sense of the negative connotation of 'too much' for the Ethiopians. What is more, “of course” is used in the meaning of a very strong “yes”. For example, if a student responds “of course” to a teacher's question “Did you copy from your neighbour?”, he merely means to be honest. The Ethiopian speakers of English use “by this time” in the sense of “at this time” and they often confuse *for/since* in present perfect constructions. As for derived nouns, they may be given transparent compositional meaning instead of their normal, idiomatic or lexicalised meaning. To illustrate this, the Ethiopians use e.g. *the two brotherly kings** to mean two kings that are biological brothers or *she bore the unbearable** referring to the Virgin birth of Jesus, where they are not aware enough that *unbearable* means intolerable and not that what could not be born. With respect to the word 'village', it has two meanings in Ethiopian English because of the Amharic influence, namely a rural village and an urban neighbourhood. The Ethiopian users of English typically use the word 'cloth' in the meaning of clothing and it is often heard that they say “Look at my new cloth” after having purchased a single garment.

Often confused are such adverbial pronouns as *when* and *while*, where the Ethiopians tend not to realise that 'when' is typically punctive and that 'while' involves duration. There

are also mistakes with nominalized adjectives, which means that people in Ethiopia say *he is a deaf** by analogy to *the deaf* (plural). In Ethiopia the word 'perfect' means 'good' and is used as a compliment for those who can even barely manage a conversation in Amharic. The Ethiopians have a tendency to overuse 'male' and 'female' as nouns in order to refer to people and not to animals (Gensler 2015).

In regard to the style of standard English, the Ethiopians tend to use prolixity wherever possible because short is understood as bad and long is claimed as good. Even though such wordy sentences are full of positive-affect words, they say almost nothing. Moreover, very general words like 'aspect' or 'condition' are overused, for example “This manuscript has a colophon aspect”^{*} for “This manuscript has a colophon” or “How is the weather condition?”^{*} instead of “How is the weather?” Such clichés as “fill in the gap”, “*pave the way*” or “a springboard to” is heavily overused as compared to the American English and most people don't know the literal meaning of these expressions. The Ethiopians use certain phrases where standard English would never use them, e.g. “Are you fine?” as the first words of a greeting (a calque from Amharic *selam neh?*) or “Are you sure?” instead of canonical English “Really?”, which in certain cases may involuntarily offend foreign customers for example to whom cold food was served in an Ethiopian restaurant. Irritable for foreign tourists in Ethiopia can be the Ethiopians' tendency to excessively repeat what the interlocutor has just said, apparently due to insecurity to one's ability to understand correctly (Gensler 2015).

Not surprisingly, the Ethiopian cultural norms are totally different from those in Europe or America. In greetings, the Ethiopians tend to repeat several times the question “How are you?”, which can frustrate the foreigners. This can be aggravated by correcting the native speaker's English by an Ethiopian interlocutor. The foreigners may consider very rude the language behaviour of some Ethiopians who utter '*faranj*' to the air as a white man is passing or say “You! You!” in order to get someone's attention. Perceived as particularly incongruous for the foreign tourists may be the expression “Come on!” used especially by shoeshine boys without awareness of the connotation of impatience or “pushing” that this phrase means in canonical English. Additionally, the Ethiopians say “OK, OK” simply to express “yes” without meaning to express impatience, while “*Yes*” can be used as the introductory word that is called out when a taxi driver wants to attract a potential customer's attention or even simply as a one-word greeting (Gensler 2015).

Even though Ethiopian English has been not researched thoroughly up to the present, it is worth being widely studied not only sociolinguistically but also linguistically as it reflects the modern world view of the Ethiopians, the command of which is linked with the change of social status of the citizens of that country. Because of the scarcity of native English teachers in Ethiopia and the insufficient competence of indigenous teachers of the language, the Ethiopian English evolved as a large list of mistakes in every domain of the standard language that were handed down from teachers to students for at least several generations. This led to a series of well-worn expressions, even though they are considered as incorrect by the native speakers of English. Of interest can be also the fact that the co-existence of English in the Amharic speaking community led to the development of the *guramayle* or the English-Amharic mixed language in Ethiopia.

6. Status planning of Amharic

The status planning of Amharic has a long and curious history. Even though it is not exactly known when and how the Amharic language came into being, it is known from the scanty records from the time of the Zagwe dynasty that is most likely to have started to wield power in Ethiopia between circa 940 and 1127 (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko, 1987) AD. Although the Ge'ez language was an official medium of communication of the Zagwe kings, its status became increasingly disturbed as the significance of the Amhara people from the southern frontiers of the kingdom was more and more meaningful in Ethiopia. It was recorded that the Zagwe Emperor Lalibela seemed to take the rising power of the Amharas into account and he allowed for Amharic to be the language of the military, apparently in order to form alliance with his subjects from the south (Girma A. Demeke 2009).

After the death of Emperor Lalibela the kingdom of Lasta was absorbed in the struggle for power. The weakness of the country was cleverly used by the 9th descendant of the Axumite dynasty, Yekuno Amlak, who with the help of the Ethiopian clergy, as says the tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, took power in the country that was mired in domestic and political chaos. This first Amhara ruler on the Ethiopian throne decreed that the use of Ge'ez should be abandoned for the purposes of communication in the country in favour of Amharic, though Classical Ethiopic remained in use as a language of instruction and religious services. As the Amharic language was not standardised at the time of Yekuno Amlak's accession to the throne but it had been already used as a spoken language, the writing of royal chronicles and some legal documents was rendered in Ge'ez for some time. Nevertheless, Amharic started to be used as a fully functional written language not until the rule of Emperor Theodore II (1855-1868) who began the promotion of a monolingual language policy of Ethiopia. Even though the use of Amharic as a literary language was widely encouraged, its status failed to be legally acknowledged both by Theodore II and his successor Yohannes IV, despite the latter emperor also supported the idea of Amharic as the only official language in Ethiopia (Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

But for the missionary activity of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Amharic language would not have been so widely spread in Ethiopia. On the strength of the Holy Alliance of 1270 concluded by Emperor Yekuno Amlak and the representatives of the Ethiopian clergy, the emperors and the priesthood were both greatly interested for many centuries in the conquest of new territories and joining them to the Ethiopian state. The Ethiopian Church established new parishes and monasteries on the conquered lands for the local tribesmen to be taught the Christian faith and to be imbued with the sense of belonging both to the Ethiopian kingdom and the Amharic culture. But the inhabitants of the territories incorporated to Ethiopia had actually no other choice but to convert to Christianity and to acknowledge the supremacy of the Amharic language and culture. A good command of Amharic was also their prerequisite for a traditional Ge'ez education, though they could preserve their own languages and cultural identities to some extent (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1987).

The monolingual policy in Ethiopia was continued by Emperors Menelik II and Haile

Selassie I. With the conquest of the territories south of the province of Shoa, the local elites were ordered by Menelik to learn and promote Amharic in their regions regardless of their cultural and religious backgrounds. At the turn of the 20th century the Amharic language was so widely spoken, particularly in southern parts of Ethiopia as never before. The prestige of Amharic was strengthened there not only by the presence of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church but also by the settlers from northern Ethiopia by whom the local authorities were recognised only if they spoke good Amharic (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko, 1987).

It was Emperor Haile Selassie who contributed to the legal acknowledgement of Amharic by means of the 1955 constitution and whose extensive policy of Amharisation encompassed not only the ruling elites but also the entire population. As it was officially explained, such policy aimed to ease the communication between the Ethiopian nations, though it actually imposed the Amharic language and Christian culture on all Ethiopians. Under Haile Selassie's rule, Amharic became the national language akin to the colonial languages, that is to say in the perspective of the South-Ethiopian nations and nationalities conquered at the end of the 19th century. This meant that the proficiency of Amharic was the key to upward mobility and access to political and economic resources of many kinds. So that the literacy of children and adults alike in Amharic could be ensured, also coercive measures were taken at times. It should be borne in mind that one of the most critical and contentious arenas for the politics of language has been in the education sector, even if apart from education language policy concerns also bureaucratic administration, legal and legislative communication as well as media access. As the citizens of Ethiopia commonly understood language policy primarily as an issue of language of instruction at schools, they did not have completely accurate information about the essence of such policy but they simply knew that it was a critical policy sector for them as far the assessment of the impact of e.g. federalism or any particular institutional agreement is concerned (Smith 2013).

Even though the policy of Amharisation was refuted by the Fascist Italians who occupied Ethiopia for six years between 1936-1941 and who aimed to set the Ethiopian ethnic groups at variance by allowing the use of other languages as the medium of instruction, it was brought back after the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 twice as strong. As the Amharic language had already become the medium of instruction in first two grades by this time, by the 1950s it was introduced to all levels of primary school. A distinct advantage to Amharic was given also at Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa, even though English was obligatory both with Amharic in certification examinations and entry to the university. Worth being mentioned can be the fact that at that time the use of any other indigenous languages for teaching and public business was made illegal.

As making Amharic a national language was crucial for Haile Selassie to consolidate central power and to promote the bureaucratic efficiency of the imperial government, he also used foreign missionary workers in order to accomplish the task of language homogenization, which went hand in hand with religious conversion. Because entering the strongholds of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in northern Ethiopia was not allowed for the foreign missionaries, they were free to work in the newly conquered areas of the south and west of Ethiopia on condition that they taught in Amharic. Important for the standardisation of Amharic is also

that the translation of the Bible often required consolidation of regional dialect of Amharic or selection of critical language groups because of the finished set of resources of the European preachers. Cognizant of the fact that new converts should access the Bible in their own languages, the missionaries brought in experts who assisted them with developing orthographies and dictionaries for languages with no written forms for which the emperor had to acquiesce. But conducting other language development activities often brought the missionaries into direct conflicts with the imperial government, which resulted in their banning from preaching and teaching only because of the threat they were making for the hegemonic project of Amharisation (Smith 2013).

Even though Amharisation was believed by Haile Selassie and his entourage as good for the unity of the country, it was resented particularly by non-Amharic speaking ethnic groups because other languages than Amharic were heavily suppressed by the imperial government. For example, the suppression of the Oromo people caused the general degradation of their culture not to mention the destruction of their shrines and forced religious conversion. As for education, it was in particular a site for humiliation and alienation and the educational programmes conducted in Amharic by teachers or legal proceedings carried out by judges verged on the absurd, which contributed to high attrition rates and low literacy levels among non-Amhara peoples. When it comes to compulsory religious conversions, they were so severe that Muslim residents of border regions sent their children to schools in the Sudan as the language instruction in primary schools was strongly associated with the conversions to the Christian faith. Evidently, the Amharic language hegemony was a critical pillar on which stood the policy of Amharisation, which meant that despite a rapid growth of school enrolment in the remote regions of Ethiopia, the Amharic instruction was associated with hegemonic political forces, which was the cause of tremendous suffering of local non-Amharic communities (Smith 2008).

The 1960s brought great waves of protests in Ethiopia that were mainly triggered by disastrous economical situation of the country resulting from the inability of Haile Selassie to implement sharp agricultural reforms in the 1940s. There is no doubt that the political unrest was aggravated by the imposition and implementation of the policy of Amharisation without the necessary public consultations throughout Ethiopia. Many citizens who were deprived forcefully of their cultural heritage went down the streets at that time to voice their opposition to the raise of the status of Amharic at the expense of other nationalities living in the country, who wanted to save their languages and cultures. Even though four ethnic languages, that is Tigrinia, Tigre, Somali and Afar started to be broadcast by government-owned radio stations in the late 1960s, the ban on the use of Oromo (by far the largest group of any language speakers in Ethiopia) was not lifted. Worth mentioning is the fact that by the introduction of the aforementioned four languages to the media it was not genuinely attempted to redefine the content and nature of belonging in the Ethiopian nation-state let alone that Amharic never achieved a complete nation-wide status despite decades of its official dominance. Even though the language policy adopted by the imperial regime privileged access to employment, unrestricted mobility and the resources of the state in both corpus and status planning of Amharic to its native speakers, the close association of language with religious, ethnic and

regional identities brought about unceasing political and social movements that eventually toppled the regime of Haile Selassie I in September 1974 (Smith 2008).

Having come to power just after the deposition of Emperor Haile Selassie I, the Provisional Military Administration Council (PMAC) or *Derg* in Amharic deliberately rejected the imperial policy of Amharisation by adopting the socialist ideology that was supposed to have supported the necessity of respecting the nationalities' rights. At that time the communist government of Ethiopia were making a pretence of guaranteeing the freedom of using and development other languages spoken in the country. It was claimed that the problem of the nationalities could be solved only if the full right of self-government was given for each ethnic group so that they would determine their political, economic and social life by choosing their own leaders and their appropriate languages.

Even though the language policy conducted by the *Derg* was marked by the introduction of 14 other Ethiopian languages to the literacy campaign, it soon turned out that the communist authorities were dependent on Amharic for many reasons. First of all, most of the lesser-used Ethiopian languages were never standardised, which meant that without a rational planning of their status, corpus and acquisition, for which the socialist authorities had very limited resources, it was not able to translate even rudimentary legal documents into most of them. Secondly, there was a lack of qualified teachers of these local languages who came from these regions and who would know the local customs if they were sent to these remote provinces. Because of the scarcity of such teachers, the Amharic language instructors were sent to the south of Ethiopia without any basic command of the local languages, which resulted in low school enrolment and literacy rates of the pupils who didn't understand what the Amharic teachers taught them. To make the matters worse, the sparse number of textbooks of these local languages was translated from Amharic and it failed to take into account the cultural differences (see Getachew Anteneh, Derib Ado 2006).

As for the status planning of Amharic in the period of the communist rule in Ethiopia, both the centralist bent of the regime and the ethnolinguistic composition of the PMAC itself contributed to the perpetuation of the dominance of Amharic at all levels, by which the socialist ideology of Mengistu Haile Maryam, the leader of the *Derg*, merged with the imperialist ideology of their predecessors. This meant that the previous politics of centralisation and homogenization of the multi-national and multi-cultural empire was by all means continued until the political transformation of Ethiopia in 1991.

Of interest can be also the fact that the literacy campaign that was officially called *zemecha* in Amharic or simply the Development through Cooperation Campaign was one of the early and most dramatic interventions of the communist regime, which involved the use of high school and university students for the implementation of the new land reform program and for the establishment of Peasant Associations. In spite of having given much to educate and sensitise these young leaders to the peasantry conditions, this campaign was met with limited success in programmatic terms. It should be also borne in mind that only four languages apart from Amharic were used for conducting the literacy component whereas all materials were written in the Ethiopic script regardless of the lack of its usability for Cushitic languages (Meredith 2011).

Since the preparation and delivery of the literacy campaign failed to involve experts or representatives from non-Amharic groups, it was not only cursory but also ineffective, even less that the selection of languages was rather arbitrary. As for the service campaigns that were known in the countryside in the 1980s as the *mäsärätä tāmhart* (base of learning), the situation was heavily biased against those who spoke Amharic as a second language and did not use it at home. Even though it was believed that the literacy campaign conducted in 15 national languages would cover 93% of Ethiopia's population, this campaign failed to involve popular or widespread discussion among Ethiopian citizens when it comes to the number of languages to be used or covered. Evidently, the success of the literacy campaign was quite limited in spite of having received significant international attention because of the poor quality of curricular materials and the scarcity of additional resources for deepening literacy through supplemental materials. Although the quality and quantity of educational facilities did not have much long-term effect on the levels of literacy, many people were abandoning the Amharic language reluctantly for it was needed in their opinions for economic reasons such as access to employment. The ill-conceived and poorly performed language policy of the Derg regime aiming at the reduction of the role of Amharic in Ethiopia eventually resulted in failure so the Amharic language continued to be used in administration, judiciary system and education (Smith 2013).

Even though the communist regime of Ethiopia was toppled by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front in 1991, the new government decided to follow in the footsteps of their predecessor when it comes to the conception of the language policy and planning of the Amharic language, though it cannot be said that they totally imitated the policies of the communist government. Many reforms were introduced that changed the history of the country, of which the most important is the federalisation of Ethiopia on the strength of the 1995 constitution. The new constitution itself was written both in Amharic and English, though its Amharic version serves as a basic reference for resolving doubts of the content of the Ethiopian law. Since the idea of Amharisation was rejected in the new constitution of Ethiopia, all the Ethiopian languages enjoy an equal status of recognition even though Amharic remains the working language of the federal government. Under the 1995 constitution the federation members can freely determine their respective languages, though in practice it does not look as good as written in the document. In order to justify the equal status of all the languages spoken in Ethiopia, particularly of those 21 ones promoted in education, the new federal units of Ethiopia were created on the basis of linguistic differences, which means that language is the major marker of ethnicity in the sense of Tigrayan elites, who have been in power incessantly since the abolition of communism in Ethiopia in 1991. As these federal units reserved for each group were defined linguistically, which means that they were legally given the right to education in their mother languages, such a policy not only generates additional expenses for the federal government but also it causes its fragmentation in the sense of giving the status of a separate *woreda* (district) for a group that can justify the difference of their dialect from that of their neighbours (Getachew Ado, Derib Anteneh 2006).

Some aspects of the language policy and the status planning of Amharic adopted by

the present Ethiopian government show that the authorities make the same mistakes as the former communist regime of the country. The government of Ethiopia fails to keep to their promise in many cases. Firstly, the right of each ethnic groups for education in their mother languages is often denied because of the lack of properly educated teachers speaking those languages. That the Amharic language remains in many situations the sole medium of instruction is disliked by a number of people whose protests and rebellions against the ubiquity of Amharic are often quelled by the Ethiopian police with extreme cruelty. What is more, most of the local ethnic groups were not asked whether they want to communicate in the languages proposed by the federal government, which is a repeat of what happened in communist Ethiopia. Because of the scarcity of native teachers, the instruction in local languages seems to be unprofitable. Additionally, the possibility of teaching is often available only in Amharic, which poses serious problems for the non-Amharic speaking pupils who drop schools due to their poor command of Amharic. Since most of the students who come to the Ethiopian academic centres from remote rural regions no more want to undertake work as teachers in their home provinces, the Amharic teachers have to be sent to remote towns or villages, most of whom are ignorant of the local customs, which may end in conflicts with the local communities. Not only appropriate teachers but also proper textbooks are necessary for the education of the native people of Ethiopia in their respective languages. However, the lack of such educational facilities imposes the translation of Amharic textbooks into a number of ethnic languages, which is often met with indignation from the local people who have no choice but to adopt the Amharic culture (Lucas 2007).

Interestingly, the National Academy of the Amharic Language established by Haile Selassie in 1972, which is known today as the *Addis Ababa University Academy of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures (AELC)*, has always been an important ally in the development of not only Amharic textbooks and teaching materials as well as in the linguistic indigenization of the school curricula by fostering terminologies to facilitate the translation of school texts. As the modernisation of Ethiopia did not mean a halt of terminological activities, terminology was indeed a component of a 1991 project that involved the Ethiopian Government and the United Nations Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development (UNIFFSTD). Since a great majority of the Ethiopian population (more than 95%) was reported to have spoken and understood neither English nor any of the major European language in the early 1990s, there was a general shift of interest towards science and technology, which had far reaching implications and consequences on the total population of the country estimated at 45 million at that time. As the place of Amharic terminology was recognised by means of the creation of a sub-project Development of Scientific and Technological Terminology in Amharic, which was widely referred to as the Science Technology Terms Translation Project (STTP), the AELC took up this part of the project, which resulted in the coining of terms in such fields as Agriculture, Chemistry, Geology, Mathematics, Medicine, Physics or Electro-mechanics to name just a few (Bassey Edem Antia 2000).

As the official language of Ethiopia, Amharic is very widely used in day to day Government business, in legislation, on the radio, in the press and as a medium of instruction. Even though the use of Amharic is now extended to secondary schools for certain subjects,

the language is still ineffective as a means of communication in many parts of the country despite the efforts to spread its use are being encouraged primarily through the educational system. Thanks to the development of a substantial modern literature it is believed that the language's use will be appropriate also in the cultural field (Whiteley 1974).

In spite of having been enjoying the status of the official language of the country for a very long time, the Amharic language is being increasingly replaced by English and it is not because of the lack of specific vocabulary in some domains. For example, the civil and criminal codes along with the *Negarit Gazeṭa* or the Journal of Laws are published also in English translation although their Amharic versions are binding. What is more, English is used in secondary and university education, not to mention its role in the official correspondence of semi-official bodies such as the Ethiopian Airlines, the Ethiopian Telecommunication Company or the Ethiopian Railway Company whose websites are run predominantly in English. Many commercial firms, particularly those with branches and head offices outside Ethiopia, use English as a business language in Ethiopia.

7. Acquisition planning of Amharic

With the population of more than 95 million people of which 44% are young people under the age of 15 years, Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa next to Nigeria. Even though the native speakers of Amharic constitute around 27% of the Ethiopian population, the Amharic language has been playing the role of a national language since the enthronement of the so-called Solomonic dynasty in the 13th century. However, it should be remarked that it was Emperor Haile Selassie I who legitimised the status of Amharic in the constitution of 1955. Nowadays, the position of Amharic in Ethiopia is not at risk, though the popularity of English in the country, particularly among young people is still increasing.

It should be borne in mind that the use of languages in education, business as well as written and electronic media in Ethiopia has a long and miscellaneous history, though other languages than Amharic can be freely used in the media only for a very short time. As it was believed in the past, the monolingual nation building approach was a central tool for creating a national identity and the Amharic language was supposed to be crucial for the enforcement of the bond among the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia. What is more, there was also a belief that creating linguistic assimilation could be a proper contribution for unity and indivisibility. It should be also remarked that for many centuries Amharic was used only as a spoken language while the Ge'ez language, with more than a millennium of written culture, was the only language of instruction and religious teaching. Even though the use of Classical Ethiopic is presently limited for religious purposes of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, that is to sustain its tradition by writing and teaching, it was used as a *lingua franca* in Ethiopia for a very long time. Having been rich in literature, the Ge'ez language is the cornerstone of the orthography of the Ethiopic writing system that is more than twenty centuries old (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

It is generally agreed that the language and education situation is shaped by socio-political and cultural beliefs of the time. In Ethiopia, education and literacy for religious purposes was spread by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church from the Axumite era to the end of the 19th century. It should be remarked that if a small child in Ethiopia was sent to a church school (amh. *yä-qes tāmhart bet*) to start the process of learning, it was predominantly taught reading and not writing by the local priests. Only on the upper educational levels was the calligraphy introduced along with other subjects. As for the learning methods, they were characterised by hard discipline, listening, recitation and memorization. There were four levels of the classical church education, namely *zema* (chanting), *säwasaw* (Ge'ez lexicon and grammar), *qāne* (poetry) and *nābab* (reading of the Old and New Testament). Moreover, the individual churches, cathedrals and monasteries formed one of the oldest continuous education systems of the world by having provided intermediate schools with departments dedicated not only to theology, history poetry and music but also to medicine and surgery. Thus, the teachers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church were intellectuals and they had real knowledge whose versatility surprised also the Western researchers of the Ethiopian history and culture (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

The status of Ge'ez as a literary language remained unshakeable until the second half

of the 19th century. Before that time it was not supported to use other languages for writing including Amharic. Even though the Ethiopian clergy opposed the substitution of Amharic for Ge'ez by Emperor Theodore II, the Amharic language had been already used as the language of soldiers. Of interest can be the fact that the emperor himself said that Ge'ez had been an old and already worn out language despite the protests of the Ethiopian churchmen. As the reign of Theodore II was marked by the flourishing use of Amharic in official correspondence, it is not surprising that the use of Amharic in words, phrases and sentences was improved and it was developing swiftly. Amharic was also heavily improved grammatically and lexically during the reign of Theodore II's successors, that is Menelik II and Haile Selassie I, when there was a need to use it not only for official purposes but also for the press and other media. By the time of the deposition of Haile Sellassie, Amharic had been already used as a language of instruction in the first six grades of the primary school (Girma A. Demeke 2009).

As for the south-western regions of Ethiopia that were inhabited by the Muslims, the Ge'ez language was not used there for educational purposes since the Quran schools used Arabic as the language of education. The Arabic language was used there mainly for religious literacy and commercial purposes, though a good command of Amharic promised better chances of employment in the provincial administration, particularly after the conquest of the southern regions of Ethiopia by Emperor Menelik II. The Quran schools had only two levels of education, namely *Tehaji* and *Badiya*. At the first level of the Islamic instruction the Arabic letters were taught, which was followed by the reading of the Quran. The second level of teaching was characterised by the studying of Islamic canon laws. With the spread of Islam in southern Ethiopia, many improvements were made to the local languages. For example, the Silt'e language was not only codified by the using of the Arabic script but also it was enriched by the translations of the *Hadith* made by the Muslim religious leaders. It is right to claim that when the development of local languages on the territories conquered by the Ethiopian emperors and Christianised by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was deliberately being suppressed, a number of lesser-used languages spoken in the Islamic areas not only enjoyed a significant popularity but also were even alphabetised for the purposes of the Muslim faith (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

What contributed to the development of Amharic as a language of instruction was the activity of foreign missionaries in Ethiopia towards the end of the 19th century, who were allowed to evangelise the south Ethiopian nations and nationalities only via Amharic. The Western missionaries were far less successful in Ethiopia than in many other parts of Africa because of strong relations between the Ethiopian government and the Orthodox Church in the past. As the Portuguese forces who saved the Ethiopian kingdom from the wave of Islam in the 16th century wanted the country to be joined to the papal sphere of influence in return for their help, the Portuguese missionary attempted to establish the Roman Catholic faith in Ethiopia, for which there was no agreement on the part of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The amicable treatment of the Roman Catholic missionaries, which was crowned by the proselytisation of Emperor Susneyos in the 1620s, resulted in the civil war that made the country to close the door for missionaries for the following two centuries. With the restoration of the contacts of Ethiopia with Europe in the early 19th century, several European Protestant

and Roman Catholic missionaries were engaged both in religious teaching and secular education. They started to run several schools in different parts of the country, though they were forbidden to use local languages. However, the Holy Bible and other religious books were translated into various Ethiopian languages despite the imperial ban on developing indigenous languages and distributed clandestinely to literate people throughout Ethiopia. Curiously, books and written materials in languages different than Amharic were usually burned down by the imperial regime (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

As far as the modern education in Ethiopia is concerned, it began with the founding of the first school named Menelik II Primary School in Addis Ababa in 1908. Since secular education was opposed by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church on the grounds of possible disruption from religious and social norms, it took time to convince the church leaders to accept the importance of modern education. Included in the school curricula were such foreign languages as French, English, Italian and Arabic apart from the two local languages i.e. Amharic and Ge'ez. Of interest can also be the fact that French was used as a medium of instruction from the beginning of modern education until the Italian occupation of 1935-1941.

Even though the aim of education between 1908 and 1935 was to master the aforementioned languages, some courses of religion, mathematics, law and calligraphy were also offered. Nevertheless, a strong emphasis was placed on foreign languages, though the vocational curricula and the growth and development of science and technology were particularly valued by Menelik II. After the liberation of Ethiopia from the Fascist Italian occupation in 1941, French was replaced by English as a medium of instruction, apparently as an expression of gratitude for the involvement of the British in the fight against Italy. Since the 1960s, English was taught as a subject starting from grade three in primary schools to be used as a medium of instruction from grade 7 upwards. A good command of English was also necessary after the change of government in 1974 for conducting business properly in most of the government institutions, for Amharic was associated by the communist regime as a supra-ethnic symbol of identity in Ethiopia, which meant that it was not connected with any ethnic group (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

It was already mentioned in the previous chapter that after the collapse of the *Derg* regime in 1991, the new government started to acknowledge all ethnic and linguistic groups and to bestow them the right for education in their mother languages. Thus the 1995 constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia not only stipulates a framework for the promotion of respect and tolerance for linguistic diversity but also it lays down the legal recognition of all Ethiopian languages and their use in all domains. Even though all ethnic groups have the right to use their language, practice their culture and maintain their history, which can be considered as a basic change in the history of the local languages of Ethiopia, the issue of the practical use of the constitutional rights of the local communities of Ethiopia is called into question.

With the division of Ethiopia into federations, zones and smallest units of local government, the range of models as to the use of the mother tongue and/or the regional language of wider communication as medium in primary schools varies throughout the country. Because of that many of the disparities that support the decentralisation of the

education system are seriously criticised by parents, teachers and students. Since the Education and Training Policy makes a provision of learning through mother tongue for either the first four or eight years of primary schooling, almost half of the Ethiopian languages are introduced into the school system either as a medium of instruction or as a subject, though there is a possibility of teaching Amharic or English from grade 3 and 1 respectively. Each Ethiopian province solves this problem differently. For example, in Amhara and Addis Ababa, government schools use Amharic as a medium of instruction. In Benishangul Gumuz, the teaching of Amharic is offered as a second language medium for six years before the transition to English is made. In the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS), in turn, a number of local languages are used in the education system in the first cycle, though there are some zones and districts that use Amharic in the first cycle prior to the teaching in English from grade 5 upwards (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

While Amharic is taught as a second language for wider inter-regional communication and access to the socio-political-economic goods at the federal level, English is taught as a subject from the first grade and intended as a medium of instruction from grade 5 of the primary cycle or grade 9, that is the beginning of high school, the teaching of which facilitates access to the global community and higher education. This means that in some regions of Ethiopia students are expected to pass through three different languages, i.e. their mother language, Amharic and English.

As Ethiopia's most preferred international language of wider communication, English can be rarely encountered outside federal government offices and in the context of communications with e.g. development agency personnel, diplomats, advisers, consultants and so on. Having been prioritised as the language of secondary or higher education, English is in fact a foreign language to Ethiopians and thus it is seldom used in daily life. As in the case of Amharic, the importance of English in Ethiopia is considerable for professional and educational opportunities, though little space is bestowed to it in the Ethiopian spoken media.

As shown by the current research in Ethiopia, satisfactory levels of academic achievement are exhibited by students with eight years of mother tongue instruction but the highest academic achievement is performed by those students who learn three languages at school. Nevertheless, the introduction of mother tongues into the school curricula has contributed to the increase of children's cognitive development, thanks to which most children not only understand their native language best but also actively participate in the lessons.

It is emphasised by some researchers such as Cohen and Heugh that the medium of instruction in primary schools in Ethiopia is a key factor to facilitate and optimise both access to the content of the curriculum and equity. As mother tongue helps students to achieve better results in subjects including English, English does not seem to hurt the competence and academic performance of the Ethiopian students (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

Since language policy aims to harmonise the use of several mother tongue languages and languages of wider communication such as Amharic and English, policy decisions must be based more closely on the language choices of particular sections of population if the use of these languages is to gain acceptance and assist in facilitating a more equal Ethiopian state. From that it can be inferred that the current government approves but fails to guarantee the

maintenance of minority language rights. Even though there is a change in regard to the attitude of the government to local languages, the language policy processes are still constrained in Ethiopia.

Notwithstanding, the Ethiopian government is cognisant of the fact that education, particularly in mother tongues, is an essential basis for development so that the citizens' environment can be controlled and improved. The citizens of Ethiopia must at least have access to primary level education in order to achieve these goals. As most people think in the mother language, the children have to be taught in their own mother tongues for the learning and teaching process to be interactive and efficient. The government of Ethiopia claims that educational access can also be equitably possible if it is given also in the indigenous languages and not only in Amharic or English. The government's policy of teaching in local languages has several reasons, of which the most important are that language is not only a medium of instruction for the people but also an emblem of identity and that many living languages can be thus saved from extinction. Other advantages of teaching in local languages are that students can easily understand what they are taught in their languages and that the pride of being taught in indigenous languages makes students more self-confident, which can result in more efficient productivity of such school leavers or university graduates. Even though such multi-lingual countries as Ethiopia can equitably provide primary education by offering courses in the respective tongues of its citizens, in some areas children have to be taught in the majority's language rather than in their own language due to the resource limitation and insufficient prior preparation (Tiglu Geza Nisrane 2015).

With the new curriculum of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education that has been operational since 2002, over 20 indigenous languages have been used as media of instructions for up to grades 4, 6 and 8 taking into account the real conditions in each region. Education in the mother tongue can be given up to grade 8 in regions where the language is relatively well developed and has a sufficient number of teachers appropriately trained in that language, which is an evident reality in such provinces as Amhara, Oromia and Tigray. Although such educational system can improve the students' command of Amharic or any other local language, much harm is done to the instruction of English in Ethiopian primary schools for it begins too late, by which the proficiency of English cannot be achieved by most of students with only one or two years of study. Although the local authorities think that it is not necessary to teach English in earlier grades as the secondary education is not continued by most of students in the poorer regions for various reasons, the poor command of English among the inhabitants of these regions not only bars them the way for better jobs but also gives rise to the mixtures of English and other languages where the grammatical and lexical errors are being consolidated and passed on from generation to generation. As most of the Ethiopian students encounter with English only at school, a great store should be given to the correction of the wrong linguistic customs that are difficult to be eradicated. However, the lack of foreign English teachers in Ethiopia and poorly educated Ethiopian English teachers, most of whom have never been to England, the US or any other anglophone country, contribute to the perpetuation of mixed English parlances in Ethiopia, which are now the subject of linguistic research mostly by local Ethiopian scholars (Aleign Aschale 2013b).

There are many challenges to be faced by the current language policy in Ethiopia, both in education and administration. Even though the Ethiopian constitution guarantees the use of local languages in lower grade levels, many drawbacks have come to happen in this sector. For example, in the multilingual Ethiopian cities such as Addis Ababa, there are problems associated with the poor living standards for many non-Amharic speakers who are living there. Because of the decentralisation of language policy in Ethiopia, the implementation of languages as the media of instruction at primary levels is inconsistent across regional states. What is more, there are empirical challenges of developing educational materials, orthographies and scripts for various minority language in the SNNPR state. Additionally, the lack of trained manpower can hinder the use of local languages in primary education levels. Furthermore, the lack of expertise and community participation in the course of language planning causes serious conflicts with the local communities who have no option but to carry out central government's decisions.

For those who left their home regions for various reasons and are living in other regional states, it is difficult to fully use their own languages for the purposes of administrative communication as they have to speak provincial languages that are different from their own ones. In some provinces that are facing the problem of selecting their official language or languages, the use of Amharic is often enforced because of the poor spread of other languages in the region. Finally, in the cities with provincial rights such as Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, Amharic is the official language of administration, which is justified by the practical impossibility of recognising all the languages spoken by the residents in these cities.

8. Corpus planning of Amharic

8.1. Graphicisation

8.1.1. The Ge'ez syllabary and its role in Ethiopia

Having been used as an abugida or syllable alphabet for several languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Ethiopic script originated as an *abjad* or consonant-only alphabet to be first used for writing the Ge'ez language that is currently applied only in the liturgy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church and the Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church. The Ge'ez script is presently referred to as *fidäl* both in Amharic and Tigrinia, which simply means 'script' or 'syllabary'. The Ethiopic script was adapted to write not only Semitic languages such as Amharic or Tigrinia but also to the Cushitic ones such as Blin or Oromo, though its use failed to work out for many Cushitic languages. Apart from being used in the Ethiopian or Eritrean Orthodox Church, the Ge'ez script also plays the role of the sacred script of the Rastafarian movement and its letters are often used by the roots reggae musicians in their albums.

As for the earliest inscriptions of Semitic languages in Ethiopia and Eritrea, they were made in Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) and they date to the 9th century BC when the *abjad* was shared with contemporary kingdoms in South Arabia. With the rise of the variants of the script after the 7th and 6th centuries BC, the writing system started to evolve in the direction of the Ge'ez *abugida* and this evolution can be seen particularly from the inscriptions on rocks and caves not only in Tigray region in northern Ethiopia but also in the former Eritrean province of Akkele Guzay. As the Old Ethiopic alphabet came into being by the first centuries AD, the direction of writing was changed from right to left as opposed to the *boustrophedon* like ESA while the letters became basically identical to the first-order forms of the modern vocalised alphabet. Even though it is assumed that the vocalisation of Ge'ez occurred in the 4th century at the time of Emperor Ezanas, some linguists claim that it must have occurred much earlier as indicated by the coins of Wazeba. Because of that such scholars as Kobishchanov or Daniels suggested that the vocalisation of the Ge'ez alphabet could have been possibly influenced by the Brahmic family of alphabets that were also *abugidas*, which is all the more credible if the major trade routes of the Axumite state involving India are taken into consideration. Kobishchanov's theory has every chance for recognition by scholars but further linguistic and archaeological research is necessary to prove its genuineness (Scelta, 2001).

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church's tradition says that the original consonantal form of the Ge'ez syllabary was divinely revealed to Henos for the purpose of the codification of laws. According to this belief a team of Axumite scholars led by Frumentius, who had converted King Ezanas to Christianity, was said to have vocalised the present system. It is also supposed that Frumentius knew the South Arabian system, which is reflected in the vowel marking pattern of the script.

Of all the 26 consonantal Ge'ez letters, there are 24 correspondences to the South Arabian alphabet, though it should be borne in mind that some South Arabian letters are missing and that some of them came into being by the mere modification of the already used

Ge'ez characters. As many of the Ge'ez letter names are cognate with those of Phoenician, their relationship with the Proto-Sinaitic script cannot be excluded, let alone that the Proto-Sinaitic script is the basis for Phoenician. Some scholars also claim that the Ethiopian script could have originated from the Egyptian hieroglyphic system because of the similarities of the sound of some letters and the place of its writing in both systems. However, this assumption is discussable despite the similarities in both scripts. As there is no evidence to suggest that Egyptian merchants, scribes and the hieroglyphic script in the consequence disseminated equally in every direction from its centres in Egypt, the assumption that a writing system in an area geographically closest to ancient Egypt could have travelled first to Southern Arabia to be returned in the caucasianised form to Ethiopia seems to be impractical.

There is also a third theory of the origin of the Ethiopic script which assumes that the South Arabian migrants to Ethiopia had introduced a superior civilisation there including the art of writing, which was to be the most essential of the arts that the Arabian immigrants brought to Africa so that the civilisation could be rapidly progressed. Even though the history of the Ge'ez writing system is not easy to be traced as opposed to the Roman script, the aforementioned scholarship is thought to be not only inaccurate by the Ethiopian researchers but also based on Eurocentric assumptions. The Africans are refused to be seen as creators of original cultures that flowered and survived over the centuries because of the racial prejudice of many historians, which is known as the external paradigm in the research of the Ge'ez system. The Ethiopic syllographs are often said to have come from somewhere else, for example from Southern Arabia, which places the origins of the Ethiopian culture not in black Africa but in Asian Middle East. It is thereby reaffirmed that a dark skinned people could not have an enduring literate and intelligent culture. These racial prejudices are present even today in Ethiopian linguistics when the Ge'ez language is placed in the category of Semitic but not African languages (Scelta, 2001).

With its 182 syllographs as compared to ancient Roman's 21 ones, Ge'ez is fairly massive in size, though it must be said for making a fair comparison that apart from the 26 main syllographs there are also characters with additional strokes and modifications. It should be borne in mind that the Ge'ez syllabary is devoid of upper and lower case distinctions as opposed to the Roman alphabet, not to mention the lack of ligatures and other symbol modifiers. Also the Ge'ez punctuation is simpler than that of the languages written by the Roman alphabet.

As for the major properties of the Ge'ez system, they are associated with pictography, ideography, astrology, numerology and syllography. Even though the Ethiopic writing system becomes a useful reference point in redefining writing, the astrographic, numeric and sound properties of the system suggest that writing today is defined very narrowly, by which our ability to read philosophy, theology, linguistics or history directly or indirectly from writing systems has become very limited. This means that the Roman system strayed considerably in spite of having had roots in a broader view of writing, which no longer makes it a highly compartmentalised visual classification system.

In regard to the pictography of Ge'ez, this property means that the existing syllographs are derived from images that were either drawn or adapted from nature and the people's

relation to it. It is assumed that Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphics were a basic model of a pictographic system, which could have given rise to both Ge'ez and Roman systems, though Ge'ez is a more abstracted pictographic language. To illustrate this, there are many pictographs in the Ethiopic script whose affinity with the hieroglyphic system can be evident, for example in case of the second graph η (*bä*) in bet (house) that provides a stylised view of door. Moreover, the first letter in the Amharic script *v* (*ha*) conveys the idea of a lion, which can be associated either with the beginning of alphabet or the beginning of the world.

The second mentioned property of the Ethiopic script is ideography, which means that underneath the characters there are symbols of different ideas, value systems not to mention the philosophical and social orders. Each of the main symbols has seven columns or variations. While a symbol column designates a vowel sound to go with it, the combined columns of main character from a row symbolises a class that is associated with different ideological elements. As the sixth class, namely *Rä*, has the nomenclature of *rə'äs* i.e. chief or head leader, the words that are generally associated with this class refer to some kind of secular leadership (Scelta 2001).

As for the third property of the Ge'ez writing system, it is astrology or the charting of the stars or calendar. Along with its 26 classes and 7 variations, its total is provided with 182 syllographs that represent a half-year or one equinox. Having been multiplied by two, these syllographs make up for a year (364 days). In the Ethiopian calendar all the months contain 30 days with the exception of one month that last for 5 or 6 days, which is attributed to discrepancies between solar and equinoctical measurement. Worth being mentioned is also that in Ethiopia each half-year begins on April 1 and October 1. As the seven variations of each class represent the seven days of the week, beginning from Sunday and ending with Saturday, each of the syllographs have a corresponding number value from 1-5600 whereas the number values associated with each syllograph contains codes of the Ethiopian knowledge or mystery system. Having been assigned to syllographs or words in the Old Testament, the numerical values not only give insights into interpretation but also they provide memory markers for the oral retelling of the stories. This can be illustrated by the name of Abraham [Abrāham] which corresponds to the numerical value of 60 (40 (a)+9 (b)+6 (rä)+1 (ha)+4 (mä)). Having been divided by the number of syllographs (5), the number is 12, which means the twelve houses of the Israelites. As a syllographic system is the opposite of an alphabetic system in the way it functions in a spoken language, the Ge'ez syllographic nature is set apart from the Roman system. Despite of a considerable number of symbols to be learnt in that system, the system is quite easy for use for a number of reasons. As the word's sound dictates very specifically what written syllographs it will contain and vice versa, there is practically no chance of misspelling, which is much in the way a phonetic spelling does in the western world. This means that any word also in the language different from Ge'ez can be written correctly in this system provided that one learns both the syllographs and the sounds associated with them (Scelta, 2001).

The Ge'ez writing system is one of the oldest working systems in the world, which has remained unchanged for 2000 years. The adaptability of this script has been attested in many domains of life, by which it serves not merely as a system of grammar but also as an insight to

the African ancient world including beliefs, philosophies and exceptionally advanced early societies.

8.1.2. Adaptation of Amharic letters

Running from left to right, the Amharic alphabet uses the Ge'ez one, though with the exception of some symbols that do not exist in Ge'ez. Included into the Amharic script are such characters as ኸ *khä*, some of the prepalatals such as ከ *šä*, ቸ *čä*, ኘ *ñä*, ኙ *žä*, ኧ *ğä*, ጮ *č'ä*, the rarely used ኸ *ä* as well as ከ *v* that is used in loanwords, mainly from English. As for the Amharic syllabary, it has thirty-three basic symbols not including the four labiovelars. Depending on the vowel with which the basic symbol is combined, each symbol has seven different shapes or orders as they are traditionally called. If the consonant *m* is taken as an example, the orders are as follows: ጠ *mä*, ጡ *mu*, ጢ *mi*, ጣ *ma*, ጤ *me*, ጦ *mə* (or *m*) and ጰ *mo*. In regard to the labiovelars, they have five different shapes, namely ቈ *q^wä*, ቉ *q^wi*, ቊ *q^wa*, ቋ *q^we* and ቌ *q^wə* (or *q^w*), while the shape of the labiovelars in the 4th order ቋ (*q^wa*) can also be used for all the other consonants. If these last symbols are not counted, the Amharic alphabet has 251 letters (Leslau, 1995).

As each graphic symbol represents a consonant together with its vowel, the vocalic symbol cannot be detached from the consonantal elements. Even though the reason both for the sequence of the seven vowels and the letter order is unknown, the Ethiopian script is derived from the South Arabian alphabet in its unvocalised shape. Inasmuch as the vocalic system was developed in the third and fourth centuries AD, the traditional order of the Amharic alphabet differs significantly from the order of the other Semitic languages. As there is no standard handwriting for quick writing of Amharic, no distinction is made between capital and lowercase letters. As for the numerals, they have special symbols derived from Greek letters and a horizontal stroke above and below is added to them.

Even though some symbols have the same pronunciation in contemporary Amharic, they historically go back to different sounds. This is the case of the pairs ሠ *š* and ሰ *s*, ጸ *š* and ፀ *ḍ*, ኦ *a* and ዐ *a*, as well as the h variants ሀ *ha*, ኀ *h*, ሐ *ha* and ኸ *kh*, which are pronounced the same but written and once pronounced differently. As for the vowels, particularly interesting can be the grapheme ኸ *a* written with a horizontal stroke above that is used for just one word *arä*, a typical Amharic interjection. The graphemes ኦ *a* and ዐ *a* used to be pronounced differently as they represented two different laryngeal consonants, that is the glottal stop ʔ and the laryngeal ʕ. As they lost their respective consonantal values in Amharic, they presently function as vowel carriers.

When it comes to the two main deficiencies of the Amharic syllabary, they are associated with gemination or lengthening of the consonant and the loss of vowel in the sixth order. The lack of a special symbol for gemination makes it difficult for the European learners of Amharic to pronounce the words correctly. Another hindrance of Amharic linked with this phenomenon is that there are minimal pairs of word that can be written the same but pronounced differently, for example, *alä* (he said) and *allä* (there is) or *gäna* (still) and *gänna* (Christmas). In the writings of Western scholars gemination is marked by two dots placed above the letter whereas in traditional grammars written in Amharic it can be often marked by

the letter ጥ (*t*) as an abbreviation of ጥጭ (*təbq* (tight) placed above the letter. The lack of gemination is marked there by the letter ላ *la* as an abbreviation of ላላ (*yälala* (that is loose) placed above the letter (Leslau, 1995).

As the consonant lengthening permeates every aspect of the Amharic morphology, hardly a sentence lacks a geminated consonant and thus there can be five geminated consonants in one word, e.g. *lämmännättämammanänəbbät* (to the one in whom we have confidence). As for the second mentioned problem, the sixth order designates not only a consonant that is followed by the vowel *ə* but also a consonant without a vowel. If both the word and the principles underlying the syllabic structure are not known, the adepts of the Amharic language often do not know how to pronounce them correctly. Such words as *yəngär* (may he speak) or *mängəst* (government) may be read mistakenly as *yənəgär** or *mänəgəst** respectively.

Returning to the process of gemination, one can frequently see Amharic words with two, three and even four geminated consonants. Worth mentioning can also be the fact that gemination and nongemination is sometimes differently used in the dialects of Gojjam, Gondar and Wollo. Nevertheless, gemination can occur only in medial or final position, for example *läbbäsä* (wear a garment) or *allä* (there is). It should be also borne in mind that there is a contrast between non-geminated consonants and the final positions of consonant lengthening, e.g. *läjj* (child) and *əjj* (hand) or *jəb* (hyena) and *ləbb* (heart). Gemination can be at times optional, though it is usually based on harsh principles. Even though it can be hardly audible in the final consonants, for example in *wändimm* (brother), it becomes evident when the consonant is followed by a vowel, e.g., *wändimme* (my brother). As it was shown above, gemination is phonemic in Amharic as seen in a number of minimal pairs in the language. What is more, gemination may also result from the assimilation of one consonant to another. In case of the contact of two identical consonants with no vowel between them, the word is pronounced with gemination though only one consonant is written.

Since gemination can be either a lexical and morphological feature in Amharic, there are some important rules to be observed. Although it cannot be predicted as a lexical feature, it can manifest itself as a morphological feature in the verb and the noun, though to a lesser extent in case of nouns. This means that the second radical of a triradical verb or the third radical of a quadriradical verb are always geminated in the perfect but with respect to nouns the situation can be less clear as there is no way of knowing if any one of the radicals is geminated or not in a primary noun and such noun as *šärärit* (ant) can be pronounced in four ways. However, the gemination of a radical can be predictable in some patterns of the derived nouns.

As for the Amharic orthography, there are no real problems associated with it thanks to the more or less one-to-one correspondence between the nouns and the graphic symbols. Nevertheless, some confusion may arise in the spelling because of the sounds represented by more than one symbols. Despite the interchangeability of the characters corresponding to the same sound, the notation of some words has become established with the help of some particular letters, which is treated as an element of the orthography of Amharic. (Łykowska 1998).

Typical for Amharic is also the process of palatalization, which is a phonemic feature in the language. When followed by the vowel *-i*, *-e* or *-iy(a)*, the dentals *d*, *t* and *ʈ*, *l* and *n* and the sibilants *s*, *z* and *ʃ* are palatalised so the resulting sounds are as follows: *di – ġ*, *ti – č'*, *ti – č*, *ni – ñ*, *si – š*, *zi – ž* and *l – y*. Since palatalization occurs in verbs and in verbals, i.e. the active participle and the instrumental as well as nouns derived from verbs, the forms that end in *-i* are the imperfect, jussive and imperative, the singular second person feminine and the active participle. The aforementioned process can also occur in gerund forms that end in *-e*, first person singular as well as the verbal noun that ends in *-iya*. As for the vowel *-i* that follows the above-mentioned consonants may be absorbed or kept with the palatal while absorption means that in some dialects of Amharic the suffix *-i* can be more frequently dropped than maintained (Łykowska 1998).

In regard to consonant clusters or successions of two consonants that are not separated by a vowel, this phenomenon is also present in Amharic, though it should be borne in mind that there are no initial consonant clusters in Amharic. This has its advantages and disadvantages. An advantage that can be considered from that that such words as *nəgus* (king), *kəbur* (glory) or *ləbs* (cloth) are never pronounced without *ə* after the initial consonant. On the other hand, this process is often used by the Ethiopian English learners in order to ease the pronunciation of the English words that contain consonant clusters. This practice is seen by the native speakers of English as incorrect because in the original pronunciation e.g. of the word *sport*, the schwa should never precede the consonant cluster */sp/*. However, there can be no consonant clusters in such Amharic words where the first consonant is *k* or *g* and the second is *r* or rarely *l*, or if the first consonant is *b* or *f* followed by *r*, for example *grañ* (left-handed) or *krəstəna* (Christianity). Amharic is marked by medial clusters of two consonants, which means that two consonants meet in the middle of a word where the first consonant closes the syllable and the second consonant opens the next syllable. Even though in writing the first consonant is written in the sixth order and the second one in either the sixth order or any other one, the pattern *CVCəCV/C* must be excluded as this would entail the elimination of the *ə* vowel from the whole pattern. The specific advantage of this excluded syllabic pattern is that it helps to read these words that have consonants in the sixth order, such as *dəngəl* (virgin) or *rəgəb* (pigeon) as there is no final cluster of three consonants in Amharic. Of interest can be the fact that clustering in medial position is valid only for nouns, since for verbs the clustering depends on verb form. As for the final cluster in Amharic, it occurs in the form of two consonants in verbal forms regardless of the nature of the consonants. Curiously, no word in Amharic has a cluster of three and more consonants and this includes also a geminated consonant that is considered double.

As for the accent in Amharic, it generally has an almost even distribution of stress on each syllable and the last one is usually unstressed. Insofar as in bisyllabic nouns the stress is on the first syllable, it seems to differ in trisyllabic nouns. In case of quadrisyllabic nouns the stress is put on the penultimate syllable. If the syllable precedes the geminated syllable, it is more likely to be stressed, e.g., *yəfälləgal* (he wants). Even though the stress is in principle connected with the root and not with affixes, it may occur in the syllable that precedes the *-nnät* ending (Leslau 1995).

8.1.3. The new letter *vä* invented for the transliteration of foreign words

With the advent of the blessings of the European civilisation in Ethiopia, there was a serious problem associated with the lack of letter *v* in the Amharic syllabary, which was extremely important for the proper transcription of such English words as television, visa, novel, novelette, virus, university, vitamin, violin, and so on. This referred also to the loan words in the form of adjectival compounds such as civil aviation, for example. Having been conscious of this problem, the Ethiopian linguists created the *ñ* symbol on the basis of the *ጥ* letter with a dash above. There is a series of such symbols in the Amharic script for almost every vowel order. These letters appear in the alphabetical order either after the last symbol or right after the symbol for letter B. Nevertheless, only four combinations of this letter with a vowel symbol are practically used, namely *ñ vä* (*yunivärsiti* [university]), *ñ vi* (*vitamin*), *ñ va* (*vayolin* [violin]) and *ñ ve* (*novelet* [novelette]) (Leslau 1995).

8.1.4. Use of characteristic Ge'ez sounds (ʾ, ʿ) for writing neologisms based on Ge'ez

In Amharic, there are a number of neologisms constructed from the Ge'ez lexicon with the use of the Old Ethiopian gutturals ʾ and ʿ. These two gutturals are not pronounced at all in the word-initial position in the modern tradition, though they are both pronounced as a glottal stop internally. These consonants used to be originally distinct sounds, but the distinction in their pronunciation cannot be captured today because the Ge'ez language is extinct and thus it now has no native speakers. Nowadays, the distinction of these gutturals is necessary for the correct transcription of the words in Ge'ez. While ʾ is a glottal stop that occurs in many Amharic words, not only those derived from Ge'ez, ʿ is the voiced laryngeal or pharyngeal continuant [ʕ] and the voiced counterpart of *h*. As for the examples of the occurrence of such sounds in Amharic, the glottal stop ʾ is used in ʾ*af* (mouth) whereas the pharyngeal continuant ʿ appears in *maswa ʿt* (sacrifice) (Lambdin 2006).

8.2. Standardisation

8.2.1. The dialects of Amharic

Not until 1955 was the problem of the dialects of Amharic touched upon scientifically by the Ethiopian scholar Abraham Demoz who wrote a short report in Amharic on the peculiarities of the Gondar dialect. This was followed by the studies of the linguistic team from the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature who compiled a preliminary survey on the local varieties of Amharic in 1973. Sponsored by the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa, this group of teaching staff composed of several teams was assigned to one of the three provinces of Bägemädär, Gojjam, Wollo and to the district of Mänz in the province of Shoa for a week's field work. The group that was assigned to Gojjam studied the dialect of Däbrä Marqos and the surrounding areas, the Wollo group worked in two villages situated within 20 km to the north of Dässie and the other two teams conducted their research near the town of Molale. A special care was taken by all of the participants to

study a type of dialect that was free from the influence from the one of Addis Ababa. In both the above-mentioned survey and its brief description of 1976 four regional Amharic varieties were identified, namely Addis Ababa (AA), Gojjam (GM), Shoa (SA) and Wollo (WO). The contributors were not only marked by a good command of Amharic but also they had an adequate linguistic background. Having been equipped with tape recorders, they could easily engage themselves into direct and straightforward conversation with their informants in a natural and formal way.

Even though the data that was collected in not so many towns and villages could not possibly tell all the dialectal facts that existed in each of the province where the field work was made, the linguists managed to gather a wealth of linguistic information within a limited amount of time. As the exhaustive study about all the dialects of any of the provinces was beyond the scope of the whole enterprise, the scholars sought to determine roughly the major differences existing between the dialect of Addis Ababa and the dialects of the provinces. It was the first attempt to describe the regional variations of Amharic in such a systematic way and the study was hoped to serve as a starting point for further studies of this sort. In all of the papers submitted by the contributors it was pointed out that the dialect of Mänz and Wollo are closer to one another as well as to the dialect of Addis Ababa than is the dialect of Gojjam. This can be partly explained by the existence of geographical conditions such as big rivers and stretching mountainous escarpments by which frequent language contacts are hindered by natural barriers higher than expected. If the natural barriers are minimal, people's contact is so frequent that it yields more similarities than differences. This is reflected also in the dialects of Amharic, where the Shoan dialect is similar in lexicon with that of Addis Ababa. It was also shown by the survey that the northern Shoan dialect is close to the dialect of Wollo by accent. As confronted with other dialects of Amharic, the variation of Addis Ababa can be referred to as homogeneous even though the capital city of Ethiopia converges both Amharic and non-Amharic speakers and all types of Amharic dialects can be heard there. But it is the standardised variety of several minor dialects of Addis Ababa that was standardised to be used across all speech communities. As discussed in the following sub-chapter, the standardised Amharic is promoted both in the mass media and the administrative and educational circles to be applied by all literate Ethiopians for formal occasions at least. (Zealelem Yelew 2004)

As for the Wollo variety of Amharic, it is relatively close to the standardised dialect of Addis Ababa. The dialect of Wollo is marked by phonological and morphological variations as well as sound contractions. In this variety of Amharic, the front vowels *i* and *e* change into their corresponding central vowels, *ə* and *ä* respectively, either before or after the laryngeal *h*, for example *əzzih* – *ezzəh* (here), *hedkw* – *hädkw* (I went) or *hid* – *həd* (go!). In some cases the consonant that precedes *i* becomes palatalised with the change of vowel to *ə*, e.g., *əzzih* – *əzzyəh* (here) or *əngədih* – *əngədyəh* (so then). What is more, the front mid vowel *e* changes into a mid central vowel *ä* after all palatal consonants with the inclusion of the semi-vowel *y*, e.g., *heḡḡe* – *häḡḡä* (I having gone) or *bəyye* – *beyyä* (I having said). If the central vowel series *ə*, *ä* and *a* are preceded by the semi-vowel *w*, they tend to be prominently rounded. As opposed to the dialect of Addis Ababa, where the suffix *-i* of the second person feminine singular of the imperative is more usually maintained than dropped, in the dialect of Wollo it

is more often dropped than maintained, for example, *fäč-i – fäč* (unfasten!) or *hiğği – hiğğ* (go!). In the variety of Wollo, all labials, velars and alveo-dentals become labialized before a back mid vowel *o* whereas the labializing vowel *o* becomes either more open or changes into the mid central *ä*, which is dependent from the speaker, e.g., *sost – swost/swäst* (three) or *qäfo – qäfwo/qäfwä* (beehive). Additionally, there is the palatalization of all the labial and alveo-dental consonants prior to the mid front vowel *e*, where the vowel either remains as it is or changes into a mid central vowel *ä* depending on the speaker, e.g., *zare – zarye – zaryä* (today) or *soste – swoste/swästyä* (three times). In regard to the alveo-dental *d*, it shows a remarkable tendency to be palatalized when it occurs immediately before the vowel *e* as well as when it is before the central vowel series (*ə, ä* and *a*). Therefore the central mid vowel *ä* tends to change into the front vowel *e* after the palatalized *d*, e.g., *dəllah – dyəlləh* (pepper paste) or *dəggəs – dyəggəs* (banquet). As for the glottalized, voiced and nasal pre-palatals, they are reduced to the semi-vowel *y* when they occur word finally and when they are preceded by the low central vowel *a*. As concerns the semi-vowel *y* that results from the glottalized pre-palatal, it is followed by the glottal stop (ʔ), e.g. *wädağ – wädayʔ* (friend) or *məlačʔ- məlayʔ* (razor blade). When it comes to the glottalized alveo-dental spirant *ʃ*, it is never heard in the Amharic dialect of Wollo and it is always being replaced by the glottalized alveo-dental stop *t*, e.g. *məšhaf – məthaf* (book) or *šəhay – təhay* (sun) (Habte Mariam Marcos et al. 1973).

In regard to sound contractions, the prefix *y-* of the third person is preceded by a word ending in a consonant, the *y-* is reduced to *i-* if there is no pause or juncture between the two words, for example, *əsärilləñ yəlatall – əsärilləñ ilatall* (tie it for me, he says to her) or *man yəsätəwall – man isätəwall* (how will it give him). Similarly, if there is a succession of a word ending in a vowel and another word beginning with a vowel, vowel contractions takes place according to the following four rules: (1) if *ə* or *ä* occur in succession with *a*, either of the former will cede to the latter, which means that it will not be pronounced, (2) if the central high vowel *e* follows any one of the front and back vowel series, the latter will cede to the former, which means that the back vowel series will be pronounced, (3) no vowel contraction will take place if any of the front and back vowel series is followed by the low central vowel *a*, which means that the word will be pronounced with a glottal stop (4) the structure of the language permits no other combination of vowel succession than the above. As for the pairs of sounds *ä* and *wa* or *ä* and *w*, they contract into a long open vowel *o* when they occur in succession within a word (*bä-wärəqät – borəqät* [on paper]) or when *w* is immediately followed by the low central vowel *ä* (*yawqəwall – yawqowall* [he knows him]).

When it comes to the morphological variations of the dialect of Wollo, the conjugational verbal prefix *s-* that means when, while, is always *t-*, for example *səl – təl* (when I was saying) or *səymäta – təymäta* (without coming here). Similarly, the prefix *k-* meaning *from, unless, if* or *since* always is changed into *t-* in the Wollo variation of Amharic, e.g. *k-əlnəggärhəñ əlhəd – t-əlnəggärhəñ əlhəd* (I will not go unless you tell me), *kängədih wädih – təngədih wädəh* (from now on) or *kamna ġämməro – təamna ġämmərwo* (as of last year). As for the relative pronoun prefix of the imperfect *yämm-* that means who, which or that, it becomes either *əmm-* or *m-* in the dialect of Wollo depending on the speaker, e.g.,

yämmimätaw – *əmmimätaw* (everyone that comes). As opposed to the dialect of Addis Ababa where the pronominal possessive suffix for the second person respectful or polite form i.e. *-wo(t)*, it is expressed by *-hw* in the dialect of Wollo whereas the pronominal suffix of the third person respectful form in the standardised dialect i.e. *-aččäw*, it is rendered in the dialect of Wollo as *-wot*. Likewise, the Amharic word *-assaččäw* which stands for he or she respectful form, it stands for they in the dialect of Wollo. From the perspective of morphology it should be emphasised that some of the verbs that in Addis Ababa are geminated in the conjugation (type B), become non-geminated in the dialect of Wollo. However, it seems impossible to predict as to which types of verbs show this variation.

Apart from the above-mentioned phonological and morphological peculiarities of the Wollo dialect of Amharic, many lexical items typical for the area or pronounced differently should be taken into consideration. Because of the influence of Islam in the region some of these loan words may be taken from Arabic. Moreover, in some areas where there were Italian military bases during the occupation period (1935-1941), some of the Italian words or their corrupt forms may also be used in the narrations of those who lived through that period. When the lexical items from the dialects of Wollo and Addis Ababa are compared with one another, it can be useful to mention some of the morphophonological processes that take place there (Zealelem Yelew 2004). They are presented in the table below.

Process	In Wollo	In Addis Ababa	English translation
metathesis	<i>märtäbya</i>	<i>mäträbya</i>	axe
assimilation	<i>mərar</i>	<i>məran</i>	part of a plough
denasalisation	<i>awäd</i>	<i>awän</i>	Yes!
vowel assimilation	<i>geñña</i>	<i>gañña</i>	horse for load

As far as the dialect of Gojjam is concerned, it has many peculiarities in terms of phonology, morphology and grammar. As in the case of the Wollo variety of Amharic, the particle *k-* becomes *t-*, for example *kämätta* – *tämätta* (if he comes), *käzih* – *täzih* (from here) or *kähedhubbät* – *tähedhubbät* (from where I went). Additionally, there is a change of the front vowels *i* and *e* into *ə* and *ä* when they occur before or after *h*, e.g., *hid* vs. *həd* (go!), or *hedä* vs. *hädä* (he went). In the Gojjam dialect of Amharic there occurs a change of the velar ejective into its palatal counterpart in the medial and final environments of the word, e.g. *aräqe* – *aräč'e* (traditional alcoholic drink) or *qes* – *č'es* (priest). In eastern Gojjam there can be also a replacement of *k* by *č* or *g* by *ž*, e.g. *mäkina* – *mačina* (car) or *geta* – *žeta* (God/Master). In Fart'a area there may be a change of *č* to *y* as well as the addition of *d* in the word *awo* (yes), e.g., *mättačč* – *mättay* (she came) and *awo* – *awod* (yes). In regard to the morphological and grammatical traits of the Gojjam variety of Amharic, there are substantial discrepancies from the standardised forms of the dialect of Addis Ababa. First of all, the Amharic verb form known as gerund is used in the dialect of Gojjam as a main verb in a sentence interchangeably with the perfect. Conversely, in the Amharic of Addis Ababa the

gerund cannot be used as the main verb in the main clause if there are no auxiliary verbs suffixed to it. What is more, the gerund as a main verb can be negated by the negative particle *al-m(m)* in the dialect of Gojjam, which is not possible in standard Amharic, e.h. *al-bälto-mm* (he did not eat) or *al-särta-mm* (she did not work). Furthermore, in the dialect of Gojjam a relative clause with the particle *yä-* prefixed to the gerund can be constructed in exactly the same way as the perfect relative clause is constructed in standard Amharic (Habte Mariam Marcos et al. 1973).

When it comes to the plural morpheme *-očč*, numbers can take it if there is no noun to be head of a noun phrase, e.g., *arattočč yəbälalu* (the four are eating), AA: *arattu* instead of *arattočč*. If there is a noun in such a phrase, then the noun takes the plural morpheme and the numbers take the definite article as in the case of the standard variety of Amharic. The plural personal pronoun *hullu* (all) can take the plural marker in the dialect of Gojjam, e.g. *hulločč albällum* (all did not eat). Also the verbal clause consisting of *yä+Perf* or *m-* (the variant of *yämm*)+Imperf. take the nominal plural morpheme, for example, (a) *yä+Perf+očč*: *qəddəm yä-mättočč* (AA: *yä-mättu-t*) *wondəmmočče naččäw* (those who came a moment ago are my brothers) and (b) *m+Imperf+očč*: *mihedočč* (AA: *yämmihedu-t*) (those who go). Since there is no noun as head of the construction to which the definite article should be suffixed, in all these cases the plural morpheme *-očč* is suspected to play also the role of the determiner.

In the dialect of Gojjam the indirect object marker prefix *lä-* is expressed as *yä-*, e.g., *məšhafun yä-ləğu* (AA: *lä-ləğu*) *sättahut* (I have given the book to the child). The particle *yä-* can also be used in place of the particle *lä* (to), e.g., *tałlawən yä-səwəyyäw* (AA: *lä-səwəyyäw*) *nəw yägəzzähw* (I bought the *tałla* [Ethiopian home-made beer] for the man, lit. *tałla* for the man is that I bought). What is more, the same particle *yä-* can be used in place of the direct object marker suffix *-n*, though it is not clear whether the verbs in such constructions govern the noun phrase in the direct object or whether the morpheme *yä-* is used also as direct object marker.

As for the feminine-diminutive article suffix *-yätu/-itu*, used after open and closed syllables respectively, it is used very commonly in the dialect of Gojjam, though in the standardised variety of Addis Ababa this morpheme is heard with only few words, for example, *doro-yätu* (the hen) from *doro* (AA: *doro-wa*) or *zaf-itu* (tree) from *zaf* (AA: *zaf-wa*). Typical for the Gojjam variety of Amharic is also the fact that the inner or broken plural is extensively used with or without the plural morpheme *-očč*, e.g., *šəmagälle* (old [man]) – *šəma-ga-gälle* – *šəma-ga-gall-očč*. Worth mentioning is that even though this kind of plural formation is known in the variety of Addis Ababa, it is used with very few adjectives (Habte Mariam Marcos et al. 1973).

What makes the dialect of Gojjam significantly different from that of Addis Ababa are lexical variations. Some of the lexical items are unknown in the dialect of Addis Ababa. Most of these words are of the types that are different in meaning or pronunciation even if there are some similarities found in the standard variety. In the dialect of Gojjam there are different words e.g., for a small child (*mossa*, AA: *həšan*), bail (*mäsabiya*, AA: *was*) or taking the cattle to the field for pasture (as a verb) (*azzäqqäta*, AA: *assəmarra*). On the other hand, in the Gojjam variety there are words with slightly different meanings or pronunciation from the

standardised Amharic of Addis Ababa. For example, in the dialect of Gojjam the noun *zämän* is used to denote a year but in the variety of Addis Ababa it means a long period of time (e.g. century). The dialects of Gojjam and Addis Ababa have different words for marriage: *tägabbo* and *gabəčča* respectively, though they are lexically related to each other. From the phonetic point of view, there is a change of the unvoiced dental affricate *s* to the voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant *š* in the dialect of Gojjam, e.g. *səkkwar* [sugar] (AA) – *šəkkwar* (Gojjam), *mist* [wife] (AA) – *məšt* (Gojjam) or *wəst* [in] (AA) – *wəšt* (Gojjam) (Zealelem Leyew 2004).

When it comes to the general assessment of the three variations of Amharic discussed above, i.e. Addis Ababa, Wollo and Gojjam, it can be made from a phonological, morphological and lexical perspective. The dialectal variations of Amharic can be indicated phonetically by the exchange of positions of consonants in a word, which is known as metathesis, the gemination or degemination of radicals, the sound change. Substantial changes can also be seen in morphology such as the use of the conditional marker, the locative postposition, pronominal marking, person marking in tenses as well as other grammatical phenomena. There can be also lexical differences that are observed among the dialects of Amharic. Some lexical items may differ by phonetic changes and the manner of pronunciation.

8.2.2. Choosing of standard variety for codification

Of all the four aforementioned varieties, the Amharic of Addis Ababa (AA) was chosen as a standard variety for codification as early as in the second half of the 19th century. With the establishment of the national capital in Addis Ababa in 1884, this dialect emerged slowly but surely as standard. As the small village of Addis Ababa of the 1880s attracted migrants from different regions with various linguistic backgrounds, it became a converging point of people with all sorts of linguistic and cultural environments. Even though the regional varieties are used for oral communication, the variety of Amharic spoken in Addis Ababa is applied for education, the mass media and formal official communication.

It should be pointed out that the AA Amharic dialect was accepted as a standard variety without any resistance from speakers of other dialects. As the town of Addis Ababa, founded by Menelik II and his wife Taytu, was the centre of the imperial government, the standardisation of AA Amharic was convenient both for the emperor and the people who were settling in the newly established capital. However, with the increased social mobility from one to the other dialect area, the enormous dialectal differences have been losing in significance particularly in towns. But the status of AA Amharic has been increasingly gaining on importance, not only thanks to the spread of modern education but also thanks to the mass media or other means of communication. The growing popularity of the dialect of Addis Ababa influences other dialects and results in the standardisation of the norms in different parts of Ethiopia. This phenomenon has both advantages and disadvantages. As an advantage can be considered the fact that the unification of vocabulary and grammatical features in the dialects of Amharic facilitates the communication between the inhabitants of different parts of the country. On the other hand, the dialectal heritage of Amharic has not been studied and recorded thoroughly over the past decades and now it increasingly difficult to conduct proper

research on these dialects of Amharic as the significant number of older and less educated generations is no longer alive. What is evident, many of the local varieties of Amharic spoken by them have simply died out with them. This means that from the rather scanty records on the dialects of Amharic that have been made in Ethiopia, the future generations of linguists and other scholars may have serious problems to recapture the history of the Amharic language (Zelealem Leyew 2004).

8.2.3. The characteristic traits of today's Amharic

Even though translation is being vigorously conducted in the advanced nations by professional translators of which the accuracy of language use is required, for vernacular, young and adolescent languages such as Amharic it can be quite difficult to translate scientific and technical concepts into them because of the lack of their proper equivalents in most of these developing languages. It is well known that Amharic has been heavily influenced by the Cushitic languages such as Agew or Oromo, these influences can be seen not only in lexicon but also in syntax and typology. On the other hand, Amharic was also open to borrowing from Ge'ez as the language of the ruling elites that inherited the Ethiopian Christian culture of Axum. It should be borne in mind that even though the Amharic language is classified as a semitic language, 25% of its vocabulary is of the Cushitic origin.

Some scholars such as Bender and Fulass argue that the presence of Cushitic loan words can be convincing evidence for the so-called pidgin past of Amharic as it developed in the Cushitic areas of Ethiopia. However, most of the Cushitic loanwords in Amharic entered the language in different periods of contacts with different ethnic groups and because of that they couldn't have significantly changed a fully functional Amharic language. Girma A. Demeke (2009) argues that the loanwords in Amharic of the Cushitic origin are not from a single group and because of that the loan word evidence could also support the theory of Amharic as a linear descendant of a Semitic language. As for the contacts between Oromo and Amharic, they started as early as in the 16th century. Nevertheless, they don't have anything to do with the pidgin state of Amharic, for this language became the language of administration in the kingdom long before the mass influx of the Oromo peoples in Ethiopia so the Oromo loanwords can provide actually no information about the origin of Amharic (Girma A. Demeke 2009).

As more than 70% of the non-Semitic vocabulary of Amharic are not specific to that language since they can be also found in other South Ethio-Semitic languages such as Tigrinia, this fact cannot be supportive of the pidgin origin of Amharic. Having been existed for 1000 years, the Amharic language retained 75% of the core Semitic vocabulary, which is a natural expectation all the more so since Amharic is not a direct descendant of the Proto-Semitic. Moreover, the most striking non-Semitic characteristic of Amharic are in syntax, which fails to reveal any specific language contacts. With regard to the Amharic syntax, it is in the words of Bender much more like Oromo, Somali and other neighbouring Cushitic and Oromo groups than in Ge'ez, Tigrinia or Classical Arabic. It is assumed that the deviation of Amharic from Semitic language is quite significant, though not so much in phonology and morphology than in syntax. Even though Amharic has in most constructions SOV word order

that is un-Semitic, it can show an underlying VSO one, that is typical for Ge'ez and Arabic. As the Amharic language exhibits the same kind of derivation as in the case of Ge'ez, due to this derivation verbs are preceded by complementizers which follow the other constituents of the Amharic sentence. This may show that the Amharic SOV word order may have historically developed out of VSO as in the derivation of SOV verb remains in position while the object is moved before the verb. Since the complementizers precede verbs in Amharic like in VSO languages, Amharic fails to exhibit the typical SOV language behaviour. In such languages the verbs are typically followed by complementizers whereas adpositions are realised as postpositions. Like in Ge'ez, adpositions in Amharic are prepositions, which is assumed to be the feature of Proto-Semitic, even less that most of these prepositions are claimed to be Semitic. As for the Amharic morphology, it is Semitic in character, though there are some un-Semitic morphological patterns (Girma A. Demeke 2009).

Regardless of that, the Amharic morphology seems to have been less affected by the non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia. Much of the inherited Semitic structure has been preserved particularly in the case of the verb morphology as well as the concatenative morphology of agreement markers of verbs. As the un-Semitic features of Amharic can also be found in other South Ethio-Semitic languages, they can be the indications of common origin.

Apart from the presence of many Cushitic words in Amharic, the language saw its rapid modernisation especially in terms of vocabulary at the end of the 19th century when Ethiopia's contacts with Europe were formally reopened under the reign of Emperor Menelik II. But had it not been for Emperor Theodore II's decision to make Amharic a written language, the official communication with European incomers would have been still rendered in Ge'ez and thus Ge'ez but not Amharic would have been developed for the modernisation of vocabulary and grammar. Even though the number of coinages that were created for the purpose to name the European concepts is not exactly known, Girma A. Demeke (2009) argues that Amharic has probably 40% loans as far as cultural terms are concerned.

Even though the Amharic vocabulary at the turn of the 20th century was well developed for the purpose of religion, history, administration and judiciary system, it was very difficult to name the achievements of the European civilisation in that language not only because of the linguistic insufficiency but also because of the huge cultural differences between Ethiopia and Europe. By the end of the 19th century Ethiopia was actually devoid of such innovations as railway, cars, modern architecture, European secondary schools, printing houses or hospitals, which had already been a standard in Europe or the US. As the Ethiopian empire was under the influence of the three colonial powers that is England, France and Italy before the outbreak of the First World War, it is not surprising that the names of such concepts as country names, educational institutions, means of transport, food and daily necessities were taken from English, French or Italian usually almost unchanged. French enjoyed particular popularity during the reign of Menelik II and Haile Sellasse I until the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian war (1935-1941) and this was dictated by political considerations. France was given two concessions to build and operate the railway line between Djibouti and Addis Ababa. With the help of England, the Bank of Ethiopia came into being while Italy organised postal

service in the country. What is more, each of the colonial powers strove to bring to Ethiopia their own cultures and daily habits, which has been reflected in the Amharic language up to now. English has been a source language for scientific, technological and military terminology for Amharic for decades and its role for the development of that language is presently very significant, though it has plummeted considerably once the Ge'ez coinages in the form of metaphors have been introduced in the last decades. The influence of French was significant in the railway technology and education, which left its marks in Amharic in the form of such words as *furgo* (fourgon) – railway coach, *šemiz* (chemise) -shirt or *lise* (lycée) – secondary school. Some Italian words were also preserved in Amharic, which are related not only to technological innovations such as *mākina* (macchina) – car or *bañño* (bagno) – bathtub but also to food, for example *spagetti* (spaghetti), *mokoroni* (maccheroni) – pasta, *oččoloni* (nocciolo) - peanuts, *kärämella* (caramella) – sucking candy or *makyato* (macchiato) – latte macchiato.

After the liberation of Ethiopia from the Italian Fascists occupation by the Allied Forces in 1941 and the return of Emperor Haile Sellasie to his motherland, the British exerted a significant influence on Ethiopia for the next several years. Despite the fall of the British Empire after the Second World War, the Ethiopian government strengthened their relations not only with the British but also with the Americans. The American military forces equipped the Ethiopians with new weapons and modernised the rolling stock of the Franco-Ethiopian railway with new steam locomotives that replaced the old French ones. The Haile Selassie regime's close ties with Great Britain and the US had a significant impact on the evolution of the Amharic language, whose word stock was enriched with new loanwords and hybridised expressions. Even though the co-operation with England and the US was radically interrupted by the communist regime who had deposed and killed Haile Selassie, it started to flourish anew with the EPRDF's takeover in 1991. From a linguistic point of view the abolition of the communist regime in Ethiopia brought a heightened interest in the modernisation of the lexicon, morphology and syntax of Amharic, to which a number of conferences and studies have been devoted not only in Ethiopia but also in many places of the world. Some books on the modernisation of Amharic appeared also in Ethiopia. Since the early 1990s there have been some attempts to collect the modern terminology of Amharic thematically either in the form of glossaries with Amharic explanations and English equivalents placed at the end of professional books or in the form of articles where the English scientific terminology was ordered alphabetically and given its Amharic counterparts (Kozicki 2015).

Although the scientific terminology of Amharic is presently coined on the basis of the Ge'ez lexicon, even in the late 1990s and the early 2000s there was a tendency to use the loanwords or calques from English in order to name a number of English concepts for which the Amharic equivalents were either not known or not so popular to be used in public e.g. because of the poor command of Ge'ez among the Ethiopian nations. Of particular importance can be the fact that at the turn of the 21st century in the articles from some popular and opinion-forming Amharic newspapers such as *Addis Zämān* were featured not so much the commonplace scientific terms taken directly from English or with slight changes as the increasingly braver attempts of the use of Ge'ez-based coinages (Kozicki 2015).

8.3. Modernisation of morphology

8.3.1. Morphology of current neologisms – norms

Language planning plays an important role in the modernisation of the Amharic morphology, syntax and vocabulary. In Amharic, there is a wide variety of nominal patterns that serve for the expression of various meanings and refer both to nouns and adjectives. This means that some of these nominal patterns can be formed through different vowels within the root while others are created through the gemination of one of the consonants. Still others come into being by the affixation of different prefixes and suffixes. There are various patterns for bi-, tri- and quadriradicals that can be illustrated by the sequence of consonants: Q-T, Q-T-L and Q-R-T-L respectively. It should be pointed out that not all of the patterns will be enumerated in this work for the sake of simplicity. Only the most important and commonplace will be discussed.

As for the patterns *qätäl* and *qärätäl*, the first one can be applied to triradicals of the A and B type whereas the second one is used for quadriradicals. These patterns can be given the following examples *tärät* (anecdote, fable, story), and *gäč'ägäč'* (rattling). The pattern *qätäl* that is applied mostly to adjectives appears in the Amharic words such as *gäbbar* (taxpaying farmer) (type B) and *wäffar* (fat). The pattern *qätäl* appears in such words as *wäkil* (proxy, substitution) and *däqiq* (minute). In regard to the patterns *qätäla* and *qattäla*, the first one can be used in triradicals of type A and the second one in the triradicals of type C, for example *qäräša* (encoding) (type A) and *gagära* (baking) (type C). As for the pattern *qätäl*, it appears in such words as *yäzät* (content) *läqät* (resolution) or *mäsät* (irony). The pattern *qätäl* can be found in such words as *qätay* (epilogue), *mänab* (imagination) or *lämad* (custom) (Leslau 1995).

When it comes to the pattern *qätale*, it can appear both in Amharic and Ge'ez with roots of the A and C type. In Amharic, this pattern is used to form such words as *säyame* (neologism), *täyaqe* (question) *qäläše* (rhythm) or *mäsäle* (parable). In Ge'ez, there are such words as *hällawe* (existence) or *läbawe* (perception). As for the pattern *qät(t)äl*, it can be applied to both nouns and adjectives and it has a great variety of meanings. This structure can be used with bi-, tri- and quadriradicals as follows: *gäb* (goal, aim), *bäl* (cloth-eating vermin), *bäs* (puncture) (biradicals) *sälätt* (mood), *mäsäl* (example), *qärs* (sculpture, form) or *halm* (dream) (triradicals) and *mäskär* (testimony), *märmär* (inquiry) or *zärzär* (list). (quadriradicals). These patterns can be as well used for adjectives, e.g. *zäg* (closed) or *käk* (coarsely ground) (biradicals), *märt* (chosen), *däbbäq* (hidden) or *läwwäs* (kneaded [dough]) (triradicals) and *därdär* (arranged in a sequence) or *kälkäl* (prohibited) (quadriradicals). As regards the pattern *qätättäl*, it is used in such words as *nägagger* (exposé), *läwäwwät* (change) *mälälläs* (dialogue) or *wädäddär* (competition). If the verbs commence with the initial *a-*, the pattern for nouns derived from verbs begins with *t-*, for example, *täwäwwäk* – getting acquainted with each other (from verb *awwäqa* - he knew), *täsässär* - link, connection (from *assärä* - he linked together) or *täbäbbär* – cooperation (from *abbärä* – he cooperated) (Leslau 1995).

In regard to the pattern *qätul* (*qättul*, *qärtul* [for quadriradicals]), it is originally a passive participle that usually forms adjectives with an active connotation and only rarely

with a passive connotation. Curiously, this pattern is eliminated in favour of *qatəl*. It can be used not only with triradicals type A and B such as nouns *nəgus* (king), *lə'ul* (prince [Ge'ez]), *fətur* (creature), *ṣəhuf* (scripture) or adjectives *gə'uz* (inanimate [Ge'ez]), *təhut* (modest [Ge'ez]), *təkkus* (hot, fresh) or *buruk* (blessed [Ge'ez]).

As for the pattern *qətlät*, it is predominantly used to form abstract nouns such as *əwqät* (knowledge), *məlkät* (sign, indication), *məlsät* (flashback), *əwnät* (truth) or *həywät* (life). Similar abstract notions can also be expressed by the pattern *qə/ättet*, for example, *wəṭṭet* (effect, output), *mäčət* (setting) or (*qala*) *täwnet* (dialogue). When it comes to the pattern *qət(a)lot*, it is used in such words as *haymanot* (faith), *agəlgəlot* (service), *astewəlot* (observation), *kəhlot* (ability) or *ṣəlot* (prayer). Also abstract and occasionally concrete nouns can be constructed according to the pattern *qətlit*, e.g. *dərgit* (action), *mušrit* (bride), *tər'it* (display), *kəhil* (skill) or *mädhanit* (medicine). Many verbal nouns or even abstract nouns can be constructed by means of the pattern *qətlat*, e.g. *kətbət* (vaccine), *asrat* (payment of one tenth of income to the church), *bərtat* (strength) or *qwertmat* (rheumatism). As regards the pattern *qətliya*, it forms not only abstract or concrete nouns but also nouns that denote the action of doing something. Here are some examples: *əwqiya* (introduction, exposition), *mammäsakkäriya* (reference), *mätälalläfiya* (foyer [in the theatre]), *ṭərgiya* (act of clearing) or *ṭabiya* (station) (Leslau 1995).

The nominal patterns in Amharic can appear with prefixes such as *a-(ə-)*, *mä-* (*ma-*, *-mm*), *ən-*, *nä-*, *tə-* and *wä-*. Preceded by the prefix *a-* are such words as *anšar* (point of view [Ge'ez]), *a'əmro* (intellect [Ge'ez]), *adhərot* (reaction in politics [Ge'ez]), *azamağ* (adaptation), *aggəbab* (syntax), *aqəbabbari* (composer), *asälči* (stereotyped), *asazaññ* (tragic), *ayayyaž* (accidental) or *awdaddari* (comparative). As for the prefix *ə-*, it may be used as a prosthetic vowel, especially before the consonants *r*, *s* and *š*, e.g. *ərbi* (inflectional), *ərmoğa* (step), *ərša* (farm) *əssər* (bound), *əšəg* (package) or *əšqədəmdəm* (race).

As for the prefix *mä-* and its variants (*ma-*, *mm-*), it can be used instrumentally, e.g., *maṭrəgiya* (broom, mop) i.e. something that sweeps the floor, etc., *mač'əd* (scythe), i.e. something that mows the grass), *məlač'č'* (razor).i.e. something that shaves (a beard), *madabäriya* (fertiliser), i.e. something that fertilizes the ground. Also different places can be expressed by the prefix *mä-* (*mm-*), for example, *mädäbäla qalat* (lexicon), i.e. the place where words are accumulated), *mängäd* (road), *məqaber* (cemetery), *məhwar* (orbit [Ge'ez]) or *məsk* (field, meadow). On the other hand, the prefix *mä-* can be used as an agent, e.g., *mäzämmər* (cantor), *məkwännən* (officer, dignitary) or *mämhər* (teacher). This prefix can also be widely used for other meanings e.g., *məgbiya* (introduction [to a book], *məgənañña* (communication), *mäsäräta amətaṭ* (etymology), i.e. the evolutionary base of a word or *mädälädəl* (classification).

The prefix *tä-* (*tə-*) can be used mostly for the expression of abstract terms and it can be as well prefixed or suffixed to the roots in order to modify their meanings. For the designation of abstract words, such neologisms have recently come into being in Amharic: *təhadəso* (Renaissance), *təməstwawinnät* (Impressionism), *təfäṭrwawinnät* (Naturalism), *təqəṭəla* (appendix), *təwədəğ ṣəhuf* (popular article) or *təwəsak* (supplement). As for the prefixed and suffixed *tə-*, it is used for the formation of abstract nouns in an archaic way, e.g.

təmhərt (science), *tə'amərt* (symbol), *təsəbə'at* (Incarnation of Christ), *təgəst* (patience), *tənbīt* (prophecy) or *təmsalit* (proverb) (Abera Lemma 2002).

As for the nouns and adjectives with the prefix *ən-*, they are either primary or derived. Primary nouns with the above-mentioned prefix occur in the names of animals, plants and others, whereas derived nouns go back to a verb prefixed by *tən-*. In order to illustrate this the following names of animals and plants and other objects can be given as examples: *ənsäsa* (animal), *ənkw'ararit* (frog), *ənziz* (beetle), *ənqoqo* (a tree-kind of purgative), *ənb^wač'č'o* (a plant with tender buds that are eaten by children), *əngära* (Ethiopian bread), *ənqulal* (egg) or *ənṭiloš* (seesaw). As mentioned before, the derived nouns prefixed by *ən-* such as *ənqəsəqase* (movement), *ənšəlalit* (lizard) or *ənqəlf* (sleep) can be derived from the verbs *tənqäsaqqäsä* (he moved), *tənšallälä* (he crawled) and *ənqälaffä* (he was sleepy). From similar verbs the nouns prefixed by *nä-* can be created, e.g. *näšäbraq* (reflection) from verb *tənšäbarräqä* (he sparkled) or *näbälbal* (flame) from *tənbaläbbäla* (he blazed).

For some nouns that contain labial *f*, *b* or *m*, the instrumental noun can be formed by the affixation of the prefix *wä-*, for example *wäfč'o* (grinding stone), *wämbär* (chair) or *wäsfē* (awl).

A number of Amharic words including neologisms can be formed by means of nominalizers or suffixes (consonants or vowels). It should be pointed out that they are suffixed mostly to nouns and rarely to verbs. The most important nominalizers in Amharic that will be discussed in this dissertation are *-am*, *-ta*, *-an*, *-(ə)nna*, *-(ə)nnät*, *-(ə)ñña*, *-la*, *-awe*, *-awi*, *-ay*, *-a*, *-o* and *-oš* (Takkele Taddese 2000).

As for the nominalized *-am*, it can be suffixed to both nouns and adjectives and it means that something is full of the thing denoted by the base noun, for example, *hodam* (voracious) from *hod* (belly), *läbbam* (mindful) from *läbb* (heart), *habtam* (rich) from *habt* (richness), *qəmalam* (having lice from *qəmal* (louse)) or *fəreyamm(a)* – fruitful. The second mentioned nominalizer (*-ta*), it is formed from the fixed element of the composite verbs as well as from regular nouns. This suffix can be used to make abstract nouns. As this nominalizer is not productive, it is mostly based on roots of which one of the radicals is lost. Even though it follows the pattern *[ccx]* – *cca-ta*, in most cases for biradicals it must be preceded by the prosthetic vowel *ə-* since two consonants cannot occur initially in Amharic. As regards the composite verbs where the fixed element is biradical and it ends in a geminated consonant, such words can be given as examples: *zəmməta* (silence) from *zəmm alä* (be silent), *zəggəta* (depression) from *zəgg alä* (be low) or *əfoyyəta* (catharsis) *əfoyy alä* (be relieved). In case of biradicals, the prosthetic vowel *ə-* must be given at the beginning, for example, *ə-rbata* (breeding or conjugation in linguistics), *ə-rdata* (help) or *ə-rtata* (winning). Should the nominal be formed from a triradical root, the formation proceeds in accordance with the following patterns: *[ccc]-ta* – *cacac-a*, e.g., *səmeta* (pathos), *čəlota* (talent), *səṭota* (gift); *[ccc]-ta -cəccata*: *dənṭata* (boasting); *[ccc]-ta* – *cucc-ta*: *šullkta* (doing something by stealth).

In regard to the nominalizer *-an*, it is used with only several nouns taken mostly from the Ge'ez language. It is used mainly for the expression of abstract notions but also sometimes for concrete nouns, e.g. *bərhan* (light), *q^werban* (holy communion), *səlṭan* (power), *ləsan*

(language) but also the Amharic *gunfan* (common cold) or *gundan* (black ant).

As for the *-t(ə)nna* nominalizer, it is suffixed to nouns and adjectives in order to form the nouns with abstract meaning. For triradicals the form is [ccc]-*ənna* - *cəccənnna* while for quadriradicals it is [cccc]-*ənna* - *cəccəcənnna*, regardless of the form of the original noun or adjective. To illustrate this such examples can be given for triradicals: [zmd] – *zəmdənnna* (relationship) or *gəbrənnna* (agriculture) and for quadriradicals: [flsf] – *fəlsəfənnna* (philosophy) or [šmg] – *šəmgələnnna* (old age, mediation) (Takkele Taddese 2000).

The nominalizer *-(ə)nnät*, in turn, can be suffixed to every part of speech and it can be used for the expression of an abstract, an attribute, a fact or a state of being of what is denoted by the underlying noun. Should the underlying noun end in *-a* or *-e*, the final vowel may be dropped. From the adjectives such neologisms can be derived: *ṭrennät* (literalness), *əbdənnät* (craziness), *nəšənnät* (independence), *lu'alawinnät* (sovereignty), *däbtärəwinnät* (clericalism) or *fəšuməwinnät* (absolutism). From nouns one can derive words that express the state of being, e.g. *zäbäññənnät* (the job of a watchman), *käntibənnät* (the state of being a mayor) or *bäggənnät* (the state of being good). This nominalizer can be added to any particle, e.g. *tāmari-nnät* (the state of being a student), suffixed to derived or compound nouns: *hod-am-nnät* (voracity), pronouns: *ma-ənnät* (personality, identity) or even numerals: *hulätt-ənnät* (the state of being two, duality) (Leslau 1995).

By means of the suffix *-əñña* the names of languages, countries and regions as well as adverbs derived from adjectives, e.g. languages (*amarəñña* [Amharic], *ənglizəñña* [English]), regions (*oroməñña* [Oromo], *soddəñña* [Soddo]) and adverbs (*kəfu-ñña* [badly], *wəbəñña* [beautifully]).

As for the nominalizers *-ə/a/o/u-čca*, they are mainly added either to a nominal or to a verbal base to form abstract or concrete nouns such as *məkəfäčca* (opening), *fərəčca* (fear), *mač'awäčca* (player), *ṭaläčca* (hatred) or *q^waqəäčca* (feeling of nausea).

The nominalizer *-awe* comes from Ge'ez and it is used for abstract nouns taken from this language. The suffix is used in such notions as *hallawe* (existence), *bəhtawe* (seclusion) or *gəššawe* (collection of lives of saints).

In regard to the nominalizers *-awi* and *-ay*, they are added to common nouns for the formation of adjectives that express a quality or a characteristic in reference to the underlying nouns. While the nominal *-awi* is used very commonly in Amharic, the occurrences of adjectives with *-ay* are more isolated, though both of them come from Ge'ez. It should be pointed out that these nominalizers occur more often with nouns of the Ethiopic origin, though their use in Amharic is quite significant. The suffix *-awi* can modify such Ge'ez nouns or pronouns as *ma'əkäl-awi* (centre: central), *fəkare^v-awi* (connotation: connotative), *awd-awi* (context: contextual), *wəst-awi* (in: internal), as well as such Amharic nouns as *fez-awi* (sarcasm: ironic), *tälämd^w-awi* (convention: conventional), *aggäbab-awi* (syntax: syntactic). In a similar way, the suffix *-ay* is used to modify such Ge'ez nouns and pronouns as *täba'ət-ay* (man: masculine), *anəst-ay* (women: feminine), *däh(a)r-ay* (at the back: back) or *ta'əmr-ay* (miracle: miraculous) and Amharic nouns (and verbal nouns) such as *täkätatt-ay* (sequence: sequential) [from verb *täkätattälä* – to follow], *zämän-ay* (period: excessively modern) or *əsət-ay* (fire: fiery) (Abera Lemma 2002).

As for the nominals with the suffix *-e*, they are formed by changing the final radical of the base into the fifth order and they are typical for Ge'ez. The following model shows how the examples of words are formed; [ccc]-*e* – *caccace*, e.g. *wəswase* (dilemma), *səyyame* (coinage), *wəffare* (thickness) and so on. Importantly, the nominal is formed in the following way if the root is quadriradical [cccc]-*e* – *caccace*: *nəqnaqe* (movement), *ṭənkqare* (strength) or *ləmllame* (greenness).

When it comes to the suffixes *-ot* and *-oš*, they are both non-productive. The *-ot* nominal can be formed from bi- or tri-radical roots, which allow the *a-* or *tä-* prefixes that can sometimes be left out during the formation of the nominal. Even though there is only one model for the formation of biradical nominals, the triradical ones can be formed in several ways. For bi-radicals the pattern is [cc]+*ot* – *cəc-ot*, e.g. *dil-ot* (comfort) or *bəsot* (complaint). For triradicals the patterns are as follows: (1) [ccc]+*ot* – *cəcəc-ot* (*dərəkot* – sun dried food), (2) [ccc]+*ot* *cəcc-ot* (*sərqot* – theft), (3) [ccc]+*ot* – *cacəc-ot* (*darəgot* – gift), (4) [ccc]+*ot* – *cəccac-ot* (*fəllagot* – need). For triradicals prefixed by *a-* or *tä-* the following patterns can be used as examples [aglg] – *agəlgəlot* (service), [t-mn] – *məññot* (wish) or [at] – *ətot* (loss). As mentioned above the *-oš* nominal is not productive. Nevertheless, it can be formed from a bi- and triradical root base and there may occur the process of reduplication in some cases. Only few nominals can be constructed from a biradical base in accordance with the pattern [cc]+*oš* – *cəcoš*, for example: [gṭ] – *gəṭoš* (pasture) or [ṭl] – *ṭəloš* (dowry). From a triradical root the nominals are formed according to the following model: [ccc]+ *oš* – *cəccoš*, e.g., [drq] – *dərqoš* (hay) or [srq] – *sərqoš* (theft). As for the reduplicative stems, they can be formed by means of the pattern [ccc]+ *oš* – *cəcəccəcoš*, e.g. *dəgəggəmoš* (frequency) or *dəbəbbəqoš* (hide and seek) (Takkele Taddese 2000).

Not only can the nominals be formed from the Amharic verbal consonant stock by affixation but also by vowel interspersion or internal changes, which means that nominals can be formed by arranging the meaning that consonant clusters bear in appropriate order around a respective single vowel or even between such two or more vowels. For the purpose of this dissertation only the most important configurations will be presented here: (1) *cc(c)+v* – *cvc(c)*: [kb]+*v* – *kəbb* (round) or [drq] – *dərq* (drought); (2) a) *ccc+v* – *cvcvc* (type A): [ndf]+*v* – *nədəf* (cotton made ready for spinning), b) *ccc+v* – *cvccvc* (type B): [kmr]+*v* – *kəmmər* (a pile of something), (4) *cccc+v* – *cvccvc*: [mlml] – *məlməl* (chosen) or [sbsb]+*v* – *səbsəb* (collection); (5) *ccc+v* – *cvcvc*: [sfr]+*v* – *səfər* (area of residence) or [gmd]+*v* – *gəməd* (rope); (6) *ccc+v* – *cvccvc* – *cəccac*: [ṭbb] – *ṭəbbab* (narrow) or [gbr]+*v* – *gəbbar* (serf), (7) *ccc+v* – *cvcc*: [lwt] – *ləwt* (change) or [mrz] *mərz* (poison); (8) *cccc+v* – *cvccvccv* – *cəccacca*: [ṭnkr] – *ṭənkərra* (tough) or [lsls] – *ləsləssa* (soft) (Takkele Taddese 2000).

8.3.2. Gender and article

In Amharic, nouns are treated as masculine and feminine whereas nouns referred to as neuter (it) in other languages are usually treated as masculine. As the masculine-feminine treatment is normally not marked by a gender marker that is attached to the noun, the distinction in gender is indicated by the gender of the definite article, by the gender of the demonstrative pronoun as well as by the gender of the verb referring to the noun. Having taken into

consideration the aforementioned rules, one can thus infer that for such lexical items as *färäs* (horse) or *bäqlo* (mule) there is no marker to indicate if it is masculine or feminine unless they are followed by the suffixed masculine or feminine article, that is *-u* and *-wa* respectively. Therefore, the masculine article *-u* or *-wa* can indicate the masculine or feminine treatment of the mentioned nouns: *färäs-u* (male horse), *färäs-wa* (mare) and *bäqlo* (male mule), *bäqlo-wa* (female mule). Curiously, the article that indicates gender may also be attached to the adjective in Amharic, e.g., *melkam-u hakim* (the good male doctor) and *melkam-wa hakim* (the good woman doctor). As mentioned above, the gender treatment of nouns can be as well indicated either by the demonstrative pronoun or by the gender of the verb referring to the noun. The demonstrative pronoun *yəh* (this) may appear both in the masculine gender, for example, *yəh färäs* (this male horse) or in the feminine gender *yəhəčč färäs* (this mare). The gender can also be indicated by the verb form, for example, *färäs yəgalləbal* (a horse gallops) and *färäs təgalləballäč* (a mare gallops) (Leslau 1995).

As for the feminine marker *-t*, it comes from the Ge'ez language and it can be still used in Amharic. The feminine form *-t* is often made by nouns and adjectives that end in *-awi*, e.g., *ityopəyawi* (Ethiopian) and *ityopəyawi-t* (female Ethiopian). The feminine ending *-t* is preserved in some Amharic nouns such as *nəgus* (king) – *nəgəst* (queen), *qəddus* (saint) – *qəddəst* (female saint) or *kəbur* (honoured) – *kəbbərt* (honoured, f.). The Ge'ez feminine ending *-t* can be also preserved in some active participles, for example, *aqqabi* (custodian who grinds grain for the Host) and *aqqabi-t* (f.) or *mäggabi* (monk responsible for the administration of food in a monastery and *mäggabi-t* (nun responsible for the administration of food there).

The feminine with the suffix *-it* can be formed for a number of nouns and adjectives. If the mentioned suffix occurs with an adjective, this is followed by not only the denotation of the feminine gender but also the nominalisation of the adjective, for example, *ləğ* (boy) and *ləğit* (girl) or *bäg* (sheep) and *bəğit* (ewe). For the nouns ending in a vowel, the vowel is omitted and the feminine marker *-it* is added, e.g., *mänäk^wse* (monk) – *mänäk^ws-it* (nun), *mušərra* (bridegroom) – *mušərr-it* (bride) or *toṭa* (monkey) – *toṭ-it* (female monkey). Also the adjectives can have feminine forms, e.g. *dägg* (generous) – *dägg-it* or *ṭəqur* (black) - *ṭəqurit*, though it should be borne in mind that the suffix *-it* of these adjectives not so much are feminine as they have a connotation that signifies smallness or cuteness. Even though nouns that end in *-it* are usually treated as feminine, there are some such nouns in Amharic that are treated as masculine, for example, *təggəst* (patience), *mädhanit* (medicine), *sərawit* (army), *təmhərt* (lesson) or *əwqät* (knowledge).

As for gender specifiers in Amharic, there are those used for human beings, animals and both human beings and animals. What is more, Amharic possesses these specifiers for the male and female sex of the human beings and animals. When it comes to human beings, the gender specifiers used for them are *wänd* (man, male) and *set* (woman, female), for example *wänd ayat* (grandfather) and *set ayat* (grandmother), *wänd ləğ* (boy) and *set ləğ* (girl) or *wänd hakim* (male doctor) and *set hakim* (woman doctor). In regard to the specifiers for animals, there are those for males (*təbat*, *awra*, *wänd* and *wädäl*) and for females (*anəst*, *set* and *ənnatit*), for example *təbat təğğa* (he-calf) – *anəst təğğa* (she-calf), *təbat (wänd or wädäl)*

ahayya (male donkey) – *anəst* (or *ənnatit*) *ahayya* (she-donkey) or *awra* (*wänd*) *doro* (cock) – *set doro* (hen) – *ənnatit doro* (mother hen) (Leslau 1995).

For other animals, the specifier *awra* is used mainly to designate a male that has not been castrated and there is no female counterpart for this concept. Therefore *awra fəyyäl* means a non-castrated male-goat whereas *awra bäg* signifies a non-castrated sheep. Worth being mentioned is also the fact that the gender specifier *awra* that normally designates the male sex can be used for such expressions as big, important or main, for example *awra mängäd* (main road), *awra ʔat* (thumb), *awra məsəkkər* (chief witness) or *awra kätäma* (capital city). As for the specifier *set*, it may be used with a noun having a feminine marker, for example *set wəššit* (bitch) and *set ahəyyit* (she-donkey). Interestingly, if these aforementioned nouns are used without *set*, they may be treated as insults.

Importantly, the gender specifiers *wände* and *sete* can also be used for the names of plants and birds as well as other nouns. As in the case of plants and soil, the specifier *wänd* denotes such features as hardness and toughness while the female specifier is used to define softness and tenderness. On the one hand, these gender specifiers can denote the sex of a bird or a plant, for example, *wände č'ərri* (male bird) – *sete č'ərri* (female bird) and *wände abäba* (a flower that produces pollen) – *sete abäba* (a flower that receives the pollen) but on the other hand they can specify the toughness opposed to the softness or strength opposed to weakness, e.g. *wände ret* (a kind of thorny aloes) – *sete ret* (a thornless variety of aloe) or *wände ənč'üt* (solid wood) – *sete ənč'üt* (soft wood).

As the gender specifier plays a role of a qualifier that it takes the article regardless of whether the unit is in the singular or in the plural, one can say in Amharic *ənnatit-u doro* (the mother hen) or *wänd-u ləğ* (the boy). Attached to the main noun or to both the gender specifier and the main noun can be also the possessive suffixes used with a singular or plural noun, e.g., *wänd ləğ* or *wänd-u ləğ-u* (his son) and *wänd ləğočč-u* or *wändočč-u ləğočč-u* (Leslau 1995)

As far as the gender treatment of animals, geographical names and abstract nouns is concerned, some animals are treated as masculine, some as feminine or either masculine or feminine, which is influenced by the Ge'ez language, As masculine are treated such animals as lion or horse, as feminine such animals as mule and jackal, whereas as either masculine or feminine are treated for example dog, cat or sheep. What concerns geographical names and the names of heavenly bodies, the choice of gender is however not fixed. Treated as masculine, though also feminine if determined by the context, are such nouns as *tärara* (mountain), *wänz* (river) and *meda* (meadow) while *mədr* (earth) and *č'äräqa* (moon) are feminine. As either masculine or feminine can be treated such nouns as *kokäb* (star), *šähay* (sun) and *agär* (country). As for country names, they are usually feminine while abstract nouns are generally treated as masculine (Leslau 1995).

In regard to the Amharic nouns, they can be either primary or derived. If they are not derived or derivable from verbs and nouns, they are primary. Derived nouns, in turn, are related in their root consonants or radicals and meaning to verbs, adjectives, nouns as well as words of other parts of speech. For example, the Amharic noun *əgər* (leg, foot) is primary but the word *əgräñña* (pedestrian) is derived from the word *əgər*. The Amharic noun is also

marked for number, gender, determinedness and the direct object. Determinedness can be expressed either by the article or by the suffix pronouns. All of the mentioned morphemes are suffixal in Amharic and they have the following sequence: base-gender-number-determiner-direct object. As for the prepositions, they are prefixed to the noun, though it should be borne in mind that most of the Amharic prepositions are complex, which means that they consist of prefixes and postpositions. '

In Amharic, the noun can be determined or undetermined and the indetermination has no special marker there. This means that the word *färäs* (horse) signifies a horse or horse with zero article. If the noun is undetermined, it may be preceded by the element and (lit. one) in order to ensure that the noun is not used in a plural sense and that it is undetermined. Worth mentioning is also the fact that the article and can be used when the noun is intended to be a singulative taken out of the collective. Therefore the Amharic request and *wämbär amṭa!* (bring a chair!) means not so much to bring a chair than to bring a particular chair from the homeware. On the other hand, the same expression *wämbär amṭa!* may also mean bring some chairs even though the plural is not marked.

If the determination of the English noun expressed by the definite article is translated into Amharic, it can be expressed in the target language by the article consisting of a suffixed element. Although a distinction is made between a noun treated as masculine or feminine for the singular, no distinction is made between the masculine and feminine for the plural. For the singular noun that is treated as masculine and that ends in a consonant, the marker of determination is -u, e.g. *färäs* (a horse) – *färäs-u* (the horse). In case that the singular noun treated as masculine ends in a vowel, its determination marker is -w, e.g., *resa* (a corpse) – *resa-w* (the corpse). Similar rules can be applied to the feminine nouns that end in a consonant or in a vowel. If the feminine noun ends in a consonant, then the -wa, -itu or -it^va endings are suffixed while those feminine nouns ending in a vowel receive the following suffixes: -wa, -yätu or -yät^va. As for the plural markers for all nouns, the morpheme -u is placed after the plural marker regardless of the masculine or feminine gender of the noun and it takes either the form -očč-u for nouns ending in a consonant or -wočč-u if the noun ends in a vowel (Leslau 1995).

Depending on the form of the article it can be inferred that the article may mark not only determination but also gender. If the article is used with the noun, it can indicate a gender, for example, in the sexually neutral word *əngəda* (a guest), the article can play a decisive role in the indication of a gender, that is, *əngəda-w* (male guest) and *əngəda-yätu* (female guest). Obviously, the Amharic definite article cannot be used in the same situations as the English definite article. Even though it can be applied to indicate that a given noun was previously mentioned, it is at times used in English while Amharic has no article. No matter where the Amharic article is used, it is placed after the possessive suffix pronoun. In case of an adjective-noun complex, the article can be suffixed only to the adjective. In order to express the superlative, the noun can be preceded by the adjective with the article. One can as well use the article to nominalize an adjective.

If several nouns are succeeded by the definite article, the article can either be normally used with all the nouns once they are uttered with a pause between them or only the last noun

can take the article and the suffixed accusative marker *-n*. In case of the compounded nouns, the article is added to the second noun, e.g. *set wänd-u* (women and men or simply everybody). Some Amharic compound nouns can be combined with the morpheme *-nna* (and), which means that the definite article can either be used with the second noun or with both nouns, for example, *māṣḥaf-ənnā dābtār* or *māṣḥaf-u-ənnā dābtār-u ə-kəfəl-wəst nāw* (The book and notebook are in the classroom).

As concerns the personal pronouns, they may also be used with the article in order to express insistence, which may be augmented by *ras* (I myself, lit. my head) with suffix pronouns, for example, *əne-w (rase-w) əmätallä^wh* (I myself will come). It should be remarked that the pronoun used with the article is a pronoun rather than an adjective. As shown in the above-mentioned example, the personal pronoun with *ras* (lit. head) can be used not only with the article suffixed to the personal pronoun (*əne-w*) but also to both of the elements (*əne-w rase-w*). It should be pointed out that the use of the Amharic definite article allows to link with not only with nouns, adjectives and personal pronouns but also demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns along with numerals. However, this is by no means exhaustive as the Amharic speakers use the definite article with adverbial expressions that can be formed from nouns, verbs and adjectives such as *yəbält-u* (most of) from the verb *bällätä* (exceed), *bätənnəš-u* (slightly) from the adjective *tənnəš* (small) or *bahun-u gize* (nowadays, lit. at the present time). The article can also be followed by the accusative marker *-n* in some adverbial expressions as in *bəzu-wə-n gize* (most of the time) or *zuriya-wə-n* (all around) (Leslau 1995).

8.3.3. Plural

As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, Amharic has a plural marker, though no distinction is made between the masculine and the feminine in the formation for the plural for nouns. Since the noun can end in a consonant or in a vowel, there are two different forms of plural. For nouns ending in a consonant the morpheme *-očč* is suffixed whereas for nouns ending in a vowel, the morpheme *-wočč* is added, though this is not the only solution for the formation of plural in such nouns as the plural can be made with the loss of the final vowel, for example *wəšša* (dog) – *wəšša-wočč* or *wəšš-~~a~~-očč* (*wəššočč*) (dogs). This pattern is usually applied if the last vowel is *-a*, *-u*, or *-o*. Nevertheless, for the nouns ending in *-i* or *-e*, the plural is made by the ending *-yočč*, though *-wočč* can be also possible. From the phonetic point of view both of the semi-consonant glides, that is *w* and *y* are barely audible.

Even though the regular plural marker in Amharic is – *očč*, there are many nouns that have plural forms other than those discussed above. These plural markers come from the Ge'ez language and because of that they can be external or internal. As for the external plural, it consists of suffixing *-an*, *-at* or *-t* to the singular. The internal forms, however, consist of a vocalic change so they are known as archaic or learned words. In regard to the nouns that end in the suffix *-an*, they are masculine only while those ending in *-at* can be both masculine and feminine. It is important to note that not only did the loanwords were taken almost unchanged from Ge'ez but the Ethiopic morphological rules were retained, even if such notions have been firmly rooted in the Amharic language and the Ethiopian culture. Of all these nouns, the

most popular in today's Ethiopia are for example *māmhər* (teacher) – *māmhər-an* (teachers), *kāhən* (priest) - *kāhən-at* (priests, clergy) or *nābiyy* (prophet) – *nābiyat* (prophets) (Leslau 1995).

As for adjectives and nouns ending in *-awi*, they take the masculine plural form *-an* and the feminine form *-at*, e.g., *ityoppəyawi* (an Ethiopian) – *ityoppəyawi-yan* (the Ethiopians masc.) - *ityoppəyawi-yat* (the Ethiopians, fem.).

There are quite a few nouns in Amharic that have an internal plural and both the internal and external plural markers, which means that the prefix *-a* or the suffix *-i* can be retained in addition to the vocalic change. For example, the noun *dəngəl* (virgin) has the plural form *dānagəl* (nuns, celibates) or the noun combined with an internal prefix *a-*, *a-md* (column) can be pluralised as *a`mad* (columns). In addition to that, there are some words in Amharic whose internal plural is combined with the suffix *-t*, e.g., *nəgus* (king) – *nəgəst* (kings), *maṣhaf* (book) – *maṣahəft* (books) or *həgg* (law) – *həggəgat* (laws). There are also some nouns whose plural form is marked by both the prefix *a-* and the suffix *-t*, for example *ganen* (demon) – *a-ganən-t* (demons). There are still some nouns of which the plural forms can be made by augmented *w* and the suffixed *-t* including vocalic changes, e.g., *liq* (learned man) – *liqa-w-ən-t* (learned men) or *kokäb* (star) – *kä-w-akəb-t* (stars). In the vocabulary of Amharic are featured such nouns that have both external plural *-očč* and an archaic plural, for example, *zämäd* (relative) - *zämäd-očč* or (Ge'ez) *azmad* (relatives). Interestingly, also an archaic plural can be augmented by *-očč*, e.g., *qal* (word) – *qalat* (Ge'ez) or *qalat-očč* (words) (Leslau 1995).

When it comes to the plural of nouns of kinship and relationship, some of them have two plural forms, though with different meanings. From the linguistic point of view, they are characterised by partial reduplication of the stem. For example, the word *wändəmm* (brother) – *wändəmm-očč* (brothers) but *wändəmm-amm-očč* (brothers in relation to each other). Also, the plural of nouns can be formed with total reduplication, which means that two identical nouns combined with the conjunction *-nna* may have the meaning of a plural. As examples can be given such structures as *č'af-nna-č'af* (ends, lit. point-and-point) or *gunč'an-nna-gunč'an* ([kissed] in both cheeks).

As for the names referring to topographical features, the repetition of nouns can have adverbial function and meaning. Therefore the expression *səmay səmay ayyäčč* (She looked upwards (to the sky), lit. sky sky she looked) means not so much a girl looking towards heaven than a student that does not answer out of shyness or not knowing the answer. Similarly, in the sentence *bä-č'akka-w dar dar agazän yəttayyal* (A deer is seen at the edge of the forest, lit. in the forest edge edge a deer is seen) the reduplicated word *dar* has an extended meaning of a boundary so the whole sentence can be logical in Amharic. Word reduplication can also be understood as the repetition of relative quantifier in Amharic, for example in the sentence *ṭälat yä-tämarä ye-tämaräwən gäddäla* (the enemy killed the educated class, lit. enemy educated educated [men] killed), where the expression *yä-tämarä yä-tämaräwən* means more or less educated elites. If repeated nouns serve for the distributive, they may also express the plural. As examples for that can be given such Amharic expressions as *mata mata* (every evening, lit. evening evening) or *rob rob* (every Wednesday, lit.

Wednesday Wednesday) (Leslau 1995).

The plural forms of nouns can also have partial reduplication, which means that both nouns and adjectives may form their plural with reduplication of one of the radicals. As an example can be given the noun *wäyzäro* (lady) whose plural may be formed either traditionally *wäyzäročč* or have the traits of partial reduplication of the radical, namely *wäyzazərt* or *wäyzazəročč*. In regard to the total reduplication of adjectives, it is used to express either a large number or selectivity. The large number can be expressed by duplication of the adjective *ṭəru* in the following sentence: *kätämaw wəst ṭəru ṭəru tiyatročč yəttayyallu* (Many good plays can be seen in the city, lit. city the in good good plays are seen.). Selectivity, in turn, can be expressed in the following request: *rägḡim rägḡimun wəsäd* (take the longest one, lit. long of the longest take) where the adjective *rägḡim* (long) is duplicated. In some contexts the plural marker can also be affixed to the second adjective, e.g., *wanna wanna-wočču* (main of the main) in *wanna wanna-wočču industriwočč ba-ṭorənnātu məknəyat təzəgtəwall* (the principal industries were closed down because of the war, lit. main of the main industries because of the war were closed down) (Leslau 1995).

When a collective noun is used in the singular, the verb will likewise be in the singular. In order to illustrate this, such an example can be given: *yəṭorənnātu məssariya ṭəru ṭəru nəwəna? əndeta gən kəbbad kəbbat nəw* (Are the weapons good? And how, but they are very heavy, lit. of-war weapon good good is? And how, but heavy heavy [they] is. In this case a collective noun (*yə-ṭorənnātu məssariya*) is in the singular and the verb *nəw* is also in the singular. It should be also noted that the reduplication of an adjective can simply express a plural, despite the verb is in a singular so the English translation of the above-mentioned Amharic sentence may be “Are the weapons good?” even though the compound noun meaning weapon is in the singular.

As concerns the partial reduplication of adjectives, the second radical of an adjective may be reduplicated and geminated according to the fixed patterns, for example *qətəttəl* as in *ṭəlləq* (big) – *ṭələlləq*, *qətəttəl* as in *rägḡəm* (long) – *rəḡəḡḡəm* or *qətəttəl* as in *ṭəqur* (black) – *ṭəq^waq^wər*. For the adjectives ending in *-am*, the reduplicated radical is not geminated, e.g., *mälkam* (nice) – *mälkəkam*. Additionally, the singular form of the reduplicated adjective may be combined with the singular form of the noun, no matter that is determined or not, though the noun is used in the plural and the reduplicated adjective with the article is likewise in the plural only if the unit is determined. As for the adjectives with partial reduplication, they normally express the plural as well as selectivity or opposition to another part of sentence. Thus in the Amharic sentence *ṭələlləqun dəngay aqəbbələññ* (Hand me the big stones), the word for stone (*dəngay*) is used in the singular and not in the plural, though the context allows the phrase to be interpreted as 'hand me the big stones'.

In order to obtain the meaning of 'all kinds of' and 'various kinds of', the repetition of the noun should be made but it should be pointed out that the first noun should be followed by the morpheme *-a-*, for example, *č'ärq* (cloth) *č'ärq-a-č'ärqočč* (textiles), *qəmäm* (spice, seasoning) *qəmäm-a-qəmäm* (all kinds of spices) or *geṭ* (ornament, decoration) *geṭ-a-geṭ* (jewellery). Such combinations are treated as a unit and the plural marker may (but unnecessarily) be affixed to the second word as in the case of *č'ärq-a-č'ärq* (sing.) and *č'ärq-*

a-č'ärq-očč (pl.). Of interest can be the fact that these combinations can occasionally have other meanings as in the case of *wänd-a-wänd* (a masculine-like woman) or *set-a-set* (an effeminate man). Having been linked with a noun or an adjective, the repetition can express such meanings as adjective-ish, sort of, somewhat or rather, e.g., *näč'č'* (white) - *näč'č'-a-nač'č'* (whitish), *wärq* (golden) – *wärq-a-wärq* (yellowish) or *moññ* (foolish, silly) – *moññ-a-moññ* (gullible, foolish person). The discussed process also takes place when the combination is made of different nouns, for example *wänd* (man), *gäräd* (woman, girl) – *wänd-a-gäräd* (hermaphrodite [of a hyena]) or *leğ* (child), *gäräd* (girl) – *leğ-a-gäräd* (maiden) (Leslau 1995).

In Amharic, there are other plurality markers, namely the elements *ənna* and *əllä* that are prefixed to a proper noun whose meaning is more or less 'X, or X and his followers', so such constructions as *ənna-ras Yohannəs* or *ənna-ğäms brus* mean Ras Yohannes and his followers and [travellers] like James Bruce. As for the verb referring to the subject with *ənna*, it is always in the plural, e.g., *ənna-sahlä səllase mäṭṭu* (Sahle Sellase and his entourage came). Curiously, the prefixes *ənna* and *əllä* can indicate the plural of pronouns. Thus, the literal meaning of the Amharic pronouns *ənnässu* (they) and *ənnantä* (you, pl.) is *ənnä-əssu* (those of he) and *ənnä-ante* (those of you, pl.) The plurality markers *ənna* and *əllä* can be preceded by various prepositions, for example *kä*, *kännä* and *källä* (including, along with, together with, pertaining to, etc.). Therefore, the sentence *kännä-gwaddännöčč mäṭṭa* means 'he came with his friends' (lit. with his friends [he] came).

When it comes to the usage of the plural in Amharic, the concept of plural is not necessarily marked by the plural marker, which means that the meaning of the following phrases can be understood in two ways. The phrase *ləğu maṣṣaf wässädä* can either mean 'the child brought a book' or 'the child brought some books'. Similarly, the significance of the request *wämbär-ənna alga amṭa* can be either 'bring a chair and a bed' or 'bring some chairs and beds'. Were the singular to be specified, the numeral and (one) can be used, e.g. and *wämbär amṭa* (bring a chair).

As the verb agrees in number with the subject noun, the verb is likewise used with the plural if the noun has a plural marker. For example, in the phrase *hulätt säwočč mäṭṭu* (Two men came), the verb *mäṭṭu* ([they] came) is a plural that agrees with the noun *säwočč* (men). Were the noun not to have a plural marker, the verb would be in the singular *hulätt säw mäṭṭa* (two man [he] came), though the meaning would remain almost unchanged. The noun can however be used in the singular if is preceded by a quantifier while the verb is likewise to be used in the singular in this instance. In some cases both the noun and the verb may also be in the plural, which does not influence significantly the meaning (Leslau 1995).

In Amharic, there are some important rules concerned with the gender of the collective. If the collective is masculine, both the noun and the verb are in the singular masculine, e.g., *särawitu Gondär säffära* (the army [masc. sing.] camped [masc. sing.] at Gondar) or *säw* [masc. sing.] *älläqä* (people [lit. man] perished [masc. Sing.]). For feminine collectives, the noun is the singular and the verb is in singular masc., e.g., *setu hullu gäbäya hedä* (all the women went to the market [lit. this woman all [to] market [he] went. When two nouns are linked by means of the *-ənna* conjunction, there is a distinction made not only

between determined and undetermined but also animate and inanimate in connection with the number of the verb. In case of the indetermination of inanimate nouns (e.g. *bərč'əqqo* – a glass or *ərsas* (pencil), the verb is in the singular whereas in case of the determination of the animate nouns, the verb can be either in singular or in plural and thus the meaning depends on the context. For animate nouns that are determined, the verb is in the plural, though in some cases it can also be in the singular with almost no change in meaning. For the animate nouns that are determined by the article, the verb is in the singular, though the nouns may be treated as collective. The verb can be also in the plural if the noun is determined by suffix pronouns, e.g., -*nna*. This is also the cause of nouns denoting animals determined by suffix pronouns.

8.3.4. Direct and indirect object

As for the direct object in Amharic, it can be a pronoun or a noun. Direct object may also be determined by the article, possessive pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, determined relative quantifier or adjective. When the direct object is a noun, its determinedness or undeterminedness conditions the presence or absence of a direct object marker. Should the direct object be determined by the aforementioned parts of speech or should it be a proper noun, the direct object is made by the suffixed marker *-(ə)n* that can be placed after the article and the suffix pronoun. For example in the sentences *mäskotu-n zəga* (Close the window!) and *wəššaw bäqlo-wa-n näkkäsä* (the dog bit the mule), the suffixed direct object marker is preceded by the definite article (*-u*, *mäskotu* [the window]; *-wa*, *bäqlo-wa* [the mule]). Understandably, the direct object marker can be preceded by a vowel *ə* if the noun (with a definite article) ends in a consonant, e.g., *geta-w-ən* (the master). The marker *-(ə)n* is generally not used if the direct object is not determined, for example, *wəšša bäqlo näkkäsä* (a dog bit a mule). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the function of the noun as a direct object becomes clear of its position in a sentence even where there is no *-(ə)n* marker and the sentence has the same word order (SOV). Worth mentioning is also the fact that even the direct object that remains unmarked can be not only placed in extraposition before the subject but also it can be resumed by object suffix pronouns that are attached to the verb. In order to illustrate this phenomenon, the following sentence should be given: *bäqlo-wa-n* (O) *wəšša* (S) *näkkäsä-t* (V), where the subject (*wəšša* – a dog) was preceded by the object (*bäqlo-wa-n* – the mule) and the suffix *-t* that was affixed to the verb is an object suffix pronoun that simultaneously refers to the feminine gender of the object (Leslau 1995).

In regard to the use of the object marker in general statements, it can be quite often used with the undetermined noun, e.g. *kətbət bäsšəta(-n) lämäkkälakəl yəräddal* (vaccines help to combat disease(s), lit. vaccine disease to combat help), which means that the object (*bäsšəta* – disease) may or may not be followed by the suffixed direct object marker. What is more the use of the *-(ə)n* marker with a non direct object can be also extended to abstract nouns as well as those nouns that are conceptually determined. For example, in the sentence *wəčč agär simmar sallä bəzu əwqät-ən gäbäyyä* (he acquired a lot of knowledge while studying abroad, lit. foreign country when he learnt while much knowledge acquired), the abstract object (*əwqät* – knowledge) can not necessarily be followed by a direct object marker (Leslau 1995).

Curiously, the marker *-(ə)n* can also play a role of an indirect complement, e.g. in a sentence *geta-w lä-säratäññočč-u-n gänzäb käffälaččəw* (the master paid money to his workers, the indirect complement (*lä-säratäññočč-u* – to his workers) can be followed by the *-(ə)n* marker (*lä-säratäññočč-u-n*). In order to express emphasis, the direct object marker (*-n*) can be used with a definite article (*-u*), which makes the form *-nu*, e.g. *Täfarra bunna yəfalləgal ənemm əssu-nu ləjätta* (Täfarra wants coffee and I will drink the same [lit. Täfarra coffee wants I-and he will drink]) where the pronoun *əssu* (he) is fortified by *-nu* (*əssu-nu*). Should several nouns linked by *-ənna* or *-m* appear in one sentence, the marker *-(ə)n* can normally be used with all the nouns given that they are determined by the article or possessive suffix pronoun or even by a proper noun. This can be illustrated by the following sentence: *wämbäru-n algaw-ən-nna țäräppezawu-n amtu* (Bring the chair, the bed and the table, [lit. the chair, the bed-and the table bring]) where all the nouns mentioned in the sentence have suffix pronouns. In case of the succession of determined nouns that are connected by the *-ənna* conjunction when not all of them have a determiner, the marker *-(ə)n* can be attached only to the noun that has the determiner, though in some cases it can be used also with a demonstrative. Should two undetermined nouns linked by *-ənna* appear in an Amharic sentence, the direct object can be only attached to the second noun, e.g. *hisab-ənna qwanqwan-ən əyyätämare qoyyä* (He ceased to study mathematics and language), where the direct object follows only the second noun (*qwanqwan-ən* – language).

As for the quantifier-qualified complex, the marker *-(ə)n* is placed with the qualifier, which means that the quantifier can be used with an adjective, relative quantifier or the so-called *yä+noun* pattern. In the following sentence the quantifier is used with an adjective: *wəšša-w təlləqu-n bäqlo näkkäsä* (or *näkkäsä-w*) (the dog bit the big mule, lit. the dog the big mule bit) - *təlləqu-n* – the big. Should the noun with possessive suffix pronouns be qualified by an adjective, then the *-(ə)n* marker that is preceded by the article is used only with the noun or adjective so that the adjective takes the article. For example in the sentence *mäkan bäzraw-ən šeřä* (he sold his barren mare), the marker *-n* follows the definite article (*bäzra-w* – the mare). The following example can be given for relative quantifier: *astämari-w țəru yalnäbbärä-w-ən tāmari hullu qořta* (the teacher punished all the students that were not good, lit. the teacher good that not are students all punished), where the marker *-(ə)n* is attached to the relative quantifier *țəru yalnäbbärä-w-ən*. Having been qualified by the demonstrative, the direct object marker is taken by the demonstrative. The following sentence can be given to illustrate this process: *yəh-ən mäřhaf yeřafäw mannäw?* (Who wrote this book?, lit. this book the one who wrote who is he?). Here the *-(ə)n* direct object marker is affixed to the demonstrative. When it comes to the *yä+noun* form, the direct object marker is placed with the possessor, e.g. *y(ä)-astämari-w bet țärrägä* (he swept the teacher's house), lit. of-teacher-the house swept), where *-(ə)n* is attached directly to the genitive attribute (*y(ä)-astämari-w bet* – the teacher's house). Worth mentioning is also the fact that in case of compound nouns the direct object marker is placed either with the first or the second noun (Leslau 1995).

Of particular importance can be also that in Amharic two direct objects can be used by the *-n* marker. For example in the sentence *mäřhafu-n mäsräqu-n ammänä* (he admitted stealing the book, lit. this book to steal he admitted), both the object (*mäřhafu-n*) and the

infinitive (*mäsraq-u-n*) are followed by two direct objects. Additionally, the *-(ə)n* marker is not taken if the direct object is not marked. Two direct objects can also appear when a sentence has two predicates, e.g., *astāmari-w tāmoročču mäshafočču-n əndimälläsu täyyäqä* (the teacher asked his students to return the books, lit. the teacher the students the books so that they return asked), that is *astāmari-w* (the teacher) is the subject of the verb *täyyäqä* (asked) while *tāmoročču* (the students) is the subject of the subordinate verb *əndimälläsu* (so that they return).

As for other use cases of the *-(ə)n* indirect object marker, it can be also placed with the noun governed by conjugated *honä* (be, become) as well as regionally with *näw* or *aydälläm*. Even though the direct object is expressed by the marker *-(ə)n* if it is determined, it should be noted that it can as well be expressed at the same time by the resumptive object suffix pronouns that agree with the indirect object in gender, number and person. As illustrated by the following sentence, this structure with resumptive suffix pronouns can serve for the expression of emphasis: *addis abäba sallähu addisu-n parlama ayyähu* (When I was in Addis Ababa, I saw the new parliament building, lit. Addis Ababa when I was the new parliament I saw), where the emphasis is made on the new parliament building (*addisu-n parlama*). On the other hand, the verb is devoid of resumptive object suffix pronouns when the direct object is undetermined, e.g., and bet *əndigäzza awqallähu* (I knew that he bought a new house, lit. a house that he bought I knew). Here the object suffix *-(ə)n* is not affixed to the noun *bet* – house, because it has been used with indefinite article.

In regard to the verbs with the passive morpheme *t-*, they govern occasionally the direct object marker without a resumptive pronoun. Having been normally used with transitive verbs in the basic stem, this marker can be transferred to the passive stem so that the marker *-(ə)n* can be possibly interpreted with the meaning 'as for'. That is why the sentence *mugget-ən tärättahu* (I lost my lawsuit) can also be interpreted as 'as for my lawsuit, I lost it' (Leslau 1995).

When a body part is taken as a direct object of verb with an agent, the possessive suffix pronoun is used by the noun that designates these parts of the body. Having been followed by the *-(ə)n* suffix, the verb has either object suffix pronouns or the verb may have an object suffix pronoun of the third person that refers to the direct object. In the first aforementioned case it is important that both kinds of suffix pronouns agree in gender, number and person. From the perspective of language planning in such constructions as *bärru tat-e-n qärättäfä-ññ* (the door pinched my finger) where the noun designating a body part (*tat* – finger) has an object suffix pronoun that is affixed to the possessive pronoun *-e* (*tat-e-n* – my finger [Acc.]) can be translated into English with the meaning of 'as for', that is 'as for my finger, the door pinched it', even though the direct object pronoun (*-n*) may be disregarded in the translation.

In some contexts the marker (*-n*) can be replaced by the preposition *lay* (on, upon), by which the construction can have an adverbial meaning. To illustrate this, the following sentence can be given as an example: *berhane rase-n (or rase-lay) meta-ñ* (Berhane hit me on the head), where the direct object *-n* (*rase-n* – my head [Acc.]) is replaceable by the preposition *lay* (*rase-lay*) with almost no change of meaning (Leslau 1995).

As for the activities linked with the body parts, they are normally expressed by means of the verbs with *tä-stem* and in such cases it is the noun that has the marker of the direct object whereas the verbs may be used with or without an object suffix pronoun. For example, in the sentence *şegure tāllač'č'āhu* (I shaved my hair), the direct object (*şegure* -my hair) is devoid of an object suffix pronoun (*şegure-#*), which does not affect the change of meaning, and the verb *lač'č'ä* (to shave) is preceded by the prefix (*tä-*) that has not the passive meaning in this case.

In Amharic, the indirect object is expressed by *lä-* that is prefixed either to a noun or to a pronoun, for example *lä-gäbäre-w däbdabbe şafku* (I wrote a letter to the farmer), where *lä-* is prefixed to the noun (*lä-gäbäre-w* – to the farmer) and *maşhafun lä-man læst?* (To whom I should give the book?, lit. this book to whom I should give, where the *lä* preposition is added to the interrogative pronoun (*lä-man* – to whom). Should the indirect object be a pronoun, it can be expressed by certain verbs by means of the object suffix pronouns, e.g. *näggärä-ññ* (he told me), *sättä-w* (he gave him) or *mässäl-aččew* (it seemed to them). As Amharic always renders the indirect object by *lä-*, there and English makes it by the prepositions 'to' or 'for', there can be quite serious difficulties with the translation of such Amharic sentences into English because of the ambiguity of the English pronouns 'to' and 'for' that are also used with direct object. To illustrate this phenomenon such sentences in Amharic should be given: *läğun lä-ənnatu sättäčč-at* (She gave a child [direct object] to the mother) where indirect object is resumed (*-at* in *sättäčč-at*) and *läğun lä-ənnatu sättäčč-əw* (she gave a child to the mother) where the direct object is assumed (*-əw* in *sättäčč-əw*).

There is also other possibility to express the indirect object in Amharic, namely by means of the *-n* suffix, e.g. *läğu-n məsawən sättə-w* (he gave dinner to the child), where the form of the noun *läğu-n* (to the child) no longer is in the accusative but in the dative (Leslau 1995).

8.3.5. Use of verb paradigms in current coinages

There are special prefixes in Amharic that are used to express verbal voices and the transitivity of verbs. These prefixes can also be applied in the current coinages, though these neologisms are often in the form of verbal substantives where the verbal prefixes have been preserved. As for the verbal voices in Amharic, they can be formed by means of special prefixes, namely, *tä-*, *a-*, and *as-* or obtained by adding the aforementioned prefixes to the stem, which is combined with a change in one of the root consonants with the a vowel sign. According to Titov (1971), there are five voices in Amharic, that is the basic (active), passive, reflexive, mutual and compulsive. Apart from active and passive voice, Mengistu Amberber (2002) singles out the anti-causative, the causative and the applicative as well as the reflexive and reciprocal. Titov argues that the basic voice can be applied to all the verbs, i.e., simple and with extended stems. Two groups of verbs can be distinguished in the basic voice, namely transitive, whose meaning is equal to the verbs in the active voice, and intransitive, where the verbs of state and motion can be included.

As the passive voice is formed by adding the prefix *t-* to the verbs of the basic voice, this prefix can be taken by simple stems of transitive verbs of the basic voice, such as

säbbärä (to break) – *tä-säbbärä* (to be broken), certain simple stems of the intransitive verbs of the basic voice, such as *fälla* (to boil) – *tä-fälla* (to be boiled), simple verbal stems whose usage is not independent in the modern language, such as *qäbbälä* (not used without the prefix *tä-*) - *täqäbbälä* (to be received) as well as extended verbal stems that are either not used independently or used rarely on a limited scale, such as *barrärä* [from *bärrärä* – fly away] (not used) - *täbarrärä* (to be removed). It happens sometimes that two forms of the passive voice can be made from one and the same verb, though different stems can be used there, for example *näggärä* (speak) – *tänäggärä* (to be spoken) – *tänägäggärä* (to be discussed by several persons). It should be pointed out that in the last mentioned passive form of the verb *näggärä*, i.e. *tänägäggärä*, the stem was doubled in the process of reduplication that will be discussed later in this sub-chapter.

Even though there are comparatively few reflexive verbs in Amharic in which the action is directed at the doer, many of the verbs of the reflexive voice can be called general reflexive, where the action is mostly confined to the doer. As Mengistu Amberber (2002) puts it, there are nominal and verbal reflexives in Amharic. The nominal reflexives can be formed by the juxtaposition of the stem *ras* (self), whose literal meaning is 'head', with the possessive suffixes following the model “self+ my=myself.

Here are the nominal reflexives in Amharic:

Sg.		PL		polite	
1st c.	<i>ras-e</i> [myself]	1st c.	<i>ras-aččän</i> [ourselves]		
2nd m.	<i>ras-əh</i> [yourself]				
2nd f.	<i>ras-əš</i> [yourself]	2nd c.	<i>ras-aččəhu</i> [yourselves]	2nd c.	<i>ras-wo</i> [you]
3rd m.	<i>ras-u</i> [himself]				
3rd f.	<i>ras-wa</i> [herself]	3rd c.	<i>ras-aččəw</i> [themselves]	3rd c.	<i>ras-aččəw</i> [he, she]

As the reflexive derivation can be applied to transitive verbs, the reflexive pronoun occurs in the object slot in the typical reflexive construction and it is marked by the accusative suffix. For example, in the sentence *Lämma ras-u-n gäddälä*, the object (*ras-u*) is followed by the accusative suffix (*ras-u-n*) and the whole sentence means 'Lämma killed himself'. As for the verbal reflexives, the reflexive derivation applies to transitive verbs in Amharic and it is formed with the prefix *tä-* as in the case of the passive voice.

The above-mentioned prefix can be added to the simple stems of transitive verbs in the basic voice, such as *aṭṭäba* (to wash) – *täṭṭäbä* (to wash oneself), in relative rare instances such as *dännäqä* (to be wonderful) - *tädännäqä* (to be amazed), to simple verb stems not used

independently in the modern language such as *qämmätä* (not used) *täqämmätä* (sit down) as well as to extended verb stems of which many are not used independently in the modern language such as *qärräbä* (not used) – *täqärräbä* (to come closer). Since the formation of the reflexive and passive voices can be achieved through adding one and the same prefix *tä-*, such a verb can frequently be given two interpretations. Because of that the circumstances whether the voice is passive or reflexive can only be shown by the exact context, e.g., the sentence *bär täkäffätä* can be understood in two ways, namely 'the door opened itself' or 'the door was opened by somebody' (Titov 1971)

As for the verbs in the reciprocal voice, they denote an action by two or more persons. Each of them is a doer and at the same time the object of action by another doer. Having been formed by adding the prefix *tä-*, the reciprocal voice can be used with mainly two types of extended verb stems that are not used in the modern language at all and if so, it is used on a very limited scale. For example, the verb *näkkäsä* (to bite) is not used in the form *nakkäsä* but it can be rendered in the reciprocal voice as *tänakkäsä* (to bite each other). Some verbs in the reciprocal voice can have their stems reduplicated as in the case of *şafä* (write) - *şaşafä* (rarely used) – *täşaşafä* (to be rewritten). Since the meanings of the reciprocal and general reflexive voices intertwine closely in some verbs, the voices can be differentiated in such cases only in a precise context. Although there are some stems formed in three-consonant verbs by placing the vowel *a* after the first root consonant in Amharic that were preserved from the previous periods of its development such as *gaggärä* (to bake bread) or *galläbä* (to ride on horseback), they don't express the reflexive in their basic form and this is because they could have appeared as a result of corresponding phonetic changes, which has been not always widely researched up to now. However, when it comes to the stems that are formed by repeating the middle root consonant accompanied by the vowel *a* in the process of reduplication, they are called iterative or frequentative, which means that such forms mainly point to the repeated character of action. As the verbal stems in this form are very often used to form the passive-reflexive and reciprocal voice, they are obtained from a limited number of verbs in modern Amharic and therefore they are used rarely.

Worth mentioning is also the fact that there are reciprocal pronouns that are formed by the stem *ərsbärs* followed by a plural possessive suffix in addition to the reciprocal stem. This Amharic reciprocal pronoun consists of the reflexive-emphatic pronoun *əras* (self) and the adpositional affix *bä-* that means 'on' or 'at' and it cannot take the accusative case suffix. For example in the sentence *säwočču ərsbärsaččəw tädäbaddäbu* (The people hit each other) the reciprocal pronoun *ərsbärs-aččəw* is modified by the possessive suffix *-aččəw* and the verb *tä-däbaddäb-u* is in the reciprocal voice that is marked by the prefix *tä-* as well as the a vowel in the second radical (*tä-däbaddäb-u*) that was substituted for *ä*, as in the initial form of *däbaddäbä* (to hit) (Titov 1971).

When it comes to the stems that are formed by repeating the middle root consonant accompanied by the vowel *a*, they are called iterative or frequentative for this form mainly points to the repeated character of the action. As this form can be obtained from a limited number of verbs in modern Amharic, it is used rather rarely. One can use these verbal stems in this form to make the passive reflexive and reciprocal voices.

As for the prefixes *a-* and *as-*, they are used to form the compellent voice. The first mentioned prefix is one of the most productive derivational morphemes in Amharic and it can be applied to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive one, though it cannot be attached to all intransitives, nor can it be attached only to intransitives. The usage of verbs preceded by the prefix *a-* has both phonological and lexical or morphosyntactic constraints, which means that the prefix *a-* cannot be used with verbs beginning with the vowel *a* and it attaches to unaccusative transitives rather than to unergative intransitives. In addition, the prefix *a-* may occur with a small class of transitive verbs and it does not involve a stem-internal change except for the imperfect, gerund and participial conjugation of the A type verbs. Even though both of these prefixes can express causation, they are used differently. Some of the Ethiopian linguists (e.g. Demoz) claim that the main difference between these prefixes is that the prefix *a-* changes an intransitive verb to a transitive one while the prefix *as-* has the functions, namely causative of the passive, obligative of the active and permissive of the active and passive. Nevertheless, the productive distribution of the causative *as-* is considerably bigger than that of the causative *a-* (Mengistu Amberber 2002).

As mentioned above, the formation of the compellent voice is possible not only from intransitive verbs but also from the transitive ones. For example, such intransitive verbs as *moqä* (to be warm), *qomä* (to stand) or *färra* (to terrify) can be transitivised and they have the following forms respectively: *a-moqä* (to make something warm), *a-qomä* (to stop sb/sth) and *as-färra* (to make someone fear). On the other hand, it is possible to form the compellent voice from transitive verbs as well, e.g., *şafä* (to write) – *aşafä* (to make sb write), *tätta* (to drink) – *atätta* (to give sb [water] to drink). There are intransitive verbs that do not take the causative prefix *a-/as-*, for example *saqä* (to laugh), *qällädä* (to joke), *şälläyä* (to pray). There are also such intransitive verbs that can be made transitive by means of both aforementioned prefixes, for example, *mätta* (to come) – *a-mätta* (bring sth) and *as-mätta* (cause X to come) or *fälla* (to be boiling) – *a-fälla* (to boil) – *as-fälla* (cause X to boil). In this case the meaning of the two forms of the compellent voice can be different than the one expressed in the basic voice. The compellent voice can be obtained from one and the same verb both with the prefix *a-* and *as-* in a number of cases. Should the formation be from an intransitive verb, the compellent voice that is obtained with the prefix *a-* turns the verb into a transitive one. The prefix *as-*, in turn, makes the verb doubly transitive and doubly compellent. As for the transitive verbs such as *şafä* (to write) or *tätta* (to drink), they are as a rule transformed into double transitive, where the real doer of the action effects something at the will of another person. This phenomenon is grammatically expressed as an object suffix while the action's doer is marked with the personal ending of the verb, for example *säga(wän) abällaḥ-w-aččəw* (I made them eat meat) where personal verb of the causativised verb *abällaḥ-w-aččəw* has both the personal ending (*aččəw* – them) and the suffix *-w* (*abällaḥ-w-aččəw*) referring to the object (*säga* – meat). In this way the double transitive verb can have two objects, of which one is expressed by an object suffix *säga-w-ən* and the other is expressed by the object suffix that is added to the verb (*-w* in *abällaḥ-w-aččəw*). Thus it is possible in Amharic to place two objects by the presence of object suffixes that can help a direct object to be expressed by a pronoun [-ən] (*säga-w-ən*) and the indirect object to be put in dative (*aččəw* – them)

(Mengistu Amberber 2002).

What is also important is that the compellent voice of verbs beginning with the consonant *s* has to be always formed with the prefix *as-*, i.e., without the assimilation of the consonant *s* in the word stem, for example, *sämma* (to listen) – *as-sämma* (to broadcast, lit. to make somebody listen). In a similar way, the initial vowel of the verbs that begin with a simple stem with *a-* cannot be elided in the compellent voice, e.g. *alläfä* (to pass by) – *as-alläfä* (to make pass by, to let through). Moreover, the compellent voice can be formed with some of the verbs of this kind from the basic and passive voice where the simple stem retains complete semantic ties with the latter and the compellent form of the passive voice that is obtained from passive-reflexive can have at least a special shade of meaning. From the basic voice and the passive voice can be formed such pairs of verbs as *awwäqä* (to know) – *as-awwäqä* (to let to know) or *tawwäqä* (to be recognised) – *as-tawwäqä* (to let to know) respectively. For some verbs beginning with *a* in the basic voice the compellent voice can be formed simultaneously from the basic and reciprocal voices. Because of that the semantic ties between the verb of the basic voice and that of the compellent voice formed directly from it can be retained, e.g., in *ayyä* (to see) – *as-ayyä* (to show). Conversely, if the compellent voice is formed from the verb in reciprocal and reflexive voice, the meaning of such a verb can be considerably different from the one that is expressed by the root, for example, *ayyä* (to see) – *täyayyä* (to see one another) – *as-täyayyä* (to state) (Titov 1971).

As for the *astä-* and *tästä-* stems, the first one is composed of *as-* and *tä-* and it is used mostly in verbs beginning with *h* and *o*, for example *awwäqä* (to know) and *astäwwäqä* (to inform). Curiously, there are only a few isolated verbs in the *astä-* stem in the other verbal classes, e.g. *astä-nabbärä* (to direct people to their proper places) from *anäbbärä* (to place) or *astä-walä* (to pay attention) from *awalä* (devote one's time to something). In regard to the *tästä-* stem, it can only be found with a passive meaning, e.g., *tästä-käkkälä* (to be made even) from *astä-käkkälä* (to make even) or *tästä-walä* (to be observed) from *astä-walä* (to pay attention).

In Amharic, there is a series of verbs having either the prefix *tän-* or the prefix *an-* or both of them. As such verbs cannot be automatically formed from the basic stem, these prefixes are rather unproductive. Since the verbs with these prefixes are lexical items, they denote expressivity of movement, noise, light, space, etc. Even though these prefixes occur with a limited number of triradicals of type A and B, they are much more frequent in triradicals of type C, i.e., with the vowel *a* after the first radical. What is more, the above-mentioned prefixes can also occur in quadriradicals, mostly in those of the type 1 and 2. If there is any occurrence of a form with *tän-* or *an-*, the form with *tän-* expresses an intransitive verb or a verb of state, while the second mentioned form expresses a transitive or causative. When it comes to verbs occurring with the prefixes *tän-* or *an-*, the verb with *an-* is active whereas the verb with *tän-* may be passive or intransitive, e.g., *an-särättänä* (to trail garment on the ground) and *tän-särättänä* (to trail on the ground). It should be pointed out that from the phonetic point of view the *n* of *an-* and *tän-* may become a labial *m* in contact with a following labial *b* of the verb. Because of that such verbs can be written and pronounced in two ways, e.g., *tän-bäräkkäkä* (to kneel) or *täm-bäräkkäkä* (Mengistu Amberber 2002).

As for the verbs with the morpheme *an-/tän*, they can also appear in the following construction: *ən*+verbal root+*alä*, for example, *ən-dəngdəng-alä* (to crackle) or *tän*+verbal root, for example *tänšäqäšäqä* (to shake with fear). Some of the Amharic verbs can only occur with the prefix *an-* and such verbs are mostly transitive or causative, though they can be intransitive as well, e.g., *an-gäräggärä* (to knock down), *an-säqattätä* (to cause to grind the teeth) or *an-koraffa* (to snore).

The Amharic *a(t)*- stem is closely linked with the process of reduplication of stems. It should be pointed out here that the reduplicative stem is an internal derived stem whose form is symbolised by $R\ddot{a}_1R\ddot{a}_2RR\ddot{a}_2R\ddot{a}_3$ where R_1 , R_2 and R_3 represent the first, second and third radical and *a*, *ä* represent the vowels that the radicals have. For the perfect of the triradical verbs of type A, B and C the reduplicative stem is the same, which can be illustrated by the following examples: *säbbära* (to break, type A) – *säbabbärä*, *fälläga* (to want, type B) – *fälallägä*, *marräkä* (to fascinate, type C) – *mararräkä*. By means of the reduplicative can be expressed an intensive action, reduplication, repetition, frequency, multiplicity of action, multiplicity of objects, completion of an action, action performed in a hurry or an attenuated action. The intensity of the action can be illustrated by the following sentence: *lägočču yä-äräft gizeyaččəwən yəttäbabbäqallu* (the children eagerly await their vacation). Here the verb stem was reduplicated (*yəttäba-bbäqallu*) and it means the eagerness of waiting, though the adverb 'eagerly' was not given in the Amharic sentence. Repetition and frequency of an action is expressed by this sentence: *yəhən tiyatər bämällämämäd lay nän* (we are rehearsing this play) where the stem of the verb *mällämäda* (to rehearse, to exercise) was reduplicated (*mälläma-mäd*) in order to express repetition of an action (rehearsal). When it comes to the multiplicity of the action, it can be prolonged or even slackened by the reduplicative stem of verb, for example, in the sentence *lägu bākəflu wəst tärwarwaṭä* (the child pattered around the room) where the verb stem *tärwarwaṭä* (in its initial form *roṭä*) was doubled in order to express the continuous state of pattering around the room (Mengistu Amberber 2002).

As for the verbs that designate the time of day or colours, they can be modified in the process of reduplication as well, for example *nägga* (it dawns) – *nä-ga-gga* (it is beginning to dawn) or *qälla* (to be red) – *qä-la-lla* (it is beginning to get red).

Returning to the *a(t)*- stem that was mentioned two paragraphs earlier, it can be used as a derived stem of any basic stem that means helping to perform the action of the basic stem. Although the *t* (in *a(t)*-) appears neither in writing nor in pronunciation, it appears in a geminated form in verbs beginning with *a* as in *attäsasäbä* (the basic form *assäbä* – to think). The aforementioned stem can have various meanings. It can be used to express not only the causative of reciprocity but also the causative of the reduplicative stem. The causative of reciprocity can be illustrated in the following sentence *Käbbädä hulättun gwaddäññočč aggadällaččəw* (Käbbädä had the two friends kill one another) where the causative prefix *a(t)*- can be found in a geminated stem (*ag-gadäll-aččəw*) and where the reciprocity is expressed by the suffix – *aččəw* (one another). The causativity of the reduplicative stem can be found in the sequence of such verbs *lakä* (to send) – *tä-la-lakä* (to be sent repeatedly [reduplication of the stem]), *allalakä* (to cause to send repeatedly [the *a(t)*- prefix appear in the geminated form of *al-la-lakä*) as explained above. The adjunctive form is a frequent value

of the discussed types of verbs and it can be made from almost every verb, e.g., in the sentence *yätäffawən mäshafen affälallägänn* (he helped me to look for my lost book) where the verb *affälallägänn* (he helped me) has the reduplicated stem (*affä-la-llägä*), which is enforced by the use of the *a(t)*- prefix in the form of the vowel *a* at the beginning that is followed by the geminated consonant *f* (Leslau 1995).

8.3.6. Tenses in Amharic

In Amharic there are two aspects that is imperfect and perfect as the Amharic verb makes a morphological distinction between past and non-past. To illustrate this, the root [lbs] can be given where the past is expressed by *läbbäsä* (he dressed), while the non-past can be rendered as *yäläbbäsal* (he dresses, he is dressing, he will dress). It should be also noted that in addition to the present and future the non-past has an habitual interpretation. As for other compound tenses that can be expressed by means of auxiliary verbs, a distinction should be made between the simple perfect and the compound perfect, that is *läbbäsä* (he dressed) and *läbs^wal* (he has dressed) respectively because the former expresses an action in the past at a definite point in time while the latter expresses an action that even though may have started in the past but its outcome continues to the present. As the third masculine perfect form of the verb is the least marked, it is traditionally accepted that it is used as the citation form of the verb.

As for the perfect, it has only suffixes that serve for the expression of person, gender and number and they are also the same for the three types. The suffixes of the perfect are listed in the table below.

Sg.	1st c.	<i>-hu, -ku</i>	Pl	1st c.	<i>-n</i>
	2nd m.	<i>-h or -k</i>			
	2nd f.	<i>-š</i>		2nd c.	<i>-aččəhu</i>
	3rd m.	<i>-ä</i>			
	3rd f.	<i>-äčč</i>		3rd c.	<i>-u</i>

Here are the forms of verbs in the perfect. As an example is given verb *läbbäsä* (dress) of type A.

Sg	1st c.	<i>läbbäs-hu, -ku</i>	I dressed
	2nd m.	<i>läbbäs-h, -k</i>	you (m.) dressed
	2nd f.	<i>läbbäs-š</i>	you (f.) dressed
	3rd m.	<i>läbbäsä</i>	he dressed
	3rd f.	<i>läbbäs-äčč</i>	she dressed
PL	1st c.	<i>läbbäs-n</i>	we dressed

	2nd c.	<i>läbbäs-aččəhu</i>	you dressed
	3rd c.	<i>läbbäs-u</i>	they dressed

It is noteworthy that the 3rd plural can also be used as the form of respect for the second and third persons regardless of whether one person is addressed or spoken about. Curiously, a form of respect can be used for the 2nd person, though it is used very rarely and if so, it is used particularly in the provinces (Leslau 1995).

In regard to the perfect tense in Amharic, it normally expresses the past, though it may also express pluperfect with auxiliary verb *allä*. What is more the perfect may as well be used for the expression of the present with certain transitive verbs, verbs that have the meaning of becoming a condition, impersonal verbs as well as in general statement, in particular when the action occurs with the moment of speaking. This means that such expressions as *mätṭahu* (I came), *ṭäggäbhu* (I was full) or *yəhāw awtobus mätṭa* (the bus came here) can express the present, that is 'I'm coming', 'I'm full' and 'Here the bus comes' respectively even though they express the past from a grammatical point of view.

In Amharic, the perfect form can appear with the *-nna* conjunction, by which it has either the function of the gerund or it can express a sequential action. For example, in the sentence *bäqqaññ allä-nna tənästo hedä* (Having said 'I have enough', he got up and left, lit. I had enough and having got up I left), the *-nna* suffix added to the auxiliary verb *allä* makes a gerundive form with the verb *bäqqaññ* (I had enough), though grammatically it has the function of a conjunction. The same structure can also be used to express 'because' or 'while', even though there is a lack of the proper English counterparts for these conjunctions in the Amharic sentence. In the phrase *läḡu aläqqäsä-nna ənnatu ababbäläčč-əw* ([because] the child cried, the mother had comforted him) there is no Amharic word for 'because' and the whole clause is coordinated by means of the *-nna* (and) conjunction. It is the context that allows the aforementioned clause to be understood as a subordinate sentence. Of interest can be also the fact that certain Amharic conjunctions may be used only with the perfect. Nevertheless, the tense of the perfect is conditioned by the main verb and because of that in certain conditions the conjunction+perfect may express not only the past but also the future. As the perfect is used in the main clause or the subordinate clause, subordination is expressed by means of the conjunctions no matter that it is affirmative or negative. As regards the perfect in a question sentence, the question can be expressed either by raising the voice at the end of the sentence or by suffixing the element *wäy* or *-nə* at the end of the clause, for example, *bärrun käffätä wäy?* or *bärrun käffätä-nə?* In both cases, the verb in the sentence is not changed. If an interrogative particle is used (*man* - who, *yät* -where, etc.), it precedes the verb, e.g. *bärrun man käffätä?* - who opened the door?, lit. the door who opened (Leslau 1995).

As for the negative forms of perfect, they are much more complicated than its affirmative forms. Regardless of person, gender and number the negative perfect forms are made by prefixing *al-* and suffixing *-(ə)mm*, though the final *-(ə)mm* can be omitted in some circumstances, i.e., when a subordinate clause is introduced by a conjunction or the relative marker, e.g. *kirayun k-al-käffäla-mm*, *betun yəlqäq* (If he doesn't pay the rent, let him vacate

the house, lit. the rent if he doesn't pay, the house may he leave). Should the conjunction of insistence *-m* be attached to an element of the sentence other than a verb, the final *-mm* may be dropped as a rule from the negative perfect, for example in *balläfäw sammänt betä krästiyän mannäm al-hedä-~~mm~~*, last week nobody went to church. The *-əmm* suffix may also be omitted in a question as it is (but not necessarily) left with the *männäm* (nothing) negative pronoun. By adding the interjection *-m* to the particle *-əmm* of the negative verb, one can create the Amharic counterpart of the neither... nor... clause, e.g., *almaz al-tädässätäččəmm-əmm al-azzänäčč-əmm-əmm* (Almaz was neither happy nor sad).

Here are the forms of negative perfect.

Sg.	1st c.	<i>al-läbbäs-hu-mm</i>	I did not dress
	2nd m.	<i>al-läbbäs-hə (kə)-mm</i>	you (m.) did not dress
	2nd f.	<i>al-läbbäs-šə-mm</i>	you (f.) did not dress
	3rd m.	<i>al-läbbäsä-mm</i>	he did not dress
	3rd f.	<i>al-läbbäs-äčč-əmm</i>	she did not dress
PL	1st c.	<i>al-läbbäs-n-əmm</i>	we did not dress
	2nd c.	<i>al-läbbäs-ačču-mm</i>	you did not dress
	3rd c.	<i>al-läbbäsu-mm</i>	they did not dress

In Amharic, the perfect may be subordinated, which means that it can be used with the relative marker and with conjunctions. In the first case, the relative marker *yä-* is prefixed to the verb both in the affirmative (*yä-säbbärä* -he who broke) and the negative (*yä-al-säbbärä* -he who did not break). In negative sentences, though, the relative marker *yä-* loses the sound /ä/ in the process of elision because of the presence of the sound /a/ in the prefix of negation. Also the suffix *-əmm* of the relative perfect is omitted in that case. As for the conjunctions used in the subordinate perfect, the most commonly used ones are *bä, kä, ə, əyyä, əndä, əskä* and *sälä*. Worth mentioning is the fact that some of these conjunctions are used also with the imperfect. The Amharic perfect can be rendered by means of auxiliary verbs such as *allä, näbbärä, nur^wal, yəhon(all)* or to a lesser extent with *-əmma+arräfä*. From a practical point of view, the meaning of these prefixes and auxiliary verbs is much clearer when they are used with proper verbs in sentences. As it was mentioned in previous sub-chapters, the auxiliary verb *allä* is generally used in the pluperfect forms. When it comes to the affirmative perfect with *näbbärä*, it occurs either when preceded by a conjunction including *əyyä* or in a conditional interrogative clause with a negative connotation. As for the conditional structure without protasis, the meaning of *bä+perfect+näbbär* is near to the English 'would have been', e.g. *lä-säw gänzäb zämäd bä-täšalä näbbär* (friends are more valuable for men than money, lit. to man money friend be better was), where the verb in perfect (*täšalä* – was better) was prefixed by *bä-* and then followed by the auxiliary verb *näbbär* and the whole construction means 'would have been better than'. In regard to the

negative perfect, it can be used for the expression of the pluperfect. The verb in perfect is circumfixed by the prefix *al-* and the suffix *-əmm* to be enhanced by the auxiliary verb *näbbär*, for example *kä-bet səməṭṭa qursen al-bälla-hu-mm näbbär* (When I left the house, I had not had breakfast), where the verb *bälla* is negated and enforced by the auxiliary verb *näbbär* so that the clause *qursen al-bälla-hu-mm näbbär* (I had not had breakfast) is the main clause in relation to the *kä-bet səməṭṭa* (when I left the house) one that is a time clause (Leslau 1995).

The construction perfect+*nur^wal* can be other possibility to express the pluperfect that can be used affirmatively or in the negative. To be more precise, the auxiliary verb *nur^wal* is the compound gerund of *norä* (lit. to live). For example, in the sentence *mäṣḥafoččen nur^wal yä-wässädaččəhut* (It was [or had been] my books that you (PL) took), lit. my books had been those who you took), the auxiliary verb *nur^wal* was placed before the relative sentence (*yä-wässädaččəhut* - [these books] that you took) in order to make a clear sequence of events. The subordinate clause (*yä-wässädaččəhut*) is linked with main clause (*mäṣḥafoččen nur^wal* – it had been my books) attributively. The occurrence of the negative pluperfect can be shown in the following sentences: *məsawən al-bälla-m nur^wal? Mənnäw yärabaw yəməslall?* (Hadn't he had his lunch? How come he looks hungry?). Here the action in the past, i.e. not having had eaten, has a result in the present i.e. looking hungry. The main verb in the perfect in the first clause was negated by the morphemes *al-* and *-mm* and enforced by the auxiliary verb *nur^wal*.

As regards the perfect+*yəhonall* structure, the auxiliary verb *yəhonall* or its short version *yəhon* expresses probability. It can be used both affirmatively or in the negative and in case of its affirmative use, this verb should be preceded by a conjunction. In order to illustrate its affirmative usage, such a sentence can be given as an example: *Alämu yä-ğämmärəwən sərə əskahun al-č'ärräsä yəhonall* (Alämu may not have finished the work he had started, lit. Alämu that was begun work didn't finish probably). Notice that the main verb *č'ärräsä* (he finished) is negated only by the prefix *al-* because of the presence of the conjunction *-əskə-ahun* (up to now) in the main clause (Leslau 1995).

In regard to the imperfect, there is a simple imperfect and a compound perfect in Amharic and both the simple and compound imperfect can be formed with prefixes and suffixes in order to express person, gender and number. As for the prefixes and suffixes, they are the same for types A, B and C, though the bases of the various types can be different. The bases for simple imperfect are *säbər* (to break), *fälləg* (to want) and *marrək* (to fascinate) for the A, B and C types respectively. Even though in type A verbs the second radical is simple, the radicals in types B and C are not only geminated but also followed by the vowel *ə*. As for the use of the simple imperfect, it expresses the present and the future in the main negative clause as well as in both affirmative and negative in subordinate clauses not to mention the relative clause. In the simple and compound imperfect such prefixes and suffixes are used.

Sg.	1st c.	ə-	PL	1st c.	ənnə-, ən-
	2nd m.	tə-		2nd c.	tə- -u

	2nd f.	<i>tə- -i</i>			
	3rd m.	<i>yə-</i>		3rd c.	<i>yə- -u</i>
	3rd f.	<i>tə-</i>			

Here are the forms for the respective types of verbs:

		Type A	Type B	Type C
Sg.	1st c.	<i>ə-säbr</i>	<i>ə-fälləg</i>	<i>ə-marrək</i>
	2nd m.	<i>tə-säbr</i>	<i>tə-fälləg</i>	<i>tə-marrək</i>
	2nd f.	<i>tə-säbr-i</i>	<i>tə-fälləg-i</i>	<i>tə-marrək-i</i>
	3rd m.	<i>yə-säbr</i>	<i>yə-fälləg</i>	<i>yə-marrək</i>
	3rd f.	<i>tə-säbr</i>	<i>tə-fälləg</i>	<i>tə-marrək</i>
PL	1st c.	<i>ən(nə)-säbr</i>	<i>ən(nə)-fälləg</i>	<i>ən(nə)-marrək</i>
	2nd c.	<i>tə-säbr-u</i>	<i>tə-fälləg-u</i>	<i>tə-marrək-u</i>
	3rd c.	<i>yə-säbr-u</i>	<i>yə-fälləg-u</i>	<i>yə-marrək-u</i>

It should be also noted that the third plural can also be used as the form of respect for the 2nd and 3rd person no matter that the person is addressed or spoken about.

Importantly, the final vowel *-i* of the sg. 2nd feminine causes the palatalization of any dental, sibilant as well as *l* and *n*. The process of palatalization is a sound change that involves change in the place or manner of articulation of consonants and because of that it can result either in a palatal or palatalized consonant or a front vowel or can be caused by them. In Amharic, the palatal sound can either preserve the vowel */i/* or this vowel can be absorbed by the palatal sound not only in pronunciation but also in writing (Leslau 1995).

Here are the palatalizable consonants in Amharic:

di – ġi – ġ (*hedä* [he went] – *tə-heġ-(i)*),
ti – či – č (*käffätä* [he opened] – *tə-käffä-č(i)*),
ti – č'i – č' (*tätta* [he drank] – *tə-tä-č'(i)*),
nī – ñi – ñ (*adänä* [he hunted] – *ta-dä-ñ(i)*),
li – yi – y (*käffälä* [he paid] – *tə-käffä-y(i)*),
si – ši – š (*mälläsä* [he returned] – *təmällä-š(i)*),
z – ži – ž (*azzäzä* [he ordered] – *tazzäž-(i)*).

As mentioned before, the negative imperfect is used for the expression of present and future in the main negative clause. In order to form the negation of the simple imperfect, the *a-* prefix is placed at the beginning of the root and the suffix *-(ə)mm* is added at the root's end. As for the first person singular form, it is expressed by the form *al- -əmm* where the prefixed

vowel is lost (*ə-säbr* – *al-ə-säbr-əmm*). For all other persons the prefix *a-* can be used, though it should be noted that in the 1st person plural, the combination of the negative element *a-* with the prefix *ən(nə)-* of the simple imperfect becomes *an-* and because of that the vowel *-ə* of the prefix *-ən* disappears. When it comes to the forms that have a *tə-* prefix, the *t-* can be pronounced without the *ə* of the original *tə-* or it can be geminated with the preservation of the *ə* in the negative perfect. In regard to the forms with the prefix *yə-*, the *ə* vowel is lost in the process of elision but the vowel *ə* is preserved when the consonant that follows this prefix is geminated. With the return of the prefixed element *a-* to a negative element used in the perfect (*al-*) the first person of the imperfect commences with the *al-* that is prefixed to the root (Leslau 1995).

Here are the forms of the negative imperfect of type A:

Sg.	1st c.	<i>al-säbr-əmm</i>	PL	1st c.	<i>an-säbr-əmm</i>
	2nd m.	<i>at(tə)-säbr-əmm</i>		2nd c.	<i>at(tə)-säbr-umm</i>
	2nd f.	<i>at(tə)-säbr-imm</i>			
	3rd m.	<i>ay-säbr-əmm</i>		3rd c.	<i>ay-säbr-umm</i>
	3rd f.	<i>at(tə)-säbrəmm</i>			

For types B and C, the forms are the same but the 2nd radical is geminated.

As in the case of the perfect, there are various circumstances in the imperfect that allow the final *-əmm* to be omitted. For example, the *-əmm* of the negative perfect can be omitted should the conjunction of insistence *-mm* and the indefinite suffix *-mm* be attached to any element of the sentence, e.g. *amarəñña-mm ayawq?* (Doesn't he know Amharic as well?) where the conjunction of insistence is attached to the noun *amarəñña+mm* while the verb form in the negative perfect lack the final *-əmm* (*ay-awq-əmm*). Moreover, the negative imperfect can be used without the final *-əmm* with the indefinite pronoun with final *-mm*, e.g. in *yet-əmm al-hid-əmm* (I am not going to anywhere) or *mənnəm alfalläg-əmm* (I don't want anything). The omission of the final *-əmm* is also accepted in direct speech and proverbs, in particular when they consist of two hemistichs, e.g. *səmay ayəttarräs-əmm*, *nəgus ayyəkkässäs-əmm* (the sky cannot be ploughed, a king cannot be sued) (Leslau 1995).

As in the case of subordinate perfect, there is the subordinate imperfect in Amharic, that can express the present-future affirmatively and in the negative. It should be emphasised that the subordination can be brought about not only by the prefixed relative marker *yəmmə-* but also by the prefixed conjunctions such as *sə* (when, while), *bə* (if, when, even though), *lə* (so that, in order that), *əndə* (in order that, so that), *əskə* (until) and *zänd* (in order that). As for the conjunctions *kä* and *sələ*, they are used only with the relative imperfect. Even though the

conjunctions *bə*, *əndə* and *əskə* have a final *ə* if they are combined with the simple imperfect, they have the final *ä* when combined with the relative imperfect, that is *bä*, *əndä* and *əskä* respectively. If these conjunctions are used with the negative subordinate imperfect, their meanings are different.

Here are the forms of the subordinate imperfect used with the conjunction *sə* and the relative marker *yämmə-*:

		With conjunctions			With the relat. marker
Sg.	1st c.	<i>sə-säbr</i>	Sg.	1st c.	<i>yämmə-säbr</i>
	2nd m.	<i>sət(tə)-säbr</i>		2nd m.	<i>yämmət(tə)-säbr</i>
	2nd f.	<i>sət(tə)-säbr-i</i>		2nd f.	<i>yämmət(tə)-säbr-i</i>
	3rd m.	<i>si-säbr</i>		3rd m.	<i>yämmi-säbr</i>
	3rd f.	<i>sət-säbr</i>		3rd f.	<i>yämmət-säbr</i>
PL	1st c.	<i>sən(nə)-säbr</i>	PL	1st c.	<i>yämmən(nə)-säbr</i>
	2nd c.	<i>sət(tə)-säbr-u</i>		2nd c.	<i>yämmət(tə)-säbr-u</i>
	3rd c.	<i>si-säbr-u</i>		3rd c.	<i>yämmi-säbr-u</i>

Various changes can occur in the combination of the conjunctions and of the relative marker that are prefixed to the simple imperfect and they result from the meeting of the final vowel *ə* of these conjunctions with the vowel *ə* of the 1st singular or plural or with the prefix *yə-* of the sg. 3rd masculine and pl. 3rd common. Since the combination *ə+ə* (*sə-əsäbr* [when I break]) is incorrect, the second *ə* should be dropped in the process of elision. As for the combination of *ə* of the final vowel of the conjunction or of the relative marker *yämmə-* with the prefix *yə-*, it results in contraction into the vowel *i*, e.g. *si-säbr* instead of *sə-yə-säbr* that is not correct. Having been preceded by a conjunction such as *sə* or by the relative marker *yämmə-*, the imperfect prefix *t-* should be pronounced with a loss of vowel or with a geminated *t-* that is followed by *ə*. If the relative imperfect is used with conjunctions or with *bäyyä*, the *yä* of *yämmə-* is simply elided, for example in *ṭānkəro sələ-mmisərri* (because he works hard), where the *yä* element disappears from the relative construction under the influence of the conjunction *sələ*. As for the conjunctions *lə*, *əndə* and *zänd* are used to express the English infinitive with the simple imperfect, for example in *sərawən tolo lič'ərräs yəfälləgal* (He wants to finish his work quickly, lit. his work quickly to finish he wants), where the *lə* conjunction makes the infinitive of the verb *č'ərräsä* – he finished (Leslau 1995).

When it comes to the negative subordinate imperfect, it can be used either with a

conjunction or with the relative marker. As in the case of the perfect, the omission of the -mm suffix in the negative subordinate imperfect, that is used in the main negative imperfect clause is also possible. Having come into contact with the vowel a, the vowel ə of the conjunction and of the relative marker disappears in the process of elision. Therefore, such constructions as *sə-aysäbr* (when I'm not breaking) or *yämmə-aysäbr* (I, who is not breaking) are incorrect, so their correct forms are *s-aysäbr* and *yämm-aysäbr*.

Here are the forms of the subordinate negative imperfect with a conjunction and the relative marker:

Sg.	1st c.	<i>san-säbr</i>	Sg.	1st c.	<i>yämman(nə)-säbr</i>
	2nd m.	<i>sat(tə)-säbr</i>		2nd m.	<i>yämmat(tə)säbr</i>
	2nd f.	<i>sat(tə)-säbr-i</i>		2nd f.	<i>yämmat(tə)säbr-i</i>
	3rd m.	<i>say-säbr</i>		3rd m.	<i>yämmay-säbr</i>
	3rd f.	<i>sat-säbr</i>		3rd f.	<i>yämmat(tə)säbr</i>
PL	1st c.	<i>san(nə)-säbr</i>	PL	1st c.	<i>yämman(nə)-säbr</i>
	2nd c.	<i>sat(tə)-säbr-u</i>		2nd c.	<i>yämmat(tə)-säbr-u</i>
	3rd c.	<i>say-säbr-u</i>		3rd c.	<i>yämmay-säbr-u</i>

Even though the simple imperfect expresses the present-future in a negative main clause as well as the present-future in the affirmative and negative subordinate clause, it has also other usages. Also this tense is used in a limited number of verbs that take the meaning of adverbs, e.g., *yəbält* (more) from *bällätä* (he exceeded) or *yələq* (more, rather) from *laqä* (grow, become big) in such sentences as *kabbatu yəbält ənnatu yəwädall* (he loves his mother more than his father) or *māshafu lantä aytäqməhəmm, yələq läne sətäññ* (If you don't need that book any more, give it to me) where the verbs *yəbält* and *yələq* are used adverbially. In a direct speech, in turn, the simple imperfect is introduced by conjugated *bəlo* or *sil* that express intention, e.g. in the sentence *dabbo əgäza bəyyə* (1st person) *suq hedku* (I said that I would go to the store to buy bread, lit. bread I would buy I said [to] the store I went). What is more, this simple imperfect may be used as an alternative in a direct speech if the same verb is repeated in the affirmative or in the negative. In addition, the simple imperfect can be applied for the expression of probability, doubt and astonishment. It can be also used in rhetorical

exclamations and questions with such question particles as *əndet* (how?), *mənəñña* (how much?), *mən* (what?) and so on in order to express various feelings and emotions such as disappointment or even anger. When used with a rising intonation or with *wäyäss*, the simple imperfect implies a suggestion, e.g., in the sentence *təqoyy wäyäss təbəla?* (would you rather wait or eat now, lit. you wait or you eat). The usage of the simple imperfect is also common in proverbs and sayings, for example, *dərr biyabbər anbässa yasər* (if the warp join us, it will bind a lion that means in English 'unity is strength').

If the conjunction *-nna* is suffixed to the simple imperfect, the verb may have the function of a gerund. In case of a question-exclamation sentence, though, the conjunction *-nna* can be attached to the simple imperfect and to be therefore considered as the equivalent of the auxiliary *-all*. Should two verbs in the present-future be connected with *-nna*, then the first verb is used in the simple imperfect whereas the second one is used in the compound imperfect. As for the formal speech and writing, the simple imperfect may be used there instead of the relative imperfect (Leslau 1995).

When it comes to the auxiliaries that are used with the simple imperfect, they are as follows: *näbbärä*, *yälläm*, *näw*, *honä*, *aydällämm*, *norä*, *yəhon*, *yəhonall*, *əndəhonä*, *sallä*, *sil*, *bəlo*, *bämälät*, *ğämmärä*, *gäbba*, *q^wäyyä*, *qärrä*, *alqärrämm*, *ayqärəmm* and *mäqrät*. For the scope of my dissertation, not all the above-mentioned conjunctions will be taken into account.

If the simple imperfect is followed by *näbbär*, it can express a habitual action as well as a continuous action in the past, for example, in *bätənt gize bä-mäqa bəər yəşəfu näbbär* (in the old days they used to write with reed pens) where *yəşəfu näbbär* (used to write) expresses a durative action. Also the progressive action can be expressed by that construction, for example *səttədäwwəl qurs əbəla näbbär* (when you phoned, I was having breakfast). Of interest can be also the fact that the same combination has the meaning of would/could have come) in the affirmative, negative and interrogative. When a situation is negative, the negative element in the sentence should be placed either with the imperfect or with the auxiliary. Importantly, the simple imperfect may be followed by the negative *al-näbbärä-mm*, by which a negative question can be asked to which an affirmative or negative answer can be given. The auxiliary *al-näbbärä-mm* can be also used for tag questions.

As for the combination of the simple perfect with *näbbärä*, it may also occur in a subordinate clause, either affirmative or negative, in the instance of which the conjunctions of subordination and the negative element *al-* are prefixed to *näbbärä*. Such a combination is likewise used for the expression of habitual and durative action in the past. Prefixed to *näbbärä* can also be the relative marker and in such sentences the principal verb is frequently used in the simple imperfect, though the relative imperfect is also used. Attached to the main verb are the object suffix pronouns. For example in the sentence *yä(mmi)-roṭ yänäbbärəwən säw ayyähut* (I saw the man who was running, lit. he who run he who was man I saw him) there are two verbs with the relative marker (*yä(mmi)-roṭ yänäbbärəw-ən*) of which the second verb (*yänäbbärəw-ən*) as well as the main verb (*ayyähut*) have the markers of direct object (*-ən* and *-t*) (Leslau 1995).

Of particular importance is that *näbbärä* with the relative marker may not agree with the main verb. This depends from the qualification of the subject or the object of the main

clause by the relative clause. Thus the combination *yä-näbbärä* agrees with the verb if the direct object of the main clause is the subject of the relative clause. To illustrate this, in the sentence *əñña zänd tәмäta yä-näbbäräččəw set tənant motäčč* (the woman who used to come to us died yesterday, lit. we to who used to come woman yesterday died), the main clause (*set tənant motäčč* – woman died yesterday) is the subject of the relative clause (*əñña zänd tәмäta yä-näbbäräččəw*) and it agrees with the verb *motäčč* (she died). However, the construction *yä-näbbärä* may not agree with the main verb if the relative clause fails to qualify the subject or object of the main clause. For example, in the sentence *ayate yəyəzut yä-näbbärut-ən näft šätkut* (I sold the rifle that my grandfather used to own, lit. my grandfather who owned rifle I sold-it) the object of relative clause (*ayate* - my grandfather) is not qualified by the object of the main clause (rifle) since the meaning cannot imply that the subject (I) sold his grandfather.

As for the construction *lə+imperfect+näw/aydällämm/näbbär*, the imperfect with *lə* that is followed by the aforementioned auxiliaries can express an action that is about to be accomplished, an action that is imminent in the present with the meaning of 'be about to' or a definite occurrence as well as a purpose. The auxiliary *näw/näbbär* can either have its frozen form or agree in person, gender and number with the subordinate verb. For example this *lə+imperfect+näw* construction in the sentence *bämmimätaw sammənt li-nnäsü näw* (they are about to set out the next week) expresses the action that is about to be accomplished, namely setting out (Leslau 1995).

By the pattern *lə+imperfect+näbbär* the imminence of the past is possible to be expressed, for example in *astämariw sänäfun tәмari li-gärfäw näbbär* (the teacher was about to whip the lazy student) and the negation of the sentence is possible by negating the auxiliary verb (*näbbär-alnäbbärämm*). As mentioned before, this structure can also be used to express purpose, e.g. in *sifälləgäw yänäbbärəw gänzäbun li-mälləsəllät näbbär* (he was looking for him to return money to him) where the structure (*li-mälləsəllät näbbär* - in order to return) expresses the purpose.

As for the *sə+imperfect+näbbär/näw* construction, it is used to express a continuous or a durative action in the past, an action that is in the process of being performed as well as a continuous progressive action. The meaning of this structure is more or less the same as that of the simple imperfect+*näbbär* and the conjunction is likewise attached to *näbbär*. When the *näw* auxiliary is used instead of *näbbär*, the construction has the meaning of the present, e.g., *yəzərew muqät läšäddäy yəqərənna läbägam ənk^wan sibäza näw* (today's heat is too much even for summer, let alone for spring, lit. of today heat for spring as opposed to summer even when is too much), where the verb *sibäza näw* expresses the present and not the past (Leslau 1995).

If preceded by the conjunctions *sə*, *bə* and *lə* and suffixed by the auxiliary verb *norä/nur^wal*, the simple imperfect expresses a durative or a habitual action extending to the present. As for the auxiliary *norä/nur^wal*, it has the independent meaning of 'live, spend the time or be' and it can be replaced by *näbbär* in many instances. For example, in the sentence *əne səgäba sisära nur^wal (näbbär)* (when I came, he was working), the auxiliary verb *nur^wal* can be replaced by *näbbär* with no significant change of meaning. Nevertheless, its meaning may be rendered by 'should' in a negative interrogative, e.g. in *məsa əndayməltəh bäsä'atu*

attädärsəmm nor^wal(əna)? (shouldn't you have come on time in order not to miss the lunch?, lit. lunch not to miss on time shouldn't you have come), the *attädärsəmm nor^wal(əna)* construction has the negated verb *attädärsəmm* (not come) enforced by the auxiliary *nor^wal*, which gives the meaning 'shouldn't have come'. If the other two conjunctions are used with imperfect+noro (*nur^wal*), they can express a wish and a surprise respectively (Leslau 1995).

The construction imperfect+yəhonall, both in the affirmative and negative, can express possibility or probability in the present-future in a main clause. For example, in the sentence *əqqadaččənən lämäləwwät yənorəbbən yəhonall* (we may have to change our plans), the verb *yənorəbbən* reinforced by the auxiliary *yəhonall* are used to express probability. Also the future perfect can be rendered by the same structure, namely in *yəh sammənt kəmaläku bəfit sost tiyatər yayu yəhonallu* (before this week has passed, they will probably have seen three plays, lit. this week has passed before three plays they will have seen), where the verb *yayyu* with its auxiliary *yəhonallu* expresses future perfect.

In regard to the construction *bə+imperfect+yəhonall/nəw*, it can express causality or even probable causality. For example, in the sentence *lämən məttaw? Bisädəw nəw* (why did he hit him? Because he insulted him), the construction *bisädəw nəw (yəhonall)* has a causative meaning even though there is a lack of subordinative conjunction (because). If the simple imperfect is preceded by *lə* and followed by conjugated *honä*, it expresses imminence, e.g. *šəhayu səlagərrərə bəwəha təm limot honä* (because the sun was burning hot, he was about to die of thirst, lit. the sun because it was burning hot, of thirst he was to die), the imminence is rendered by the structure *li-mot honä* (he was on the brink of dying).

Probability, both in the affirmative and the negative sentence can also be expressed by the construction *sə+imperfect+yəhonall*, e.g., *kämado yəmmisəmmaw č'ač'ata mändən nəw? Ləgočču kəənč'ət ləqəma simälläsu yəhonall* (What is the uproar that we hear over yonder? Perhaps the children are returning from wood gathering), where the probability is expressed by the structure *simälläsu yəhonall* without the use of the Amharic word for 'perhaps' i.e. *mənalbät*. In order to express probability in a negative question, the structure *aydäll yəhon* should be used, for example in *lä-bäššətäñña təlla lämäsät aydäll yəhon?* (Would it be wrong to give beer to the patient?, lit. to the patient beer to give would probably be not good), where the probability in the negative is expressed by the use of *aydäll yəhon* without the conjunctive adverb 'perhaps' - amh. *mənalbät*.

The Amharic imperfect preceded by the conjunction *sə* can be used with verbs that express time such as *walä* (spend the day), *arəffädä* (spend the morning), *amäššä* (spend the evening), *addärä* (spend the night), *kärrämä* (spend the rainy season), *bağğa* (spend the dry season) and *sənəbbätä* (stay a long time). As for the simple imperfect of the principal verb, it is preceded by the conjunction *sə* whereas the auxiliary verb is conjugated in agreement with the principal verb. Since this structure expresses the spending of time by the auxiliary verb, it performs the action of the main verb. To illustrate this such sentences can be given: *leḡu siyaläqs walä* (the child cried all day long, or more literally: the child spent the day crying all the time) or *si-bäla si-tätta yəwəlall* (he eats and drinks all day long or he spends all of the day on eating). In the first mentioned sentence the verb *walä* is in the past whereas in the second (*yəwəlall*) it is in the present-future. In both cases, though, the auxiliary verb stays in

agreement with the main verb.

As for the compound perfect, it is formed by combining the simple imperfect with the auxiliary verb *allä*. Regardless of the type of the verb, the prefixes are the same as those of the simple imperfect, although it should be remarked that the vocalic suffix *-u* of the 2nd and 3rd plural is treated differently. Added to the above-mentioned base is the conjugated *allä* but its form in the sg. 3rd masculine is abbreviated to *all-* (Leslau 1995).

Here are the prefixes and suffixes of the compound imperfect.

Sg.	1st c.	<i>ə- -allä-hu</i>	PL	1st c.	<i>ən- -allä-n</i>
	2nd m.	<i>tə- -allä-h</i>			
	2nd f.	<i>tə- -i^vallä-š</i>		2nd c.	<i>tə- -allaččəh u</i>
	3rd m.	<i>yə- -all</i>			
	3rd f.	<i>tə- -allä-čč</i>		3rd c.	<i>yə- -allu</i>

As in the case of the previous conjugations, the 3rd pl. common can also be used as the form of respect for the 2nd and 3rd persons. It should also be noted that the initial vowel of the auxiliary verb *allä* can be obtained in the script by putting the final consonant of the base into the 4th order, e.g., *yəsäbral* (he is breaking). What is more, by using the semi-vowel *y* in the sg. 2nd feminine (*təsäbri-y^valläš*) the hiatus *i-a* can be avoided that results from the dissimilation of *-i^va* into *-ə^va*. In regard to the spelling rules, there can be three variants reflecting either the pronunciation or the origin of the form. Those variants that reflect the pronunciation are *təsäbri-y^valläš*, *təsäbrə-y^valläš* and the third that reflect the form's origin is *təsäbri-alläš* (Leslau 1995).

Here are the forms of the so-called compound imperfect.

Sg.	1st c.	<i>ə-säbr-allä-hu</i>	PL	1st c.	<i>ən(nə)- säbr- allä-n</i>
	2nd m.	<i>tə-säbr-allä-h</i>			
	2nd f.	<i>tə-säbr-i^valläš</i>		2nd c.	<i>tə-säbr- allaččəhu</i>
	3rd m,	<i>yə-säbr-al</i>			
	3rd f.	<i>tə-säbr-alläčč</i>		3rd c.	<i>yə-säbr- allu</i>

Even though the above-mentioned example was made for the A type verb, types B and C have the same pattern except for the gemination of the 2nd radical in both types. As in the case of the simple imperfect in the 2nd feminine, there is a process of palatalization of a final dental, a sibilant, and l, n.

The examples are given as follows:

The palatalized form	From verb	Meaning
<i>tə-wälği-^valläš</i>	<i>wällädä</i>	give birth
<i>tə-käfč-^valläš</i>	<i>käffätä</i>	open
<i>tə-bälč-^valläš</i>	<i>bällätä</i>	exceed
<i>tə-lämñ-^valläš</i>	<i>lämmänä</i>	beg
<i>tə-mälš-^valläš</i>	<i>mälläsä</i>	answer
<i>tə-märž-^valläš</i>	<i>märräza</i>	poison
<i>tə-käfy-^valläš</i>	<i>käffälä</i>	pay

As far as the meaning of the compound imperfect is concerned, it expresses the present or future in the main clause, for example in *tənnəšu läğ əqa yəsäbral* (The little child is breaking/will break many things). With the compound imperfect the meaning of a future perfect as well as 'would' is also possible. The future perfect is expressed in the following sentence: *əbet bämməttədärsubbät sä'at Alämu sərawən yəč'ärrəsall* (By the time you get there, Alämu will have finished his work), even though the future perfect is expressed by the present-future (*yəč'ärrəsall*). Similarly, 'would' can be expressed also by means of the present-future, e.g., in *əssun mannəmm tämari yawqall* (any student would know it).

In Amharic, an impersonal perfect is used that consists of the simple imperfect 3rd person plural that can be combined with the auxiliary *-all*. Having been translated into English as 'one should do something', this structure expresses an injunction, an admonition, an exhortation as well as a habitual action. Apart from being used in proverbs and saying, it can be applied in everyday speech. As the impersonal imperfect cannot be used in the negative, a negative meaning can be expressed by the negative imperfect in the third person plural or by the negative imperfect in the third person singular. Additionally, the impersonal imperfect cannot be used with prepositional suffixes.

8.4. New syntactic structures

8.4.1. Types of clauses (simple and compound)

The compound types of clauses will be analysed in the following way. Firstly, the coordinative sentences (coordination, alternative and contrast) will be discussed, which will be followed by the analysis of the subordinate clauses (temporal, local, causal, purpose).

For the expression of the conjunction of coordination 'and' with the nouns a simple enumeration of nouns or linking them with the conjunction *-(ə)nna* or the particle *-(ə)mm* is used. What is more, the particle *-(ə)mm* can be rendered as 'as well' in Amharic. This means that one can express coordination in the sentence 'I brought salt and pepper from the market' can be expressed in Amharic in three ways, namely by the enumeration of nouns: *kä-gäbäyā č'äw bärbärre amätta^wh* [from the market salt, pepper I brought], by the conjunction *-(ə)nna*: *kä-gäbäyā č'äw -(ə)nna bärbärre amätta^wh* [from the market salt and pepper I brought] or by the particle *-(ə)mm* that is attached to both nouns (objects): *kä-gäbäyā č'äw-(ə)mm bärbärre-(ə)mm amätta^wh* (from the market I brought salt and pepper as well). Curiously, in some cases the adverb *əndihum* (likewise, as well) may be added, though in that case there is no need to use the aforementioned conjunction and particles as the adverb is placed before the last noun that serves as object in the clause, e.g., *kä-gäbäyā č'äw əndihum bärbärre amätta^wh* [from the market salt as well as pepper I brought] (Leslau 1995).

As in the case of nouns (objects in the clause), the same rules can be applied to verbs (predicates). What refers to the use of the conjunction *-(ə)nna* in the present-future, it links two predicates in a sentence provided that the first verb is used in the simple imperfect and the second one in the compound imperfect with or without *-(ə)mm*, e.g. *yəbäl-(ə)nna yətätall-(ə)mm* (he eats and drinks as well) where the first verb (*yəbäl* [he eats]) is in the simple imperfect while the second verb (*yətätall* [he drinks]) is in the compound imperfect. It should be taken into consideration that the conjunction *-(ə)nna* in the meaning of 'and' is neither used with compound tenses nor in the compound gerund. For instance, to link the two verbs in the sentence *qänun mulu yəbälall yətätall-(ə)mm* (he eats and drinks the whole day) the particle *-(ə)mm* can be used, though without it the sentence is still correct. In addition, to both of the predicates the particle *-(ə)mm* can be attached, which has a slight impact on the clause's meaning. If such a sentence is negated, then both particles are connected to the negated imperfect forms of verbs, for example, *aybälamm-əmm aytätamm-əmm* (he doesn't eat or drink).

As for the expression of alternative in Amharic that takes place between parts of speech other than the verb in the affirmative, it is rendered by the conjunction *wäyäm/wäyənəmm* or *honä* or *yəhun* as well as by the juxtaposition of the affirmative and negative *honä - ayhun* (*honä – alhonä* or *yəhun - ayhun*) with *-(ə)mm* that can be attached either to the verb form or to any other part of speech. For example, in the sentence *bä-mäkina wäyäm bäbabur yämätal* (he will come [either] by car or by train) the alternativeness is shown by the conjunction *wäyäm*. When it comes to a cleft sentence where the copula *näw* and the relative imperfect are involved, the relative imperfect can be placed anywhere, though

not immediately before *nāw* or after *wäyäm*. As regards the copula *nāw*, it can be placed everywhere but not at the beginning or immediately after the relative. In certain circumstances the copula *nāw* can be repeated as well. This phenomenon can be illustrated by means of the following sentence: *yämmimätaw bä-mäkina (nāw) wäyäm bäbabur nāw* (he will come [either] by car or by train), where the copula stands after the relative imperfect (*yämmimätaw* [that he will come] and after the manner adverbial (*bä-mäkina* [by car], *bä-babur* [by train]). In case of a question the alternative between two nouns can be expressed by *wäyäs/ wäyənäs* (or), e.g., in a sentence *bägráččan ənnəhid wäyäs/ wäyənäs bawtobus?* (shall we go on foot or by bus?) (Leslau 1995).

In regard to the alternative between two nouns in the interrogative with the copula *nāw*, it can be expressed in several ways, for example by *nāw* after the first noun or after each noun, by *wäyäs/ wäyənäs* placed between the two nouns with *nāw* after both nouns or only the first of them, by *yəhun* placed after the 1st noun of the alternative as well as by the juxtaposition of the two different nouns.

When it comes to the Amharic equivalent of the English construction 'either... or...', it can be expressed by (1) repeated *wäy/wäyäm* for nouns and (2) *andəmm... andəmm* for verbs. Here are the examples of the usage of each construction: (1) *wäyäm šay wäyäm bunna əfalləgallä^wh* (I want either tea or coffee) and (2) *andəmm təqämät andəmm hid* (either sit down or go). In both cases the respective conjunctions are repeated in each sentence. In order to express the construction 'neither... nor...' in Amharic, the following patterns can be used: - *(ə)mm ... -(ə)mm+negative verb, negative verb+(ə)mm... negative verb+(ə)mm, negative verb+wäyäm+negative verb, -(ə)mm, honä+negative verb, wäy.... wäy+negative verb and yəlu... yəlu+negative verb*. For the purpose of this dissertation the examples of sentences will be given only the first and sixth mentioned pattern, i.e. *dəggafi-mm təqawami-mm aydällähum* (I'm neither for nor against) and *əhəl yəlu wəha yəlu mənəmm alqämmäskumm* (I tasted neither food nor water). In the first mentioned sentence the conjunction *-(ə)mm* is used with adjectives, which is followed by the verb *allä* (to be) in the negative, whereas in the second mentioned one the conjunction *yəlu* is used with nouns and the entire construction is likewise followed by the verb *qämmäsä* (to taste) in the negative (Leslau 1995).

In the contrastive coordinate clauses in Amharic, the following conjunctions are used: *gən, nəgär gən, daru, daru gən, dəgmo, yəhonä hono* or *honomm*. All of them have more or less the same meaning 'but'. In order to illustrate their usage, let us analyse the following sentences. In *mätta^wh (nəgär) gən alayyähutəmm* (I came but I didn't see him) the part of the conjunction (*nəgär) gən* may be omitted, which doesn't influence the sentence's meaning. Here the conjunction *yəhonä hono* or *honomm* can be substituted for *nəgär gən*. In *sərah mätfo nāw yäne dəgmo yəbasä nāw* (your job is bad but mine is worse) the conjunction *dəgmo* is placed after the possessive pronoun (*yäne*) apparently for the emphatic purposes. Interestingly, the discussed conjunction may be used in Amharic without being rendered as 'but', which illustrates the following example: *yäməgəb zäyt lä-məgəb yänädağ zäyt dəgmo lä-mäkina yagäləggälal* (the cooking oil is used for food and the diesel oil is used for cars) where this conjunction has the meaning of 'and' or 'whereas'.

Peculiar from a linguistic point of view is the expression of 'except from, with the

exception of in Amharic. This grammatical phenomenon can be rendered in this language in three ways, namely by (1) the verbal noun+*ənği*, (2) by *kä*+verbal noun followed by *bästäqär* (*bäqär*) or (3) by the perfect+ *ənği* that is followed by a conditional structure. Such English sentence as 'I know of nothing else to do except from giving him the money' can be rendered in Amharic in the following ways: (1) *lässu gänzäb mäštät ənği lela mənəmm alawqəm* [for him money to give nothing else I don't know], where the verbal noun *mäštät* (giving [money]) is followed by the conjunction *ənği*, (2) *lässu gänzäb kä-mäštät bästäqär (bäqär) mənəmm alawqəmm*, where the verbal noun is preceded by the conjunction *kä* or (3) *lässu gänzäb sättähu ənği lela mənəmm alawəq näbbär*, where the perfect form of *mäštät* is used instead of the verbal noun and the negated conditional structure *alawəq näbbär* is used instead of the verb's negated perfect form (*alawqəmm*) (Leslau 1995).

As far as the resultative clauses in Amharic are concerned, it can be expressed through *kä*+verbal noun+*yätänässa*, e.g. *bəzu ċ'uhät kä-mänoru yätänässa litäññu alčalumm* (There was so much noise that they couldn't sleep) where the verbal noun *mänoru* (being) is preceded by the conjunction *kä* and followed by the relative verb *yätänässa*. The negative resultative clause can be rendered in Amharic by the construction of *ənd*+negative imperfect, for example, *ləğu betaččən ənd-ay-mäta wəšša allä* (there is a dog, as a result of which the child couldn't come to our house, lit. the child to our house didn't come a dog there is). This sentence is resultative as it expresses the result of a situation in relation to the main clause (there is a dog, therefore...). A resultative clause can be constructed in Amharic by means of the *sälä* clause that is originally a causal clause, for example *bätam sälä-däkkämäññ mənəmm mäsrat alčalkumm* (I was so tired that I wasn't able to do anything, lit. so because I was tired nothing to do I wasn't able). In this case the clause *bätam sälä-däkkämäññ* (because I was so tired) is causal as a rule, but it can convey the meaning of resultativeness as well.

As mentioned at the beginning of this sub-chapter, the types of subordinate clauses will be presented and analysed in the following way: temporal, local causal and purpose clauses. In Amharic, such English conjunctions as *after*, *as*, *as long as*, *as soon as*, *before* and *by the time*, have their respective counterparts: *kä*+perfect+*bäh^wala* (after), *sə*+imperfect/*əyyä*+perfect/*əndä*+perfect (as), *əskä*+perfect+*dəräs/kä*+perfect (as long as), *əndä*+perfect or reinforced by *läkk/wädiyaw* (as soon as), *sə*+negative imperfect+*bäfit/kä*+relative imperfect+*bäfit/kä*+verbal noun+*bäfit* (before) and *əskä*+imperfect/*sə*+imperfect/*bä*+imperfect+*gize* (by the time). Even though there are many other temporal conjunctions in Amharic, they will not be discussed in this dissertation. As for the usage of these conjunctions in the sentences, let us consider the following examples: (after): *kä-hedä bäh^wala mäṭṭa^wh* (I came after he had left, lit. after he had left I came), where the perfect form of the verb (*hedä* – he came) is modified by the conjunction *kä*+perf. +*bäh^wala*; (as): *səttə-bäla anəbbäbä/ əyyä-bäla anəbbäbä/ əndä-bäla anəbbäbä* (he read as he ate, lit. as he ate he read, where the first two mentioned conjunctions precede the imperfect form of the verb *bäla* (he ate) and the third one requires the perfect form of this verb; (as long as): *səra əskä təsərä/kä+təsərä gəd yälläññəm* (I don't mind as long as the work is done, lit. as long as the work is done, I don't mind), where the conjunction *əskä/kä* is placed before the passive perfect form of the verb *sərä* (he worked); (as soon as): *mättaməmm*

əndä+näggäräññ mäṭṭa^wh (I came as soon as he told me about his sickness) where the perfect form of the verb *näggärä* (he told) was preceded by the conjunction *əndä* or *ləkk bərrun käfto əndägəbba məsa qərräbä* (as soon as he he opened the door and came in lunch was served, lit. as the door he having opened and he came in, lunch was served), where the adjective *ləkk* (precise, right) acts as a temporal conjunction; (before): *gäbäyā sattəhed bəfit/ gäbäyā yəmməttəhed bəfit/gäbäyā kəməhedəh məsa bəla* (before you go to the market, have some lunch), where in the first option of the subordinate clause the imperfect form of the verb *hedä* (he went) was negated in the 2nd Sg., in the second one the verb *hedä* appears in the relative form of the imperfect and in the last one the verbal noun *məhedəh* (your coming) is modified by the conjunction *kä*; (by the time): *əskə-nnəmmälläs/sə-nnəmmälläs/bä-mmälləsən gize hullunəmm yəbälawall* (he will have eaten everything by the time we return), where in the first two alternatives of the subordinate sentence the imperfect form of the verb *mälläsä* (he returned) is linked with the conjunction *əskä* and *sə* respectively and in the last option the perfect form of the aforementioned verb is modified by the conjunction *bä(+perf.)+gize* (Leslau 1995).

As for the local clause, it is expressed by means of the following patterns: (1) *yätəmm yät+bə+imperfect*, (2) *yätəmm (bota or səfra [place])+bə+imperfect*, (3) *verb+bät yätəmm*, (4) *yätəññawəmm bota/səfra*, (5) *ə+relative verb+bät*, (6) *bä+relative verb+bät* and (7) *bäyyä+perfect+bät*. For the purpose of this work examples of only four patterns will be given namely (1), (2), (6) and (7). In the first sentence (1): *yätəmm yät bi-hidu kəgzer ayaməltu* (no matter where one goes, one cannot escape God), the perfect form of the verb *hedä* (he went) is preceded both by the conjunction *bə* in the 3rd PL and the sequence of adverbs (*yätəmm yät* [wherever, no matter where]). In the second (2) example: *yätəmm bəttəhon läne däbdabbe məşaf attərsa* (wherever you may be, don't forget to write a letter to me) the predicate in the subordinate clause (*bəttə-hon*) is preceded by the conjunction *bə* in the 2nd Sg. and the adverb *yätəmm*. In the following example (6): *bəmmi-hidu-bät hullu yəsəbkallu* (they preach wherever they go, lit. wherever they go, they preach) the verb *hedä* is in the relative imperfect form preceded by the conjunction *bä* and followed by the locative adverb *bät*. In the last discussed example: *bäyyä-hide-bät hullu əqa yəgəzall* (wherever he goes, he buys things), the perfect form of the verb *hedä* is preceded by the reciprocal pronoun *bäyyä* (each) and followed by the locative adverb *bät*.

When it comes to the causal clauses in Amharic, the reason can be expressed mostly by conjunction *səla* with the affirmative and negative perfect for the past and the relative imperfect for the present and future, by *bə+imperfect+(gize)*, by *kä* with the affirmative/negative perfect followed by *zänd* (though not necessarily) or by *kä+perfect* followed by *ayqär*. So as to illustrate this grammatical phenomenon, let us analyse the following sentences for each instance. In the sentence based on the first mentioned pattern: *wändəmmə kəgär bet sələ-məṭṭa* [past] (*sələ-mmiməṭa* [present-future]) *layəw hedk^w* [past]/*əhedəllä^wh* [present-future] (because my brother came/will come from the countryside, I went/will go to see him) the past/present-future of the verb *hedä* is preceded by the conjunction *səla* (because) and there is an agreement between the verb forms both in the main and subordinate clauses. In the second mentioned type of sentence: *hulətt sə'at say-bäla bi-*

qoyy hodun ammämäw (his stomach ached because he waited two hours without eating, lit. two hours because he didn't eat he would wait his stomach ached) the imperfect form of the verb *qoyyä* is linked with the conjunction *bə* (3rd Sg.) and the concept 'without eating' is expressed by the *sə*+negative imperfect construction (*s-ay-bäla*). According to the third pattern such a sentence can be constructed in Amharic: *bä-gize k-al-mätta zänd nu ənnəhid* (since he didn't come on time, let us go), where the negated perfect form of the verb *mätta* (he came) is preceded by the conjunction *kä* and followed by the conjunction *zänd* (Leslau 1995).

In Amharic, the causality can also be expressed by preposition+verbal noun with suffix pronouns, for example, with the preposition *bä*: *ənnatun bä-mayät-u bätam däss aläw* (he was very pleased because he saw his mother) where the verbal noun *mayät* (seeing) is preceded by the preposition *bä* and followed by the suffix pronoun *-u* (*mayät-u*). Conversely, the concept of 'because of not' is rendered in Amharic by means of the *balä*+verbal noun structure, for example in the sentence: *balä-maṭnat-u fätənawən wäddäqä* (because he didn't study, he failed the exam) where the conjunction *balä* that contains negation itself is affixed to the verbal noun (*maṭnat-u*), which is followed by the suffixed pronoun *-u*.

There are also two other patterns for the expression of causality in Amharic, namely (1) *bä*+verbal noun+*məknəyat* and (2) *kä*+verbal noun+suffix pronoun+*yätənässa*, which can be supported by the following examples: (1) *bä-zənab-u məknəyat č'awataw təlälläfä* (because of the rain, the play was postponed) where the preposition *bä* is affixed to the verbal noun *zənab* (raining), which is followed by the postposition *məknəyat* that literally means 'reason' if it is used as a noun; (2) *ləğu kä-mäfrat-u yätənässa mārfewən liwwägga aldäffärämm* (the child didn't dare to have an injection because of his fear) where the verbal noun *mäfrat-u* (fearing) to which the suffix pronoun was added is preceded by the conjunction *kä* and followed by *yätənässa* (something, e.g., fear that has arisen).

As far as the clauses of purpose in Amharic are concerned, the purpose can be expressed according to the following patterns, even though that does not exhaust all of the possibilities. The purpose may be expressed by *ənd* with the affirmative or negative simple imperfect+optional conjugated *bəlo*, *sil* or *bəmalät*, e.g. *mak^vannənu wättaddärun betu əndi-hid fäqqädällät* (the officer permitted the soldier to go home) where the purpose is rendered by the construction *əndi-hid* (so as to go). Should this sentence be in the negative, the negative imperfect preceded by the conjunction *ənd* as well as the negative perfect in the main clause have to be applied, e.g. *mak^vannənu wättaddärun betu ənd-ay-hid al-fäqqädällät-əmm* (the officer didn't permit the soldier to go home). The second possibility to express the purpose is by the use of *lə*+affirmative/negative perfect+(*bəlo/sil*), for example, *kärsewo gar li-nnəgaggär (bəlo/sil) mätta* (he came to speak with you) where the verb *nəgaggärä* (he spoke) with a reduplicated stem is preceded by the jussive *lə-* in the 3rd Sg. and optionally strengthened by the auxiliary verb *bəlo* or the structure expressing purpose (*sil*). The purpose may also be rendered by the pattern *lä*+affirmative/negative verbal noun+opt. *bəlo/sil/yahəl*, e.g. *antän lämayät (bəye/sil) gondär dəräs mätta^wh* (In order to see you, I came to Gondar). It is also possible to express the purpose by the construction with *zänd* placed after the simple imperfect, e.g. *gänzäb agänn zänd əsärallä^wh* (I work in order to earn money), where the imperfect form *agänn* (I get) is followed by the conjunction *zänd*. Additionally, the meaning

of purpose can also be conveyed by a structure of direct speech where the verb is either in the jussive or in the imperfect (simple or compound), e.g. *māṣhafun lə-mälläs* [jussive]/(*ə-mälläs*) [simple imperfect] *betu maṣahəft hedä* (In order to return the book, he went to the library) (Leslau 1995).

8.4.2. Conditional sentences

In Amharic, there are two basic types of the conditional, namely the real condition and the hypothetical condition. As for the real condition, there are various shades of probability or uncertainty of events, processes and actions taking place. For the expression of these shades various morphological and syntactical means are used. These shades of meanings are however difficult to be determined precisely by the procedures that will be discussed below. The if-clause that is referred to as protasis is followed by the main clause that is referred to as apodosis. This means that the protasis can have such conditional elements as if, even if, unless, provided that, if only, etc. whereas the apodosis is the appropriate tense. Even though in Amharic there are different morphological means of expressing the protasis, not all of them will be discussed in the dissertation. Nevertheless, the most important conditional forms are *kä*+perfect (affirmative or negative)+*əndāhonä*, *yä*+perfect (affirmative or negative), negative perfect+*əndāhonä*/affirmative and negative relative perfect+*əndāhonä*, imperfect or relative imperfect+*əndāhonä*, relative imperfect+ *kāhonä*/*kalhonä*, *bə*+simple imperfect often followed by *-m*, relative imperfect+*bihon*, gerund+*əndāhonä*/*kāhonä* and negative perfect+*əndāhonä* for the negative since there is no negation of gerund in Amharic and verbal noun+ *əndāhonä*/*kāhonä* (Leslau 1995).

As far as the probability is concerned, the conditional may be used either for the expression of probability of the action of the protasis or for the expression of a more remote probability. Even though the probability of action with a greater degree of certainty can be expressed in two ways i.e. by *kä* with the perfect and by the relative imperfect that is followed by *kāhonä*, the apodosis may be in any appropriate verb form. The conjunction *əndāhonä* may be omitted in certain circumstances e.g. in the sentences *kä-fällāgh (əndāhonä) ənnəhid* (if you want, let us go) or *kä-zännäbä (əndāhonä) mäskotun zəgaw* (if it rains, close the window). It should be pointed out that *kä* with negative perfect may (but not always) be followed by *bäqār (bästāqār)* that means if not, unless, for example *zaremm kalzännäbä mängädu əskä mata yədärqall* (if it doesn't rain today, the road will be dry by the evening). What is more, in case of the verbs *allä*, *lellä* and *honä*, the conjunction is *kä* or *əndä*, e.g. *gänzäb kä-allänn əsätəhalləhw* (if I have money, I will give you some) or *bərr əndä-alläh sətänn* (if you have money, give me some). It should be noted that if a verb begins with the vowel *a*, the *ä* in the conjunction *kä* should be dropped. The protasis may also be expressed by the conjunction *yä-* as in the following example: *zare yäbällä^w əskä nägä albälam* (if I eat today, I won't eat tomorrow).

The protasis can be expressed by the negative perfect+*əndāhonä* or the affirmative or negative relative perfect+*əndāhonä* if the action of the apodosis is visualised as being accomplished or considered as accomplished, for example, *mädhanitun altättačč əndāhonä sətət* (If she hasn't drunk the medicine, give it to her) where the protasis is expressed by the

negative perfect (*alṭāṭṭačč* [if she hasn't drunk])+*əndāhonä* and the apodosis (*səṭat* [give it to her]) is considered as accomplished. The protasis may also be rendered by the simple imperfect or the relative imperfect+*əndāhonä* if there is a chance that an action may take place or it has to be stressed, e.g. *wädä gäbäya təhid əndāhonä zäyt gəzalləññ* (if per chance you go to the market, buy me some oil) where the imperfect (*təhid* [from *hedä* – he went]) is used with the conjunction *əndāhonä* in order to express that the action (going to the market) may happen accidentally (Leslau 1995).

The *bə*+simple imperfect pattern is used for a more remote probability, for example *bi-mäṭṭa* and *bərr əsätəwallä^wh* (if he comes, I will give him one Ethiopian dollar). It can be strengthened by the suffix *-əmm*, to express 'even if', e.g., *bi-zänbəmm ənnəhidallän* (even if it rains, we will go). As for the Amharic counterpart of the English construction 'if he were', it is expressed by the relative imperfect followed by *ənk^wa bihon*, for example, *yämməsədbäw ənk^wa bihon ay-qqäyyäm-əmm* (even if I were to have insulted him, he would not be offended), where the relative imperfect (*yämməsədbäw*) of the verb *səddäbä* (he insulted) appears with the construction *ənk^wa bihon* ([even] if I were), though the conjunction even [if] is affixed to the negated form of the verb *qäyyämä* (he offended). The same structure enforced by the verb *yəšalall* (had better) can be used for the concept 'had better', for example, *sayəč'älləmm bəttəmmälläs yəšalall aləzziya təṭəfalläh* (you had better return before the dusk or you will get lost) where the protasis is expressed by the sequence *bəttəmmälläs yəšalall* (you had better return) that is enforced by the negative imperfect with the conjunction *sə*. Curiously the pattern *bə*+imperfect can be rendered as an infinitive with the verbs of liking and of emotions. In order to illustrate this, let us analyse the following sentence: *bə-səraw əwəddallä^wh nəgär gən gize yälläññəmm* (I would like to work, however I have no time). The construction *bə*+imperfect (*bə-səra-w* [to work]) is enforced by the verb of liking (*əwəddallä^wh* [I like]) and the whole means 'I would like to work'. As opposed to the English counterpart of the Amharic sentence, the willingness of doing something is rendered in Amharic by a more complex construction where there is structurally no infinitive for the expression of 'to work' but the conditional allows the pattern *bə-səra-w* to be understood as infinitive.

The pattern relative imperfect+*bihon* with or without *mənalbat* (perhaps) can be used for the expression of a more remote possibility. In the sentence *mənalbat bihon məšhaf lämasattäm yämmifälləgūt bihon ələkəlləwatalla^wh* (in case you want to publish this book, I will send you [the manuscript of] it, the structure *mənalbat bihon* can be translated as 'in case of' whereas the relative imperfect *yämmifälləgūt* (you who want it) strengthened by the conjunction *bihon* to express a remote possibility (the willingness of publishing a book).

As for the use of gerund in the conditional, it can express a real condition in the affirmative if it is followed by *əndāhonä/kāhonä*, e.g. *mäṭto əndāhonä gəba bäləw* (if he has come, tell him to enter), where *mäṭto* is a gerund derived from the verb *mäṭṭa* (he came) that can combine with the conjunction *əndāhonä* to form a real conditional clause. If such clauses had to be negated, the gerund cannot be used and because of that the negative perfect has to be applied, e.g. *mädhanit alṭāṭṭačč kāhonä əndəmən danäčč* (If she hasn't drunk the medicine, how come she got well? [lit. Medicine she hasn't drunk if how she got well?]) where the

structure *alṭāṭṭačč kähonä* is used as the alternative for the negated gerund that is not possible in Amharic (Leslau 1995).

When it comes to the concept of if only/I wish that, there are several ways to express them in Amharic, i.e. by *männäw+bə*+affirmative or negative perfect+*noro*, *männäw+bə*+imperfect+*noro*, *männäw* with a gerund+*bihon/kähonä*, *ənkw*an with a conditional structure, jussive followed by *ənḡi* as well as *bə*+perfect+*näbbär*/imperfect+*näbbär*+*əndew*. Only selected patterns will be discussed for the purposes of this work. To illustrate the first mentioned pattern let us analyse the following sentence: *männäw astämari (noro) bähonhu* (I wish I were a teacher) where the word *männäw* means 'would that' and the nominal predicate *astämari (noro) bähonhu* can be translated as 'I [were] a teacher'. As the use of the auxiliary verb *noro* is not necessary for the correct comprehension of the sentence, it can be omitted. The literal meaning of the above-mentioned sentence is 'would that I were a teacher. In the sentence that illustrates the second pattern, i.e. *männäw əwnätun binnäggär (noro)* (I wish that he (had) told the truth) the meaning can be defined in two ways depending on the use of the auxiliary verb *noro*. If there is an omission of the auxiliary, the meaning of the clause is embedded in the present, i.e., the person doesn't tell the truth. Should the auxiliary be used in the clause, its meaning is embedded in the past i.e. the person didn't tell the truth.

As in the case of English, some of the above-mentioned affirmative sentences may also be rendered by a negative interrogative with a change of tone, by which the Amharic counterparts of the structures of the type 'why didn't he tell the truth?' Such sentences have a protasis expressed by *kä*+perfect+*noro* whereas their apodosis is rendered by *bə*+perfect+*näbbär*. Such structures may appear either as a wish or a hypothetical condition, e.g. *habtam kähonku noro bəzu lam bägäzza^wh näbbär* (If only I were rich, I could buy many cows. The sequence *habtam kähonku noro* (if I were or if I had been) is the protasis of this conditional clause and the sequence *bəzu lam bägäzza^wh näbbär* (I could buy many cows) is the apodosis of that clause. The analysed sentence can be interpreted as a wish (If only I were rich, I could buy many cows) or even as a hypothetical condition (If only I had been rich, I could have bought many cows) (Leslau 1995).

When it comes to the hypothetical conditions, they can be expressed according to the following patterns presented in the table below. It should be noted that the forms in parentheses are optional.

	Protasis	Apodosis
(1)	<i>bə</i> +affirmative/negative imperf.+(<i>noro</i>)	<i>bä</i> +perf.+ <i>näbbär</i> or <i>nur^wal</i> or imperf.+ <i>näbbär</i> or <i>nur^wal</i> or gerund+ <i>näbbär</i> or verbal noun+ <i>näbbär</i>
(2)	Relative imperf.+ <i>bihon (noro)</i> relative negative imperf.+ <i>bayhon (noro)</i>	Negative imperf.+ <i>näbbär</i> affirmative imperf.+ <i>näbbär</i>
(3)	<i>bä</i> +affirmative/negative perf.+(<i>noro</i>)	<i>bä</i> +perf.+ <i>näbbär</i> or imperf.+ <i>näbbär</i>

(4)	gerund+ <i>bihon</i> or <i>bihoni</i> or <i>bä</i>	<i>bä</i> +perf.+ <i>näbbär</i> or <i>nur^wal</i> or imperf.+ <i>näbbär</i> or gerund+ <i>näbbär</i>
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From the above-mentioned patterns for the unreal conditional in Amharic it can be inferred that the *näbbär* in the apodosis is an indication of a hypothetical condition. What is more, the affirmative protasis can be expressed by *bə*+imperf.+(*noro*) while the affirmative apodosis is expressed either by *bä*+perfect+*näbbär* or by the imperfect+*näbbär* as in (1). In order to illustrate this, let us analyse the following sentence: *bə-säma bä-mätta^wh näbbär/əmətta näbbär* (if I had heard, I would have come). The protasis of the clause consists of the conjunction *bə* followed by the perfect form of the verb *säma* (to hear) whereas the apodosis can consist of the conjunction *bä* followed by the verb *mätta* (he came) in the perfect or, alternatively, it can be followed by the imperfect form of the same verb (*əmətta*) in the 1st person Sg. and enforced by the auxiliary *näbbär* by which the hypothetical condition is marked (Leslau 1995).

The affirmative apodosis can also be expressed by imperfect+*nur^wal*, for example, in the sentence: *gänzäb bəsätəh zämädoččəh ga təhed nur^wal?* (if I had given you some money, would you have gone to your relatives?) where the apodosis consists of the imperfect form of the verb *hedä* (he went) (*təhed*) that is followed by the auxiliary *nur^wal*. The same clause could have also been enforced by the auxiliary *näbbär*, which wouldn't have significantly influenced its meaning.

As presented in the pattern (3), one can express the affirmative protasis by *bə*+imperf.+(*noro*) and the negative apodosis by *bä*+negative perfect+*näbbär* or by the negative imperfect+*näbbär*, e.g., *wätun bəttammassäläw noro b-al-g^wäränna näbbär/ay-g^wäränna-mm näbbär* (if you had stirred the stew, it would not have burned), where the protasis is rendered by the imperfect form of the verb *ammassälä* (to stir) that is followed by the auxiliary *noro* whereas the apodosis is rendered either by the negated perfect form of the verb *g^wäränna* (to burn), i.e., *al-g^wäränna(-mm)*, where the vowel *ä* of the conjunction *bä* is lost when it meets with the morpheme of negation (*al-*), which is followed by the auxiliary *näbbär*. Alternatively, the apodosis can as well consist of the negative imperfect (*ay-g^wäränna-mm*) that is enforced by the aforementioned auxiliary. The third pattern enables the language users to make the negative protasis that is expressed by *bə*+negative imperfect+*noro* while the apodosis remains affirmative, i.e. *bä*+perfect/imperfect+ *näbbär*. This phenomenon can be seen in the following sentence: *tənantəna mata zənab b-ay-(ə)zänb noro šərrəšərr bəhedən näbbär* (if it hadn't rained last evening, we would have gone for a walk) where the negated verb *zännäbä* (to rain) is strengthened by the auxiliary *noro* in the protasis whereas the apodosis is expressed affirmatively (*šərrəšərr bəhedən näbbär* – we would have gone for a walk).

As shown in the pattern (2), the relative affirmative imperfect+*bihon* can express the affirmative protasis whereby the negative imperfect+*näbbär* can be used to express the apodosis. For example, in the sentence: *yämmizänb bihon (noro) almätamm näbbär* (If it was going to rain, I wouldn't have come) the protasis consists from the relative affirmative imperfect form *yämmizänb* (that is going to rain) and the conjunction *bihon* enforced

optionally by the auxiliary verb *noro* whereby the apodosis is constructed by the negative imperfect form of the verb *mäta* (to come) that is strengthened by the auxiliary *näbbär* for the hypothetical condition (Leslau 1995).

In compliance with the pattern (4), the protasis may be expressed by the gerund+*bihon/bihoni* or *näbbär/noro*, where the auxiliaries occur in their fixed forms. Combined with one of the auxiliaries mentioned above, the gerund may be interchanged with the imperfect. The apodosis is formed by means of the patterns (4) given in the table. Let us analyse the following example: *täyyäqä-häw bihon/bättätäyyäqäw nuro yäradah näbbär* (if you had asked him, he would have helped you). The protasis of this clause may be formed in two ways, namely by the gerund *täyyäqä-häw* (you having asked him) or by the pattern *bättätäyyäqäw nuro* (if you had asked him). In the case of this example the apodosis is formed by the imperfect form of the verb *räda* (to help) which is enforced by the auxiliary *näbbär*. The apodosis *yäradah näbbär* (he would have helped you) can also be formed by *bä-rädah näbbär* (perfect+auxiliary) or by *rädoh näbbär* (gerund+auxiliary) without the change of meaning.

Even though the real and unreal conditionals are formed in Amharic by means of different figures of speech, a quite significant influence from European language with the predominance of English can be seen in the patterns discussed in this sub-chapter. There are admittedly various auxiliary verbs and different grammatical means for the expression of the reality and unreality of the Amharic conditional. However, these grammatical mechanisms seem to have reflected at least partially their European counterparts, though the vocabulary is pure Amharic. This phenomenon may have stemmed from the fact that the Amharic language has a not very long written tradition and in order to translate the European literary works into Amharic, though not only them, the grammar of Amharic had to be standardised so that the grammatical peculiarities of the European languages could be reflected, at least to some extent, in Amharic.

8.4.3. Direct/indirect speech

As opposed to the use of indirect speech in English, the Amharic language uses direct speech very often. As in the case of English, the indirect speech is introduced by verbs that convey the ideas, e.g. say, tell, believe, hesitate, permit, all of which are rendered by conjugated *alä* (say). If the verb *alä* is rendered by one of the above-mentioned verbs, the context becomes much clearer. It should be pointed out that Amharic direct speech can be translated into English either by the infinitive or by 'that'. Here is an example of an affirmative statement where the 1st person is the subject of the direct speech: *bassär däqiqa wəst əmətallä^wh alä* (he said “I will come in ten minutes”). In case of quoting statements in Amharic, the main predicate that conveys ideas is placed at the end of the clause. Evidently the subject of the main clause (*alä*) is implied (Leslau 1995).

It often happens that the direct speech is introduced by such auxiliary verbs as *sil* and *bəlo* which have the meaning 'while he says', for example in the sentence *ənnäsallä^wh sil addänaqqäfäw* (He tripped him while he was trying to get up, lit. “I was trying to get up” while he tripped him) the auxiliary verb *sil* follows the direct clause “I was trying to get up”

and makes it dependent on the main clause (*addänaqqäfäw* [he tripped him]). Similarly behaves the other auxiliary verb *bälo*, e.g. *motärun lætäggänäw äčälallä^wh bälo näbbär* (he claimed that he would repair the motor, lit. “the motor to repair I can” he claimed) where it links the subordinate direct clause with the main clause.

It should be emphasised that the first person is referred to in the direct speech if the subject of the sentence has the possessive subject pronoun of the 1st person, for example, in the sentence: *yä-sära g^waddännöčče käne gar ännäsäramm alu* (my colleagues refused to work with me, lit. of work colleagues with me they will not work they said) where the possessive subject pronoun *-e* (in *g^waddännöčče-e* [my colleagues]) is referred to in direct speech (*g^waddännöčče käne gar ännäsäramm* – my colleagues will not work with me) whereas the auxiliary verb *alu* (they said) makes the direct clause dependent from the main clause (*alu* [they said]). Curiously, the verb 'refused to' doesn't appear in the original Amharic direct clause but it is used its English translation, apparently for stylistic purposes.

As for the negative statement, the imperfect may or may not have the final *-əmm*, which can be illustrated by the following example: *täkäsäšu təfatännä aydällähu-mm alä* (the accused man declared that he was not guilty, lit. the accused “I was not guilty” he said) where the morpheme *əmm* is not obligatory to be affixed at the end of the negated verb *allä*. If the negative imperfect is used with the auxiliary *alä*, it may be rendered by 'refuse', which can be seen in the following example: *polisu alasalləff(-əmm) alän* (the policeman refused to let us through or the policeman didn't let us to go through), where the imperfect form of the negated predicate (*alasalləff(-əmm)*) of the subordinate clause is translated into English by means of the verb 'refuse to' though it doesn't really appear in the Amharic clause (Leslau 1995).

A double direct speech construction can be expressed in Amharic in the following way: *käsä'at bäh^wala aggəzəšallä^wh bəl^wal bəlat* (tell her that I said that I would help her in the afternoon, lit. “in the afternoon I will help her I said” she told her). In this case the auxiliary *bəl^wal* acts as the subordinative form for the clause *käsä'at bäh^wala aggəzəšallä^wh* (in the afternoon I will help her), which is subordinately related to the main clause (*bəlat* - tell her).

The direct speech clause can also be in the imperative, e.g., in the sentence: *mən amṭa əndallänn əlsəmmahumm* (I didn't hear what he told me to bring, lit. what to bring so to tell me I didn't hear) where the direct speech clause (*mən amṭa* – what bring!) is in the imperative to be related subordinately with the main clause (*al-səmma-hu-mm* – I didn't hear).

As for the Amharic language, it also uses direct speech as against indirect speech in English so as to report an event, an occurrence or a content clause. It should be made clear that in this case the verb of the direct speech is either in the 2nd or in the 3rd person. In order to illustrate this, let us analyse the following example: *mämḥəru təmaroččäw təsällafu alaččäw* (the teacher told the students to form a line) where the verb of the direct speech is in the third person (*təmaroččäw təsällafu* – his students formed a line) and the verb in the main clause (*alaččäw* - he told them) is not followed by an infinitive as it would in English.

Importantly, if the main verb is other than *alä*, the direct speech can be introduced by the conjugated *bälo*, i.e. the gerund of *alä* or *sil* (also from *alä*), for example in *əsrännä ayəččewallä^wh bälo yäməsəkkərənnät qalun säṭṭä* (he attested that he had seen the prisoners,

lit. “I have seen the prisoners” he said he gave an attest) where the subordinate direct clause is linked with the main clause by the auxiliary *bəlo* or in *bäsammənt and ših bərr agäññallä^wh sil tättärättärkut* (I was sceptical when he said he earned a thousand Ethiopian dollars in a week, lit. “in a week a thousand Ethiopian dollars I am earning” when he said I was sceptical) where the auxiliary *sil* links the direct speech clause with the main clause and at the same time it express the second subordinative relation ‘I was sceptical (when?) when he had said that...’, which is not clearly visible in the Amharic sentence (Leslau 1995).

As for the direct speech in Amharic, it can have a question particle (e.g. *mən?* - what?) that is used in such sentences in the following way: *mən bəye ləmälləsəllaččäw?* (what shall I answer them?) where the particle *mən* stands at the beginning of the sentence while the auxiliary *bəye* is the 1st person of the gerund *bəlo*, where the process of palatalisation took place (*l – y*) and the verb (*ləmälləsəllaččäw* – I shall answer them) is in the jussive form of the verb *mässälä* (to give answer).

Curiously, direct speech can also be used when animals and inanimate objects are involved, which show the following sentences: (1) for the animate and (2) for the inanimate object: (1) *bäqłowa aləñqäsaqqäs aläčč* (the female mule wouldn't budge, lit. the female mule said “I will not budge”) and (2) *ənč’ätu aldärq alä* (the wood wouldn't dry, lit. the wood said “I will not dry”). Both verbs of the direct clause are as a rule in the negative imperfect and without the morpheme *-əmm*.

8.5. Modernisation of vocabulary

8.5.1. General principles of word formation in Amharic

As in the case of many unelaborated languages of the world, the level of modernisation of Amharic closely reflects the stage of economic development of Ethiopia where it is spoken as a mother language. Because of that, linguistic maturity and linguistic development are thus deeply intertwined. This means that just as developing nations are constantly in search of applicable methods for the development of their economies, the languages that they speak need effective methods for developing new terms so that their freshly acquired knowledge in the field of modern science and technology can be appropriately expressed. It is the task of scholars to write thorough descriptions of the methods that some languages have employed for the purpose of coining the required technical terms. Such linguistic descriptions of the vocabulary of Amharic are predominantly made in Ethiopia, though these studies enjoy a significant popularity also in the centres of Ethiopian studies all over the world. In Ethiopia, there are specialized commissions that consist of scientists and linguists that discuss and propose the Amharic equivalents of English professional terminology and publish their research in the form of books and glossaries that circulate among the citizens of Ethiopia. Some of these proceedings appear also in the countries of the West.

It should be pointed out that not all of the proposed neologisms will be accepted by the Amharic speaking community, but this form of consultation with the citizens of Ethiopia as far as the coinages are concerned is praiseworthy on account of the two matters. Firstly, the constant influx of English professional terms is put at least to some extent under control,

which means that the Amharic language is not being cluttered by the excessive and unnecessary use of English terminology as in Polish for example, though the role of English in the international communication is significant in Ethiopia. Secondly, the adaptation of the foreign technical terms in Amharic requires constant creativity not only among the scientists but also among the journalists and educated people in general. If there is no possibility to adapt some Graeco-Latin term to Amharic, the lexicon of the extinct Ge'ez language as the classical language Ethiopia offers further advantages. The use of Ge'ez as the source of vocabulary is all the more important that the European terminology can be fully expressed in an African way.

As for the principles of word formation in Amharic, the morphological peculiarities have been discussed in sub-chapter 8.3.1. For the phenomena of compounding and phrase grouping, semantic shift, loan translation, creolization, clipping, hybridization and borrowing, they will be analysed more specifically in the following subchapters, though in this place it is useful to write about them in general.

When it comes to compounding and phrase grouping, it is a rather complex linguistic phenomenon that involves syntactic and morphological processes. It is quite difficult to give an adequate theoretical explanation of the formal structure of compounding. On the one hand compound words are called as forms that lie in the border between words and phrases as claims Bloomfield (1933), on the other hand the most important feature of compounding is the placing of stress that makes the compound to be understood in two ways, e.g., *blackbird* vs. *black bird*. As it is argued by Gleeson (1955), the first mentioned occurrence is a compound whereas the second one is characteristic of such constructions as adjectival +noun or+verb. Such a structure is however called by Bloomfield as a two-word phrase while the difference between such phrases is syntactic in character. Nevertheless the formal structure of compounding can be explained by way of stem analysis, which means that stems can be divided into simple, i.e. those consisting of a single morpheme and derives, i.e., those consisting of more than one morpheme. In compliance with this classification proposed by Hockett (1958) two kinds of compounds are included, namely stem and root compounds. The difference between these types of compounds is that in stem compounds both of the immediate constituents are themselves stems and in root compounds neither of them is a derivation affix.

What has already been noted by scholars is that compounding and phrase grouping are very productive methods for the formation of new terminology. Nevertheless, it has not been studied thoroughly so far how compound words are formed in Amharic, though it cannot be claimed that nothing has been made in this matter. Several lists of compounds were collected and classified as early as in 1970 by Tsegaye Haylu at the Addis Ababa University. It should be borne in mind that there are two categories of compound words in Amharic, i.e., those that follow the Amharic model and those that follow the Ge'ez pattern and that the Ge'ez grammatical rules are often involved in the formation of some compound words in Amharic.

As for the semantic shift, it pertains to the change of meaning. It is difficult to say how the meaning is acquired by words as more than one surface can be conveyed by words in the process of communication. What is often reiterated by linguists is the impossibility of

pinpointing the meaning in a given word in isolation. In spite of that, the notion of meaning and other issues related to it are discussed by many linguists such as Robertson and Cassidy (1954). With the crystallisation of meaning two contrary aspects take place, namely the specialization and generalisation of meaning. If the meaning is specialized, a word that has referred broadly or inclusively begins to refer narrowly or exclusively. If the meaning is in turn generalised, its starts to refer something broadly and no more exclusively. What is also important, the change of meaning is not limited to a mere change of meaning since it may take on a sociological dimension, which means that if generalisation or specialisation involves a change in the area of meaning, elevation or degradation may involve the rising or falling of meaning in a scale of values. If the word that once denominated something bad comes to refer to something good, it can be said that it has undergone the elevation of meaning. If the process takes place in the reverse direction, one can say that its the meaning of that word has been degraded. To illustrate that, let us give examples from Amharic: the word *mädäb* that contemporarily means 'class' once meant a mud bed, so its meaning was upgraded. Similarly, the former honorary titles *ato* and *wäyzäro* that in the past were reserved for highly placed men and women are now the Amharic counterparts for Mr and Mrs, casually used in today's Ethiopia. Worth being mentioned is the fact that what is good or bad depends on a society and it can be a subject of change wherever the society chooses to do so. Many examples can be provided in different languages to illustrate that the ultimate decision about associating words with good or bad values rest upon the society that uses a given language (Takkele Taddese 2000).

As for the semantic shift, this method used for the expansion of vocabulary can take the form of transfer, metaphor, associative analogy, metonymy, associative phonetic transposition, extension as well as restrictions. In all of these processes the most important thing is a change that must occur in a semantic shift, which allows the researcher to define the manner of the complicated and often formally unaccountable processes by means of which a change of meaning occurs in a given word. Of all the above mentioned semantic processes, the most important that take place in Amharic are transfer, metaphor and metonymy. In regard to transfer, it is a process by which the older or archaic meaning of a word is dropped so that a new meaning can be acquired through the course of time. As a result, the new concept is associated with some aspect for the one. As an example in Amharic can be given the word *fätäg* (fricative consonant) where the friction that results from forcing air through a narrow channel that makes the two articulators close together is compared to the Ethiopian Christian custom of wiping the face with a coarse cloth by women during bereavement. Other instance of methods of semantic changes through which a new word may adopt its new meaning is a metaphor, which results from metaphoric similarities in quality or function. As an example of this phenomenon one can give the Amharic counterpart of the English word 'cervix', namely *afä mahəşän*, that literally means 'the mouth of womb'. In this case the concept of the narrow cervical canal that connects the uterine cavity and the lumen of the vagina was associated by the Ethiopians as the mouth of the uterus through which sperm travels in order to fertilise an egg cell after sexual intercourse just like the food enters through the mouth to be digested in the stomach. Under metonymy one can understand different instances of how the aspects that

the words can possess can help to discover terms that can convey new ideas. The phenomenon of metonymy may rely on the fact the part that signifies the whole, a single characteristic may be sufficient to identify a referent or conjure up a complete image or even that the material that signifies the object from which it is made. In Amharic, there is an indigenous word for porcelain, i.e. *šākla* that originally means clay from which the porcelain is made. Similarly, the Amharic word for 'currency' is *bərr* that means 'silver' i.e. the material from which the original coins were made not only in Ethiopia.

There are many examples to illustrate how the semantic shift is used in Amharic. In commercial terminology there are such words as *šäqät* (commodity) and *mərṭ* (production) that once meant goods or merchandise displayed in a store for sale and cumulated grain separated from the chaff and temporarily kept by farmers on a specially prepared ground respectively. The term for mask used in the theatre (*č'əmbəl*) originally meant veil through which the wearer could see but could not be seen. In fine arts, the Amharic counterpart for engraving (*fəlfəl*) also means a mole that makes an underground tunnel system to hunt its prey. With these tunnels the Ethiopians associated a design that is incised onto a hard and usually flat surface by cutting grooves into it. In linguistics, the concept of intonation was associated with the rhythm in which the Orthodox priests sway from left to right during Lenten services by striking the earth by the *maqwamia* liturgical sticks.

Regardless of whatever specific processes and methods being employed, semantic shift refers to instances where new concepts are expressed by already existing words or lexical items. As for the origin of the new ideas, they might have either originated in the speaking community of the language in question or have already been in active use in other more developed languages. Thanks to the conscious and skilful exploitation of the semantic shift, more productive sources of terms can be provided for the expression or denotation of new ideas.

As far as the loan translation in Amharic is concerned, some Ethiopian linguists such as Takkele Taddese (2000) think that even though some Ethiopians are naturally endowed with a sense of linguistic innovation, quite few of these innovators have an idea about the theories of modern linguistics including language planning. Even if there are some innovations that appear in jocular conversations or in the press, they are the result of a rather unconscious application of loan translation. Also known as calque, the loan translation refers not only to the process of producing the so-called carbon copies of the source language's conceptual and linguistic elements in a target language but also to the carbon copies themselves. This means that a calque or loan translation is an actual imitation of the source language's words, phrases and idiomatic expressions in the target language. It should be pointed out that imitations of these sort not merely reflect the ideas of the source language but also a number of them may not normally be found in the target language in the way they appear in the calque. It should also be emphasised that a serious application of a loan translation has already started to produce good results also in Amharic. For example, the Amharic word for the Internet (*həbramäräb*) is the direct loan translation from English (*həbra* – inter, *märäb* – network) where both the preposition and the noun are of the Ge'ez origin). This modern word can be used in the combination with such expressions as 'on the Internet'

(*bä-həbramäräb-lay*) by means of the same preposition, 'Internet café' (*yä-həbramäräb šaybet*) that conveys the same meaning in spite of the use of 'tea-house' (*šaybet*) instead 'coffee-house'. The Amharic equivalent for the Internet can be used in the form of adjective by means of the form of the construct state or by the *-awi* suffix, e.g. *yä-həbramäräb awərd* (download from the Internet) or *həbramäräb-awi gəññunnät* (Internet communication) respectively. Involving the word for word replacement of the source language with target language's words, the method of loan translation is a particularly important method in the coinage of technical terms in Amharic, though a variety of other possibilities can also be used so as to avoid excessive monotony in the language.

As for the process of creolization, it relies on the usage of foreign words by subjecting them to the morphological rules of one's mother language. As there are many problems connected with the adaptation of English vocabulary in Amharic, where no reasonable possibilities of the use of Amharic or Ge'ez roots can be applied, the process of creolisation is all the more advantageous for Amharic especially when the Amharic equivalents for all other forms for the foreign term should be created. As examples can be given the following sequence of words: *to anneal – annealed – annealing* that have their respective forms in Amharic, namely *mannäl* (to anneal) – *ənnəl* (annealed) – *ənnäla* (annealing). It is noteworthy that these words are geminated in Amharic, which doesn't occur in English. Although creolization is a very productive method of converting technical terms into Amharic, it should be applied carefully and only to those terms that can readily be moulded into acceptable forms. Even if this method can be viewed as being based on the fact that the meaning of Amharic words are embedded in the consonant radicals, it should be made clear that the consonants of the above-mentioned examples of English words were merely picked out in order to form words on the patterns of existing lexical items. As in the case of the term 'to anneal' (*mannäl*), the relevant consonants were selected by getting rid of both the infinitive marker and the vowels from the word. As for the remaining three consonants of which one was subjected to gemination, they were used like in any other existing lexical item. In this way the consonants of any technical term can be taken to be converted to possible words in Amharic (Takkele Taddese 2000).

In compliance with the ordinary meaning of the word 'clipping', i.e., cutting off with shears, clipping consist in the reduction of a word to one of its parts. This means that in the process of word formation clipping occurs when part or parts of a word are left out for the purpose of keeping the word short so that the word is easy to pronounce and to remember. In Amharic, clipping can be a good method of coining technical terms. Nevertheless, this linguistic procedure is used not very often in this African language. Generally, one can distinguish fore- and back clipping. In fore-clipping one or two of the first syllables are omitted and the remaining ones are retained, for example, *plane* from airplane or *phone* from telephone. In back clipping, in turn, the opposite process takes place, which means that syllables that occur in the last part are omitted and those at the beginning are retained, e.g., *lab* (laboratory) or *ad* (advertisement). The original word that is changed in the process of clipping must be a multisyllabic one no matter that it is a composite or simple. Even though fore- and back clipping are not commonly practised in Amharic, some clipping-compounds

are now being introduced. Curiously, the method of clipping-compounds is used by the participants of the Science and Technology Terms Translation Project in Ethiopia who first convert a technical term that is represented by a single word in a foreign language into an Amharic phrase which is then clipped in order to obtain a single pronounceable word. For example, the Amharic equivalent for the English word 'blog' that was itself fore-clipped from the expression 'web-log' is *də-zägäba*, lit. 'web report' from *də[rä]zägäba*, i.e. *dər* (web, network) and *zägäba* (report). From the example it can be inferred that the final consonant of the word *dər* was clipped for the purpose of making the composite short. Even though the phonetic structure of the composites *də-zägäba* and [we]blog is different, the Ethiopian linguist apparently aimed to transfer the methods of construction of the word 'blog' to the Amharic conditions and their solution seems to be sound. Even though clipping-compounds and acronyms can be used whenever appropriate for coining technical terminology, the appropriate forms should be constructed carefully. If they are not correctly structured on the pattern of the word formation rules in Amharic, these coinages may be perceived by the speaking community as artificial or even unnatural.

As for the process of hybridization, it refers to combining linguistic elements that belong to two or more languages into single or compound words. This process makes it possible to combine the elements belonging to diverse and genetically unrelated languages, though it is not used for serious purposes as a rule. Nevertheless, hybridization can become one of the most used methods for creating terms not only in Amharic but also in other languages if it is used consciously and innovatively. In the Ethiopian reality, the so-called hybrid words can be obtained by combining linguistic elements from English and Amharic or even Ge'ez. In some cases it is possible to create such hybridized compounds where each of the word comes from a different language, for example *yä-misayəl mablāya sər'at* (missile defence shield) where the word *misayəl* is a phonetic borrowing of the English word *missile*, the word *mablāya* is a verbal noun derived from the Amharic verb *abäla* (to feed, herein: to absorb) while *sər'at* is the Ge'ez word for system. Thus, the entire compound *yä-misayəl mablāya sər'at* means a system for absorbing missiles.

Borrowing is a process closely related to a phenomenon when speakers of different languages come into contact. As Jespersen (1922) put it, no language is entirely free from borrowed words. This is because no nation has ever been completely isolated and contact with other nations leads inevitably to borrowings regardless of their number in a given language. Jespersen made it clear that linguistic borrowing is considerably different from the borrowing of money on account of the following things. Firstly, the lender is not deprived of the use of the word any more than had it not been borrowed. Secondly, the borrower is not obliged to return the word at any further time, which means that linguistic borrowing is really nothing but imitation that forms parts of speech. It should be emphasised here, that these parts of speech are not imitated as a whole. In the words of Jespersen, linguistic borrowing is the consequence of contact between or among speakers of more than one language, though it does not involve a business transaction. As opposed to writing, borrowing pertains to speech and performance and because of that it is an accurate representation of the phonetic or other forms and shapes of the original. It was also explained by Haugen (1950) that the concept of

borrowing is closely connected with the phenomenon of mixing a mother tongue with other languages and vice versa, which can be exemplified by the conversations of the representatives of the Ethiopian nations at the initial stage of their speaking in English. Haugen uses the word 'borrowing' in the context of the process that takes place when people use the linguistic elements of one language within another one that is primarily dominant. As Sapir (1921) rightly points out, the intensity of borrowing is heavily determined by the degree of contact. What is more, foreign words that enter the target language with their phonetic shape almost always being changed, which means that the linguistic influence also extends to the adoption of affixational morphemes so that the inherent characteristic structure of the receptor language may not be affected.

As a language always reacts to the coming of foreign linguistic elements into its structural system, the loan word may be freely accepted, translated or even rejected. According to the Ethiopian linguist Amsalu Aklilu, who wrote an article in Amharic on the translation of foreign concepts into Amharic in 1980, there are four ways of borrowing words in Amharic that have not lost any of their relevance even today. With the encountering of a foreign word that carries a new concept, a search for an Amharic word should be made that could express the new concept directly or indirectly. Should this method be found as unsuccessful, the word is looked for in Ge'ez, that is a more developed language than Amharic, and made use of in Amharic. In case of the failure of the two aforementioned steps, the foreign word has to be subjected to the so-called Ethiopian baptism in order to be allowed to enter the language through morphophonemic adjustments. Finally, the loanword can be used as it is provided that it corresponds to the Ethiopian morphophonemic structure.

Apart from the structural principles of word coinage in Amharic, there are also a number of conceptual ones. Of all these principles the most important are the principle of universality and pragmatism, the principle of authenticity and transparency, the principle of manipulability and the principle of synonymy and polysemy. As for the principle of universality, it is based on the a priori nature of language, which means that all languages make use of phonemes that are arbitrarily arranged in a conventionally established order in order to represent ideas. Even though all languages are made up of different speech sounds, the basic substance of which all languages are constructed is the same, which means that only convention and not the substance makes certain words of a given language look strange or unfamiliar when they are used in another language. Bearing this in mind in relation to the Amharic language, it is conventionally correct to reject, for example, the English word 'hydrochloric' as unacceptable in Amharic because their phonetic configuration is unconventional for its speakers and not because of the alienness of its phonemes to the Amharic language. Nevertheless, these conventions can have a negative impact on the human society just like all other forms of human behaviour. They not only created barriers to the smooth functioning of the human society but also made human beings think that by the use of words and other forms of different languages one's language is believed to be impure. Thus the principle of universality confirms the view that all languages are made up of essentially the same substance and that language is a human phenomenon. If any form of a linguistic configuration of any language is taken by any other, then this process should be considered as

a liability to one's essence or a colonisation of one's mind by the ideas of others.

Even though Takkele Taddese (2000) thinks that for the sake of effective communication of the human race progressing at an unprecedented rate towards the space age it is perceived as backward to be conservative and blind to indefensible conventions, I don't completely agree with his reasoning. By arguing that all linguistic conservatism should be abolished for the purpose of simplification of the languages in the approaching space age, he assumes that all languages will share more or less similar vocabulary and grammatical structure. It is not exactly right since it could be impossible to simplify languages of different families to a standardised model for many reasons. As the language is closely bound with culture, there are serious problems connected with the coining of cultural terms for lesser developed languages. Both the Eskimo people that have never left their surroundings have probably no idea about the train (originally an Anglo-Saxon cultural product) as no railway line has ever been built in their places of residence and the Europeans have little idea about the varieties of the whiteness of snow. What is more, each speaking community perceives different things through the prism of their languages and because of that the same notions can be expressed differently in various languages, for example *a stub-end track* that is expressed as *la voie en impasse* (lit. a dead end track) in French, *der Stumpfgleis* (lit. a stump track) in German, *ślepy tor* (lit. a blind track) in Polish and *senelira vojo* (lit. a track with no exit) in Esperanto. The oversimplification and unification of technical terminology in the languages from different families in accordance with, say, the European model would in the consequence lead to the depletion of a number of languages. To crown it all, there is a wide economic and cultural gap between the developed languages of the West and the isolated languages of Africa, South America or Asia. Many indigenous cultures of the world are so backward in their development as compared to Europe, North America, Australia and so on that they have no scientific idea of the universe let alone their attempts at the conquest of the space. In my opinion, a rational corpus planning is necessary for lesser developed languages but the forced promotion of the solutions applied in European languages can have a very negative impact on a number of non-European languages as in the case of Amharic, for example.

When it comes to the principle of pragmatism, it is not only inseparable from the principle of universality but also it has a lot of advantages if the first principle is taken into consideration and worth the pain of following. A good example for that is the case of contemporary English that benefits from all existing languages of the world. However, it is not of use for many languages to reproduce the lexical and grammatical solutions only from English. This is on the one hand advantageous for the English speakers but on the other hand degrading for the users of other languages. Worth being mentioned is the fact that a complete submission to the principle of authenticity may result in the abandonment of one's language in preference to another one that is functionally more important, for example using English in favour of Amharic. Nevertheless, the certain principles of borrowing technical terminology from foreign languages will have to be accepted in the Amharic language, at least for the time being. This is all the more necessary if all of the methods have not produced fruitful results, which is the case of technical terms that bear the names of persons and places that should be

adopted without hesitation for none of the methods can provide a way of coining a technical term so as to represent such proper names accurately. What is more, the process of adoption should be also applied to chemical elements, particularly those that were not known in Ethiopia for various reasons. As for the term oxygen, that is in fact a clipped compound made by Lavoisier from the Greek words *oxys* (sharp) and *gignesthai* (to be born), it can be successfully applied in Amharic only by creolisation, though this method does not completely find its way since the term cannot be used as a verb. Also the method of etymological investigation will do little help there. In the Amharic reality the creolised word *oksəḡən* (oxygen) is pronounceable and used without much difficulty, though it may not readily conform to the morphophonemic and structural rules of existing words in Amharic.

As for the principle of authenticity and transparency, it consists of two inseparable principles. Based on a basic universal word formation hypothesis proposed by Aronoff, the principle of authenticity stipulates that any new word that is formed in any language should be based on existing words or morphemes. Since it is impossible to add new words to grammatical categories such as pronouns, prepositions, determiners, quantifiers and so on, all the existing words and morphemes cannot be eligible. As for neologisms, they can solely be formed from the major lexical categories, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs and the formation of any new words in any language should be based on these major lexical categories. Otherwise the application of word formation rules that are specifiable for each language would be of no use. Nonetheless, the specification of the word formation rules is not exactly the aim of the principle of authenticity, though any coinage for any technical term should be based on an already existing word in any human language. For a coinage that follows this principle it is important to satisfy the basic need of human nature of inquisitiveness, i.e., the willingness of knowing the word's origin and the history of its usage. Only in this way the newly coined word becomes authentic and it will not be treated as fake or artificial (Takkele Taddese 2000).

In regard to the principle of transparency, it pertains to the semantic aspect of the coinage. If the meaning of the coinage is made obscure by its lack of connection with any meaningful structure of any natural language, the coinage presents itself as an opaque phenomenon, which means that its denotation must be traceable to a certain origin either as a whole or the meaning of each of its parts in case of the composites. It is also necessary for the person that coins a technical term to provide a short account of the source of the coinage as the proposed word coined by clipping, blending or creolisation may lack transparency when they are encountered for the first time and because of that be rejected. It should be borne in mind that for the application of productive neologisms it is important to know the grammatical rules and morphological structures that are involved in the derivational processes of the lexical elements of the target languages. None of such methods can be applied effectively without such knowledge and this is all the more significant for Amharic, where the processes of lexical formation are complex and they have not been treated adequately so far.

The principle of manipulability is of particular importance when new coinages are created. A successful word builder must have an extensive knowledge on the lexical categories in order to coin words that are preferably derived from the same word. However,

the reality shows that some derivatives cannot be manipulable. If so, the other alternative is either to coin another manipulable term or to coin new terms so that the remaining ones can be denoted.

As for the principle of synonymy and polysemy, it has its advantages and disadvantages. While synonymy refers to the representation of a single concept by more than one lexical unit, polysemy refers to the representation of more than one concept or entity by a single lexical unit. It is generally a disadvantage to have two or more words to refer to the same concept or entity, which is rather uneconomical and inconvenient for effective communication. On the other hand, it is to some extent of use to have both the scientific and commonplace words for the same referent for the purposes of using them in different registers but the very example of the English language is the violation of the above-mentioned principle since there are not only too many denotations of a given term but also they can be used only in specific context that the English learner has to know so as to master the language. Also in Amharic there is a tendency to follow the principle of coining a single term for a single concept in different fields of science, which also divides the word builders in various scientific environments. Some of them stand for the following of the English model while others advocate for the use of polysemy for the good and convenience of the Amharic speaking community. For my part, it is useful to be flexible in these matters since every language is subjected to change. Cognizant of that, falling into the two extremes will be rather detrimental to both language planners and language users.

8.5.2. Adaptation of foreign words and possible problems

With a tremendous progress of the world in the domain of computers, communication, science and technology in the last few decades, there has been a massive influx of terminologies into the languages of the world, which has not bypassed Ethiopia. The rapid modernisation of the Amharic language that commenced in the 1950s resulted in extensive borrowing of vocabulary in various fields, mostly from English. From a historical point of view, the role of English in Ethiopia was not significant until the 1941 defeat of the Fascist Italian troops that occupied the country from 1936, which was brought about by a significant support of the British army. Just after the cessation of hostilities in Ethiopia English was declared by the Ethiopian authorities to be the language of instruction in junior and secondary schools, which was accepted as a gesture to Britain for its role in the liberation of this African country. Since then the use of English language has not only spread enormously across Ethiopia but also it heavily influenced the political and economical life in the country. Even though English is spoken as a native language only by a small minority in Ethiopia, it is now the chief language of wider communication in the state and its prestige is by no means threatened in today's Ethiopia since it is used not only by the government's principal language for business and communication but also as a medium of instruction in government secondary schools, colleges and universities (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

There are several factors involved in the borrowing and lexical adaptation of the English technical vocabulary in Amharic, namely necessity, differentiation, level of the educational use of the borrower's language, level of esteem for one's own language, political

changes as well as the role of a language academy. Of all these factors the most important is necessity or the need for new terms. As Amharic was forced to borrow words in different fields during its vibrant modernisation that can be divided into pre-revolutionary (before 1974) and post-revolutionary (after 1974) periods, most loans were not only scientific and technological in character but also they referred to Western social, economic, political and legal concepts and institutions. With an upsurge of ideological innovation after the 1974 revolution a number of ideological and political loan terms was introduced by members of different socialist parties, university students and the communist government itself. Nevertheless, these were rather general tendencies and the post-revolutionary scientific environments did a great deal of work when it comes to the coining of technological and scientific terms for various disciplines such as chemistry, botany, physics or geography. It should be pointed out that the intensive advances of the socialist experts in terms of lexicology resulted in the publication of the first English-Amharic Science and Technology Dictionary by the Academy of Ethiopian Languages in 1996, i.e. five years after the abolition of the communist regime in Ethiopia.

As for the factor of distinctiveness or differentiation, it relies on borrowing English words and expressions by a group of people (young people, elite groups, etc.) to mark themselves as cosmopolitan or people following the latest trend, which means that most of the loan words are used by people that have completed a secondary or tertiary education. As the high school or university graduates have a great urge to express their rank and status, they use more loan words including those of sophisticated variety. When it comes to the third mentioned factor, it is the educational role of the borrowing language in the educational system that might increase the level of borrowing. The level of borrowing from the other language can be higher and lower depending on the use of the official language in the stages of education. As for the role of Amharic in the Ethiopian education system, it is rather not significant since this language is mostly used in primary schools as a medium of instruction while secondary and university education is conducted almost only in English except from the Amharic philology at the University of Addis Ababa that uses Amharic. With a little room that is left for Amharic to grow and expand, the language is forced to adopt loan words from English (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

When it comes to the factor of the level of esteem for one's own language, the increasingly lower use of Amharic at higher education levels as well as in domestic corporations is regarded by many Ethiopians as destructive to their culture. The abandonment of native languages and cultures along with the low appraisal of native authors, scientists or philosophers is often lamented by the representatives of the Ethiopian national and patriotic environments. For them the free interspersions of English lexical items by well educated people in Ethiopia in speech despite the availability of Amharic equivalents is not only regrettable but also reprehensible. To make the matters worse, the contemporary recordings of the Amharic theatre drama have English subtitles even if they are mostly viewed by Amharic speakers, which can be understood as having arisen from the prestige of English. Also the increasing number of students of the Ethiopian Languages and Cultures are regarded as worse by their colleagues from other departments with English as the language of instruction just

because they will teach in Amharic after their graduation (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

Also the political climate after the change of government in 1991 is one of the factors that affect borrowing in Amharic. It was declared by the then Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) that each ethnic group can speak and write its own language, which particularly affected Amharic given that this language had been the only language of instruction in all primary schools of Ethiopia. Nowadays, the primary school instruction in Amharic in Ethiopia is limited to the Amhara region and to the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region with no other viable region because of socio-political considerations. As the previously important position of Amharic is occupied by local languages such as Oromo, Tigrinia or Somali, it is not surprising that English became more entrenched in its intercommunal role since it is the only language used in secondary schools and the higher education system. Because of possible strong opposition by other major language speakers it could be difficult to try to teach in Amharic instead of English even at the level of secondary school not to mention the tertiary education. Crucial is also the linguistic barrier posed by the Ge'ez language that is alien to most of the Ethiopian students, which could hinder the university education via Amharic since a plethora of concepts translated via Ge'ez would be non-understandable to most of young Ethiopians or even their teachers.

The final factor is the effectiveness of a language academy that in the case of Ethiopia is very ineffective for many reasons. Even though the establishment of the National Academy of the Amharic Language by Haile Selassie I in 1972 was a pivotal enterprise of the imperial government, the success of this academy was very limited since it functioned for only two years. With the coming to power of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), known as Derg in Amharic, the Amharic Language Academy was replaced by the Ethiopian Language Academy, which was necessitated by the acknowledgement of Ethiopia as a multilingual country. Despite the academy's significant achievements in lexicography and the modification of the Amharic script, it was closed down in 1991 during the government change to be re-established as the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre in 1997. In the words of Anbessa Teferra (2013) by such constant changes along with the centre's research directions connected with the studies on other Ethiopian languages, the academy's ability to preserve the purity of Amharic is diluted and the deluge of English borrowings is freely accepted. In my opinion, the Ethiopian Languages Research Center will never be able to stop the wave of English borrowings, all the more that the Amharic language still needs modern terminology. However, this institution can promote the incorporation of foreign technical terms by the use of alternative methods that offers the Amharic morphology and other useful processes discussed in the previous sub-chapter. The promotion of Amharic in the economic and education sector depends also on the willingness of the Ethiopian authorities to care appropriately for their language. If the extensive use of English will be continued in the Ethiopian national corporations and in the secondary and tertiary education, the Amharic language will always be pushed aside and in the consequence threatened with extinction in the coming decades. It should be also emphasised that the bigger is the distance from Addis Ababa, the poorer is the command of English among teachers and students. This means that in the remote parts of Ethiopia people not only learn incorrect lexical and grammatical structures

of English which are passed down from generation to generation but also they mix the vocabulary of their native languages with English words. The negligence of the Amharic language and a simultaneous promotion of something that cannot even be called the variety of English is dangerous for the future functioning of the Ethiopian economy and education as there will be serious problems with the communication of Western enterprises that invest in Ethiopia. Even if the European or American investors know some Amharic for business purposes and they won't make use of it as the language has been collectively forgotten in the country, how will they communicate with the locals in an 'ethiopianised' version of English that they don't understand?

The process of borrowing in languages does not usually affect all word classes to the same extent, which means that usually nouns are borrowed first and other word classes secondly. This universal phenomenon holds true also for Amharic where noun borrowings into Amharic from English and other languages are followed by adjectives. These adjectives are usually formed to modify the loan word into the usual pattern of the Amharic adjectives. As there are few loan verbs, several of the nouns are formed by means of the auxiliary verb *adärrägä* (do) or other ones, for example, sponsor *adärrägä* (to sponsor, lit. to make sponsorship), *taksi yazzä* (to take a taxi, lit. to grasp a taxi) or *lift sättä* (give a lift). In the process of language adaptation pure borrowing is not always involved, which means that indigenous word coinages are also possible (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

As for the lexical borrowing from English, it is heavy in particular in the domains of science and technology, though it can also occur in other fields such as politics, communication, entertainment, linguistics and so on. Even though most of the loanwords are predominantly nouns, there are quite few verbs derived from these nouns. It is rare to find adjectival derivation and the inflectional and derivational adaptation of the loan words in Amharic. The process of entire lexical borrowing consists in the borrowing of lexical items with (almost) no modification and most of these items are from science and technology. As most borrowings are items or technological concepts and not processes, the majority of the loan words in Amharic are nouns. The following examples of loanwords were adopted unchanged in Amharic: (politics): *minister* [minister], *prezident* [president], *eğänsi* [agency], *kawänsäl* [council]; (telecommunication and entertainment): *telefon* [telephone], *faks* [fax], *sidi* [CD], *kaset* [cassette]; (IT): *softwer* [software], *grafiks* [graphics], *animäšan* [animation], *laptop* [laptop], *imeyl* [e-mail]; (science): *radar* [radar], *atom* [atom], *teleskop* [telescope], *kamera* (camera); (food): *gril* [grill], *čips* [chips], *stek* [steak], *kukis* [cookies], *ayskrem* (ice-cream); (medical terms): *farmasi* (pharmacy), *vayräs* [virus], *infekšan* [infection], *bronkaytäs* (bronchitis) or *eč ay vi* (HIV); (economy): *bägät* [budget], *asosiyešan* [association], *eksport* [export], *promošan* [promotion], *pablik säktär* [public sector], *marketing* [marketing], *globalayzäšan* [globalisation]. Importantly, most of these loanwords are phonetic borrowings. Also most the country names in Amharic were taken from English, e.g. *poland* (Poland), *ğapan* (Japan), *kinya* (Kenya), *nezerlandäs* (the Netherlands), *venzwela* (Venezuela). As there are no diphthongs in the Amharic language, the pronunciation of some loan words can be blurred as in the case of the following words: *animäšan* (animation), – no /eɪ/, *koktel* (cocktail) – no /eɪ/ or *kot* (coat) no /əv/. Of interest can also be the fact that in case of the

loanwords ending in *-ation*, the English diphthong /eɪ/ is often replaced by the sound /ä/, e.g. *inanimäšən* [animation], *globalayzäšən* [globalisation] or the Ethiopian /e/ (fifth order), e.g. *infekšən* [infection], *asosiyešən* [association] or *fawəndešən* [foundation] (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

A number of the discussed notions are used by literate people in Ethiopia, though some of the words are not understood by people without higher education. Some of such words have Amharic equivalents such as *farmasi – mädhanit bet* (pharmacy), *oprasiyon – qäddo tæggäna* (surgical operation) or *həbrä märäb* (the Internet) whereas others have not. To the dissemination of these new coinages greatly contribute the mass media, the educational system and foreign corporations. In today's Ethiopia most of the advertisements for shops that sell electronic goods and of the institutions that offer IT courses are made solely in English or partly in English and Amharic. Although most of the potential customers and students are Ethiopians, even the costs, addresses or syllabi are listed in English. This shows that it is crucial for modern words to be created in Amharic, even with the help of the Ge'ez lexicon. Nevertheless, these neologisms, if not created for everyday usage, will be solely for art's sake if no measures for the promotion of Amharic in politics, economy and education will be taken seriously by the Ethiopian authorities. Even if it is of use for the English speakers that the Amharic language is modernized and developed along with the English pattern, for Ethiopians who maintain a passive attitude to that dangerous phenomenon it will be a form of neocolonialism that they seem to accept.

8.5.3. Compounding

As mentioned in sub-chapter 8.5.1 on general principles of word formation in Amharic, compounding and phrase grouping are very useful morphological and syntactic processes in the coining of scientific terminology not only in the European languages but also in Amharic. Having been marked by syntactic and morphological processes, compounding is a quite complex linguistic phenomenon whose structure was proved to be theoretically explained by many linguists such as Bloomfield (2005), Bolinger (1989) or Dasgupta (2005), though their opinions as to the problem are rather divergent. Even though Bloomfield claims that the compounds are the forms placed on the border between words and phrases, other linguists such as Dasgupta share an opinion that one can understand the formal structure of compounds by the analysis of roots. This means that the so-called simple stems consist of one morpheme while the derived stems consist of more than one morpheme, by which it can be understood that there are stem and root compounds. Tauli (1968) assumes that one has to do with the process of compounding if two or three words are compounded to form one morphological unit.

So that neologisms in the form of noun could be created, the Ethiopian linguists and word builders from other disciplines of science can combine two nouns, a noun with an adjective or verb, a verb with a noun or even two verbs. It should be pointed out that the compounds can be formed in Amharic either on the basis of the Amharic grammatical patterns or on the basis of Ge'ez grammatical model. In the process of coining terminology for Amharic, there is a significant popularity of using the Ge'ez model in the Ethiopian scientific

environments, though it should be marked that it is not very effective because of a very poor command of this ancient language among the Amharic speaking community. There are such neologisms as, for example *awdä mähär* for 'university' based on Ge'ez that are used by nobody in today's Ethiopia, which means that even though the Amharic equivalents for many European cultural concepts are not in short supply, it is the speaking community that mostly decides whether to use an English loanword or a Ge'ez based compound.

What is widely spread in Semitic languages, is the form of a noun that is modified by another noun in a genitive construction, which is generally known as the construct state (*status constructus*). Those two elements i.e. the defining and defined ones, remain in a close relationship for the expression of possession or belongingness and they constitute an accentual whole. As in the case of other Chamito-Semitic languages, this construction is rendered in Ge'ez by a vowel modification, which means that the same ending as in the accusative is affixed to the first element (*nomen regens*) while the second element (*nomen rectum*) remains unchanged (Brzuski 1972). Although there are two different patterns for Amharic and Ge'ez, some of the compounds can be created in two ways without the change of meaning.

The Amharic model takes the form of a grammatical element in the function of genitive or simpler genitive marker (GE), radical element 2 (RE2) and radical element 1 (RE1), which is expressed by the pattern GE+RE2+RE1, for example *yä-q^wanq^wa astäqäqqäd* (language planning) where *yä-* is the genitive marker (GE), *astäqäqqäd* (planning) is RE1 and *q^wanq^wa* (language) is RE2. As for the Ge'ez model of compounds, which will be discussed wider in the sub-chapter on Ge'ez based compounds, it can be written as follows: radical element 1 (RE1)+genitive marker (GE)+radical element 2 (RE2), e.g. *mäkanä fäträt* (place of articulation) where *mäkan* (place) is RE1, *-ä* is GE and *fäträt* (articulation) is RE2. It should be emphasised that in both patterns the genitive marker and radical element 1 are located in different places (Takkele Taddese 2000).

8.5.3.1. Amharic and Ge'ez based compounds with the use of the construct state (*status constructus*)

As for the compounds based on Amharic, they will be analysed in the following way: the construct state, the adjective and noun composites, the noun and verb as well as verb and noun composites. The Amharic construct state, with or without the genitive marker is applied to create a scientific terminology in different fields, such as linguistics, literature, translation, theatre and music, fine arts, journalism, publishing including natural sciences, such as biology, chemistry and geography. In linguistics, the Amharic form of *status constructus* is predominantly used in the coining of phonetic and grammatical terms as well as compound parts of speech and concepts that are generally connected with linguistics. As an example of the application of the Amharic construct state in phonetics, such terms as *yä-tänababiwočč* *ṭägaggät* (consonant cluster) or *yä-afänč'a bā'at* (nasal cavity) can be given. The first mentioned composite literally means a 'chain of consonants' where the notion *tänababi* (consonant) is understood by the Ethiopians as a symbol of the unvoiced consonant in the Ge'ez syllabary (sixth order) while the word *ṭägaggät* means linking something with a chain.

In the expression *yä-afänč'a bä'at* (nasal cavity) the word *bä'at* (cavity) that comes from Ge'ez originally meant a rain shelter in a rock.

In grammar such neologisms as *yä-baläbet moya* (nominative case), *yä-täsabi amäləkač* (complement indicator), *yä-tə'əzaz anqäš sält* (the imperative mood) or *yä-ahaz/yä mäṭṭän qəṣəl* (cardinal/indefinite numeral) or *yä-tənbit boz* (future tense). The Amharic equivalent of nominative (*yä-baläbet moya*) literally means a 'spousal' case, which can be understood as the basic and most important case. In case of the notion of the imperative mood in Amharic, it consists of the form (*yä-*)*tə'əzzaz anqäš* (imperative clause) and *sält* (mood) so the entire expression means the mood of imperative clause or the imperative mood. In the Amharic counterparts of the cardinal/indefinite numeral adjective (*yä-ahaz/yä mäṭṭän qəṣəl*) the impact of the English language on the indigenous linguistic terminology as the numeral is defined in Amharic as the adjective of number and quantity.

A quite rich vocabulary with the use of the construct state in Amharic is linked with the classification of languages or the concepts that contain the term 'language/linguistic'. Such notions as *yä-nəgəggər q^wanq^wa* (spoken language), *yä-qanna q^wanq^wa* (tonal language), *yä-q^wanq^wa astäqäqqäd* (language planning), *yä-q^wanq^wa aṭäqäqqäm* (the use of language), *yä-q^wanq^wa mäwäqər* (language structure), *yä-q^wanq^wa qəññət* (language survey), or *yä-q^wanq^wa tätäqami* (language user). From a grammatical point of view, in the expressions *astäqäqqäd* (planning) and *aṭäqäqqäm* (use) there was an occurrence of the process of reduplication of the word stems derived from the verbs *astäqäqdä* (he caused that something was done) and *aṭäqäqmä* (he caused that something would be used). As for the word *tätäqami* (user), it is a noun derived from the verb *ṭäqäqmä* (he used) (Poláček 1994).

In literature, the construct state composites are used for such notions as *yä-sälala darsät* (detective story), *yä-sera maq^wač'a* (denouement), *yä-qal mərəč'a* (diction, lit. the choice of words), *yä-mušo gəṭəm* (elegy), *yä-gəṭəm anqäš* (strophe), *yä-dərgit mäsärzər* (action report), *yä-həywät tarik mastawäša* (memoir) or *yä-magbabiya dämšät* (persuasive tone). In the first mentioned composite (*yä-sällala darsät* – detective story) the word *sällala* means 'spying' so the literal meaning of the expression is 'a spooky story'. The Amharic equivalent for denouement is *yä-sera maq^wač'a* that literally means 'the plot's end'. As for the literal meaning of 'elegy' in Amharic, it is a hymn for funeral lamentations (*mušo*). This expression is calqued from the Greek word '*elegeia*' (dirge). In Amharic, the concept of a strophe in poems is expressed by the composite *yä-gəṭəm anqäš* whose literal meaning is a clause of the poem. In regard to the action's report, this composite consists of the word *mäsärzər* (outline, list, report) that is modified by the word *dərgit* (action, activity) that is derived from the verb *adärräga* (to do, make). The notion of a memoir is expressed in Amharic as *yä-həywät tarik mastawäša* that literally means the reminder (*mastawäša*) of the life's story (*yä-həywät tarik*). Finally, the Amharic expression for 'persuasive tone' is constructed from the word *dämšät* (voicing) that is modified by the *nomen regens magbabiya* (persuasion) derived from the verb *agbaba* (he persuaded) (Abera Lemma 2002).

There are also many forms of the Amharic construct state that are used in theatre, music and fine arts such as *yä-təwäna ləmämməd* (acting rehearsal), *yä-mädräk tälallaki* (call boy), *yä-nəgəggər ṭäbäb* (elocution), *yä-mädräk sket* (mise en scène), *yä-mädräk-əyyäta*

(spectacle), *yä-ṭənat māri* (prompter), *yä-muzika kəbāb* (glee club), *yä-šäkla mač'č'awäčä* (record player), *yä-zäyt qəb* (impasto) or *yä-rägga həywät* (still life). In the Amharic expression for 'acting rehearsal' (*yä-təwāna ləməmməd*), the *nomen regens* (*yä-təwāna*) means 'acting, performance' while the meaning of *nomen rectum* (*ləməmməd*) is rehearsal, though it is derived from the verb *lämmädä* (make exercises). Therefore the entire structure literally means 'doing exercises before a spectacle' when it comes to performance. The Amharic equivalent for 'call boy' literally means someone that is sent (*tälallaki*) to do everything he is called for also in the theatre. As for the Amharic notion elocution (*yä-nəgəggər ṭəbāb*) it consists from the noun *ṭəbāb* (wisdom, arts) that is modified by the noun *nəgəggər* (speech), so the literal meaning of the whole structure is 'the wisdom of speech', i.e. the knowledge and manner by means of which the role in the theatre should be expressed. The Amharic term for mise en scène or directing (*yä-mädräk sket*) has the literal meaning of 'a success on the scene'. The term *yä-mädräk-əyyäta* (spectacle) is constructed from the word for 'scene' (*mädräk*) followed by the noun derived from the verb *əyyä* (he saw) by means of the Amharic suffix *-ta* that has the significance of something that is seen, here a spectacle that is set on the scene in a theatre. As for the Amharic equivalent for prompter (*yä-ṭənat māri*), it literally means someone that assists the actor by suggesting or saying the next words of the parts of the role that were either forgotten or imperfectly learned by him by leading the actor (*māri* – leader) through the screenplay of a spectacle that is equated with some kind of study (*ṭənat*). The Amharic notion of a glee club, in turn, literally means not so much a musical group or choir group which traditionally specialises in the singing of short songs but a music centre where a group of students learns to play a musical instrument or sing songs in a group. From a lexical point of view, of particular interest is the Amharic equivalent of a record player rendered as *yä-šäkla mač'č'awäčä*. Even though the etymology of the Amharic word for a CD (*šäkla*, lit. clay) is not well known, one can assume that for the Ethiopians it was about the colour of the old vinyl records that could have reminded them of the colour of clay. The *nomen rectum* of this composite is an instrumental noun derived from the verb *ač'awwätä* (he played). When it comes to the two last terms from fine arts, the Amharic word for 'impasto' i.e. a technique used in painting, where the artists lay paint on an area of the surface very thickly, it consists of the word *zäyt* (oil) and *qəbb* (painting) as oil paint is traditionally used for the technique of impasto. The whole construction means literally oil painting and thus it has nothing to do with an Italian etymology of that term, i.e., kneading of a dough. The final term discussed in this paragraph is the Amharic equivalent of still life that is rendered in this language as *yä-rägga həywät*, i.e. a life that is frozen or steady (*rägga*) or even still. This term could have thus been calqued from the English notion of still nature if the second interpretation (adjectival) is taken into consideration (Abera Lemma 2002).

As for the use of the Amharic *status constructus* in the media, such composites can be mentioned to illustrate this phenomenon in publishing and journalism: *yä-məsəgana gäšš* (acknowledgement page), *yä-mäšhaf qurañña* (bookworm), *yä-ərmət zərzər* (corrigenda), *yä-fit/h^wala šufan* (front/back cover), *yä-mäsfiya kəfäf* (sewing frame), *yä-mäsk zägabi* (field reporter), *yä-lelit azzägağ* (night editor) or *yä-fäṭṭära səra sərqaš* (plagiarism). As regards the Amharic composite for an acknowledge page (*yä-məsəga gäšš*), it literally means 'page of

gratitude' as the word *məsəga* (thankfulness) comes from the verb *amäsäggänä* (he gave thanks). The Amharic equivalent of bookworm (*yä-mäshaf qurañña*) is a calque translation from English where the noun *qurañña* denotes a dung worm. In Amharic, the literal meaning of notion of corrigenda/errata (*yä-ərmāt zərzər*) is simply a list of corrections. The Amharic term for front and back book cover (*yä-fit/h^wala šufan*) is a loan translation from English. The Amharic term for sewing frame (*yä-mäsfīya kəfäf*) consists of the nouns *mäsfīya* (sewing needle) that is derived from the verb *säffa* (he sewed) and *kəfäf* (trimmer) derived from the verb *käffäfä* (he trimmed). The entire expression means a tool for bookbinding. When it comes to the Amharic counterparts of field reporter (*yä-mäsk zägabi*) and night editor (*yä-lelit azzägağ*), both of them are loan translations from English where the Amharic word *zägabi* is the instrumental noun derived from the verb *zäggäbä* (he documented, reported) while the word *azzägağ* (editor, one who prepares comes from the verb *azzäggağä* (he prepared). From a lexical point of view, interesting is the Amharic equivalent for plagiarism (*yä-fäṭṭära səra sərqoš*) that literally means stealing of one's work, i.e., the work created by someone. The Amharic noun *sərqoš* (theft) is formed from the verb *särräqä* (he stole) by the addition of the suffix *-oš* (Abera Lemma 2002).

In regard to the application of the Ge'ez model of the construct state, it is used in similar fields as the Amharic one, though it should be noted that for the ordinary people living in Ethiopia the structure of such neologisms is not always transparent enough as opposed to that of the Amharic coinages. As it was mentioned at the beginning of this sub-chapter, this problem stems from the fact that for today's Ethiopians it is rather not important to know their classical language. Nevertheless, the rudiments of Ge'ez are taught in church schools and for the future Ethiopian Orthodox priests it is essential to be fluent in that ancient language.

The Ge'ez construct state is predominantly used for the coining of neologisms in the humanities and fine arts as well as in science or technology. It should be however pointed out that for most of the Ethiopian linguists and terminologists that create the counterparts of the Western notions and cultural products on the basis of Ge'ez lexicon their work is often fruitless not so much because of the poor command of Ge'ez amongst the Ethiopians but because the English loan words are simply more mediumistic for everyday communication.

In linguistics, the Ge'ez construct state is used more and more often, predominantly in phonetics/phonology, morphology and grammar. It appears in such phonetic notions as *mākanä fəṭrät* (the place of articulation), *aṣən'otä č'ənäta* (stress), *awəṣ'atä dəmṣ* (articulation), *hablä dəmṣ* (vocal cords) or *mädəbbälä läyi-dəmṣät* (phonemic inventory). Other examples of the use of the Ge'ez *status constructus* can be found in such linguistic disciplines as lexicology: *māzgäbä qalat* (dictionary), *sər'atä qalat* (lexical pattern) *məhəsarä qal* (abbreviation) or *awdä nägär* (context), in grammar: *qalä-ṭəyyaqe* (interrogative pronoun), *aräftä nägär* (clause) or *ləsanä täfäṭro* (language competence). In the Amharic composite for the place of articulation (*mākanä fəṭrät*), the place where sounds are created is included in the logical sense, i.e., the whole expression means 'the place of creation' with a sound as a matter of guesswork. In regard of the Amharic term for stress (in phonetics) it literally means the force (*č'ənäta*) of the load (*aṣən'ot*) where it is about the pronunciation of a given syllable in a word with the force of accentuation. As for the Amharic equivalent of vocal cords (*hablä*

dəms) it is taken directly from Ge'ez and it literally means the string of sound, probably because of the vibration of vocal cords resulting in the modulation of the flow of air from the lungs during the process of phonation. In Amharic, the equivalent of 'phonemic inventory' (*mädəbälä läyi-dəmsät*) has a quite interesting morphology. It consists from the *nomen rectum* (*läyi-dəmsät* [phoneme]) that consists of the Amharic agentive noun *läyi* (something that separates) and the verbal substantive *dəmsät* that is derived from the Ge'ez verb *dämmätä* (he sounded) and *nomen regens* (*mädəbäl*) that means the accumulation (of phonemes). As regards the Amharic coinage for 'dictionary' (*mäzgäbä qalat*), it literally means 'a register (*mäzgäb*) of words (*qalat*). It should be emphasised here that the original Ge'ez plural form of the word *qal*, i.e. *qal-at* was retained in this coinage as well as in the term for lexical pattern (*sər'atä qal-at*). The literal meaning of the aforementioned neologism is the structure (*sər'at*, from Ge'ez) of words (*qalat*). When it comes to the Amharic equivalent of abbreviation (*məhasarä qal*), it is of the Ge'ez origin and means the shortening of word. In the Amharic term for context (*awdä nägär*), it literally means the reading place of an expression. According to Bayye Yimam (2000), this term is explained as the way in which the meaning of a given clause should be understood. In regard to the Amharic expressions for interrogative pronoun (*qalä təyyaqe*) and sentence (*aräftä nägär*), they mean the word of question and the period of speech respectively.

The Ge'ez status constructus is quite successfully applied to the Amharic literary and artistic terminology, for example, *gäššä bahriy* (literary character), *dəmsä-qäd* (*zäyəbe*) (onomatopoeia), *qalä akəbrot* (honorific form), *akəbrotä ləmodočč* (observances), *bərhanə sägännät* (box front light), *ətmätä alät* (litograph), publishing and journalism, e.g., *ahəšərotä šəhuf* (abstract of an article), *sər'atä hətmät* (house style [of an enterprise]), *sər'atä näṭəb* (punctuation), *sər'atä hoheyat* (spelling), *nəṭṭlätä qäläm* (colour separation) *mäqräsä məsəl* (camera), *betä məzakkər* (museum). In case of the Amharic compound for 'literary character' (*gäššä bahriy*), it literally means 'a character from the page of a book'. As for the Amharic term for onomatopoeia (*dəmsä-qäd* [*zäyəbe*]), it is a stylistic device that consists in the phonetic imitation or resemblance of a described sound that is also typical for this language. Even though this term in Amharic is translated as the imitation (*qäd*) of a sound or noise (*dəms*) as the concept of onomatopoeia is understood in English, it was not constructed on the basis of the Greek compound that literally means 'making names'. The following two neologisms have the Ge'ez word *akəbrot* (honour) in common, though in the first coinage it occurs as *nomen rectum* (*qalä akəbrot* [honorific form]) whereas in the second one it appears as *nomen regens* (*akəbrotä ləmodočč* [observances]). The literal meaning of both compounds is 'the word of honour' and 'honouring customs' respectively. Although the word for honour is the same in both cases, they should be translated into English in a stylistically correct way. When it comes to the naming of the equipment of theatres in Amharic, the Ethiopians seem to catch up with the appropriate terminology, for example for a box front light, i.e., *bərhanə sägännät*, that literally means the light (*bərhan*) from a balcony (*sägännät*). Both of these words are of the Ge'ez origin. From a linguistic point of view, curious is the etymology of the Amharic coinage for litograph (*ətmätä alät*) whose literal meaning is printing (or writing) (*ətmät*) on a rock (*alät*). It is a calque from the Greek compound lithography (*litho* for stone,

graphein for writing) and complies with the concept of printing on a lithographic limestone, a technique that was invented by Alois Senefelder in 1796 as a cheap method of publishing theatrical works (Abera Lemma 2002).

The Amharic compound for an abstract of an article is *ahəşərotä səhuf* that means the shortening (*ahəşərot*) of a written document (*səhuf*) and both of the words were taken from the Ge'ez language.

In regard to the concept of house style of a company that is rendered in Amharic as *sər'atä hətmät* where *sər'at* means the way or system of publishing (*hətmät*) the company's documents (logos, typography and layout of published documents, etc.). Even though the following two notions, namely *sər'atä näṭəb* (punctuation), *sər'atä hoheyat* (spelling) are closely linked with linguistic, the correct punctuation and spelling is important not so much in journalism but also in other areas of life. Both notions are constructed in Amharic by means of the Old-Ethiopian noun *sər'at* (system) and the respective *nomina recta* i.e., *näṭəb* (dot) and *hoheyat* (sounds, letters) that are of the Ge'ez origin. From the viewpoint of linguistic worldview, *sər'atä näṭəb* (punctuation) means a way of the correct use of spacing, conventional signs and other typographical devices that is differs in various languages, while *sər'atä hoheyat* (spelling) means the way of using necessary letters and diacritics correctly in a given language (Getahun Amare 1990).

In Amharic, the notion of colour separation (*nəṭflätä qäläm*) is a calque from English, though it is constructed from Amharic words in accordance with the Ge'ez pattern. As for the neologisms for camera (*mäqräşä məsəl*) and museum (*betä mäsäkkər*), their literal meaning is 'the recorder of image' and the 'house of remembrance' respectively. Both of the neologisms come from Ge'ez. These coinages co-exist with the English loan words *kamera* (camera) and *muziyem* (museum), though these loan words are more comprehensible for the Ethiopians. There are also Amharic synonyms for these concepts, namely *fotograf manša* (lit. photo taker) for camera and *mākanä qarş* (lit. the place of relics) of which the second is of the Ge'ez origin.

There can be such compounds in Amharic that are devoid of the *yä-* genitive marker whose absence doesn't influence the meaning. Such composites are constructed for naming notions in different fields of science. In linguistics and literature there are occurrences of such compounds as *səm gälac'* (noun modifier), *mätäfiya q'anq'a* (receptive language), *märräğa asäbassäb* (data collection), *mammäsakäriya kəfəl* (reference matter) *mäläyä bahriy* (characteristics), *gännät zäyəbe* (hyperbole), *məşşät zäyəbe* (irony) or *tämäsalet zäyəbe* (symbol). In fine arts can be thrown such expressions as *mägarağa kəfačč* (curtain raiser), *gäşş qäbbi* (makeup man), *dəms təqoṭattari* (sound effect man) or *nəṭaf sə'al* (landscape painting). In journalism, there are such expressions that follow the aforementioned pattern: *hatäta aqərrabi* (commentator), *r'əs anqäş* (editorial), *gazeṭa šac'č'* (paper boy) or *wəsəwwase gazeṭäñña* (reptile journalist). As for the Amharic notion for noun modifier (*səm gälac'*), it means the modifier (*gälac'*) of a noun (*səm*) or more precisely something that clarifies the noun. The very noun *gälac'* is derived from the verb *gälläşä* (he explained). The Amharic counterpart for receptive language (*mätäfiya q'anq'a*) contains the word *mätäfiya* (switch) that is not an adjective. It is about the language that is received and comprehended by

small children rather than expressed in speech and writing. The small children learn to understand words and language by means of gaining information and meaning from routine, gestures, visual information from the environment, sounds or concepts such as size, shape, colours and time but also grammar and written information (signs, stories, etc.) and they learn the ability to switch from the language that is expressed only by speech and writing, which is important not so much for pragmatic learning of foreign language by immersion but also for their development in general. The Amharic equivalent for data collection (*märräğa asäbassäb*) is a calque translation from English that is constructed from the noun *märräğa* (data) and the noun *asäbassäb* (collection) which is derived from the verb *asäbassäbä* (he collected, he gathered together). The following coinage for reference matter (*mammäsakäriya kəfal*) consists from verbal substantive *mammäsakäriya* (comparison) that is derived from the Amharic verb *tämmäsäkkärä* (he compared) and the noun *kəfal* that in this context means 'tier' or 'layer' (Abera Lemma 2002).

As for the literary term *mäläyä bahriy* (characteristics), it literally means an attribute or feature (*mäläyä*) of a book's character (*bahriy*). When it comes to the mentioned rhetorical terms (hyperbole, irony and symbol), their names in Amharic consist of a *nomen rectum zäyäbe* (stylistic device that are modified by such nouns as *gännät* (exaggeration) for hyperbole, *məşşät* (sarcasm) for irony and *täməsalet* (example) for symbol.

As concerns the Amharic term for 'curtain raiser' (*mägarağa käffač*), it consists of the *nomen rectum käffač* (opener, raiser), an instrumental noun derived from the verb *käffätä* (he opened) and the *nomen regens mägarrağa* (curtain). The Amharic equivalent for 'makeup man' (*gäşş qäbbi*) means literally the painter (*qäbbi*) of face (*gäşş*). When it comes to the notion of 'sound effect man' in Amharic (*dəməş täqoṭaṭṭari*), it means the controller or supervisor (*täqoṭaṭṭari*) of the sound [effects] (*dəməş*). In this coinage the word 'effect' was omitted. In regard to the concept of landscape painting (*nəṭaf sə'al*), it is a loan translation from English where *nəṭaf* means a surface that is depicted in the painting (*sə'al*) (Abera Lemma 2002).

In regard to this type of compounds in journalism, the composite for commentator (*hatäta aqərrabi*) consists of an agent noun *aqərrabi* (someone who brings something near) that is modified by the noun *hatäta* (comments) that in a religious discourse refers to biblical commentaries both in Amharic and Ge'ez. As for the Amharic equivalent for the concept of editorial in newspapers or magazines (*rə'əs anqäş*), it means a series of paragraphs (*anqäş*) written by an editor-in-chief that is referred to as the head (*rə'əs* [Ge'ez]) of the editorial board of a given newspaper or magazine. As for the Amharic equivalent for paper boy or more precisely the newsman that sells newspapers on the street (*gazeṭa šac'č'*), it consists of an agent noun *šac'č'* (seller) that is derived from the verb *šättä* (he sold) and a creolized Italian word for newspaper (*gazeṭa*) written with the use of the ejective *t*. From the phonetic point of view it is of use to add that in the derivation of the agent noun *šac'č'* (seller) occurred the process of palatalization /t/ - /č'/. In case of the notion of reptile journalist (*wəsəwwase gazeṭäñña*) it is about the foreign journalists that take over all publishing houses owned by the citizens or ethnic minorities of an occupied country, e.g. the case of Ethiopia occupied by the Fascist Italians (1935-1941) or Poland occupied by the Nazi Germans (1939-1945) and

publish newspapers or journals for their own convenience and propaganda. The word *wəsəwwase* is derived from the verb *wəsəwwäsä* by means of the phonetic modification of the vowel in the penultimate syllable and the affix *-e*. The noun *wəsəwwase* means wandering about here and there and mixing up matters just as in the case of an occupant that freely moves in all the spheres of the country seized by him and mixes up various things there.

In Amharic, the forms of status *constructus* can be complex, which means that the specific elements can be both of the Amharic and Ge'ez origin. Such expressions as *yä-[awəš'otä dämš] ak^wahan* (manner of articulation), *yä-[awəš'atä dämš] bota* (place of articulation), *yä-[zämänä tähadəso] sənä šəhuf* (Renaissance literature), *yä-[aräftä nägäročč] asadaddär* (sentence patterns), *yä-[sinä gəṭəm] fətəha* (poetic justice), *yä-[sənä hatäta] amaləkt* (mythology) or *yä-məsəl qalat [mäzɡäbä qalat]* (thesaurus) can be useful examples of this phenomenon. In all of the examples but the last one, the Ge'ez construct state became a *nomen regens* for the nouns that it modifies, namely *ak^wahan* (manner), *bota* (place), *sənä šəhuf* (literature), *fətəha* (justice), *amaləkt* (gods, Ge'ez irregular plural for 'amlak (god, God or the Lord)). In the last example *yä-məsəl qalat [mäzɡäbä qalat]* for thesaurus the expression *məsəl qalat* (similar words) is the *nomen regens* for the compound *mäzɡäbä qalat* (dictionary), that is the *nomen rectum* that is in the form of the Ge'ez construct state. From the viewpoint of the linguistic worldview, the Amharic counterparts of Renaissance literature, poetic justice and mythology. The Ge'ez compound *zämänä tähadəso* coined for naming the epoch of Renaissance and it literally means the period (*zämän*) of renewal (*tähadəso*). As for the notion of poetic justice (*yä-[sinä gəṭəm] fətəha*, it consist of the Ge'ez noun *fətəha* (law) that is modified by the *nomen regens* *sinä gəṭəm* (poetry) that literally means the beauty of poem. As it will be discussed in one of the coming sub-chapters, the Ge'ez noun *sənä* (beauty) is often used with other nouns to name the fields of science. In regard to the Amharic counterpart for mythology (*yä-[sənä hatäta] amaləkt*), it can be translated as the beauty of divine commentaries (Poláček 1994).

For the creation of names of different fields of science, the Ge'ez noun *sənä* (beauty) is used with common or abstract nouns. In the humanities such compounds can be used: *sənä ləsan* (linguistics, lit. the beauty of language), *sənä qalat* (morphology, the beauty of words), *sənä dämš* (phonology, the beauty of sound), *sənä ləbbona* (psychology, the beauty of that what is in one's heart), *sənä zäde* (methodology, the beauty of strategy), *sənä tərgum* (translatology, the beauty of translation), *sənä zäye* (dialectology, the beauty of dialect), *sənä mädabbälä qalat* (lexicology, the beauty of the accumulation of words), *sənä šəhuf* (literature, the beauty of scripture), *sənä gəṭəm* (poetry, the beauty of poem), *sənä wəbät* (aesthetic, the beauty of beauty), *sənä təbäb* (art, the beauty of art, wisdom), *sənä säb'* (anthropology, the beauty of people), *sənä məgbar* (ethics, the beauty of behaviour), *sənä amänkəyo* (logic, the beauty of reasoning), *sənä mäləkot* (theology, the beauty of the Divinity), *sənä qərs* (archaeology, the beauty of relics).

For natural and technical sciences are used the following compounds: *sənä hənša* (architecture, the beauty of building), *sənä täfär* (astronomy, the beauty of universe), *sənä həywät* (biology, the beauty of life) or *sənä akal* (anatomy, the beauty of body). In case of other sciences such as mathematics, physics, biology or chemistry, either the English

loanwords are used or there are specific Amharic notions expressed by other linguistic devices.

8.5.3.2. The adjective and noun compounds based on Amharic and Ge'ez

As for the adjective and noun compounds, they can be created in several ways, e.g. by the use of the Amharic and Ge'ez adjectives of quantity, the adjectives derived from nouns by the Ge'ez suffixes *-awi* or (less often) *-ay* as well as the adjectives derived from verbs with the alternation of vowels. In regard to the composites with the first mentioned type of adjective, they are constructed for many domains of science, such as linguistics,

Used in linguistics, literature and journalism are such compounds as *lesa ləbbolläd* (dime novel), *räzzim ləbbolläd* (novel), *təlləq fidäl* (upper case), *ač'č'ər mägläč'č'a* (brief), *wanna azzägağ* (editor-in-chief) *näša pres* (free press) that are the Amharic adjectives of quality. As for the expression *lesa ləbbolläd* (dime novel), the notion *ləbbolläd* (novel) is a noun that was clipped from *ləbb wälläd* (fiction) that is understood by the Ethiopians as something born in the heart while the adjective *lesa* means something that is unfortunate. The Amharic clipped word *ləbbolläd* can be modified by adjectives of quality as long (*räzzim*) or short (*ač'č'ər*) to mean a novella or a novel respectively. The Amharic compound for 'editor-in-chief' or 'chief editor' is a calque translation from English (*wanna* [chief] and *azzägağ* (editor) similarly as in the case of 'free press' (*näša pres*) where occurred the process of hybridization that will be discussed in one of the following sub-chapters. For some notions that come from the Ge'ez language but not necessarily, there is a possibility of their modification by Old Ethiopian adjectives of quantity such as 'abiy (big), *nə'us* (small), *bəlu* (old), *haddis* (new), *rətu'* (direct) or *i-rətu'* (indirect) as in 'abiy/nə'us *haräg* (main/subordinate clause), 'abiy *maṭaṭṭəf* (leading article), *nə'usan gäššä bahriyat* (minor characters), *nə'us sera* (sub-plot) *nə'us anqäš* (sub-paragraph), *bəlu sinä šəhuf* (classical literature), *haddis sər'at* (new legal system), *rətu' gäššä bahriy asassal* (direct characterisation), *rətu' ṭəqəs* (direct quotation) or *i-rətu' təsabi* (indirect object). The Ethiopians perceive the notions of main and subordinate clause through the prism of their Old Ethiopian language (Ge'ez). This stems from the fact that the first grammars in Ethiopia were traditionally written in Ge'ez. The first mentioned case of the use of the Ge'ez adjective of quantity ('abiy) is the notion of a leading article in a newspaper ('abiy *maṭaṭṭəf*) where the noun *maṭaṭṭəf* (article) that also means essay or paper. For the Amharic language speakers the main and the subordinate clause is a big ('abiy) and small or minor (*nə'us*) clause respectively. The categorisation of concepts as minor is also present in the literary terminology, for example, *nə'us sera* (sub-plot) and *nə'us anqäš* (sub-paragraph) where the plot (*sera*) of a book that is partly understood as some kind of conspiracy because of the intertwined events, which could have been taken from English as a loan translation as the other meaning of plot is a conspiracy. As for the concepts of classical literature (*bəlu sinä šəhuf*) and new legal system (*haddis sər'at*) they were taken from Ge'ez and there are not specific neologisms in the sense of the meaning of this concept as they were often used in the history of Ethiopia. As for the compounds modified by the adjective *rətu'* (direct) i.e. *rətu' gäššä bahriy asassal* (direct

characterisation) and *rətu' təqəs* (direct quotation) the literal meaning of the first one is a direct drawing style of a book's character and the second one is a direct translation of the English term 'direct quotation'. The discussed adjective may be negated as well by the use of the Ge'ez prefix *i-* (non-) as shown in the term *i-rətu' tāsabi* (indirect object) where the noun *tāsabi* can also mean a car trailer. This means that the action of coupling of a trailer to the car was transposed to the process of modification of a sentence in linguistics (Aberra Lemma 2002)

What refers to the compounds with adjectives derived from nouns by means of the Ge'ez suffixes *-awi* and *-ay*, they are numerous in different fields of science, though the formation of adjectives through the suffix *-ay* is less common. By these two suffixes can be derived adjectives not only from the nouns of the Ge'ez origin but also the Amharic ones.

The discussed method of compounding is particularly popular in linguistic, which show the following examples: *siräləsanawi tənababi* (glottal consonant), *känfärəsanawi tənababi* (labio-dental consonant), *särnawi dəms* (nasal sound), *tägbarawi sənä ləsane* (applied linguistics), *səməwi haräg* (noun phrase) or *tə'əzazawi aräftä nägär* (imperative clause). When it comes to the Amharic notion of 'glottal consonant' (*siräləsanawi tənababi*) it consists of the noun in the Ge'ez construct state (*sirä ləsan*) that is the equivalent of the word 'glottis', whose literal meaning is 'the root of tongue', that is then adjectivised by means of the Ge'ez suffix *-awi* (*siräləsan-awi*). As for the word that is modified by the noun (*tənababi*) it is translated into English as 'consonant' but in fact it means the unvocalised consonant symbol in the 7th order of the Amharic syllabary. What refers to the notion of labio-dental consonant in Amharic, it is constructed from the nouns *känfär* (lips) and *tərsan* (teeth [Ge'ez]) that were linked together in the process of clipping, i.e. *känfär-ä-(tə)rsan-awi* whereas the vowel *ä* in *känfär-ä-sanawi* was added to ease the pronunciation. As regards the Amharic term for nasal sound (*särnawi dəms*), the adjective is derived from the noun for nasal cavity (*särn*) while the noun stands for sound. With reference to the Amharic equivalent for applied linguistics (*tägbarawi sənä ləsane*), the adjective *tägbarawi* (applied, practical, functional) originates from the noun *tägbar* (work, but also practical task). As discussed in the preceding subchapter, the compound *sənä ləsane* in the meaning of the beauty of language was proposed to replace the English loanword for that. As for the last two coinages, namely *səməwi haräg* (noun phrase) and *tə'əzzazawi aräftä nägär* (imperative clause), the adjectives are derived from the nouns *səm* (name, noun) and *tə'əzzaz* (order, command) respectively. The meaning of the two nouns modified by these adjectives was discussed earlier (Bayye Yimam 2000).

Similarly constructed notions can also be found in literature, for example, *ma'əkälawi č'əbət* (central theme), *tarikawi ləbbolläd* (historical novel), *məsaleyawi anägaggär* (idiomatic expression), *tälämədⁿawi tämsalet* (conventional symbol), *bahälawi awəd* (cultural context), *təčətawi hatäta* (critical review) or *sənä-šəhufawi mərmər* (literary research). As for the notion of central theme (*ma'əkälawi č'əbət*), it consists of the noun *č'əbət* that means the main idea in this context and the adjective *ma'əkälawi* (central) that is derived from the Ge'ez noun *ma'əkäl* (centre). The notion of historical novel (*tarikawi ləbbolläd*), in turn is constructed from the already discussed clipped noun *ləbbolläd* (novel) modified by the adjective *tarikawi* derived from the noun *tarik* (history). As to the Amharic equivalent for idiomatic expression

(*mäsaleyawi anägaggär*), the noun *anägaggär* (expression) comes from the verb *anägaggärä* (he talked to someone) where occurred the process of reduplication of the stem in order to show the continuity of the action. The above-mentioned noun is defined by the adjective *mäsaleyawi* (exemplary) derived from the noun *mäsale* (example). For the purpose of easier pronunciation, the glide *y* was inserted between the noun and the suffix. When it comes to the Amharic concept of the conventional symbol (*tälämäd^wawi tämsalet*), the noun *tämsalet* (example, model, representation) is related to the noun *mäsale* (symbol) which shows the same root [msl]. As regards the adjective (*tälämäd^wawi*) it comes from the verb *lämmädä* (he adapted, developed a habit) and it stands for the notion 'conventional' because the noun derived from the root [lmd] means 'custom' or 'convention'. All of the three following expressions, i.e., *bahälawi awäd* (cultural context), *täčätawi hatäta* (critical review) and *sänä-šähufawi märmär* (literary research) are calque translations from English with the use of Amharic or Ge'ez words. The Ge'ez word *awäd* (context) is modified by the adjective derived from the noun *bahäl* (culture). Similarly, the Ge'ez noun *hatäta* (investigation) is defined by the adjective that comes from the noun *täčät* (critique, comment, review). Finally, the Amharic expression for 'literary research (*sänä-šähufawi märmär*) consists of the word *märmär* (research, exploration) derived from the noun *märämmärä* (to study, to explore). The adjectival definition of this noun (*sänä-šähufawi*) can be traced to the Ge'ez concept of literature (*sänä-šähuf*) that is modified by the suffix *-awi* (Abera Lemma 2002).

In publishing and media can be thrown such expressions as *sə'älawi maglač'č'awočč* (illustrations, diagrams), *zämänawi matämiya* (offset press), *təmhärtawi zəgəğğät* (educational broadcast), *məşšätawi sə'al* (caricature), *älätawi ättäm* (daily), *samməntawi ättäm* (weekly), *wärhawi ättäm* (monthly) or *gazeṭawi guba'e* (press conference). As to the Amharic expression for illustrations/diagrams in a book or magazine, it consists of the plural form of the noun *maglač'č'a* (explanation) that is modified by the adjective *sə'älawi* derived from the noun *sə'al* (picture, graphic). The literal meaning of this compound is 'graphic explanation' that fully reflects the structure of this neologism as compared to the parallel notion in English. When it comes to the Amharic counterpart for 'offset press or printing' (*zämänawi matämiya*), it literally means contemporary, modern printing and that is because it is a commonly used printing technique that relies on the transfer or offset of the linked image from a plate to a rubber blanket, which is followed by its placing in the printing surface. Even though offset printing was invented in the second half of the 19th century, the technique came to Ethiopia much later and for the Ethiopians it is associated with one of the manifestation of modernity. As for the Amharic notion of educational broadcast (*təmhärtawi zəgəğğät*) it is a calque from English. The noun *zəgəğğät* (program) comes from the Amharic verb *azzägağä* (he arranged, prepared something) and it can also be used for the expression of a TV broadcast where the programmes are prepared prior to being diffused through the media. When it comes to the Amharic expressions for daily (*älätawi*), weekly (*samməntawi*) and monthly (*wärhawi*) editions of papers (*ättäm*) the adjectives denoting the period of the paper's release are taken from Ge'ez, though they are also used in Amharic in unchanged or slightly changed forms. In the last example discussed in this paragraph, namely *gazeṭawi guba'e* (press conference), it is a loan translation from English by means of the Ge'ez noun *guba'e* (assembly, congregation)

and the adjective *gazetawi* (press) that comes from the creolised word *gazeta* of the Italian origin (Abera Lemma 2002).

For the formation of adjectives derived from nouns, the use of the Ge'ez suffix *-ay* is also possible, though it is popular to a lesser extent in Amharic. The composites created in such way are used in similar domains as those with the use of suffix *-awi*, for example, *täba'ätay/anästay şota* (masculine/feminine gender), *qädamay/mähalay/däharay anababi* (front/central/back vowel), *mähalay qätya* (infix), *aqolquway zämame* (falling intonation), *täqäbbay q^wanq^wa* (receptor language), *fäččay awäd* (semotactic context), *tahätay mäwaqär* (deep structure), *tamray täwnet* (miracle play) or *täkätatay ätam* (instalment paper). As for the Amharic counterpart for masculine/feminine gender (*täba'ätay/anästay şota*) it is taken directly from Ge'ez. The noun *şota* (gender) is modified by the Ge'ez adjectives *täba'ätay* and *anästay* derived from the nouns *täba'ät* (man) and *anäst* (women) which is the irregular plural of *bä'äsit* (woman). In the Amharic expression for front/central/back vowel (*qädamay/mähalay/däharay anababi*), the word for vowel (*anababi*) or more precisely a vowel symbol added to a consonant in the Amharic syllabary is modified by the adjectives taken directly from Ge'ez: *qädamay* (front), *mähalay* (central) and *däharay* (back). The adjective *mähalay* (central) is also used to denote infix (*mähalay qätya*) that can be literally translated into English as central addition (of a morpheme) (Bayye Yimam 2000).

In the Amharic composite for 'falling intonation' (*aqolquway zämame*), the adjective was derived from the verb *aqoläqolä* (he brought down) while the Amharic equivalent for intonation (*zämame*) is an example of semantic shift as its original meaning that denoted swaying of the *maq^wamiya* prayer cane from the left to the right by the Ethiopian Orthodox priests to beat out a rhythm during religious services was extended to the meaning of intonation as a linguistic prosody. As for the notion of a receptor language in Amharic (*täqäbbay q^wanq^wa*), it is a loan translation from English. The adjective *täqäbbay* is derived from the verb *täkäbbälä* (he received) and the *-ay* ending is dictated by the process of palatalisation, i.e., /l/ - /y/ in *täkäbbälä* – *täqäbbay* just as in the case of the adjective *aqolquway* (falling) discussed earlier. In regard to the Amharic equivalent of semotactic context (*fäččay awäd*) it is constructed from the Ge'ez noun (*awäd*) for context that is defined by the Amharic adjective *fäččay* (meaningful) derived from the noun *fäčči* (meaning). This term complies with the meaning of semotactics as the modification of the meaning of a word by interaction with the surrounding words. In the Amharic notion for a deep structure (*tahätay mäwaqär*) in the study of syntax in the Chomskyan tradition of transformational generative grammar, it is a calque from English expressed by the use of the Ge'ez words *tahätay* (below) and *mäwaqär* (system, structure). The entire compound literally means an under-structure of a sentence, which complies with the meaning of the term 'deep structure' in the Chomsky's perspective.

As regards the Amharic equivalent of a miracle play (*tamray täwnet*), the noun *täwnet* (performance) is modified by the Ge'ez adjective *tamray* derived from the noun *tä'amär* (miracle) In the last mentioned compound *täkätattay ättäm* (instalment paper), which is a loan translation from English, the adjective *täkätattay* (consecutive) comes from the verb *täkätattälä* (he continued, followed) and in the composite *täkätattay ättäm* (instalment paper)

it means a subscription to a magazine that is paid in a given period of time (Aberra Lemma 2002).

As it was mentioned at the beginning of the sub-chapter, the adjectives in the compound can be derived from verbs by means of the alternation of vowels as well as by the suffix *-ñña*. These compounds are used in different fields of science. Such notions as *fätəg* [*tänababi*] (affricate), *əssər läyim'alad* (bound morpheme), *wəssən məstə'amər* (definite article), *təmmər qal* (compound) or *tənnən q^wanq^wa* (jargon) contain the adjectives that came into being through the [ə-u/ə-(ə)] alternation of vowels whereas in such notions as *tənəşəşsari təntəna* (contrastive analysis), *təşarari gəşşə bahri* (antagonist character), *tadagi gəşşə bahri* (developing character), *talami ɛ'əbt* (motif), *təqarani zäyəbe* (antithesis), *awədaddari zäyəbewočč* (figures of comparison), *qəddami mädräq* (fore stage), *täfäntaqi bərhan* (spotlight) or *zəggabi film* (documentary) the adjectives have the model of vowel alternation that can be written as [ä/a-a-i].

With reference to the Amharic counterpart of affricate consonant, the adjective defining the consonant comes from the verb *fättäga* (he rubbed against). Here the friction in the articulator is compared to the Ethiopian custom of rubbing the skin of the face with a coarse cloth during the period of mourning. In the following example, *əssər läyim'alad* (bound morpheme), the adjective *əssər* comes from the Amharic verb *assärä* (he bound) while the noun *läyim'alad* (morpheme) was used to denote a place where something is gathered or collected (e.g. home, lodgings, religious institutions), though in a linguistic context it is used to mean 'morpheme', i.e. a place where the phonemes are collected together to form a morpheme. The Amharic denotation for a definite article (*wəssən məstə'amər*) consists of the Ge'ez noun *məstə'amər* (article) that is modified by the Ge'ez adjective *wəssən* (limited) that is derived from the verb *wəssäna* (to limit) that appears both in Ge'ez and Amharic. From a viewpoint of the linguistic worldview, this compound should be understood as an article used to modify only a limited number of nouns. By contrast, there is an opposite notion in Amharic, i.e., *i-wəssən məstə'amər* (indefinite article, lit. non-limited) that is formed in accordance with the Ge'ez morphology, that is by the addition of the prefix *i-* (non-). It can be of interest to say that these Ge'ez notions have their equivalents in Amharic, i.e. *yätəwəssäna däqiq qəşəl* (definite article, lit. limited small adjective) and *yaltəwəssäna däqiq qəşəl* (indefinite article, lit. non-limited small adjective). In these coinages can be seen the influences of the English language interpretation where an article is classified as an adjective because it describes the noun that it precedes (Poláček 1994).

As for the Amharic equivalent for a compound (*təmmər qal*), it consist of the notion 'word' (*qal*) that is modified by the adjective *təmmər* (combined) derived from the verb *təmmärä* (he combined, coupled together). The entire Amharic expression for a compound means a combined word which is consistent with the definition of this notion in English. The Amharic counterpart of the notion 'jargon' appears in the form of a compound, i.e., *tənnən q^wanq^wa*, which literally means the language of difficulty associated with hard work. The adjective *tənnən* is derived from the verb *tännänä* (it became difficult). From the viewpoint of linguistic worldview, the Ethiopians link the notion of jargon as a sociolect that comes into being and is used predominantly in the working class background, though it may be used even

in academic environments.

With regard to the Amharic equivalent for a contrastive analysis (*tänäšaṣṣari təntāna*), it consists of the noun *təntāna* (analysis, study, exploration) that is defined by the adjective *tänäšaṣṣari* (comparative, analogical) that is derived from the verb *tänäšaṣṣärä* (it was compared with). In the Amharic notions 'antagonist character' (*täṣarari gäṣä bahri*) and 'developing character' (*tadagi gäṣä bahri*), in turn the adjective *täṣarari* (contradictory, antagonist) is derived from the verb *täsärrärä* (he contradicted) while the adjective *tadagi* (growing, developing) can be traced back to the verb *adägga* (he grew). As for the noun *gäṣä bahri* (book's character), it appears in the Ge'ez form of the construct state in both neologisms. The Amharic notion *talami ĉ'əbṭ* (motif) is constructed from the noun *ĉ'əbṭ* (main idea) that is enforced by the adjective *talami* (planned) derived from the verb *tällämä* (he planned, developed). The whole expression means 'developing idea' and it reflects the definition of motif as a dominant or recurring idea in an artistic or literary work. When it comes to the Amharic counterparts of antithesis (*täqarrani zäyəbe*) and figures of comparison (*awädaddari zäyəbewočč*), both of them consist of the noun *zäyəbe* (rhetorical figure) in singular and plural respectively and they are modified by the adjectives *täqarrani* (opposite) from the verb *täqarränä* (he contradicted) and *awädaddari* (comparative) from the verb *awädaddärä* (he compared) with reduplicated stem (Abera Lemma 2002).

With reference to the three mentioned neologisms to be used in the theatrical and film domains, i.e., *qäddami mädräk* (fore stage), *täfänṭaqi bərhan* (spotlight) and *zäggabi film* (documentary), the nouns in these compounds: *mädräk* (stage), *bərhan* (light) and *film* (film) are modified by the adjectives *qäddami* (preceding), *täfänṭaqi* (shining, radiating) and *zäggabi* (reporting) that come from the respective verbs *qäddämä* (he preceded), *fänätṭäqä* (it shined, radiated) and *zäggäbä* (he reported).

In Amharic, the adjectives can be derived both from nouns and verbs by the use of the suffix *-ñña* and form composites with nouns. In such compounds these adjectives can be derived from nouns: *ṭəggäñña haräg* (dependent clause) from *ṭəg* (support), *mädäbäñña q^wanq^wa* (standardised language), from *mädäb* (category, class), *ləč'ĉ'äñña arəftä nägär* (effective sentence) from *ləč'ĉ'* (profit, favour), from verbs: *əğäbbəñña gazeṭännät* (yellow journalism) from *ağäbbä* (he flocked, accompanied), *mägänañña bəzuhan* (fourth estate) from *mägänaññät* (to connect) and from other parts of speech, i.e. *qäṭṭäñña täsabi* (direct object) from *qäṭṭä* [adj.] (straight), *käftäñña/mähaläñña/zəqtäñña anababi* (high/mid/low vowel) from *käft* [adj.] (high), *mähal* [adj.] (middle) and *zəqt* [adj.] (low), *andäñña/hulättäñña/sostäñña mädäb* (first/second/third person) from numerals *and* (one), *hulätt* (two) and *sost* (three). From the viewpoint of the linguistic worldview, such expressions as *əğäbbəñña gazeṭännät* (yellow journalism) and *mägänañña bəzuhan* (fourth estate). When it comes to the concept of yellow journalism, it is a type of journalism that presents little or no legitimate well-researched news and instead of that it uses eye-catching headlines in order to sell more papers. Nowadays this term is used pejoratively in the meaning of any journalism that threatens news in an unprofessional or unethical way. As in the case of the precursors of the so-called yellow journalism such as Pulitzer or Hearst, the aim of such journalists is to satisfy the growing needs of common people referred to as the flock to distract them from the

political reports that are devoid of emotions by the use of sensational reports on assassinations, bloody accidents, sex scandals and so on. In the Amharic equivalent for yellow journalism, this notion was subsumed metaphorically by the use of the verb *ağabbä* (he flocked, accompanied) derived from the noun *ağäb* (flock), which means those people who buy such papers for entertainment. As for the Amharic notion *mägänañña bəzuhan* (fourth estate), it consists of the noun *bəzuhan* (majority) that is modified by the adjective *mägänañña* (connective, bridging). In compliance with the definition of the fourth estate as the free mass-media whose power can shape the society and politics by controlling the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government to ensure that there is no corruption or malfeasance, the Amharic counterpart of this term can be interpreted as the majority in the sense of general public that breathes down the government's neck so that the authorities proceed according to the law (Getahun Amare 1990).

In Amharic, it is also possible to construct compounds with relative verbs both in active and passive voice. Such compounds are constructed in accordance with the Amharic or Ge'ez grammatical and lexical rules and they are used in different domains of science. The relative verbs can be either affirmative or negative. In linguistics are used such composites as *yätäšäwwə'o səm* (proper noun), *yämmayaq^wart hallafi gize* (past imperfect), *bä-qätta yaltätäqqäsä nəgəggər* (reported speech) and *yämmaykäbb anababi* (unrounded vowel). The Amharic equivalent for a proper noun was taken directly from Ge'ez and it consists of the relative marker *yä-*, the passive voice exponent *tä-*, the verb *šäwwə'a* (he called) and the object suffix *-o* (him) so the entire compound literally means the name that was given to him. As for the notion of *yämmayaq^wart hallafi gize* (past imperfect), its literal meaning is the past imperfect, e.g., the form of *yəbäla nəbbär* (he was eating), that is not cut off, which means that the action in the past was still going on at the point of time described but it was not accomplished (or cut off). The Amharic counterpart for reported speech, in turn, *bä-qätta yaltätäqqäsä nəgəggər* literally means the speech (*nəgəggər*) that was not cited (*yaltätäqqäsä*) directly (*bä-qätta*). Similarly, in the Amharic composite for unrounded vowel (*yämmaykäbb anababi*) the noun *anababi* (vowel) is defined as the vowel that is not rounded (*yämmaykäbb*) (Poláček 1994).

As it was mentioned above, such composites can be thrown in various sciences other than linguistics, for example in literature: *yätäwätätatu šəhufočč* (chrestomathy), *səmu yaltawwäqä dārasī* (anonymous [writer]), music: *yätäwäddädä zäfän* (popular song), in fine arts: *yärägga həywät* (still life), in publishing, printing and journalism: *yätäqarräšä šəhuf* (inscription), *yätattämä šəhuf* (publication), *yačärra šəhuf* (abridged paper), *bä-film yämmisämma dəmš* (sound on film), *yätäwətača mənbab* (extract), *yätälämmädä tərgum* (common version), *yämmikättälut gäšočč* (following pages) or *yätäšaššälä ətam* (revised version). As for the notion of chrestomathy in Amharic (*yätäwätätatu šəhufočč*), i.e. a collection of selected literary passages for the reader to demonstrate the development of language or literary style, it literally means selected literary texts, which complies with the definition of the term. The following Amharic composite *səmu yaltawwäqä dārasī* (anonymous) means a writer (*dārasī*) whose name (*səmu*) is not known (*yaltawwäqä*). In the next compound *yätäwäddädä zäfän* (popular song) the relative verb form (*yätäwäddädä*) that

defines the noun *zäfän* (song) means a song that is particularly liked by people. The artistic concept of still life (*yärägga həywät*) means a life (*həywät*) that was frozen. With regard to the notions *yätäqarräsä šəhuf* (inscription), *yätattämä šəhuf* (publication) and *yaṭära šəhuf* (abridged paper), the relative verbs that define the noun *šəhuf* (writing, scripture) mean respectively a script that is engraved (*yätäqarräsä*), published (*yätattämä*) and shortened (*yaṭära*). In the composite meaning a sound on film (*bä-film yämmisämma dəms*), the sound (*dəms*) is heard on the film (*bä-film yämmisämma*). The Amharic notion of extract of a text (*yätəwəṭaṭa mənbab*) is a passage of text (*mənbab*) that is selected (*yätəwəṭaṭa*). The last two neologisms are loan translation from English with the use of relative verb forms. The composite *yätälämmädä tərgum* (common version) is a version or translation that is commonly used while the compound *yämmikättälut gäššočč* (following pages) means the pages that follow (Abera Lemma 2002).

8.5.4. Word constructions by means of the Ge'ez prefixes

In Amharic, a number of neologisms can be constructed by means of the Ge'ez prefixes and suffixes. Of all the most commonly used prefixes taken from Ge'ez are *i-* (non-), *qədmä-* (pre-), *dəhrä-* (post-), *həbrä-* (multi-), *šärä-* (anti-), *kəflä-* (half-), *dibä-* (over-) and *bäynä-* (inter-). By these prefixes can be preceded not only Amharic or Ge'ez words but also the loanwords from English. As for the prefix *i-* (non-), it is used for negation in Ge'ez, though the neologisms that it modifies are in not short supply in Amharic. In linguistics, such coinages were constructed by the use of this prefix: *i-hallaṭi boz* (non-past [tense]), *i-sabi gəs* (intransitive verb), *i-sewawi tewulätä səm* (impersonal pronoun), *i-rətu' täsabi* (indirect object), *i-qälamay qal* (non-syllabic word), *i-näzzari tänababi* (voiceless consonant), *i-wässən mäṭṭän gälac'* (indefinite quantifier), *i-wässən mästä'amər* (indefinite article) or *i-mädäbännä q'anq'a* (non-standard language). In other branches of science, both the humanities and technology, such compounds are used *i-rətu' gäššä bahri asassal* (indirect characterisation), *i-tə'animani səmmet* (non-sentimentality), *i-ləbbolläd* (non-fiction), *i-täsmami* (asynchronous) or *i-sayənsawi* (non-scientific) of which the last one is an example of hybridization (Baye Yimam 2000).

As most of the meanings of the adjectives defining the nouns in these composites were discussed in the previous sub-chapter and they appear here in their negated form, they will be not analysed from the perspective of the linguistic worldview.

With regard to the nouns modified by the prefix *qədmä* (pre-) and other prefixes, their number is not so big, though such composites are worth further analysis. Such expressions as *qədmä-gebb* (epenthesis), *qədmä betä rufa'el* (pre-Raphaelite), *qədmä-huññeta* (precondition), *qədmä-gəbbur* (a ready made product), *qədmä zəgəğğət* (preliminaries) or *qədmä-monopoli* (pre-monopoly) are being more and entrenched in the Amharic culture. As for the Amharic equivalent for epenthesis or the insertion of an extra sound into a word (*qədmä-gebb*), it means the vowel that precedes the consonant at the beginning of word, for example the *ə* in *əsport* (sport). The expression for pre-Raphaelite period is rendered in Amharic as *qədmä betä rufa'el*, which means the school (*bet*) of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood that was founded by a group of English painters in 1848 that rejected the so called mechanistic approach of the

Mannerist artist that succeeded Raphael and Michelangelo. As the classical poses and elegant compositions of Raphael in particular had been influencing the academic way of teaching in a corrupt way, the brotherhood sought a return to the abundant detail, intense colours and complex compositions of Quattrocento Italian art that preceded the art of those famous Renaissance sculptors and painters, thus the name “pre-Raphaelites”. As for the Amharic notion *qādmä-huññeta* (precondition), it is a loan translation from English, where the word *huññeta* means a circumstance, event and condition. The expression *qādmä-gəbbur* (a ready made product) is taken directly from Ge'ez and it means a ready made product (*gəbbur*). In the case of the Amharic equivalent for preliminaries (*qādmä zəgəgğət*) literally means initial actions prepared by an organisation, for example. The last mentioned compound *qādmä-monopoli* means 'pre-monopoly' and it is an example of hybridization (Aberra Lemma 2000).

As for the notions prefixed by *dəhrä-* (post-), their examples are as follows: *dəhrä-amd qəṭya* (suffix), *dəhrä-gəbb* (syncope), *dəhrä-tə'əynət* (after piece), *dəhrä-tämäsṭ^wawinnät* (post-Impressionism), *dəhrä-mərräqa* (graduation), *dəhrä-əyyəta* (review) and *dəhrä-näddät* (after burning). With reference to the Amharic counterpart for suffix (*dəhrä-amd qəṭya*) it means an affix or something that is added (*qəṭya*) at the end of the stem of the word (*amd*). In Amharic, the concept of syncope (*dəhrä-gəbb*) means a vowel that should appear at the end of a word, that is not there. The Amharic term for after piece (*dəhrä-tə'əynət*) is a loan translation from English, though the word *tə'əynət* (theatre play or something that is observed by spectators) comes from Ge'ez. The Amharic equivalent of the European artistic movement known as post-Impressionism (*dəhrä tämäsṭ^wawinnät*) is constructed from the verbal substantive *tämäsṭ^wawinnät* derived from the verb *tämässätä* (he daydreamed) and it can be interpreted as seeing things in someone's dream. The graduation ceremony in Amharic (*dəhrä- mərräqa*) is closely linked with a kind of blessing (*mərräqa*) but not so much in the religious sense for someone who finishes their studies with a diploma. As for the concept 'review' (*dəhrä-əyyəta*) it is a loan translation from English, i.e. *dəhrä-* (re-) and *əyyəta* (view). The automotive term *dəhrä-näddät* (after burning) means a process in which additional fuel is ignited in the exhaust gases to produce additional thrust. The noun *näddät* (burning) is derived from the verb [*mäkina*] *nädda* (he drove [a car] or he burned something) as driving a car is associated with burning fuel by this vehicle.

With regard to the notions created by the use of the prefix *həbrä-* (multi-), such compounds can be given as examples: *həbrä-qalawi täwəññät* (double entendre), *həbrä-märäb* (Internet), *həbrä-kokäb* (constellation), *həbrä-sämay* (iodine). When it comes to the concept of double entendre (*həbrä-qalawi täwəññät*) or a word or phrase that can be interpreted in two ways of which one might be humorous or even indelicate, it literally means in Amharic a multi-word performance, where the ambiguity of words is possible. As for the Amharic equivalent of Internet (*həbrä-märäb*), it means a multi-web that is widely spread all over the world. In the case of the Amharic term of constellation (of stars) (*həbrä-kokäb*), it means the multiplicity of stars on the sky. The last mentioned example is *həbrä-sämay*, which means iodine.

Quite a number of Amharic terms are constructed by the use of the prefix *šärä-* (anti-), for example, *šärä-həmz* (antitoxin), *šärä-šəbbur* (anti-terrorism), *šärä-semawi* (anti-semitic),

ṣārä həywät (antibiotic), *ṣārä-tābay* (anti-pesticide), *ṣārä-arām* (herbicide), *ṣārä edəs* (against AIDS), *ṣārä-doping* (anti doping) or *ṣārä vayräs* (anti-virus). The word *həmz* in *ṣārä-həmz* is the Ge'ez denotation of poison. As for the word *šəbbur* in *ṣārä-šəbbur* (anti-terrorism), it originally meant panic but its meaning was extended to terrorism since there was no proper term in Amharic for this dangerous phenomenon. The next term for 'antisemitic' *ṣārä-semawi* is derived from the biblical name Shem. As for the following notion, *ṣārä həywät* (antibiotic) it literally means anti-life. The last three terms are examples of the process of hybridization, which means that the English lexicon is used in the coinages, i.e., the abbreviation AIDS, doping and virus. The lexical units mentioned in the two above paragraphs were taken from the *Abyssinica* and *SelamSoft* online English-Amharic dictionaries.

As for the last mentioned prefixes, they are used with nouns very rarely to form modern terminology for Amharic. The prefix *käfäl-* appears in such terms as *käfäl-məslät* (partial assimilation) or *käfäl-anababi* (semi-vowel). The final two prefixes are used even more rarely, though they appear in such compounds as *dibä-ləsan* (metalanguage) and *bäynä-ləsanawi* (interlingual) (Bayye Yimam 2000).

8.5.5. Loan translation and hybridization

As mentioned in the sub-chapter on general rules of word formation in Amharic, the processes of loan translation and hybridization can be very productive methods of constructing neologisms in this language. A loan translation or calque can be a word or phrase borrowed from another language by literal translation, either word for word or root for root, where hybridization consist in the juxtaposition of terms that contain words from different languages. As for the process of hybridization, it will be discussed later in this sub-chapter.

What is peculiar for the process of loan translation in Amharic is that in many cases the calques from English, French or even Latin appear in such forms as the construct state or the adjectives that they contain are formed by means of the Amharic and Ge'ez morphology. In some specialist terms borrowed from the European language occurs the process of semantic calque, i.e. where there is a transfer of additional meanings of the source word with the same primary meaning in the target language. The analysis of the Amharic loan translation will proceed in the following way: the Amharic and Ge'ez construct state, the primary adjectives in Amharic and Ge'ez, the derived adjectives by means of the *-awi* and *-ay* suffixes and the hybridised loan words. With regard to the examples, they will be taken from such disciplines as linguistics, literary studies, art, publishing and journalism.

A number of linguistic and literary terms in Amharic were translated in accordance with the rules of the Amharic and Ge'ez *status constructus*. The Amharic construct state is reflected in such notions as *yä-ahaz qəṣəl* (adjective of number), *yä-mäṭṭän qəṣəl* (adjective of quantity), *yä-q^wanq^wa betäsäb* (family of languages), *yä-q^wanq^wa läwəṭ* (language change), *yä-q^wanq^wa aṭäqaaqqäm* (language use), *yä-q^wanq^wawočč zəmdənna* (relationship of languages), *qal-ba-qal tərgum* (word-for-word translation), *yä-ərränña gəṭəm* (eclogue, pastoral), *yä-gätami nəšannät* (poetic license), *yä-mättasäbiya gäṣṣ* (dedication page), *yä-əgğ ṣəhuf* (manuscript), *yä-zena kəfəl* (news room), *yä-lelit azzagağ* (night editor), *yä-bə'ər səm*

(pen name). As for the Amharic counterparts for adjective of number, adjective of quantity, pastoral, manuscript, newsroom, night editor, pen name and dedication page, they are loan translation calques. Such loan translations as the family of languages, language change, poetic license language use and relationship of languages are phraseological calques since they represent fixed expressions in English, even though they are not phrasemes in their pure form, and thus they were translated into Amharic. The Amharic counterpart of word-for-word translation, it is an example of syntactical calque, since the syntactical construction in English as the source language is imitated in Amharic (*qal-bä-qal*) as the target language. In regard to the Amharic calques that came into being by the use of the Ge'ez construct state such as *mākanā hātmat* (place of publication), *amätä hātmat* (year of publication), *nətlätā qälām* (colour separation), *afəqərotā nəgəggər* (furor loquendi, i.e. mania of speaking), *afəqərotā šəhfät* (furor scribendi, i.e. mania of writing) *šəhəfe täwññät* (play writer), they are all loan translation calques, which is more visible in Ge'ez than in Amharic as the order of the English terms reflects the one of the Ge'ez neologisms (Abera Lemma 2002).

As for the use of primary adjectives of both Amharic and Ge'ez origin in the Amharic loan translations, the most commonly used Old Ethiopian ones are 'abiy (big), *nə'us* (minor), (*i-rətu* (in-)direct and *bäkur* (first), for example, 'abiy *mätattaf* (leading article), *nə'usan gäššä bahriyat* (minor characters), *nə'us sera* (sub-plot), *nə'us ar'əst* (subheading, [lit. subtitle]), *i-rətu gäšä bahriy asassal* (indirect characterisation [of a book's hero]), *bäkur attəm* (editio princeps or the first printed edition of a book [lit. first edition]), *bäkur qəğgi* (first version [lit. first copy]). All of these mentioned neologisms are the examples of loan translation calques. When it comes to the composites with Amharic primary nouns, such expressions can be given as examples: *nätäla wuṭet* (single effect), *näša tərgum* (free translation), *ač'č'ər mäsärzər* (short report), *tre nägäročč* (raw materials) or *təkkus zena* (breaking news, lit. fresh news). The Amharic counterparts for single effect, free translation, short report and raw materials are loan translation calques, but the last one for breaking news is a phraseological calque (Abera Lemma 2002).

In regard to the adjectives that appear in the discussed composites, they can be derived from verbs, for example *əmun tərgum* (faithful translation, from verb *ammänä* [he believed]), *qäddami mädräk* (fore stage), *qäddami märräga* (primary information, both from verb *qäddäma* [he preceded]), *šəmmər sera* (dual plot, from verb *šəmmärä* [he combined]), *täraki darsät* (narrative story from verb *tarräkä* [he narrated]), *asattami dərgət* (publishing agency, from verb *asattämä* [he published]), *asazzaññ məšät* (tragic irony, from verb *asazzänä* [he caused to be sad]) or *wässən hullum awwäq anšar* (limited omniscient point of view, from verb *wässänä* [he limited]). All of these expressions can be classified as loan translation calques.

With reference to the composites where adjectives are derived by means of the Ge'ez -awi and -ay suffixes, such calques are quite numerous in Amharic, e.g., *qəñeyawi q'anq'a* (poetic language) from noun *qəñe* [type of Amharic and Ge'ez poetry]), *bahälawi zäfän* (folk song, from noun *bahäl* [local culture]), *mahäbärawi ləmad* (social custom, from noun *mahäbär* [society]), *amätawi zägäba* (annual report, from noun *amät* [year]), *təyyaqeyawi mäsärzər* (inquiry report, from noun *təyyaqe* [inquiry, question]), *akalawi angar* (body

language, from noun *akal* [body], *təmhərtawi zəgəgğət* (educational broadcast, from noun *təmhərt* [education]), *təwñätawi anşar* (dramatic point of view, from noun *təwñät* [drama]), *mästayyätay gəşä bahriy asassal* (expository characterization), from noun *astäyayät* [opinion]) or *täqäbbay q^wanq^wa* (recipient language, from verb *täqäbbälä* [he received]) (Abera Lemma 2002).

Such expressions as *radiyo ṭabiya* (radio station), *yä-mängəst pres* (government press) or *magnätisawi hayl* (magnetic field) are not only good examples for loan translation but also for the process of hybridisation by which it is possible to juxtapose technical terms with the use of words from different languages. The analysis of such hybridised compounds will proceed as in the case of loan translations described in the above paragraphs, namely, the construct state, the adjectival phrases as well as the use of Ge'ez prefixes such as *şärä-* (anti-) *kədmä-* (pre-), *bəzä-* (poly-) or by the use of the Amharic gerund (*abro-*) from verb *abbära* (he joined, accompanied), for example *şärä-edəs* (anti-AIDS), *şärä-histamin* (anti-histamine), *şärä-doping* (anti-doping), *kədmä-monopoli* (pre-monopoly), *bəzä-form* (polymorph), *bəzä-estär* (polyester) or *abro-enzaym* (co-enzyme) (Takkele Taddese 2000).

As for the hybridised expressions that take the form of the Amharic construct state, such examples can be given here: *yä-ikonomi qəwəs* (economical crisis), *yä-ikonomi zärf* (branch of economy), *yä-dizel hayl* (diesel power), *yä-film təwanay* (film actor), *yä-təmhərt ministär* (minister of education), *yä-bəddär kard* (credit card), *yä-polisi qäräşa* (policy formulation) or without the genitive marker (*yä-*): *ayyär gəffit* (air pressure), *ayyär bəkkäla* (air pollution). In some cases there can be more complex forms of *status constructus* such as *yä-ləmat maşaşşaya proğäkt* (development improvement project), *yä-nukler mablāya ṭabiya* (anti-missile shield [lit. missile absorber]) or *yä-təmhərt, yä-sayəns-nna yä-bahəl dərgət* ([United Nations] Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), *yä-aläm gänzäb fänd* (International Monetary Fund). In case of the Amharic counterpart for anti-missile shield (*yä-nukler mablāya ṭabiya*), it is not calqued from English directly, i.e., it doesn't contain the prefix *şärä-* (anti-) and it can be translated as nuclear missile (*nukler*) absorbing device (*mablāya ṭabiya*) (see Kozicki 2015).

As for the adjective-noun compounds, they can be created by the use of creolized English adjectives such as *mobayl səlḵ* (mobile phone), *sayənsawi mərmära* (scientific research), *odyo vižuwal zəgəgğət* (audio-visual program) as well as the use of English nouns that form collocations such as *faybär optik* (fibre optic), *flaş disk* (flash disc) or *kompiyutär sayəns* (computer science) (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

In Amharic, there are also such fixed expressions where the English nouns collocate with Amharic verbs, e.g., *invest madräg* (to invest or to make investments), *aksiyon mägzat* (to buy shares), *lift sättä* (give a lift), *sponsor adärräga* (to make sponsorship) or *taksi yazzä* (to take a taxi) (see Anbessa Teferra 2013).

8.5.6. Clipping and creolization

Known as truncation or shortening, clipping is the word formation process that consists in the reduction of a word to one of its parts. Even though clippings are not coined as words that belong to the standard vocabulary of a language, they originate as terms of a special groups

like school, army, police or other labour environments. As opposed to back-formation, where the part of speech or the word's meaning is changed, clipping creates shortened words from longer words whose meaning is not changed.

There are four types of clipping, namely final clipping or apocope, initial clipping or apheresis, medial clipping or syncope and complex clipping. In final or back clipping the beginning of the prototype is retained and the unclipped original may either be a simple or composite. This type of clipping is the most common, for example, *ad* from advertisement or *exam* from examination. As for the initial clipping, it retains the final part of the prototype, for example *phone* from telephone or *net* from Internet. It is of importance to add that there are combinations of final and initial clipping where the middle part of the word is retained, usually the stressed syllable, for example, *flu* from influenza or *tec* from detective. There are relatively few words created by means of the medial clipping or syncope that can be divided into two groups, namely words with a final clipped stem that retains the functional morpheme, e.g., *maths* from mathematics or *specs* from spectacles, or contractions due to a gradual process of elision under the influence of rhythm or context, e.g. *fancy* from fantasy or *ma'am* from madam. In regard to complex clipping where clipped words are used in compounds, one part of the original compound usually remains intact, for example, *telegram* from cable telegram or *op art* from optical art. In some cases both halves of a compound are clipped as in *navicert* (navigation certificate). Since the border between those two types is not always clear, it is difficult to know if the resultant formation should be treated as a clipping or as a blend.

In Amharic, the complex clipping is mostly used for coining words usually from the fields of biology and technology. In biology such compounds as *dəraf* (pharynx, from *dəhər* (post-) and *'af* (mouth), *ənquč'* (albumen) from *ənqulal* (egg) *näč'č'* (white) and *ləkkalläf* (abnormal) from *ləkk* (measure) *alläf* (over). In phonetics there are such clipped expressions as *dulanqa* (alveopalatal) from *dud* (gum) and *lanqa* (roof of the mouth), *käfnabi* (semi-vowel) from *kəflä* (half) and *anababi* (vowel) and *känfärsawi* (labio-dental) from *känfär* (lip) and *ṭərs* (tooth) (Bayye Yimam 2000). From literature and professional terminology can be given such examples as *ləbboläd* (fiction), from *ləbb* and *wälläd* (born), *ṭərč'a* (addendum) from *ṭərs* (tooth) and *č'af* (tip), *malnäṭəb* (mid-point) from *mähal* (middle) and *näṭəb* (point) (Anbessa Teferra 2013). In technology are used such clipped expression as *maqäfo* (crank case) from *yä-mäskärkäriya qäfo*, *qollassari* (locknut) and *ṭərqät* (pitch) from *yä-ṭərs rəqät* (the length of teeth). From the viewpoint of the linguistic worldview, the last mentioned clipped expression for pitch (*ṭərqät*) should be understood as the spans between the railway sleepers that are filled with pitch during the construction of tram lines in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia (Takkele Taddese 2000).

A number of Amharic acronyms in the form of clipped expressions came into being after the revolution of 1974 so that the communist organisations could be easily associated, for example *mä'isäma* from *yä-mälla ityopya särrätännöčč mahəbär* (All Ethiopians Workers Union), *känäma* from *yä-kätäma näwariwočč mahəbär* (Urban Dwellers Association) or *mä'igäma* from *mälla ityopya gäbaräwočč mahəbär* (All Ethiopian Farmer Organisation) (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

As for the process of creolization, it can be very advantageous for Amharic since it

makes it possible to find Amharic equivalents for all other forms of the foreign term. This process consists in a slight morphological modification of the loan word so that an Amharic-like pattern can be given to it. In regard to the nouns derived from European languages, they can be modified not only by the internal root changes but also by the addition of Amharic suffixes, such as *-a* in *fizik-a* (physics), *turbina* (turbine), *siringa* (siringe), *akostika* (acoustics), *erodinamika* (aerodynamics), *mekanika* (mechanics), *ayyāra* (aeration), *pulmāra* (polimerisation) from *polimār* (polymer) or *furmāta* (formatting) from *format* (format). In some of the creolized expressions in Amharic, there is the process of sonorisation of one consonant in a root, for example /p/ to /b/ in tempering – *təmbāra*, typing – *təyyāba* or *polätika* (politics) – *bolätika* (non-educated form). In some cases there may occur the change of consonant that is uncommon for Amharic, i.e., /v/, for example, *verandah* – *bärändä* or *visa* – *biza* or /x/, e.g. *galaxy* – *galasi*. Some of the neologisms can enter the vocabulary of Amharic through the translation of a given term (usually compound) with slight changes in the pronunciation, for example, monotype – *mono təyyāba* or linotype – *lino təyyāba* (Anbessa Teferra 2013).

In some instances it is possible to use the foreign word as a root in Amharic and derive the whole word family from it, for example, *mannäl* (to anneal) – *ənnäl* (annealed) – *ənnāla* (annealing), *mätāmbār* (to temper) – *təmbər* (tempered) – *təmbāra* (tempering), *mätāwwār* (to theorise) – *təwwāra* (theorising) – *təwrät* (theory) – *təwwari* (theoretician) or *mätäyyāb* (to type) – *təyyāba* (typing) – *täyyabi* (typist). Most of these neologisms can be even geminated not to mention their properties of vowel alternation, which is very important for Semitic languages (Takkele Taddese 2000).

As it was shown in this sub-chapter, the processes of clipping and creolisation occur in Amharic and they make it possible to derive new terms either by the shortening of the Amharic compounds or by the amharisation of foreign terminology. These properties are very useful in Amharic especially when other methods of the creation of neologisms fail. In case of clipping, the discussed examples show that the shortening of compounds is not only useful for professional communication but also it provides proper technical words even by the metaphorization of concepts. When it comes to creolization, this process enables to derive new words in Amharic from the existing foreign terms and in some cases to form the entire word families by gemination and the alternation of vowels.

9. Linguistic worldview of selected metaphor-based vocabulary of Amharic

9.1. Theoretical aspects of the conception of linguistic worldview

As for the concept of linguistic worldview, it has a very long history that can be traced back to Aristotle's *topoi* or *loci communes*, i.e. common and generally recognised judgements being part of argumentation. Nevertheless, the beginnings of the theory of the linguistic worldview date back to Martin Luther in the 16th century who in his *Sendbriff von Dollmetschen* (1530) referenced to dissimilar characteristics of different languages that made it difficult to translate the Bible not only into the national languages of Europe but also into the newly discovered languages of the Far East and America. As the reality is mirrored differently in various languages, it can reflect the internal structure of the intellect, which is common for all men that were created by the same God.

In regard to the idea of the linguistic worldview, known in German as *Weltansicht*, it explicitly appeared for the first time in the works of W. von Humboldt, who believed that language is a work of the subject and his a priori spiritual activity. Stressed in his philosophy was the importance of individuals who cultivated language by leaving their own personal impressions upon it by being simultaneously cultivated with and within language. Even though language was thought to be an ever-going *energeia* that shapes thinking and culture, the constraints that are enforced on thinking can be overcome by creative use. In regard to language, it can be influenced by human activity and changes in culture while each specific culture can be contained in the nation's vernacular language (Stria 2016).

As for these relativist Humboldtian views, they were developed both by German researchers such as L. Weisgerber and American linguists and anthropologists such as Boas, Sapir and Whorf. Weisgerber wrote that the worldview is a mental construct that lies between the world and the community, by which it is not a mere reflection of the world but its conceptual interpretation that changes dynamically. Having been occupied with the grammatical distinctions made by languages, the American school of linguists and anthropologists believed that the differences between languages stem from their diversely shaped environments and that language shapes an individual's way of thinking. Although there are direct links between language and culture, it is not so that one necessarily conditions the other. It should be emphasised that both groups assumed that cultural traces can be found in language and the reality can be accessed by people through language (Stria 2016).

When it comes to the exploration of the linguistic worldview (LWV) in Poland, the main centre is the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin, though such research is also made in Warsaw (R. Grzegorzycykowa, J. Puzynina) and Wrocław (J. Anusiewicz). In the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin the worldview is understood as traces of culture in language and not language in cultures, which stems from the Polish ethnographic tradition as well as from neohumboldtism. For Humboldt the capacity of language is the same in all humans,

though there are differences between languages that lie primarily in the worldviews (Stria 2016). According to J. Bartmiński (2006), the founder of the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin, the linguistic worldview is defined as a certain set of judgements that are more or less entrenched in the language. These judgements are contained or implied by the meaning of words, by which the characteristics and manners of existence of objects can be revealed from the non-linguistic world.

Nevertheless, the dynamic character of the worldview contained in a language, being the focal point in the definition of Bartmiński, is not always found in other definitions of the Polish scholars. For Grzegorzczkova (1999), the linguistic worldview is a conceptual structure fossilised in the system of a given language realised in its grammatical and lexical properties as well as in texts and utterances, even though language interprets the world and not merely reflects it. As it is claimed by Anusiewicz (1999), the linguistic worldview is a certain way of describing reality, both the linguistic and non linguistic one, that exists in semantic, grammatical, syntactic and pragmatical categories of a language. This means that the linguistic worldview is an overview and collation of everyday experiences and norms, values, ways of assessment and the images of reality accepted by the communication community. From the perspective of Anusiewicz, the linguistic worldview is a specific way of mapping the conceptual world that is contained in the conceptual segmentation in the language that describes that world. In the words of Maćkiewicz (1999), the linguistic worldview is defined as a reflection of the cognitive experience of a community, a certain way of mapping the surrounding world as well as a modelling of the reality that enables man to navigate in it. She considers that this picture of the world can be found in different semiotic systems, of which one is language, which means that the picture found in a language is an abstract model of the reality that is a part of the user's linguistic competence. However, the picture of the world presented as a stating mirroring of the reality depends on the subject as well as on its cognition, experience and perspective.

The theory of the linguistic worldview can be applied mainly to all ethnic languages but also to the artificial ones such as Esperanto, which was proved in the dissertation of Ida Stria (2016) from the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, Poland. The components of LWV include different phenomena, though the elements of the picture of the world that manifest themselves by certain grammatical properties of the language from the conceptualization of the world in the significance and collocation of lexemes. There are many examples of grammatical traits reflecting the living conditions of various communities and the grammatical properties having impact on their way of the perception of the world. Of particular importance for the linguistic worldview are also the characteristics of vocabulary that constitute a peculiar classifier of the world. A different system of meanings depends on the grade of generalization of a given phenomenon as well as on the various segmentation of the world whereas the word-formative properties of the lexemes show the way of the problematisation of different phenomena by speakers. Apart from the properties of lexemes, also important for the LWV are the living word-formative and semantic motivations that co-create the linguistic worldview enclosed in language and functioning contemporarily. Equally important for LWV are also semantic connotations linked by speakers with the phenomena

called by them. These are the traits associated by the society with the designates of names that are solidified in metaphors, derivatives and phrasemes (Stria 2016).

In the opinions of the scholars from the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin, there are some regularities in grammatical relation as well as in the structures of lexicon that show different ways of perception and understanding of the world through the prism of language. Apart from grammar, that is recognised as one of the hardest bases of the reconstruction of the LWV, also the lexicon is particularly important for its cognition (Tokarski 1999). As the vocabulary contains a set of notions essential in terms of existence, society and culture, it is a classifier of social experiences. With the enrichment of the repertoire of words caused by the change of living conditions, the increase of knowledge or the change of social needs, new names of institutions, daily necessities or discovered phenomena come into being (Kozicki 2017a).

In order to study the linguistic worldview of the Amharic neologisms, it is necessary to know the mechanisms of the coining of new terms through the discovery of their internal forms and intrasystemic relations such as derivation, synonymy or opposition. As J. Bartmiński (2006) puts it, the linguistic worldview informally interprets reality from the perspective of an average language user and because of that it is anthropocentric and ethnocentric in character. In the opinion of Maćkiewicz (1999) the metaphors are the base of LWV's reconstruction in each community using any language, which can be also studied in the Amharic language that is developing rapidly. Maćkiewicz claims also that the picture of the world is nothing else as the knowledge about the reality in which not only the universal judgements, experiences and convictions common to the human race are included but also those more or less individual ones that result from different living conditions. The linguistic worldview in the words of Maćkiewicz is the part of so understood picture of the world with a rather specific status that is manifested by the way in which the reality experienced by the communication community is taken to the language. Muszyński (1999) remarks that behind the metaphorised professional terms, also in the Amharic language, there are hidden certain worlds linked by a semantic relation with these words, the relation between the language and the non-linguistic world or between the word and its scope.

As for the contacts of Ethiopia with the Western world, they contributed not only to the rapid development of this African country by bringing there the blessings of the European civilization such as land and air transport, architecture or the achievements of contemporary medicine but also to the soaring development of the Amharic language in the fields of technology, social sciences and linguistics. Nevertheless, the creation of neologisms for different domains of science was very problematic for the Ethiopian linguists or lexicologists because of the lack of equivalents in Amharic or Ge'ez. Even though a number of European notions were adapted to Amharic in the forms of calques or loan translations, the majority of Graeco-Latin terminology was untranslatable into Amharic not only because of civilisation differences but also because of the structure of this Semitic language (Kozicki 2017a). So as to solve this problem, the Ethiopian linguists and word builders from other sciences try to define metaphorically some of the notions associated with the West and to use the lexicon of the extinct Ge'ez language. It should be however pointed out that due to the poor command of

Ge'ez among the Amharic speakers, it is hard for these neologism to be entrenched in everyday speech. It is preferred by the Ethiopians to use English loanwords rather than to apply their complicated Ge'ez equivalents. Because the English loanwords are often phonetically crooked in Amharic, the use of Ge'ez terms seems to be a better solution, though it is the speaking community who decides how modern words are used in daily life and even the best coinages can be ignored if they are perceived as difficult or not transparent enough (Kozicki 2017b).

9.2. Linguistic worldview of the metaphorised neologisms of Amharic

With regard to the richness of professional terminology in Amharic, it enables to have a look on how such terms are constructed on the basis of the Amharic and Ge'ez lexicon and analyse these notions thoroughly on account of the rather atypical methods of the juxtaposition of words, often from different languages as well as because of the specific perception of reality by the native speakers of Amharic through the prism of their language.

One of the domains of technology with a relative scarcity of Amharic terminology is railroading in Ethiopia. The construction of the first railway line was finished there in 1917 and it was agreed that the line would be operated and maintained by the French through the period of 99 years. Because of the flagrant scale of infrastructure and stock neglect, this railway line was closed down in 2013 to be decommissioned and replaced by the new standard gauge line that was built by the Chinese two years later more or less in parallel with the old one. Both in the case the French and the Ethiopian administration of the line, the Amharic railway terminology hardly developed as the French operator educated their workers in French and the same thing is done by the Ethiopian Railway Corporation that uses English for the education of the railway staff. As for the role of Chinese on the Ethiopian railway, it is admittedly used among the Chinese personnel, but the Ethiopian staff uses English or Amharic for the purposes of professional communication. Nevertheless, the railway terminology of Amharic used to be and it is now rather poorly developed.

As for the Amharic equivalent of train, i.e., *babur*, it is arguably derived from the verb *mätäbabbär* (to link something), which would indicate that also in the conscience of the Ethiopians a train consists of vehicles linked with each other that are hauled by a mechanically propelled vehicle. The same word *babur* is used with reference to the trams that have been operating in Addis Ababa for several years. For the concept of railway station the compound *yä-babur ṭabiya* is used whose second part (*ṭabiya*) denotes other stations or posts, for example *yä-həwa ṭabiya* (space station) or *yä-mərč'a ṭabiya* (voting site). The basic types of trains in Ethiopia are *yä-täsafari babur* (passenger train) and *yä-č'ənät* or *əqa ag^waž babur* (freight train) of which the second type can be translated as a cargo train (*yä-č'ənät babur*) or a train transporting (*ag^waž*) freight (*əqa*) i.e. various objects. For the denotation of railway, the Ethiopians use the compound *yä-mäder babur* that literally means an overland train while a railway siding is referred to as *yätägaddämä mawäṭač'a* that is a track forking off the main line where the loading or unloading of goods is made. The Amharic expression for a railway line (*yä-babur mäsmär*) is the calque from English and an example of semantic shift, which

means that the components (*babur* [train] and *mäsmär* [line]) were used in the past as simple nouns but their juxtaposition brought a whole new meaning. It should be emphasised that the proper equivalent for the term 'locomotive' is difficult to be found in modern dictionaries that mainly use the word *babur* (train) or *yä-babur hadid motor* (lit. railway engine). This has probably something to do with the categorisation of world by the Ethiopians for whom the train is simply a train and not a combination of specific vehicles. By this example it is easily to illustrate the problem of scarcity or even the lack of proper Amharic vocabulary for the purpose of naming the notions from the European civilisation, with what the Ethiopians have to deal today (Kozicki 2017b).

While on the subject of the public transportation, worth being analysed are such notions as *awroplan maräfiya* (airport), *yä-awtobus maqomiya* (bus stop), *mammälalläša mängäd* (road for motor vehicles), *yä-trafik mäbrat* (traffic lights) or *yä-tiket täqoṭaṭṭari* (ticket inspector). All the compounds that contain English components are the examples of hybridization. As for the Amharic counterpart for airport (*awroplan maräfiya*), the noun *maräfiya* (a resting place) comes from the verb *arräfä* (he rested), so the whole compound means a resting place for airplanes. In the next mentioned compound for a bus stop (*yä-awtobus maqomiya*), the instrumental noun *maqomiya* (*stop*) is derived from the verb *maqom* (to stop something) and the meaning of the entire construction is a stopping place for buses. The Amharic counterpart for road for motor vehicles (*mammälalläša mängäd*) it literally means a transport road. The literal meaning of the concept for traffic lights (*yä-trafik mäbrat*) are electric lights that serve for commanding and controlling the movement of cars on the streets. When it comes to the compound used for the expression of ticket inspector (*yä-tiket täqoṭaṭṭari*), the noun *täqoṭaṭṭari* (controller, inspector) is derived from the verb *mäqoṭaṭṭar* (to control, to count) (Kozicki 2017b).

A number of neologisms in Amharic that are constructed on the basis of the Ge'ez lexicon, though not only these, are metaphorical in character, which means that they form phrasemes whose meanings are different than the literal meanings of their components. Such expressions as *afä mahäšan* (cervix), *awdä məhər* (university), *awdä rə'əy* (exhibition), *awdä ṭənat* (conference), *la'əlay mäwəqər* (communism), *lə'ukan budən* (delegation), *mälk'a mədər* (geography), *rə'ayotä aläm* (ideology) or *rə'əsä bəher* (president) can be appropriate examples for the phenomenon of metaphorisation of concepts and they are often created because of the impossibility of the adjustment of English loanwords to the phonological and grammatical rules of Amharic or Ge'ez. As for the Amharic concept of cervix (*afä mahäšan*), it appears in the Ge'ez construct state and literally means the mouth of womb. The three following examples with the Old Ethiopian word *awəd* (place), mean respectively the place of science for university, the place where e.g. tourist attractions are exhibited for exhibition and the place of study for conference. In regard to the Amharic expression for communism (*la'əlay mäwəqər*) it means a system that is imposed top-down and often without the support of the majority of a community or nation. The literal meaning of the Amharic counterpart of delegation (*lə'ukan budən*) is a group of envoys that are sent somewhere by the government, university or company. The Amharic expression for geography (*mälk'a mədər*) is a calque of the Greek *geographia* or describing the earth. In Ge'ez the expressions for ideology (*rə'ayotä*

alām) and president (*rə'əsä bəher*) mean the order of the world and the head of nation respectively (Kozicki 2017b).

From the viewpoint of linguistic worldview, it is of use to analyse selected professional terms from fine arts such as *səwwər astāne* (abstract art), *bərhan-ṭəla astāne* (chiaroscuro), *qəmmər astāne* (cubism), *näč'č' astāne* (gouache), *fəlfəl* (engraving), *məslä mädab* (etching), *astärə'əyotä ṭəbäb* (exhibition), *yä-zäyt qəbb* (impasto), *ləsən sə'al* (mural) or *assəqiñ sə'al* (cartoon) (see Abera Lemma 2002). In Amharic, the term abstract art (*səwwər astāne*) is rendered by the noun *astāne* (painting, art) modified by the adjective *səwwər* (hidden) that is derived from verb *səwwärä* (he hid). The abstract art is thus understood by the Ethiopians as the art or painting whose meaning is not easy to be inferred from shapes, colours forms and lines that create a composition existing independently from visual references to the world. As the abstraction indicates a departure from reality in depiction of imagery in art, such art is abstract because of the exceeding elusiveness of interpretation. The Amharic counterpart of chiaroscuro (*bərhan-ṭəla astāne*), i.e., an oil painting technique that uses strong tonal contrasts between light and dark in order to model three-dimensional forms, is a literal translation of the Italian term chiaroscuro (chiaro – light, oscuro – dark) where the noun *bərhan* means light and the noun *ṭəla* means darkness or shadow). With regard to the Amharic equivalent of cubism (*qəmmər astāne*), it literally means a kind or art where a painter is working with figures. In the Amharic term for gouache that literally means 'white painting' it's about the watercolour with tinged with chalk that is used with opaque methods of painting. As the chalk is white (amh. *näč'č'*), the gouache is understood by the Ethiopians as white painting, though the pictures painted in this way are not totally white since the colours are only diluted with chalk.

As for the Amharic counterpart of engraving, the term is associated by the Ethiopians with the earth that is displaced by moles (*fəlfəl*) that is then pushed to the surface which results in the characteristic molehills. The characteristic of pushing of earth to the surface by mole was transposed to the linguistic ground to mean engraving as the incision of a design onto a hard and usually flat surface by cutting grooves into it. These grooves incised in the surface are thus similar with the digging of molehills by moles. Curious can be also the etymology of the Amharic counterpart of etching or the technique that relies on using strong acid to cut the unprotected parts of a metal surface in order to create a design of intaglio that is incised in the metal. The compound *məslä mädab* (etching) literally means a picture on a copper (*mädäb*) plate that is covered with a waxy ground that is resistant to acid prior to being dipped in a bath of acid. As the acid dissolves a part of metal where it is exposed, it leaves behind lines that are sunk into the plate. After having been inked all over, the plate has the ink wiped off its surface to leave only the ink on the etched lines.

In regard to the Amharic term for exhibition (*astärə'əyotä ṭəbäb*), it means pieces of art (*ṭəbäb*) that are publicly exhibited for spectators. In the Amharic term for impasto (*yä-zäyt qəbb*) it is about painting where strokes of oil or acrylic colour are laid on an area of the surface very thickly so as to make an effect of a paint that appears to be coming out of the canvas. Here the compound *yä-zäyt qəbb* means only painting with oil colours. The Amharic counterpart of mural (*ləsən sə'al*) means a painting that is applied directly on a wall, ceiling or

other permanent surface. As these pieces of artwork are not very durable, particularly where they are painted illegally in cities, they are associated by the Ethiopians with getting dirty (*lasən*) in a short time. As for the concept of cartoon in Amharic, they are two terms of which one (*assəqiñ sə'al* [comic picture]) is used for cartoon pictures for example in comic books and the second *ašangullit* (lit. a doll) is used for characters in animated films (Abera Lemma 2002).

Valuable in terms of linguistic worldview are also numerous professional terms from the field of literature and translatology. As for the equivalents for such Latin terms as *a priori* and *a posteriori* that can be used also in literary contexts, they were taken from the philosophy of Albert of Saxony, a 14th-century logician, where the argument of *a priori* meant from cause to effect while the meaning of the *a posteriori* argument was from effect to cause. These expressions were calqued into Amharic in the form of *kä-məknyat wädä wuṭet* (*a priori*, from cause to effect) and *kä-wuṭet wädä məknyat* (*a posteriori*, from effect to cause). Worth mentioning is that the *a priori* knowledge is independent of experience, e.g. in mathematics, tautologies and deduction from pure reason whereas the *a posteriori* knowledge depends on experience or empirical evidence. In regard to the Amharic expression of causality as a philosophical category, it is rendered by the juxtaposition *mäns'e-nna wuṭet* (cause and effect) of the Ge'ez origin. Curious can be also the Amharic equivalents of horizontal (*ladät-mote*) and vertical (*waltäñña*) narrative technique (*yä-tärarrak zäde*), where the word horizontal means from birth to death while the meaning of the word vertical is associated with the notion of a circular disc of timber in the inside top of a round roof where the roof beams merge. It can be of interest to say that in today's Amharic the word *walta* (pole) is used in the context of the North and South Pole where the meridians merge such as the roof beams are linked to the pole of a traditional Ethiopian round house (Abera Lemma 2002).

As for the stylistic devices in a language, they are perceived by the Ethiopians differently as in Europe. Let us analyse the following rhetorical terms that can also be found in Amharic belles lettres: *qalä amsaya zäyabe* (alliteration), *täqarrani zäyabe* (antithesis), *əntone zäyabe* (apostrophe), *hwalaqär bəhal* (archaism), *gənəñ täläwwac'č'* (inflated metaphor), *məššät zäyabe* (irony), *dəmšä qedd zäyabe* (onomatopoeia), *sewuñña zäyabe* (personification), *tänäšašsari zäyabe* (simile) or *tämsalet zäyabe* (symbol). When it comes to the Amharic equivalent of alliteration (*qalä amsaya zäyabe*) it literally means a figure (*zäyabe*) of word assimilation (*qalä amsaya*) by repeating the sounds of the first or second letter in a series of words. As regards the figure of antithesis (*täqarrani zäyabe*), it literally means the figure of opposition (*täqatrani*) of words, ideas or clauses that are introduced together for contrastive effect (Abera Lemma 2002). In the Amharic equivalent of apostrophe (*əntone zäyabe*), the word *əntone* is a personal word in the form of substantive that is used only for addressing an inanimate object or a personified abstract quality. The Amharic compound word for archaism (*hwalaqär bəhal*), it literally means an old-fashioned or uncivilised cultural practice and it complies with its Greek etymology of something that is archaic, i.e. ancient or antiquated and it can not necessarily be a cultural practice but also a figure of speech that evokes the style of older speech or writing. As for the Amharic term for inflated metaphor, the word metaphor (*täläwwac'č'*) is a noun derived from the verb *täläwwätä* (be changed) that

refers to the change of meaning of a word or expression in order to clarify the hidden similarities between two ideas. This Amharic expression is modified by the adjective *gənəñ* (linked, connected) and it means a puffed up metaphor that is inflated by a connected series of ideas that form it. As for the figure of irony, it is rendered in Amharic by the compound *məşşät zäyabe* that means sarcasm, though sarcasm cannot always be ironic. The Amharic equivalent for onomatopoeia (*dəməşä qedd zäyabe*) consists of a compound in the form of Ge'ez *status constructus* (*dəməşä qedd*) that literally means a sound imitation and it complies with its Greek etymology of a phonetical resemblance of the sound that it describes. As for the Amharic word for personification (*sewuñña zäyabe*), the word *sewuñña* means humanization. The simile as a stylistic device is rendered in Amharic as *tänäşaşşari zäyabe*, i.e. a figure of comparison or more precisely a comparative figure. Of interest can be the fact that the root [nşr] of the verb *tänäşaşşärä* (be compared with) and of the adjective derived from it (*tänäşaşşari*) is reduplicated. The last mentioned stylistic device in Amharic was *tämsalet zäyabe* (symbol) that means a symbol, model or representation of an idea (Abera Lemma 2002).

Also the literary genres have their respective worldview in Amharic. As for the very term literary genre in Amharic, it is expressed by the Ge'ez juxtaposition *sənä şəhufawi zäwg/şota* (literary genre), though the word *şota* means gender (sex) as well. Since a thorough analysis of the entire literary terminology in Amharic is beyond the scope of this dissertation, only the most important genres of Amharic or European literature and some related terms will be analysed such as *təngərt* (fantasy), *yä-qäddəm səran maşaşşal* (rechauffé), *besa läbbolläd* (dime novel) *yä-ərräñña gəṭəm* (pastoral), *yä-hawult gəṭəm* (epitaph), *yä-mušo gəṭəm*, *yä-hazän əngurguro gəṭəm* (lamentation), *mahəlet* (sonnet), *säläñne gəṭəm* (ode), *məlsät* (flashback), *yä-sera mäqwač'a* (denouement), *mäqdäm* (prologue) and *qəṭay* (epilogue), *həbrawi anägaggär* (word-play) and *səd şəhuf* (prose) (Abera Lemma 2002). As for fantasy, it is understood by the Ethiopians as something that is predictory in the meaning of a prophesy. After all, the fantasy as a literary genre is something that takes place in the future that people try to imagine. The Amharic equivalent for rechauffé (old reworked) is *yä-qäddəm səran maşaşşal*, that is reworking or improving (*maşaşşal*) of one's old work (*yä-qäddəm səra*). The Ethiopians also link the concept of a dime novel (*besa läbbolläd*) with an unfortunate or mysterious plot as shown by the adjective *besa* (unfortunate) rather than with an easily available novel of poor quality (a harlequin). When it comes to an eclogue or pastoral (*yä-ərräñña gəṭəm*) as a literary genre in Amharic, it literally means a poem that depicts the life of shepherds (*ərräñña*) herding livestock in an idealized manner. This term also complies with its Greek etymology, as the Greek-derived word *bucolic* along with its Latin equivalent *pastor* means a herdsman. Like us, the Ethiopians understand the term epitaph (*yä-hawult gəṭəm*) as a short piece of writing, e.g. a poem written on the gravestone (*hawult*) of a dead person. It totally complies with its Greek etymology as the structure *epi-taphios* means 'over a tomb'.

As for the Amharic equivalent of elegy (*yä-mušo gəṭəm*), it is a kind of funeral (*mušo*) hymn sung with a serious reflection as a sign of a lament for the dead. Another discussed term – lamentation (*yä-hazän əngurguro gəṭəm*) is similar in character with the previous one, but the main difference is that lamentation is sung with a regret for having lost someone that a

group of people loved very much. The Amharic word for sonnet (*mahālet*), in turn, is more linked in Ethiopia with a church song of praise rather than with its European secular character. As for the Amharic word for ode (*sälāññe gəṭəm*), it literally means 'a poem about me' (*sälä-äññe*) and this can have something to do with the concept of Horace's odes that exalted and inspired individual emotions.

When it comes to the other terms associated with literature, the word *mälsät* (flashback) is derived from the verb *mälläsä* (go back) and thus it expresses the so-called back story that takes the narrative back in time from the current point of the story. The Amharic compound for denouement (*yä-sera mäqwač'a*) means the story's conclusion. In Amharic, the terms *mäqdäm* (prologue) and *qəṭay* (epilogue) are derived from the respective verbs *qäddäma* (precede) and *qäṭṭälä* (follow) so the prologue shows preceding events while the epilogue presents the following ones after the end of the main plot. When it comes to the term *həbrawi anägaggär* (word-play), its literal meaning is a simultaneous play of ambiguous words or expressions whereas the Amharic juxtaposition *səd šəhuf* means prose that is understood by the Ethiopians as a free or even an ill-mannered in character piece of writing that is devoid of poetic figures of speech.

Finally, also some technical terms from the field of translatology need a more detailed reflection such as: *mändäräñña anägaggär* (colloquial expression), *šənfä bahäl tərgum* (culture-bound translation), *näša tərgum* (free translation), *ṭre tərgum* (literal translation), *yä-təwsət tərgum* (loanword), *märha qalat* (nomenclature), *muyawi qal* (technical term) and *kəflä-qal* (syllable) (Abera Lemma 2002). As for the Amharic counterpart of colloquial expression (*mändäräñña anägaggär*), it literally means a rural parlance as the adjective colloquial is derived from the noun *mändär* (village) and thus it has nothing to do with its Latin etymology where colloquial means conversational. In Amharic, the concept of a culture-bound translation is expressed by the compound *šənfä bahäl tərgum* that is a calque from English where the adjective *šənf* (bound, limited) appears in the Ge'ez construct state that allows adjectives to be modified by the genitive marker *-ä* (*šənf-ä bahäl*). As in the case of the Amharic term for culture-bound translation, also the expression for free translation (*näša tərgum*) is calqued from English. By contrast, the Amharic term for literal translation (*ṭre tərgum*) is more original in character for it literally means a raw translation. In regard to the Amharic equivalent for loanword (*yä-təwsət tərgum*), it literally means a borrowed translation as the noun *təwsət* (loan) is derived from the verb *təwässä* (to loan, to borrow). From the viewpoint of linguistic worldview, the Amharic expression for nomenclature (*märha qalat*) can also be interesting as it literally means the plan (*märha*) of words (*qalat*) and thus it has nothing to do with the etymology of the Latin word *nomenclatura* that means calling of names. When it comes the Amharic notion of technical/professional term (*muyawi qal*), it is a calque from English, where the adjective *muyawi* means professional and the noun *qal* is used to denote a word or a term. For the speakers of Amharic the concept of syllable is expressed by the compound *kəflä-qal* that literally means monosyllable or halfword. Conversely, the English word *syllable* is derived from the Latin term *syllaba* that has its roots in Ancient Greek.

After a thorough analysis of the professional terms in Amharic that are often

metaphorized one can infer that the native speakers of Amharic are conscious of the fact that for the development of their language it is important to have professional terms from different fields of science. On the basis of the analysed terminology it can be concluded that the Ethiopians not merely want to calque or adapt the English terminology to their language and for this they use the Ge'ez lexicon, which seems to be rational. Behind almost every metaphorized term in Amharic are hidden some worlds whose description is valuable from the viewpoint of the linguistic worldview as in this way the common cognitive experiences of the Amharic speakers can be found along with the methods of modelling the reality in which they are moving. The description of such a world is carried out from some perspective that regulates human behaviour. These metaphors and phrasemes that were used to create a number of professional terms in Amharic occupy an important place among the linguistic stereotypes that determine the perception of the world and the way of thinking about it by the language communities (Kozicki 2017a). By their analysis one can understand the mentality of the Amharic speakers as it makes it possible to reach not only the ways of the world's perception and conceptualisation by people but also to the psycho-social mechanisms of the categorisation of phenomena by the users of a given language. Even though the judgements about the world are consolidated in the language, they have to be assessed in terms of culture, which is visible in the etymology of some Amharic notions. In order to understand these concepts properly, it is necessary to be knowledgeable in the Ethiopian culture.

10. Conclusions

Even though the study on language planning in Asian and African languages has been so far gaining an increasing popularity among linguists all over the world, not very much has been written about the new tendencies in the planning of Amharic, which is all the more surprising that such languages as Swahili, Afrikaans or a number of West African languages saw substantial research studies in this field. Despite the language policy in Ethiopia was described thoroughly by domestic and foreign scientists, the problem of the corpus planning of Amharic is often overlooked by them. Although many people associate Ethiopia with poverty and famine, which is often brought out by the media, both the languages and cultures of this African country are known only by the few. Even if Ethiopia has serious economic and social problems, it is often underestimated by the Western countries that this country can be a good economic partner both for the West and the Far East. This island of Christianity at the sea of Islam has indeed very much to offer. Known by their diligence and honesty, the Ethiopians managed to draw the attention of the key global corporations to themselves, which resulted to an extensive modernisation of their country. One of their most spectacular economic achievements is the project of the standard gauge railway that they have constructed and now operate with the help of the Chinese people that will entwine the biggest cities and towns of Ethiopia and will merge with a similar railway project in neighbouring Kenya, also developed with the support of the Chinese engineers. Even though the Ethiopian Christians have always striven to be closer to the European and global culture, which was often impeded by the Muslims because of geopolitical reasons, the globalisation of economy and the development of technology can eventually push these boundaries, it should be emphasized that much depends on the bilateral cooperation of the eastern and western political entities also at the linguistic level.

The aim of this dissertation was to illustrate the three layers of language planning in Amharic, which was presented against a background of planning processes in ethnic (Sanskrit, Norwegian, Bahasa Indonesia) and of artificial languages (Esperanto, Occidental/Interlingue). All of these mentioned ethnic languages were subject to radical modernisation, whether it was in the antiquity (Sanskrit) or in the 19th or 20th century (Norwegian, Bahasa Indonesia), and they is still being planned so that they could be used by their respective speaking communities in all domains of life and science. As opposed to planned languages, the aforementioned ethnic languages were not designed according to a plan and thus they are neither the property of individual men nor the property of language planners who can considerably reform the structure of such languages. In regard to the artificial languages (Esperanto, Occidental/Interlingue) analysed in this work, they can also be subject to language planning, but much depends from the authors themselves, which cannot be said about natural languages.

By having explored the theoretical aspects of language planning and the feasibility of its implementation in both natural and planned languages, the author hopes that the basic knowledge on the history and diverse processes of language planning that occurred in Sanskrit, New Norwegian, Bahasa Indonesia, Esperanto and Occidental/Interlingue will help

the reader to understand the gravity of their application in the Amharic language that is developing rapidly in Ethiopia. With the increasingly vast contacts of this country with the European culture, Amharic is being put into the new linguistic and cultural realities so as not to lose its prestige in favour of English. In order to prevent that, a great deal of work has been made in the recent decades to coin the professional terminology in the widest possible range of domains of science.

With the financial support from the Western world, it was possible to write extensive English-Amharic technical dictionaries and to fund the activity of diverse terminological advisory boards that have contributed to the substantial lexical reforms of Amharic over the past twenty-some years. The analysis of various Amharic lexemes on the basis of modern English-Amharic online dictionaries (*SelamSoft*, *Abyssinica*), glossaries of Amharic professional terms (Abera Lemma 2002) or glossaries of linguistic terms appearing in the articles (Poláček 1994) or attached to the Amharic grammar books (Bayye Yimam (2000), Getahun Amare (1990)), helped the author to analyse the structure of these notions and classify them according to various criteria and to see how they are used in the Ethiopian newspapers (*Addis Zāmān*). These neologisms were arranged into different categories in terms of their structure (compounds, affixation, clipping, hybridization, creolisation) and their linguistic worldview. By the organisation of knowledge on these processes and the author's proper research on the linguistic worldview of the metaphorised Amharic neologisms, it was achieved to make extensive studies in regard to the corpus planning of Amharic and to take new directions in the studies of the latest coinages from different fields of science with the use of the linguistic worldview methodology developed by the Polish Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin that hasn't ever been attempted in Poland or abroad. This is apparently the first effort of the systematization of the language planning in Amharic based on the similar achievements in the planning of both natural and artificial languages along with the use of the tools of interlinguistics as a branch of applied linguistics.

Even though many collections and linguistic analyses of the Amharic neologisms have been attempted, they are often listed in glossaries without their proper linguistic elaboration. One of the most important achievements of my dissertation was a linguistic analysis of these neologisms and modern words from different fields of science. The professional lexicon was properly explored when it comes to the etymology and semantic relations between the words, which made it possible to describe and organise these neologisms. The linguistic material analysed in this work was classified into diverse categories (e.g. morphological changes in roots, loan translation, Ge'ez affixation, hybridization, clipping or creolization) and partly studied in terms of the linguistic worldview. Although some Ethiopian linguists such as Aschale (2013), Teferra (2013) or Taddese (2000) managed to explore the elements of language planning in Amharic, this work will certainly broaden and coordinate the knowledge on the creation of neologisms and professional terms in this African language.

In spite of having taken these measures for the modernisation of Amharic by the Ethiopian language reformers, the hegemony of English is more and more dangerous for the existence of Amharic and this is because English has become a marker for social status for many Ethiopians and simultaneously a potent tool for the possible neocolonisation of

Ethiopia, which ordinary people don't seem to realise. Should Amharic not be properly sustained by the current Ethiopian authorities, it can be eventually replaced by Oromo, the language of the biggest ethnic group in the country. This is all the more possible as there is no deeply engrained English language tradition in Ethiopia and its relatively poor command among Ethiopians will apparently not put it up on a pedestal in the state. Suffice it to say that the increasing dislike of Amharic among the most significant ethnic groups in Ethiopia can lead to the imminent economic collapse of the country and even plunge it into a civil war that can be even more aggravated by the warring sides of the conflict. On the other hand the use of the Ge'ez lexicon in the coining of neologisms and professional terms deserves particular emphasis as it makes the Ethiopian people not totally dependent on English loanwords that are often garbled and lame because of the phonetic differences in these languages. This means that European notions can be expressed by indigenous words, which gives them an original linguistic worldview, e.g. *səwwər astāne* for 'abstract art' where the original Amharic construction means 'hidden art' probably because the interpretation of such abstract paintings is not always easy for ordinary people. It should be pointed out that the ample description of all the three levels of language planning in Amharic so far has not been made thoroughly, neither in Poland, nor outside Ethiopia.

The language planning of Amharic is an interesting theme that offers fresh avenues not only in the Ethiopian but also in the world linguistics for many reasons. Since this African languages is constantly developing, the use considerable part of neologisms and modern words has not been solidified in Amharic as it is in many European languages. Because of this fluidity in the evolution of the Amharic lexicon, it is possible to analyse the neologisms also from other branches of science in order to explore the ways of perception of modernity among the speakers of Amharic and to see how they categorise the world in which they live. As language planning is a social science, these approaches in Ethiopian linguistics can be studied in an interdisciplinary manner. Many attempts were made in order to describe scientifically the status, corpus and acquisition planning of African languages, though the case of Amharic was simply sidetracked by the majority of Western linguists. It has to be admitted that many outstanding Ethiopian linguists have contributed to the scientific description of some selected elements of language planning in Amharic, it must be acknowledged that their explorations failed to coordinate the planning of this language as a whole and at its three dimensions at once.

Even though numerous lexical changes in Amharic are usually imposed top-down by the Ethiopian linguists, journalists or professionally educated specialists, it is not always certain that the neologisms proposed by them will be used as modern words by the speaking community. The inclusion of neologisms into language not so much depends on the convictions of linguists than on the speaking community of Amharic that can either use these neologisms or reject them as the introduction of modern words to a language aims to the facilitation of everyday communication of ordinary people. If these neologisms are too much created on the basis of a foreign language, e.g. Ge'ez for many Ethiopians, they will solely be written on the pages of dictionaries or glossaries while the Amharic speakers will still use the English loanwords. Of interest can be the fact that a number of Ge'ez coinages are not

accepted by the Amharic community because of their poor command of Ge'ez and even if they appear in the Ethiopian newspapers, most of them are only used temporarily. On the other hand, the Ethiopians' return to the linguistic and cultural heritage of Classical Ethiopic is praiseworthy for a number of reasons. Firstly, the hegemony of the English language can be stopped to some extent, which is important for the evolution of Amharic. Secondly, the use of the Ge'ez lexicon has not only a linguistic but also a cultural value in the planning of the Amharic language as Ethiopians are no more dependent on the European languages that are the main sources of loanwords and they can express the European cultural notions in an African way. It should not be forgotten that the inclination towards the ancient Ge'ez language has a good influence on the creativity of numerous Ethiopian linguists and journalists as far as the metaphorisation of concepts is concerned. Since there is a lack of many Amharic and Ge'ez equivalents for the European Graeco-Latin terminology, these metaphorised neologisms are not only beautiful but also remarkable in the eyes of foreign linguists, who explore the world categorisation of the Amharic speakers through the prism of their language (Kozicki 2017a).

When it comes to the aspect of Amharic neologisms from a morphological point of view, the significant influence of the Ge'ez language is clearly visible for example in the usage of prefixes and suffixes of the Ge'ez origin, the Classical Ethiopic construct state (*status constructus*) and other methods of consonant and vowel combinations to form new meanings. However, the influence of Cushitic languages on the formation of Amharic neologisms is also significant, predominantly in lexicon and syntactic structures and this can be recognised by the word order of the Amharic phrases and the morphological aspects of transitive and non-transitive verbs. This is not surprising as 25% of the Amharic vocabulary is of the Cushitic origin, not to mention the Cushitic prefixes and suffixes in the conjugation of the Amharic verbs.

The Amharic language is still developing rapidly so that it can be sufficient in the professional communication in various disciplines of science. Even though it changed radically throughout 150 years of its practical use in writing, its further improvement is still necessary. But the successful development of this language depends as well on the language political steps of the Ethiopian authorities who want to keep quiet about the serious problems associated with the gradual lowering of its status in favour for English. This is visible in the groups of students that are educated in English and Amharic. While the students of natural sciences have a bigger self-esteem since they study in English, the Amharic philologists, for whom it is important to preserve and develop their mother tongue, suffer from the increasing discrimination. This problem can have a detrimental effect on the future Ethiopian society. If it has not been solved on time, Emperor Haile Selassie will be turning in his grave.

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Streszczenie

Planowanie języka amharskiego na tle procesów planowania w językach naturalnych i języków sztucznych

Niniejsza praca poświęcona jest problemowi udoskonalania języka amharskiego na poziomie planowania statusowego, korpusowego i akwizycyjnego, zaś celem tej pracy jest zbadanie wspomnianych trzech płaszczyzn planowania tego języka na tle procesów planowania zarówno w językach naturalnych, jak i w sztucznych. Praca składa się z dwóch zasadniczych części, teoretycznej i praktycznej. W pierwszej części dysertacji (rozdziały 1-4) prezentowane są teoretyczne zagadnienia planowania językowego, co jest poparte przykładami planowania w językach takich jak sanskryt, norweski, bahasa indonesia, esperanto i occidental/interlingue, natomiast dalsza część pracy (rozdziały 5-9) poświęcona jest dokładnej analizie procesów grafizacji, standaryzacji oraz modernizacji języka amharskiego. Warto dodać, że kluczową część pracy (rozdziały 8 i 9) stanowi modernizacja zasobu leksykalnego oraz składni w języku amharskim. Proces planowania języka amharskiego w Etiopii jest zakrojony na szeroką skalę. Celem reformatorów tego języka jest przede wszystkim stopniowa rezygnacja z terminologii anglojęzycznej oraz indygenizacja pojęć związanych z kulturą Zachodu, podobnie jak czyni się to w innych językach semickich, chociażby w arabskim bądź aramejskim. Mimo, że amharyzacja najważniejszych wyrażen anglojęzycznych nie zawsze spotyka się z aprobatą społeczności amharskojęzycznej, działania te przyczyniają się z pewnością do umocnienia statusu tego języka nie tylko w Etiopii, lecz także poza jej granicami. Nie dałoby się jednak znacząco poprawić formy tego afrykańskiego języka bez odpowiedniej polityki językowej i procesów planowania, co jest bez wątpienia nieprzecenioną zasługą współczesnych władz Etiopii, lecz także wybitnych monarchów takich jak Teodor II, Menelik II czy Hajle Sellasje I, którzy rządili tym krajem w XIX i XX wieku.

1. Wprowadzenie

W pierwszym rozdziale dysertacji autor wprowadza czytelnika w problematykę planowania języka amharskiego, która mimo wytężonej pracy językoznawców etiopskich i tych spoza Etiopii wciąż nie jest dostatecznie opisana w sposób naukowy, wszak niewielu etiopistów i naukowców z dziedzin pokrewnych docenia zasadność i narzędzia teorii planowania językowego lansowanej przez V. Tauliego czy E. Haugena czy bardziej współczesnych badaczy, takich jak Kaplan, Gadelli, Fishman, Benjamins czy Antia. To, co pozornie budzi niechęć wielu naukowców do planowania językowego oraz interlingwistyki jako gałęzi językoznawstwa zajmującej się nie tylko badaniem języków sztucznych, lecz także problemami standaryzacji i modernizacji języków etnicznych, to preskryptywna forma ingerencji człowieka w strukturę języka naturalnego bądź planowego, gdzie próbuje się zmodyfikować i ustandaryzować poszczególne jego elementy w celu usprawnienia codziennej

komunikacji jego użytkowników. Niektóre języki wymagają niewielkich zmian w fonetyce, składni lub w zasobie leksykalnym, inne zaś muszą być sztucznie kreowane na bazie istniejących, aczkolwiek często konkurujących ze sobą dialektów. Działania te nie mogą być jednak skutecznie prowadzone bez odniesienia do aktualnej polityki językowej prowadzonej w danym kraju, gdzie prestiż danego języka może być uwarunkowany czynnikami socjologicznymi, bądź demograficznymi.

Jeśli chodzi o najważniejsze **cele niniejszej pracy (podrozdział 1.2.)**, są nimi uporządkowanie współczesnej wiedzy na temat planowania językowego na płaszczyźnie statusowej i akwizycyjnej oraz badanie zmian w korpusie języka amharskiego. Chodzi tu przede wszystkim o dogłębne przeanalizowanie zmian w leksyce i elementach składni języka amharskiego oraz ich odpowiednią klasyfikację. Wiele uwagi poświęcono zbadaniu takich procesów jak łączenie wyrazów w zespoły (compounding), amharska i staro-etiopska afiksacja, hybrydyzacja, skrócenie wyrazu (clipping), kreolizacja oraz kalkowanie pojęć. Wymienione tutaj procesy były wprawdzie po części badane przez etiopskich i zagranicznych językoznawców, jednak nigdy nie zostały one dostatecznie uporządkowane i poparte odpowiednimi przykładami neologizmów czy też wyrazów współczesnych z języka amharskiego. Podobnie jest również w przypadku badań nad statusem i akwizycją języka amharskiego. Choć wielu lingwistów zajmuje się polityką językową i akwizycją różnych języków używanych w Etiopii, ich badania wydają się raczej nieskoordynowane i mało uporządkowane. Autor niniejszej pracy próbuje skonfrontować ze sobą oraz poddać krytycznej analizie wyniki współczesnych badań w zakresie planowania statusowego, korpusowego i akwizycyjnego w języku amharskim, a także przedstawić własne badania wybranych neologizmów z różnych dziedzin nauki również pod kątem językowego obrazu świata (rozdział 9), bazując na dokonaniach Lubelskiej Szkoły Etnolingwistycznej.

Co do **metodologii prowadzonych badań (podrozdział 1.3.)**, autor opiera się na założeniach teorii planowania językowego przedstawionych przez V. Tauliego oraz E. Haugena w latach sześćdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia oraz ich obecnych następców, np. Kaplan, Antia, Fishman czy Hornberger. Jako nauka normatywna, planowanie językowe proponuje normy w celu standaryzacji i modernizacji danego języka, tak by stał się on dogodnym narzędziem komunikacji dla jego użytkowników. Wielu znakomitych badaczy z tej dziedziny wychodzi z założenia, że żaden język ludzki nie jest i zapewne nigdy nie będzie językiem idealnym. Język stale ewoluuje wraz ze zmianą warunków bytowania społeczności nim się posługujących. Jeśli nie jest on ulepszany tak, aby odpowiadać bieżącym potrzebom komunikacyjnym jego użytkowników poprzez uzupełnianie leksyki, bądź też upraszczanie elementów jego składni w celu ułatwienia codziennej komunikacji społeczności, która nim się posługuje, staje się on bezużyteczny i ostatecznie zastąpiony językiem o większym prestiżu oraz większych możliwościach ekspresywnych. Badania w niniejszej pracy prowadzone są w sposób opisowy, przy czym autor posługuje się dość sporą liczbą danych z zasobu leksykalnego i składniowego języka amharskiego. Dogłębna analiza zgromadzonego materiału leksykalnego z różnych dziedzin nauki pozwala na wyciągnięcie odpowiednich wniosków co do struktury języka amharskiego w odniesieniu do teorii planowania językowego zastosowanej dla tego języka. Warto wspomnieć, że podobne badania w stosunku

do języka amharskiego nie były prowadzone zarówno w Polsce, jak i na świecie.

2. Planowanie językowe

Rozdział 2. niniejszej pracy stanowi wprowadzenie do teorii planowania językowego. Jednak zanim pojęcie planowania językowego zostanie szczegółowo wyjaśnione, autor konfrontuje dychotomiczny podział języków na naturalne i sztuczne z podejściem I. Koutny (**2.1. Krytyka dychotomicznego podziału na języki naturalne i sztuczne**), która proponuje uporządkowanie języków zarówno naturalnych jak i sztucznych na swoistym kontinuum pomiędzy pełną naturalnością a pełną sztucznością. Koutny uzasadnia swoje podejście tym, że granica pomiędzy językiem naturalnym a sztucznym jest rozmyta, gdyż nie ma języków w stu procentach naturalnych (oczywiście poza tymi, które są używane w dżungli i nie zostały jeszcze odkryte), jak też języków całkowicie sztucznych (poza językami programowymi używanymi jedynie dla celów stricte technicznych). Dlatego raczej trudno jest dziś mówić o wyraźnej dychotomii pomiędzy językami naturalnymi a planowymi, gdyż z jednej strony istnieją takie języki etniczne jak norweski, hebrajski czy bahasa indonesia, których gramatyka i leksyka były sztucznie modyfikowane przez człowieka, aby w pełni móc służyć w codziennej komunikacji ich użytkowników, z drugiej zaś strony pewne języki sztuczne, jak na przykład esperanto czy occidental/interlingue, które ewoluują aż po dzień dzisiejszy, bardzo dobrze sprawdziły się w roli języków naturalnych, uzyskując niemałą popularność na świecie. Koutny stwierdza także, że stała ewolucja obu wspomnianych typów języków powoduje różne zmiany w ich strukturze oraz że języki sztuczne oparte na językach naturalnych są przez to jedynie przemianą ilościową.

W dalszej części rozdziału (**2.2. Czym jest planowanie językowe?**) autor wyjaśnia czym jest planowanie językowe, pokazując przy tym różne podejścia odnośnie tego problemu. Konfrontowane są tu zarówno klasyczne interlingwistyczne ujęcia niniejszego zagadnienia (Wüster, Tauli, Blanke) jak i te opisywane we współczesnej literaturze (Kaplan & Baldauf, Nahir, Hornberger i inni). Nakreślono tu m.in. historię najważniejszych prób ludzkiej ingerencji w strukturę języka od starożytności po czasy współczesne. Opisane są tu również cele i metody skutecznego planowania w językach naturalnych i sztucznych, co zostało poparte przykładami zarówno z języka amharskiego jak i z innych kluczowych języków świata, w których proces ten odegrał niebagatelną rolę jeśli chodzi o ich modernizację. Warto również zaznaczyć, że planowanie językowe jest skutkiem nie tylko decyzji politycznych, jak to było w przypadku modernizacji języka tureckiego, bahasa indonesia czy nawet amharskiego, lecz także może być ono inicjatywą oddolną, związaną z chęcią rewitalizacji bądź też zaawansowanej modernizacji języków poprzez intelektualistów (np. hebrajski, norweski czy esperanto).

Wiele mówi się o tym, że język ludzki jest niedoskonały (**2.3. Problem niedoskonałości języków**), i dlatego należy go nieustannie ulepszać, by lepiej służył on danym społecznościom. Choć jeszcze w XIX i na początku XX wieku uważano, że preskryptywna interwencja w strukturę języka, jak to chociażby bywało w przypadku języka norweskiego, nie była zbyt doceniana przez wielu językoznawców z racji tego, że taka

próba ingerencji w język nie ewoluowała w sposób naturalny, przez co planowanie językowe dokonywane przez jednostki było w tych czasach czymś nie do przyjęcia ze względu na panujący wówczas światopogląd językowy. Niemniej jednak podejście to przez kolejne dekady ulegało zmianie na korzyść planowania językowego, Już w latach 50. XX wieku spora część językoznawców na świecie uważała, iż w języku istnieją cechy arbitralne i takie, które dają się kreować, dzięki czemu możliwe są pewne zmiany w morfologii, składni bądź leksyce danego języka w celu dostosowania go do bieżących potrzeb komunikacyjnych. W przeciwieństwie do języków naturalnych, niemal każda taka zmiana jest możliwa do zrealizowania w językach sztucznych, gdyż są one w stu procentach stworzone przez człowieka. Jednak należy tam w szczególnie mądry sposób rozważyć każdy krok zmierzający ku ulepszeniu takiego języka, zarówno na płaszczyźnie gramatycznej, jak i leksykalnej, gdyż nawet najmniejsza poprawka świadczy o kompetencji językowej danego planisty. Brak rozeznania językowego autora danego projektu może bowiem przyczynić się do nikłej popularności stworzonego przez niego języka pomocniczego wśród zwykłych ludzi pomimo jego najlepszych zamierzeń.

W podrozdziale **2.4. (o konieczności kompetentnego planowania językowego)**, który składa się z trzech części (**2.4.1. Użyteczność planowania w językach naturalnych i języków sztucznych**, **2.4.2. Planowanie w językach naturalnych**, **2.4.3. Planowanie języków sztucznych**), pokazano potrzebę oraz zasadność planowania językowego zarówno w językach naturalnych jak i sztucznych. Właśnie dzięki odpowiedniemu planowaniu można uchronić wiele języków od wyginięcia, co pokazuje przykład polityki władz Etiopii w stosunku do kodyfikacji i standaryzacji sporej liczby języków lokalnych używanych chociażby w południowo-zachodniej części tego kraju, ale nie tylko. Planowanie językowe można zastosować nie tylko dla języków zagrożonych wymarciem, lecz także dla tych, które wciąż się rozwijają, jednak nie są one jeszcze używane w wielu dziedzinach technicznych ze względu na brak leksyki. Jako przykład może służyć tutaj język amharski, w którym rozwój terminologii fachowej jest wciąż płynny, tzn. że pewne terminy nie są tu tak skostniałe jak w języku polskim, przez co wciąż podlegają ewolucji. Odpowiednia forma planowania językowego konieczna jest również w przypadku języków planowych, zwłaszcza takich, które używane są w codziennej komunikacji, i to na takich samych prawach jak w przypadku języków naturalnych. Chodzi tu przede wszystkim o esperanto, jednakże nie można zapomnieć o roli innych języków sztucznych jak np. ido, novial, occidental/interlingue, które wciąż ewoluują, choć w znacznie mniejszym stopniu jak w przypadku języka esperanto.

Jeśli chodzi o wykonalność oraz **realność planowania językowego w językach naturalnych i języków sztucznych (2.5.)**, w każdym z wymienionych typów języków stale zachodzą różne zmiany mające na celu chociażby dostosowanie morfologii, gramatyki oraz leksyki do bieżących potrzeb użytkowników danego języka. O ile dawniej ujednoliceniem konstrukcji gramatycznych czy jednostek leksykalnych zajmowali się jedynie wykwalifikowani gramatycy oraz leksykologowie, których nadmierny konserwatyzm przyczynił się do niepopularności pewnych struktur w dzisiejszym dyskursie językowym, o tyle współcześnie pewne formy planowania językowego wykonywane są nie tyle przez językoznawców, co innych kierunkowo wykształconych specjalistów z różnych dziedzin

nauki, wszak wiele terminów naukowych wprowadzają do języka nie językoznawcy, lecz fachowcy wykwalifikowani w danych specjalnościach. Tak jest w przypadku wielu języków w tym amharskiego, gdzie swój wkład w tworzenie neologizmów mają również dziennikarze. Niemniej jednak niekiedy zasadność ukucia danego terminu dla język amharskiego na podstawie leksyki gyyz budzi wątpliwości i nie spotyka się z uznaniem użytkowników tego języka. Również w językach sztucznych istnieją pewne ogólnie przyjęte zasady, którymi należy się kierować, aby dany język planowy zyskał większą popularność. Powinien on być zapisywany za pomocą alfabetu łacińskiego, zaś jego struktura winna być zgodna ze strukturą języków romańskich, choć nie jest to podzielane np. przez twórców języków sztucznych opartych na językach słowiańskich czy na językach z innych rodzin językowych. Jak dotąd, tworzenie amalgamatów mających cechy wszystkich języków świata było niemożliwe do wykonania i mimo najlepszych chęci pozostanie ono bardzo trudne do realizacji, gdyż stoi za tym wiele interesów różnych grup etnicznych, które dziś są nie do pogodzenia ze sobą. Niemniej jednak neutralny język, przynajmniej w formie pasygrafii, byłby pożądanym dla celów komputerowego przetwarzania danych, gdyż dzięki temu nie byłoby problemów z używaniem różnych systemów pisma, a przez to postępy dzisiejszej nauki byłyby znacznie większe.

W podrozdziale **2.6. (Teoria planowania językowego wg V. Tauliego i E. Haugena)** dokonano przedstawienia i analizy teorii planowania językowego według Tauliego (1968) i Haugena (1972), co stanowi kluczowy aspekt, na którym opiera się niniejsza dysertacja. Zarówno Tauli jak i Haugen twierdzą, że planowanie językowe jest normatywną działalnością akademii językowych oraz instytucji o podobnym charakterze, co jest tzw. kultywacją języka. Aby ta kultywacja miała jakiś sens, należy reformować język także z perspektywy społecznej, tj. poprzez odpowiednią politykę językową, różne procedury modernizacji tzw. korpusu języka, jak również poprzez działalność mającą na celu zwiększenie akwizycji tego języka zarówno przez jego rodzimych użytkowników, jak i osób innych narodowości, którzy go zgłębiają. Tauli mówi przy tym, że planowanie językowe jest nie tyle nauką stosowaną, co społeczną, gdyż jedynie w połączeniu z naukami społecznym posiada ono odpowiednie narzędzia do badania społecznych funkcji języka. Narzędzia planowania językowego jako poddziedziny językoznawstwa stosowanego są stosowane dla osiągnięcia praktycznych rezultatów, czyli reformy statusu, korpusu oraz akwizycji danego języka. Niektórzy przeciwnicy planowania językowego uważają, że preskryptywna ingerencja w język przeczy naturalności jego ewolucji, gdyż odwrócona została tu zasada pierwszorzędności mowy nad pismem. Jednakże, jak argumentuje Tauli, to pismo jest tym, co łączy użytkowników danego języka w czasie i przestrzeni, zaś język mówiony znacznie bardziej ulega najrozmaitszym zmianom w czasie jego ewolucji. Co więcej, to właśnie coraz łatwiejszy dostęp do książek, gazet i innych drukowanych publikacji – czyli do języka pisanego - przyczynił się do znaczącego ograniczenia analfabetyzmu na świecie, a tym samym do promocji oświaty w niemal każdym zakątku naszego globu. Istnieje kilka kryteriów diskutowanych zarówno przez Tauliego jak i Haugena, które korzystnie wpływają na zakres planowania stosowany dla danego języka. Po pierwsze, należy odrzucić zdecydowaną większość rozwiązań w danym języku zaproponowanych przez dawnych konserwatywnych gramatyków, gdyż nie liczyli oni

się z tym, że język powinien odpowiadać potrzebom nie tyle nowoczesnej nauki, co zwykłym ludziom, którzy w nim rozmawiają. Jest to tak zwana zasada adekwatności planowania językowego. Innym ważnym kryterium jest akceptowalność danych form w dyskursie językowym. Użytkownicy danego języka muszą mieć jasne i przejrzyste zasady co do tego, które formy w języku są poprawne a które niepoprawne. Niemniej jednak Tauli przestrzega przed tym, że zmiany w języku zaproponowane przez planistów nie mogą być absolutne i niepodważalne, gdyż mija to się z celem planowania językowego. Każde zatem rozwiązanie musi mieć charakter praktyczny, tj. uproszczenie danej struktury, a nie jej komplikacja. Jest to ważne szczególnie ze względu na przyszłe pokolenia, które również będą dokonywać zmian w języku, by dostosować go do uwarunkowań społeczno-ekonomicznych, w jakich przyjdzie im żyć.

3. Stan współczesnej wiedzy nt. planowania językowego

Niniejszy rozdział poświęcony jest teoretycznym zagadnieniom planowania językowego w obszarze statusu, korpusu oraz akwizycji danego języka przez lokalne społeczności. Jako że wymienione zagadnienia są ze sobą powiązane w różnych aspektach, nie należy rozważać ich osobno, tzn. w oderwaniu od tychże aspektów, które wzajemnie się warunkują. W pierwszych podrozdziałach (**3.1. Planowanie statusowe**, **3.2. Planowanie akwizycyjne**) autor dokonuje krytycznej analizy modeli Haugena (1972) oraz Hinton (2001) odnośnie problemów związanych z właściwym wyborem odpowiedniego języka dla danej społeczności. Niemniej jednak każdy przypadek należy rozważać osobno, gdyż dobór właściwego języka wiąże się z polityką językową władz danego kraju oraz z ogólnymi uwarunkowaniami społeczno-kulturowymi. W państwach mniej rozwiniętych możliwe są trzy drogi wyboru języka oficjalnego, tj. uznanie języka kolonizatora (jak np. język angielski w RPA), wybór języka lokalnego o zaawansowanym statusie (np. język amharski w Etiopii) albo przyjęcie takiego języka, którego żadna grupa etniczna nie traktuje jako język narodowy (np. język suahili w Kongo czy innych krajach regionu). Jeśli władze danego kraju zdecydują się na nadanie językowi kolonialnego okupanta statusu języka narodowego obowiązującego w tym kraju, ich decyzje muszą być podyktowane niemożnością wprowadzenia języka lokalnego ze względu na jego niski prestiż wśród ludności lokalnej, niemożność jego jego szybkiego planowania, bądź też znaczącą tradycję użycia języka europejskiego wraz z możliwością kształcenia młodych ludzi w tym języku na wszystkich szczeblach edukacji. Kolejną możliwością jest usankcjonowanie prawne języka lokalnego, o ile cieszy się on wystarczającym poparciem społecznym oraz jest on tradycyjnie wykorzystywany jako język wykładowy w szkołach. Istnieje również możliwość wprowadzenia bardziej neutralnego języka, który nie będzie bezpośrednio związany z dorobkiem ekonomicznym i kulturowym danej społeczności. W roli takiego właśnie języka doskonale sprawdza się właśnie język suahili, szczególnie w Kenii, Ugandzie, Tanzanii czy w innych państwach tego obszaru geograficznego. Na takie rozwiązanie musi się jednak zgodzić większość społeczeństwa, która nie straci na tym gospodarczo i kulturowo, zaś poszczególne jednostki powinny mieć zagwarantowane środki do nauki takiego języka oraz na ich integrację w społeczeństwie

obcojęzycznym pod wieloma względami.

Co do **planowania korpusowego (3.3.)**, wyróżnia się trzy jego główne obszary, mianowicie, **kodyfikację (3.3.1.)**, **standaryzację (3.3.2.)** i **modernizację (3.3.3.)**. Zanim dokona się jakiegokolwiek zmiany w planowaniu danego języka, należy podjąć właściwą decyzję co do jego zapisu (za pomocą alfabetu, sylabariusza lub ideogramów) w zależności od struktury tego języka i jego powiązań z sąsiednimi językami używanymi w danym obszarze geograficznym. Trudno by było skodyfikować pewne mało rozwinięte języki występujące w południowo-zachodniej Etiopii za pomocą chińskich ideogramów, gdyż nie pozwalałyby na to inwentarz fonetyczny tychże języków, nie mówiąc o ich strukturze czy powiązaniach z ogólną kulturą Etiopii. Wraz z dokonaniem sposobu zapisu danego języka, należy pomyśleć o jego cechach gramatyczno-leksykalnych, które muszą być odpowiednio ustandaryzowane. Jeśli dany język jest zróżnicowany dialektalnie, trzeba wybrać jeden z jego wariantów, co nie jest zadaniem łatwym, gdyż wybór dialektu, którym posługuje się dana grupa etniczna, może być równie krzywdzący dla innych grup posługujących się danym językiem. Oznacza to, że standaryzacja języka musi być przeprowadzona w sposób wyjątkowo zręczny i z poszanowaniem praw użytkowników konkurujących ze sobą dialektów, aby nie wywoływać między ludźmi niepotrzebnych niesnasków prowadzących nierzadko do konfliktów zbrojnych. Jeśli chodzi o modernizację gramatyki danego języka, należy proponować formy występujące w większości jego dialektów oraz dokonywać uproszczeń w strukturach gramatyki w celu ułatwienia wzajemnej komunikacji. Poddana odpowiedniej modernizacji musi być także leksyka, gdzie konieczne jest wprowadzenie nowych pojęć oraz nazw przedmiotów kulturowych za pomocą rozmaitych zabiegów językowych. W modernizacji leksyki niezwykle pomocny jest język klasyczny, z którego można czerpać odpowiednią terminologię dla języka będącego w fazie planowania leksykalnego. Warto zauważyć, że czasem bardziej skuteczna jest adaptacja wyrazu europejskiego niżli sztucznie utworzona hybryda na bazie języka klasycznego. Widać to zwłaszcza na przykładzie Etiopii, gdzie neologizmy powstałe na bazie wymarłego języka gyyz niezbyt często są stosowane przez użytkowników języka amharskiego.

4. Zróżnicowane aspekty planowania językowego

Tematem rozdziału czwartego są różne sposoby planowania językowego. Na początku (4.1. **Próby filozoficznego ulepszania języków. Języki perfekcyjne**) sporo uwagi poświęcono próbom stworzenia języków filozoficznych, które byłyby doskonałe i w których nie można by było się pomylić. Jednym z najstarszych zachowanych projektów języków sztucznych jest *Lingua ignota* autorstwa Hildegardy z Bingen, który będąc próbą releksyfikacji łaciny miał stać się językiem uniwersalnym. Myśl o utworzeniu języka perfekcyjnego nurtowała wielu późniejszych filozofów. Raymund Lull, średniowieczny teolog i filozof katolicki, przedstawił w swoim głównym dziele *Ars Magna* projekt maszyny logicznej, która układałaby podmioty i orzeczenia stwierdzeń filozoficznych w figury geometryczne. Twierdzenia te miałyby same się dowodzić po obróceniu koła, tworząc zdania prawdziwe bądź fałszywe.

Kolejnym myślicielem, który dążył do znacznego uproszczenia komunikacji interkulturowej był F. Bacon. Twierdził on, że przygotowanie komparatywnej gramatyki wszystkich języków świata, na bazie której można by było skonstruować język uniwersalny, zburzyło by wszystkie bariery komunikacyjne mieszkańców naszego globu. Niewątpliwą zaletą takiego projektu byłaby szybka integracja wszystkich ludzi żyjących w danym czasie na ziemi, niemniej jednak europocentryczny charakter tego projektu nie zyskałby zbyt wielkiej popularności u ludzi z dalekich kultur, nie mających pojęcia o strukturze języków europejskich. Również narzucenie europejskich wartości chrześcijańskich nie tyle na świat współczesny Baconowi, co na dzień dzisiejszy byłoby raczej nie do przyjęcia przez muzułmanów czy też wyznawców religii dalekowschodnich. Niemalże uznanie na świecie zyskał pomysł Kartezjusza, iż można poukładać ludzkie idee od jednego do nieskończoności, tak jak robi się to w przypadku liczb. Choć sam Kartezjusz nie podjął się wysiłku utworzenia języka uniwersalnego, miał on pewne idee co do tego, jak on powinien wyglądać. Wszystkie czasowniki miałyby tylko jedną koniugację, zaś inne wyrazy mogłyby być derywowane za pomocą prefiksów i sufiksów. W ocenie Kartezjusza, takiego języka można by było się nauczyć zaledwie w kilka godzin, jednak jego sukces zależałby od tego z jakiej grupy języków pochodziłaby jego leksyka, jak również od wartości kulturowych niesionych przez ów język.

Na szerszą uwagę zasługuje jeszcze jeden projekt języka uniwersalnego autorstwa W. Leibniza, który to poprzez zastosowanie metody a priori dążył do logicznego przedstawienia wszystkich składników tego języka. Będąc pod wpływem filozofii Lulla, Leibniz uważał, że idealny język pomocniczy powinien być jak najprostszy, aby z łatwością móc służyć nie tylko jako narzędzie komunikacji międzyludzkiej, lecz także przyczynić się do odkrycia nowych prawd filozoficznych. Leibniz twierdził, że tak jak w przypadku pomnażania liczb w celu uzyskania nowych wartości można pomnożyć różne elementy języka, aby otrzymać nowe pojęcia.

W kolejnych podrozdziałach (**4.2. Reforma sanskrytu przez Paniniego, 4.3. Znaczące reformy językowe w XIX/XX wieku**) autor dokonuje krytycznej analizy najbardziej znanych w świecie reform językowych, tj. od sanskrytu przez norweski i bahasa indonesia po języki sztuczne tworzone na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Jeśli chodzi o sanskryt, był to język literacki starożytnych, średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych Indii, który był poddany znaczącym reformom przez Paniniego w IV wieku p. n. e. Warto wspomnieć, że w przeciwieństwie do łaciny sanskryt jest językiem wegetującym, gdyż aż po dzień dzisiejszy ma on w Indiach rodzimych użytkowników. Panini był wybitnym gramatykiem indyjskim, który stworzył pierwszą gramatykę sanskrytu w oparciu o 3959 reguł. Było to zarazem pierwsze znane na świecie opracowanie gramatyki, które jest wciąż podstawą studiów nad tym językiem. Centralną a zarazem najbardziej skomplikowaną częścią gramatyki Paniniego jest tzw. Ashtadhyayi będący najstarszym zachowanym lingwistycznym tekstem napisanym w sanskrycie, gdzie można znaleźć reguły dotyczące fonetyki, morfologii, zasobu leksykalnego, a także składni, której nie poświęcono zbyt szerokiej uwagi. Zreformowana przez Paniniego wersja sanskrytu zyskała w Indiach bardzo wielu zwolenników, gdzie zakładano specjalne szkoły i akademie dla osób zgłębiających tajniki tego języka. Sanskryt jest jednym z 23

języków urzędowych w Indiach, co gwarantuje konstytucja tego państwa.

Bardzo interesującą historię ma też **język norweski (4.3.1.)**, gdzie istnieją dwie jego wersje używane w mowie i w piśmie, mianowicie *nynorsk* i *bokmål*. Obie wspomniane wersje tego języka były sztucznie planowane przez lingwistów Ivara Aasena i Knuda Knudseną odpowiednio dla *nynorsk* i *bokmål*. Stało się tak, gdyż oryginalne dialekty języka norweskiego praktycznie znikły z powodu duńskiej dominacji w tym kraju przez kilka wieków, zaś po uzyskaniu niepodległości swojego kraju część Norwegów nie chciała nadal posługiwać się językiem duńskim. Niebawem wyzwania podjął się wtedy Ivar Aasen, który przestudiował nieliczne zachowane jeszcze lokalne dialekty języka norweskiego, które zdołały przetrwać okres duńskiej okupacji, wraz z innymi językami skandynawskimi, na podstawie których stworzył podstawy języka *nynorsk*, co spotkało się z wielką krytyką ze strony rodzimych i zagranicznych językoznawców, ponieważ wówczas uważano, że człowiek nie może w sposób sztuczny ingerować w strukturę języka, nie mówiąc już o tworzeniu języków pomocniczych. Mimo miażdżącej przewagi języka *bokmål* opartego na duńskim, językiem zreformowanym przez Aasena posługuje się kilkanaście procent współczesnych mieszkańców Norwegii, zarówno w komunikacji oficjalnej jak i nieformalnej.

Jeśli chodzi o **bahasa indonesia (4.3.2.)**, jest to oficjalny język Republiki Indonezji, będący ustandaryzowaną odmianą języka malajskiego. Zaliczany do grupy języków austronezyjskich, język malajski przez wieki odgrywał rolę lingua franca w wielojęzycznym i wielokulturowym archipelagu indonezyjskim. Standardowa odmiana języka indonezyjskiego (*bahasa indonesia*) znacząco niewiele różni się od języka malajskiego, choć istnieją pewne różnice w wymowie i zasobie leksykalnym, na co znaczny wpływ miał język jawański, a także niderlandzki, tj. język kolonizatora. Jednak przywódcy nacjonalistyczni tego kraju praktycznie od zawsze byli przeciwni rosnącemu wpływowi niderlandzkiego na ich język ojczysty. Po uzyskaniu niepodległości przez ich kraj, Indonezyjczycy nie chcieli już posługiwać się ani językiem jawańskim, ani językiem kolonialnego okupanta. Stworzono wówczas alternatywny język na bazie malajskiego, który zapożyczał i nadal zapożycza nazwy nowych przedmiotów i pojęć przeważnie z języków azjatyckich, takich jak np. chiński, sanskryt czy nawet arabski. Warto zauważyć gwałtowny wzrost popularności *bahasa indonesia* nie tylko w Republice Indonezji (43 mln użytkowników), lecz także poza jej granicami (156 mln użytkowników) według danych z roku 2010. Przyczyniła się do tego zakrojona na szeroką skalę polityka edukacyjna władz niepodległej Indonezji, które promują rozwój tego języka nie tyle wśród narodów azjatyckich, co w zachodnim kręgu cywilizacyjnym (przede wszystkim w USA).

W ostatnich dwóch podrozdziałach sporo uwagi poświęcono **planowaniu w językach sztucznych schematycznych (esperanto) (4.4.)** oraz **naturalistycznych (occidental/interlingue) (4.5.)**. Oba wspomniane typy planowania językowego mają swoje zalety i wady, wszak żaden język ludzki, czy to będzie naturalny czy sztuczny, nie jest i raczej nigdy nie będzie idealny. Jedną z ważniejszych zalet w planowaniu schematycznym jest to, że każda forma gramatyczna posiada jeden wspólny schemat, jak w przypadku koniugacji w języku *esperanto*, co znacząco ułatwia naukę takiego języka. Niemniej jednak jeśli popatrzymy na to z innej strony, w językach schematycznych często tracane są oryginalne

typy koniugacji bazujące przeważnie na łacinie bądź innych językach romańskich, co nie podoba się wielu językoznawcom ze względu na zbyt dalekie odejście od reguły a posteriori w językach sztucznych, których celem jest ułatwienie komunikacji międzynarodowej. Trzeba jednak zauważyć, że język esperanto, mimo swojego schematyzmu, zyskał wielką popularność w świecie i miażdżąco wyprzedził pod tym względem ewolucję języka occidental/interlingue, który nie może się pochwalić prężnie rozwijającym się ruchem swoich użytkowników na miarę ruchu Esperanto, zaś jego ewentualna ponowna rewitalizacja wymagałaby dość wysokich nakładów finansowych.

5. Język amharski

Celem rozdziału piątego, który jest poświęcony **ogólnej charakterystyce języka amharskiego (5.1.)**, jego historii oraz współczesnych problemach komunikacji związanej z tym językiem w Etiopii wraz ze wzrastającą rolą języka angielskiego w tym kraju, jest wprowadzenie czytelnika w zasadniczą część niniejszej dysertacji, tj. planowanie języka amharskiego. Język ten jest drugim po arabskim najbardziej rozpowszechnionym językiem semickim na świecie z 22 milionami użytkowników w samej Etiopii. Do zapisu języka amharskiego używa się sylabariusza gyyz, którego historia sięga IV w. n.e., kiedy to dokonano standaryzacji tego systemu pisma, a jeśli przyjrzymy się historii języka gyyz będącego, choć nie do końca, praprzodkiem języka amharskiego, język amharski jest pośrednio spokrewniony z językiem protosemickim, którego używali mieszkańcy starożytnej Arabii Południowej, wielkiego wówczas imperium, które kolonizowało afrykańskie wybrzeże Morza Czerwonego na terenie dzisiejszego Sudanu, Etiopii i Erytrei.

Jak zakłada większość dzisiejszych naukowców etiopistów (**5.2. Początki cywilizacji etiopskiej**), język gyyz był początkowo dialektem języka sabejskiego (południowoarabskiego), mimo że nie można wykluczyć wpływów rodzimych języków afrykańskich, przede wszystkim kuszyckich, na rosnący wciąż w siłę język abisyński (gyyz). Z biegiem czasu państwo abisyńskie stopniowo uniezależniało się od południowoarabskiego imperium, jednak jego architektura, kultura i wierzenia były niejako kopiowane z dorobku wspomnianego mocarstwa, choć wykopaliska archeologiczne prowadzone na terenie dzisiejszej Etiopii i Erytrei, świadczą o tym, że Abisyńczycy również potrafili wykazać się inwencją twórczą, na co wskazują ruiny świątyń pogańskich czy też znalezionych przedmiotów kultu religijnego. Należy jednak zauważyć, że archeolodzy pracujący na tamtejszych terenach wciąż nie znaleźli istotnych dowodów piśmienniczych na to, że kultura abisyńska bezpośrednio wywodzi się z kultury południowoarabskiej. Jest to dość poważny problem, gdyż powszechne w nauce teorie o sabejskich korzeniach cywilizacji etiopskiej negują wkład Etiopczyków w rozwój ich rodzimej kultury. Niemniej jednak niektórzy badacze, jak np. Marcus, wskazują na podstawie dowodów archeologicznych, takich jak znalezienie szczątków *Australopithecus afarensis* na terenie Etiopii w roku 1974, że ludy obecnie klasyfikowane jako semickie opuściły wybrzeża Morza Czerwonego wiele tysięcy lat temu i udały się na tereny dzisiejszego Bliskiego Wschodu, gdzie dzięki uprawie tamtejszych rodzajów zbóż, wysoko rozwiniętej architekturze, a przede wszystkim dzięki kluczowemu dla

historii ludzkości wynalezieniu pisma budowali olbrzymie imperia, które nieustannie się poszerzały dzięki skutecznym podbojom ziem tubylczych. W ten sposób zaawansowana na tamtejsze czasy technika, medycyna czy sposób uprawy roli powróciła na rodzime ziemie afrykańskie, gdzie podlegała dalszemu rozwojowi.

W ten właśnie sposób mogło powstać silne państwo aksumskie, które dzięki roztropnie prowadzonej polityce, zakrojonemu na szeroką skalę handlowi zagranicznemu oraz skutecznej ekspansji osadniczej w głąb kontynentu afrykańskiego stało się wielką potęgą, z którą musiały się liczyć nie tylko starożytne kraje basenu Morza Śródziemnego, lecz także takie państwa jak Persja czy nawet Indie. Z biegiem wieków coraz popularniejsza w państwie aksumskim stawała się religia chrześcijańska, którą ochoczo przyjął dwór cesarski wraz z ze swoim ludem, choć do dziś nie jest do końca wiadomy właściwy powód tej decyzji. Niemniej jednak przyjęcie przez Aksum chrześcijaństwa przyczyniło się do szybkiego bogacenia się mieszkańców tego kraju, dzięki czemu możliwa była dalsza ekspansja terytorialna tego imperium na Półwysep Arabski, także dzięki wsparciu Cesarstwa Bizantyjskiego. Narodziny islamu oraz jego szybkie rozprzestrzenianie się w Afryce bezpośrednio przyczyniło się do załamania gospodarczego tego chrześcijańskiego imperium, które zostało otoczone przez muzułmanów niemal z każdej strony. Wówczas osłabione cesarstwo przeniosło się w głąb lądu do kraju Lasta, gdzie musiało się liczyć z władzą lokalnych monarchów, choć chrześcijaństwo etiopskie trafiło tam na bardzo podatny grunt.

Jako że nie zachowało się zbyt wiele pisanych dokumentów, które pozwoliłyby na bardziej dokładne odtworzenie dziejów Etiopii z tzw. okresu lasteńskiego jej historii, badacze tego okresu historii tego kraju muszą powoływać się na tradycję Kościoła etiopskiego, co tylko przysparza im więcej problemów, gdyż istnieją liczne wersje przebiegu niektórych kluczowych wydarzeń z dziejów tzw. dynastii uzurpatorów, zaś nie do końca wiadomo, które mogą być prawdziwe. Co więcej, nie wiemy dokładnie nawet tego, kiedy ostatecznie upadło Imperium Aksumskie oraz dokładnej daty przejścia władzy w państwie przez ludność amharską. Jednak dzięki istnieniu skromnych zapisków z niektórych ksiąg czy kronik kościelnych dowiadujemy się, że chrześcijaństwo w kraju Lasta zdołało przetrwać okres prześladowań ze strony ludności żydowskiej i prosperowało szczególnie dobrze za czasów cesarza Lalibeli, inicjatora budowy dwunastu świątyń w mieście Roha. Również w tym okresie ludność amharska cieszyła się wieloma przywilejami, jednak to nie powstrzymało ich przed przejściem władzy w kraju, kiedy był on ogarnięty wewnętrznymi walkami o władzę u schyłku XIII wieku.

Zanim jednak zaczęto używać języka amharskiego jako języka dworu cesarskiego i wojska, olbrzymią hegemonią cieszył się **język gyyz (5.3.)**, zarówno w mowie jak i w piśmie. Jak już wspomniano wcześniej, język ten może być spokrewniony z protosemickim językiem Arabii Południowej, na co wskazuje liczba spółgłosek oraz liczne podobieństwa w zapisie obu języków. W odróżnieniu od języka amharskiego, szyk zdania w języku gyyz ma formę VSO (orzeczenie-podmiot-dopełnienie), podobnie jak w wielu językach semickich. W języku gyyz istnieje ponadto podział na samogłoski długie i krótkie, czego nie ma w języku amharskim. Niemniej jednak w obu językach można znaleźć wiele podobieństw, szczególnie jeśli chodzi o gramatykę, morfologię czy fonetykę. Co ciekawe, w języku gyyz istnieją pewne spółgłoski

gardłowe i ejektywne, których wymowa jest dziś trudna do ustalenia ze względu na brak rodzimych użytkowników tego języka, gdyż nie jest on używany w mowie przez niespełna osiemset lat. Mimo wymarłego statusu, język gyyz może się pochwalić wspaniałą tradycją piśmienniczą od początków chrześcijaństwa w Etiopii aż po koniec XIX wieku. Choć znaczna część utworów ma charakter religijny, zachowały się także świeckie kroniki władców Cesarstwa Etiopskiego jak również kodeksy prawne czy też pisma regulujące różnorakie obrzędy i tradycje związane z życiem cesarskiego dworu oraz zwykłych ludzi. Warto wspomnieć, że wiele rękopisów etiopskich wciąż czeka jeszcze na odkrycie, dzięki czemu w przyszłości wielu etiopistów, jak również obywateli Etiopii, może mieć szansę na znaczne pogłębienie swojej wiedzy na temat historii i kultury tego afrykańskiego kraju.

Z powodu braku jakichkolwiek dokumentów piśmienniczych trudno jest powiedzieć skąd tak naprawdę wziął się język amharski (**5.4. Historia języka amharskiego**). Niektórzy (Bender i Fulass) uważają, że język ten wykształcił się jako pidżyn najprawdopodobniej w czasach państwa aksumskiego, kiedy to Aksumczycy prowadzili wyprawy zbrojne w głąb terytorium Abisynii, gdyż do dziś istnieje w języku amharskim wiele słów semickich, co potwierdzałoby tę teorię. Inni zaś badacze (np. Girma A. Demeke) są zdania, że pidżynowa teoria ewolucji języka amharskiego jest nie do przyjęcia, ponieważ język ten powstał samoistnie, na co wskazują nieliczne zachowane źródła pisane z XIV i XV wieku, zaś liczne naleciałości z języków semickich czy kuszyckich są efektem kontaktów ludu Amharów z innymi grupami etnicznymi żyjącymi w ciągu wieków na terenach Abisynii. Co więcej, jeśli przyjmiemy IV wiek naszej ery, kiedy to język gyyz został ostatecznie ustandaryzowany, za czas nasilenia się ekspedycji zbrojnych państwa aksumskiego na terytoria zamieszkałe przez ludność kuszycką, natomiast przełom XIV i XV wieku za czas wykształcenia się odpowiedniej odmiany języka amharskiego, która mogłaby być używana w piśmie, teoria podzielana przez Bendera i Fulassa wydaje się być tym bardziej bałamutna chociażby przez to, że żaden pidżyn nie utrzymałby się przez zgoła dziesięć stuleci, gdyż jest on używany przez jedno pokolenie użytkowników wyłącznie dla ścisłych celów komunikacyjnych w handlu, gdy obie grupy ludzi nie znają ojczystego języka swoich partnerów handlowych ani innego wspólnego języka, który mógłby być użyty w roli lingua franca.

Jeśli chodzi o **historię polityki językowej w Etiopii (5.5.)**, jest ona szczególnie barwna i urozmaicona z tego względu, że kilkakrotnie w historii tego kraju zmieniał się obóz władzy, zaś mocarstwa zachodnioeuropejskie, którym nigdy nie udało się na dłużej skolonizować Etiopii, często prowadziły własną politykę co do liczby języków mających być uznane jako dominujące w państwie. Po przejęciu władzy w cesarstwie przez Amharów w XIII wieku ustalono, że językiem władzy będzie amharski, zaś język gyyz pozostanie językiem religii, literatury i nauki w Etiopii. Hegemonia języka amharskiego trwała niemal nieprzerwanie do czasów cesarza Hajle Syllasje I, co oznaczało zakrojoną na szeroką skalę dyskryminację wobec pozostałych języków. Bez pardonowo rozprawiano się z podbijanymi użytkownikami nieskodyfikowanych jeszcze lokalnych języków Etiopii, którzy nie chcieli uznać wiodącej roli języka amharskiego oraz supremacji kultury chrześcijańskiej w tym kraju. Nawet na przełomie XIX i XX wieku istniało rygorystyczne prawo zabraniające protestanckim i katolickim misjonarzom ewangelizacji ludów tubylczych w ich własnych

miejscowych językach. Edukacja miała być prowadzona tylko w języku amharskim. Nie dotyczyło to jedynie regionów zamieszkałych prawie wyłącznie przez ludność muzułmańską, gdzie tłumaczono Koran na lokalne języki i rozpowszechniano dwustopniową edukację koraniczną zgodnie z zasadami islamu. Co do języków europejskich, władze cesarskie pozwalały wprowadzić nauczanie takich języków jak francuski, angielski czy włoski, jednak zagraniczni nauczyciele obowiązkowo musieli dobrze władać językiem amharskim, by uczyć w nim takich przedmiotów jak matematyka czy historia. Taka polityka edukacyjno-społeczna była wprowadzić dobra dla zachowania poczucia jedności narodów Etiopii poprzez posługiwanie się językiem amharskim oraz akceptację kultury chrześcijańskiej, jednak miała ona zbyt wielu przeciwników, którzy ostatecznie przyczynili się do jej fiaska w 1974 roku, kiedy to do władzy doszła komunistyczna junta, która krwawo rządziła Etiopią przez kolejne 17 lat.

Pierwszym krokiem nowej władzy, jeśli chodzi o politykę językową w Etiopii, było zrównanie statusu języka amharskiego z pozostałymi 79 językami używanymi w tym kraju. Aby ta chwalebna w oczach komunistycznej propagandy idea mogła wejść w życie, władze musiałyby dysponować ogromnymi środkami finansowymi potrzebnymi na kodyfikację lokalnych języków, napisanie elementarzy oraz wykształcenie odpowiednich nauczycieli, których niestety nie mieli. Oznaczało to, że w kraju zapanował totalny chaos, zaś wszyscy, którzy krytykowali socjalistyczne władze musieli liczyć się z poważnym represjami. Brak możliwości dalszej nauki nawet po kilku ukończonych klasach szkoły podstawowej, niedostatek nawet elementarnych materiałów do nauki w większości wiejskich szkół oraz tłumaczenie podręczników amharskich bez poszanowania norm kulturowych miejscowej ludności zaowocowały tym, że ostatecznie powrócono do nauczania w języku amharskim we wszystkich szkołach, co tylko pogłębiło niechęć ludności do komunistycznej junty. Narastające konflikty społeczne w różnych regionach kraju, które przeradzały się gdzieś w otwartą wojnę domową z komunistami, zmusiły ówczesne władze Etiopii do szybkiej ewakuacji do Zimbabwe, jednak bałagan społeczno-polityczny, jaki pozostawiły one po ucieczce Mengistu i jego ekipy, właściwie do dziś nie został do końca uprzątnięty w tym kraju, co skutkuje licznymi patologiami w polityce edukacyjnej i społecznej prowadzonej przez postkomunistów z regionu Tigray, którzy rządzą Etiopią nieprzerwanie od 1991 roku.

Zgodnie z konstytucją z 1995 roku, sporządzoną o dziwo po angielsku, Etiopia stała się republiką federalną i została podzielona na 9 prowincji. Co do kwestii języka, ustalono, że język amharski będzie roboczym językiem rządu etiopskiego i że będzie miał równy status z pozostałymi językami używanymi w Etiopii. Wedle etiopskiej konstytucji język jest wyznacznikiem etniczności, co ma zarówno swoje dobre jak i złe strony. Z jednej strony prawo etiopskie umożliwia dokładną kodyfikację oraz dokumentację zwłaszcza najbardziej zagrożonych wyginięciem języków tak, aby były one językiem nauczania w pierwszych klasach szkoły podstawowej oraz ustandaryzowanym językiem lokalnych władz i mediów, z drugiej zaś strony rozwiązanie to powoduje zbyt dużą fragmentację społeczno-prawną w większości małych regionów, gdyż ludność tubylcza posługująca się w danej wiosce kilkoma dialektami tego samego języka ma konstytucyjnie zagwarantowane prawo do nadania im odrębnego statusu administracyjnego jeśli dowiodą oni, że dialekt danego języka, którym się

posługują, jest odrębnym językiem.

Jako że Etiopia jest krajem bardzo zróżnicowanym pod względem etnicznym i językowym (**5.6. Problemy wielojęzyczności oraz wielokulturowości w Etiopii**), kraj ten niemal od zawsze borykał się z problemami związanymi z respektowaniem praw mniejszości etnicznych i religijnych, które zmuszane były przez wieki do przyjęcia chrześcijaństwa i uznania władzy Amharów. Choć idea wspólnej przynależności do kultury i wartości chrześcijańskich nigdy nie była zła sama w sobie, gdyż dzięki temu zjednoczona Etiopia miała więcej siły by o nie walczyć w obliczu wojny, polityka hegemonii języka amharskiego przyczyniła się do wyginięcia wielu języków i kultur, o których prawdopodobnie nigdy nie będziemy posiadać szerszej i obiektywnej wiedzy. Niemniej jednak na uznanie zasługują wysiłki współczesnych władz Etiopii zmierzające do tworzenia uniwersytetów i innych szkół wyższych w najbardziej odległych zakątkach tego kraju, dzięki czemu zarówno rodzimi jak i zagraniczni naukowcy mają szansę dokładnego zbadania i opisanie języków i kultur zwłaszcza w dolinie rzeki Omo, a także w południowo-zachodnich rubieżach Etiopii. Ponieważ studenci tychże odległych uczelni doskonale znają języki, kulturę i obyczaje ludów, w których nierzadko sami wzrastali, po otrzymaniu dyplomów stają się oni doskonałymi nauczycielami, prawnikami czy lokalnymi przedsiębiorcami w swoich regionach. Dzięki ich pracy możliwa jest właściwie pełna rewitalizacja i promocja języków miejscowych na szczeblu przynajmniej regionalnym.

Mimo nawet najlepszych wysiłków nie da się całkowicie wyeliminować wszelkich tarć i niesnasków pomiędzy poszczególnymi grupami etnicznymi w Etiopii. Niektóre ludy żyjące w tym kraju wciąż uznają siebie jako dominujące ze względu na uwarunkowania historyczno-społeczne, przez co tworzone są pewne niezdrowe stereotypy, jakoby ich normy kulturowe były niejako wzorcowe, zaś niższe w ich mniemaniu nacje musiałyby się do nich całkowicie dostosować. W dobie lansowanego przez współczesne władze etiopskie pluralizmu językowo-kulturowego takie zachowania mogą prowadzić do niepotrzebnych napięć społecznych, zaś jeśli one nie będą odpowiednio rozładowywane, Etiopia może w końcu stanąć w obliczu wojny domowej, do czego zapewne prowadzi zgubna polityka etniczno-językowa elit tigrajskich, które dzierżą władzę w tym kraju nieprzerwanie od 1991 roku. Niemożność wpłynięcia na zmianę obozu władzy w Etiopii rodzi nienawiść Amharów wobec Tigrajczyków, gdyż ludność amharska nie może pogodzić się z utratą wpływów z rąk rządzenia tym państwem od czasów restauracji dynastii salomońskiej w XIII wieku. Z kolei Amharowie nie są i nigdy nie byli przychylni wobec ludności Oromo, największej dziś grupy etnicznej w Etiopii, która coraz mocniej rości sobie prawo do sprawowania centralnej władzy w tym kraju. Co więcej, zauważa się we współczesnej Etiopii powoli rosnące napięcie między ludnością chrześcijańską a muzułmańską. Jako że większość Oromczyków jest wyznawcami islamu, nietrudno sobie wyobrazić upadek roli chrześcijaństwa w tym kraju, jeśli uda im się ponownie objąć władzę.

Co do **roli języka angielskiego w Etiopii (5.7.)**, jest to język powszechnie używany we wszystkich uczelniach i w wielu szkołach średnich jako język wykładowy. Wszak nie oznacza to, że wykształceni Etiopczycy potrafią się nim dobrze posługiwać. Mimo że język angielski jest zupełnie obcy dla kultury etiopskiej, władze tego kraju usilnie zabiegają o to, by

jego rola w Etiopii wciąż wrastała, gdyż płynna jego znajomość wiąże się z błyskawiczną niemal zmianą warunków bytowania zwykłych ludzi na lepsze. Tak jednak się nie dzieje, gdyż w Etiopii ciągle brakuje native speakerów, a jeśli tacy się już znajdują, to uczą oni głównie w ośrodkach miejskich. W rejony wiejskie wysyłani są przede wszystkim absolwenci filologii angielskiej na rodzimych uczelniach, którzy na studiach zwykle nie mieli szansy na stypendium do krajów anglojęzycznych. Brak takiego doświadczenia w połączeniu z niedostatkami materiałów do nauki języka w kraju skutkuje tym, że tacy wykładowcy uczą angielskiego z wieloma błędami fonetycznymi, gramatycznymi, składniowymi oraz stylistycznymi, gdyż brakuje im odpowiedniego obycia z językiem. Etiopczycy miewają poważne problemy z rozróżnieniem samogłosek długich i krótkich w języku angielskim, jak również z rozbijaniem niektórych zbitek spółgłoskowych pod wpływem języka amharskiego, co nierzadko prowadzi do nieporozumień wynikających z błędnej interpretacji danych wyrazów lub fraz przez obcokrajowców lub odwrotnie. Jeśli chodzi o kwestię gramatyki, spora część Etiopczyków nie widzi różnicy pomiędzy niektórymi czasami w języku angielskim, używa niepoprawnych przyimków lub przysłówków w czasownikach frazowych, a także myli formy czasowników nieregularnych w zdaniach. Co do składni, Etiopczycy lubią się w zdaniach wielokrotnie złożonych, gdyż w ich opinii wyglądają one nie tylko lepiej w tekście, lecz także są wyznacznikiem profesjonalizmu, mimo że ich znaczenie często pozbawione jest jakiegokolwiek sensu. W zdaniach względnych często pomijane są zaimki względne, które nadawałyby sens takim zdaniom. Stylistyka etiopskiej odmiany języka angielskiego również pozostawia wiele do życzenia. Przede wszystkim Etiopczycy mieszają słowa angielskie ze słowami pochodzącymi z ich języków etnicznych. Niektóre wyrażenia angielskie posiadają nawet odrębne lecz niepoprawne znaczenia, co już stało się skostniałą normą wśród wielu użytkowników języka angielskiego w Etiopii. Większość opisanych powyżej błędów jest przekazywanych z pokolenia na pokolenie, co raczej nie wróży dobrze efektywności gospodarki etiopskiej, gdyż poza nielicznymi elitami w układach władz rzadko który prowincjonalny Etiopczyk płynnie mówi po angielsku. Dlatego też zabiegania rządu etiopskiego o to, by język angielski stał się językiem komunikacji ponadregionalnej jako alternatywa dla amharskiego bez odpowiednich nakładów finansowych na naukę angielskiego w rejonach wiejskich są z góry skazane na porażkę.

6./7. Planowanie statusowe oraz planowanie akwizycyjne języka amharskiego

Tematem kolejnych dwóch rozdziałów jest odpowiednio **planowanie statusowe (rozdział 6.)** oraz **akwizycyjne (rozdział 7.)** języka amharskiego. Mimo że oba wspomniane tematy są blisko ze sobą związane, planowanie statusu języka amharskiego jest bardziej ujmowane w sposób diachroniczny, zaś polityka związana z nabywaniem języka amharskiego przez dzieci ma charakter synchroniczny, gdyż zachodzi ona jednocześnie w różnych grupach etnicznych w Etiopii, choć da się nakreślić jej ogólną historię w różnych epokach rozwoju tego kraju.

Jak podaje tradycja Etiopskiego Kościoła Ortodoksyjnego Tewahedo oraz skąpe wzmianki o dziejach tego kraju w X-XIII wieku zachowane w kronikach kościelnych,

panująca wtedy dynastia Zagwe musiała się liczyć z coraz większymi wpływami ludu Amharów w ich królestwie, co świadczy o nadaniu przez władze cesarskie specjalnego statusu dla języka amharskiego. Dzięki niebywałej pomocy ówczesnie żyjących świętych Kościoła etiopskiego Amharowie zręcznie wykorzystali wewnętrzne walki o władzę w tzw. dynastii uzurpatorów i osadzili na tronie potomka rodu aksumskiego, Yekuno Amlaka, który usankcjonował status języka amharskiego jako języka dworu cesarskiego w komunikacji ustnej, gdyż w piśmie posługiwano się nadal językiem gyyz. Niemniej jednak usilnie dokonywano prób zapisu po amharsku niektórych kronik cesarskich oraz utworów literackich. Co więcej, duchowni jezuitów, którzy pragnęli skatolicyzować Etiopię w XVI i XVII wieku, nie tylko nauczali w języku amharskim, lecz także przetłumaczyli na ten język liturgię mszy łacińskiej, spodziewając się, że zabieg ten przyciągnie do nich więcej wiernych, którzy dotychczas nie rozumieli liturgii etiopskiej w języku gyyz. Warto zauważyć, że tamtejsza odmiana języka amharskiego w zupełności nie jest podobna do tej ustandaryzowanej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Choć cesarze panujący w tych czasach w Etiopii rozumieli rolę języka amharskiego jako czynnika jednoczącego naród, oczywiście poza ortodoksyjną religią chrześcijańską, żaden z nich nie pokusił się o usankcjonowanie prawne tego języka. Uczynił to dopiero cesarz Hajle Syllasje poprzez znowelizowaną konstytucję z 1955 roku. Niebywałym osiągnięciem tego światłego władcy było założenie uniwersytetu w Addis Abebie w 1962 roku oraz powołanie dziesięć lat później Narodowej Akademii Języka Amharskiego, która funkcjonuje obecnie jako Addis Ababa University Academy of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures.

Jak już pisano wcześniej, w latach 60. i 70. XX wieku władza cesarska znalazła się w poważnym kryzysie, z którego już nigdy nie zdołała się podnieść, co zostało wykorzystane przez wywiad radziecki, by ostatecznie skompromitować cesarza i jego otoczenie, co doprowadziło do powołania rządu marionetkowego całkowicie posłusznego Sowiетom, który krwawo rządził Etiopią przez 17 lat. Jednym z pierwszych posunięć komunistycznej junty było, jak już wspomniano, wprowadzenie polityki równouprawnienia wszystkich języków używanych na terenie Etiopii, z których 15 zostało przeznaczonych do kodyfikacji i standaryzacji. Jako że socjalistyczne władze tego kraju nie miały wystarczającej liczby środków na tworzenie nowych uniwersytetów w odległych prowincjach, kształcenie odpowiedniej kadry naukowo-dydaktycznej, nie mówiąc już o przygotowywaniu podręczników i elementarzy w 15 językach komunikacji regionalnej, ich sztandarowy propagandowy program edukacyjny po prostu nie miał szansy na jego realizację.

Po obaleniu junty wojskowej w 1991 roku niewiele zmieniło się w Etiopii jeśli chodzi o planowanie statusowe i akwizycyjne języka amharskiego. Ponieważ nowe władze nie miały pomysłu co do zrównoważonej polityki edukacyjnej, powrócono częściowo do rozwiązań forsowanych przez komunistów, które nie dość, że nie sprawdziły się w poprzedniej epoce, to jeszcze komplikują sytuację miejscowej ludności jeśli chodzi o komunikację urzędową czy oświatę. Wiele społeczności współczesne władze Etiopii próbowały i nadal próbują uszczęśliwiać na siłę, wprowadzając do systemu szkolnictwa nieskodyfikowane języki używane przez poszczególne grupy etniczne w tym kraju, nie uzyskawszy przy tym zgody miejscowych ludów i plemion. Przymusowa kodyfikacja i standaryzacja lokalnych języków,

prowadzona nierzadko z użyciem siły, prowadzi do marnotrawienia środków publicznych na rozwój edukacji. Prowadzona w tym zakresie polityka rządu Etiopii byłaby bardziej efektywna, jeśli pomagano by przede wszystkim ludom pragnącym asymilacji z krajem i ze światem. Jeśli sąsiednie ludy zauważyłyby korzyści danej grupy etnicznej płynące z ich integracji z organami państwa, to sami zechcieliby się asymilować, a co za tym idzie, pieniądze pochodzące od podatników nie byłyby wyrzucane w błoto.

Mimo rażącej liczby zaniedbań współczesnych władz Etiopii jeśli chodzi o politykę językową i edukacyjną, wiele zmieniło się w kraju na lepsze. Przykładem tego może być niebywały rozwój nauki w tym kraju. Dzięki środkom pieniężnym pozyskanym przy wsparciu ONZ oraz innych światowych organizacji wspomniana wcześniej Akademia Języków i Kultur Etiopii sprawnie prowadzi działania na rzecz statusu, korpusu i akwizycji nie tylko języka amharskiego, lecz także innych 21 języków używanych w komunikacji regionalnej. Pozyskane dotacje pozwoliły przede wszystkim na szeroko zakrojoną modernizację języka amharskiego jeśli chodzi o jego zasób leksykalny. Udało się utworzyć kluczowej wagi neologizmy z dziedzin naukowo-technicznych nie tylko dla języka amharskiego, lecz także dla kilkunastu innych języków regionalnych. Chronicznym problemem pozostaje jednak użycie w neologizmach i wyrazach współczesnych leksyki wymarłego już języka gyyz, którego zwykli obywatele Etiopii tak naprawdę nie znają. W związku z dominującym wpływem języka angielskiego oraz kultury anglosaskiej w tym kraju, praca wielu lingwistów i terminologów często idzie na marne, gdyż Etiopczykom łatwiej jest stosować zapożyczenia angielskie niżli hybrydy z języka staro-etioipskiego.

Jeśli chodzi o **planowanie akwizycyjne języka amharskiego (rozdział 7.)**, przez wiele stuleci dominowała w Etiopii polityka unifikacji ludów Etiopii poprzez posługiwanie się wspólnym językiem i wyznawaniem wspólnej wiary. Taka polityka miała zarówno dobre jak i złe strony. Niemniej jednak warto zauważyć, że system szkolnictwa przykościelnego w tym kraju był przez wieki tak dobrze rozwinięty, że nierzadko przeganiał on ówczesne standardy edukacyjne w Europie. Ortodoksyjni duchowni kształcili nie tylko wielu wybitnych filologów, literaturoznawców, teologów, muzyków czy malarzy, lecz także wysoko wykwalifikowanych medyków a nawet chirurgów. Wielu zacnych cesarzy etiopskich, takich jak np. Iyasu II (1730-1755), przeznaczało część pieniędzy ze swojego skarbcza na finansowanie nauki każdemu, kto chciał się uczyć w szkołach przyklasztornych. Na początku kilkuletnie dziecko zostało posyłane do szkoły parafialnej, gdzie uczyło się czytać, po czym następowała nauka gramatyki i słownictwa języka gyyz, co było konieczne dla dalszych etapów edukacji, gdzie nauczano Pisma świętego, studiowano prawa kanoniczne i dzieła ojców Kościoła, uczono śpiewu liturgicznego oraz, jeśli ktoś chciał, przygotowywano do posługi kapłańskiej poprzez dalsze studia teologiczne. W szkołach przykościelnych panowała surowa dyscyplina, a ponieważ pergamin był w tamtych czasach stosunkowo drogim materiałem, znacząca część wiedzy musiała być szybko przyswojona na pamięć.

Wraz z ponownym otwarciem się Etiopii na wpływy cywilizacji europejskiej w XIX wieku, do kraju przybywało wielu katolickich i protestanckich misjonarzy, którym pozwalano nauczać ludność miejscową jedynie na tych terenach, których ewangelizacją z różnych powodów nie byli zainteresowani duchowni etiopscy. Europejscy misjonarze szerzyli w

Etiopii oświatę na miarę XIX i XX wieku poprzez zakładanie licznych szkół oraz drukarni. Przekonani o tym, że wiary chrześcijańskiej można skutecznie nauczyć tylko poprzez język ojczysty, misjonarze pochodzący z Europy często popadali w niełaskę u władz cesarskich, które zabraniały prowadzenia działalności ewangelizacyjnej w języku innym niż amharski. Mimo licznych gróźb opuszczenia Etiopii za kodyfikację lokalnych języków, katolicy i protestanci duchowni zwykle nie dawali się zastraszyć, dzięki czemu ocalili oni zagrożone wymarciem liczne języki etiopskie.

Również ludność muzułmańska w Etiopii przeciwstawiała się polityce asymilacyjnej władz cesarskich przez szereg wieków, co zaowocowało kodyfikacją i ustandaryzowaniem sporej liczby miejscowych języków, którymi posługiwali się mieszkający tam muzułmanie. Poprzez dostosowanie skryptu arabskiego do wspomnianych języków etnicznych, udało się przetłumaczyć na nie Koran oraz inne święte pisma islamu, dzięki czemu możliwa stała się dwustopniowa edukacja koraniczna na terenach zamieszkałych przez wyznawców islamu. Takim oto sposobem rozwinął się w Etiopii język silt'e, który po dzień dzisiejszy cieszy się szerokim uznaniem wśród mieszkańców południowej części tego kraju, choć od roku 1980 zapisywany jest za pomocą sylabariusza gyyz. Jego użytkownicy podejmują aktywne działania mające na celu usprawnić politykę akwizycyjną tego języka poprzez jego nauczanie w szkołach z wykorzystaniem rodzimych materiałów dydaktycznych tworzonych z poszanowaniem własnych wartości kulturowych.

Wielu etiopskich, a także zagranicznych naukowców pracujących w tym kraju, jest zdania, że polityka prowadzona przez rząd Etiopii, jeśli chodzi o rozwój licznych języków komunikacji regionalnej i ponadregionalnej, jest prowadzona w sposób właściwy pomimo wielu rażących zaniedbań. Według najnowszych badań, największe szanse na sukces w życiu mają uczniowie, którzy opanowali przynajmniej trzy języki, tj. komunikacji regionalnej, krajowej (amharski) i międzynarodowej (angielski), począwszy od szkoły podstawowej, poprzez szkołę średnią, skończywszy zaś na studiach uniwersyteckich. Niemniej jednak istotnie ważna jest nauka w języku ojczystym poprzez możliwie jak najdłuższy czas, gdyż pozwala ona na wzmocnienie statusu lokalnego języka w miejscowej społeczności poprzez budowanie trwałych więzi między ludźmi, a także przyczynia się do zwiększenia pewności siebie u młodego człowieka, który, będąc dumny ze swojego języka i kultury, osiąga znacznie lepsze rezultaty w nauce niż jego rówieśnicy, których język ojczysty jest spychany na dalszy plan z różnych powodów. Warto tu wspomnieć o rosnącej w Etiopii roli języka angielskiego i związanego z nią stereotypu, jakoby status społeczny ludzi, którzy go opanowali, znacząco się poprawił. Język angielski staje się co prawda alternatywą dla języków komunikacji regionalnej w Etiopii, lecz poziom jego znajomości wśród zwykłych obywateli Etiopii pozostawia wiele do życzenia. Jedynie wąskim elitom pracującym w państwowych korporacjach, gdzie obowiązuje język angielski, udaje się w miarę dobrze władać tym językiem. Efektem ubocznym takiej polityki jest coraz niższy status języka amharskiego. Taka tendencja nie wróży zaś dobrze dla przyszłości Etiopii, nie tylko ze względu na jej neokolonizację przez język angielski i kulturę anglosaską, lecz także ze względu na możliwość przyjęcia innego języka urzędowego, chociażby oromo, w przypadku, gdyby obecna ekipa rządząca została odsunięta od władzy.

8. Planowanie korpusowe języka amharskiego

Rozdział ósmy niniejszej dysertacji, który stanowi kluczową jej część, jest poświęcony korpusowemu planowaniu języka amharskiego. Składa się on z następujących podrozdziałów: **grafizacja (8.1.)**, **standaryzacja (8.2.)** i **modernizacja morfologii (8.3.)**, **składni (8.4.)** oraz **zasobu leksykalnego (8.5.)**. W podrozdziale **8.1. (grafizacja)** opisano rolę sylabariusza gyyz w Etiopii i jego poszczególne właściwości językowe oraz kulturowe. Następnie autor opisuje adaptację sylabariusza etiopskiego na potrzeby języka amharskiego i związane z tym problemy. W kolejnym podrozdziale dotyczącym standaryzacji sporo uwagi poświęcono najważniejszym dialektom języka amharskiego oraz przyjrano się współczesnym cechom tego języka, przede wszystkim jeśli chodzi o zmiany w leksyce. Następne podrozdziały wprowadzają czytelnika w problematykę modernizacji morfologii, składni oraz leksyki języka amharskiego. Analizowane są w nich takie zagadnienia jak normy przyjęte dla poszczególnych procesów morfologicznych, problem rodzaju gramatycznego, liczby mnogiej, dopełnienia bliższego i dalszego, amharskich paradygmatów czasownikowych oraz czasów gramatycznych w języku amharskim. Modernizację struktur składniowych pokazano na przykładzie zdań pojedynczych i złożonych, jak również zdań warunkowych oraz mowy zależnej i niezależnej. Co do zmian leksykalnych w języku amharskim, szczegółowo omówiono tu takie zagadnienia jak ogólne zasady słowotwórstwa w tym języku oraz problemy związane z adaptacją leksyki angielskiej w języku amharskim. W dalszej kolejności zbadano poszczególne metody tworzenia neologizmów w języku amharskim takie jak łączenie wyrazów w zespoły (compounding), amharska i staro-etiońska afiksacja, kalkowanie zapożyczeń, hybrydyzacja, skrócenie wyrazu lub wyrażenia (clipping) oraz proces kreolizacji obcych wyrazów w języku amharskim.

Jak już wspomniano wcześniej, podrozdział na temat procesu **grafizacji (8.1.)** w języku amharskim obejmuje takie zagadnienia jak sylabariusz języka gyyz, jego pochodzenie, wokalizacja, adaptacja na potrzeby języka amharskiego oraz zastosowanie pisma etiopskiego poza lingwistyką, tzn. w kulturze tego kraju. Z powodu prawie zupełnego braku dokumentów piśmienniczych w języku gyyz sprzed IV wieku naszej ery trudno jest dokładnie określić pochodzenie pisma gyyz. Według najbardziej rozpowszechnionej w etiopistyce teorii o południowoarabskich korzeniach sylabariusza gyyz, pismo to prawie całkowicie pokrywa się z epigraficznym pismem południowoarabskim, choć należy zauważyć, że podobne są jedynie koncepty ideograficzne oraz kolejność alfabetyczna poszczególnych znaków, zaś ich symbole w piśmie znacząco różniły się od siebie. Co więcej, w języku południowoarabskim oraz początkowo w gyyz pisano od prawej do lewej strony, natomiast zmiana kierunku pisania wraz z wokalizacją sylabariusza gyyz nastąpiła dopiero w pierwszych wiekach naszej ery. Należałoby również dodać, że w etiopistyce istnieją również konkurencyjne teorie na temat proveniencji pisma gyyz. Niektórzy naukowcy (np. Kobiszczanow) uważają, że na wokalizację pisma etiopskiego znaczący wpływ miały alfabety indyjskie alfabety sylabiczne wywodzące się z brahmi. Teoria Kobiszczanowa ma wprawdzie spore szanse na uznanie, gdyż państwo aksumskie utrzymywało szerokie kontakty handlowe z Indiami, jednak konieczne są dalsze badania lingwistyczno-archeologiczne, aby wykazać jej prawdziwość.

Inni eksperci z dziedziny historii próbują udowodnić, że sylabariusz etiopski powstał na podstawie egipskich hieroglifów, a nawet jeśli nie, to ma z nimi wiele wspólnego. Takie rozumowanie jest jednak mało prawdopodobne, gdyż trudno jest dowieść, że owe hieroglify wpłynęły na powstanie epigraficznego pisma południowoarabskiego, mimo że wspomniane trzy systemy pisma mają wiele podobieństw do siebie.

Sylabariusz gyyz (8.1.1.) posiada również wiele praktycznych zastosowań w kulturze etiopskiej. Piktograficzność, ideograficzność czy astrograficzność pisma etiopskiego pozwala na kodowanie wiedzy historycznej, kulturowej czy religijnej poprzez poszczególne symbole, co zostało już dawno zatraczone w alfabecie łacińskim. Każdy znak sylabariusza kryje za sobą pewną tajemnicę z zakresu filozofii, historii i religii, dzięki czemu wtajemniczeni duchowni z łatwością mogą zakodować w nim wiedzę oraz bezbłędnie odtwarzać historie z przeszłości. Co ciekawe, każde imię ludzkie zapisane sylabariuszem gyyz, nie tylko te z kultury judeo-chrześcijańskiej, posiada pewne wartości arytmetyczne, które to po zsumowaniu i podzieleniu przez liczbę znaków w wyrazie daje wynik będący jednocześnie tajemnicą związaną przeważnie ze Starym Testamentem. Wspomnianych własności symboli z pisma etiopskiego używa się także do tworzenia horoskopów, jednak pojęcie o tym, jak to działa, mają tylko nieliczni duchowni Kościoła etiopskiego.

Pismo etiopskie (8.1.2. - 8.1.4.) używane do zapisu języka amharskiego składa się z 251 znaków, tj. 33 rzędy po 7 różnych liter plus spółgłoski labiowelarne, które nie mogą być utworzone ze wszystkich głosek we wspomnianych rzędach sylab. Podobnie jak to jest w języku gyyz, język amharski posiada spółgłoski ejektywne oraz gardłowe. W skrypcie amharskim istnieje kilka wariantów pewnych głosek, które można do pewnego stopnia używać zamiennie w wyrazach, jednak wiele wyrazów pochodzących zwłaszcza z języka gyyz musi być zapisywanych tradycyjnie, tj. za pomocą konkretnych znaków zgodnie z zasadami staro-etiopskiej ortografii. Co ciekawe, w języku amharskim pewne warianty głosek wymawiane są tak samo, mimo że w przeszłości były one osobnymi dźwiękami, których oryginalna wymowa została bezpowrotnie zatraczona z powodu wymarłego przez wieki statusu języka gyyz. Warto również dodać, że w XX wieku dokonano adaptacji głośki *v* w języku amharskich, co było konieczne dla prawidłowego zapisu neologizmów, chociażby takich jak 'telewizja (television)' czy 'witamina (vitamin)'.
v

Tym, co stanowi szczególną trudność dla uczących się języka amharskiego, jest geminacja, czyli podwojenie spółgłoski w wyrazie. Geminacja w języku amharskim jest fonemiczna, co oznacza, że wydłużeniu ulegają spółgłoski szczelinowe, nosowe, boczne, drżące oraz półsamogłoski. Należy jednak zauważyć, że we wspomnianym języku podwojeniu ulegają spółgłoski będące na końcu wyrazu i występujące bezpośrednio po samogłosce, co z językoznawczego punktu widzenia jest zaledwie wydłużeniem końcowej spółgłoski. W języku amharskim geminacja może wystąpić do czterech razy w jednym wyrazie. Najczęściej geminowana jest druga spółgłoska w wyrazie trójrdzeniowym oraz trzecia spółgłoska w wyrazie czterordzeniowym. Dla natywnych użytkowników języka amharskiego, geminacja nie jest jakimś bardzo wyszukany problemem, czego nie można powiedzieć o uczących się tego języka, bowiem to zjawisko fonetyczne nie jest oznaczane specjalnymi symbolami w prasie czy w książkach, przez co zawsze należy sprawdzać

transkrypcję niemal każdego wyrazu w słownikach, co może poważnie zniechęcić ludzi do nauki tego afrykańskiego języka. Innym interesującym z językowego punktu widzenia zjawiskiem w języku amharskim jest palatalizacja, które polega na wymowie pewnych głosek z dodatkową artykulacją środkowopodniebienną. Proces ten występuje m.in. w koniugacji czasownika w czasie teraźniejszo-przyszłym (2. os. r. ż. l. poj.) oraz niektórych rzeczownikach odsłownych.

W drugim podrozdziale rozdziału 8., tj. **8.2. Standaryzacja języka amharskiego**, omówione zostały **dialekty języka amharskiego (8.2.1.)**, w tym **dialekt Addis Abeby (8.2.2.)** wysunięty do rangi standardowej odmiany tego języka oraz **cechy charakterystyczne współczesnego języka amharskiego (8.2.3.)** oparte na badaniach codziennej prasy etiopskiej z pierwszej dekady XXI wieku. Naukowym opisem dialektów języka amharskiego zaczęto się zajmować w Etiopii dość późno, gdyż pierwszy artykuł, jeśli nie raport, na temat dialektu gonderskiego został opublikowany przez Abrahama Demoza w 1955 roku. Dalsze badania z zakresu dialektologii języka amharskiego kontynuował Zakład Języków i Kultur Etiopii Uniwersytetu w Addis Abebie. Dzięki sporym dotacjom z zagranicy udało się, choć dopiero w 1973 roku, zbadać dialekty w rejonach Begiemdyr, Godzam, Uello oraz Menz w prowincji Szeua. Mimo poważnych problemów związanych ze zmianą władzy w Etiopii i zamknięciem uniwersytetu przez komunistyczną juntę badania były kontynuowane i przyniosły one stosunkowo dobre rezultaty. Spośród czterech wspomnianych odmian języka amharskiego, najbardziej zróżnicowany jest dialekt godzamski, zaś znaczące podobieństwa wykazują dialekty gonderskie, uello oraz te z prowincji Szeua (Menz). Przyczyn w tejże rozbieżności można upatrywać przede wszystkim w czynnikach geograficznych, gdyż ludność godzamska była bardziej odizolowana terytorialnie niż mieszkańcy prowincji Uello i Szeua, co znalazło swoje odzwierciedlenie w leksyce, jak również w morfologii czy w składni. Poszczególne dialekty różnią się przede wszystkim pod względem fonologii, morfologii oraz zasobu leksykalnego. W niektórych wyrazach występuje zjawisko metatezy, czyli zmiany pozycji spółgłosek w wyrazie. Niektóre rdzenie wyrazów mogą być geminowane bądź degeminowane. W zależności od dialektu, odmienne mogą być zasady budowy zdań warunkowych, użycie postpozycji lokatywnej, wyznaczników osoby w czasach gramatycznych. Co więcej, niektóre słowa mogą różnić się pod względem wymowy.

Jeśli chodzi o **dialekt języka amharskiego z Addis Abeby (8.2.2.)**, przyczyny jego gwałtownego rozwoju w Etiopii są przede wszystkim natury czysto politycznej. Miasto to, założone przez cesarza Menelika II i jego żonę Tajtu w 1884 roku oraz mające status stolicy kraju, przyciągało rzesze przybyszów niemal z każdego zakątka Etiopii, którzy posługiwali się często odmiennymi dialektami języka amharskiego bądź innymi językami. Z biegiem lat w Addis Abebie wykształciła się niejako neutralna odmiana języka amharskiego, której dalszy rozwój został zaaprobowany przez władze cesarskie. Było to bardzo roztropne posunięcie polityczne cesarza Etiopii Menelika II, gdyż język żadnej grupy etnicznej nie był przesadnie faworyzowany. Wraz rozwojem gospodarczo-kulturalnym Etiopii, dialekt z Addis Abeby poddawano dalszej standaryzacji oraz niezbędnej modernizacji, tak aby mógł być on nauczany w kraju i za granicą. Języka tego zaczęto używać w radiu, prasie i telewizji etiopskiej, przez co szybko rozpowszechnił się on w całym cesarstwie. Patrząc na to z innej

perspektywy, rosnący prestiż języka standardowego przyczynił się do powolnego zaniku gwar regionalnych, które teraz są praktycznie nie do odtworzenia, gdyż wymarli już prawie wszyscy ich użytkownicy.

W odróżnieniu od wysokorozwiniętych leksykalnie i składniowo języków europejskich, język amharski jest obecnie językiem rozwijającym się, mimo że Etiopczycy używają go w mowie od tysiąca lat. Konsekwencją tego, że język ten stosuje się w piśmiennictwie dopiero od II połowy XIX wieku, jest niedostatek odpowiedniej terminologii fachowej w wielu dziedzinach życia i nauki. Z powodu nieodpowiedniej ilości odpowiedników słownictwa z zachodnioeuropejskiego i amerykańskiego kręgu kulturowego w języku amharskim, wciąż trudno jest przełożyć na ten język wiele kluczowych książek i artykułów naukowych zwłaszcza z nauk ścisłych, przez co Etiopia nie jest jeszcze w stanie dogonić Europy. Problem ten nie jest nowy, choć trzeba przyznać, że język amharski jest o wiele bardziej bogatszy morfologicznie, leksykalnie czy składniowo niż był na przełomie XIX i XX wieku, kiedy to dyskurs pisemny właściwie nie różnił się od języka mówionego. Jako że w tamtych czasach raczej nie zwracano uwagi na to, że należy utworzyć amharskie odpowiedniki europejskich maszyn, środków transportu, terminologii medycznej czy innych pojęć kulturowych, do języka amharskiego wprowadzono wiele terminów francuskich, angielskich czy włoskich. Część z nich, jak np. *šämiz* (fr. chemise – koszula), *motor* (ang. motor – silnik) czy *makyato* (wł. macchiato – kawa macchiato) jest wciąż używanych w dzisiejszych czasach w Etiopii. Jednakże Etiopczycy mają świadomość tego, że nie da się zapożyczyć całej terminologii greko-łacińskiej, gdyż większości wspomnianych pojęć nie da się wpleść w język amharski z powodu znaczących różnic morfologiczno-leksykalnych w obu językach. Wiele zapożyczeń angielskich brzmi dość koślawo w języku amharskim, gdzie nie ma dyftongów, zaś zbitki spółgłoskowe niewymawialne po amharsku zostają rozbijane za pomocą średnio centralnej samogłoski szwa (ə), co jest niedopuszczalne w języku angielskim.

Alternatywą dla zbyt daleko idącego przyzwolenia w języku amharskim na bezgraniczną akceptację zapożyczeń angielskich jest metaforyzacja pojęć poprzez stosowanie struktur z wymarłego już języka gyyz, co ma swoje zalety i wady. Z jednej strony plusem jest to, że klasyczna leksyka staro-etiońska pozwala na utworzenie wielu ciekawych neologizmów poprzez zastosowanie różnych zabiegów zarówno w morfologii, jak i w zasobie leksykalnym. Takie kombinacje są stosowane chociażby we współczesnych językach semickich, takich jak arabski czy aramejski, gdzie większość europejskich zapożyczeń zdołano wyeliminować za pomocą rodzimych środków językowych. Metoda ta ma również wiele wad, gdyż większość Etiopczyków nie zna klasycznego języka gyyz, podobnie jak przeciętny Polak ma bardzo niewielkie pojęcie o łacinie. Zwykły Etiopczyk nie jest w stanie zrozumieć wyszukanych staro-etiońskich wyrażeń pojawiających się w mediach czy w ustach polityków, zaś analogiczne sytuacje mają miejsce także w Polsce, kiedy przeciętni jej obywatele nie rozumieją pojęć pochodzących z łaciny a zapożyczonych przez język angielski bądź francuski w dyskursie akademickim czy politycznym.

Jeśli przyjrzymy się uważnie artykułom z gazet etiońskich pochodzących z ostatnich kilkunastu lat XXI wieku (8.2.3.) pod względem stosowanych tam neologizmów, możemy mieć wrażenie że często koślawe fonetycznie zapożyczenia angielskie figurują w tym samym

artykule z hybrydami z języka gyyz. Dla przeciętnego użytkownika języka amharskiego neologizmy angielskie stają się bardziej przejrzyste niż wyrafinowane figury zaczerpnięte z języka gyyz, mimo że język angielski jest językiem zupełnie obcym dla kultury etiopskiej. Nawet jeśli Etiopczyk nauczy się choć podstaw języka staro-etioipskiego, trudno mu będzie odgadnąć, co oznacza dana struktura. Dla przykładu podam amharski odpowiednik wyrazu 'encyklopedia' (*awdä tabäb*), dosł. miejsce wiedzy, mądrości, którego nie zawsze łatwo będzie skojarzyć z grecką etymologią tego terminu. Niemniej jednak amharskim purystom językowym często udaje się przeforsować umieszczanie w słownikach internetowych amharsko-angielskich (np. *SelamSoft* czy *Abyssinica*) wyrazów z gyyz będących odpowiednikami takich pojęć jak komputer czy uniwersytet, co może wprowadzać uczącego się języka amharskiego w błąd, gdyż rzeczywistość często weryfikuje to, że takich słów w ogóle nie używa się w codziennej komunikacji w języku amharskim.

Co do **norm przyjętych w modernizacji morfologii języka amharskiego (8.3.1.)**, w języku tym wykorzystywana jest szeroka gama wzorców leksykalnych dla tworzenia nowych znaczeń, zarówno w formie rzeczownika jak i przymiotnika. Neologizmy takie mogą powstawać poprzez alternację samogłosek w rdzeniu, geminację spółgłosek bądź też poprzez użycie różnorodnych prefiksów i sufiksów pochodzących nie tylko z języka amharskiego, lecz także z języka gyyz. W języku amharskim przyjęło się, że poszczególne kombinacje wzorców leksykalnych oznaczane są poprzez sekwencję spółgłosek, tj. Q-T dla wyrazów dwurdzeniowych, Q-T-L dla wyrazów trójrdzeniowych, oraz Q-R-T-L dla wyrazów czterordzeniowych. Poszczególne rdzenie można modyfikować bądź poprzez dodanie prefiksów, takich jak chociażby *a-(ə-)*, *mä-* (*ma-*, *-mm*), *ən-*, *nä-*, *tə-* czy *wä-* bądź poprzez doklejenie sufiksów takich jak *-am*, *-ta*, *-an*, *-(ə)nna*, *-(ə)nnät*, *-(ə)ñña*, *-la*, *-awe*, *-awi*, *-ay*, *-a*, *-o* lub *-oš* na końcu rdzenia. Wymienione powyżej prefiksy oraz sufiksy mogą być używane instrumentalnie, tzn. dla nazwania jakiegoś narzędzia, mogą denotować pojęcia abstrakcyjne albo wyrażać cechy rzeczowników poprzez derywowane przez nie przymiotniki. Nowe pojęcia w języku amharskim można tworzyć również poprzez tzw. przeplatanie samogłosek oraz zmiany wewnątrzrdzeniowe.

Jeśli chodzi o kwestię **rodzaju gramatycznego oraz rodzajnika w języku amharskim (8.3.2.)**, rzeczowniki traktuje się jako męskie i żeńskie, zaś te, które w mają rodzaj nijaki traktuje się jako męskie. Co ciekawe, wykładnik rodzaju gramatycznego nie jest dołączony do rzeczownika, dlatego też rodzaj wskazywany jest poprzez rodzaj gramatyczny rodzajnika określonego, zaimka wskazującego bądź też poprzez formę czasownika, z której można wywnioskować wspomniany rodzaj gramatyczny. Czasami rodzaj gramatyczny da się odczytać z formy rodzajnika, która jest sufigowana do przymiotnika w epitecie lub też dzięki odpowiednim sufiksom pochodzącym z języka gyyz. W celu określenia płci danego człowieka, zwierząt albo grup ludzi i zwierząt stosuje się w języku amharskim tzw. określniki rodzaju w formie rzeczownika, tj. *wänd* (mężczyzna) i *set* (kobieta) oraz alternatywnych form pochodnych. W przypadku zwierząt, nazw geograficznych oraz ciał niebieskich, niektóre z nich mogą być traktowane jako męskie, żeńskie albo mieć oba rodzaje w zależności od kontekstu, gdzie są one określone poprzez rodzajnik, zaimek wskazujący bądź też odpowiedni sufiks. Warto wspomnieć, że duży wpływ na określanie płci wspomnianych rzeczowników

niebagatelny wpływ ma tradycja etiopska, wedle której takie zwierzęta jak koń czy lew tradycyjnie są rodzaju męskiego, zaś takie jak szakal czy muł mają zwykle rodzaj żeński. Podobnie jest w przypadku nazw geograficznych oraz ciał niebieskich, gdzie góra i rzeka traktowane są jako rzeczowniki męskoosobowe, zaś słońce i gwiazdy tradycyjnie są rodzaju żeńskiego. Co do określania rzeczownika poprzez rodzajnik nieokreślony, określony bądź zerowy oraz jego liczbę w języku amharskim, bardzo wiele zależy tutaj od kontekstu. Na przykład prośba *wämbär amta!* (przynieś krzesło) może oznaczać nie tyle jakieś krzesło będące w pokoju, co konkretne stojące tam krzesło, mimo że wykładnik określoności i liczby mnogiej nie są bezpośrednio podane.

W języku amharskim istnieje **kategoria liczby mnogiej (8.3.3.)**, choć nie ma rozróżnienia na rodzaj męski i żeński w tworzeniu liczby mnogiej dla rzeczowników, gdyż sufiksy liczby mnogiej są takie same dla obu rodzajów, tj. *-očč* jeśli rzeczownik kończy się na spółgłoskę, zaś *-wočč* gdy kończy się on na samogłoskę. Swoistym ubogaceniem dla języka amharskiego są struktury zewnętrznej oraz wewnętrznej formy liczby mnogiej rzeczowników, co zostało przejęte bezpośrednio z języka gyyz. Proces tworzenia tzw. zewnętrznej liczby mnogiej polega na dołączaniu sufiksów *-an*, *-at* oraz *-t*, z których pierwszy jest używany dla rzeczowników rodzaju męskiego, zaś dwa pozostałe dla rodzaju męskiego lub żeńskiego. W wewnętrznej liczbie mnogiej mamy do czynienia ze zmianą wokaliczną, np. *dängəl* (dziewica) – *dänagəl* (dziewice), użyciem sufiksu *-t* np. *nəgus* (król) – *nägäst* (królowie) lub wykorzystaniem prefiksu *a-* przed rdzeniem oraz wspomnianego wyżej sufiksu po rdzeniu wyrazu, np. *ganen* (demon) – *a-ganən-t* (demony). W języku amharskim istnieje jeszcze możliwość modyfikacji wokalicznej z użyciem półsamogłoski *w*, np. *kokäb* (gwiazda) – *kä-wa-kəbt* (gwiazdy). Liczbę mnogą w języku amharskim można także utworzyć za pomocą duplikacji rzeczownika poprzez jego powtórzenie bądź połączenie za pomocą spójnika *-nna* lub też częściowej reduplikacji w strukturze rdzenia np. *wäyzäro* (pani) – *wäyzazärt* (panie) lub reduplikacji za pomocą infiksu *-a-*, np. *geṭ-a-geṭ* (biżuteria). Niektóre z takich kombinacji mogą mieć znaczenie pejoratywne np. *wänd-a-wänd* (zniewieściały mężczyzna). Niekiedy można łączyć ze sobą dwa wyrazy o przeciwnym znaczeniu, np. *wänd* (mężczyzna), *gäräd* (kobieta) – *wänd-a-gäräd* (hermafrodyta [o hienie]). W celu wyrażenia podmiotu szeregowego, np. ja i moi współnicy, używa się w języku amharskim prefiksów *ənnä-* lub *əllä-* doklejonych bezpośrednio do nazwy własnej tuż przed nią, np. *ənnä-Yohannəs* (Jan i jego współnicy). W języku amharskim istnieje także reguła polegająca na tym, że konsekwencją tego, iż wiele rzeczowników kolektywnych zmodyfikowanych przez rodzajnik *-u*, czy *-itu* (niezależnie od płci) jest odpowiednia męskoosobowa forma czasownika w zdaniu w liczbie pojedynczej, np. *səraw-itu Gondär säffära* (ta armia obozowała pod Gonderem [miasto w Etiopii]) (forma *säffär-a* [obozowała] zamiast *säffär-u* [obozował l.mn.]) czy *set-u hullu wäda gäbäya hedä* (wszystkie kobiety poszły na targ) (forma *hedä* zamiast *hedu*).

Co się tyczy kwestii **dopełnienia bliższego w języku amharskim (8.3.4.)**, jego funkcję może pełnić zaimek lub rzeczownik. Dopełnienie bliższe może być również określane przez rodzajnik, zaimek dzierżawczy, zaimek wskazujący, względne oznaczenie ilościowe lub przymiotnik. Jeśli dopełnieniem bliższym jest rzeczownik, jego określoność bądź nieokreśloność może być uwarunkowana obecnością lub brakiem wyznacznika dopełnienia

bliższego. Jeśli dopełnienie bliższe jest określane poprzez wspomniane części mowy, przyjmuje ona kształt zaimka sufigowanego *(-ə)n* i zajmuje miejsce bezpośrednio po rodzajniku. Choć w pewnych przypadkach wyznacznik dopełnienia bliższego może być pominięty, zwłaszcza jeśli rzeczownik pozostaje nieokreślony, jego obecność i tak wynika z kontekstu zdania. Pozwala to w określanych przypadkach ekstraponować rzeczownik zmodyfikowany przez rodzajnik określony będący zarazem dopełnieniem bliższym przed podmiot w zdaniu. Ponadto dwa lub więcej dopełnień bliższych w zdaniu mogą być połączone przez spójnik *-ənnə* lub *-m*, który można przetłumaczyć na język polski jako „i”, przy czym jeśli są one zmodyfikowane rodzajnikiem określonym, wszystkie otrzymują końcówkę *(-ə)n*. W przypadku dopełnień bliższych jako rzeczowników niezmodyfikowanych rodzajnikiem określonym, końcówkę *(-ə)n* otrzymuje ostatni nieokreślony rzeczownik znajdujący się po wspomnianych wyżej spójnikach. Jeśli chodzi o dopełnienie dalsze w języku amharskim, jest ono zawsze wyrażane poprzez przyimek *lä* (dla). Co ciekawe, wspomniany przyimek jest tłumaczony na angielski jako 'to' and 'for', co przy użyciu tych samych przyimków dla dopełnienia bliższego w tym języku może niekiedy przysparzać tłumaczom spore problemy natury gramatycznej.

Jeśli chodzi o **paradygmaty czasownikowe w języku amharskim (8.3.5.)**, są to prefiksy stosowane do wyrażenia stron czasownika, a także do określania przechodniości czasowników. Wspomniane prefiksy odgrywają również niemałą rolę w tworzeniu neologizmów, przede wszystkim w rzeczownikach odsłownych, gdzie zostały one zachowane wraz z reduplikacją niektórych rdzeni. Przy tworzeniu stron czasowników w języku amharskim używa się przede wszystkim prefiksów *tä-*, *a-* oraz *as-*, które są dołączane do rdzenia, co powoduje zmianę jednej z spółgłosek rdzennych. W języku amharskim istnieje kilka stron czasownika, które w różnych gramatykach nazywane są inaczej. Titov (1971) wymienia stronę czynną, bierną, zwrotną, wzajemnie zwrotną i kompulsywną. Według niego przez stronę czynną (podstawową) mogą być odmieniane wszystkie czasowniki, zarówno przechodnie jak i nieprzechodnie, dlatego też zmodyfikowane przez prefiks *tä-* jako wykładnik strony biernej mogą być nie tylko proste rdzenie czasowników przechodnich bądź nieprzechodnich, lecz także takie rdzenie, które są zależne od wspomnianego prefiksu, gdyż bez takiej modyfikacji są one pozbawione znaczenia, np. *qäbbäla* (nie ma znaczenia) – *täqäbbäla* (odebrać, być odebranych). Warto także wspomnieć, że w języku amharskim istnieje strona zwrotna, która jest wyrażona poprzez rzeczownik *ras* (głowa [tu: ja]) zmodyfikowany poprzez sufigowane zaimki osobowe w formie dopełnienia. Co do strony wzajemnie zwrotnej w języku amharskim, denotuje ona działanie dwóch wykonawców, którzy są jednocześnie wykonawcami i przedmiotami akcji wykonywanej przez tychże wykonawców. Wykładnikiem strony wzajemnie zwrotnej w języku amharskim jest prefiks *tä-*, który poprzedza formę czasownika w stronie zwrotnej, którego rdzeń może być także reduplikowany (np. *täšəšəfä* -być przepisywanym). Wyrażenie strony wzajemnie zwrotnej jest również możliwe poprzez użycie przysłówka *ərsbärs* (osobiście, samodzielnie) zmodyfikowanego poprzez zaimki osobowe w formie dopełnienia. Prefiksy *a-* oraz *as-* mają znaczenie kauzatywne. Pierwszy z nich jest używany w celu przekształcenia czasownika nieprzechodniego w przechodni, jednak nie można go stosować, gdy rdzeń czasownika

niezmodyfikowanego zaczyna się na samogłoskę *a-*. Drugi wspomniany prefiks ma szerszy zakres użycia, gdyż pozwala on na tworzenie czasowników podwójnie przechodnich i podwójnie kompulsywnych. W przeciwieństwie do rdzeni zmodyfikowanych przez prefiks *a-*, nie zachodzą tu jakieś szczególne obostrzenia gramatyczne i morfologiczne, co oznacza, że rdzenie takie mogą być poprzedzane prefiksem *as-*, np. *as-ayyā* (pokazać coś komuś, dosł. sprawić, by ktoś to zobaczył).

W języku amharskim istnieją także prefiksy złożone tj, *as-tä-* i *t-as-tä-* (w stronie biernej) używane zwykle w przypadku rdzeni rozpoczynających się na głoskę *a*, np. *astāwala* (zwracać uwagę) i *tastāwala* (być obserwowanym). Inne ważne prefiksy, których celem jest wyrażenie ruchu, światła, dźwięku, etc., to *tän-* oraz *an-*, z których pierwszy stosowany jest w przypadku czasowników nieprzechodnich oraz wyrażających stan, zaś drugiego używa się w czasownikach przechodnich i kauzatywnych. Prefiksy te rzadko modyfikują rdzenie typu A i B, natomiast często można je spotkać w czasownikach typu C, zarówno trój- jak czterordzeniowych. Podczas gdy prefiks *an-* wyraża stronę czynną czasownika, prefiks *tän-* stosuje się do wyrażenia strony biernej bądź nieprzechodniości czasownika. Ostatnim wspomnianym w podrozdziale 8.3.5 prefiksem jest *a(t)-*, którego używa się w czasownikach reduplikowanych. Nie zawsze jest on jednak widoczny w wymowie bądź w piśmie, jednak służy on wzmocnieniu akcji osoby ją wykonującej w zdaniu. W większości przypadków prefiks ten utożsamiany jest z geminacją pierwszej samogłoski w rdzeniu czasownika reduplikowanego, np. *affä-la-llägä* (pomóc komuś w poszukiwaniu czegoś).

Jeśli chodzi o kwestię **czasów gramatycznych w języku amharskim (8.3.6.)**, czasownik amharski może mieć aspekt dokonany i niedokonany, jako że istnieje tam rozróżnienie pomiędzy przeszłością i nie-przeszłością. Choć inne czasy złożone mogą być tworzone w języku amharskim za pomocą czasowników posiłkowych jak również innych części mowy, należy zwrócić szczególną uwagę na różnice pomiędzy czasem perfectum prostym oraz perfectum złożonym, gdyż pierwszy z nich odnosi się do jakiejś akcji w przeszłości, która zakończyła się w określonym czasie, zaś drugi do akcji, która wprawdzie rozpoczęła się w przeszłości, jednak jej skutki są obecne w teraźniejszości. Jako że forma trzeciej osoby czasownika w języku amharskim jest najmniej skomplikowana, stosuje się ją jako formę wyjściową dla wszystkich czasowników zamieszczanych w słownikach. W koniugacji czasownika w formie perfectum stosuje się wyłącznie sufiksy będące wykładnikami osoby, rodzaju gramatycznego oraz liczby. Warto wspomnieć, że koniugacji czasownika w języku amharskim dokonuje się przez 10 osób, tj. 1. os. lp., 2 os. lp. r. m. i ż., 2 os. lp. forma honoryfikatywna, 3. os. lp. r. m. i ż., 3. os. lp. forma honoryfikatywna, 1. os. l.mn., 2. os. l.mn. oraz 3. os. l.mn. Oznacza to, w drugiej osobie lp. oraz l.mn. istnieją osobne formy ze względu na płeć oraz, że każda osoba ma formę honoryfikatywną, na co szczególnie zwracają uwagę Etiopczycy. Co do negacji perfectum prostego, sprawa jest tu bardziej skomplikowana, gdyż forma 3. os. r. m wraz z wykładnikiem osoby jest poprzedzana prefiksem *al-*, zaś na końcu dodawany jest sufiks *-(ə)mm*, który jest pomijany w sytuacji, gdy używane są pewne spójniki oraz wykładniki formy względnej danego czasownika. W celu wyrażenia czasu zaprzeczonego, stosuje się następujące czasowniki posiłkowe: *allä*, *näbbärä*, *nur^wal*, *yəhon(all)*.

Co do kategorii aspektu niedokonanego (*imperfectum*), ma on formę prostą i złożoną, tj. za pomocą czasownika posiłkowego *allä*. Dla każdej osoby przewidziany jest odpowiedni prefiks w zależności od rodzaju gramatycznego i liczby. Niektóre prefiksy są takie same, np. 2 os. lp. r.m. i 3 os. lp. r.ż, zaś o ich znaczeniu decyduje kontekst. *Imperfectum* złożone zaprzecza się za pomocą prefiksów odpowiednio *al-*, *at-*, *ay-* oraz sufiksu *-(ə)mm*, którego nie stosuje się w przypadku użycia pewnych spójników oraz wykładników zdania względnego. W 2. os. lp. r.ż. zachodzi zjawisko palatalizacji, czyli wymowy danej głoski z dodatkową artykulacją środkowo-podniebienną dla głosek d, t, ʈ, n, l, s oraz z.

Podrozdział 8.4. poświęcony jest wybranym konstrukcjom składniowym w języku amharskim, ich budowie oraz wariantach. W ciągu swojej zaledwie stukilkudziesięcioletniej ewolucji jako język pisany język amharski przeszedł wiele zmian, przez co nie przypomina już tak bardzo swojej wersji używanej w mowie potocznej jak na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Znacząco zmieniła się też składnia tego języka, która dopuszcza wiele alternatywnych konstrukcji syntaktycznych za pomocą różnych spójników, użycia prostych i złożonych form czasów gramatycznych czy też specyficznych dla języka amharskiego oraz gyyz konstrukcji zdań względnych. Wspomniany na wstępie podrozdział składa się z trzech części, w których analizowane są rodzaje **zdań współrzędnie i podrzędnie złożonych (8.4.1.)**, **zdania warunkowe (8.4.2.)** oraz **mowa zależna i niezależna (8.4.3.)**, które to zostały zilustrowane przykładami. Jeśli chodzi o zdania współrzędnie złożone, analizowane są typy zdań łącznych, rozłącznych, przeciwstawnych i wynikowych, zaś w przypadku zdań podrzędnie złożonych, zbadano zdania okolicznikowe czasu, miejsca, przyczyny oraz celu. Podstawowy spójnik zdania łącznego w języku amharskim to *-(ə)nna*, choć alternatywnie można użyć partykuły *-(ə)mm*, która jest dołączana do twierdzącej lub przeczącej formy czasownika w czasie przeszłym bądź teraźniejszo-przyszłym. Co do zdań alternatywnych, stosuje się tu różne spójniki w zależności od tego czy występują one między rzeczownikiem (dopełnieniem) a czasownikiem (orzeczeniem). W przypadku zdań przeciwstawnych stosuje się następujące spójniki *gən*, *nägär gən*, *daru*, *daru gən*, *dägmo*, *yähonä hono* lub *honomm*, niemniej jednak w pewnych sytuacjach istnieje możliwość użycia przyimków złożonych, gdzie gerundivum znajduje się między prepozycją a postpozycją. Podobnie jest ze zdaniami wynikowymi, choć tutaj da się również stworzyć konstrukcję ze spójnika *and*+zaprzeczone *perfectum*, jeśli chcemy zanegować zdanie podrzędne. Z racji tego, że istnieje wiele nierzadko alternatywnych wzorców dla tworzenia wspomnianych zdań okolicznikowych, wymienianie każdej konstrukcji składniowej i jej analiza byłoby pozbawione sensu. Niemniej jednak większość tychże konstrukcji zbudowana jest za pomocą formy czasownika bądź gerundium zmodyfikowanej przez złożony przyimek oraz niekiedy poprzez użycie zaimków osobowych w formie dopełnienia.

Druga część **podrozdziału 8.4. (8.4.2.)** poświęcona jest **zdaniam warunkowym**. W języku amharskim rozróżnia się zdania warunkowe realne od hipotetycznych. Warunek realny i hipotetyczny może być tworzony w tym języku na różne sposoby, tj. za pomocą spójników i czasowników posiłkowych. Czasowniki posiłkowe *noro* oraz *näbbär* charakterystyczne są dla warunków hipotetycznych. Pierwszy z nich występuje w poprzedniku zdania warunkowego, zaś drugiego z nich można spotkać w następniku zdania warunkowego. W obu typach zdań

warunkowych można używać czasu perfectum lub imperfectum w zależności od osiągnięcia preferowanego znaczenia. Mimo że amharskie zdania warunkowe tworzy się za pomocą rodzimego słownictwa, widoczne są jednak wpływy z języków europejskich, zwłaszcza jeśli chodzi o warunek hipotetyczny. Przyczyn tego można upatrywać w stosunkowo krótkiej historii języka amharskiego jako języka pisanego, gdzie w procesie planowania językowego próbowano przenieść na grunt języka amharskiego pewne mechanizmy z wpływowych wówczas języków europejskich kolonizatorów. Choć wspomniane mechanizmy lingwistyczne przyjęły się dosyć dobrze w Etiopii, szeroki wachlarz alternatywnych konstrukcji zdań warunkowych w języku amharskim może niejako utrudnić naukę tego języka przez obcokrajowców.

Jeśli chodzi o użycie **mowy niezależnej w języku amharskim (8.4.3.)**, stosuje się ją znacznie częściej niż w przypadku mowy zależnej w języku angielskim lub polskim. Być może dlatego konstrukcje składniowe z użyciem mowy zależnej są znacznie prostsze niż we wspomnianych językach indoeuropejskich. W języku amharskim cytuje się przeważnie słowa osoby wypowiadającej się na dany temat, po czym następuje odmienna forma czasownika posiłkowego *alä* lub *näbbär*, np. *bassär däqīqā wəst əmətallä^wh alä* (powiedział [że] przyjdzie w ciągu dziesięciu minut, dosł. „Przyjdę w ciągu dziesięciu minut” on powiedział). W przypadku zdań wielokrotnie złożonych stosuje się spójniki *bəlo* lub *sil*, np. *motärun lətəggänäw əčəlallä^wh bəlo näbbär* (powiedział, że będzie mógł naprawić ten motor, dosł. ten motor naprawić mogę mówiąc to powiedział). W przypadku negacji używa się partykuły *(ə)mm*, którą dokleja się nie do czasownika posiłkowego, tylko do głównego czasownika w mowie zależnej. Niemniej jednak zastosowanie wspomnianej partykuły jest fakultatywne, gdyż negacja wynika z kontekstu.

Ostatnią część rozdziału 8. poświęcono **leksykalnej modernizacji języka amharskiego**. Opisano tutaj poszczególne **procesy tworzenia neologizmów w języku amharskim (8.5.1.)** poprzez **adaptację leksyki angielskiej (8.5.2.)**, **złożenia (8.5.3.)**, **staroetiopską afiksację (8.5.4.)** **tłumaczenie kalek, hybrydyzację (8.5.5.)**, **skrócenie wyrazu (clipping) oraz kreolizację (8.5.6.)**. Zanim poszczególne zjawiska lingwistyczne zostały przedstawione i gruntownie przeanalizowane wraz z podaniem przykładów, sporo uwagi poświęcono kilku **konceptualnym metod tworzenia fachowej leksyki w języku amharskim (8.5.1.)**, tj. zasada uniwersalności i pragmatyzmu, zasada autentyczności i transparenacji, zasada manipulacyjności oraz zasada synonimii i polisemii. Pierwsza z wymienionych zasad polega na apriorycznej naturze wszystkich języków, gdyż wszystkie fonemy są używane w językach arbitralnie, tzn. są one ułożone w konwencjonalnie uformowanym porządku, aby przedstawiać różne idee. Istota, z której wszystkie języki są stworzone jest taka sama, mimo różnic pomiędzy fonemami. Tylko konwencja sprawia, że pewne idee wyglądają w języku mniej lub bardziej nieznanym lub dziwnym sposobem. Pewnych słów nie da się kalkować na inne mniej rozwinięte języki, gdyż nie pozwalają na to chociażby zasady wymowy w danym języku. Niemniej jednak nie da się stworzyć uniwersalnego języka dla całego świata uwzględniając przy tym wszystkie cechy charakterystyczne wszystkich języków świata, podobnie jak nie da się stworzyć uniwersalnej kultury dla wszystkich mieszkańców naszej planety, gdyż język jest głęboko związany z kulturą. Zasada

autentyczności mówi nam o tym, że nowy termin w danym języku powinien być oparty na istniejących wyrazach i morfemach. Neologizmy należy ponadto tworzyć na podstawie czterech głównych kategorii językowych, tj. rzeczownik, czasownik, przymiotnik i przysłówek, gdyż w przeciwnym wypadku dany wyraz nie będzie miał transparentnej etymologii, a co za tym idzie, będzie on wyglądał raczej sztucznie, przez co nie będzie on używany przez społeczność językową. Jeśli chodzi o zasadę transparencji, dotyczy ona semantycznego aspektu danego neologizmu. Jeżeli jego znaczenie nie jest powiązane z jakąkolwiek istotną strukturą leksykalną w języku, z którego dany termin został zapożyczony, staje się ono nieprzezroczyste, a przez to nieużyteczne dla użytkowników danego języka.

Zgodnie z zasadą manipulacyjności, słowotwórca musi posiadać szeroką wiedzę na temat kategorii leksykalnych, aby poprawnie derywować wyrazy pochodzące od danego słowa. Jako że niektóre derywaty nie cechują się manipulacyjnością, w takich przypadkach należy albo derywować wyrazy pokrewne z innego słowa, albo znaleźć inne odpowiednie słowo, które będzie miało takie właściwości. Ostatnią wspomnianą zasadą jest zasada synonimii i polisemii. Synonimia polega na tym, że na jeden koncept przypada więcej niż jedna jednostka leksykalna. Jeśli chodzi o polisemię, zjawisko to oznacza, że to samo słowo może mieć więcej znaczeń, zarówno w języku potocznym jak i w dyskursie naukowym. Choć z jednej strony nie jest dobrze jeśli dany język, jak np. angielski, jest zbyt polisemiczny, gdyż to znacząco utrudnia jego opanowanie, umiarkowane użycie polisemii może mieć również swoje dobre strony, gdyż pewne mechanizmy semantyczne ulegają systematyzacji, dzięki czemu nie trzeba tworzyć odrębnych słów niosących dane znaczenie zwłaszcza w terminologii naukowo-technicznej.

Jeśli chodzi o **adaptację terminologii fachowej z języka angielskiego na język amharski (8.5.2.)**, wiele zależy tutaj od czynników pozajęzykowych takich jak konieczność nazwania nieistniejącego w kulturze etiopskiej konceptu, rozróżnianie pomiędzy ideami, poziom edukacji oraz szacunku Etiopczyków do języka amharskiego, uwarunkowania polityczne oraz posiadanie akademii językowej. Jako że zakrojona na szeroką skalę modernizacja języka amharskiego rozpoczęła się tak naprawdę w latach 50. XX wieku, kiedy to Anglia i Stany Zjednoczone miały niebagatelny wpływ na kształtowanie polityki międzynarodowej i gospodarczej w Etiopii, nie było nic dziwnego w tym, by nazwy anglosaskich produktów kulturowych pozostawały angielskie. Mimo znacznego tąpnięcia takiej polityki w czasach rządów komunistycznej junty w tym kraju, język angielski dalej dominował w zapożyczeniach tworzonych dla języka amharskiego, w tym również na potrzeby rozwoju ideologii marksistowskiej w tym afrykańskim państwie. Jednak kolejna zmiana władzy w Etiopii w 1991 roku dała językowi angielskiemu taki wpływ na język amharski i inne języki etiopskie, jakiego jeszcze nigdy nie miał on w historii tego kraju. Angielski przestał już być językiem komunikacji międzynarodowej w Etiopii i krok po kroku staje się on językiem komunikacji regionalnej, wypierając przy tym język amharski. Ponieważ znajomość tego języka w Etiopii wiąże się, choć nie zawsze słusznie, z szybkim podniesieniem się statusu społecznego, język angielski zdominował etiopskie korporacje, szkoły wyższe i uniwersytety, ograniczając przy tym pole działania dla języka amharskiego. Skutkuje to wszechobecnym zapożyczeniem leksyki angielskiej we wszystkich dziedzinach

życia, bez względu na koślawość takich hybryd pod względem fonologicznym i morfologicznym. Nieistniejące w języku amharskim dyftongi próbuje się zastąpić samogłoskami etiopskimi, co zniekształca znaczenie danego wyrazu np. *animäšan* (animation [animacja]) bez /ei/ albo *kot* (coat [płaszcz]) bez /əv/. Co gorsza, wprowadza się wyrazy obce, które dawno już dostały amharskie odpowiedniki, np. *farmasi – mädhanit bet* (apteka), czy też *oprasiyon – qäddo tǝggäna* (operacja). Swoistym tego ukoronowaniem jest przejście anglojęzycznych nazw większości krajów świata przez język amharski. Taka oto neokolonizacja kultury etiopskiej może postępować dalej, co może poskutkować eliminacją języka amharskiego z przestrzeni publicznej oraz sukcesywnym wymieraniem mniej znaczących języków w Etiopii.

Podrozdział 8.5.3. poświęcono **procesom łączenia wyrazów w zespoły (compounding) oraz grupowania fraz**, które bardzo często wykorzystuje się także w języku amharskim w celu stworzenia fachowej leksyki z różnych dziedzin nauki. Jeśli chodzi o pierwszy proces, są różne podejścia naukowe, które służą jego wyjaśnieniu. Niektórzy lingwiści (Bloomfield, Bolinger) uważają, że złożenia stoją na granicy wyrazów i fraz, inni zaś (Dasgupta) twierdzą, że niezbędna jest dogłębna analiza rdzeni, aby w pełni wyjaśnić to zjawisko. W języku amharskim istnieje wiele możliwości łączenia wyrazów w zespoły, tj. poprzez amharski i staro-etiopski *status constructus* jak również poprzez łączenie rzeczownika z przymiotnikiem, który może być pierwszorzędny (amharski, gyyz) lub derywowany poprzez sufiksy *-ǎñña*, *-awi*, *-ay*, alternacją samogłosek w rdzeniu bądź poprzez użycie konstrukcji względnej w formie przymiotnika. Co ciekawe, mieszanie leksyki amharskiej i staro-etiopskiej we wspomnianych konstrukcjach nie jest niczym złym. Niemniej jednak należy zauważyć, że nieznanostwo języka gyyz przez większość Etiopczyków skutkuje tym, że nawet najbardziej trafne złożenia wyrazów pochodzących z tego języka mają bardzo niewielką szansę dogłębnego zakorzenienia się w świadomości użytkowników języka amharskiego. Z drugiej zaś strony, tworzenie pojęć na bazie leksyki języka gyyz jest niezbędne po to, aby zminimalizować olbrzymi wpływ języka angielskiego na język amharski, a co za tym idzie, sprawić, aby użytkownicy języka amharskiego mieli własną terminologię fachową niezależną od tej europejskiej.

Jeśli chodzi o **konstrukcje leksykalne z użyciem staro-etiopskich przyimków (8.5.4.)** takich jak *i-* (nie-), *qǎdmä-* (przed-), *dǎhrä-* (po-), *hǎbrä-* (multi-), *šǎrǎ-* (anty-), *kǎflǎ-* (pół-), *dibä-* (nad-) oraz *bǎynä-* (inter-), są one coraz bardziej popularne w języku amharskim i są one listowane w najnowszych słownikach internetowych amharsko-angielskich, glosariuszach wydawanych przez różne komisje językowe w Etiopii, a także coraz częściej pojawiają się w codziennej prasie etiopskiej. Za pomocą wspomnianych prefiksów można modyfikować zarówno znaczenie rzeczownika, np. *qǎdmä-gebb* (epenteza) jak i przymiotnika *i-tǎsmami* (asynchroniczny).

Następny podrozdział (8.5.5.) poświęcony jest procesom tłumaczenia kalek oraz hybrydyzacji, które są bardzo produktywnymi metodami tworzenia neologizmów w języku amharskim. Tłumaczenie kalek polega na przetłumaczeniu danego wyrażenia w języku obcym słowo w słowo bądź rdzeń w rdzeń, choć nie zawsze się to udaje z różnych przyczyn, zaś proces hybrydyzacji polega na tworzeniu wyrażeń poprzez zestawianie ze sobą wyrazów z

co najmniej dwóch języków. Istnieje kilka sposobów tłumaczenia kalek na język amharski takich jak np. amharski i staro-etiopski *status constructus*, tworzenie przymiotnika z różnymi sufiksami bądź poprzez alternację samogłosek w rdzeniu, nie mówiąc o stosowaniu kalek frazeologicznych, czyli odwzorowań stałych związków wyrazowych, np. amh. *takkus zena* (dosł. gorące wiadomości) z angielskiego *breaking news* (wiadomości z ostatniej chwili). Niektóre z kalek, jak np. *radiyo tabiya* (radiostacja), *yä-mängəst pres* (prasa rządowa) lub *magnätisawi hayl* (pole magnetyczne) są jednocześnie przykładami hybrydyzacji, która może mieć formę *status constructus* (pierwszy i drugi wymieniony przykład) lub zestawienia przymiotnika z rzeczownikiem (przykład trzeci). W języku amharskim zhybrydyzowane wyrażenia buduje się przeważnie z wyrazów angielskich, amharskich bądź gyyz.

Jeśli chodzi o **skrócenie wyrazu (clipping) i kreolizację (8.5.6.)**, są to procesy lingwistyczne używane przeważnie wtedy, gdy zawodzą inne metody tworzenia neologizmów w języku amharskim, choć nie należy ich nadużywać. Istnieją cztery rodzaje skracania wyrazów tj. poprzez apokopę, aferezę, synkopę oraz złożone formy clippingu, które stosuje się przeważnie w naukach ścisłych. Mianem kreolizacji określa się proces inkorporacji obcych wyrazów do języka amharskiego, które ulegają przekształceniu przez amharskie reguły morfologiczno-leksykalne. Skreolizowany wyraz można stworzyć w języku amharskim m.in. poprzez dodanie sufiksu *-a*, np. *syringe* (strzykawka) – *səringa*, sonoryzację głoski bezdźwięcznej, np. *typing* (pisanie na komputerze) – *təyyäba* lub poprzez zmianę głoski w rdzeniu wyrazu, która nie występuje w języku amharskim np. *visa* (wiza) – *biza* lub *galaxy* (galaktyka) – *galasi*. Skrócenie wyrazu oraz kreolizacja to bardzo ważne procesy tworzenia neologizmów w języku amharskim, dzięki którym można zredukować nazwy pewnych konceptów w formie złożenia do ich skróconej formy bądź też adaptować wyrazy obce a nawet tworzyć z nich rodziny wyrazów.

9. Językowy obraz wybranych neologizmów amharskich w oparciu o metaforyzację pojęć

Tematem dziewiątego rozdziału niniejszej dysertacji jest językowy obraz wybranych neologizmów w formie metafor w języku amharskim. W podrozdziale **9.1.** omówione zostały **teoretyczne aspekty koncepcji językowego obrazu świata**, zaś w podrozdziale **9.2.** dokonano **analizy semantycznej zmetaforyzowanych pojęć amharskich** z zakresu kultury i sztuki. Już w starożytności twierdzono, że w języku występują pewne sądy, które wpływają na rozumienie i postrzeganie świata przez jego użytkowników. Te właśnie cechy charakterystyczne dla wszystkich języków mogą być pomocą jak również pewną przeszkodą w tłumaczeniu tekstów na język ojczysty lub obcy, co słusznie zauważył Marcin Luter w czasach reformacji. Problemem tym zaczęto zajmować się znacznie później, kiedy to Hamann i Herder stwierdzili, że język ma wpływ na kształtowanie się pewnych idei i jest on narzędziem kształtowania myśli. Poglądy te kształtował i rozwijał potem Humboldt, zaś po nim m.in. przedstawiciele amerykańskiej szkoły etnolingwistycznej, którzy twierdzili, że językowy obraz jest mentalnym konstruktem umieszczonym gdzieś pomiędzy światem a społecznością, i że nie jest on jedynie konceptualnym odbiciem świata, tylko jego radykalnie

zmieniająca się interpretacją. Dla polskich badaczy językowego obrazu świata (JOS) skupionych wokół Etnolingwistycznej Szkoły Lubelskiej (ESL), większy wpływ na język wywiera kultura niż język na kulturę, co wynika z polskich badań etnograficznych, jak również z zasad neohumboldtyzmu.

Według założyciela ESL, prof. J. Bartmińskiego, w każdym języku są zakorzenione pewne sądy o świecie, które wpływają na postrzeganie świata jego użytkowników właśnie przez pryzmat tego języka. Sądy te mają charakter antropocentryczny, gdyż człowiek dokonuje interpretacji świata z ludzkiej perspektywy. Jest tak również w przypadku języka amharskiego, którego użytkownicy nie zadowolają się w nierzadko bezmyślny i oklepany sposób przetłumaczonymi kalkami z języka angielskiego. Jako że wielu pojęć nie da się tak po prostu przekalkować z innych języków, użytkownicy języka amharskiego tworzą pojęcia w sposób zmetaforyzowany zgodnie z zasadami frazeologii oraz kategoryzacji pojęć w ich języku. Choć z jednej strony dla uczącego się języka amharskiego początkowo nie jest jasne dlaczego np. malarstwo abstrakcyjne (*səwwər astāne*) zwie się malarstwem „ukrytym” (*səwwər*), po dokonaniu głębszej analizy można stwierdzić, że abstrakcyjność w malarstwie wiąże się z interpretacją takiego obrazu, która jest ukryta, tj. nie zawsze łatwa do odczytania. Poprzez taką interpretację pojęć, która jest związana z występowaniem pewnych stereotypów językowych, można poznać kategoryzację świata dokonywaną przez Etiopczyków, a zarazem ich mentalność, gdyż za każdym pojęciem ukryte są pewne światy, które należy poprawnie zidentyfikować oraz zinterpretować, do czego konieczna jest dobra znajomość kultury etiopskiej.

Resumo en Esperanto

Planado de la amhara lingvo sur la fono de planadprocezoj en etnaj kaj de artefaritaj lingvoj

Tiu ĉi doktora disertaĵo estas dediĉita al la problemoj de lingvoplanado kaj la plibonigado de la amhara lingvo sur la nivelo de status-, korpus- kaj akirplanado. La verko celas esplori la tri menciitajn ebenojn de lingvoplanado de tiu ĉi lingvo sur la fono de lingvoplanado en etnaj kaj de artefaritaj lingvoj. En la unua parto de la disertaĵo (ĉapitroj 1-4) estas prezentataj la teoriaj problemoj de lingvoplanado dum en la sekvaj ĉapitroj (5-9) estas analizataj kaj esplorataj la demandoj de la provizo per skribsistemo, normigo kaj modernigo de la amhara. Antaŭ ol la procezoj de lingvoplanado en la amhara estas pritraktataj, la aŭtoro detale priskribas lingvojn, kie okazis grandskala planado, kiel la sanskrita, la novhebrea, la novorvega, la bahasa indonesia kaj planlingvojn bazitajn sur naturaj lingvoj, kiel Esperanto kaj Occidental/Interlingue. Dank' al tio eblas pli profunde alrigardi la planadon de la amhara kaj priskribi ĝin el diversaj perspektivoj. En Etiopio, la procezo de la planado de la amhara kaj de la kelkdeko de aliaj lingvoj parolataj tie estas farita larĝskale, sed tio ne estus ebla sen la sindevigo de ne nur la nuntempaj etiopiaj aŭtoritatoj, sed ankaŭ de tiuj grandaj imperiestroj, kiel Teodoro II, Menelik II kaj Haile Selassie I, kiuj batalis por la hodiaŭa statuso kaj prestiĝo de la amhara lingvo.

Malgraŭ multaj provoj de scienca priskribo de lingvoplanado en la amhara lingvo, oni ankoraŭ ne plenumis la detalan esploron de la tri aspektoj de lingvoplanado en tiu ĉi afrika lingvo kun la uzo de la interlingvistika esplorado, kiu ne ofte estas subestimata per seriozaj lingvistoj pro ĝiaj ligoj kun artefaritaj lingvoj. Sed la teorio de lingvoplanado prilaborita de V. Tauli, E. Haugen kaj pli samtempaj generacioj de lingvoplanistoj havas multon por oferti al la scienca pritraktado de la amhara lingvo, eĉ se ĝi signifas la priskriban formon de homa enmiksiĝo en la lingvon, kio ne plaĉas al multaj fakuloj. Se temas pri la celo kaj la metodologio de la laboraĵo, la aŭtoro volas kunordigi la ĝisnunan scion pri la status- kaj akirplanado de la amhara kaj samtempe esplori la kernajn ŝanĝojn en la morfologio, sintakso kaj leksiko de la lingvo kaj klasifiki ilin laŭ diversaj procezoj. En la lasta parto de la studo elektitaj fakaj neologismoj estas prilaborataj laŭ la teorio de la lingva bildo, kio la plej probable neniam estis farita en Pollando aŭ eksterlande.

Por la pristudo de la korpusplanado de la amhara estis kolektitaj neologismoj kaj modernaj vortoj el diversaj kampoj de scienco, kiuj aperis en la etiopiaj gazetoj akireblaj en Pollando (*Addis Zämān*) kaj estis registritaj en retaj vortaroj anglaj-amharaj (*SelamSoft*, *Abyssinica*) aŭ en la propraj glosarioj publikitaj per la etiopiaj lingvistoj (Abera Lemma 2002, Takkele Taddese 2000) aŭ aldonitaj al artikoloj (Anbessa Teferra 2013, Z. Poláček 1994) aŭ fine de la gramatikaj libroj en la amhara (Bayye Yimam 2000, Getahun Amare 1990). Ankaŭ la granda paperforma amhara-angla vortaro de T.L. Kane (1990) estis uzata, sed plejparte por referenco en la studado de la amhara fakterminologio. Se temas pri la status- kaj akirplanado

de la amhara, la aŭtoro baziĝas precipe sur la artikoloj skribitaj de etiopiaj lingvistoj, kiuj espereble plej bone konas la temon, sed ankaŭ ne mankis verkoj de la okcidentaj fakuloj, kiuj mem spertis tiujn problemojn kaj proponas iliajn solvojn.

La **dua ĉapitro** celas enkonduki la leganton en la problemon de lingvoplanado, sed en ĝia unua parto la aŭtoro kritikas la aliron de la dikotomio de naturaj kaj artefaritaj lingvoj kaj prezentas la aranĝon de la du tipoj de lingvoj sur la kontinuo, kio estas fakte kreita de I. Koutny (2015), sed la bazan ideon oni jam trovas ĉe K. Schubert (1989) kaj A. Sakaguchi (1996). Tiuj ĉi aliroj signifas, ke la etnaj lingvoj, en kiuj okazis eĉ la reformo de skribsistemo, ne estas tute naturaj el la vidpunkto de lingvoplanado samkiel kelkaj planlingvoj povas evoluadi kiel memstaraj etnaj lingvoj, kion pruvas la kazo de Esperanto. Ĉar la konstanta evoluo de lingvoj kaŭzas ŝanĝojn en ilia strukturo, la artefaritaj lingvoj, kiuj baziĝas sur etnaj estas nur kvanta transiro. Sekve la aŭtoro analizas diversajn alirojn al lingvoplanado kaj konfrontas iliajn klasikajn (Tauli, Haugen, Wüster) kaj pli nuntempajn alpaŝojn (Kaplan, Baldauf, Fishman, Hornberger, Antia). Ĉi tie estis skize prezentita la historio de lingvoplanado kaj la metodoj de efika planado en naturaj kaj de artefaritaj lingvoj. La paŝoj de lingvoplanado devas esti realigataj konscie kaj kompetente depende de la lingvo, ĉu ĝi estas etna aŭ planita. Se temas pri la teorio de lingvoplanado de Tauli kaj Haugen, kiu estas la ĉefa aliro de la disertaĵo, lingvoplanado kiel branĉo de aplikata lingvistiko estas socie orientita kampo de scienco, ĉar nur kun la ligo kun sociaj sciencoj la ilaro de lingvoplanado povas esti la plej efika. Eĉ se multaj lingvistoj kritikas lingvoplanadon pro la troa skriba enmiksiĝo en la lingvon, nur la skribaj dokumentoj povas ligi diversajn homojn en tempo kaj spaco. Ĉar la kompetenta lingvoplanado celas plibonigi kaj adapti la lingvon al la nuntempaj realaĵoj, ĉiu solvo devas esti praktike orientita.

La celo de la **tria ĉapitro** estas prezenti kaj analizi diversajn problemojn de la tri niveloj de lingvoplanado rilate al lokaj komunumoj. Por plifaciligi la interlingvan komunikadon en multetnaj landoj eblas tri solvoj, t.e. uzi la lingvon de koloniisto (ekz-e la anglan en Sudafriko), akcepti kaj adaptigi iun progresintan lokan lingvon (ekz-e la amhara en Etiopio) aŭ elekti la lingvon kiu ne estas direkte ligita al propraj nacioj (ekz-e la svahilan en Kongo). Ĉiu kazo devas esti konsiderata laŭ la socipolitika situacio en la lando.

Ene de la korpusa planado estas tri areoj, nome la kodigo, normigo kaj modernigo. Se oni komencas la plibonigadon de la lingvo, oni devas unue elekti la skribsistemon, plej bone tiun, kiun oni uzas en iu regiono de la lando, se tio eblas. Se en la lingvo estas dialektoj, oni devas elekti la plej bonan por la kodigo, konsiderante la socian prestiĝon de la elektita variaĵo, ĉar alimaniere oni povas nenecese kvereligi la homojn, precipe en Afriko. Oni devas ankaŭ disvastigi la vortoprovizon kaj fari proprajn decidojn rilate al la fontolingvoj de neologismoj. Iufoje la kalkeoj de eŭropaj lingvoj povas esti utilaj, aliffoje oni devas krei la vortojn surbaze de la loka leksiko.

La **kvara ĉapitro** estas dediĉita al diversaj aspektoj de lingvoplanado. Komence la aŭtoro pridiskutas la filozofiajn lingvojn kaj ilian utilecon por la scio. Oni fakte kreis

diversajn helplingvojn ekde la antikveco, sed la celo estis plibonigi la interhoman komunikadon kaj plifaciligi la manieron de pensado. Leibniz konsideris, ke la artefaritaj lingvoj povas esti utilaj kaj helpi al filozofoj malkovri novajn filozofiajn verojn. En la sekvaj ĉapitroj la aŭtoro montras la efikecon de lingvoplanado en la sanskrita, la novnorvega, la bahasa indonesia, Esperanto kaj Occidental/Interlingue. La sanskrita estis jam modifita per Pānini en la kvara jarcento a.K. pere de 3959 reguloj, se temas pri fonetiko, morfologio, vortoprovizo kaj sintakso. La novnorvega estas fakte du lingvoj, nome nynorsk kaj bokmål, kiuj estis artefarite prilaboritaj de Aasen kaj Knudsen respektive. Aasen kreis sian lingvon surbaze de la lokaj dialektoj, kiuj travivis en kampara Norvegio, dume Knudsen konstruis sian lingvon per la adapto de la dana. Ankaŭ la bahasa indonesia (la nacia lingvo de la Indonesia Respubliko) ekestis en la artefarita maniero pere de la adapto de la malaja. Okazis tiel, ĉar la Indonezianoj ne akceptis la lingvon de la nederlandaj koloniistoj kaj la elekto de la malaja ne estus tute demokrata. Dank' al la agado de la indonesia registaro tiu ĉi lingvo disvastiĝis ege rapide en la tuta indonesia insularo kaj en la najbaraj landoj. La ĝusta ekstera politiko rezultis en tio, ke nun pli ol 150 milionoj da homoj parolas la indonesian kiel sian duan lingvon en la tuta mondo. En la du lastaj subĉapitroj mi pridiskutis la planadon de artefaritaj lingvoj surbaze de Esperanto kaj Occidental/Interlingue. Mi prezentis tie la avantaĝojn kaj mankojn de la skemismo kaj naturalismo en planlingvoj. Kvankam la skemisma strukturo de Esperanto plifaciligas ĝian lernadon pro la simpligo de konjugacio, la originalaj latindevenaj konjugaciaj modeloj estas malklaraj. Aliflanke, en la kazo de la naturalismaj lingvoj, oni povas facile sekvi la etimologion de vortoprovizo, sed la troe disvolviĝintaj leksikaj kaj gramatikaj elementoj estas malfacilaj por lernado, kio estas simple kontraŭa al la ideo de helplingvo.

La temo de la **kvina ĉapitro** estas la amhara lingvo. Per la sufiĉe detala priskribo de la origino de la etiopia civilizo, la rolo de la geeza, la deveno de la amhara, la historio de lingvopolitiko en Etiopio, la problemoj de multlingveco kaj multkultureco en la lando kaj fine per la rolo de la angla en Etiopio, la aŭtoro enkondukas la leganton en la terenon de siaj esploroj. Laŭ la tradiciaj teorioj, la origino de la etiopia civilizo estas ŝemiddevena, sed ankoraŭ ne estas trovitaj sufiĉe multaj skribaj kaj arkeologiaj dokumentoj, kiuj konfirmus, ke la antikva Suda-Arabio estas la lulilo de la etiopia civilizo. Sed tamen estas certa, ke Afriko estas la naskiĝejo de homaro, kion konfirmis la malkovro de la ostaro de la tiel nomata *Australopithecus Afarensis* en Etiopio en 1974. Kelkaj historiistoj (Marcus) skribas, ke elirante el Afriko la homoj loĝigis Mezorionton, kie ili akiris la kapablojn de bestobredado kaj la kultivado de grenoj kaj poste de la domkonstruado. Per la fina malkovro de skribsistemo, la Ŝemidoj konstruis vastajn imperiojn kaj konkeradis multajn tribojn, forprenante iliajn teritoriojn. Tiel ili loĝigis Sudan-Arabion, kies kulturo kaj religio disvastigis ĉe la afrika bordo de la Ruĝa Maro. Tiel povis ekesti la aksuma imperio, kiu tenis kontaktojn ne nur kun la Grekoj aŭ Bizancianoj, sed ankaŭ kun malproksima Hindujo. La Aksumanoj parolis la geezan (malnovetiopian) lingvon, kiu estis vaste reformita pere de la vokaligo de skribsistemo kaj la inversigo de la skribdirekto. Sed la disvastigo de islamo en Afriko ne aŭguris al la Aksumanoj prosperan disvolviĝon de ilia lando. Post la ĉirkaŭigo de la aksuma ŝtato per la islamanoj, tiu ĉi forta ŝtato devis pereji, sed la posteuloj de la aksuma dinastio ĝisvivis ĝis la

13a jarcento, kiam la Amharoj atingis povon en la lando. Pro la manko de skribaj dokumentoj oni ne scias la daton de la disfalo de la aksuma imperio kaj ankaŭ oni malbone orientiĝas en la posta historio de Etiopio, kies loĝantoj translokiĝis al la provinco de Lasta. Nur dank' al la avare konservitaj ekleziaj skribaĵoj ni scias, ke la ŝtato de Lasta disvolviĝis bone kaj favoris la Amharojn, sed tiuj ĉi dokumentoj ne estas science tute fidindaj pro la ekzisto de diversaj versioj de la respektivaj historiaj okazaĵoj. Sed ni scias sufiĉe multe pri la rolo de la geeza lingvo en la lasta imperio kaj poste pri ĝia forlaso favore al la amhara. Malgraŭe, oni devas fakte atenti, ke kvankam la geeza perdis sian rolon kiel la lingvo de buŝa komunikado fine de la 13a jarcento, ĝi estis sole uzata skribe en Etiopio ĝis la duono de la 19a jarcento. En la geeza oni skribis reĝajn kronikojn, leĝajn dokumentojn, ekleziajn librojn pri la vivoj de sanktuloj kaj religian kaj sekularan poezion.

Se temas pri la historio de lingvopolitiko en Etiopio, ĝi estas precipe bunta kaj varia pro la triobla ŝanĝo de potenco en la lando. La imperiestroj subtenis la hegemonion de la amhara en Etiopio kaj malpermesis la oficialan uzon de lokaj lingvoj, de kiuj multaj estus pereigintaj sen la agado de la protestantaj kaj katolikaj misiistoj, kiuj kodigis tiujn lingvojn kaj tradukis la Bibliion en ilin. Ankaŭ la islamanoj sukcesis kodigi multajn indiĝenajn lingvojn en Etiopio pere de la araba skribsistemo. Tiu ĉi subpremado de la etiopiaj lokaj lingvoj kaj kulturoj rezultis en la renverso de la imperiestraj aŭtoritatoj per komunistoj en 1974. Eĉ se la komunisma junto planis kodigi dekelkon da etiopiaj lingvoj, ili fine revenis al la politiko de amharigo pro la manko de mono. Nur la postkomunismaj aŭtoritatoj sukcesis allogi signifajn monsubtenojn de la okcidentaj organizaĵoj kaj institucioj, kiujn ili uzis precipe por la modernigo de la amhara, sed ili ne forgesis pri aliaj lingvoj, kies normigo kaj plibonigo estis necesa por la bezonoj de lokaj komunumoj. Ĉar la etiopia konstitucio de la jaro 1995 kondiĉigas, ke la lingvo estas la markilo de etneco, multe da mono estas elspezita por lokaj komunumoj, kiuj uzas diversajn variaĵojn de la sama lingvo. Malgraŭ tio, la lingva politiko de la nuntempaj etiopiaj aŭtoritatoj havas ankaŭ bonajn rezultojn pro la konservado kaj scienca prilaboro de lokaj lingvoj, kiujn uzas la indiĝenaj popoloj.

En Etiopio oni alfrontas amason de socipolitikaj problemoj, se temas pri la multlingveco kaj multkultureco de la loĝantaro. Kelkaj etnaj grupoj agnoskas sian superecon rilate al aliaj popoloj, kio kondukas al nenecesaj kvereloj kaj malamikecoj inter ili. La Amharoj, kiuj perdis povon en la ŝtato post la renverso de Haile Selassie I en 1974, ne akceptas la superecon de la tigrabaj elitoj, kiuj nuntempe regas Etiopion. Ankaŭ la plej multnombra etna grupo loĝanta en Etiopio, t.e. la Oromoj, volas atingi povon pro kompreneblaj kialoj. Se oni sukcesus senigi la nuntempan etiopian registaron de povo, la streĉita socia situacio en la lando povus degeneri al interna milito.

Koncerne la rolon de la angla en Etiopio, ĝi estas pli kaj pli grava malgraŭ tio, ke la Britoj neniam koloniigis la landon. Sed la Etiopianoj konsideras la anglan kun la rapida ŝanĝo de la socia statuso, despli ke ekde kelkaj jardekoj la fremduloj multnombre vizitas ilian landon. Sed la kvalito de la angla parolata per multaj Etiopianoj lasas multon dezirindan pro la oftaj fonetikaj, sintaksaj kaj leksikaj eraroj, kiuj plimalfaciligas la internacian komunikadon. Ju pli malproksime de urbocentroj, despli grava estas tiu ĉi problemo. Sed la nuntempaj aŭtoritatoj en Etiopio faras preskaŭ nenion por solvi ĝin, kio vengas sin per la

sufiĉe malalta nivelo de ekonomia disvolviĝo de la lando.

En la **sesa kaj sepa ĉapitroj** de tiu ĉi disertaĵo multe estas dediĉita al la statusa kaj akira planado de la amhara lingvo. Kvankam ambaŭ problemoj estas ligitaj unu kun la alia, oni devas atenti, ke la statusa planado de la lingvo havas pli diakronan karakteron, ĉar ĝi okazas dum kelkaj jarcentoj, kvankam gxi povas same okzai en nuntempo kaj la akirplanado estas sufiĉe sinkrona, ĉar ĝi okazas samtempe en diversaj etnaj grupoj. Pro la manko de konserviĝintaj skribaj dokumentoj oni ne povas sufiĉe bone klarigi la devenon de la amhara, pri kio senĉese disputas diversaj skoloj de la etiopiaj lingvistoj kaj historiistoj. Oni ofte konfrontas la piĝindevenan historion de la amhara (Bender kaj Fulass 1978, 1983) kun la memstara evoluo de la lingvo (Girma A. Demeke 2009), de kiuj la dua estas la plej probabla, ĉar se oni supozus, ke la amhara piĝino ekestis en la kvara jarcento a.K. kaj kristaliĝis kiel memstara lingvo en la dekkvara aŭ dekkvina jarcento, la teorio estas despli nefidinda pro tio, ke neniuj piĝino povas ĝisvivi jarmilon, ĉar ĝi funkcias ĉe unu generacio de homoj por la propraj komercaj celoj. Se temas pri la statuso de la amhara lingvo, la amhara iĝis la ĉefa lingvo de la tiel nomata salomona dinastio, kiu ekregis en Etiopio ĉirkaŭ la jaro 1270, sed oni daŭre uzis la geezan en la liturgio de la etiopia ortodoksa eklezio kaj en la tradicia monaĥeja edukstemo. Ekde 1855 oni ekuzis la amharan por skribado, ĉar laŭ la opinio de la imperiestro Teodoro II la geeza estis tro malmoderna por tio. Dum la regado de Menelik II formiĝis la norma variaĵo de la amhara uzata en la ĉefurbo Adisabebo. Sed nur la lasta etiopia imperiestro leĝe aprobis la statuson de la amhara per la konstitucio de 1955 kaj en la tempo de lia regado multaj mondvaste konataj okcidentaj verkoj estis tradukitaj amharen. Haile Selassie ankaŭ fondis en 1972 la Nacian Akademion de la Amhara Lingvo, kiu travivis ĝis nun kiel la Addis Ababa University Academy of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures kaj esploras ne nur la amharan, sed ankaŭ aliajn etiopiajn lingvojn kaj kulturojn.

Se temas pri la akirplanado de la amhara, la lernado de tiu ĉi lingvo estas dum jarcentoj deviga por ĉiuj ŝtatanoj en Etiopio, precipe por tiuj, kiuj volis havi oficialajn postenojn en la imperiestra administrado. Senekzemplan rolon en la divastigo de la amhara ludis ankaŭ la etiopia ortodoksa eklezio, kies progresinta edukstemo pere de la geeza ofte superis tiun adoptitan en Eŭropo pere de la latina en la simila epoko. Nur fine de la 19a jarcento, la edukmaniero ŝanĝiĝis favore al tiu uzata en la diversaj landoj de eŭropaj koloniistoj, kiuj ne sukcesis konkeri Etiopion por iu pli longa tempo. Tiel oni enkondukis la instruadon de la angla, franca kaj itala kaj de studobjektoj eŭropa historio, geografio, kulturo, samtempe plibonigante la instruadon de matematiko kaj reformante la instruadon de la tradiciaj etiopiaj studobjektoj pere de la amhara lingvo. En la jaroj sesdekaj kaj sepdekaj de la 20a jarcento intensiĝis la malinklino al la imperiestra registaro pro tio, ke ne eblis pro diversaj kialoj enkonduki multajn sociekonomiajn reformojn, kiuj plibonigus la vivnivelon de ordinaraj homoj. Tion eluzis la sovetiaj agentoj kiuj, renversinte la imperiestron, enkondukis la socialisman regadon en Etiopio, kiu daŭris 17 jarojn. Oni ja planis la kodigon de la plejmulto de lokaj lingvoj, sed tio ne estis ebla pro la manko de monsubteno. Post la fuĝo de Mengistu Haile Maryam (la komunisma gvidanto) en 1991 la novaj aŭtoritatoj bazis la lingvopolitikon parte sur la komunisman modelon, sed ili faris multajn gravajn paŝojn al la

normigo de diversaj lingvoj kaj ordigis la eduksistemon en la lando, enkondukante la lingvojn por loka, regiona, ŝtata kaj internacia komunikado. Eĉ se tiuj reformoj estis ofte faritaj fuŝe kaj maldiligente, ili ebligis la bazlernejan instruadon en multaj indiĝenaj lingvoj, kio estis bone akceptita per la lokaj komunumoj.

La **oka ĉapitro** estas la kerna parto de tiu ĉi studo kaj konsistas el la jenaj partoj: provizo de skribsistemo (8.1) normigo (8.2) kaj modernigo de morfologio (8.3), sintakso (8.4) kaj vortoprovizo (8.5) de la amhara. En la tri komencaj subĉapitroj la aŭtoro detale priskribis la rolon kaj uzadon de la geeza silabaro en la amhara lingvo kaj kulturo, la dialektojn de la amhara kaj la nuntempajn trajtojn de la amhara lingvo surbaze de la etiopiaj ĵurnaloj Addis Zāmān akireblaj en Pollando. La sekvaj subĉapitroj enkondukas la leganton en la problemaron de la modernigo de morfologio, kie mi prezentas la normojn akceptitajn por diversaj morfologiaj procezoj, la demandojn de genro, nombro, rekta kaj nereкта objekto, amharaj verbaj paradigmoj kaj de la tensoj. Se temas pri la sintaksa modernigo de la amhara, la ŝlosilaj ŝanĝoj estis montritaj surbaze de la elektitaj kunordigitaj kaj subordigitaj frazoj, kondiĉaj frazoj kaj ankaŭ rekta kaj nereкта parolo. Rilate al la modernigo de vortoprovizo, mi detale pridiskutas tie la demandojn de la ĝeneralaj principoj de vortfarado en la amhara kaj la problemojn de adapto de fakterminologio, devenanta ĉefe de la angla. Plue, mi klasifikis kaj kunordigis la amharajn neologismojn kaj modernajn vortojn laŭ la procezoj de adapto de la angla leksiko, kunmetado, la amhara kaj geeza afiksado, hibridigo, tondado de vortoj kaj esprimoj, kaj la kreoligo de la anglodevena leksiko surbaze de la kolektitaj per la aŭtoro lingvaj datumoj el diversaj kampoj de scienco. Dank' al tio eblis illustri la apartajn leksikajn procezojn per multaj ekzemploj de neologismoj rilate al la anglaj esprimoj kaj la tradukoj de kalkeoj, la tipoj de kunmetado pere de la amharaj kaj geezaj reguloj, geezdevenaj prefiksoj kaj sufiksoj, hibridigitaj esprimoj kaj ankaŭ tondigitaj aŭ kreoligitaj vortoj. Krome, mi detale priskribas la avantaĝojn kaj mankojn de tiuj ĉi solvoj precipe en la subĉapitro 8.5.1. pri la ĝeneralaj principoj de vortfarado en la amhara, sed ankaŭ koncize mi referencis al ili post la analizo de diversaj esprimoj en la sekvaj subĉapitroj.

La temo de la **naŭa ĉapitro** estas la lingva bildo de metaforaj esprimoj en la amhara lingvo. Surbaze de la verkoj de Bartmiński, Grzegorzcykowa, Anusiewicz, Stria kaj aliaj lingvistoj, kiuj okupiĝas pri tiu ĉi tereno de lingvistiko, mi konstatis, ke ekde la antikva epoko montriĝis, ke en ĉiu lingvo estas certaj prijuĝoj, kiuj influas la percepton kaj komprenon de mondo inter la uzantoj de ĉiu lingvo, kaj natura kaj artefarita. Tiuj ĉi trajtoj en diversaj lingvoj povas plifaciligi aux malplifaciligi la tradukadon de diversaj tekstoj en la lingvojn. La lingva bildo de lamondo ne estas nur la koncepta reflektado de la mondo, sed ĝia radikale ŝanĝiĝanta interpretado. Fakte por la fakuloj de la Etnolingvistika Skolo de Lublin, estas la kulturo, kiu pli influas la lingvon prefere ol la lingvo influas kulturon. La fondinto de tiu ĉi skolo, J. Bartmiński, diras, ke la specifaj prijuĝoj pri la mondo estas enradikiĝintaj en ĉiu lingvo kaj homoj perceptas la mondon prisme de tiu ĉi lingvo. Ĉiu homo interpretas la mondon kaj kategoriigas la nociojn el la homa perspektivo. Tion oni klare vidas en la kazo de la amhara lingvo, kie multaj terminoj ne estas direkte transprenitaj de la angla, sed adaptitaj per la

metafora uzo de amharaj kaj geezaj vortoj. La signifo de tiuj ĉi fakvortoj ne ĉiam estas facile interpretebla sen la kono de la etiopia kulturo. Per la lingvistika analizo de tiuj ĉi esprimoj eblas ekkoni la pensmanierojn de la denaskaj parolantoj de la amhara lingvo ĉar ĝi ebligas atingi la metodojn de la perceptado kaj konceptado de la mondo per homoj kaj ankaŭ la psikosociajn mekanismojn de la kategorigo de fenomenoj per la uzantoj de la lingvo.