Neologism construction in Amharic by compounding various parts of speech

Abstract: The Amharic language is the second most widely spoken Semitic language in the world, used by around 25 million speakers. Even though the Amharic language is successfully used in many domains, it still needs appropriate neologisms to give name to notions typical for Western European culture which increasingly influences not only the language but also the culture of Ethiopia. Even though loanwords from European languages were ubiquitous in Amharic for many decades, in recent years the lexicon of the extinct Ge’ez language is partially used to coin a number of neologisms by means of metaphors or different juxtaposed parts of speech. In the beginning, the compounds in the form of the Amharic and Ge’ez construct state (status constructus) are discussed; this is followed by an analysis of adjective-noun compounds, constructions with the nouns derived from verbs and verb and noun compounds. In the next part of the article the compounds with Ge’ez prefixes are considered. The analysis of hybridised compounds and loan translations is the final point of the paper.

Keywords: neologisms, compounds, juxtaposition, Amharic

Introduction

The Amharic language is the working language of Ethiopia. It is the second most spoken Semitic language in the world and is used, according to the data as of 2007, by 22 million native speakers; outside Ethiopia it is the mother tongue of around 3 million speakers, mainly
of Ethiopian origin\textsuperscript{1}. Written in the ancient Ge'ez syllabary, Amharic is not only the working language of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia or the Ethiopian army but also the auxiliary language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church\textsuperscript{2}. Amharic has been used as a spoken language by the imperial court since the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century when the Amhara people came to power. Nevertheless, not until the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century did it start to be used in writing when Emperor Tewodros II (1855-1868) ordered that his chronicles should no longer be written in Ge'ez (Bartnicki, Mantel-Niećko 1978: 60).

Although the Classical Ethiopian (Ge'ez) language was the main source of neologisms used in historical, administrative and religious texts for a number of centuries, it turned out to be insufficient for naming the civilizational achievements introduced to Ethiopia at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century as well as in the following decades by the two most distinguished emperors of Ethiopia, namely Menelek II and Hayle Selassie I. For many years it was quite difficult to coin the Amharic or Ge'ez equivalents for such concepts as a university, a car, a computer or a hospital. Not surprisingly, Ethiopians used many loanwords, predominantly from English, French, Italian or other European languages for many years. However, European terminology often posed serious difficulties when speakers tried to adjust it to Amharic orthography and phonetics. Perhaps because he was aware of this problem, Emperor Hayle Sellase founded the National Academy of the Amharic Language (NAAL) in 1972\textsuperscript{3}; all the way up to

\textsuperscript{1} www.ethnologue.com [12.09.2016]
\textsuperscript{2} Since the beginning of Christianity in Ethiopia, Ge'ez was the language of the liturgy. As not many people in Ethiopia had a good command of this ancient language, the translation of the Holy Script and of the most important writings of the Ethiopian Church was commissioned by the emperors ruling in the 19th and the 20th century (e.g. Tewodoros II and Hayle Sellasse I). Also, in today's Ethiopia the homily is preached in Amharic or even in some of the local languages.
\textsuperscript{3} The National Academy of the Amharic Language is known today as the Addis Ababa Academy of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures (AA AELC). Within the scope of the four research centers, linguistic research are con-
now, the NAAL has been dealing, among other issues, with the question of loanwords.

It should be pointed out that there is a considerable difference between neologisms and modern words. Neologisms are new words that are coined temporarily in different environments and because they are in the process of entering into common use, they are not yet registered in dictionaries. In contrast to neologisms, modern words are those that have already been accepted into mainstream language and they can be looked up in modern dictionaries. As for the lexical material analysed in this article, not all of the expressions can be unanimously classified as neologisms or modern words. Even though a number of these lexical units can be found in online Amharic-English dictionaries such as SelamSoft or Abyssinica, quite a large part of the coinage was only recorded either in English-Amharic glossaries of professional terms or in Ethiopian books on the linguistic analysis of neologisms.

Having been an extinct Ethiopian language, Ge’ez currently plays a very significant role in the development of Amharic as it is the major source of vocabulary used to replace a number of English notions that have been existing in that language for some decades. Over the past several years it has been popular in Ethiopia to translate words mostly from English by means of creating appropriate metaphors based not solely on Amharic but increasingly on the Ge’ez lexicon. Various concepts that come to Ethiopia from Western European culture are compounds formed by elements that represent various parts of speech. Importantly, there are two models of such compounds, that is Amharic and Ge’ez (Taddese 2000: 32f.). The aim of this paper is the analysis of compounds in Amharic in terms of their structure and meaning as well as showing examples of the creation of the new structural model of compounds under the influence of the English language.

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The concepts of compounding and phrase grouping
Compounding is quite a complex linguistic phenomenon, which is marked by syntactic and morphological processes. Its structure was explained in theory by many linguists but their opinions as to the problem are rather divergent. As the meaning of the compound can be similar or different from the meanings of its components in isolation, the component stems of a compound may be of the same part of speech (an endocentric compound) or they may belong to different parts of speech (an exocentric compound). Some scholars tried to name compounds as the forms placed on the border between words and phrases (Bloomfield 2005: 180f.). For example, the meanings of the two words blackbird and black bird depend on the accent, which means that when the chief accent is put on black, it means blackbird – a common European thrush – but if the chief accent is put on the word bird, it means a bird that happens to be black in colour (Bolinger 1989: 221f.). Bolinger writes that the first mentioned appearance of the word blackbird is a compound while the second is a specific adjective-noun construction of two words. Other linguists share the opinion that the formal structure of compounds can be understood by the analysis of roots (Dasgupta 2005: 1-8). The so-called simple stems consist of one morpheme whereas the derived stems consist of more than one morpheme, by which one can understand that there are stem and root compounds. If two or three words are compounded to form one morphological unit, one has to do with the process of compounding (Tauli 1968: 114-119). Compounding and phrase grouping are very useful morphological and syntactic processes in the coining of terminology predominantly in European languages, but they can be successfully adapted to African languages such as Amharic.

The methods of compounding in the Amharic language
In order to create neologisms in the form of a noun, Ethiopian linguists and other experts from various fields of science can compound two nouns, a noun with a verb or a verb with a noun as well as two verbs. As mentioned before, there are two forms of compounds in Amharic reflecting the Amharic and Ge’ez models, though the Ge’ez
model is becoming more and more popular in the process of coining terminology for Amharic. This can be seen both in the articles from the Ethiopian newspaper *Addis Zemen* from the years 2004-2010 and in such online English-Amharic dictionaries as SelamSoft and Abyssinica. Some compounds can also be created in two ways. In such compounds, there is only a grammatical difference while the meaning remains the same (Taddese 2000: 32f.). The Amharic model takes the form of:

genitive marker (GEN) + radical element 2 (RE2) + radical element 1 (RE1).

*E.g.*: *yä-mängəst bet* (parliament), where *yä-* is GEN, *mängəst* is RE2 and *bet* is RE1.

The Ge’ez model of compounds, generally known as the construct state can be written as follows:

radical element 1 (RE1) + genitive marker (GEN) + radical element 2 (RE2).

*E.g.*: *bet-ä mängəst* (parliament), where *bet* is RE1, -ä is GEN and *mängəst* is RE2.

In the two mentioned examples one can see that the genitive marker (GEN) is placed either in the first place (as in Amharic) or between the nouns (as in Ge’ez). It should be pointed out that the position of radical elements RE1 and RE2 is different in both models.

The Ge’ez model of compounds can be applied mostly to expressions of Ge’ez origin. In Amharic compounds, though, the *yä-* genitive can be omitted, which leaves the meaning of the expression unchanged. For example, the Amharic expression for pharmacy, *yä-mädhanit bet*, ('of-medicine house') can be transformed into the Ge’ez-style *bet-ä mädhanit* ('house-of medicine') and the change is only grammatical in character. Similarly, one can cut off the superfluous Ge’ez genitive in certain expressions with no change in mean-
ing. Nevertheless, such structures take the form of juxtapositions and thus they can no longer be classified as compounds. The expression *qal-ä kidan* (promise, 'the covenant of word') can also be written as *qal-o kidan*. In certain conditions a specific reduplication of the noun that is separated by the interfix -ä- can also be possible, e.g.: *č'arq-a-č'arq* where *č'arq* means 'fabric', while *č'arq-a-č'arq* is the Amharic equivalent of 'textiles', or *fēr-a-fēre*, where *fēr* means 'fruit' and *fēr-a-fēre* is the Amharic equivalent of 'fruits' (Taddese 2000).

Curiously, the meaning of the above-mentioned construction is not only giving the plural form of the nouns but also the diversity of clothes or fruits, i.e. various clothes or fruits.

The Ge'ez compounds of the noun and noun type

Because many of the concepts often cannot be named with one word, Ethiopians tend to construct interesting but rather conventional metaphors on the basis of Classical Ethiopic which are worth studying from the semantic point of view. Such compounds as, for example, *afä mähsän* (cervix) or *rə'yyotä aläm* (ideology) are metaphorical in character because their meanings do not reflect their Latin or Greek etymology but they comply with the perception of the Ethiopian perception of the world, as opposed to that of the Europeans. As the meanings of these compounds varies/differs considerably from the sum of the meanings of their elements, they should be classified as metaphors, which refers to semantics. It is worth noting that not all of the coinages mentioned in modern dictionaries are used by ordinary people living in Ethiopia, so the efforts of Ethiopian linguists are often art for art's sake.

The Ethiopian neologisms of Ge'ez origin are widely used in such domains as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, geography and technology. They are no less popular in economic sciences, law, administration, history and linguistics. In recent years one can observe a radical abandonment of English terminology in a number of domains predominantly associated with university education. Understandable is also the fact that the new coinages are included in the content of the up-to-date English-Amharic online dictionaries such as www.amharicdictionary.com (and others.).
To begin with, the English word *yuniversiti* is still used to name this educational institution in Amharic, but there is a Ge‘ez neologism for that, namely *awdä meḥor*, that is 'the place (awd) of science' that is less popular. To the word *awd* various other nouns can be added to form noun and noun compounds, for example *awdä tenat* (conference, 'the place of proceedings'), *awdä የአማርኛን ውፋል* (exhibition, 'the place of a show') or *awdä mənḥab* (the context, 'the place of a comprehension passage').

A number of other nouns and noun compounds are used in science and humanities. In economics one can find such compounds as *gəb’atä wədāb* (import, 'product of port'), *wis’atä wədāb* (export, 'expedition-of port') or *mäwa ወላንወ* (capital, 'money-of-list'). In historical and legal sciences one can come across such compounds as *haggä mängəst* (constitution, 'law of government'), *aqqabe həgg* (prosecutor, 'watchman of law'), *afä guba’e* (spokesman, 'mouth of assembly') or *rə ’yotä aläm* (ideology, 'the vision of world'). In natural sciences there are in turn such expressions as *afä mähsan* (cervix, 'mouth of womb'), or *əsä bäläs* (fig tree, 'tree of fig'). From linguistics one can mention *aräftä nägär* (sentence, 'period of speech').

**The Amharic noun and noun compounds**

Even though the use of the Ge‘ez language is by all means extremely productive in the coining of neologisms in the form of noun compounds, similar possibilities in the Amharic language also prove very useful. As both the Amharic and Ge‘ez models of compounds are almost banal in their simplicity, they can easily be followed to create many expressions. One can apply these models not only in traditional humanities and linguistics but also in the remaining domains of human life. Particular attention should be paid to the application of the mentioned models to linguistics where one can find rich terminology created by the use of this pattern. With such words as *səm* (name, noun), *gəs* (verb) or *səlt* (mood) more or less the entire grammar terminology of Amharic can be successfully constructed.

From the word *səm* (name, noun) one can derive such expressions as *yā-təlləq səm* (collective noun, 'of greatness name'), *yū-tāṣaww’o səm* (proper noun, 'given name') or *yā-wäl səm* (common noun, 'of
community name). The word $gəs$ (verb) can be used to create such notions as $răddat$ $gəs$ (helping verb '[of]-help verb') and $măsariya$ $gəs$ (finite verb 'binding verb'). With the use of the word $səlt$ (mood, manner), one can derive such notions as $yă-\text{abi}y$ $anqăš$ $səlt$ (indicative mood, 'of-leading clause mood'), $yă-\text{awaway}$ $anqăš$ $səlt$ (subjunctive mood, 'of-cupola predicate mood'), $yă-\text{a}řaz$ $anqăš$ $səlt$ (imperative mood, 'of-order clause mood') and also those that are beyond linguistics, for example, $yă-\text{arwarwat}$ $səlt$ (running style, 'of-running style') or $yă-\text{awažnät}$ $səlt$ (swimming style, 'of-swimming style'). Worth mentioning are also such linguistic expressions as $yă-anqăš$ $g\text{waž}$ (predicate of a sentence (of-sentence [participle] luggage)) and $bəz$ $anqăš$ (tense participle) In addition, the two main cases ($moya$) of Amharic also have their names in that language, that is $yă-\text{balăbet}$ $moya$ (nominative case, 'owner's case') and $yă-\text{tăsabi}$ $moya$ (accusative case, 'of-object case') (Poláček 1994: 665-685).

The Amharic model of noun compounds is also widely used in such domains as transport, biology, politics and sports. For example, a railway line is referred to as $yă-babur$ $măsmăr$ ('of-train line'), a railway station is known as $yă-babur$ $ṭabiya$ ('of-train station'), railway in general is understood as $mədər$ $babur$ ('[of]-earth train'). One calls a car driver as $yă-măkina$ $nego$ ('of-car he who drives'), whereas a roadway is known in Amharic as $yă-mămmālallās$$ā$ $măngād$ ('of-transport road'). In biology and anatomy we find such words as $yă-səsom$ $həwwasat$ (sensory organs, 'of-feeling cells'), $yă-dām$ $sor$ (blood vessel, 'of-blood root') or $yă-\text{əgər}$ $tăt$ (toe, 'of leg finger'). In addition, in the domain of politics one can find such expressions as $yă-\text{shəgəggər}$ $măngəst$ (transitional government, 'of transition government'), $yă-həllina$ $sălot$ (minute's silence, 'of-conscience prayer') or the organizations' names such as $yă-\text{təmhərt}$ $yă-sayons$ $yă-bahəl$ $dorağət$ (UNESCO, 'of-learning of-science of-culture organisation'), $yă-\text{awropa}$ $həbrət$ (the EU, 'of-Europe union') or $yă-\text{afrika}$ $andənnät$ $dorağət$ (Organization of African Unity (OAU), 'of-Africa unity company'). Noun compounds can also be found in sports terminology, for example, $yă-\text{alām}$ $wamč'a$ (World Cup, 'of-world cup), $yă-\text{əgər}$ $k'a$ (football, 'of-leg ball') or $yę-gānma$ $meda$ ('Christmas field hockey playing ground').
It should be pointed out that there are numerous examples for structures in Amharic and Ge’ez that are lacking the genitive marker, which does not influence their meanings. Because such constructions are no longer bound by genitive markers, they should be referred to as juxtapositions and not compounds. Such juxtapositions as lə ukən budən (delegation, '(of) emissaries group'), səm gälač' (noun modifer), məssət zäybe (irony), nəṭaf sə'əl (landscape painting) or hatäta aqərrabi (news commentator) that lack the initial yä- genitive marker can be found in Amharic while such expressions as malkə' mədər (geography, 'picture of earth'), rə'əs anqäṣ (editorial) or rə'əs bəher (president, 'head of country') that are void of the -ä genitive marker that should be added after the first word are examples of Ge’ez juxtapositions. Both of the mentioned types of juxtapositions are a good illustration of the assertion that the English language favours the process of formation of a new structural model of compounds based on juxtapositions, which involves changes that consist in the reduction of grammatical morphemes.

The adjective and noun compounds
Some modern concepts can be expressed in the Amharic language by a regular noun and adjective phrase. Such compounds can be created both in Amharic and Ge’ez. Often one can find neologisms where the Amharic and Ge’ez vocabulary are mixed, which does not raise objections for Ethiopian linguists. One can find the adjective and noun compounds in different domains of Amharic. In order to name some linguistic concepts, a number of interesting expressions have been coined in recent years (Taddese 2000: 150-160). Let us analyse these compounds beginning with the Amharic ones. With regard to verbs (gəs), they can be active (ادرґι gəs), passive (تادږړګی gəs), causative (اسدږړګی gəs), transitive (تادږاګګاری gəs) or intransitive (یاممايښاګګاری gəs). The words adragi (gəs) and təddəragi (gəs) are verbal participles of the verb adərrəγə – 'he did, he made'. The first participle is active while the other is passive, which is indicated by the exponent of the passive voice (tə-). In the word asdərrəgi (causative) there is a morpheme as- which is the marker of causality in Amharic, so the meaning of the verbal participle is more or less mak-
ing someone do something. As for the Amharic equivalents of the terms transitive and intransitive, the first word (täšaggari) means transitive whereas the second (yämmayšaggär) can be translated as the verb (gəs) that is not transitive (Bayye Yimam 2000: 448-458).

Similarly, the notion of adverb (täwässékkä gəs) is classified by Ethiopians as a part of speech that is added (täwässéka) to the verb in order to modify or literally augment its meaning. More surprising can be the Ethiopian classification of articles (which appear in Amharic but their forms are different from those in European languages) as a micro- (däqiq ['children in Ge’ez']) form of an adjective (qəšəl) or more precisely something that is added to the nouns. The articles in the conscience of Amharic language speakers can be both limited micro-adjectives (yätäwässänä däqiq qəšəl) for definite articles and non-limited micro-adjectives (yaltäwässänä däqiq qəšəl) for indefinite articles.

In Amharic, there is also a rich terminology for clauses or sentences (haräg or aräfta nāgär) predominantly containing words of the Ge’ez origin. Ethiopians make a clear distinction between main (abiy) and subordinate (nə’us) clauses and the expressions ʿabiy haräg and nə’us haräg literally mean a leading or small (subordinate) clause respectively. One can also mention some types of clauses and sentences in Amharic, that is, for example prepositional clause (mästäwadäwì haräg), adverbial clause (täwässéka gəsawi haräg), nātījäla aräfta nāgär (simple sentence, 'singular period of speech'), dərb aräfta nāgär (compound sentence, 'double period of speech') and dərdərb aräfta nāgär (multiple complex sentence, 'double-double period of speech') (Amare 1990: 206-213).

The adjective-noun compounds are not used solely in linguistics. They are present in such domains as IT, natural sciences and politics. Such terms as: (laptop or desktop) computer, hardware and software are less and less often used as loanwords in Amharic; their present main source is the Ge’ez language. The notions of desktop and laptop computers are nowadays referred to as qʷami and zʷari masliya respectively, though their English names are still in use. The adjective qʷami means upright and immovable while the word zorä means to turn round and as a collocation with the word computer (masliya)
it means a computer that is portable and can be used all around the house, school, etc. Curiously, the English words hardware and software are now being replaced by Ge‘ez expressions such as ga‘uz qusaqqus (hardware, 'hard lifeless and inert tool') and kətəb qusaqqus (software, 'soft tool').

In natural sciences, one can come across such adjective-noun expressions as (mədrā) wäfawi gənəñunät (geographic coordinates) (that literally means overland birds' relations probably because of periodic migrations of some bird species in Ethiopia), zuriya waltawi kāwakəb (circumpolar stars, 'around polar stars') where the word kāwakəb is of Ge‘ez origin and məlu‘ madabbäriya (complete fertiliser) which is from linguistic point of view a juxtaposition of a Ge‘ez (məlu‘ – full, complete) and Amharic words (madabbäriya – fertilizer, from madabbär – to fertilise).

Noun compounds in Amharic with nouns derived from verbs
Today's Amharic is not only marked by the presence of adjective-noun compounds but it allows for other combinations where nouns are juxtaposed with nouns derived from verbs. Apart from the Amharic or even English vocabulary (in certain calques), the Amharic noun-derived noun compounds can be construed with the use of the Ge‘ez lexicon. As for the English calques in the form of the analysed compounds, one can mention such expressions as ayyär wälläd (airborne) and bərät ləbs (armour-clad). The words wälläd and ləbs mean something that is born or gives up interest and clothes respectively and they are examples of Amharic nouns. When it comes to the purely Amharic noun-derived noun compounds, they appear quite frequently in that language but so far there has been a tendency to either blend the Amharic and Ge‘ez vocabulary or borrow fixed Ge‘ez expressions. Nevertheless, one can mention here some compounds of single Amharic origin, for example, nägär (thing) fägg (one who destroys), i.e. representative or attorney, lit.' one who de-

4 These lexical units are recorded in the Selamsoft English-Amharic dictionary (www.amharicdictionary.com) and the Abyssinica English-Amharic dictionary (www.dictionary.abyssinica.com).
stroys the order of things for the good of the accused' or ras sär (automatic). The noun fägg (destroyer) comes from the verb fäggä – 'he cared for another person's business' and the whole compound can thus be understood as someone who agreed to take care of another's person's business when they could not personally do it themselves for various reasons. In regard to the expression ras sär (automatic) it means that something can be automatic when it is done by the head (ras) though the word sär is not a verb but a noun. (Taddese 2000: 24-27).

As mentioned above, the Amharic language is rich in expressions formed by blending Amharic and Ge’ez lexicons, for example hassab yälläš (thoughtless), säw seräš(artificial), ḥəggä wāṭṭ (illegal) and qälba bis (scatterbrained). In the compound hassab yälläš, the word hassab (idea) appears both in Ge’ez and Amharic while the Amharic relative verb yälläš means lacking in something. The expression säw särraš contains an Amharic word säw (man) and an Amharic noun derived from the verb särra (to work), i.e. sāraš (something that is being made, done), so something done by men in Ethiopia is artificial. In the case of the compound ḥəggä wāṭṭ, there is a Ge’ez word ḥəgg meaning law and the Amharic noun wāṭṭ derived from the verb wāṭṭa – he left. Even though the expression ḥəggä wāṭṭ (illegal) appears in the Ethiopic construct state, its origin is Ge’ez despite the fact that the word wāṭṭ has the ejective consonant ṭ typical for Amharic, though this word can be found in Ge’ez in the form of wāṣ’ā. As for the compound qälba bis (scatterbrained), it literally means 'being devoid of reason'. While the word qālb is Amharic, the verb form bis is common to the Ge’ez language and means not to have something. Worth mentioning are also those noun adjective compounds entirely constructed from words of Ge’ez origin, for example, sər’atā bis (groundless) or bet alba (homeless). Both Ge’ez verbal forms bis and alba mean void of something, that is of ground (sər’at) and home (bet) (Taddese 2000: 24-27).

**Verb/gerundive and noun compounds**

The Amharic lexicon allows for the creation of some compounds linking verbs or gerundive forms with nouns, for example, fātno
däräš (quick move), qäddo ṭəggäna (surgical operation) and bālaʾe säb (cannibal). The compound meaning a quick move (fätno däräš) can be derived from the Amharic verb (fätänä – 'he was quick') or its exact gerundive form (fätno) and the verbal noun of the verb därräsä – 'he arrived'. It is also used in the context of rushing with help in the face of a disaster. What is more, Ethiopians associate this compound with the Archangel Michael. As for the Amharic expression for a surgical operation (qäddo ṭəggäna), it consists of a gerundive form of the verb qäddädä – 'he tore' and a verbal noun ṭəggäna (repairing) derived in turn from the verb ṭäggänä – 'he repaired'. The Amharic expression for cannibal (bālaʾe säbʾ) comes from Geʾez and literally means someone who eats (bāla) men (säbʾ). This form is not a gerundive, for bālaʾe säbʾ is a verbal noun. (Taddese 2000: 51f.).

**Compounds constructed from Amharic words and Geʾez prefixes**

It may be of interest to write about the neologisms formed from Amharic/Geʾez nouns and Geʾez prefixes, such as sārā- (anti-), i- (non), qədmā- (pre-) and dəhrā- (post). In recent years they became popular in order to name such concepts as anti-terrorism (sārā-šəbbər), anti-Semitic (sārā ayhud), sārā-fəṭrät (biocide) sārā-täbay (pesticide) or sārā-täkl (herbicide). Curiously, the expression anti-Semitic (sārā-ayhud) literally means anti-Jewish. As for the Amharic counterparts for English words ending with -cide, they mean anti-organism (or anti-creation), anti-insect and anti-plant respectively. Although the Geʾez prefix i- (non-) is predominantly used to make negative forms of verbs in Geʾez, it can also be applied to negate the adjectives in Amharic, for example i-täsmami, that is non-agreeable or asynchronous in technical domains. The Geʾez prefix qədmā- (pre-) can be used with some Amharic nouns as qədmā-yyəta (preview) or qədmā-huñña (precondition). The last mentioned prefix of Geʾez origin, namely, dəhrā- (post-) collocates well with such nouns as dəhrā-morräqa (postgraduate studies, 'after blessing') or dəhrā-ayyyəta (review, 'post-vision').
Compounds constructed in the process of hybridization and calque translation of English expressions

In the Amharic language the process of hybridization is often used to create certain kinds of neologisms for the construction of which one can make use of mostly English or French terminology, but also to a lesser extent the vocabulary of other European languages. Hybridization is nothing other than the construction of compounds by the juxtaposition of Amharic (or Ge’ez) and English words. Even though there are many such coinages in Amharic, most of them remain transitional in character, which means they are used as long as their proper names rendered in Amharic or even Ge’ez have been introduced to the working language of Ethiopia. It is not only the linguists from the National Academy of the Amharic Language who can formally coin the lacking vocabulary. Many words and expressions are created by Ethiopian journalists who often come up with new words that they publish in newspapers. So it is mostly up to everyday Amharic language users when it comes to the application of many neologisms. Even if some official vocabulary based on Ge’ez may be included in modern dictionaries, Ethiopians will not understand them because of their poor command of this classical language.

Generally, a number of hybridized compounds in Amharic are applied in economics, medicine, science or military domains, for example, 

\[\text{yä-ikonomi zärf} \quad \text{(branch of economy, 'of-economy branch')},\]
\[\text{yä-ləmat maššašaya proğäkt} \quad \text{(development improvement project, 'of-development improver project')},\]
\[\text{sər’ata närv} \quad \text{(nervous system, 'system of nerve')},\]
\[\text{sayənsawi ləbbolläd (ləbb wälläd) \quad \text{(science fiction, 'scientific something born in heart')},}\]
\[\text{or yā-misayəl mablaya sər’at} \quad \text{(anti-missile shield) which contains words from English (missile), Amharic (mablaya – absorber) and Geez (sər’at – system).}\]

In regards to the processes of loan translation, they are present also in Amharic. One can find many calques in Ethiopian daily newspapers such as “Addis Zemen”. Even though they are quite numerous in Amharic, only the most well known ones should be mentioned here. Such calques as key issue (\text{qulf gudday, key affair}), \text{yāmmay-tawwäq bārrari akal} \quad \text{(unidentified flying object, 'that is not known flying body')}, \text{ye-muya masālāttānña tabiya} \quad \text{(professional training}
centre, 'of-profession training station') or säb'awi mähbočč (human rights, 'people's rights') often appear in the pages of the top Ethiopian daily newspapers or periodicals. As the loan translations are common to all languages, these calqued expressions in Amharic should be treated as a kind of enrichment of the language.

**Conclusion**

From the analysed variety of compounds and juxtapositions one can infer that the parts of speech in the compound components are quite different. Most of the construct state compounds both in Amharic and Ge’ez are endocentric in character as they consist of the same parts of speech (excluding genitive markers) while the verb and noun compounds as well as compounds constructed with the use of the Amharic and Ge’ez prefixes should be referred to as exocentric because they consist of different parts of speech. With the increasing influence of English on the Amharic language, the new structural form of the compounds in the construct state came into being, where the genitive marker is omitted; because of that, such structures are no longer compounds but juxtaposed expressions. In most of the mentioned compounds one can easily notice that the juxtaposed expressions have their meanings extended, by which new compounds can be created. Even though most of these expressions are considered original by Europeans, for Ethiopians this is one of the basic methods of dealing with the translation of many English words, particularly those of Greco-Latin roots, whose structure impedes or makes it impossible to translate them into Amharic or Ge’ez. Laudable is also the use of Classical Ethiopic as a source of vocabulary for these coinages.

**References:**

*Addis Zemen. Ethiopian daily, 2004-2010.*


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