

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF HAMITO-SEMITIC

By A. Dolgopolsky,
University of Haifa

In modern long-range comparative linguistics there are two opinions as to the place of HS (Hamito-Semitic, or Afro-Asiatic) among the languages of the world: (1). The traditional view among the long-range-comparatists (H. Pedersen, V. Illich-Svitych, the present author, etc.) is that HS belongs to the N (Nostratic) macro-family as a branch. (2). Recently several scholars have expressed another opinion: HS is coordinate with N rather than subordinate to it. Joseph Greenberg (according to the papers of his pupil M. Ruhlen) believes that HS, Kartvelian and Dravidian do not belong to "Eurasianic" (his term for N) as its branches but are coordinate with it. Recently Sergei Starostin has also expressed an opinion about the coordinate relationship between HS and "N proper".

J. Greenberg's opinion (to judge from Ruhlen's accounts) is based on comparison of words of different families within a list of arbitrarily chosen items. Ruhlen published a short list of these items and words for the "Eurasianic" languages (Ruhlen 1994: 16-17). It is a list of 30 lexical items. It is not free from mistakes and very subjective conjectures. The main IE word for "eat" is not *tāp (found in Tokharian only, but registered as the representative of IE in Greenberg-Ruhlen's list), but *ēd- (found in almost all branches of IE: Latin *ēdō*, Germanic **it-*, Sanskrit *at-*, Hittite **it-*, etc.), which is akin both to Altaic (Mongolian *ide* 'eat') and to HS *ʔit- 'to eat' (in East Cushitic and West Chadic). The ancient word for 'what?' is not that represented by IE *jō-~*je-, Uralic *jō-, etc. (which is an ancient N root, but it means 'which' and is used as a relative pronoun), but *mī, which is represented not only in Uralic, Altaic (Chuvash), but also in HS (all branches), Kartvelian and probably in Dravidian (cf. Illich-Svitych 1976: 66-68). IE *tek- 'to touch' (adduced in the list in the item 'arrive') corresponds exactly to HS *ʔtk (in Cushitic and in Semitic, cf. Dolgopolsky 1973: 276). If this list is corrected, enlarged and compared with roots of different branches of HS (as well as Kartvelian and Dravidian), we will see that all these languages are much nearer to "Eurasianic" than believed by Greenberg and Ruhlen. Among the 30 "Eurasianic" roots mentioned in the list, 19 have cognates in HS, while 20 are represented in IE (after correcting two etymological mistakes mentioned above: tāp- and *je-~*jō), and 17 are represented in Turkic. We see that even within the limits of Greenberg-Ruhlen's list, HS is not less "Eurasianic" than IE or Turkic.

Starostin's hypothesis on HS as a sister-language rather than a daughter-language of N is based on his measurement of shared and replaced vocabulary (of Semitic, IE, Uralic, Turkic, etc.) within Swadesh's list of 100 words (the so-called "basic vocabulary"). Starostin concluded that Semitic (taken as a representative of HS) diverged from N earlier than the "Strictly-N" daughter-families from one another. As it is known, the glottochronological method of measuring linguistic relationship is based on the unproved assumption that languages replace words of the "basic vocabulary" at a constant rate. But glottochronology cannot serve as a reliable instrument of genetic classification of related languages for two reasons: (1) it fails to distinguish between cladistic proximity (German and Swedish are nearer to each other than to Italian and Spanish, because the former go back to Proto-Germanic, while the latter are descendants of Latin, hence German is a "sister-language" of Swedish, but a "cousin-language" of Italian) and dialectal areal proximity (adjacent dialects of a language share innovations without going back to a special intermediate proto-language, e.g. Czech is nearer to Polish than to Bulgarian, but there was no Proto-West-Slavic, i.e. it cannot be claimed that Polish diverged from Czech **later** than from Russian, Bulgarian or Slovene and that it is **genetically nearer** to Czech than to Bulgarian; on the other hand, Russian is nearer to Polish than to Czech, but there was no Proto-Russian-Polish), (2) it fails to take account of major structural (phonological & morphological) factors encouraging word replacement in some languages. For instance, in French some phonological factors (loss of many intervocalic consonants and of the posttonic syllables) encouraged

homonymy and replacement of lexical units (even belonging to the sacro-saint "basic vocabulary" of 100 words): N *ʔeyV 'to go, come'¹ was preserved in Proto-IE *ei- 'to go' and in Latin ī- 'to go', but was lost in French, because the phonetic laws in the history of French do not allow this verb to exist: it would have yielded *oi [wa] 'goes' undistinguishable from many other ancient verbs which would have merged in *oi [wa] unless the language had expelled these potential homonyms. The same is true of N *ʔite 'to eat' > IE *ed- > Latin ed-, which would have yielded the same *oi [wa], unless it had been lost in the prehistory of French. Now, let us take just the same N roots and see what happened to them in HS and in Semitic: N *ʔeyV 'go, come' yielded HS *ʔiy- 'come' (preserved in Egyptian and Cushitic), but could not survive in Semitic: due to Semitic historical phonology and morphology, 'he went' would have been **ʔā in Arabic and **ʔā in Hebrew (because Semitic verbal roots were devocalized and the intervocalic *-y- was lost); N *ʔite 'eat' was preserved in HS (namely in Cushitic and Chadic), but because of the devocalization of verbal roots it was lost in Semitic (otherwise it would have been undistinguishable from other verbs with the same historical consonants, such as *ʔatV 'to come'). The alleged constant rate of lexical replacement is a hypothesis at variance with the structure of languages. If in Swadesh's list the percentage of words shared by Semitic and IE, Semitic and Uralic, Semitic and Turkic, etc. is indeed lower than that shared by IE and Uralic, IE and Turkic, etc. (as Starostin claims), it may be due to the structural history of Semitic rather than to the date of separation of HS from other daughter-families of Nostratic.

If Proto-"Nostratic proper" (without HS) had ever existed, it would have led to creation of a specific "Strictly-N" word stock, not found in HS (just as there is a Proto-Germanic word stock clearly distinguishable from Proto-Slavic or Proto-Indo-Iranian). But among the 2300 N roots forming the file of my "Nostratic Dictionary" (in preparation) most (about 1600) do appear in HS. The N words found in several daughter-families but not in HS (which could have justified a hypothesis of "N proper") are even fewer than those found in several branches but not in IE, but nobody will exclude IE from N! (cf. below Annex I). Therefore the traditional Nostraticist view considering HS as a branch of N is still valid.

Annex I. Some common morphemes in the Nostratic languages (selected examples)

A. Nostratic morphemes represented in both HS and IE:

1. N *tʰi 'thou' > HS *tV- (e.g. S [= Semitic] *ti- 'thou' [verbal prefix], Cushitic *tV- id.) ~ IE *tū 'thou', *te 'thee' ~ U [= Uralic] *tV 'thou' ~ A [= Altaic] : Mong. *čī (< *tʰi) [cf. Dolgopolsky 1984];

2. N *nV 'we' (exclusive) > HS *nV- (Sem. *ni-, Cush. *nV 'we', verbal prefix) ~ IE *nō-, *n- 'we' (in oblique cases) ~ K [= Kartvelian]: Svan nāy 'we' ~ Gilyak nin 'we' (excl.) [cf. Illich-Svitych 1971: 7, Dolgopolsky 1984];

3. *ʔaḳo '(flowing) water' > HS (Central Cush. *ʔaḳʷ 'water') ~ IE *akʷā id., etc. [cf. Illich-Svitych 1971: 275-6, Dolgopolsky 1973: 273-4]

4. *ʔina 'place' (> 'in') > HS: Sem. *ʔina 'in' ~ IE *en / *ŋ 'in' ~ U *inV 'place', *-na 'in' (case ending) ~ T [= Turkic] *īn 'lair/hole of a wild animal' ~ D [Dravidian] *-in 'in' (case ending);

5. *kālū 'woman of the other moiety' (> 'female relative-in-law', 'bride') > HS: Sem. *kāl-āt- 'daughter-in-law, bride' ~ IE *g̑.ṛu- / *g̑.ṛu- 'sister-in law' ~ U *kālū id. ~ D *kāl- id. ~ A: T *kālīn 'daughter-in-law', etc. ~ K *ka- 'woman' [cf. Illich-Svitych 1971: 295-6];

6. *ʔuḳo 'to see' > HS: Ethiopic (S) -ūḳ- 'to know', Central Cush. *ʔaḳʷ- 'to see, know', etc. ~ IE *okʷ- 'eye' ~ FU *wokV 'to see, look' ~ A: T *uk-, Mong. *uka- 'to understand, find out';

and so on, and so forth.

B. N morphemes, which are poorly represented in HS:

7. *ma, postposition of marked accusative > IE *-m (accusative ending) ~ U *-m id. ~ A: Mong. *-ma (accusative marker in *či-ma 'thee'), Tungusian *-ba (marker of accusative) and Old Japanese *wa (accusative → focalizing particle) ~ HS: Omotic *-m, accusative. In K this morpheme is absent, probably because of a syntactic revolution (nominative sentence structure → ergative sentence structure?) in the prehistory of K [cf. Illich-Svitych 1976: 48-51];

8. *wete 'water' > IE *wod-ōr / *wed-en- ~ U *wete 'water', etc. In most HS languages it has been lost, but still some traces have been preserved: in Darasa (an East Cushitic language) 'water' is wode, in Proto-Omotic (Blažek's reconstruction) it is *waçe;

9. *mi 'I' > IE *me 'me', *-m, *-mi 'I' (personal ending of verbs) ~ U *mV / *minu 'I', *-m (verbal ending of 1 sg.) ~ A *bi / (oblique cases) *mi-n∇, *-m'my' ~ K *me 'I'; in HS traces of this pronoun have survived only in Highland East Cushitic (Kambatta yom-mi 'I am' - yon-ti 'thou art') and in some Chadic languages [cf. Dolgopolsky 1984, Illich-Svitych 1976: 63-66];

C. N morphemes, which are not represented in HS:

10. *laHmo 'swamp' > IE *lēm- (< *leh-m-) id. ~ K *lam- 'mud' ~ A *lāmu 'swamp, sea' ~ U *lampe 'swamp' [cf. Illich-Svitych 1976: 29-39]; there is no representation in HS;

11. *tōLH∇ 'crossing (of a river, mountain range, etc.)' > IE *t]H-¹tō- 'passage, ford' ~ A *t'ō]i∇ 'to cross (a stream\river, a mountain ridge)' > Tg *tu] 'to to cross (a mountain ridge, a stream) (in Tungusic and Korean); no representation in HS has been found.

12. *t'af∇ 'open, bald' > U *tar∇ 'to open; open' ~ A *t'af∇ 'bald' (in Turkic and Mongolian) ~ D *taḡ- 'bald'. The word has not been found in HS and IE.

D. N morphemes, which are not represented in IE:

13. *mi 'what' > HS *mi 'what' (> Sem. *mi, Berber, Cush., Chadic, Eg. *mV) ~ K *may 'what', *mi-n 'who' (compound forms) ~ U *mi 'what' ~ A: Chuvash mən 'what' ~ ? D *mi 'what' (in Kaikadi and Burgendi); in IE this pronoun was replaced by compound forms based on N *k̑o 'who' with a demonstrative pronoun of inanimate things *tV 'it' (like Latin quō-d and English wħa-t) [cf. Illich-Svitych 1976: 66-8];

14. *ḡinašē 'person, man' > HS: Sem. *ḡinaš- 'man, person' ~ U: FU [= Finno-Ugrian] *inšē 'person', etc.; not found in IE;

15. *ḡoyn∇ 'eye, to see' > HS: Sem. *ḡayn 'eye', Eg. ḡn id. ~ FU *oynē > Proto-Lappish *ḡynē 'to see' [Lehtiranta 1989: 90-1] ~ A: Mong. *oyi,ḡn 'mind' ~ ? D *uḡḡ- 'to look, think'; the IE word for 'eye' (*ok^w-) belongs to another N root: *ḡuḡo 'to see' (cf. No. 6);

16. *daḡV 'small, thin' > HS *daḡḡ- 'small, thin' (Sem. *daḡḡ-, Egyptian, Cush., Chadic) ~ A: Manchu daḡdaḡaxun 'short' ~ D *takaḡ- 'thin and flat';

17. *koḡi 'lamb' > HS: Sem. *karr- 'lamb', Berber and Chadic ~ A: T *koḡi/*kurḡ, Mong. *kuri-gan 'lamb' ~ D *koḡi 'sheep' [cf. Illich-Svitych 1971: 302]; not found in IE; etc., etc.

¹V denotes unspecified vowel. ¹ - phoneme of uncertain identity (¹a = *a or sim.). ₁ - phoneme of uncertain presence (₁a₁ = *a or nothing).

REFERENCES

- Dolgopolsky A. 1973. *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaja fonetika kushitskix jazykov*. Moscow, Nauka.
- Dolgopolsky A. 1984. "On personal pronouns in the Nostratic languages", in: *Linguistica and Philologica. Gedenkschrift für Björn Collinder*. Ed. O. Gschwantler, K. Rédei, H. Reichert. Vienna, Braumüller. 65-112.
- Illich-Svitych V. 1971. *Opyt sravnenija nostraticheskix jazykov. Vvedenie. Sravnitel'nyj slovar'*. Moscow, Nauka.
- Illich-Svitych V. 1976. *Opyt sravnenija nostraticheskix jazykov. Sravnitel'nyj slovar' (1-ž)*. Moscow, Nauka.
- Illich-Svitych V. 1984. *Opyt sravnenija nostraticheskix jazykov. Sravnitel'nyj slovar' (p-q)*. Moscow, Nauka.
- Lehtiranta J. 1989. *Yhteissaamelainen sanasto*. Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Ruhlen M. 1994. *On the Origin of Languages*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

8° Incontro di linguistica afro-asiatica, Napoli, gennaio 1996

ORIGIN OF GENDER IN HAMITO-SEMITIC

By A. Dolgopolsky, Haifa Univ.

The fem. gender is [1] a grammatical agreement class of nouns that includes names of female beings and does not include nouns for male beings, the presence of indefinite number of sexually-neutral nouns (i.a., inanimate nouns) being irrelevant for the definition of the fem. gender; [2] forms of pronouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs which either agree with the governing noun or directly denote the feminine sex of the referent.

In Hamito-Semitic (HS) there are four markers of fem.: (1) *t∇-, *-t, (2) *-i, -ī, (?) *-aj, (3) *-m (in Berber and Chadic only), (4) Sem. *-ā? (attested in Arabic). The origin of each of them may be elucidated in the light of the external genetic relation of HS, in the framework of the Nostratic theory (claiming genetic ties of HS with Indo-European [IE], Kartvelian [K], Uralic [U], Altaic [A], Dravidian [D] and possibly Elamite [E]).

1. *tV-, *-t is present in Semitic [S], Berber [B], Egyptian [Eg], Cushitic [C] and Chadic [Ch] as a personal prefix of verbs (3 f. sg.), fem. suffixes of nouns and adjectives (S, B, Eg, C), fem. prefix of nouns (B, Beja), pronouns or their parts (S, Eg, B, C, Ch). It goes back to the merger of two N[ostratic] words (which became homonymic as morphemes in HS): [1] N *tā, demonstrative (deictically neutral) pronoun of non-active (inanimate) objects > IE *tō- id., -ti, -t (verbal endings of 3 sg.), *-T (ending of neuter [inanimate] forms of pronouns: Latin *id, quid*, Engl. *it, what*, etc.), K demonstr. pronoun (Megrelian *te* 'this', *ti* 'that'), U *tā, demonstrative pronoun of inanimate objects (→ 'this', 'that'), A *te- 'der, das' (deictically neutral demonstrative pronoun) (in Mongolic, Tungusic languages, etc.), D: the "resumptive" and personal (3 sg.) pronoun *tān / (obl.) *tan- 'himself', the ending of inanimate gender *-tu, the ending *-tō of the 3 sg. neutrum (inanimate) of predicative and "appellative" words, [2] N *r'atV 'female, woman' > HS (noun): Saho {R} atē 'elder sister', Yaku tōu (pl. 'tōúyo') 'sister' [where t- < HS *r'Vt-], O[motic]: Yemsa {Cerulli} ētnā 'elder sister'; A: Tungusic *atV 'female, elderly woman'; D *āt- 'woman' and *-tti, a derivational-grammatical morpheme for females: *oru-tti 'one female person' > Tamil, Malayalam oru-tti 'one female person' (oru- is 'one'), Tulu, Malto or-ti 'one woman', etc. In HS both N words merged into one morpheme denoting

both inanimate objects and female beings. According to the above definition, this is what is called feminine gender. It became a grammatical category when a gender agreement between nouns and other words developed. It is worth noting that in some D languages (Telugu a.o.) the markers of neutrum and f. merged (because of phonetic changes), and a "fem.-and-inanimate" gender appeared (just as in HS).

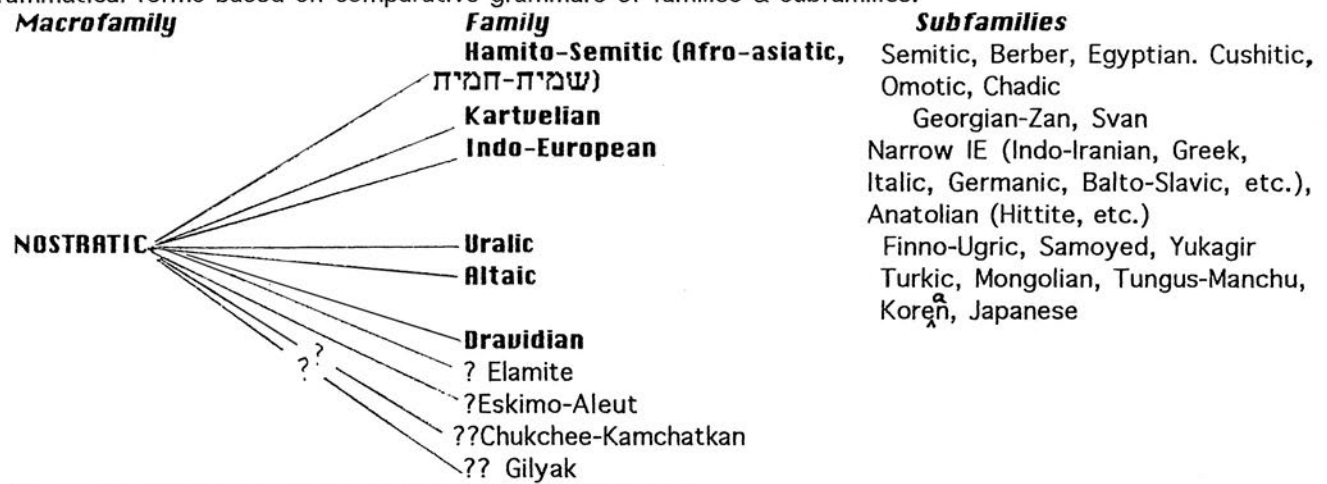
2. *-i, -ī, (?) *-ay. HS *-i, *-ī functions as a fem. marker in pronouns of the 2 and 3 person sg. and in verbal forms of 2 sg. (in S, Eg, C, Ch). The dubious morpheme *-ay is attested in Arabic only (in fem. forms of adjectives). These morphemes go back to N *ʔä¹y∇ 'mother', which in daughter languages functions both as a noun for 'mother' and as a morpheme denoting female beings: [1] in the meaning 'mother' in HS (ECush. *ʔäy¹y- 'mother', SCush: Iraqw ay⁰ id., etc.), in U (Samoyedic: Kamassian iyā, yā, yā 'mother', etc.), in D (*āy 'mother, aunt') and possibly in IE (pGmc *aiθī 'mother'), and [2] as a marker of female beings: besides HS, in IE *-ī, *-ī-, a nominal suffix of fem. (sex and gender): *w^ok^w-ī 'she-wolf', A: Mongolic *-ay marker of fem. sex: Classical Mongolian sutu 'emperor' - sutay 'empress', qutuqtu 'saint man' - qutuqtay 'saint woman', etc. The distribution in HS (almost exclusively as suffixes in 2 sg.) suggest that originally it was a vocative (S *kūm-ī < 'stand up, mother!', *k-ī 'thee, mother!').

3. *-m (in B and Ch 2 person - both of pronouns and of verbs). It goes back to another N word for 'mother', namely *ʔemA 'mother' > HS (S *ʔimm- id., B ≈*yimā 'my mother', probably C and Ch), U *emä 'mother, female', A *eme 'woman, female' (in Mongolic, Turkic and other branches). Just as in the previous case, the distribution of the morpheme suggests that originally it was a vocative.

(?) 4. *-āʔ (attested in Arabic adjectives only). It may have go back to N (?) *h¹ʔaʔ∇ - female marker, attested, beside HS (Arabic), in IE *-aH or *-(e)h₂, ending of feminine gender in adjectives, nouns and pronouns > Od Indian, Avestan -ā, Greek -η / -ᾱ, Latin -a, Lithuanian -a, pSlavic *-a.

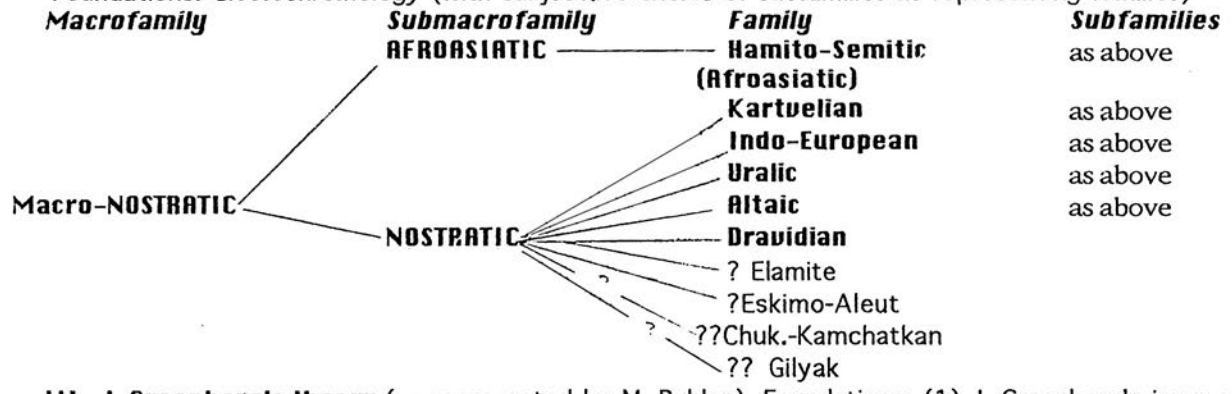
א. 3 אפס'א

I. The original Nostratic theory (Illich-Svitych, Dolgopolsky, Blažek, etc.) Evidence: etymology of roots & grammatical forms based on comparative grammars of families & subfamilies.



II. Revised Nostratic theory (Starostin & Militaryou)

Foundations: Glottochronology (with subjective choice of subfamilies as representing families)



III. J. Greenberg's theory (as represented by M. Ruhlen). Foundations: (1) J. Greenberg's impression, (2) Comparison of subjectively chosen words for basic semantic items

