

AFROASIATICA TERGESTINA

Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of
Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics
Trieste, April 23-24, 1998

Contributi presentati al 9° Incontro
di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semitica)
Trieste, 23-24 Aprile 1998

edited by
Marcello LAMBERTI and Livia TONELLI

unipress

C O N T E N T S

FOREWORD	5
1. General Issues	9
RAINER VOIGT	
Nominal (and verbal) nasalization and the nominal plural morphemes in Semitohamitic	11
HELMUT SATZINGER	
Observations in the field of the Afroasiatic suffix conjugation	23
ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI	
On Hamitosemitic participles	35
2. Semitic Studies	41
AHARON DOLGOPOLSKY	
On the origin of the Hebrew <i>nota accusativi</i> ?eṭ ~ ?eṭ and the t-accusative in Akkadian, Agaw and Saho	43
FRANCESCO ASPESI	
Considerazioni etimologiche su ebraico <i>nāḥi'</i>	47
ALBERTO M. SOMEKH	
The toponym Goshen in Genesis about some “qutl-segolate” nouns with a third nasal in biblical Hebrew	63
FABRIZIO A. PENNACCHIETTI	
<i>Qundāqôr</i> : un <i>hapax</i> siriano del romanzo di Alessandro tra filologia e archeologia	71
ALESSANDRO MENGOTZI	
«The mountains will be covered with snow»: On the fringes of transitivity in the Neo-Aramaic of Alqosh (North Iraq)	83
RICCARDO CONTINI	
Le substrat araméen en néo-arabe libanais: préliminaires à une enquête systématique	101
ELIE KALLAS	
Un preambule pour une histoire linguistique du Liban	123
SERGIO BALDI	
Arabic loans in Bambara	145
AZIZA BOUCHERIT	
Relation d'appartenance, nom de parenté et substrat berbère	175
ANTOINE LONNET	
Le vocabulaire de la parenté en socotri	187

GIDEON GOLDENBERG	
On phrases, complexes and verb-formation in Gurage	213
3. Egyptian Studies	223
FRANCO CREVATIN	
Una nota sull'«anima-uccello» egiziana	225
VÁCLAV BLAŽEK	
Egyptian numerals	229
ALESSANDRO ROCCATI	
La funzione del morfema <i>iw</i> in medioegiziano	265
4. Berber Studies	269
NALMA LOUALI-RAYNAL	
La spirantisation en berbère	271
CATHERINE TAINE-CHEIKH	
Le zénaga de Mauritanie à la lumière du berbère commun	299
VERMONDO BRUGNATELLI	
I prestiti latini in berbero: un bilancio	325
5. Chadic Studies	333
HERRMANN JUNGRAITHMAYR	
The 1st person singular pronoun in Chadic	335
6. Cushitic and Omotic Studies	345
MARCELLO LAMBERTI	
The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person in Cushitic and their reconstruction	347
CATHERINE GRIEFENOW-MEWIS	
The formation of questions in Oromo and Somali: a comparative analysis	363
LIVIA TONELLI	
The Garre of Somalia. A sketch of its linguistic features	373
MAURO TOSCO	
The color terms of Dhaasanac	381
GÁBOR TAKÁCS	
Sibilant and velar consonants of South Cushitic and their regular correspondences in Egyptian and other Afro-Asiatic branches	393
ROBERTO SOTTILE	
The consonant system of Gamu	427
List of Participants in the 9° Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semitica)	447

THE GARRE OF SOMALIA A SKETCH OF ITS LINGUISTIC FEATURESⁱ

LIVIA TONELLI

Università di Trieste

Introduction

This contribution focusses on Garre Oromo spoken in Southern Somalia. Oromo, together with the Somali-Ba'iso group, Saho-Afar, Galaboid, Konsoid, Dulay (and probably the Yaaku language), belongs to the Lowland Cushitic branch of the Cushitic family (cf. Lamberti 1991, 1994). Oromo is a quite dishomogeneous language spoken by several million people. The number of speakers and its geographical extension make Oromo one of the most important languages of Africa. Its speech-area is centred in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and the region of Tigre and counts numerous dialect varieties. For the Ethiopian and especially Kenyan varieties of Oromo there are some extensive descriptions in the literature (cf. Moreno 1939, Andrzejewski 1957, Gragg 1976, Heine 1981, Owens 1985, Stroomer 1987 and 1995), while information on Somali Oromo is almost entirely lacking. It is with the purpose of filling this gap that this contribution was conceived. Our particular aim is to assess phonological, morphological and syntactic isoglosses characterizing the Oromo spoken in Somalia. The data on which we rely was collected by the second author in the District of Luuq (near the border between Somalia and Ethiopia) and in the District of Bardheere (in the Middle Juba region) in 1981-1982. The Garre of both Luuq and of Bardheere has been strongly influenced by the Somali language, either by Maxaad-tiri (a variety very close to official Somali) or by the May variety: in the Luuq region, where most inhabitants are Daarood, Maxaad-tiri prevails as the "vehicular dialect", whereas the "lingua franca" of Middle Juba is the May dialect.

The Oromo dialects

The Oromo dialects can be roughly grouped into four branches: Western, Central, Eastern and Southern. Some of the main traits of each branch are summarized below.

The Western branch (mainly consisting of Wellegga) is characterized by:

- a) the simplification of the tone system;

ⁱ I would like to dedicate this paper to Wolfgang Dressler who taught me to love languages.

- b) the tendency to realize /d'/ as the glottal stop [ʔ] in word-initial position and after /n/;
- c) the morphophonemic rule /y/ + /t/ ----> /ss/ (cf. *d'agay*- 'to hear' + *-te* ----> *hin d'ageesse* 'she heard'), while in the rest of Oromo (with the exception of Harar Oromo) the result is /tt/ (cf. *hin d'ageette* 'she heard');
- d) the extension of the masculine gender marker *-k-* to feminines (in this way getting over the classical Lowland Cushitic grammatical gender system which is based on the contrast *-k-* / *-t-*);
- e) the generalization of the plural marker *-oota* and its extension to all plural forms.

The Central branch (consisting of the dialects spoken in the Ethiopian former Provinces of Showa, Arsi and Bale, which are similar to each other) is characterized by:

- a) the tendency to realize /d'/ as the retroflex [ɖ] (in Bale, but not in Arsi!);
- b) the general preservation of final voiceless vowels, as is also the case in West Oromo (while in Eastern and Southern Oromo voiceless final vowels following a single consonant tend to be elided);
- c) the presence of several plural allomorphs such as *-wan*, *-woota*, *-een*, *-oon*, *-lee*, and so on, among which *-oota* is clearly the most frequent.

These dialects in general preserve the contrast between *-k-* and *-t-*, although to a less extent than in the Eastern and Southern varieties.

The Eastern branch (prevalently spoken in the Harar region and the Western part of Somalia) is characterized by:

- a) the deletion of final voiceless /j/, while final voiceless /q/ is generally maintained;
- b) the realization of the velar stop /k/ as the fricative [x] (cf. *muka* [muxa]; this isogloss is also shared by Southern Oromo);
- c) the morphophonemic rules:
 - /y/ + /t/ ----> /ss/ (like in West Oromo),
 - V/w/ + /t/ ----> V:/t/ (cf. *d'ow* + *te* ----> *d'oote* 'you hit' vs. the rest of Oromo *d'oofte*),
 - C + /t/ ----> /tt/ with subsequent diphthongization of the preceding vowel (cf. *fiig-* + *te* ----> *fiyde* 'you escaped', *d'ak'* + *te* ----> *d'aytt'e* 'you arrived' vs. the rest of Oromo *fiigde* 'you ran' and *d'att'e/d'ak'te* 'you went');
- d) the rare occurrence of plural forms (plural forms are in fact lacking altogether in most Harar Oromo nouns).

The Southern branch (consisting of the dialects spoken in the Lower Juba Region in Somalia, as well as of the numerous varieties spoken in Kenya, such as Boraana, Waata, Orma, Munyo and so on) is characterized by:

- a) the tendency to realize /d'/ as the retroflex [ɖ];
- b) the realization of the palatal affricate /tʃ/ as the approximant [j] (cf. [j]idduu 'middle/centre', [j]ambii 'floormats' < Swahili *jamvi*);
- c) the realization of /k/ as the corresponding velar fricative [x] (especially in Boraana) in initial and intervocalic position (cf. [x]ana 'this' for *kana*);
- d) the optional realization of /k'/ as the corresponding glottal fricative [x'];
- e) the tendency to elide voiceless final vowels after a single consonant;
- f) the morphophonemic rules:

/b/ + /n/ ----> /mn/ (cf. *k'ab-* + *-na* ----> *k'amna* 'we have', see Stroomer 1987:39),

/k'/ + /n/ ----> /nn/nd'/ (cf. *d'ak'-* + *-ne* ----> *d'anne/d'and'e* 'we went', see Stroomer 1987:39).

Moreover, these dialects have several allomorphs for plural noun formation, some of them being really of rare occurrence in the other Oromo dialects, such as *-(oo)llee*, *-eeni*, *-aani*, *-ootee*, *-yyee*, and so on.

The Garre dialects

In Somalia there are actually two kinds of Garre speakers: most of them use a Somali dialect belonging to the Digil group that Somalis call Af-Garre (cf. Lamberti 1986a and 1986b, Tosco 1989), whilst some few semi-nomad tribes calling themselves "Garre" in the area around Gedo, and Middle and Lower Juba regions use dialects belonging to the Oromo group.

The question of the classification of these Garre dialects within Oromo coincides with the inquiry as to whether they have linguistic features permitting us to regard them as belonging to the Southern, to the Eastern, or possibly to a fifth separate branch of Oromo. At the same time, these features furnish a first description of the still unanalysed Garre Oromo of Somalia.

Phonological features

From a phonological point of view, the Garre dialects of Somalia are characterized by the following traits:

1. Voiceless vowels generally tend to be elided in word-final position. This is specially true for a) the endings of the 2nd person sing. Imperative of verbs and b) for nouns ending in *-Cə* (but not for the ones ending in *-CCʷ*). This tendency has a significant parallel in Somali, where short word-final vowels had dropped (cf. Lamberti 1986a:219-225), so that word-final consonants are quite common. In most Oromo dialects, how-

ever, words generally end in a vowel; the deletion of a (voiceless) final vowel occasionally occurs only in Harar Oromo and in a few Southern dialects.

2. As in the rest of Oromo, the suffix *-t-* quite regularly undergoes voicing, if it is added to a stem ending in a labial voiced stop /b/ (cf. *dadd'ab-* + *-te* ----> *laa dadd'abde* 'you got tired'); much more frequently, however, it is /b/ that is devoiced, resulting in the consonant sequence [pt], (cf. Garre *d'iib-* + *-te* ----> *laa d'ii[pt]e* 'you pushed', *qab-* + *-te* ----> *laa qa[pt]e* 'she seized'); this rule is also attested in Standard Somali, where voiced stops preceding the morpheme *-t-* are devoiced (cf. Lamberti 1988:31-32). A similar morphophonemic rule has been observed only in the Boraana dialect.
3. If the morpheme *-t-* is added to a stem ending in /k/, the result is the unasimilated sequence [kt] (cf. *beek-* + *-ta* ----> *hin beekta* 'you know', *d'ik-* + *-te* ----> *laa d'ikte* 'she wrote'), whereas in the rest of Oromo, with the only exception of the Western dialects, /k/ is generally assimilated to the dental stop (cf. *him beetta* 'you know', *bokok-* + *-te* ----> *him bokotte* 'she swoll').
4. The phoneme /k'/ tends to be realized as the uvular stop [q], as in Somali, and it occasionally alternates with the velar fricatives [x] or [x'] (cf. *d'ak'-* 'to go' ----> *laa d'a[x]te* 'she went', *d'i[x]-* 'to wash' vs. the rest of Oromo *d'ik'-*).
5. Ejective consonants are realized with a less vigorous glottalic airstream than in the rest of Oromo.
6. No phonological process has been attested substituting the velar stop /k/ with the corresponding fricative [x] in certain environments, as has happened in Boraana and Harar Oromo.

Morphological features

From a morphological point of view, the characterizing traits of the Garre dialects are the following:

1. In Garre of Luuq plural nouns are only rarely provided with morphological markers; the same is true for Harar Oromo, where the plural morpheme is *-oota* and less frequently *-lee* (cf. Owens 1985:94). The Garre of Bardheere forms the plural of nouns by adding the suffixes *-lee* and *-ee(n)*, both subject to distributional rules and equally widespread. In this respect, the Garre of Bardheere shows a close affinity with Boraana, which has the plural markers *-oo-llee* (and other minor suffixes, among which also *-eeni*). In the rest of Oromo spoken in Ethiopia the largely dominant suffix seems to be *-oota*.

2. Like Harar Oromo and Boraana, the Garre dialects has grammatical gender distinction of masculine vs. feminine. The Oromo dialects of Ethiopia either do not have gender distinction at all (cf. Wellezza Oromo) or have a natural gender system (like the Central Oromo dialects).
3. Garre is the only Oromo dialect having the form *nuhii* 'we' for the first person plural (absolutive case), while in all the other dialects there is no form with /h/. Concerning the second person plural, only Boraana, besides Garre, has the form *is(s)an* 'you', pl., while the rest of Oromo has forms such as *isin*, *issin* and eventually *issen*, but none with /a/ before nasal.
4. The system of possessive pronouns, which is very similar to the one of Boraana, is:

1sg. <i>-kiya</i>	1pl. <i>-keenna</i>	3m.sg. <i>-(?)isa</i>
2sg. <i>-(kan)kee/-ee</i>	2pl. <i>-keesan</i>	3f.sg. <i>-(?)isii</i>
	3pl. <i>-(?)isaani</i> .	

No morph *-koo* 'my' occurring in the other Oromo dialects for the 1st person sing. has been found in Garre.

5. The pattern of demonstrative pronouns is the following:

<i>kan/tan</i>	<i>sun</i>	(absolutive case)
<i>kun(in)/tun(in)</i>	<i>sun(in)</i>	(subject case)
'this'	'that'.	

No form *sana* 'that' has been found (with parallels only in Southern Oromo). Equally, the addition of the subject marker *-n(i)* to demonstratives and some personal pronouns represents an isogloss that Garre shares only with Southern Oromo.

6. The ordinal numerals are characterized by the suffix *-eesoo*, m./-*eesitoo*, f., (Garre *lamm-eesoo/lamm-eesitoo* 'second', *afur-eesoo / afur-eesitoo* 'fourth'); the same suffix is used in Southern Oromo (cf. *lam-eesoo* 'second'; see Stroemer 1987:108-110, where no feminine is reported), and the very similar suffix *-eessaa*, m./-*eessituu*, f. in Harar Oromo (cf. *lamm-eessaa/lamm-eessituu* 'second'). Numeral formation is completely different in Western and Central Oromo, where the suffix *-aaffaa* is used.

Syntactical features

Syntactically, the Garre Oromo dialects show the following main characteristics:

1. Personal pronouns in the subject case are often provided with the subject marker *-n(i)*; this represents an isogloss that Garre shares only with Southern Oromo (cf. *ani-n(i)* 'I', *ati-n(i)* 'you, sg.', *nuhi-ni* 'we'). On the other hand Garre also makes use of the pronoun *is* 'he' (rest of Oromo *isa* 'him') without *-n(i)* in the subject case (*is* thus alternates with *in-ni*), differing in this way from all other Oromo dialects, where *in-ni* is used for the subject case and *isa* for the object case.

2. A main sentence can have no focus marker (as it is the case in May and Digil), while in the Oromo of Ethiopia the presence of a focus particle is indispensable.
3. By far the most used verbal focus particle are *laa* (Garre of Bardheere) and *naa* (Garre of Luuq), while *hin* is prevalently used in Boraana, as in the other Oromo dialects. Only Harar Oromo has something similar, i.e. *ni*, which, however, does not seem to be so frequent as *laa* and *naa* are in Garre.

Lexical features

From a lexical point of view, the Garre dialects of Somalia are far closer to Southern Oromo than to any other Oromo dialect. Loans from Somali are also quite numerous.

Conclusion

Our brief survey of the main linguistic features of the Garre dialects spoken in Somalia shows that there are some significant similarities but also not a few differences between these varieties and the Eastern and Southern branches of Oromo. This leads to the concluding hypothesis that a) the Garre Oromo dialects of Somalia can be considered a point of intersection between Eastern and Southern Oromo and b) although these dialects are apparently closer to the Southern than to the Eastern branch of Oromo, they are nevertheless characterized by peculiar features, which differentiate them from all other Oromo dialects.

REFERENCES

- Andrzejewski, B. W. 1957: Some preliminary Observations on the Borana Dialect of Galla. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XIX. Pp. 354-374.
- Gragg, G. 1976: Oromo of Wellegga. In: Bender, M.L. (ed.) *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia* published by the African Studies Center. Michigan State University. East Lansing, Michigan (USA). Pp.166-195.
- Heine, B. 1981: *The Waata dialect of Oromo. Grammatical sketch and vocabulary*. Reimer. Berlin.
- Lamberti, M. 1986a: *Die Somali-Dialekte: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung*. Helmut Buske Verlag. Hamburg.
- Lamberti, M. 1986b: Map of Somali Dialects in the Somali Democratic Republic. Helmut Buske Verlag. Hamburg.
- Lamberti, M. 1988: *Die Nordsomali-Dialekte. Eine synchronische Untersuchung*. Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis 1. Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag. Heidelberg.

- Lamberti, M. 1991: Cushitic and Its Classifications. In: *Anthropos* 86. Pp. 552-561.
- Lamberti, M. 1994: Sulla classificazione dell'"Omotico". In: Brugnatelli, V. (ed.), *Sem Cam lafet. Atti della 7ª Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indo-europei*. Milano. Pp. 99-126.
- Moreno (1939): *Grammatica teorico-pratica della lingua Galla*. Mondadori. Milano.
- Owens, J. 1985: *A Grammar of Harar Oromo*. Kuschitische Sprachstudien. Helmut Buske Verlag. Hamburg.
- Stroomer, H. 1987: *A Comparative Study of Three Southern Oromo Dialects in Kenya*. Helmut Buske Verlag. Hamburg.
- Stroomer, H. 1995: *A Grammar of Boraana Oromo (Kenya)*. Köppe Verlag. Köln.
- Tosco, M. 1989: *Schizzo grammaticale del dialetto Karre di Qoryooley*. Studi Somali vol. 9. Roma.