New Perspectives on the Cushitic Verbal System[*]

GIORGIO BANTI
Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli

0.   Introduction

Several Cushitic languages preserve in their verbal systems three different inflectional patterns that appear to be of considerable, albeit different, antiquity:

i. the prefix conjugation (PC);
ii. the suffix conjugation – also called "the old Cushitic suffix conjugation" by Zaborski (1975:163) – that will be referred to as SC1 here in order to distinguish it from
iii. the so-called East Cushitic stative conjugation, that will be referred to as second suffix conjugation (SC2) here, to avoid confusion with the Afroasiatic (AA) inflectional pattern preserved in the Akkadian stative, the Old Egyptian pseudoparticiple, and the Kabyle (Berber) qualitative preterite, that is also frequently called stative conjugation (e.g., in Hayward 2000:90)

Of these three inflectional patterns, the SC1 is much more widespread in Cushitic than the other two, that have a more marginal or recessive status. In those languages that preserve two or even the three of the above inflectional patterns, they may characterise different tenses of the same verb. For instance,

many ᶜAfar verbs have PC in their affirmative and negative non-past and in their affirmative past, but SC2 in their negative past. Similar facts occur in other AA languages as well, e.g., Akkadian verbs have tenses with PC and with the AA stative conjugation, Old Egyptian verbs have tenses with the *sḏm.f* suffix conjugation and with the AA stative conjugation, etc. It also occurs, however, that different conjugational classes of verbs inflect the same tenses according to different inflectional patterns. For instance, the vast majority of Saho-ᶜAfar verbs have the SC1 in their affirmative non-past, a smaller class has the PC in this tense, and a third closed class of mainly stative verbs the SC2. These distributional facts will be further discussed below.

The Cushitic PC has clear cognates in Semitic and Berber, and is generally regarded as common AA heritage. It has received considerable attention in the last decades, e.g., by Sasse (1980), and in the recent debate between Voigt and Zaborski on how to explain the Beja non-past ("present") and its two past paradigms, cf. Voigt (1998) and Zaborski (1997a, 1997b) and the previous literature they mention. It will be discussed only briefly in the following pages. The Cushitic SC1 has reflexes in all the main groups of Cushitic, and is thus obviously old within this branch of AA. Since the end of the XIX century it has been regarded as the result of a common Cushitic innovation. An alternative historical interpretation will be suggested for it in § 3.3. The East Cushitic SC2 has been identified by Hayward (1978) and Sasse (1981:140.) Its comparative and historical analysis was further developed by the present author (Banti 1987 and 1994). Some new data are added in the following pages, together with a historical interpretation that accounts for some of its peculiarities and strengthens its links with the Egyptian suffix conjugation of the *sḏm.f* type – traditionally believed to lack cognates in the other branches of AA – rather than with the AA stative conjugation, as previously claimed by the present author.

1.   The Cushitic prefix conjugation (PC)

A preliminary attempt to reconstruct the Cushitic PC inflectional system has been done by Zaborski (1975). Sasse (1980) is a very thorough analysis of the East Cushitic data that were known at that time.

PC verbs are attested in considerable numbers in Beja and Saho-ᶜAfar, where many verbs borrowed from Semitic languages have been shown by Hayward and Orwin (1991) to be accommodated into this class. In a number of other languages only a small set of verbs has PC, instead. Awngi (Agaw aka Central Cushitic) thus has PC "bring", "come", "know", "remain" and "be" (Hetzron 1969:44f.). Also most Omo-Tana languages (East Cushitic) have a few PC verbs. For instance, Rendille inflects in this manner "be (copula)", "be able to", "become", "come", "die", "drink", "eat", "kill", "lay down", "dwell, live", "run", two different verbs meaning "say" (*y-iḏaħ* "he said" and the reduplicated

defective verb *iyeyye* "he said"), and "stop (intr.)", while Bayso has only "be (copula)".

(1)   Some prefix-conjugated tenses in Cushitic weak-final verbs

Beja *digi* "come/bring back"	Rendille *imiy* "come"	Arbore *eečče* "come"	
Non-Past ("Present")	Non-Past	Non-Past	
ʔadangi	ʔamiit	ʔan	ʔaačča
dangiiya m., dangii f.	tamiit	ʔa	taačča
dangi	yamiit	ʔay	yaačča
dangi	tamiit	ʔay	taačča
nideeg	namiit	ʔana	naačča
tideegna	tamiitiin	ʔin	taačča
ʔideegna	yamiitiin	ʔaso	yaačča
Past I ("Preterite")	Past	Past	
ʔadgi	ʔimiy	ʔin	ʔeečče
tidgiiya m., tidgii f.	timiy	ʔi	teečče
ʔidgi	yimiy	ʔiy	yeečče
tidgi	timiy	ʔiy	teečče
nidgi	nimiy	ʔina	neečče
tidgiina	timaateen	ʔin	teečče
ʔidgiin	yimaateen	ʔiso	yeečče
Past II ("Past")			
ʔadiig			
tidiiga m., tidiigi f.			
ʔidiig			
tidiig			
nidiig			
tidiigna			
ʔidiigna			
Permissive "if only I were to … !"	Jussive	Jussive	
ʔadaagay	ʔa ʔimaate	ʔaḍun	ʔaačča
tidaagaaya m., tidaagaay f.			
ʔidaagay	ʔa yimaate	ʔaḍuy	yaaččo
tidaagay	ʔa timaate	ʔaḍuy	taaččo
nidaagay	ʔa nimaate	ʔaḍuna	naaččo
tidaagnay			
ʔidaagnay	ʔa yimaateene	ʔaḍuso	yeečče
Negative Subjunctive			
baadagi			
bi-ddagiiya m., bi-ddagii f.			
biidagi			
bi-ddagi			
bi-ndagi			
bi-ddagiina			
biidagiina			

Northern Somali is usually described as having only five verbs with PC in some of their tenses, i.e., "be (copula)", "come", "know", "lie, be there" and "say" (*yidhi* /yiɖi/). This is how also Saeed (1999:97ff., 102) describes it, but the present author (Banti 1988a) showed it to have also a second defective PC verb meaning "say" (*ye* and its variant *yeen* "he said", cognates of Rendille *iyeyye*), and considerable traces of six other PC verbs meaning "be able to", "die", "drink", "eat", "mate", "run" and possibly also of a seventh verb borrowed from Ethiosemitic and meaning "govern, rule", of which only the two derived nouns *ugaas* "tribal chief" and *agaas-in* "orderly arrangement, government" are still used.

Traces of PC verbs are also present in two languages that have no verbs of this kind today. Indeed, Hetzron (1976:33) suggested that the northernmost Agaw language, Bilin, whose verbs all inflect by means of suffixes, preserves PC forms in the names of its two main groups of speakers, the *Bet Taʔaqʷe* and the *Bet Tarqe*. *Bet* is the Semitic word for "house", while *Taʔaqʷe* and *Tarqe* are the PC 2s. forms of two different verbs meaning "know", the one cognate of Kemant *ax-* "know" and Awngi PC *aq-* "id." (e.g., Awngi *taqe* "you know"), and the other of Xamir *arq-* "id." and present-day Bilin suffix-conjugated *ʔärʔ-* "id." *Taʔaqʷe* and *tarqe* "you know" or interrogative "do you know?", as suggested by Hetzron (1976:33), were synonymous forms used by the two groups of Bilin, and are thus an old shibboleth, "a very convenient isogloss for practical distinction". On the other hand, the present author has suggested in Banti (1988a:49) that the Oromo verb "say", *yedh-* [jeɗ-] in the southern dialects but *jedh-* [dʒeɗ-] in the northern ones with *y-* > *j-* as in southern *yabbii* "calf", *yala* "under", *yidduu* "middle, between" vs. northern *jabbii, jala, jidduu*, is the same old PC verb as Saho and ᶜAfar *eɗħe* "say", Somali *idhi* /iɖi/ "id." and Rendille *iɖaħ* "say". The old stem of this Oromo verb is **eɗhe* as in Saho-ᶜAfar, where **-h-* underwent fortition to *-ħ-* but regularly disappeared in Oromo, cf. Sasse (1979:41). In Oromo this verb shifted to the suffix conjugation (SC1) and now has the paradigm shown in (2.a) below:

(2) a. Past of southern Oromo suffix-   b. Past of Saho PC *eɗħe* "say"
         conjugated *yedh-* "say"

        yedhe   eɗħe
        yette   teɗħe
        yedhe [jeɗe]   yeɗħe [jeɗħe]
        yette   teɗħe
        yenne   neɗħe
        yettan   teɗħin
        yedhan   yeɗħin

If one bears in mind that several grammatical formatives have *aC* in Oromo but *iC* in Saho-ᶜAfar – e.g., the passive stem extension Oromo *-am-* vs. Saho-

^cAfar *-im-*, the autobenefactive stem extension Oromo *-at-* vs. Saho-^cAfar *-it-*, the independent 2p. pronoun Oromo *isan* vs. Saho *atin* and ^cAfar *isin* – and compares (2.a) with its PC counterpart in Saho shown in (2.b) above, it appears that the Oromo 3m. *yedhe* and 3p *yedhan* are formally identical to Saho *yeḍħe* and *yeḍħin* in so far as they are continuations of **y-eḍhe* and **y-eḍhVn*. But in Oromo these forms were reanalysed as *yedh-e* and *yedh-an* with the Oromo endings of the SC1 Past like 3m. *hidh-e* "he bound" and 3p. *hidh-an* "they bound", and originated by analogy the other forms of the paradigm.

The PC is thus best regarded as a recessive inflectional pattern in present-day Cushitic. In some languages it thrives, while in other ones it is preserved only by an increasingly small group of verbs, until it is lost and leaves just a few residues as in Bilin and Oromo. No clear traces of PC have been identified till now in Highland East Cushitic, in Dullay and in the whole of Southern Cushitic.

Some PC tenses from Beja and two Omo-Tana languages, Rendille and Arbore, are shown in (1) above. They are examples of different kinds of developments of the PC in Cushitic. Common to all these paradigms is the use of the same set of subject markers in the non-past and past, as in Berber and in the Akkadian present vs. the Akkadian preterite and its so-called perfect. Tense and a number of mood distinctions are shown by the occurrence of different internally inflected stems, as in Beja *-dangi* vs. *-dgi* vs. *-diig* vs. *-daag*(-ay) vs. *-dagi*. Yet different stems may also occur within the same tense for distinguishing the singular vs. the plural as in the Beja non-past, or the 2p. and 3p. vs. the other forms as in the Rendille past and the Arbore jussive. Within the same language the number of different stems varies according to the verb class. For instance, only weak final verbs have a separate permissive stem in Beja – that is also used for a number of jussive-like forms such as Hudson's optative (Hudson 1976:115f.) – while other PC verbs use the past II stem for these forms. On the other hand, a number of Rendille verbs use the same stem for the entire past and the jussive, e.g., Rendille past 3s. *yiil* "he dwelt", past 3p. *yiilleen* "they dwelt", jussive 3m. *ʔa yiille* "may he dwell", unlike the verb *imiy* "come" shown in (1).

The imperative of PC verbs is inflected by means of suffixes, e.g., Beja 2m. *digiiya*, 2f. *digii*, 2p. *digiina* from the past I stem. Unlike Semitic, where the imperative generally has the same stem as the jussive and of the PC preterite – when this is retained – there is much variation across the Cushitic languages in the kind of stem they use for their imperative. In fact, it is only in Beja that it has the same stem as a past tense. In Saho-^cAfar is has a separate stem, that is phonologically related but different from the past stem, and always different from the stem of the jussive. Instead, it has the non-past stem in Rendille, that always distinguishes this stem from those of the past and the jussive. Also in Arbore the imperative has the same stem as the non-past tense in most PC verbs, that is different from the past stem; but in this language the jussive singular and

1p. forms have the same stem as the non-past, and the imperative thus also has the same stem as most of the jussive forms. Northern Somali instead uses for the imperative of its PC verbs a wholly separate stem, that is different both from their past stem and from the stem they use in their non-past and jussive paradigms.

Historically there seems to be a tendency to reduce the number of alternating stems in PC verbs. They range from 6 ~ 7 in Beja to 1 ~ 3 in Awngi. The fact that all the PC verbs have the same vocalic suffixes as the SC1 verbs in Boni, Arbore (non-past -*a* vs. past -*e*), Bayso and Awngi, and that this occurs in some forms of PC verbs also in Dasenech and Somali can be interpreted as a separate tendency to assimilate at least partly the PC verbs to the dominant SC1 ones.

Finally, it is worth while pointing out that the subject markers of the PC also occur in the negative subjunctive of all the SC1 verbs in Beja, with the same stem that such verbs use for their other tenses and moods. Beja *tam* "eat" thus has a SC1 negative non-past (1s. *ka-taman,* 2m. *ka-tamtaa,* 2f. *ka-tamtaay,* 3m. *ka-tamya,* 3f. *ka-tamta* etc.), a SC1 past II (1s. *tami,* 2m. *tamtiiya,* 2f. *tamtii,* 3m. *tami,* 3f. *tamti* etc.), but a prefix-conjugated negative subjunctive: 1s. *baatamay < *bi-ʔatamay,* 2m. *bi-ttamaaya < *bi-ti-tamaaya,* 2f. *bi-ttamaay,* 3m. *biitamay < *bi-yitamay,* 3f. *bi-ttamay,* 1p. *bi-ntamay* etc.

2. The Cushitic Second Suffix Conjugation (SC2, aka East Cushitic Stative Conjugation)
2.1. The facts in the present-day languages
It has already been pointed out above that the basic evidence for the SC2 was identified by Hayward (1978) for ᶜAfar. He favoured an origin of it from a compound form involving an old auxiliary. Sasse (1981:140) suggested a reconstruction of the SC2 inflectional endings and compared them to the Afroasiatic stative conjugation, whose better known reflexes are the Akkadian stative, the West and South Semitic perfect, the Old Egyptian pseudoparticiple and the Kabyle preterite (perfect) of quality verbs. The present author (Banti 1987) added further factual evidence from Saho, Somali, Jiiddu and Burji and pointed out (Banti 1994), on the one hand, the similarities between this inflectional pattern and the Old Egyptian suffix conjugation, i.e., the *sḏm.f* type, rather than the pseudoparticiple, and on the other hand the strong links between the SC2 and some East Cushitic invariable verbal paradigms both language internally and across languages. Indeed, there are several instances of SC2 tenses that alternate with invariable verbal paradigms in different syntactic contexts within the same language, or that are matched by invariable tenses in related languages. Some examples of this are given below.

The set of inflectional suffixes of the SC2 is best seen in the Saho and Somali affirmative non-past tenses *ᶜusubiyo* and *cusbi* [ᶜúsbi] shown in (3) below. This rarely described Somali tense has been called "present comparative"

by Andrzejewski (1956, 1969), who reported examples such as *háddaná igá xoolo bádnid* "and yet you have more wealth than me" (Andrzejewski 1969:83), lit. "and yet (*hádda-ná*) you are more (*bádnid*) in wealth (*xoolo*) than me (*i-gá*)". However, it is used also in non-comparative contexts such as *oggóli* "I agree with it" from *oggol* "be in agreement with" or *'Macallimiin ma tihiin?'* – *'Haa, íhin'* "Are you teachers? – Yes (*haa*), we are (*íhin*)". Notice that in this last example both the PC non-past 2p. *tihiin* of the verb *ah* "be" and its SC2 non-past 1p. *íhin* are used. The final short vowels appear to be preserved in Saho, but lost in the Somali paradigm. There is also a difference in the 3p. form, that will be briefly addressed further below. It should be also pointed out that Somali more frequently uses a new compound form for the affirmative non-past of these verbs, with an invariable stem followed by the PC affirmative non-past of *ah* "be". This new compound form is the only one that is used in Rendille, according to the published data. The negative non-past of these verbs has in Saho a negative particle *má-* and is followed by a falling-toned vocalic mora that lengthens short final vowels but is realised as *-î* after the final *-n* of the 2p. and 3p. Also the alternation between *-tin#*, *-on#* and *-tiin-V*, *-oon-V* is fully regular in Saho-ᶜAfar as shown by Hayward (1983, 1997). In Somali it has the same negative particle *má* as Saho and a final high tone in all its forms, while its affirmative counterpart is high-toned on the final syllable only in the 2p. and, in verbs with the syllabic structure of *cusúb*, also on the 3m., 3f. and 3p. In verbs with a final long syllable like *wêyn* "be big, be old" or *dhêer* "be long" it has instead a falling tone in the three delocutive forms. The negative non-past of these Somali verbs ends by *-á* in the 3m., 3f. and 3p. This is the old final short vowel preserved in Saho affirmative *ᶜusubá* "he/she is new". In Somali this final *-á* was extended to several verbs that probably ended by different vowels, like Somali *má caddá* "he/she is not white" from *cad* "be white" vs. Saho-ᶜAfar *ᶜadó* "be white", but not to Somali *leh* "have" that has *má léh* "he/she doesn't have", cf. ᶜAfar *lé* "have", Saho *lée* "id." and *ma-lé* "have not" – beside the suppletive *hiná* "have not" – with its converb *ma-lí-h* "not having, without", e.g., *úsuk mandúq malíh yemeeté* "he (*úsuk*) came without a rifle (*mandúq*)". Interestingly, Oromo still has the old negative non-past *ma-lee* that survives as a postposition meaning "without", even though (a.) it has lost *lee* "have" as an independent verb, (b.) its negative particle now is *hin-* not *ma-*, and (c.) present-day Oromo has no SC2 verbs. An example of its use is Oromo *waraqata malee si hin-dabarsanu* "they won't let you (*si*) pass without a permit (*waraqata*)".

The Saho and Somali SC2 negative non-past is matched in Rendille by the wholly invariable form *má ħusúb* for all persons. This is one of the above mentioned instances of cross-linguistic alternation between the SC2 and an invariable verbal paradigm.

(3)   Some non-past tenses of East Cushitic verbs of state: Saho
        ᶜ*usuba* "be new", Somali *cusub* [ᶜusúb] "id.", Rendille *ħusub* "id."

Saho Affirmative Non-Past	Saho Negative Non-Past
ᶜusubiyó	má-ᶜusubiyôo
ᶜusubitó	má-usubitôo
ᶜusubá	má-ᶜusubâa
ᶜusubá	má-ᶜusubâa
ᶜusubinó	má-ᶜusubinôo
ᶜusubitín	má-ᶜusubitiinî
ᶜusubón	má-ᶜusuboonî

Somali Affirmative Non-Past	Somali Affirmative Subject-Focussed Non-Past	Somali Negative Non-Past
cúsbi ~ cúsb-ahay	cusúb	má cusbí
cúsbid ~ cusúb tahay	cusúb	má cusbíd
cusúb ~ cusúb yahay	cusúb	má cusbá
cusúb ~ cusúb tahay	cusúb	má cusbá
cúsbin ~ cusúb nahay	cusúb	má cusbín
cusbidín ~ cusúb tihiin	cusúb	má cusbidín
cusúb ~ cusúb yihiin	cusúb	má cusbá

Rendille Affirm. Non-Past	Rendille Aff. S.-Foc. N.-Past	Rendille Negative Non-Past
ħusúb aħe	ħusúb	má ħusúb
ħusúb taħe	ħusúb	má ħusúb
ħusúb yaħe	ħusúb	má ħusúb
ħusúb taħe	ħusúb	má ħusúb
ħusúb naħe	ħusúb	má ħusúb
ħusúb tiħiin	ħusúb	má ħusúb
ħusúb yiħiin	ħusúb	má ħusúb

Somali and Rendille, but not Saho nor ᶜAfar, have special verbal forms when the subject of a sentence is focussed. Verbs that have an SC2 affirmative non-past occur in a wholly invariable form in this case, as shown in (3) above and in examples (4) below. For Somali this is one of the above-mentioned instances of language-internal alternation between a SC2 paradigm and an invariable one.

(4)   Neutral focus
        Aníg-u   ín-táas   ká   wéyni
        I-NOMINATIVE   amount-that from   am old
        "I am older (*wéyni* affirm. non-past 1s.) than that"

        Subject focus
        Aníg-âa   ín-táas   ká   wêyn
        I-FOCUS   amount-that from   am old
        "It is ME who am older (*wêyn* affirm. subject-focussed non-past 1s.) than that"

The personal endings of the SC2 also occur in Saho-ᶜAfar and in Burji in a number of past tenses of verbs that have PC or SC1 in their non-past tenses. In the whole of Omo-Tana including Somali (but not in Bayso and Jiiddu) and in Oromoid (but not in Dirayta aka Gidole) such SC2 tenses are matched by invariable tenses. Some examples of these are shown in (5) below. One may add to these paradigms that the invariable negative past of "come" is *má imán* in Northern Somali (but *má imáan* in Banaadir Somali with a long -aa- as in Rendille and Saho), and that the Oromo invariable negative past of *arg-* "see" is *hin-árgine* or *hin-ágarre* with metathesis -r-g- > -g-r- and assimilation of -r-n- to -rr-. The present author suggested (Banti 1987:164, 1994:30f.) that these past tenses should be seen as having a stem extension -n-, and that the occurrence of the SC2 inflectional pattern vs. an invariable paradigm here should be seen as another instance of cross-linguistic alternation as in the above-seen negative non-past of verbs of state. There is some degree of variation in the kind of stem this extension -n- is suffixed to in PC verbs that alternate different stems. In fact, it is added to the jussive stem in Saho-ᶜAfar and in Rendille, to the past one in the Arbore verbs that have such a stem, to the jussive stem or to a separate one in Boni, to the *o*-stem of the verbs that have such a stem in Somali.

(5)   Some past tenses with and without -n-: Burji *int-ay-* "come", Saho *emeete* "id.", Rendille *imiy* "come", Somali *arag* "see"

Past tenses with -n-

Burji Affirmative Past	Saho Negative Past	Rendille Negative Past
intanni	mâamaatinniyôo	má imaatan
intandu	mâamaatinnitôo	má imaatan
intanni	mâamaatinnâa	má imaatan
intanni	mâamaatinnâa	má imaatan
intanninu	mâamaatinninôo	má imaatan
intančingu	mâamaatinnitiinî	má imaatan
intanningu	mâamaatinnoonî	má imaatan

Past tenses without -n-

Saho Negative Past	Somali Negative Past
mâamaatiyôo	má arág (~ má arkín)
mâamaatitôo	má arág (~ má arkín)
mâamaatôo	má arág (~ má arkín)
mâamaatôo	má arág (~ má arkín)
mâamaatinôo	má arág (~ má arkín)
mâamaatitiinî	má arág (~ má arkín)
mâamaatoonî	má arág (~ má arkín)

Since Reinisch (1878:434) the Saho negative past *mâamaatinnâa* and its ᶜAfar cognate *máamaatinná* have been seen as having not a stem extension but

an old grammaticalized auxiliary, that Reinisch claimed to be a copula *inna* that, alas, does not exist in present-day Saho-ᶜAfar. For this reason Parker & Hayward (1985:279) suggested that the old auxiliary should rather be *hinna* that occurs in ᶜAfar as "be not, not equal" and in Saho as "have not, lack". Tosco (2000:96) still follows this hypothesis. In the present author's opinion, Parker's suggestion about *hinna* runs against the fact that even in ᶜAfar there are non-negative occurrences of SC2 *amaatinna* + *-y* in the special tense *amaatínnay* that is used in the protasis of contrary-to-fact conditional sentences, as in (6):

(6)   ᶜAfar contrafactual conditional
         ᶜadaagá-l   amaatínnay   rób   kâa   géyak yen
         market-to   if he had come   rain   him   would have gotten
         "If he had come to market, rain would have gotten him"

On the other hand, as stated above, the copula *inna* posited by Reinisch (1878:434) and described by him (Reinisch 1878:426) and by Welmers (1952:250) does not seem to exist in present-day Saho-ᶜAfar. No examples of it could be found with native speakers or in Reinisch's texts, and the present author has a strong impression that it was just extracted from the negative past forms by these authors. There is however a locative existential verb, Saho *ine* "be there, exist", ᶜAfar *en* "id.", that may have both PC and SC2 affixes in some of its forms: non-past Saho *aniyo*, *tanito*, *yane* (ᶜAfar *yan*), *tane* (ᶜAfar *tan*), *nanino*, *tanitin*, *yanin*, and past Saho *iniyo*, *tinito*, *yine*, *tine*, *ninino*, *tinitin*, *yinin*. Its parallels in Berber have been pointed out by the present author (Banti 1987:143). Obviously enough, positing an old SC2 stem **inna* from this verb for Saho-ᶜAfar is possible, but it seems rather ad hoc. In addition to this, it requires positing a cognate stem also for Burji and for all the Omo-Tana and Oromoid languages that have invariable negative past forms in *-n-*, if one is to keep them together with the Saho-ᶜAfar and Burji past tenses shown in (5) above. In the present author's opinion, it is more straightforward to posit a stem extension *-n-*, that may be related to the stem extension in *-n-* that can be seen in (9v) to occur in some SC2 verbs of state in Saho-ᶜAfar, and in several SC2 verbs of Omo-Tana languages such as Somali that can be characterised as "durational neuter-passives" or as meaning "to be ... continue ... persist ... in a particular state" (Andrzejewski 1969:71). A much more far-fetched comparison, because of the temporal chasm of five millennia, is the Old Egyptian preterital/perfect *sḏm.n.f* as suggested by the present author (Banti 1987:153).

Burji is the only present-day language that uses one of the tenses in *-n-* seen in (5) above as an affirmative past. Charlotte and Klaus Wedekind (1985:114; 1990:481ff.) have shown this paradigm to be used actually in "non-conclusive" contexts or preceded by the focus particle *ʔinaa*, otherwise it has final *-oo*, e.g., 1s. *intann-oo*, 2s. *intand-oo*. Its negative counterpart has the usual Burji negative

suffix *-eyʔi*: 1s. *intann-eyʔi*, 2s. *intand-eyʔi*, 3m. *intann-eyʔi* ... 2p. *intančing-eyʔi*, 3p. *intanning--eyʔi*. The above-mentioned ᶜAfar tense used in contrary-to-fact conditional sentences, i.e., 1s. *amaatinníyoy*, 2s. *amaatinnítoy*, 3m. *amaatínnay* ... 3p. *amaatinnóonuy*, shows that the affirmative use of this tense is old, and that its use was restricted only secondarily to negative sentences. Another well-known instance of an old tense with past time reference that survived into later stages only as a negative tense is the Classical Arabic use of the old PC preterite as the negative counterpart of its new perfect as shown in (7).

(7)   Akkadian and Classical Arabic *bny* "build"

		Affirmative		Negative	
Akkadian	abni	"I built"	ul abni	"I didn't build"
	tabni	"you (m.) built"	ul tabni	
	tabnî	"you (f.) built"	ul tabnî	
	ibni	"he built"	ul ibni	
	. . .		. . .	
Classical	banaytu	"I built"	lam ʔabni	"I didn't build"
Arabic	banayta	"you (m.) built"	lam tabni	
	banayti	"you (f.) built"	lam tabnī	
	banā	"he built"	lam yabni	
	. . .		. . .	

An alternative form of the Saho Negative Past that lacks the *-n-* is also shown in (5). Its ᶜAfar counterpart is described by Bliese (1981:85) for "some dialects": *máabbiyó, máabbitó, máabbó, máabbó, máabbinó, máabbitón, máabbón* from the PC verb *oobbe* "hear". Bliese (1981:85) reports for the Aussa dialect of ᶜAfar also a partially contracted paradigm *má-katiyyó < má-katinniyó, má-katittó < má-katinnitó, má-katinná ... má-katinnoonú* from *kat-* "leave". But the Saho-ᶜAfar type *máabbiyó, máabbitó, máabbó ... máabbón* may not be just a phonologically reduced variant of the more common type Saho *mâamaatinniyôo*, ᶜAfar *máamaatinniyó* like the above type *má-katiyyó < má-katinniyó*, because negative past forms without *-n-*, but with no inflection for subject concord, also occur in a few Somali verbs. For instance, *arag* "see" has *má aróg* for all persons beside the more regular *má arkín* "I/you/he &c. didn't see".

Finally, it should be pointed out that SC2 inflectional endings occur in Northern Saho also in two other little-reported groups of tenses, (a.) the negative relative tense in *-neħe*, that has no counterpart in ᶜAfar, and (b.) the *k*-participle of the negative relative forms in *-neħe-* and of verbs with PC and SC2 – but not SC1 – in their affirmative non-past tenses. Notice that the *k*-participle is invariable in ᶜAfar, and that verbs with PC and SC2 in their affirmative non-past

tenses may also have invariable *k*-participles in Northern Saho, e.g., *amíitik* "coming" or *kiħínik* "loving", or a functionally equivalent invariable participle with a final low-toned *-ii*, e.g., *amíitii* and *kiħínii*. Verbs with SC1 affirmative non-past tenses have instead either invariable *ħábaa* "leaving" or the partially inflected 1s. *ħábak*, 2s. *ħábtak*, 3m. *ħábak*, 3f. *ħábak*, 1p. *ħábnak*, 2p. *ħábtan*, 3p. *ħában* or *ħábak* with endings that look more like the SC1 affirmative non-past. Some paradigms and examples of the use of these further SC2 forms are given in (8) below.

(8) Some tenses of Saho *emeete* "come",

	Inflected *K*-Participle of	
Negative Relative	the Negative Relative	Inflected *K*-Participle
amiitinniħiyó	amiitinniħíyuk	amiitíyuk
amiitinniħitó	amiitinniħítuk	amiitítuk
amiitinneħé	amiitinnúħuk	amíituk
amiitinneħé	amiitinnúħuk	amíituk
amiitinniħinó	amiitinniħínuk	amiitínuk
amiitinniħitín	amiitinniħítin	amiitítin
amiitinnoħón	amiitinnóħon	amíituk

Negative Relative
Aqriinniħitó   kitáab   yi   iybullúu!
that you don't read   book   me   show
"Show me the book you didn't/don't/shall not read!"

Inflected *K*-Participle
Amiitíyuk   (yi)   yublé
coming.1s.   me   he-saw
"He saw me while I was coming"

Inflected *K*-Participle of a Negative Relative
Yówa   esserinniħítuk   mâadéyn
me   you-having not asked   don't go away
"Don't go away before asking (from *essere* "ask") me!"

To conclude, the SC2 inflectional pattern occurs in a few present-day East Cushitic languages: all varieties of Saho-ᶜAfar, Somali and a few of its dialects such as Jiiddu (cf. Banti 1987:133f.), and Burji.

In Saho-ᶜAfar and the Somali cluster it is attested in the Present tense of a separate inflectional class of verbs of state, the main groups of which are shown in (9) below. The SC2 personal endings have been seen to occur also in a number of affirmative and negative past tenses in Burji and Saho-ᶜAfar, and in

several further affirmative and negative tenses of both Saho and ᶜAfar: the Saho negative relative, a number of Saho inflected *k*-participles, and the ᶜAfar contrafactual tense that occurs in the protasis of contrary-to-fact conditional sentences.

(9)   The main groups of verbs with SC2 non-past tenses in Saho-ᶜAfar and Somali

| Saho-ᶜAfar | Somali |

i.

kinni   "be (copula)"

hinna   ᶜA. "be not (negative copula)"; S. hina "lack, be without"

i.

ah   "be (copula)"

ii.

lee   "have"

sinni   ᶜA. "lack, be without"

ii.

leh   "have"

la'   "have not"

iii.

niᶜiba   "hate, dislike"

kiħina   S. "love"; ᶜA. "be happy"

iii.

neceb [neᶜéb]   "hate, dislike"

jecel [dʒeᶜél]   "love, like"

og   "know"

moog   "know not, ignore"

iv.

ᶜado   "be white"

ᶜasa   "be red"

ᶜusuba   "be new"

ḍeeri   ᶜA. "be long" (S ḍeeḍa)

uma   "be bad"

iv.

cad [ᶜád]   "be white"

cas [ᶜás]   "be red"

cusub [ᶜusúb]   "be new"

dheer [ḍêer]   "be long"

xun [ħún]   "be bad"

v.

ḍamħ-ini "be cold",   cf. ᶜA. ḍamaħe "become cold", Som. dhaxam-ood- /ḍaħam-ood-/ "feel cold"

fid-ini   "be wide, be spread out", cf. ᶜA. fidise "spread out", Som. fid "spread (intr.)"

v.

beer-an "be cultivated",   cf. beer "cultivate"

diidd-an   "be opposed to",   cf. diid "oppose"

qayb-s-an "be divided",   cf. qayb-is- "divide"

cagaar-an [ᶜagaarán]   "be verdant", cf. cagaar "verdure"

In addition to this, the SC2 present tenses have been seen to alternate both in the same language (Somali) and cross-linguistically (Rendille) with invariable paradigms, while the SC2 negative past tenses of Saho-ᶜAfar are matched by invariable negative past tenses in several Omo-Tana and Oromoid languages.

2.2. Historical interpretation

The four interlocutive SC2 endings were reconstructed by Sasse (1981:140) as 1s. *-i-yu*, 2s. *-i-tu*, 1p.*-i-nu*, 2p. *-i-tin*. The present author (1994:15) was less sure about the final vowel of the 1s. because of Burji -*i* vs. 2s. -*du* and 1p. -*nu* and posited 1s. *-iyV* or *-i*. Yet short final *-i* should have disappeared in Somali, and the -*i* actually attested in Burji and Somali can be accounted for if one posits an old *-i-yi* that either alternated with *-i-yu* in Saho-ᶜAfar, or later became *-iyu* > -*iyo* through analogical pressure in this language group. ᶜAfar has -*o*- also in its 2p. -*iton*, instead of the older -*itin* preserved in Saho, through analogical levelling with the other endings. The reconstructed endings are thus the following ones:

(10) Reconstructed interlocutive SC2 inflectional endings

1s.	*-i-yi (~ *-i-yu)
2s.	*-i-tu
1p.	*-i-nu
2p.	*-i-tin

Some aspects of the history of short final vowels in East Cushitic are not entirely clear, and the reasons for the Saho-ᶜAfar shift *-u* > -*o* are obscure. Other developments are quite regular. Burji deleted *-i*- in the 2s. and 2p., voiced *-tu* into -*du* after -*n*- but palatalised *-ti*- to -*či*- after -*n*-. Somali voiced *t* to *d* after vowels. The final *-ku* of Burji 2p. -*čin-gu* and 3p. -*in-gu* has not been explained yet, even though a *-kV* suffix after the final -*n* of the 2p. and 3p. also occurs in the Awngi perfect definite (e.g., 2p. *destə́ka* < *-tin-kaa*, 3p. *deska* < *-in-kaa* from *des*- "study"), in Hadiyya (e.g., converb I 2p. *mattakkaʔa* < *mar-tin-ka*, 3p. *marakkaʔa* < *mar-in-ka* from *mar*- "go"), and in several Dullay tenses (e.g., Harso present 2p. *áččan-kú*, 3p. *áččan-kí* from *ačč*- "go"). It is thus an isogloss that cuts through three different groups of Cushitic languages. Appleyard remarked that the formative -*ka* in the above Awngi 2p. and 3p. forms "is otherwise a noun plural suffix" (Appleyard 1992:132.)

The three delocutive forms are more complex. One thing is common to the three groups of languages: the very un-Afroasiatic fact hat the 3m. and 3f. are identical. Sasse (1981:140) reconstructed *-a* here on the basis of Somali. Yet Burji has -*i* and it has already been stated above that the Somali high-toned ending -*á* probably spread through analogy. This is best accounted for by stating that the two singular delocutive forms simply had no ending, and that Somali -*á* and Burji -*i* spread analogically from forms whose stem ended in *-a* and, respectively, *-i*. The 3p. is similar to the two singular delocutive forms in

Somali, but has *-in-gu* with *-in-* like several other tenses in Burji, for instance, 3p. non-past *intay-in-gu* "they come", jussive *intay-in-g-ooni* "they should come", converb *intay-in-g-i* "they came and ...", "after they came ...". Saho and ᶜAfar have *-on* here that may be due to analogy because it has *-Vn* like the 3p. forms in the PC and SC1 inflectional patterns, and *-o-* like the 1s., 2s., and 1p. of the SC2 set of endings. It is thus likely that the Somali pattern with a single form for the three delocutive forms is older than the other two. Notice that the Saho inflected *k*-participle has 3p. *-uk* like its 3m. and 3f. instead of *-on*, as shown in (8) above. Yet this is the only instance in Saho of a Somali-like pattern in a SC2 tense, and may be taken as being due to interference with the invariable participles in *-ii* and *-ik*. ᶜAfar has invariable *-uk* for all persons from PC verbs, e.g., *amáatuk* from *emeete* "come".

As stated above, the present author (Banti 1987:156, 1994:14f.) pointed out some similarities between the SC2 set of personal suffixes and the Egyptian suffix conjugation. This is a conjugational type that occurred in most verbal tenses of Old Egyptian and remained formally quite stable until Late Egyptian and Coptic – the Manichean and Christian literary language of the first half of the I millennium CE – even when the old tenses were replaced by new periphrastic forms. It is shown in (11) below.

(11)   The personal endings in the Egyptian Suffix Conjugation.
        (Reconstructed forms follow Loprieno 1995:64)

	Old Egyptian (*sḏm* "hear")		Coptic (*nese* "be beautiful")	
1s.	-j	sḏm.j	-i	nesōi
2m.	-k < *-ku	sḏm.k	-k	nesōk
2f.	-t [č] < *ki	sḏm.t	-Ø	nesō
3m.	-f < *-su (?)	sḏm.f	-f	nesōf
3f.	-s < *-si	sḏm.s	-s	nesōs
1p.	-n < *-ina	sḏm.n	-n	nesōn
2p.	-tn [čin] < *-kina	sḏm.tn	-ten	nesōten
3p.	-sn < *-sina	sḏm.sn	-u	nesōu

The Ø-ending in the Coptic 2f. is phonologically regular, because Old Egyptian *-t* merged here with *t* and was lost word-finally after vowels. On the other hand, the replacement of Old Egyptian 3p. *-sn* by Late Egyptian *-w*, Coptic *-u* has not been explained satisfactorily till now.

Two facts are of special importance here among the peculiarities of the Egyptian suffix conjugation. The first one is that its personal endings are identical to the enclitic possessive pronouns through he whole history of Egyptian. This is shown in (12a) below, with the example of Old Egyptian *r3*, Coptic *ro* (*rō-* with possessive pronouns) "mouth". The only exception is the 2p. where *-ten* was sometimes replaced by *-teten* from a different series of proclitic

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pronouns, cf. *nesōten* "you are beautiful" in (11) vs. *a-teten-tōm* "you closed" in (13). The second one is that from Old Egyptian to Coptic the personal endings do not occur when the verbal form is followed by an overt subject noun. This happens only with the Egyptian suffix conjugation, not with the Egyptian pseudoparticiple that had different personal endings and retained them in all contexts. In this manner, each suffix-conjugated tense had an ending-less form beside the forms shown in (11) above. In Old Egyptian this was, e.g., *sḏm*. In Coptic this caused a different phonetic development and produced, e.g., *nese* before overt nouns but *nesō-* before pronominal suffixes. Examples of this are shown in (12b).

(12)   a. Clitic possessive pronouns in Old Egyptian and Coptic

	Old Egyptian (*r3* "mouth")		Coptic (*ro* "id.")	
1s.	-j	r3.j "my mouth"	-i	rōi "my mouth"
2m.	-k	r3.k	-k	rōk
2f.	-t [č]	r3.t	-Ø	rō
3m.	-f	r3.f	-f	rōf
3f.	-s	r3.s	-s	rōs
1p.	-n	r3.n	-n	rōn
2p.	-tn [čin]	r3.tn	-ten	rōten
3p.	-sn	r3.sn	-u	rōu

b. Old Egyptian and Coptic suffix-conjugated forms with subject nouns
Old Egyptian

zḥ3   ḥm.f   ḏs.f   m   ḏbᶜwj.fj
wrote   Majesty-his   himself   by   fingers.DUAL-his.DUAL
"His Majesty himself wrote (*zḥ3*, vs. *zḥ3.f* "he wrote") it (viz. the letter) with his two fingers"

Coptic
nese -   peu.kosmos   nesō.f
is beautiful   their-world   beautiful-he
"Their world (m.) is beautiful"   "It (viz. their world) is beautiful"

In Old Egyptian most tenses and moods were inflected according to the above pattern of the Egyptian suffix conjugation. From *sḏm* "hear" there was thus an unmarked aorist *sḏm.f*, a differently vocalized preterital *sḏm.f*, a perfect and perfective *sḏm.n.f*, a perfective *sḏm.t.f*, a prospective *sḏm(.w).f* indicating wishes, events expected to occur, etc. These forms were increasingly replaced by new periphrastic forms during the later stages of the language. In Coptic this conjugational pattern survived only in a number of old and new auxiliaries and in a small set of suffix-conjugated verbs. For instance, the tense marker *a* (2s. *are-*) + pronominal suffixes in the Coptic perfect (aka perfect I) is what remains

of the old suffix-conjugated preterital *sḏm.f* of *jrj* "do" used as an auxiliary in the Late Egyptian periphrastic tense *jr.f stm* "he heard", lit. "he did hear".

(13)   a. The Coptic Perfect (*tōm* "close")
 1s.   a-i-tōm   "I closed"
 2m.   a-k-tōm
 2f.   are-tōm
 3m.   a-f-tōm
 3f.   a-s-tōm
 1p.   a-n-tōm
 2p.   a-teten-tōm
 3p.   a-u-tōm

    With a subject noun
    a-p-kake   tōm   en-nef-bal
    PERF-ART-darkness   close   PREP-his.PL-eye
    "Darkness hath blinded his eyes" (I Joh 2,11)

   b. The main groups of Coptic verbs with Egyptian Suffix Conjugation
   i.
   Auxiliaries

   ii.
   meše   "know not"
   hne   "be willing"

   iii.
   peje   "(he etc.) said"

   iv.
   nanu   "be good"
   naše   "be plentiful"
   naa   "be great"
   nese   "be beautiful"

The full conjugation of the Coptic perfect of *tōm* "close" with pronominal and nominal subjects is shown in (13a) above, while (13b) lists the main groups of verbs that still preserve the Egyptian suffix conjugation in Coptic. It is interesting to observe that, with the exception of the auxiliaries and of the transitive verb *peje* "(he etc.) said", the other two groups are verbs of state that are very similar to the third and fourth group of East Cushitic verbs with SC2 non-past tenses listed in (9) above. Indeed, the Coptic *meše*-group and the East Cushitic *niᶜiba/neceb*-group indicate mental states, while the Coptic *nanu*-group

and the East Cushitic *ᶜado/cad*-group indicate qualities. In other words, Coptic provides good evidence that an inflectional pattern that characterized most tenses of all classes of verbs five thousand years ago was restricted to auxiliaries, a preterital tense of the verb "say", and a small group of verbs indicating mental states and qualities by the first half of the first millennium CE. The present-day distribution of the SC2 in a few tenses of all classes of verbs and in the non-past tense of verbs of state indicating mental states, qualities, having and lacking, etc. cannot be taken as an argument against its possible historical connection with the Egyptian suffix conjugation.

As stated above, Sasse (1981:140) and the present author (Banti 1987:154f.) compared the SC2 personal endings to those of the AA stative conjugation. The late Hetzron (1990:584) accepted this comparison and discussed one of the problems it raises, i.e., the lack of a velar element in the 1s. *-i-yo* vs. its presence in the better-known reflexes of the 1s. of the AA stative conjugation: Akkadian *-āku*, Ge'ez *-ku*, Kabyle Berber *-ɣ*, Old Egyptian pseudoparticiple *-kw ~ -kwj ~ -kj*. He criticised the present author's (Banti 1987:156) suggestion of an isogloss linking the East Cushitic 1s. *-i-yo* and the palatal glide in the 1s. *-j* of the Egyptian suffix conjugation because the endings of the latter

> are likely to be of possessive origin, not related to the stative endings. The complete absence of a first person *k* in Cushitic may be a reasonably good Cushitic vs. Semitic-Egyptian-Berber isogloss.   (Hetzron 1990:584)

Obviously enough, the point made by Hetzron is right. Mixing up the AA stative conjugation and the Egyptian suffix conjugation in the same inflectional pattern is questionable, unless there are sound reasons for doing so. And yet, the present author again pointed out in a later paper (Banti 1994:14f.) that also the East Cushitic 2p. *-i-tin* could match the 2p. *-kin* > Old Egyptian *-ṯn* > Late Egyptian *-tn* and Coptic *-ten* of the Egyptian Suffix Conjugation. Let us then see whether the entire set of East Cushitic SC2 inflectional endings can be compared to the Egyptian Suffix Conjugation.

One point has been already discussed above. Their distributions in Coptic and in present-day East Cushitic are not in contradiction with each other. The two other points that shall be taken into account are the relationship of the SC2 endings with the East Cushitic possessive pronouns and of the SC2 interlocutive endings with the invariable forms such as the 3m. and 3f. on the one hand and the wholly invariable paradigms such as the Somali and Rendille affirmative subject-focussed non-past of verbs of state seen in (3), or the Omo-Tana and Oromoid negative past tenses in (5) above.

Indeed, it has already been pointed out above that during the whole history of Egyptian the personal endings of the suffix conjugation and the possessive pronouns remained identical. This similarity gave rise to the hypothesis of a nominal origin for this inflectional pattern; see Schenkel (1990:115ff.) for a

discussion of the problems it raises. The possessive pronouns of Cushitic have been reconstructed recently by Sasse (1981:144), Appleyard (1986), Ehret (1987, 1995), ans Zaborski (1991).

(14)   The Egyptian pronominal suffixes compared to the East Cushitic possessive pronouns and the SC2 endings

	Egyptian	East Cushitic SC2 Endings	East Cushitic Possessive Pronouns
1s.	-j	*-i-yi (~ *-i-yu)	*yi ~ *yu (~ *ya)
2m.	-k < *-ku	*-i-tu	*ku ~ *ki (~ *ka)
2f.	-ṯ [č] < *ki		
3m.	-f < *-su (?)		*su (~ *si)
3f.	-s < *-si		*si (~ *sa ?)
1p.	-n < *-ina	*-i-nu	*inu ~ *ni
2p.	-ṯn [čin] < *-kina	*-i-tin	*kin ~ *kunV
3p.	-sn < *-sina		*sinV ~ *sunV

The above reconstructions of the East Cushitic possessive series is quite tentative not only because there are no ancient attestations of these languages, but also because they restructured their pronominal systems in several instances. This accounts for the wide range of variation in their vocalisations. The third person possessives are slightly different from those suggested for East Cushitic by Sasse (1981:144, 3m. *(u)su, 3f. *(i)ši and 3p. *sunu), and for Common Cushitic by Appleyard (1986:221, 3m. *ʔus-a(a) ~ *ʔis-a(a), 3f. *ʔiš-ii ~ *ʔiš-ee and 3p. *ʔusun- ~ *ʔišin- like the subject series), Ehret (1995:155f., 3m. *ʔusu, 3f. *ʔisi and 3p. *ʔusun- ~ *ʔisin- with no indication whether they were used as independent stressed pronouns or as clitic possessives), and Zaborski (1991:77) who reconstructed for the dependent pronouns 3m. *-usa ~ *-isa, 3f. *iši ~ *išee, and 3p. *-isunV ~ *-isinV. Indeed, most East Cushitic languages replaced the inherited delocutive possessives by means of new forms. For instance, Oromo created its new third person possessives by means of the genitive of the independent pronouns: Boorana Oromo 3m. *isa* "him", 3f. *isíi* "her", 3p. *isáan* "them" → Genitive *isáa* "his", *isíi* "her", *isáaní* "their". These further evolved into possessive clitics in Western Oromo: 3m. *-sáa*, 3f. *-šée*, and 3p. *-sáaníi*. The comparative evidence from the other branches of AA, as well as from Beja 3m. and 3f. *-s*, 3p. *-sna* (in the Beni Amir and Halanga varieties), Dahalo 3m. *-su(-ʔu)*, 3f. *-si(-ʔi)*, and West Rift Southern Cushitic 3m. and 3f. *-s*, shows the only East Cushitic languages that still preserve reflexes of the old third person possessives to be Kambata (cf. Korhonen *et al.* 1986:105), Sidamo and Jiddu (cf. Banti 1984:139.)

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(15)   Third person possessives in Kambata, Sidamo and Jiddu
                    Kambata   Sidamo   Jiddu
         3m.   -si   -si   -s
         3f.   -se   -se   -s
         3p.   -ssa < *-sna   -nsa < *-sna   -s

If one compares the 1s. and 1p. endings of the SC2 with the reconstructed possessive pronouns, no major problem arises, with the exception of the *-*i*- hat precedes the final part of the endings also in the 2s. and 2p. The present author already pointed out in Banti (1987:157) that this is a problem that still awaits a viable explanation. The 2s. and 2p. endings match the overall shape of their corresponding possessive pronouns but have *t* for *k*. Within Egyptian the development of *k* to palatalised *t̠* and later to *t* occurred in second person pronouns but in almost no other environment, as pointed out by Ehret (1995:175), while in Semitic the replacement of the older -*k*- in the West Semitic Perfect 1s. ending -*tV* (Ugaritic <-*t*>, Hebrew -*tī*, Classical Arabic -*tu*, etc.) is easily explained through analogical levelling with the 2.nd persons where -*t*- is an AA heritage. However, neither Sasse (1979) nor Ehret (1987, 1995) found evidence of a sound shift that fronted Cushitic *k* to *t*, and the most likely explanation for 2s. *-*i-tu* and 2p. *-*i-tin* has to be analogy, either with the endings of the SC1 that have -*t*- in the 2s. and 2p., or with the independent pronouns, reconstructed by Appleyard (1986:214f.) as 2s. *ʔati ~ *ʔatu for East Cushitic from older Cushitic *ʔanti ~ *ʔantu and 2p. East Cushitic *ʔatin ~ *ʔatun from older Cushitic *ʔantin ~ *ʔantun. (Interestingly, there is also evidence of interference in the opposite direction, i.e., from the possessive 2p. upon the independent 2p. in East Cushitic, that produced the form *ʔakin preserved in ᶜAfar *ísin*, Bayso *ísin* and possibly also in Oromo *isin ~ isan*, Konso *išina*, Burji *ašinu* etc., cf. Sasse 1979:11, Banti 1984:149f., and Appleyard 1986:217f.)

But why is there no trace of a final *-*s*- in the three delocutive forms of the SC2? Here another parallel with the Egyptian suffix conjugation can be found. Remember that this inflectional pattern, but not the Egyptian pseudoparticiple, typically lacks pronominal suffixes when an overt subject noun (N) follows the verb. This is represented in (16a) below. This behaviour remained quite stable in Egyptian until Coptic, the last literary stage of this language family that later became extinct. If one posits a similar behaviour also for the ancestral East Cushitic SC2, one can suggest that it was later simplified into the pattern shown in (16b), i.e., the stage of the Somali non-compound affirmative and negative non-past tenses of verbs of state, when the ending-less form used with overt subject nouns came to be used also when such nouns were not present, and the older forms with pronominal endings were completely lost in the third persons. In Saho-ᶜAfar and Burji this stage was subsequently normalised by creating a

new inflected 3p. form by analogy with the other inflectional patterns of verbs. Most Ono-Tana and Oromoid languages, instead, went a step further and created a new pattern by extending the ending-less delocutive forms to the interlocutive contexts and thus giving rise to invariable paradigms (i.) when the subject of a verb of state was focussed, (ii.) with negative past tenses of all verb classes, and (iii.) in the Rendille negative non-past of verbs of state. This is shown in (16c.)

(16)   a. Stage I (Egyptian and *East Cushitic) b. Stage II (Somali verbs of state)

1s./p.	V-Pro	V-Pro
2s./p.	V-Pro	V-Pro
3m./f./p.	V-Pro ~ V-Ø N	V-Ø

c. Stage IIIa (Saho-ᶜAfar and Burji)   Stage IIIb (Omo-Tana and Oromoid)

1s./p.	V-Pro	V-Ø
2s./p.	V-Pro	V-Ø
3m./f.	V-Ø	V-Ø
3p.	V-Ending	V-Ø

In this manner, the suggestion that the East Cushitic SC2 is a cognate not of the AA stative conjugation, but of the Egyptian suffix conjugation provides an explanation for some otherwise puzzling facts of East Cushitic and, in addition, a different view of the AA verbal system. On the one hand, (i.) the lack of distinction between 3m. and 3f. in all the East Cushitic reflexes of the SC2 is seen not as an ad hoc phonological development – as suggested by Banti (1987:154) – but as due to analogical simplification, while (ii.) the invariable paradigms in (3) and (5), strange as they are in languages that use finite variable tenses elsewhere, are explained as due to analogical extension of the old ending-less delocutive forms used with overt subject nouns in a previous stage of East Cushitic and in Egyptian. On the other hand, (iii.) the Egyptian suffix conjugation ceases to be an inner-Egyptian innovation, but can be seen as an inflectional pattern that Egyptian shares with one of its southern sister groups, i.e., Cushitic.

3.   The Cushitic Suffix Conjugation (SC1, aka Old Cushitic Suffix Conjugation)
3.1.   The traditional interpretation
It has already been stated in the introductory section of this paper that the SC1, i.e., the Cushitic suffix conjugation, is attested in all the main groups of Cushitic, at least in considerable traces. In some languages such as Saho and ᶜAfar, the

Omo-Tana group, Oromoid, and the West Rift group of Southern Cushitic, the tenses used in main clauses largely follow this inflectional pattern. In other languages only some of them do. For instance, in Agaw the endings of most main clause tenses have a labialised velar element that does not match the SC1 inflectional pattern, as in the Bilin affirmative non-past 1s. *gäbäk^{w}ə́n*, 2s. *gäbräk^w*, 3m. *gäbäk^w*, 3f. *gäbätí*, 1p. *gäbnäk^{w}ə́n*, 2p. *gäbdänắk^w*, 3p. *gäbnắk^w* from *gäb-* "refuse". Nevertheless, even in Agaw the tense that has been called imperfect indefinite by Hetzron (1969:13; it "expresses an action either in present or in future the execution of which seems uncertain and indefinite ... also used for general present, for what usually happens") has been shown by Appleyard (1992:132) to be a regular reflex of the SC1 non-past tenses in other Cushitic languages, because Awngi *e* regularly corresponds to Agaw *ä*, that derives from Cushitic short **a*, while Awngi and Agaw *a* is from Cushitic long **aa*. An example of this tense is shown in (18) together with other main clause SC1 tenses in languages that belong to the four major branches of Cushitic. It appears that the main peculiarities of this inflectional patterns are the following ones:

(17) i.   The verbal stem remains the same in the non-past and past tenses.
      ii. Tense distinctions are expressed by vowel alternations in the endings: *a* or developments if it in the non-past vs. a front vowel or a likely development of it in the past (*e*, *i*, and Somali *ay*).
      iii. Subject concord is expressed by the consonants in the endings. The 2s. and the 3f. have *-t-*. The 1p. has. *-n-*. Also the 2p. has *-t-*, but this is followed in Beja, Awngi, ᶜAfar and Somali by an *-n(-)* that aligns it with the 3p. against the singular and 1p. forms. The Southern Cushitic West Rift languages have *r* here in their past tenses, e.g., Burunge 2p. *-tir^j* and 3p. *-ir^j*, that can be from **n* as in a few other grammatical formatives like the Burunge instrumental and comitative *-ri-* vs. Oromo *-n*, the 1p. possessive *-ri* vs. East Cushitic **ni*, etc. But the 2p. and 3p. are different in the West Rift non-past tenses.

    Beja is one of the few Cushitic languages that systematically distinguish the 2m. from the 2f. forms in verbal paradigms. It preserves the SC1 non-past tense in its negative non-past, and the SC1 past tense in its past II, that is now used for expressing simultaneity or imperfect in the past (Klaus Wedekind, personal communication).
    The final *-h* and the high tone on the last vowel in the ᶜAfar forms indicate that no NP or PP constituent is focused, cf. Parker & Hayward (1985:222f.). In other contexts affirmative verb forms are low-toned and lack the final suffix *-h*, e.g., *Maħámmad tume* "It was Mohammed who beat it", or *kímal tumen* "they

beat it YESTERDAY". The last example also shows that past *-eeníh* alternates synchronically with *-en* – and similarly non-past *-aanáh* and *-an* – because of the same phonological facts discussed by Hayward (1983, 1997) that were already mentioned with reference to the Saho SC2 forms in (3) above.

(18)   Cushitic cognate SC1 main clause tenses

Beja *tam-* "eat"	Awngi *des-* "study"	ᶜAfar *tum-* "beat, poke"
Negative Non-Past	"Imperfect Indefinite"	Affirmative Non-Past
ka-taman	desé < *das-a	tumáh
ka-tamtaa *m.*, ka-tamtaay *f.*	desté	tuntáh
ka-tamya	desé	tumáh
ka-tamta	desté	tuntáh
ka-tamna	desné	tunnáh
ka-tamtaana	destànà	tuntaanáh
ka-tamyaan(a)	desànà	tumaanáh
Past II		Affirmative Past
tami		tuméh
tamtiiya *m.*, tamtii *f.*		tuntéh
tami		tuméh
tamti		tuntéh
tamni		tunnéh
tamtiina		tunteeníh
tamiin(a)		tumeeníh

Somali *tum-* "beat, poke"	Burunge (nasal stem) *koom-* "have"	
Affirm. main-clause Non-Past	Affirmat. "Imperfective"	Negative "Imperfective"
w-âan tumaa	ha koomᵃ	ha koomaa-ba
w-âad tuntaa	ha kontᵃ	ha kontaa-ba
w-ûu tumaa	konᵃ	konaa-ba
w-ây tuntaa	kontᵃ	kontaa-ba
w-âan tunnaa	ha konᵃ	ha konaa-ba
w-âad tuntaan	ha kontay	ha kontaʔii-ba
w-ây tumaan	konay	konaʔii-ba
Affirm. main-clause Past	Affirmative "Perfective"	Negative "Perfective"
w-âan tumay	háa koomⁱ	háa koomii-ba
w-âad tuntay	háa kontⁱ	háa kontii-ba
w-ûu tumay	yáa koomⁱ	yáa koomii-ba
w-ây tuntay	yáa kontⁱ	yáa kontii-ba
w-âan tunnay	háa konⁱ	háa konii-ba
w-âad tunteen	háa kontirⁱ	háa kontirii-ba
w-ây tumeen	yáa konirⁱ	yáa konirii-ba

Also the Somali forms like *w-âan tumay* "I beat it" indicate that no NP or PP consituent if focussed. Here the low-toned verbal forms are preceded by the subject clitic pronouns 1s. *aan*, 2s. *aad* etc. and by *w-*, a reduced form of the particle *wâa* that precedes nominal predicates and most kinds of verbal

predicates when no other constituent is focussed. It has been called an indicator by Andrzejewski (e.g., 1975:11) but a declarative sentence type marker by Saeed (1999:118f.) Finally, the preverbal particles *ha* in the Burunge interlocutive affirmative imperfective forms, and *háa ~ yáa* in its affirmative perfective ones are instances of the preverbal clitic complexes that are particularly developed in Southern Cushitic. In Kießling's analysis (1994:147), e.g., *háa* includes /ha/ a marker of 1. and 2. person subjects and /áa/ a marker of preterite time reference, that is preceded in *yáa* by /hi/ a marker of 3. person subjects. In addition to this, in the negative verbal forms of Burunge the suffix *-ba* lengthens preceding short vowels, and thus prevents them from being reduced to murmured voiceless vowels as in their affirmative counterparts.

Giovanni Colizza, a student of Leo Reinisch, was probably the first to publish (Colizza 1889:138) the idea that the inflectional type shown in (18) is a periphrastic form. After showing the SC1 paradigms in non-past 1s. *beeta*, 2s. *betta* etc., and past 1s. *beete*, 2s. *bette* etc. of Saho *beete* "eat", that he calls "un verbo denominativo" he goes on saying that "qui *bēt* è un sostantivo ed *-a*, *-ta* ecc. ... sono le voci del verbo sostantivo *a*, essere" ["here *beet* is a noun and *-a*, *-ta* etc. ... are forms of the verbum substantivum *a* 'be'".] In modern words, he claimed the SC1 conjugational type to have its origin in old periphrases where a nominal form was followed by the fully inflected PC tenses of an old verb that he referred to as *a* "be", that had been grammaticalized as the endings of the new conjugational type. Colizza quoted PC verbs by the 1s. of their non-past tense, while it is now preferred to quote them in a form of their past tense that better represents their basic stem. The verb he mentioned actually means "say", and is still present in Saho-ᶜAfar as Saho *ee* – e.g., non-past 3m. *yaa*, 3f. *taa*, 3p. *yan*; past 3m. *yee*, 3f. *tee*, 3p. *yen* – and as ᶜAfar *e*. In the latter language, however, it has been replaced in the 1s. and in the imperative by the corresponding forms of *edħe*, another verb of saying that was already seen in (2b) above. All its other forms are preceded by a petrified old prefix *in-* that is assimilated to a following *y-* and *n-*. It appears clearly in the ᶜAfar imperative forms 2s. *in-ɖíħ* and 2p. *in-ɖíħa*, when one compares them with their Somali cognates 2s. *dhéh* [ɖéh] and 2p. *dháha* [ɖáha], but it doesn't seem to survive in other forms of present-day ᶜAfar. The main paradigms of this verb are shown in (19). It has already been said in § 1 above that this very verb still occurs in northern Somali only in its past tense (e.g., 3m. *ye*, 3f. *te*) and in Rendille as a defective reduplicated past tense 1s. *inanne* "I said", 2s. *itatte*, 3m. *iyeyye*, 3f. *itatte*, cf. Pillinger & Galboran (1999:164 b). Cognates of this verb also occur, with suffix-conjugated paradigms, in Agaw *y-* "say", in Highland East Cushitic (Sidamo *y-* "say" and Burji *iy-* "id.") and even in Old Egyptian, that had *j* /y/, e.g., *j.sn* "they say", *j.n.sn* "they said (~ say)" and even the Pseudoparticiple 1s. *j.kj*, 3m. *j.j*, 3f. *j.tj*, cf. Edel (1955:375f.)

(19)   ^cAfar forms of *e "say"

	Present	Past	Imperative
1s.	(ʔaḍhé-h replacing *ʔa)	(ʔeḍhé-h replacing *ʔe)	
2.	in-tá-h	in-té-h	(in-ḍíħ)
3m.	iy-yá-h	iy-yé-h	
3f.	in-tá-h	in-té-h	
1p.	in-ná-h	in-né-h	
2p.	in-taan-áh	in-teen-íh	(in-ḍíħa)
3p.	iy-yaan-áh	iy-yeen-íh	

The following year Colizza's teacher published his Saho dictionary (Reinisch 1890) where he entered the PC verb *a* with the following meanings: (1.) "sich äussern, sagen, erzählen" ["say, narrate"], (2.) "nennen, benennen" ["name"], (3.) "denken, d. i. bei sich sagen" ["think, i.e., say to one's self"], (4.) "sein, esse" ["be"], and (5.) "im begriffe sein, etwas zu tun, mit dem subjunct. verbunden" ["be in the process of doing something, together with the Subjunctive".] Under the fourth meaning, he wrote:

> In derselben verbindung mit nennwörtern, partikeln, interjectionen wird dises verb als auxiliare gebraucht zur bildung neuer verba, wie *sík ya* er schwig, *tíbb ya* er verhielt sich ruhig, *tóbb ya* er fiel nider, *ogŭgŭt ya* er sprang auf u. s. w. ... Hieraus erklärt sich die entstehung und flexion aller verba 2 im Saho und ^cAfar. ["This verb is used as an auxiliary in a similar connection with nouns, particles, and interjections in order to form new verbs like *sik ye* 'he was silent', *tibb ye* 'he kept quiet', *tobb ye* 'he fell down', *ogugut ye* 'he jumped up', etc. ... The origin and inflection of all the verbs 2 in Saho and ^cAfar can be explained from this".]   (Reinisch 1890:2.)

A few years later also Praetorius (1893, 1894) took up this matter, from a slightly different perspective. Unlike Reinisch, he regarded the auxiliary *e* as being used with its full meaning of "say", and the nominal form of the lexical verb as a participle. In this manner, he treated the non-past tense of Saho ^c*unuun-* "stoop down from the waist" as containing an old participle ^c*unuun* "gebückt, stooped down" followed by the PC non-past of the above verb *ee* "say" (Praetorius 1894:331):

(20)   ^cunuuná "I stoop down"   <   ^cunuun + aa "gebückt! sage ich"
        ^cununtá "you stoop down"   <   ^cunuun + taa "gebückt! sagst du"
        ^cunuuná "he stoops down"   <   ^cunuun + yaa "gebückt! sagt er"
        ^cununtán "you stoop down"   <   ^cunuun + tan "gebückt! sagt ihr"
        ^cunuunán "they stoop down" <   ^cunuun + yan "gebückt! sagen sie"

The later literature usually mentions Praetorius in connection with the hypothesis of the origin of the Cushitic SC1 from an old compound form, even

though it usually follows Reinisch's rather than Praetorius's approach. Indeed, the words *sik* or *tibb* in the Saho phrases *sik ye* "he was silent", *tibb ye* "he kept quiet" quoted by Reinisch are not participles but ideophones, i.e., words belonging to a special class that indicates movements, sounds, colour effects etc., that occur as complements of the verb "say" in Saho-ᶜAfar and in many other Cushitic, Ethiosemitic, and Omotic languages of the Horn in intransitive verbal phrases. Palmer (1974) described them in an areal perspective calling them "compound verbs", Cabdulqaadir and Tosco (1998) discussed them in great detail for Somali, while Appleyard (forthcoming) pointed out the fact that this kind of construction is used not only with ideophones, but also with direct quotes of interjections or other parts of speech and, in some languages, with special uninflected words derived from verbs by means of more or less regular morphological processes such as the ᶜAfar diminished action stem. Some examples of this are given in (21).

(21) i.   Ideophones with "say"
      ᶜAfar   biɖkiᶜ iyyeh "he fluttered his eyes", lit. "he said *biɖkiᶜ*"
      Somali   shib dheh! "shut up!", lit. "say *shib*!"

      ii. Quotes with "say"
      Oromo   tolee jedhe "he agreed", lit. "he said 'it is well'"

      iii. Deverbal uninflected words with "say"
      ᶜAfar   ħúlla indíħa! "come in for a bit!", lit. "say *ħúlla*!", where
                 ħúlla is the diminished action stem of *ħul-* "come in";
                 kúdda iyyáh yaduuréh "he runs away a bit and (then)
                 comes back", lit. "saying *kúdda* he comes back",
                 where *kúdda* is the diminished action stem of *kud-*
                 "run away".

   Since these kinds of constructions are quite widespread in Cushitic, Reinisch's idea that they could have originated the entire SC1 conjugational pattern as a commoin Cushitic innovation has persuaded most scolars and is commoly regarded still now as a good explanation. Indeed, it accounts for two of the main peculiarities of the SC1 listed in (17) above: (a.) the fact that the verbal stem remains the same in all the tenses, and (b.) the alternation between *a* in the non-past tense and a front vowel in the past tense, that seems to replicate the alternation between, e.g., Saho non-past 3m. *y-aa* "he says" and Past 3m. *y-ee* "he said". In addition to this (c.) it also accounts for the position of the changing vowel vis-à-vis the consonants that express subject concord, that is seen as preserving the position it has in the PC foms of the old auxiliary, e.g., Saho 2s.

ᶜununtá "you (s.) stoop sown" with *-ta* like *t-aa* "you (s.) say", and *ᶜununtán* "you (p.) stoop sown" with *-tan* like *t-a-n* "you (p.) say".

It has to be pointed out, however, that Reinisch's idea requires the 3s./p. prefix *y-* to be dropped in the new grammaticalised forms. This is an ad hoc phonological process, that does not seem to occur elsewhere in the phonology of common Cushitic. Never the less, as already Praetorius (1894:331) pointed out, Beja seems to preserve the prefix *y-* of the old auxiliary in its 3m. *ka-tamya* "he doesn't eat" and 3p. *ka-tamyaan(a)* "they don't eat".

3.2. Some problems
3.2.1. The Somali independent past and related questions
In addition to the SC1 affirmative past shown in (18) above, that is used in main clauses with the full range of focus particles required by Somali, this language also has a different tense that sometimes has past time reference, and that is increasingly less used in the contemporary written language. It was first identified by Bell (1953:106f.) who called its forms "short forms of the Past Tense", and pointed out that it never co-occurs with focus particles nor with what Saeed (1999:118) calls sentence type markers, and that it is "most frequently used in answer to questions, but ... also ... in the middle of a conversation, when everyone knows who the subject of the conversation is" (Bell 1953:107.) Andrzejewski (1956:126) changed its name into "Independent Pradigm of the Past Tense General", that was later simplified into "past independent" or "independent past". Andrzejewski further pointed out in Muuse & Andrzejewski (1956:66) that it is very frequently used in proverbs and poetry. It is also the most common tense in curses and blessings. Some examples of how it is used can be seen in the forms *cún*, *cuskáy* and *bá'yay* in (22a), while (22b) shows its paradigms in the three main conjugations of SC1 verbs in Somali.

(22)   a. Some uses of the Somali independent past
hílib-k-u   mêe?   la   cún /ᶜṵ́n/
meat-ART-NOM   where is it   IMPERS   ate
"Where is the meat?" "It has been eaten" (lit. "somebody ate it")

nín   daad   qaaday   xumbó   cuskáy /ᶜṵskáy/
person   torrent.NOM   swept away.NOM   foam   supports himself
"Who is swept away bay a torrent woud even support himself with the foam" (a proverb)

magac-âa   bá'yey
name-your.NOM   may it be destroyed
"May your name be destroyed!" (a curse)

b. Paradigms of the Somali independend past in the three main verbal conjugations compared with the affirmative main-clause past

Conj. 1 *cun* "eat"   Conj. 2 *daaji* "pasture"   Conj. 3 *cabso* "fear"

Independent Past	Independent Past	Independent Past
cúnay	daajíyay	cabsáday
cúntay	daajísay	cabsátay
cụ́n ~ cúnyay	dạají	cạbsạ́y
cúntay	daajísay	cabsátay
cúnnay	daajínnay	cabsánnay
cunté	daajisé	cabsaté
cuné	daajiyé	cabsadé

Affirm. main-clause Past	Affirm. main-clause Past	Affirm. main-clause Past
w-âan cunay	w-âan daajiyay	w-âan cabsaday
w-âad cuntay	w-âad daajisay	w-âad cabsatay
w-ûu cunay	w-ûu daajiyay	w-ûu cabsaday
w-ây cuntay	w-ây daajisay	w-ây cabsatay
w-âan cunnay	w-âan daajinnay	w-âan cabsannay
w-âad cunteen	w-âad daajiseen	w-âad cabsadeen
w-ây cuneen	w-ây daajiyeen	w-ây cabsadeen

It is apparent that the independent past paradigm differs from the affirmative main-clause past not only in its tonal pattern and in its final *-é* instead of *-een* in the 2p. and 3p, but also in the 3m. forms: *cụ́n* and *cúnyay*, *dạají* and *cạbsạ́y* instead of *(w-ûu) cunay*, *(w-ûu) daajiyay* and, respectively, *(w-ûu) cabsaday*. The present author already pointed out (Banti 1987:159) that 3m. *cụ́n* with Ø ending and advanced vowels requires one to reconstruct an old 3m. *$^{\check{c}}$úni* where the final low-toned short *-i* was dropped after causing umlaut in the stem vowel. Modern *cúnyay*, instead, preserves the old form with the SC1 3m. ending *-ay* appended to it: *^{c}úni + -ay >* [^{c}únyay]. The old ending *-i* can also be seen in the 3m. *cạbsạ́y* from the Conj. 3 verb *cabso*, where it is added to a dental-less stem *cabsá-*.

Moreover, it is not only for present-day Somali that one has to reconstruct a 3m. form like *^{c}úni* with a final *-i*. In the communal dialect of Mogadishu that has been referred to in the literature as Ashraaf since Moreno (1953, 1954), and as Ashraaf of Shingaani by Ajello (1984), the affirmative past is very similar to the Somali independent past, as shown in (23). Related forms also occur in the better described Tunni dialect of southern Somalia, as argued by Tosco (1997:3f., 70, 81.)

The so-called Ashraaf of Shingaani now has *-i* and Tunni *-ə* from *-i* in the other vowel-final forms of their past tenses, but the difference between 1s. *^{c}uni*, *šeenə* < *kéen-i* and 3m. *^{c}uňi* < *^{c}uny-i*, *šéeňi* < *kéeny-i* in Conj. 1 verbs and between 1s.

^{c}*absati, qobə́də* < *qabát-i and 3m. ^{c}*absayi, qobíyi* < *qabáy-i in Conj. 3 verbs matches Somali 1s. *cúnay* vs. 3m. *cúny-ay* in Conj. 1 and 1s. *cabsáday* vs. 3m. *cạbsáy* in Conj. 3 verbs. The process of integrating the old 3m. forms like *^{c}*úni* into SC1 paradigms in these two southern Somali dialects thus went one step further than in Somali because (i.) they always occur with the same final vowel as the 1s., 2s., 3f. and 1p., i.e., *^{c}*uny-i* like Somali *cúny-ay* but not like Somali *cụ́n* < *^{c}*úni*, and (ii.) Somali has no extended form *cabsay-ay matching Shingaani Ashraaf ^{c}*absay-i*.

(23)   Ashraaf of Shingaani and Tunni affirmative past forms
          "Ashraaf" of Shingaani

	Conj. 1 ^{c}*un-* "eat"		Conj. 3 ^{c}*absat-* "fear"
1s.	^{c}uni		^{c}absati
3m.	^{c}uňi		^{c}absayi
3f.	^{c}unti		^{c}absatti
3p.	^{c}uneeŋ		^{c}absateeŋ

          Tunni

	Conj. 1 *šeen-* "bring"	Conj. 2 *sii-* "give"	Conj. 3 *qobəd-* "get"
1s.	šéenə	síiyə	qobə́də ~ qobə́hə
3m.	šééňi	síiyi	qobíyi
3f.	šéentə	síitə	qobə́tə
3p.	šeenêen	siiyêen	qobədêen

The reconstructed 3m. form *^{c}*úni* is difficult to account for in a non ad hoc way within the Colizza-Reinisch-Praetorius framework, because the reflex of the SC1 past tense in Somali has *-ay* as shown in (18). Moreno (1953:118) suggested that forms like 3m. ^{c}*uňi* in the Ashraaf of Shingaani were a "fenomeno di fedeltà allo schema originale della coniugazione debole cuscitica" ["a fact of preservation of the original pattern of the Cushitic weak conjugation"], i.e., that the form *^{c}*unyi* they preserve should be parsed as *^{c}*un-yi*, where *-*yi* was the old PC auxiliary 3m. *y-e* "he said" still retaining its prefix *y-*. Obviously enough, he mentioned also the 3m. ending *-ya* in the Beja negative non-past *ka-tamya* "he doesn't eat", cf. (18). It should be noted, however, that in Beja the palatal glide *-y-* occurs both in the 3m. and in the 3p. *ka-tamyaan(a)* "they don't eat", while in the two above southern Somali dialects and in northern Somali the 3m. never has a palatal glide nor traces of it. If one accepts Moreno's interpretation of these forms, one has to posit the historical development shown in (24a). In other words, Beja would preserve the oldest picture in its negative non-past, where the old prefixal *y-* occurs before *a* both in the 3m. and in the 3p.; the two above-mentioned southern Somali dialects would lose the old *y* in the 3p. of the past tense before *-een*, but preserve it in front of a likely old *e or *ee in the 3m. of

the same tense, while the loss of *y* spread to all the relevant contexts in the other languages.

(24) a. Development of SC1 3m. and 3p. according to Moreno's interpretation of the 3m. past in the Ashraaf of Shingaani

> ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
> │ southern Somali development: │
> │   3m.   X-y-V   cf. ^{c}*uňi* │
> │   3p.   X-Ø-V.. cf. ^{c}*uneeŋ* │
> └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘

┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
│ Proto-Cushitic, preserved in Beja │
│   before *a*: │
│ 3m. *X-y-V cf. *ka-tamya* │
│ 3p. *X-y-V.. cf. *ka-tamyaan(a)* │
└ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘

> ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
> │   development of ^{c}Afar &c.: │
> │   3m. *X-Ø-V   cf. *tumé-* │
> │   3p. *X-Ø-V.. cf. *tumeen-* │
> └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
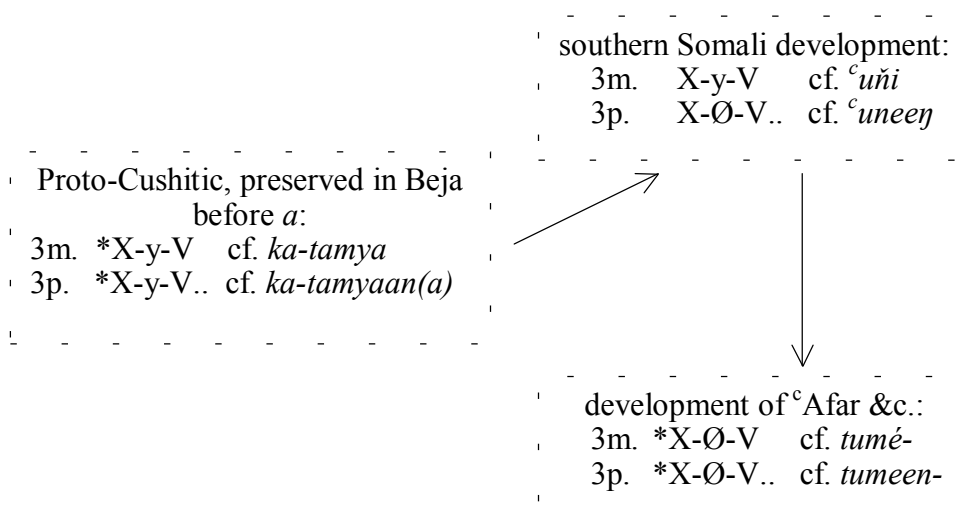
b. Development of the above 3m. and 3p. forms according to the present author's interpretation

> ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
> │ Beja development before *a*: │
> │   3m.   X-y-V │
> │   3p.   X-y-V.. │
> └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘

┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
│ older stage, preserved in Somali │
│ and southern Somali dialects: │
│   3m.   *X-i ~ *X-y-V │
│   3p.   *X- Ø -V.. │
└ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘

> ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
> │   development of ^{c}Afar &c.: │
> │   3m.   *X-Ø-V │
> │   3p.   *X-Ø-V.. │
> └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
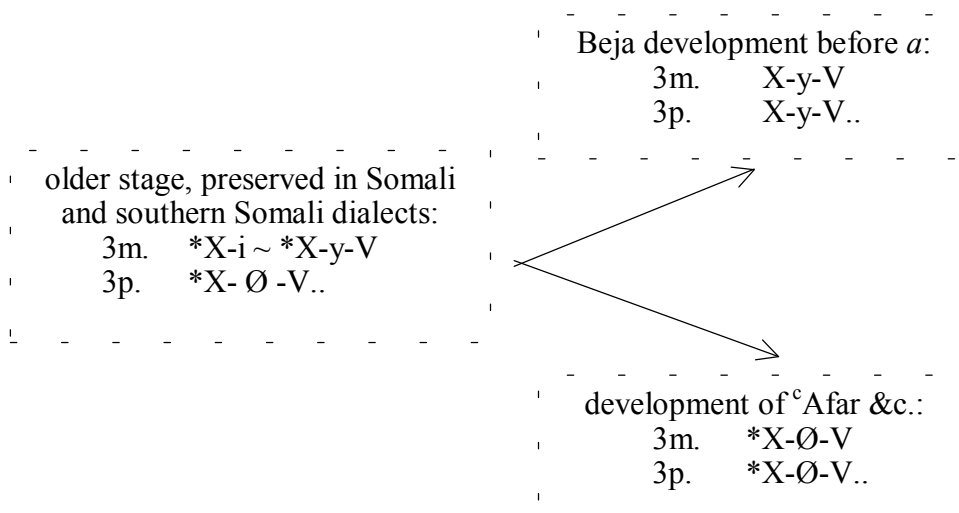
The problems with the scenario in (24a) are (i.) that the loss of *y* only in the 3p. but not in the 3m. is difficult to explain phonologically, and has no sense if it

is ascribed to analogy, and (ii.) the shorter Somali forms *^{c}úni* and *cạbsạ́y* are not accounted for. A more likely development path is shown in (24b). The starting point is the old 3m. form with an ending *-i*, that became a glide when it was preceded by a consonant and followed by a further vocalic affix. The Somali 3m. independent past is thus a relic of an old form, that was later partially integrated into the new common pattern by appending to it the terminal vowel of the 1s., 2s., 3f., and 1p., i.e., *-ay* in Somali, *-i* in the Ashraaf of Shingaani and in Tunni. This imbalanced pattern was later changed through analogy in two opposite directions, either by spreading *y* also to the 3p. as in the Beja negative non-past, or by dropping it in the 3m. as in the Beja past II and in most other languages. The Somali middle form *cạbsạ́y* and its developments in Shingaani Ashraaf *^{c}absay-i* and Tunni *qobíy-i* become in this manner a different kind of problem. They cannot be accounted for phonologically with an ad hoc rule changing *^{c}absatyi* into *^{c}absayi* as suggested by Moreno (1953:121) that has no parallels elsewhere in these languages. Instead, it has already been mentioned above that they have a vocalic middle stem *^{c}absa-* plus the 3m. ending *-i*. Suffix-conjugated middle verbs in East Cushitic are characterised by a stem extension *-Vt-* that alternates with *-Vḍ-* or *-Vd͡-* or their developments in some forms of some languages. For instance, Oromo has 1s. *qabaddhe* [k'abad͡ɗe] "I took it" (vs. 3m. *qabate*), 2s. imperative *qabáddhu* and 2p. imperative *qabáddhaa*; some Somali varieties in northern Banaadir have 1s. *qabdhay* [qabḍay] "I seized it", (vs. 3m. *qabtay*) and 2p. imperative *qábdha*, but 2s. imperative *qabó* with a vocalic stem ending in *-ó*. Indeed, all the Omo-Tana languages have in the 2s. imperative of middle verbs such a vocalic stem, or cognate forms like Bayso *kóra* "climb!" from middle *kor-at-*, and Dasenech *galu* "enter!" from the middle verb *gal-t-*. Vocalic stems of middle verbs are thus clearly attested in another widespread form in addition to the above reconstructed 3m. *^{c}absa-i*.

It is important to stress here that the occurrence of traces of the old 3m. ending *-i* in the negative non-past of Beja, in the affirmative past of the Ashraaf of Shingaani and of Tunni and in the Somali tense that, even though it is called the independent past, has been seen in (22a) to be used also in a variety of non-past functions such as general statements of proverbs, curses and blessings, make it unlikely that 3m. *-i* was originally an ending of a past tense. This makes it possible to add here a further set of forms that may preserve this old ending. Indeed, it has been seen in (18) above that Burunge nasal stems like *koom-* "have" have an underlying final /a/ in their Imperfective 1s., 2s., 3m., 3f. and 1p., that is lengthened before the negative suffix *-ba* and reduced to a murmured voiceless vowel in affirmative sentences. However, most other classes of verbs have the behaviour of *dooɬ-* "cultivate" shown in (25) together with its parallel paradigms in Iraqw.

(25)   Burunge and Iraqw non-past ("imperfective") of non-nasal stems (*dooł-* "cultivate")

Burunge

	Affirmative	Negative	Interrogative
1s.	ha dooł[a]	ha doołaa-ba	doołla
2.	ha doołid[a]	ha doołidaa-ba	doołida
3m.	dooł[i]	doołii-ba	doołiya
3f.	doołid[a]	doołidaa-ba	doołida
1p.	ha doołan[a]	doołanaa-ba	doołana
2p.	ha doołiday	doołidaʔii-ba	doołidaʔi
3p.	doołiyay	doołiyaʔii-ba	doołiyaʔi

Iraqw

	Affirmative	Negative	Interrogative
1s.	a dóoł	doołaa-ká	dôoła
2.	a dół	doł-ká	dôła
3m.	i dooł	doołii-ká	dôołi
3f.	i dóℜ	doł-ká	dôła
1p.	a doołáan	doołaanaa-ká	doołâana
2p.	a dołáʔ	dołaʔaa-ká	dołâʔa
3p.	i doołiyáʔ ~ doołír	doołiiʔaa-ká	doołîiʔa

It appears that the Burunge interrogative non-past preserves the final short vowels pretty well, but differs in its 3m. *doołiya*, while the affirmative and negative forms require /doołi/. Iraqw underwent more complex phonological developments. For instance, the old 2m. *doołta* simplified its consonant cluster *łt after this had shortened the long vowel that preceded it, instead of inserting a short *i* between the two consonants and voicing the old *t into *d* as in its Burunge counterpart. In addition to this, the short final vowels were completely lost in the affirmative forms. However, the pattern of preserving the short final vowels in the interrogative forms, and of lengthening them before the negative suffix is the same as in Burunge, with the exception of the 2m. and 3f. that were reduced to *doł-ká* according to a general phonological process that deletes a short vowel in Iraqw "if there is a syllable with a short vowel preceding it and a syllable with a short vowel following it" (cf. Mous 1993:30; the lengthening of the final vowel before the negative suffix *-ká* has thus to be ordered after this deletion process.) It appears that also in this language the 3m. of the non-past is underlying /doołi/. Kießling (2000:87) reconstructs 3m. *doołiya* and 3p. *doołiyaaʔi* for the Proto-West-Rift "non-perfective", i.e., the non-past, on the basis of the sets of forms in (18) and (25). In this manner the ancestral language

of the West Rift group of Southern Cushitic would have had forms that were similar to the Beja negative non-past, and it has been seen above that they fit both the traditional Colizza-Reinisch-Praetorius interpretation and the hypothesis that is suggested in this paper, even though they are accounted for in different ways. However, positing 3m. *dooɫiya* requires a considerable load of additional rather ad hoc phonological developments in order to arrive at the set of forms that occur in the present-day languages. Under a different interpretation the nasal stems like Burunge *koom-* "have" should be set apart from the other stems. For the latter, the following paradigm is reconstructed:

(26)   Reconstructed paradigm of the non-past of non-nasal stems in the West
        Rift group of Southern Cushitic, cf. (25)

        1s.   *dooɫa
        2s.   *dooɫta
        3m.   *dooɫi
        3f.   *dooɫta
        1p.   *dooɫana
        2p.   *dooɫtaaʔa or *-taaʔi
        3p.   *dooɫín, replaced by *dooɫi + aaʔa or *dooɫi + aaʔi by
                       analogy with the 2p.

In this manner, the Iraqw forms are better accounted for, including the isolated 3p. *dooɫír*, while the Burunge interrogative 3m. *dooɫiya* is seen as a new form due to analogical spread of the final *-a* from the other interrogative forms. It will be seen below that 3p. *dooɫín* fits the rest of Cushitic better than Kießling's reconstructed *dooɫiyaaʔi*, while the final element *-aaʔa* or *--aaʔi* in the 2p. ending *-taaʔa* or *-taaʔi* may have spread from the 2p. imperative where this kind of element is likely to be very old. Finally the penultimate *a* in the 1p. *dooɫana*, that was lengthened in Iraqw interrogative *dooɫâana*, etc., still requires an explanation because it doesn't seem to have parallels in the other main Cushitic language groups.

3.2.2. The Highland East Cushitic converbs and related paradigms in Oromo and Agaw

Most languages of the Highland East Cushitic group have affirmative main clause tenses that are considerably different from the SC1 inflectional pattern seen in (18), which is instead better attested in their converbs. Some of these languages, like Burji and Gedeo, have only one converb that ends in *i* or *e*, while other languages have two of them. For instance, Sidamo opposes a simultaneous

converb in *-a* to a past converb in *-e*, as in *ita hasireemmo* "while eating (*it-a* 1s. of the simultaneous converb) I look for it" vs. *ite hasireemmo* "having eaten (*it-e* 1s. of the past converb) I look for it". The forms of these converbs in three languages of this group are shown in (27). It should be remembered that the old 3p. forms came to be used as impersonal forms in Sidamo, but as polite 3s. forms in Kambaata. (For the gemination of the final stem consonant in 1s. and 3m. *marri* in Kambaata, see Sim 1988.)

(27)   The HEC converbs (*mar-* "go")

	Burji	Sidamo	
		Simultaneous Conv.	Past Converb
1s.	mari	mara	mare
2.	marši < *-rti	marta	marte
3m.	mari	mara	mare
3f.	marši < *-rti	marta	marte
1p.	marri < *-rni	marra < *-rna	marre < *-rne
2p.	maršingi < *-rtinki	martina	martine
3p.	maringi	marra < *-rina	marre < *-rine

	Kambaata	
	Subordinate	Past Converb
1s.	mara	marri
2.	marta	marti
3m.	mara	marri
3f.	marta	marti
1p.	manna < *-rna	manni < *-rni
2p.	martina	martèen
3p.	manna < *-rina	marèen

Upon closer inspection, only the Kambaata past converb really resembles the SC1 pattern seen in (18). The other sets of forms differ in the 2p. and 3p., where the changing vowels do not occur between the consonants that express subject concord, but at the end of the forms as a sort of suffix. This can be seen to occur also in Burji, when one compares its converb in (27) with its affirmative non-past: 1s. *mara*, 2s. *marta*, 3m. *mara*, 3f. *marta*, 1p. *marra* < *marna*, 2p. *marčingu* and 3p. *maringu*. (For the element *-gu* in the 2p. and 3p. see what was said above in § 2.2.) Synchronically the Burji converbial 2p. and 3p. forms are clearly *maršing-i* and *maring-i*, paralleled by Sidamo *martin-a*, *marr-a*, and *martin-e*, *marr-e* etc. The changing vowels that characterise these tenses seem to be in the wrong place.

The history of the HEC vowels is known only partly, but there seem to be two ways for explaining the Sidamo and Kambaata forms in (27). If one sticks to

the Colizza-Reinisch-Praetorius explanation of the SC1 conjugational pattern, the Kambaata past converb is more conservative, while the Kambaata Subordinate and the two Sidamo converbs had the stem vowels of the old auxiliary – *a* and *e* – copied after the final *n* and subsequently weakened to *i*. In other words, the Kambaata subordinate and the Sidamo simultaneous converb 2p. would derive from an old **mar-ta(a)n* that became **marta(a)na > martina*. Under this hypothesis it is unclear why this should happen in Kambaata only for the subordinate tense, but not in the past converb. The opposite explanation is that the Kambaata past converb is the most innovative of the above forms. The starting point would be a single set of inflected forms 2p. **martin* and 3p. **marin*, that received a suffixal *-a* for the tense that developed into the Sidamo simultaneous converb and the Kambaata subordinate, and a suffixal *-e* for the tense that was to become the Sidamo and Kambaata past converb. This final *-e* assimilated the preceding *-i-* in Kambaata and was lost after non-geminate *n*. Explanations can also be found for how the internal *e* of the ending came to be lengthened. This path of development is shown in (28).

(28)   Suggested development of the Sidamo and Kambaata converbs
           Present
           1p. *marn-a   Sid. marra, Kam. manna
           2p. *martin-a > Sid. Kam. martina
           3p. *marin-a > *marina   > Sid. Kam. *marna

           Past
           1p. *marn-e   > Sid. marre, Kam. manni

           2p. *martin-e >   *martene > Kam. martèen
                              Sid. martine

           3p. *marin-e >   *marene > Kam. marèen
                              *marine   > Sid. *marne

    It should be noticed that the reconstructed 3p. *mar-in* preserved in the Sidamo and Kambaata converbs matches the West Rift 3p. *dooɫ-in* that was reconstructed in (26) and that appears to be retained in the Iraqw Imperfective 3p. *dooɫir*. The Burji Converb can also be accounted for straightforwardly: the final **e* became *-i* here, and was added not to 2p. **mar-tin* and 3p. *mar-in*, but to the extended forms 2p. **mar-tin-kV* and 3p. **mar-in-kV* that Burji has been already seen in § 2.2. to share with southern Agaw, Hadiyya and Dullay.

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It is interesting to point out that the pattern seen in the Highland East Cushitic converbs in (27) and (28), with the characteristic vowels in a location that seems to contradict their origin from an old PC auxiliary, also occurs in other Cushitic languages. The affirmative non-past, past and "subjunctive" of Gujjii and Harar Oromo are shown in (29). (The Oromo so-called subjunctive is used as a non-past tense in subordinate clauses, as jussive preceded in most dialects by *haa* or *ha*, and as negative non-past preceded by *hin-* and with special HL tonal melody in main clauses.)

(29)   Some Oromo forms of *deemuu ~ adeemuu* "go"

Gujjii Oromo

	Affirmative Non-Past	Affirmative Past	"Subjunctive"
1s.	deema	deeme	deemu
2.	deenta	deente	deentu
3m.	deema	deeme	deemu
3f.	deenti	deente	deentu
1p.	deemna	deemne	deemnu
2p.	deentan(i)	deentane	deentanu
3p.	deeman(i)	deemane	deemanu

Harar Oromo

	Affirmative Non-Past	Affirmative Past	"Subjunctive"
1s.	deema	deeme	deemu
2.	deemta	deemte	deemtu
3m.	deema	deeme	deemu
3f.	deemti	deemte	deemtu
1p.	deemna	deemne	deemnu
2p.	deemtan(i)	deemtan(i)	deemtan(i)
3p.	deeman(i)	deeman(i)	deeman(i)

The Gujjii data are from Gasparini (1979:21f.), while the Harar Oromo ones are from Owens (1985:66). Notice also that the final short *i*'s in the 2p. *-tan(i)* and 3p. *-an(i)* are bracketed because their phonological status is somewhat fuzzy, as shown by Owens (1985:12f.) and Banti (1988b:34f.): they can be either analysed as underlying short vowels that are "almost always dropped" (Owens 1985:12), or as default vowels that are inserted when an empty vocalic position has to be filled because it bears a high tone or when the verbal form is followed by a consonant-initial suffix.

Praetorius (1893) was dealing with a dialect that was quite similar to Harar Oromo here, and was perfectly aware that its affirmative non-past and past tenses were not easy to derive from compound forms with an old PC auxiliary, because of the 3f. *-ti* instead of *-ta* in the non-past, and of the identical forms in the 2p and 3p. of the non-past and past. For the first one, he suggested an origin

as an old relative form (Praetorius 1893:162), while for the 2p. *-tan(i)* and 3p. *-an(i)* he claimed

> Ich kann nicht anders annehmen, als dass die ursprünglich nur imperfektivischen Formen sekundär auch in das Perfektum gedrängt worden sind ... ["I can only suggest that these forms, that originally were only imperfective, later spread also to the perfect".]   (Praetorius 1893:164.)

However, the past forms with 2p. *-tane* and 3p. *-ane*, that are retained only in Gujjii Oromo, allow a different and more interesting explanation. The endings 2p. *-tan(i)* and 3p. *-an(i)* are from the non-past tense, but they are not necessarily the typical endings of the SC1. It has already been pointed out in § 1. that *-an* in Southern Oromo *yedhan* – or better *yedhan(i)* – "they say", "they said" can be matched by *-in* in other languages. The Oromo present 3p. *deeman(i)* can thus be a good parallel of Iraqw non-past 3p. *doołír* < *doołín*, and the Gujjii past 3p. *deeman-e* a parallel of the Highland East Cushitic past converb 3p. *marin-e*. The similarity of the 2p. and 3p. past endings to those of the affirmative non-past in Harar Oromo and in most other Oromo dialects can thus have a phonological explanation. Indeed, the frequent loss of voice and drop of final short vowels made it particularly easy for 2p. *-tan(i)* and *-tane* and 3p. *-an(i)* and *-ane* to merge into a single set of endings for the 2p. and 3p. This new pattern with a single set of endings in the 2p. and 3p of the affirmative non-past and past tenses spread then analogically also to the subjunctive, where the older endings *-tan-u* and *-an-u* were however retained in several dialects, e.g., in Western and Shewa Oromo and in the southernmost Waata dialect described by Heine (1981:42), that is spoken by several communities of former hunter-gatherers along the southern coast of Kenya.

A further set of tenses formed by an inflected base followed by a vocalic formative that is not a PC auxiliary has been pointed out by Appleyard (1992:132). Indeed, he showed that the Awngi perfect indefinite, a tense that "expresses either a past action the effect of which still remains in present, that is, a present perfect, or, more rarely, an uncertain action in the past about which the speaker has no certitude" (Hetzron 1969:13) and that is also used as the base of the converb and several other tenses, actually contains a suffix **aa > a* added to an inflected base that looks very much like the Burji converb in (27). He also pointed out that a similar tense, without the *k* formative in the 2p. and 3p. occurs with a converbial function in northern Agaw, e.g., in the Kemant *a*-subordinate. In Kemant it has *-a < *-aa* before a pause but *-ä* – usually from short **-a* – in all other positions. Appleyard (1992:132f.) actually thought these Awngi and Kemant forms to be formed "by adding a suffix *-a* or *-ä* to the perfective vocalic auxiliary", i.e., to a base consisting of a nominal form followed by the old PC auxiliary *e* "say" according to the traditional interpretation of the SC1 pattern; this suffix "erases the presumed final vowel **-ə* of the expected perfect

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paradigm". Yet it follows from what has been said above that there is little non-theory-bound reason for treating the Agaw paradigms in (30) as being structurally different from the Sidamo and Kambaata converbs in (27) and (28) and the Gujjii Oromo past and subjunctive in (29). The only patent difference is that here there is a suffixal formative *aa with a perfective or past time function that differs both from the (perfective) past tense *e and the (imperfective) non past *a of the more typical SC1 paradigms. (Notice that Kemant *t > y is regular here, cf. Appleyard 1984:41f.)

(30)   Agaw past and converbial forms with *-aa, compared to the Burji converb

Burji Converb (already seen in 26)	Awngi Perfect Indef. (des- "study")	Kemant A-Subord. (was- "hear")
mari	desa < *das-aa	wasa < *waas-aa
marši < *-rti	desta < *dast-aa	wasya < *waast-aa
mari	desa < *das-aa	wasa < *waas-aa
marši < *-rti	desta < *dast-aa	wasya < *waast-aa
marri < *-rni	desna < *dasn-aa	wasna < *waasn-aa
maršingi < *-rtinki	destə́ka < *dastink-aa	wasina < *waastin-aa
maringi	deska < *dasink-aa	was(ə)na < *waasin-aa

Forms with a final a and a past tense function are also known in other branches of Cushitic. The most obvious one is the Hadiyya converb shown in (31b), that is usually used in same-subject sequences of events as in (31a). It obviously has the same velar element as the above Awngi forms, and -aʔa rather than simple -aa in the 2p., 3p. and 3f.

(31)   a. An example of the Hadiyya aa-converb, from Sim (1989:381)
meentiččo   giira   giittaʔa   giiʔl   gadanonne   afuuttoʔo
woman   fire   kindling   fire's   beside   she-sat
"Having kindled (giittaʔa 3f. converb of giir-) the fire, the woman sat beside it"

b.   The Hadiyya same-subject converb and the Beja past I

Hadiyya Converb (mar- "go")	Beja Affirmative Past I (tam- "eat")
maraa	taman
mattaa < *mart-aa	tamtaa m., tamtaay f.
maraa	tamya
mattaʔa	tamta
mallaa < *marn-aa	tamna
mattakkaʔa	tamtaana
marakkaʔa (> Polite 3s.)	tamyaan(a)

Another instance of a past tense in final a is the Beja past I – Hudson's "preterite" (cf. Hudson 1976:115f.) – that is identical to the Beja negative non-

past minus the negative prefix *ka-*. Rather than being an old non-past shifted to a past function, as assumed by Praetorius (1893:161) and still by Zaborski (1975:13ff.), its Hadiyya and Agaw parallels make it more likely that the Beja negative non-past and the affirmative past I of SC1 verbs are two originally separate tenses, as they still are in Awngi with its indefinite imperfect in *-e < *a* and its indefinite perfect in *-a < *-aa*. They merged formally, but not functionally, because final short *-a* came to be lengthened in different grammatical contexts, e.g., when further suffixes were added to the verb forms, and lost in this way its distinctiveness from the past tense in long final *-aa*.

3.3.   A new historical interpretation

It has been seen in the above sections that a number of verbal paradigms in East and Southern Cushitic have only a partial resemblance to the better-known SC1 conjugational patterns, and are difficult to explain under the century-old Colizza-Reinisch-Praetorius hypothesis that such patterns have their origin in the grammaticalisation of old compound tenses where a nominal form was followed by the fully inflected PC auxiliary *e* or *ee* "say". In several instances, a more careful reconstruction appears to require a single set of inflected forms followed by different grammatical formatives, reconstructed as *a* for non-past (imperfective) tenses, *e* and *aa* for past (perfective) tenses, and possibly *u* for the paradigm that originated the Oromo subjunctive. Of this single set of inflected forms, the 3m. had clearly *-i*, the 3p. can also be reconstructed as *-in* and the 2p. was likely to be *-tin*. The other endings have rather uncontroversial consonant elements with the exception of the 1s., as shown below, but it is difficult to pin down the vowels that may have surrounded them. For instance, the 1p. has to be reconstructed as *-nV* for Beja, Agaw and East Cushitic, but the West Rift group of Southern Cushitic requires a vowel before the nasal, i.e., *-anV*. Since this is somewhat anomalous when it is compared to the pattern of the other endings, it is difficult to invoke analogy as its origin, and the present author is tempted to regard it as a relic that was normalised in the other three major branches of Cushitic. Another problem is the 1s., where most languages seem to have only *-V*. Yet Hetzron (1976:43) and Voigt (1984) pointed out that a glottal stop has to be reconstructed for the 1s. in Agaw and in the middle forms of Oromo and Bayso to explain some systematic differences between 1s. and 3m. forms. Also the middle forms in some Somali varieties from northern Banaadir that were mentioned in § 3.2.1., i.e., 1s. *qabdhay* [qabɖay] vs. 3m. *qabtay*, should be added here. The sequence *-ʔV* that is required here fits quite well the traditional interpretation, because the 1s. has a prefix ʔ- in the PC pattern, as shown by forms such as Arbore 1s. *(ʔan) ʔ-aačča* "I come" vs. 2s. *(ʔa) t-aačča* in Arbore, cf. (1). This is how such forms have been explained by Hetzron and Voigt in the above papers, but it shall be seen below that they can

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also be explained differently. The set of forms that is reconstructed in this manner is shown in (32).

(32) 1s.   *Stem-$^{\gamma}V$
      2s.   *Stem-tV
      3m.   *Stem-i
      3f.   *Stem-tV
      1p.   *Stem-anV (?)
      2p.   *Stem-tin
      3p.   *Stem-in

When this set of forms was followed by the above vocalic formatives, the developments shown in (28) took place in most cases. The final vowel of the inflected form was usually lost before *e etc., but in the 2p. and 3p. the internal vowel was either retained as in the Sidamo converbs of (27), the Gujjii Oromo forms in (29) and possibly the Agaw past forms in *-aa shown in (30). In most other cases the internal vowel was assimilated to the vocalic suffix, and yielded the typical SC1 pattern seen in (18), e.g., ᶜAfar present 2p. Stem-*taaná-h* ~ Stem-*tán* and 3p. Stem-*aaná-h* ~ Stem-*án*; past 2p. Stem-*teení-h* ~ Stem-*tén* and 3p. Stem-*eení-h* ~ Stem-*én*. The Somali independent past and the West Rift non-past show however that the old suffix-less forms continued to be used, resulting in much analogical levelling between suffix-less forms and new suffixed ones in many languages. As a consequence, new mixed paradigms developed in several cases, such as the above-mentioned Somali independent past and its cognates in Tunni and the Ashraaf dialect of Shingaani, the West Rift non-past or the Oromo non-past. In the latter paradigm, the 3f. ending -*ti* may be the original form that was somehow retained, or a new form that had undergone analogical levelling with the final -*i* of the 3m. It should be pointed out, however, that a set of forms that may preserve the old paradigm in (32), with much phonological reduction, is the "bare perfective" mentioned by Appleyard (1992:140), if it is not seen as containing the old auxiliary *e. Its Khamtanga and Kemant paradigms are shown in (33b). It is used as a converbial gerund or in compound tenses in these present-day languages, as shown in (33a).

Khamtanga *r* and Kemant *y* are obviously from *t here, as shown by Appleyard (1984:41f.), but the occurrence of *ə* in, e.g., 2s. Khamtanga -*ər* and Kemant -*əy*, or in 1p. -*ən* has not to be taken as good evidence of an original vowel in these positions, i.e., that the original endings were 2s. *-VtV and 1p. *-VnV. Palmer (1957:135ff.) has shown how complex and phonologically conditioned syllabification is in the verbal forms of northern Agaw. It is only in the 1p. ending that, as stated above, there is some independent evidence in Southern Cushitic of the occurrence an old vowel before the consonant.

(33) a. Examples of the Khamtanga and Kemant "bare perfective"
      Khamtanga
      bírä-d   čɨŋɨr   zɨwru
      ox-Def   you-having-found   you-slaughtered
      "Having found (*čɨŋɨr* 2s. gerund) the ox you slaughtered (*zɨwru* 2s. past tense affirmative) it" (Appleyard 1987:488)

      Kemant
      gʷäzäntə   aɣən   adaɣäkʷən
      peasants   they-being   they-remain
      "They will remain (*aɣən* 3p. gerund of *aɣ*- 'be' + *adaɣäkʷən* 3p. affirmative imperfect of *adäɣ*- 'remain') peasants" (Appleyard 1975:340)

      b. Khamtanga *k'äb*- "cut" and Kemant *was*- "hear"
          k'áb   was
          k'ábər   wasəy
          k'áb   was
          k'ábər   wasəy
          k'ábən   wasən
          k'ábərn   wasin
          k'ábəŋ   wasən

    Finally, it is interesting to point out that in a number of languages in the southern areas of East Cushitic, and in Southern Cushitic, the same tense and aspect formatives that have been to occur as suffixes, i.e., after the set of reconstructed forms in (32), seem to occur as preverbs, i.e., before the actual verbal forms. An example of this are the Arbore paradigms in (1) where ʔ*a*- followed by short forms of the subject pronouns (1s. -*n*, 2s. Ø, 3m. -*y*, 3f. -*y* etc.) characterises the affirmative non-past tense, and ʔ*i*-, a likely development of **e*, the affirmative past tense. In this language ʔ*a*- before the forms of the past tense produces a different set of forms, that were translated into Amharic as pluperfects by Hayward's informants (Hayward 1984:260). The Burunge forms in (18) show, instead, how -*áa* preceded by *ha* in the 1. and 2., but *y*- in the 3. persons characterises the affirmative past. According to Kießling's analysis (1994:150) the forms in (18) have a perfective preterite value, while -*áa* before non-past forms gives them an imperfective preterite value. The Burunge 1. and 2. *ha* and 3. *y- ~ hi* are old clitic subject pronouns cognate of Iraqw 1. and 2. *a* and 3. *i*, of Somali 1. *aan*, 2. *aad*, 3m. *uu* and 3f./3p. *ay*, etc., as shown by Hetzron (1980: 68ff.) and Banti (1997:103). This series of clitic subject pronouns evolved in several East and Southern Cushitic language groups out of the inherited independent pronouns – at least as far as the four interlocutive forms are concerned – but apparently never became real verbal concord markers

such as the prefixes of the PC, the SC2 endings in (10) or the set of endings in (32). As a consequence, e.g., Arbore non-past 1s. *ʔan*, 2s. *ʔa*, 3m. *ʔay* etc., and Burunge past 1. *háa*, 2. *háa* and 3. *yáa* don't look like remnants of old forms with verbal inflections. An invariable *yáa* also precedes affirmative past tense forms in southern Oromo, as in (34).

(34)   Southern Oromo *yáa*
          anin   sálfăa   sun   kudhan   yáa   arge
          I-NOMINATIVE   soldier that   ten   *yáa*   I-saw
          "I saw those ten soldiers"

The occurrence of the above tense and aspect formatives both before and after the inflected verbal forms, looks somewhat like the position of auxiliaries in the two main typological classes of syntactic order, i.e., Aux V in VO languages vs. V Aux in OV languages. Indeed, the Cushitic languages with preverbal tense and aspect modifiers all have a less consistent SOV typology, with a strict head-modifier linear ordering in their NP's vis-à-vis the modifier-head order of Agaw, Highland East Cushitic and Saho-ᶜAfar.

   No attempt has been made here to suggest an etymology of these formatives *a*, *e* and *aa*. Since they occur in several branches of Cushitic, they are very old, and their reduced shape makes it quite difficult to reconstruct what they were three or four millennia ago. To make a simple parallel, if there were no written records of Egyptian before Coptic, it would be almost impossible to understand that the perfect 3m. formative *a-f-* seen in (13) actually derives from a Late Egyptian inflected form *jr-f* "he did", that was the perfective (aka preterital) *sḏm.f* tense of the verb *jrj* "do". The above Cushitic formatives could be auxiliary verbs, adverbs or other elements, but is has been pointed out above that their shape in the contemporary languages does not seem to retain any residue of subject concord markers. This is markedly different from the traditional Colizza-Reinisch-Praetorius hypothesis, and is a drawback. On the other hand, the new historical interpretation that has been suggested here makes it possible to explain a number of Cushitic verbal forms that would otherwise have to be classified as anomalies. In the present author's opinion, it thus has a stronger explanatory power than the more traditional hypothesis, and provides a better account for the lack of the glide *y* in the 3m. and 3p. forms of most languages.

   On the other hand, the set of forms in (32) are a new Afro-Asiatic suffix-conjugated paradigm. Its main differences from the East Cushitic SC2 and from the better-known Afro-Asiatic stative inflectional pattern are the following:

(35)   i.   The 1s. has a glottal stop rather than a velar consonant like the
               reflexes of the AA stative in Berber, Egyptian and Semitic, or a

        palatal glide *y like the SC2 and the Old Egyptian suffix conjugation.

  ii. The 3m. is always different from the 3f., that is characterised by *t like the reflexes of the AA stative in the Kabyle (Berber) qualitative preterite, in Egyptian and in Semitic.

  iii. Less strongly, different tenses and moods are obtained by adding grammatical elements before or after the forms in (32). Instead, the SC2 endings are added to different stems in order to get different tenses, basically the bare stem for the present, and an extended Stem-*Vn*- for the past.

In an interesting paper about AA pronouns the late Hetzron (1990:585) pointed out that Cushitic has no trace of a velar *k in its independent 1s. pronoun, reconstructed as *ʔani ~ *ʔanu by Appleyard (1986:221) and Zaborski (1991:77), and remarked that "the complete absence of a first person *k* in Cushitic may be a reasonably good Cushitic vs. Semitic-Egyptian-Berber isogloss", with Semitic in a sort of intermediate position because it shares with Cushitic *k*-less forms like Eblaic ʔanʔa and Geᶜez ʔana in the 1s. independent pronoun. Let us now compare the forms of the 1s. independent pronouns and of the 1s. endings of the AA stative in these four language groups, leaving aside Chadic and Omotic whose relevant reconstructed forms are more controversial.

(36)   Reconstructed AA 1s. pronominal formatives

	Berber	Old Egyptian	Semitic	Cushitic
1s. indep. pronoun	*ənakkʷ	jnk	Akk. ʔanāku Ebl. ʔanʔa, Ge. ʔana	*ʔan-i/u
1s. ending of the AA stative	*-k > -ɣ	-kj > -kw	Akk. -āku Ge. -ku	

The Berber independent form *ənakkʷ has been reconstructed by Prasse (1972:179ff., cf also Kossmann 1999:179f.), while the Eblaic form ʔanʔa "I" is the well-known reading by Fronzaroli (1994:92). In the light of the above idea by Hetzron, the 1s. *-ʔV reconstructed in (32) is not out of place in the empty slot in (36) as the 1s. ending that corresponds to Berber *-k > -ɣ, Old Egyptian -kj > -kw, Akkadian -āku and Geᶜez -ku. Eblaic -ʔa and reconstructed Cushitic *-ʔV would seem to be older variants of the simpler formatives -V that may have developed phonologically after consonants. A more accurate reconstruction of the Cushitic 1s. independent pronoun would thus be *ʔanʔi ~ *ʔanʔu.

4. Conclusions
The three major conjugational patterns of the Cushitic verbs have been discussed in the above pages in a comparative perspective both within the major branches of this language family and in their wider AA context. The prefix conjugation has been examined very shortly, in order to highlight its differences from the other two patterns and some of the most significant points that make it different from its better-known Semitic counterparts. The second suffix conjugation, aka East Cushitic stative conjugation, has been seen in some of its morphological and syntactic details. Its similarities with the Egyptian *sḏm.f* suffix conjugation have been worked out more systematically that in previous papers by this author.

Finally, the well-known Cushitic suffix conjugation, the SC1, has been examined in the third section of this paper. Some of the weaknesses of the traditional Colizza-Reinisch-Praetorius hypothesis have been discussed and an alternative historical hypothesis has been suggested: this conjugational pattern is not the reflex of an old nominal form followed by a prefix-conjugated auxiliary, but of an old fully inflected set of forms that are formally cognate of the AA stative conjugation. In Cushitic it was followed and, more rarely, preceded by a number of elements that evolved into vocalic tense and aspect formatives. Some of the pro's and con's of these two different hypotheses have been examined.

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Giorgio Banti
Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi
Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
Palazzo Corigliano
Piazza S. Domenico Maggiore, 12
80134 Napoli (Italy)
email   <gibanti@unior.it> or <g.banti@agora.it>