

Чадско-кушитские лексические параллели и данные лексикостатистики (к составу кушитской семьи)

Структура кушитской семьи (по данным лексикостатистики [V.Blazek, Afroasiatic migration])

Cushitic languages

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I. Beja + agaw II. EastCush+ South Cush (Rift + Asa, Qwadza)

А.Ниже приводятся сомнительные сближения по 50-словному списку между между гр. Rift и остальными кушитскими языками

I. Общекушитские корни, имеющие афразийскую этимологию : 'I', 'thou', 'what', 'we', 'not', 'who', 'mouth'

Материал языков Rift вызывает сомнение в след. случаях:

1.(?) 'we' : Rift *nd- ~ Cush *ʔin(n)- (> Saho-Afar nanu, etc.)

2. *ma 'not' > Irawq ma запретительная частица (Takacs, Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian, v. 3) , которая, возможно, восходит к Iraqw maw 'leave, avoid' (и не связана этимологически с *ma 'not')

II. Совпадения по 50-словнику только на кушитском материале

1. Rift *šVh 'moon' ~ ECush *leʔ- '

2. Rift *gwa 'die' ~ ECush Somali goʔ (dil 'to kill'), Bayso gue 'die' (lagada 'kill) Сомнительные случаи:

1.Rift *gas- 'kill' (Lexikalisierte Kausative < 'die': Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa gwa-> gas-, Qwadza gwaʔ-> gaʔis-) [Kiessling 296] ~ East Cush *gši- 'kill': Oromo *aḷḷēsa* < *ʔag-is-, caus. (du a 'to die'), Arbore *ʔigis-*, Rendile agiis (amuut 'to die'), Elmolo *ékis* < *ʔegis, Konso *ikas-* < *ʔig-as-, Dasenec as (kuf 'to die'). Sasse: "The underlying root is the PECush prefix verb *-gši "

2. 'dry' Rift *kah- ~ Cushitic agaw *kag-, East Cushitic *ʔangeg [Sasse], Dasenec, Oromoid *gag- , Rendile angage, Bayso ʔangage , Weizoid *HaH

С учетом сомнительных случаев, объединение восточно-кушитских и южно-кушитских языков вызывает сомнение. Кроме того, для языков Rift характерны внешние, а не внутренние схождения по 50-словнику, а именно:

1 Rift *maʔay- pl. tantum 'water' ~ Sem *maʔ-, Eg mw, Ch *maʔ-, pl. *hamma, Berb 'water'.

2.Rift *seʔemi 'hair' ~ Omot Yemsa somà '(Kopf)Haar'~ Ch *sV(ʔV)m- 'hair': West Hausa sùumáa 'the growth of hair on the head from its first appearance after the head has been shaved until it is long and termed *gizo*'; Ngamo som 'hair, feathers'; C higi gr. *sin-ti < *sim-ti 'hair (on head)', bata gr. Gude šín-kí-nà '(my) hair (on head)', Fali Mucella šim-ki, Fali Bwagiru šim-kin 'hair'; Eg smʔ (Pyr) 'hair' (if ʔ < ?).

3.Rift Alagwa ts'arafu, Burunge carafu 'finger-nail, claw' ~ Sem **tipr- 'claw (nail)'

4.Rift *daba 'hand, arm': ~ Omotic Kaffa dibbo 'hand'; CChad *dVb- (> dəva , ziva) 'hand, arm': Bana dèvè 'main', Fali dūvwu, Kapsiki zùvè, Higi Wula daba 'hand' [Meek]; Holma (bata gr.) dabadaban 'hand', Jimo dabadaba 'palm' [Meek]; Glavda dəva 'hand, arm, branch', Malgwa dəva 'hand', Dghwede diva, Cinene diva, Wandala darva, úrvà, ərvà hand' (< *da-dva < *t-dba); Hdi zəvu 'hand', Hitkala zəva, Guduf dəva, Lamang zəva, Dghwede, Guduf, Gava, Cinene, Galvda dəva 'arm', Mikiri dàbà-ḷá-láy (lay 'arm') 'hand'.

5.Rift *ts'its'i 'star' ~ Chad *sVsVw- 'star': W Warji šušuw-ai, Diri šašuwá, Siri susuwi, Jmbin sasuwá,

Kariya šušu, Miya ašuwaašu, Mbrku šašuwī, Cagu dilaa šišsuwī, Paa šēšúwà; Duwai šīšī; E Sokoro sesi ; Zirenkel sisiye, Mubi sisiwi, Kajaksa sisiwi

Б.Кардинальное отличие консонантных систем (см. ниже) является еще одним аргументом против объединения восточно= и южнокушитских языков.

Консонантная система языков Рифт

	Labial	Dorsal	Lateral	Palatale	Velar/ Uvular	Labiovelar Vel/Uv	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Voiceless plosive	p	T		tʃ	k	k ^w		
Voiced	b	D		dʒ	g	g ^w		
Laryngeal		ts'	tʃ'		q	q ^w	ʕ	ʔ
Fricative	f	S	ʃ		x	x ^w	ħ (h)	H

Пра-восточно-кушитский консонантизм

Voiceless stops		T	k	ʔ		
Voiced	B	D	g	k'		ħ
Glottalized		d' [t]	d'₁ or even more *d' s? [Sasse]	(x ?)	h	ʕ
Voiceless fricatives	f	s	š			
Voiced		z				

С. Чадско-кушитские лексические параллели (небольшая часть из которых приводится ниже), также демонстрируют изоляцию южно-кушитской подгруппы. Велика вероятность того, что ее нужно классифицировать вне рамок кушитской языковой семьи.

1. Chadic ~ Rift lexical parallels

1. Chadic West Hausa gúbà 'poison, carrion' Bade ɛ̀gvà-ɖu 'smell putrid (carrion)', ga-gvà-ɖak 'putrid', Duw ɛ̀gvə-ɖyùwo 'rot, spoil, be fermented'; C Daba ngáv 'gâter, abimer'; Moloko gəvoy 'to rot meat or skin to flavor food' ~ Rift *gub 'to rot' ["This verb is a retention from PWRift, given external Cushitic Cognates, such as PEC *gub- 'burn'" Kiessling 120]. -.

2. W Chadic ***IVwV** 'tribal marks': Miya aʔau, Mburku ʔawə 'tattoo', Jimbin ʔaa 'shave' (n.) Paa ʔawa 'scarifications', Miya ɛ̀tyúw 'tribal markings, etching, tracing'; Zaa ʔaayən vi (from ʔaa-kên vi) 'tribal marks on cheek fanning from the corner of mouth' Polci ʔoo-tə, Saya ʔaa-kongaa 'tribal marks'; *ʔaw 'to scratch': Warji ʔaw 'to scratch', Paa ʔao 'scratch, tattoo, write', Miya ʔyaw 'to etch, trace' ~ Rift Iraqw slooʔi 'facial tattoos', Burunge slooʔ [Ehret].

3. Chadic ***IVbV** 'foam': W Goemay loor (if < *lwVr < *twVr < *tbVr < pl. in -r-) 'scum'; C Podoko ʔəba 'foam' (voicing due to regressive assim.); Sukun mə-ʔəbəc 'scum (forms when boiling mahogany oil)'; E Kera siibə 'Shaum, Ferment; foam' ~ Rift Iraqw slooro 'foam, froth' [MQK], Alagwa slubari 'froth', Iraqw Burunge slubariya, Gorowa slupoo (suffix -ari Kiessling)

4. Chadic ***IV(?)** 'to smell': W 2 Mušere lee, ku-lee 'smell'; C Chibak ʔe-su, Margi ʔa, Hildi ʔa-rdì; 3 Fali ʔa-tuʔ 'to smell', ʔa id.; E Kera siisi 'to smell, to stink'; 2 cf. Nanchere siiya 'mauvais' ~ Rift *sliʔ- 'to stink' [Kies].

5. Chadic ***IVF** 'to rise; to swell': W Dera šiipé 'to swell' (< Ch ***IVF**); C Hide ʔyaf-ʔya (partial redupl. < *ʔyaf-) 'se lever, s'éveiller' ~ Rift Iraqw sluuf 'to rise, to swell' [MQK], Iraqw, Burunge sluf- 'to swell

(of food)' [Eh], Eg šfy/w (Med) 'to swell' [EG 455].

6. CHADIC *ʒVb 'kind of flying insect': W Warji ʒəb-ai 'butterfly']; C Gude alaba 'kind of fly' [Hs]; Mafa ʒəba 'insecte volant sp., kind of flying insect' , Musey ʒib-ma 'la mouche tsetse' ~ Rift Burunge slubi 'dragon fly' [Eh].

7. Chadic *VmV 'enclosure, hut (for cattle)': W Siri dhlimmi 'hut']; C Margi ʒəma 'hut for goats, sheep, stable', Bura ʒima 'a fold for sheep, goats', Fali ʒəma 'hut made for livestock' Podoko ʒəma 'enclosure for animals'; Sukun ʒəma ʒə 'bull's stall' ~ Rift *slumoo 'temporary cattle-fold' [Kies].

8. Chadic *ʒV 'to get, to receive': C Bura ʒu 'to receive at the hand of another']; Fali ʒu 'receive' Gude luu 'obtain, receive, get'

a. *ʒVʔ/w- 'to take (away) by force': Cf. W Pero lāwwo 'to seize, to get by force'], Kupto lāwéy 'to seize, to grab, to confiscate' C Fali ʒyi 'resque, take by force' Malgwa ʒiya 'wegnehmen, ergreifen, take away, seize'; Hide ʒuʔay 'take away by force' Zulgo ʒa 'prendre, saisir, tenir' Merey ʒa 'prendre' Giz, Masa, Ham, Musey ʒi, Lew, Marba ʒe 'prendre' . ~ Rift *slaw- 'to get, find': Iraqw, Bur unge, Alagwa, Gorowa slawa [Kies].

9. Chadic *xVyVw- 'to be glad, good': C Bura hhihha (y^aa-y^aa) 'friendly, sociable', Glavda x^way 'be glad'; E Lele ēywa 'plaisant, agreable'; EDangla ōyāw 'la bonte, la gratuite', ōyā 'bien, beau' ~ Rift Iraqw ʒoʒo 'good (morally), beautiful' ʒōʒo [hhooʔ] 'good, well, nice, beautiful' , Maa -ha 'good', Rift *ʒoʒo 'nice, good' [Kies].

10. Chadic *[x]ar- 'termites': W Hausa ɣaraa f. coll. 'termites'; C Musgu sg ma-ɣarai 'red ant' ~ Rift Iraqw ɣarɣar-mo 'a termite' [Wh], ɣarɣar 'termites', Alagwa ɣaraɣara, Gorowa ɣarɣara coll. 'termite' [Kies] .

II. Chadic ~ Beja (north), agaw (central), East Cushitic

1. Chad *n-dVr- 'to work, to build, to plait' : W Paa ndər 'do, make' ; C Gude ndaarə 'do smø else's job'; Malgwa ndəra 'flechten', Podoko ndara 'build, make' Glavda ndar 'to make, build', ndər 'to build, to dig'; Gisiga ndir 'bauen', ndar 'formen (Töpfen)', Mbuko ndar 'fabriquer avec la paille', Mofu ndrəy 'build', Mofu -ndər- 'tresser (natte)' ~ N Cush Beja deʔir 'bauen, errichten ein Haus' [RBd 56], ECush Som daar 'building house (of masonry as opposed to wattle or mats) [LS], Eg dry (N) 'ausdruck beim Bauen, mit Bezug auf den Erdboden, Mauern und Säulen' [EG 475], Berb Izn 'tresser une cord', Figig der 'tricoter; tresser', Ntifa der tresser une corde', Siwa deʔ adri 'tresse de palmier'

2. Chadic *kVr- 'to steal': W Hausa kaaruwa 'thief'; Paa kəra 'to steal'; Miya ákír 'theft', kəra 'steal' , Warji kir-ai, Kariya kir, Cagu kərey, Siri kəri, Mburku akir, Jimbin kəra 'steal' Ngizim kəru, Duwai kəro 'steal', kərau 'thief, Bade akalāk 'thief', kəlu 'steal' [Kr]; C Bura kar-ta 'to snatch and run with it'; Muyang akāl 'theft, secretly', Mada akkal 'en cachette, à la derobée', zal akkal 'a robbery', Moloko karay 'steal, thief', Merey kəla 'voler', Čuvok makar 'thief'; Sakun kər 'to steal'; Mulwi kiri 'depouiller un voyageur solitaire, to plunder'; Masa kul 'voler, dérober, to rob', Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba kul, Musey kul, hul 'voler, dérober' ~ Semitic Akkadian karriru 'a word for thief' (Syn. list) [CAD 221], ECush Dullay Dobase, Gollango, Gad kereʔ- 'stehlen, Dobase kereʔeko, Gollango, Gad kereʔako 'Dieb' [AMS].

3 Chadic *[x]Vm- > W Ron group *h^wVm- '(to) harvest': Kulere hom 'ernten, to harvest', Karfa həm, Richa hom 'to harvest', Bokos hom v. 'cut with a sickle, harvest (acca etc.)' .

Noun deriv. in -n: DB hwaman 'Ernte', Sha homan 'Erntezeit für Acha-Hirse', Karfa həm 'harvest', Bok homan 'harvesting' [RC] ~ East Cush *haam- 'harvest' (Oromo haam-, Gollango haam-) [Ss: 91], Semitic Akkadian hamāmu (OB) 'to pluck, to gather', hāmimu (OB) 'harvester' [CAD h 58, 66].

4. Chadic *tVI- 'to sew': W Karfa to¹ 'sew'; C Nzangi təle, Bata te¹lo , Jenjimen təle 'coudre' ~ Central Cush (agaw) *taltal- 'sew' [ApAg], East Cush *tol- 'sew' : Rendile to¹, Somali, Burji tol [Heine]; Dullay Harso teel-, Gat tel- 'n,hen'

5. Chadic *hVwVy- 'to love, to want, to be eager': W I Hausa hai, hai hai 'eagerness'; Paa h^wo 'like, love' Daffo h^way 'begierig sein auf; be avid of, be eager' ; C Margi yə (< *hyV) 'love, like' Malgwa haya 'to love', Podoko haya 'aimer, préfère; remercier'; Mofu -háhiy- 'desirer, aimer', Zelgwa hawa (ɣa) 'desir' m. , Ouldem -haye-ɣ 'aimer, apprécier', Muyang awayāy (< *h^wayay) 'love, want, need'; Mazera he 'aimer, vouloir, accepter' E Bidiya ʔaway 'le fait d'aimer la viande (if not < ʔawyo 'animal sauvage)'; Mokilko wəʔe 'chercher, vouloir, desirer' ~ Semitic Arabic hwy (a) 'aimer qqn', hawiy- 'passion, desir, amour', hawiyy-at- 'desir', Hebrew hawwā 'desire', Ugaritic hwy 'begehren', hwt 'wish' [BK 1462-3, KB 228, Ais 86], East Cush Burji hayy- 'love, like, agree', Hadiya haʔiyy- 'love' (used only in neg. form) [SsB], Oromo haw- 'to want', hawwa 'wish for' [Hds], Ongota hee- 'to like, love'.

6. Chadic *gVw/y- > n-gVw/y- (with a pl. pref.) 'to want, to love': W Galambu nguu- 'want'; Duwai ənggyuwo, əngawo 'want, like'; C Fali ngi 'love, like, agree' Podoko ngwa 'want, like'; E Kaba, Nancere -gəy 'vouloir, want', Tobanga giyye 'vouloir'; Tum ge 'want, desire', Ndam giya 'aimer' [BNd]; Barein (dial.)

- gaayo, gā 'to love' ~ East Cush dull Harso, D̄obasa geeʼ-, Gollango g'eeʼ-, 'wollen' Gawwada, Gad qeeʼ- 'wollen, wünschen' [AMS], Omot Shinasha gey- 'wollen, wünschen',
- 7.. Chad dVr 'to sing, dance': W Daffo dor, Bocos ador 'dance, song' (gen.), mador 'musician, singer'; C Daba dàrà danser, la danse'; Hedè ndur 'to dance' ; E Ndam dər 'chancon', Tumak dər 'chancon, chant', Somair derī 'Gesang' ~ Semitic Mehri adōri (drw) '(man) to dance (rather slowly)' [JM]; 'ECush *dūr 'play, sing': Rendile dur, Boni tūr, LEC Arbore dur 'dance', Elmolo dur- 'sing', Afar adar- 'make a certain kind of dance', Saho adaar- 'make a certain kind of dance, sing a certain kind of song' [LSW].
8. Chadic *kVw/yVr- 'river': W Hausa kuwāara, kwāra 'the river Niger', (deriv.) kwara-nya 'to flow'; E 2 Kaba kurāyè, Nancere kurīyè, Lele kuryé, kuryé 'river'; Somrai kró 'river' (irreg. reflex of the velar in contact position (Ch *k- > Smr g-); Mawa kor 'cours' (cf. 'lake, pond') ; 7 Jegu kuraaye 'sea' ~ Cush (agaw) *kʷər- 'river, stream' [ApAg], East Cush Oromo kuree 'rivulet' [Grg], dullay Harso, Dobase kara-kko, pl. karaane 'Fluss' [AMS].
9. Chad *gVz- 'hair (on the head)': W Hausa ḡizoo (no pl.) 'long matted hair on a man's head', cf. ḡizaa-kaa 'any hairy caterpillar'; Miya agəži/ə 'hair' Paḡ ḡgeza 'hair' Warji gəžai, Siri gəzi, Jimbin gəza, Miya agəžu, Mburku ngəži, Kariya gəži; C Balda ḡguzo? 'hair on the head', Zulgo ḡgúz 'poil' ~ ECush Sidamo gaaze 'long hair', , Dull Tsamai gaazo 'hair' > Ongota gazo 'hair'
10. Chad *zVm- 'branch, rod': W Goemai zam (< *nzam) 'a rod, a slender stick' [Hlw]; C Podoko zəma 'tiges pour couvrir le toit, branches for thatching'; Mada nzama 'arbuste qui sert pour la vannerie; bush used for plaiting baskets' Ongota gazo 'hair' ~ East Cushitic *zām- 'twig, branch': Tsamakko zaamm-e 'branch', Burji dām-ee 'branch', Oromo saam-ee 'long branch with smaller branches on it', cf. Eg zm̄.w pl. (MK) 'branches of a tree' [EG 452].
11. Chad *bVs- 'flower': W Jimi buusáa, Dott busul-ti 'flower' ; E Saba bisi, Mawa bisu, Barein (dial) bessu 'flower'.
Derivative: W Bol bēēši 'coloring the teeth with tobacco-flower' ~ East Cush *bis- 'color, flower': Afar bisu 'color', Oromo bif-a 'color' Sidamo biša 'red, brown', Hadiya bišo 'brown', Dullay Harso, Dobasse pisakko, Gollango piso, Gad pisko 'flower' [Ss].
12. Chad *kʷVt- 'small, narrow': W Ngas kwiit 'small, narrow', Chip kət 'thin' C Mafa kwiteʼe 'small', keté 'un peu'; Zime kweteté 'étroit, eng' ~ Cush agaw *kʷət-t- 'be small, thin' [ApAg].

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