LANGUAGE DEATH IN MESMES: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION OF A DISAPPEARING LANGUAGE

by

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ABSTRACT

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Mesmes is a recently extinct language within the Peripheral West Gurage subgroup of the Ethio-Semitic Gurage cluster in southwestern Ethiopia. While Leslau (1979) and Hetzron (1972 and 1977), among many others, have examined the history of this cluster, little is known about the Mesmes language. The Mesmes speakers completed a shift to Hadiyya (a Cushitic language) roughly sixty years ago. This thesis considers the social history of the Mesmes in relation to the shift and death of their language and also examines the comparative evidence linking Mesmes with the Gurage cluster and, more specifically, with the Peripheral West Gurage subgroup. Due to contact with Hadiyya, Mesmes has undergone externally-induced changes evidenced in

a wordlist (Bender 1971) and a previously unpublished text. The documentation of the Mesmes – Hadiyya contact situation and its effects aids in understanding and identifying processes affecting language contact, language death and historical-comparative studies in general.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Gurage Cluster and Mesmes

The Gurage cluster of languages belongs to the Ethio-Semitic family, which in turn is part of Western South Semitic within the larger family, Afroasiatic (Faber 1997). Found in the highlands to the south and southwest of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, over 1 million speakers claim the Gurage languages as their mother tongue today (Ethiopian Census Records 1994). The cluster is comprised of no less than fourteen[1] distinct speech varieties, all of which are believed to be genetically related one to another (Hetzron 1972). While much study has been done on the Gurage languages over the past 100 years, one group, the Mesmes, has escaped all but the most cursory attention.

The Mesmes are found within the borders of the Hadiyya (Highland East Cushitic) language area. They are geographically isolated from close contact with other Ethio-Semitic languages. Hetzron (1977) suggests that Mesmes is closely related to Endegeny, one variety of the West Gurage cluster of lects within the Outer South Ethiopic family. However, Hetzron did not publish any data to back up his claim.

[1] It must be noted that the author does not consider the so-called East Gurage languages of Silt'e, Zway, Wolane, etc. to be part of the Gurage cluster. Rather, the cluster may be said to include: Kistane (Soddo), Dobi (Gogot), Mesqan, Muher, Gumera, Ezha, Aklil, Desa, Cheha, Gura, Ennemor, Enner, Endegeny and Gyeto. And, of course, Mesmes would be included here, historically as well.

Today, the Mesmes language is no longer spoken. The Mesmes people have shifted to speaking Hadiyya. One remaining Mesmes speaker, nevertheless, has in fact been found. Members of this speaker's community consider this man to be the terminal speaker of Mesmes. While he hasn't spoken the language in thirty years, his speech closely matches the only known Mesmes wordlist, gathered by Bender in 1969.

This thesis will document the placement of Mesmes within Gurage as part of the Peripheral West Gurage subgroup. New evidence of close relationship between Endegeny and Mesmes will be provided and an examination of the contact-induced changes that have taken place in Mesmes as a result of borrowing from Hadiyya will also be undertaken.

1.2 The Gurage Language Survey of 2001

Between the months of April to November of 2001, the author, along with Colleen Ahland and Hussein Mohammed conducted linguistic and sociolinguistic field research in the Gurage region. The area stretches from just south of Welk'it'e in the west (8°17.68 N and 37°47.20 E) and Bui in the east (8°19.59 N and 38°33.03 E) to a few miles south of Dink'ulla in the east (7°52.15 N and 37°48.50 E) and Qabul in the west (7°52.58 N and 38°02.02 E). All of the area within these coordinate points is considered Gurage by the inhabitants. The map below shows the location of the Gurage area within Ethiopia (Figure 1.1). The Gurage cluster spans an area of southwestern Ethiopia about 150 km in length and approximately 80 km in width, at the widest part.

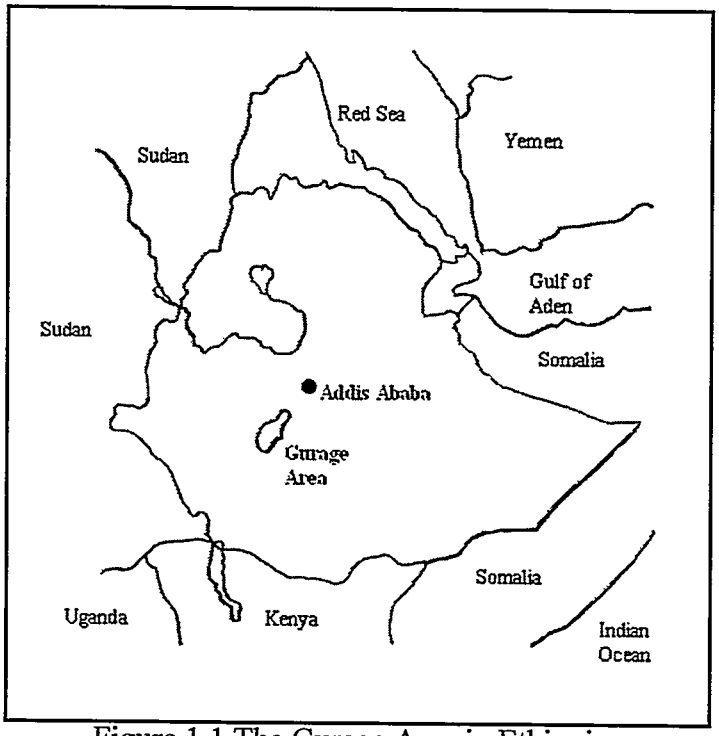

Figure 1.1 The Gurage Area in Ethiopia

The Gurage Language Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Gurage Zone Education Bureau and their help, insight and assistance is greatly appreciated. The primary purpose of the research was to discover centers of communication and their respective linguistic boundaries within the cluster. During the course of the research, the team conducted sociolinguistic interviews with groups of adults, collected wordlists, recorded and translated texts and carried out comprehension testing[2]. A holistic approach including a careful analysis of sociolinguistic factors and genetic relationship as well as reported levels of translectal intelligibility by the speakers themselves in addition to actual comprehension scores on recorded text tests from the

[2] For a detailed discussion of recorded text testing methodology, see Eugene Casad's Dialect Intelligibility Testing, 1974. The basic concept is to elucidate inherent intelligibility between speech varieties by testing speakers on natural texts recorded from the other areas in question. Speakers who

other varieties were used to group the cluster into communication centers (Ahland 2003). Table 1.1 below provides the average comprehension test scores[3].

Table 1.1 Average Comprehension Test Scores from Gurage Survey

Test Points
(Location where testing was conducted)

Reference Points (Text which was played)	CH	EZ	MU	GY	IN	GU	EN	MS	MQ	DO	KI
CH	90	88	85	86	67	89	63		48	39	30
EZ		97				87					
MU	74	73	93						71	73	53
GY				98	83		94		67		
IN	78			75	89	67	89				
GU		89			88	97					
EN				77	90		93				
MS							78				
MQ	92	90	97	86					92	89	63
DO			85						61	96	76
KI			54						65	90	98

This language survey was meant to build upon the earlier work on intelligibility by Gutt (1977) who established comprehension boundaries between Silt'e, Cheha and Kistane. Thus, the need to investigate the levels of inherent intelligibility of the other Gurage varieties remained.

The findings of the Gurage Language Survey are shown in the map below (Figure 1.2)[4]. Their relevance here is to aid in examining both the geographic and linguistic relationships between the speech varieties of the cluster as well as to help

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have had substantial or repeated contact with those varieties whose texts they will be tested on are not included in the study.

3 The abbreviations are: CH = Cheha, EZ = Ezha, MU = Muher, GY = Gyeto, IN = Inor, GU = Gura, EN =Endegeny, MS = Mesmes, MQ = Mesqan, DO = Dobi/Gogot, KI = Kistane/Soddo (Ahland 2001). The shaded cells indicate hometown scores, where test subjects were scored on the text from their own area.

4 See Appendix E for a more detailed map including the principal towns.

establish which Gurage speech varieties are most likely to be closely related to Mesmes linguistically.

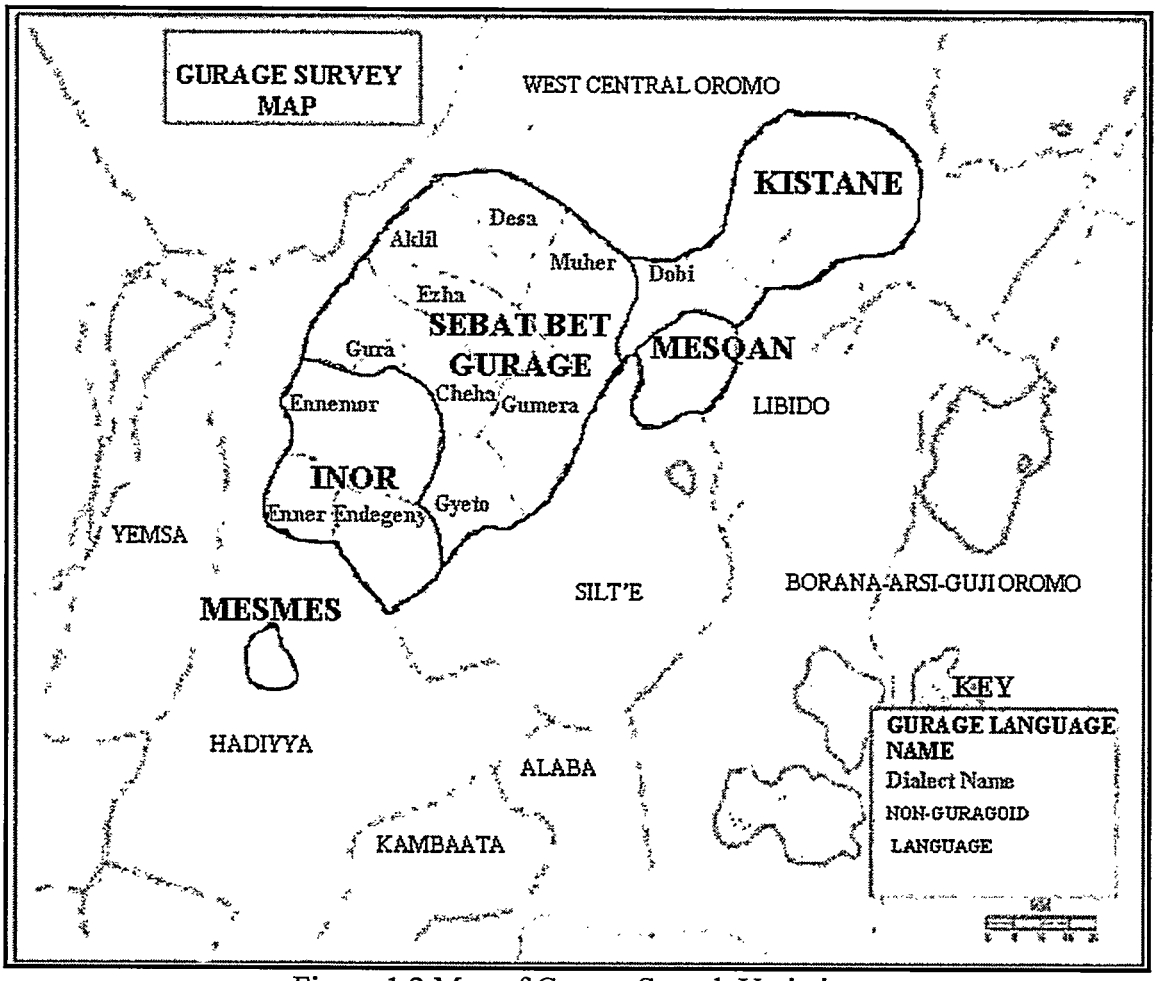

Figure 1.2 Map of Gurage Speech Varieties

1.3 The Identification of the Lects[5] in the Gurage Cluster

The geographic areas of Gurage speech varieties are outlined in black. The names in all capital letters denote language groupings based on intelligibility findings and the smaller names refer to the principal lects.

A quick overview of these lects will suffice for now. Within Kistane[6] are found the Kistane and Dobi varieties. Just south of Kistane, is Mesqan. The western boundary of Dobi and Mesqan is the large Gurage mountain range with elevations of nearly 10,000 feet. To the west of the mountains lies Sebat Bet[7] "Seven House" Gurage. If intelligibility is allowed as a determiner of linguistic boundaries, Sebat Bet Gurage is comprised of Cheha (the center, both geographically and linguistically), Gura, Muher (including the subdialects of Desa and Aklil), Ezha, Gumera, and Gyeto. Finally, southwest of Sebat Bet, lies the area of Inor, also called Peripheral West Gurage. Inor includes speakers of the Ennemor and Endegeny varieties as well as the subdialect of Enner[8]. The area associated with the Mesmes people is outlined in black within the Hadiyya area. The northern edge of the Mesmes area is an estimated 25 kilometers from

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[5] A lect as used here, refers to a minimally distinctive set of phonological, morphological and syntactic features that characterize a speech form.

[6] Kistane 'Christian' is the autoethnonym preferred by the speakers themselves. In most of the literature the group/language is called Soddo/Soddinya. The local population considers Soddo to be the name of the geographic location, not the name of the people or the language. They refer to their language as Kistaninya, 'the language of the Christians.'

[7] Today, the name Sebat Bet denotes a social network of peoples. The author and the Gurage Language Survey research team has found Muher (including Desa and Aklil), Ezha, Cheha, Gura, Gumera, Gyeto and Ennemor to be generally accepted as part of this social network. Historically speaking, the Sebat Bet 'Seven Houses' was a political alliance formed from the Amist Bet 'Five Houses' at some time after 1889 (Shack 1966: 205). Shack continues, adding, "There is a consensus of opinion that before 1875 the Chaha, Muher, Gyeto, Ennemor and Ezha tribes formed a tribal federation then known as Amist Bet." He notes the later addition of Aklil and Wolane groups as the foundation of the seven houses, Sebat Bet. For purely linguistic reasons, Ennemor is not considered part of Sebat Bet in the present classification, despite its historic social link with Sebat Bet. Rather, Ennemor subgroups closely with Endegeny and Enner, forming the Peripheral West Gurage subgroup (Hetzron 1977). This Peripheral West Gurage is denoted as Inor in Figure 1. Gyeto, according to Hetzron and the Gurage Language Survey team's findings, is on the linguistic border between Sebat Bet and Inor. Thus, in terms of the classification proposed above, the Sebat Bet delineation follows social boundaries rather than linguistic ones. The author has elected to use the name here because it is so widely known and accepted, even as a term referring to the language, though not necessarily referring to those groups which were a part of the historic Sebat Bet federation.

[8] The actual nature of Enner is unclear to the author. The Gurage Language Survey research team did not attempt to locate any speakers of Enner itself, but found that both Ennemor and Endegeny claim it as a sort of subdialect.

the southern tip of the Endegeny area. That is, the Mesmes community is completely surrounded by speakers of a non-Guragoid, non-Ethio-Semitic language.

According to the most recent Ethiopian Census (1994) results, published at the time of the Gurage Language Survey, the total Gurage population is said to number 1.2 million. The population of the Mesmes community, however, is not known as people claiming Mesmes ethnicity have not been counted separately from Hadiyya. The Hadiyya population itself is said to be as high as one million with as many as 600,000 monolinguals (Ethiopian Census 1994).

1.4 Historical Work on the Gurage Varieties

The Gurage cluster has long been the subject of linguistic inquiry. As a result, some of the most prominent scholars to tackle the Ethio-Semitic languages have worked on these lects. In order to set the stage for understanding the internal subgrouping within Gurage and the placement of Mesmes in that group, the works of two researchers in particular will figure greatly: Wolf Leslau and Robert Hetzron.

1.4.1 The Work of Leslau

Leslau has worked on the Gurage lects for more than a half century. His research has produced a quantity of information unparalleled in the study of Ethio-Semitic languages. His three-volume *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (1979) is undoubtedly the single greatest contribution to the corpus of Gurage language data.

In addition to his lexicography mentioned above and numerous articles on the Gurage languages, Leslau has examined the historical relationship of the Gurage speech varieties, grouping within Gurage the varieties known as East Gurage (Silt'e, Wolane,

and Zway). Leslau argues for a single parent to account for all these Gurage languages (1965 and 1969). Others have dissented, the most prominent voice being that of Heztron.

1.4.2 The Work of Hetzron

Hetzron's work has built upon the foundation of Leslau and other linguists who have worked on the Gurage varieties, and he has clearly acknowledged his debt to previous pioneers, most principally Leslau. However, Hetzron, himself, was the first to utilize the historical-comparative approach to classify Gurage lects based on shared innovations. His opus, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification* (1972), outlines his findings for all of the Ethio-Semitic family. Later, he published *The Gunnän Gurage Languages*, an in-depth analysis of the interrelatedness and historical placement of each of the Gurage lects within the cluster based on shared innovations. It is in this work that Hetzron identifies problems with the earlier Gurage classifications.

The most significant problem attracting Hetzron's attention grows out of Leslau's classification, which was not based solely on shared innovations but also relies on "archaisms and phenomena attributable to Cushitic influence[9]" (Hetzron 1977: 21). As a result of Hetzron's rigorous application of the comparative method, only his classification of Gurage will be referred to in this thesis. See Figures 1.3 and 1.4, below, for Heztron's classification of Ethio-Semitic in general and Outer South Ethiopic in particular[10].

[9] See pp. 21-22 of *The Gunnän Gurage Languages* for a complete synopsis of this debate.
[10] Hetzron has classified Silt'e, Wolane and Zway as part of Transversal South Ethiopic, not Outer South Ethiopic (1972).

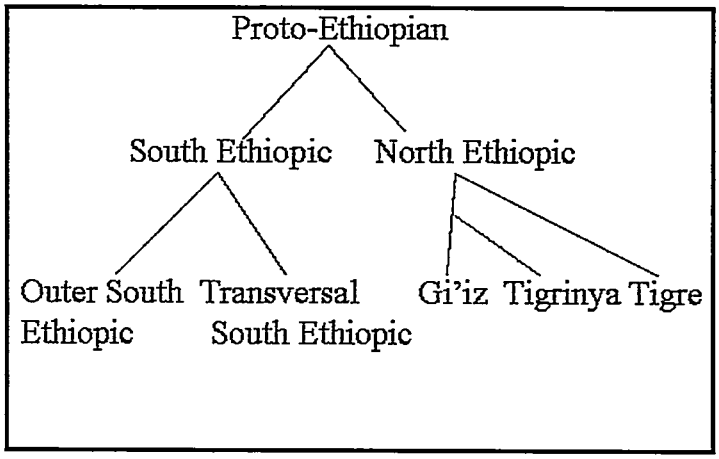

Figure 1.3 Hetzron's Classification of Ethio-Semitic

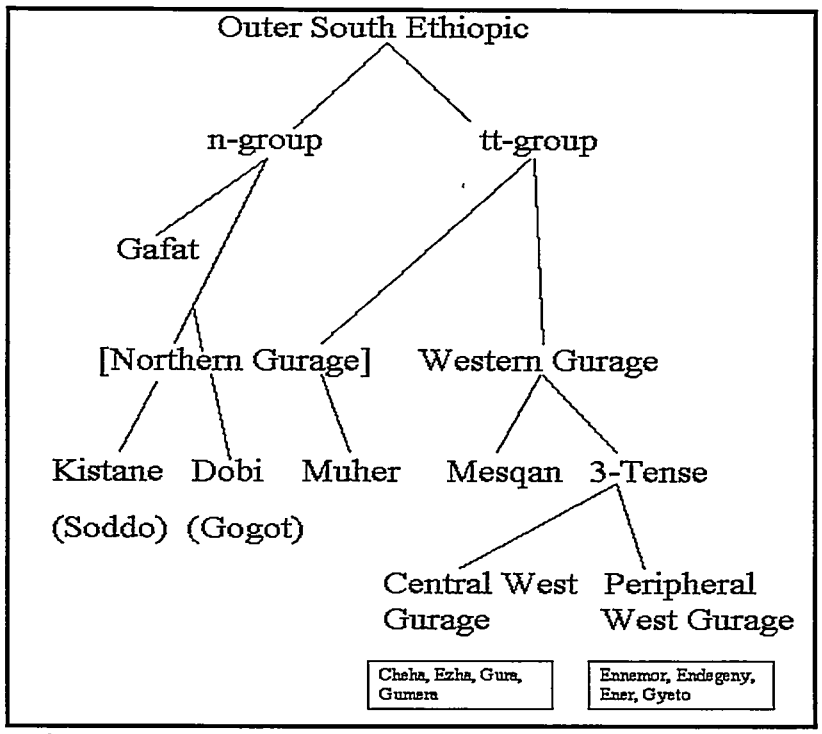

Figure 1.4 Hetzron's Classification of Outer South Ethiopic

Before continuing, it is necessary to consider a few of the more important subgroups in these trees. First, since the initial focus is to understand Gurage, as

opposed to an examination of the broader Ethio-Semitic context, and then to consider the placement of the Mesmes, attention must be centered on Figure 1.4, Outer South Ethiopic.

The principal division between the n-group and the tt-group is based on an innovation Hetzron noted in the main verb markers, inherited from the earliest forms of Semitic (1977). These main verb markers were originally signifying indicative mood in Proto-Semitic. The 'tt' form is an innovative *shibboleth*, opposed to the more archaic 'n' form. Western Gurage has essentially lost these main verb markers except for an isolated retention in Peripheral West Gurage where they have been maintained in the past form of the existential verb.

Within Western Gurage is found the split between Mesqan and what Heztron has called 3-Tense Gurage. This development is based on the innovation of a distinct future tense in both the Central and Peripheral West varieties while Mesqan preserves the original 2-tense system. There are, of course, many other innovations that further confirm the genetic divisions into these lectal complexes. Some of the more interesting sound correspondences will be dealt with in chapter four.

Hetzron's grouping of Central West Gurage includes Cheha, Ezha, Gura, and Gumera. His Peripheral West grouping includes Ennemor, Endegeny, Ener and Gyeto[11]. For the most part (except for the distinctions covered in footnote 8), Hetzron's Northern

[11] Note that there are several significant differences between Heztron's genetic classification and the Gurage Language Survey research team's intelligibility-based divisions. First, Muher is classified as a Northern Gurage lect, more closely related to Dobi (Hetzron's Gogot) and Kistane (Hetzron's Soddo) than any of the Sebat Bet lects. Second, Hetzron places Gyeto in the Peripheral West Group. Hetzron does note Gyeto as a "special problem" in classification in that it also shares some features in common

Gurage corresponds to the author's Kistane; his Central West corresponds to the author's Sebat Bet; and his Peripheral West, to the author's Inor.

1.4.3 A New Proposal for Ethio-Semitic Classification

Girma Demeke (2001) argues for a classification differing from both Leslau and Hetzron. Working from the assumption that the Ethio-Semitic languages originated in Ethiopia at a time before Semitic speakers had left Africa and migrated to Asia[12], he suggests that Ethio-Semitic is a daughter of Proto-Semitic and, moreover, a sister to the so-called Asian-Semitic languages (Girma 2001: 64). Girma's classification for Outer South Ethiopic also differs from Hetzron's. Muher is classified as a Western Gurage language while Ennemor, within Western Gurage (Hetzron's 3-Tense Gurage) is no longer classified with Endegeny as part of PWG but as part of CWG, closely related to Cheha (Girma 2001: 78). It must be mentioned that the classification of Muher as a Western Gurage language corresponds nicely with the comprehension scores (Table 1.1), the intelligibility reports and sociolinguistic information gathered during the Gurage Language Survey of 2001. But not all evidence confirms Girma Demeke's account; the classification of Ennemor as a CWG language is not supported by the Survey results.

On this last-named point, it is to be noted that the classification of Ennemor is particularly important for understanding the place of Mesmes within Gurage. The findings of the Gurage Language Survey of 2001 show that Ennemor (labeled as Inor in

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with Central West Gurage (1972). In the final analysis, Hetzron argues that Gyeto is essentially a PWG lect with "strong Cheha influence" (pp.71-73).

[12] For discussion of this migration out of Africa and the Semitic homeland debate, see section 1.5.

Table 1.1) speakers understood only 67%, on average, of the Cheha text. These same Ennemor speakers understood a full 90% of the Endegeny text. Also, in the Endegeny area, Endegeny speakers scored an average of 63% on the Cheha text and 89% on the Ennemor text. Such scores, when coupled with the results from the sociolinguistic questionnaires and the regular sound correspondences (discussed in chapter four), show that Ennemor is almost certainly a PWG language.

1.5 The Debate over the Semitic Homeland

Before any specific discussion of previous research on the Mesmes language can be undertaken, it is important to consider the wider debate regarding the origins of the Semitic languages. For many years it was argued that the Semitic presence in Ethiopia came as a result of migration to Ethiopia from southern Arabia and Yemen (Ullendorff 1960, Leslau 1968, Hetzron 1972). This well-accepted notion has been challenged by Murtonen's suggestion that the Ethiopian Semitic speakers must have separated from South Arabian Semitic far earlier than the proposed migrations in order for the vast diversity of lexicon, phonology and grammar found today in extant Ethio-Semitic (Murtonen 1967). Bender, in his *Upside-Down Afrasian*, argues that on the basis of the linguistic evidence (grammatical isomorphs, syntactic phenomena and lexical data), the Afroasiatic homeland, contra the "out-of-Asia" hypothesis, is likely in the Blue-White Nile confluence area near present-day Khartoum (Bender 1997: 20). Semitic, Bender asserts, is "a relatively recent offshoot of the [Berber-Semitic-Cushitic] branch of Afrasian" (1997: 25). Bender also notes the benefits gained by an "out-of-

Africa" hypothesis for Semitic: the so-called "problem of diversity" within Ethio-Semitic languages vanishes (1997: 27).

Hudson also suggests that since Afroasiatic is most thoroughly attested in Africa, with only the Semitic subfamily, of its six subfamilies, found geographically in part off the continent and since the most numerous Semitic group is Ethio-Semitic, it is likely that the earliest Semitic speakers were found in the area of present day Ethiopia (Hudson 2002). Hudson writes:

> Ethiopian Semitic speakers must reasonably be thought the autochthonous descendants of the first Semites, who have lived in Ethiopia alongside their Afroasiatic siblings and neighbors, the Cushitic and Omotic speakers, since in prehistoric times all three moved out of the Afroasiatic house... (Hudson 2002: 1770).

Hudson employs the notion of linguistic diversity marking the homeland, meaning that the location where the greatest dialectal/linguistic variation is found, may be suspected to be the *Urheimat* or original home. Also, he employs Hetzron's archaic heterogeneity argument, "When related languages are compared, the system that exhibits the most inner heterogeneity is likely to be the closest to the ancestor-system" (Hetzron 1976: 89). Hudson offers examples of heterogeneity, in the structural diversity of Ethio-Semitic languages (2002). Thus, on both counts, Ethio-Semitic appears to be autochthonous in his view. First, Hudson points out that Ethio-Semitic is the most diverse Semitic group with 16 languages. And, also, he notes that on structural grounds, Ethio-Semitic is more diverse, more heterogeneous, and provides reasonable means for reconstructing the proto language. He does not suggest that one must rework all of Hetzron's tree for Ethio-Semitic:

> The Semitic proto-language arose in Ethiopia. After groups of these Semitic speakers separated and moved into Arabia and beyond, the Ethiopian Semites separated into northern and southern groups. Other separations of peoples and resulting evolution of languages in northern and southern Ethiopia may closely follow Hetzron's theory above (Hudson 2000: 79).

That said, however, the Gurage languages, in particular, appear to share a significant number of archaisms that many have noticed. Before Murtonen's and Hudson's work, some of these archaic features were perhaps misconstrued to be the results of contact with Cushitic languages and thus reflexes of earlier Afroasiatic language rather than retentions from Proto-Semitic. In light of Hudson's argument regarding the Ethiopian origin of the Semitic subfamily, these archaisms may need reconsideration:

> A number of features of Proto-Ethiopian and even Proto-Semitic have been traced in Gurage languages, such as items enumerated in Leslau (1951), the main verb markers identified in Leslau (1967) and Hetzron (1968), and archaic vowel of the jussive verb hypothesized in Leslau (1968a). The absence of these features in northern Ethiopian is of interest, particularly if Gurage is assumed to be derived from the northern languages, and thought to be in general more innovative under the influence of intimate contact with its close Cushitic neighbors (Hudson 1977: 129).

Murtonen also suggests that the archaic features in Ethio-Semitic are the result of an autochthonous Semitic-speaking community in Ethiopia:

> Moreover, the archaic features of Tigre and Gurage can hardly be accounted for otherwise than on the supposition that they have been living apart from the rest of Ethiopic for long periods, and since ancient times, which hardly could have been the case, had they come together with other ancestors of present-day Ethiopians from South Arabia; Cushitic and Egyptian affinities also point to a permanent stay of most Ethiopians on the African continent (Murtonen 1967: 74).

Despite this debate concerning the Semitic homeland and the possible status of Ethio-Semitic as an autochthonous group whose Gurage languages, in particular, may

include some of the most archaic varieties, this author will rely on the classification of proposed by Hetzron on the grounds that it is the most extensive and careful comparative study as yet undertaken of the Gurage languages. It remains to be seen whether or not future research will demonstrate the need for further reorganization of the internal branching of Ethio-Semitic.

1.6 Previous Research on Mesmes

A discussion of the previous work related to Mesmes is now in order. Very little information was available on Mesmes when compared with what is known about the other languages in the area. Until the work of this author, Marvin Lionel Bender was the only linguist to have published Mesmes data.

1.6.1 The Work of Bender: The Wordlist, Lexicostatistics and Grammatical Paradigms

In 1969, Bender and D.L. Stinson, an expatriate missionary who assisted Bender on some of his work in the area, collected a 99-item wordlist from a Mesmes speaker in the area of Hosanna town in southwestern Ethiopia. The wordlist was published along with a large lexicostatistic comparison of various languages in Ethiopia in *The Journal of Anthropological Linguistics* in 1971. Bender's findings regarding the lexicostatistic comparison of Mesmes with other lects in the area is summarized in Table 1 below.

Note that Mesmes is most "similar" to Ennemor. Bender's work, which predates Hetzron's comparative work, does in fact agree with the latter's findings. However, it must be noted that while lexicostatistics does show lexical similarity between lects, it cannot be taken as a completely reliable method to determine genetic relationships, as

its similarity matrices does not cull out borrowings or retentions—neither of which can be used to show any specific shared history.

Table 1.2 Comparison of Mesmes Lexicostatistics with Other Gurage Lects

Cheha				
80	**Mesqan**			
89	76	**Gyeto**		
81	70	83	**Ennemor**	
56	58	59	68	**Mesmes**

The importance of Bender's Mesmes wordlist should not be underestimated, however. At the time of this writing, the 99-item list is still the main corpus available on the lect. In addition to the wordlist, Bender and Stinson collected a few grammatical paradigms showing the pronoun set, bound possessives and the conjugations of a couple verb forms. These grammatical paradigms were never published.

1.6.2 Hetzron on Mesmes

As has already been mentioned, Hetzron is credited with the most comprehensive study of Gurage based on shared innovations. While Bender and Stinson's grammatical paradigms were never actually published, it does appear that Hetzron did see these data and was able to make a general observation.

In *The Gunnän Gurage Languages*, he writes:

> M.L. Bender...mentioned the existence of a Gurage group, called Mesmes (*məsməs*, probably a nickname based on the vocatively used word *məs* 'man') outside of Gurageland proper, in Bushana, west of Hossana....On the basis of a

99-word-list and a handful of grammatical items provided by Bender, the present writer has been able to identify it as a dialect of Endegeñ (1977:4).

Apart from a number of references to Hetzron's statement above, there is very little mention of the Mesmes language in the linguistic literature. In the remainder of his Gurage treatise, Hetzron does not deal with Mesmes at all. He does not include any evidence from Bender's list nor from his grammatical paradigms to back up his claims.

In the same work, however, Hetzron does mention a map by de Chaurand containing a reference to a Masmasa group in the vicinity of Gurage. The map (Figure 5) is dated 1894 and has been reproduced in Cohen (1931: 69). Masmasa is placed between the Alaba and Kambaata groups, quite some distance southeast of where the Mesmes are found today.

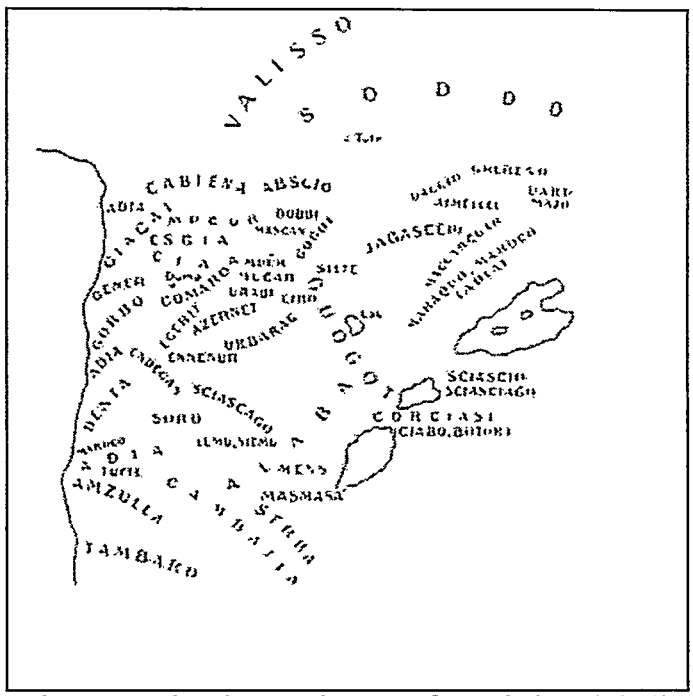

Figure 1.5 de Chaurand's Map from Cohen (1931)

It is unclear if this *Masmasa* is closely connected to the *Mesmes* or if they belong to another Ethio-Semitic speaking people who have since moved from the area. It must be mentioned that there are a number of Kambaata loanwords in the Mesmes data.

In Bender's original field notes from 1969, he has recorded that his Mesmes informant claimed heritage from the Oyatta, a kingly clan of the Kambaata. Dirk Bustorf has mentioned that the oral tradition of the Kambaata asserts that the early ancestors of Kambaata and Mesmes were brothers, together with Donga, Kauka/Dawro, Loka, Bosha and Yemsa (personal communication). Linguistically speaking, this appears quite unlikely since the myth involves genetic links between Cushitic, Ethio-Semitic and Omotic speaking peoples.

The most recent mention of Mesmes in the literature is found in Ronnie Sim's *Predicate Conjoining in Hadiyya* (1989) where a small Guragoid community called Masmas is identified as 'declining': "There is also the small, and now declining Masmas (Gurage) community in Konteb Woreda" (1989: 4). The Konteb Woreda includes the area around the town of Morsito near where the Mesmes are found today. Nothing more is mentioned regarding the Mesmes people or their speech form in Sim's work. It is unclear how Sim deduced that the Mesmes were declining in the mid-1980's when he surveyed the Hadiyya area. His findings do, however, certainly correspond to the proposed recent history of Mesmes discussed in more detail in chapter two.

Apart from the work of Bender and Hetzron, the inclusion of Mesmesa on de Charaund's map reproduced in Cohen 1931, and the statement above by Sim, the author has found no other mention of the Mesmes language in the literature.

This thesis will attempt to evaluate Heztron's claim of close relationship between Mesmes and Endegeny, through an examination of Bender's data, both his wordlist and his previously unpublished grammatical data as well as through additional data gleaned from the author's Mesmes text. It will be shown that Mesmes is a PWG language and has shared history with Ennemor and Endegeny in particular. Much appreciation is extended to Professor Bender for his kindness in making his field notes containing the grammatical information on Mesmes available to this author. The comparative analysis will be undertaken in chapter four.

CHAPTER 2

ESTABLISHING THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

2.1 The Importance of the Social Setting

Languages do not exist within a vacuum. They are not "protected" from the influences of other languages nor the desires of their own speakers. Any study of historical linguistics must, at the very least, consider the social context and its possible effects on the linguistic changes that have occurred. Thomason and Kaufman, in their ground-breaking work *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (1988: 4), write:

> The key to our approach...is that the history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers, and not an independent phenomenon that can be thoroughly studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded.

This assertion will be a particularly important means for understanding some of the changes found in Mesmes. Therefore, before undertaking an examination of the data, the setting and social history must first be established.

2.2 The Gurage – Hadiyya Contact Situation

Leslau was the first to recognize the significance of the contact situation that exists between the Gurage languages and Cushitic languages (1945, 1959 and 1992d). These early accounts of contact led to the application of the term *Sprachbund* to this geographic area. A number of other scholars have since developed greater interest in the

Gurage~Cushitic convergence area. More recent works have included Ferguson (1976) and Zaborski (1991).

The term *convergence* has come to be associated with the established phenomenon whereby speech varieties in close geographical proximity whose speakers share a high degree of multilectalism may 'converge,' becoming more like one another through the minimalization of differences among the lects. The author has chosen the term *lect* over *language* to allow for the convergence process to occur between even very closely related linguistic varieties, which is often the case in this linguistic area.

Those lects generally accepted as participating in the Gurage convergence area are listed below in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1 Languages Involved in the Gurage Convergence Area

HIGHLAND EAST CUSHITIC	EASTERN GURAGE	WESTERN GURAGE	NORTHERN GURAGE
Maraqo / Libido	Silt'e	Mesqan	Muher
Alaba	Wolbareg	Ennemor	Dobi
Hadiyya	Wolane	Endegeny	
Qabena			

There is, of course, some debate about which speech varieties are involved in close enough contact to be considered part of this convergence area, and for the most part here, only the varieties the author knows from personal experience, personal communication from other researchers or from the existing literature to have been undergoing some contact-induced changes, likely attributable to convergence, have been included in the table.

For the purposes of this thesis, only the interplay of the Peripheral West Gurage lects (Ennemor, Endegeny, etc.) and Hadiyya is of concern. The other varieties, while they play a part in the general convergence within the area, are not immediately involved here. That is, the speakers of Peripheral West Gurage varieties do not know the other lects involved, but many do in fact speak Hadiyya, and many Hadiyya speak the Peripheral West Gurage lects as well.

Since the most salient focus in this work is to show the genetic relationship between Mesmes and Peripheral West Gurage, concern will be centered not on changes in the Hadiyya language as a result of contact with Gurage languages, but on the effects of Hadiyya on Gurage. This will be dealt with in more detail in later chapters.

2.3 The Recent History and Current Status of Mesmes

In May of 2001, the author, along with Colleen Ahland and Hussein Mohammed, traveled to the Boshana area of Ethiopia in search of Mesmes speakers. The trip was in conjunction with the above-mentioned intelligibility survey. Before setting out, the author conferred with several colleagues in the Linguistics Department at Addis Ababa University and at the Ethiopian Language Research Center (የኢትዮጵያ ቋንቋ ጥናትና መርመር ማዕከል) concerning the location(s) where the Mesmes people might be found. The area outside of the town of Morsito within the general region of Boshana was suggested as a good place to begin. The general reaction among linguists at AAU was that we would likely not find any speakers of Mesmes. The word at the University was that the language had become extinct—an assumption which turned out to be essentially correct.

A German missionary living in the town of Hosanna had also suggested the research team visit the village of Homacho, west of Morsito. He had heard of Mesmes people living in that area. Today, the Mesmes people may be found roughly four hours by 4-wheel drive west of Homacho, in the K'ebele (a small political unity, below the level of a county) known as Ast'ey.

2.3.1 An Interview with the Terminal Speaker

The ethnic group living in this area refer to themselves as Mesmes. The research team found rather quickly that none of the Mesmes people living in Ast'ey were able to speak Mesmes. The inhabitants claimed that they normally speak Hadiyya and sometimes some Oromo (Cushitic) and Amharic (Ethio-Semitic). This was very much in agreement with what linguists at AAU had suggested. The Mesmes of Ast'ey did, in fact, know of one elderly man who could still speak their language, and a couple of them volunteered to guide the research team to his home. The journey required a 30-minute hike.

This elderly speaker of Mesmes, here referred to as Abegaz[13], lives about a mile south of Hok'e village. As far as those in his community are concerned, he is the last known speaker of the Mesmes language. Abegaz was unsure of his age, but on the basis of his marriage during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia under Mussolini, the author estimates his age to be roughly 80 years. He was born in and has lived his whole life in the area of Ast'ey. Mesmes was his first language. He spoke the Mesmes language with his parents and siblings and with most of his friends.

Abegaz said his father was Mesmes but his mother was Endegeny. She was from the village of Buch'a, about a day's journey from Ast'ey. He said that his mother spoke Mesmes, which she considered to be the same language as Endegeny, her native tongue. He learned to speak Hadiyya while growing up. Some of his older childhood friends were Hadiyya and this second language quickly became his primary language outside his home as he came of age. Abegaz could not give dates in reference to his learning Hadiyya, but he did say that he was "older" when he learned to speak Hadiyya. He was a Hadiyya speaker by the time he married. It would appear likely that he had learned Hadiyya in his early to mid teens.

Interestingly enough, Abegaz's parents were not Hadiyya speakers. That is, the Mesmes people, of that time, appear not universally to have learned Hadiyya from their parents nor from their earliest contacts. Rather the Hadiyya language, in his generation, was acquired as a second language. Hadiyya was not acquired through normal transmission. That is, Hadiyya was not naturally acquired by being passed on from previous generations of the same community

In the 1940's, Abegaz married a Hadiyya girl who could not speak Mesmes. They lived in Ast'ey, where he worked as a farmer. They raised their children speaking only Hadiyya. His children never learned to speak Mesmes. Due to his advanced age, Abegaz has outlived all of his childhood friends. He was able to continue speaking Mesmes with his brother, until his brother's death an estimated 30 years ago.

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[13] Abegaz is a pseudonym; the name is a military title, 'the father of the battle,' bestowed upon many in the Gurage area.

When Bender and Stinson collected the Mesmes wordlist in 1969, linguists were unaware that speakers of Mesmes were in the process of losing their language (Bender, personal communication). Their informant made no mention of the Mesmes' shift to the Hadiyya language. However, based on information gathered during the interview with the terminal speaker and the lack of Mesmes speakers today, it does seem that Mesmes was moribund well before 1969. The facts that this last speaker of Mesmes and his age-cohorts spoke Mesmes but must have learned Hadiyya as a second language and that their generation did not pass Mesmes on to their children suggest that normal transmission of the language must have stopped in the neighborhood of 50 years ago, at the latest, and possibly even earlier. Since life expectancy in Ethiopia is only 47 years, the lack of speakers today has a very natural account.

Dirk Bustorf, an anthropologist who has conducted research on the inter-ethnic relations between Leemo-Hadiyya and Endegeny, has interviewed a number of people who are ethnically Mesmes outside of Boshana proper. He found no speakers of the Mesmes language and was told by his informants that their language had disappeared with the previous generation (Bustorf, personal communication).

2.3.2 The Shift to Hadiyya and the Death of Mesmes

Wurm notes that language death as a result of shift can often be tied to a variety of influences that affect the attitude of speakers to their own language:

> Broadly speaking, such situations tend to occur if a speech community comes into economic, cultural or political contact with another community or population speaking a different language and which is economically stronger and more advanced than the first speech community, or culturally aggressive, or politically more powerful and mighty (Wurm 1991: 5).

With this in mind, it is not difficult to imagine what prompted the shift to Hadiyya. First, the Mesmes, as an Ethio-Semitic speaking people, must have migrated to the area from the north. It is assumed, from the relationship with the Gurage languages, that the Mesmes were at one time living in contact with other Gurage groups. An alternative account could be, of course, that Hadiyya speaking peoples actually spread north, surrounding and isolating the Mesmes and eventually cutting them off entirely from the rest of Gurage. Abegaz and other Mesmes people in Ast'ey, however, told the research team that the Mesmes had been the ones to come down from the north. In fact, interestingly enough, the terminal speaker did not include Mesmes as part of the Gurage southern migration. Rather, he simply said they come from Gonder, the home of the old, northern kingdom and important seat of Ethio-Semitic culture. This separate account of the genesis of the Mesmes people is undoubtedly encouraged as it relates to noble beginnings and a prestigious lineage. Regardless of whether the Mesmes migrated south or whether the Hadiyya spread to the north, the fact remains: the Mesmes were separated from other Ethio-Semitic languages.

In addition to the isolation, the status of Hadiyya must have played a crucial role in the demise of the Mesmes language. Today, according to the 1994 Ethiopian Census records, there are roughly 1 million mother tongue speakers of Hadiyya, nearly 600,000 of whom are monolinguals. The percentage of monolinguals would have been even higher fifty or one hundred years ago. If the Mesmes, who like all Gurage are known as traders, wished to trade or conduct any commerce in the region, they would have had to

learn Hadiyya. Cooper and Carpenter, writing on trade and language use in Ethiopian markets, comment:

> Thus, instead of the buyer and seller typically interacting in a common first language or in a common second language, it is likely that the seller typically accommodated himself to the buyer by speaking the buyer's first language. In the linguistically diverse contexts of these Ethiopian markets, therefore, it appears that transactions were facilitated by the multilingualism of the traders rather than by the emergence of a trade lingua franca (1976: 254).

The fact that the speaker's father did not speak Hadiyya is rather interesting. Of course, one cannot draw any significant conclusions based on this small bit of information, but, at least, this raises the possibility that the isolation of Mesmes from Gurage (whether by migration or the spread of Hadiyya) might have occurred as late as 100 years ago. This scenario would help to explain why Abegaz's father did not speak Hadiyya. His mother, as mentioned earlier, was from Endegeny, so it would not be expected that she had been exposed to the same degree of contact with Hadiyya speakers. She would have likely had some contact with Hadiyya speakers but maybe not enough to prompt her to learn the language.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors of migration, relative population and monolingualism, there are other influences that helped to secure Hadiyya in a position of prestige over Mesmes. Brenzinger, Heine and Sommer note that languages spoken in urban areas and associated with world religions and used as media of education are generally seen as prestigious vis-à-vis languages which are spoken in primarily rural areas, associated with traditional religions and not used as media of instruction (1991:38). In each of these instances, Hadiyya would out-rank Mesmes in terms of prestige. First, the large town of Hosanna is regarded as a center of Hadiyya language

and culture for the entire area. Nowadays, the Mesmes still live to the west of the town but are known to travel to market there occasionally. Second, while the Hadiyya people are associated with Ethiopian Orthodox and protestant forms of Christianity, the Mesmes are primarily religious traditionalists, according to Bustorf, who has researched the traditional religion of the Endegeny and Mesmes peoples (personal communication). While far too recent to be a reason for the shift to Hadiyya, the Hadiyya language today is a standardized, written language used as a medium of instruction in area schools. The literacy rate in Hadiyya is estimated to be as high as 30-40%, according to Annika Utriainen, a literacy specialist working in the area (personal communication). In each of these cases, Hadiyya would likely exert pressure on speakers of minority languages. These pressures, in turn, may affect language attitudes and language use patterns. This can lead to shift and, in extreme cases, death.

Brenzinger and Dimmendaal argue that language shift becomes language death once it becomes irreversible, whether there are still a few speakers or not (1992). Sasse, on the other hand, defines the death of a language as the "cessation of regular communication in the language" (1992:18). Sasse's definition leaves room for the ritualistic use of the language in religious ceremonies, cultural celebrations, funerals, etc. The author has found no evidence that the language had been maintained even in this 'ritualistic' domain. In fact, the most basic lexicon, which is, at times, the last vestige of a dying language, appears to have been lost to all Mesmes people except the terminal speaker. During the checking of the Bender and Stinson wordlist, it became apparent that only Abegaz himself knew the words. The others in the group were

shocked to find that the research team, including two foreigners, knew more about their lost language than they, the Mesmes people, did themselves.

2.3.3 The Maintenance of Identity Across Language Death

Bustorf, in his research on the traditional religion(s) of the area surrounding Mesmes did not find any evidence of the maintenance of the Mesmes language in any of the ceremonies (personal communication). The unsuccessful search by the author and the Gurage survey research team as well as the testimony of Ethiopian linguists at Addis Ababa University and the experience of Bustorf's anthropological work are in complete agreement: by all accounts, Mesmes has died. It has been argued that language is the most salient symbol of ethnicity (Fishman 1989). While this is undoubtedly often the case, research on endangered languages is beginning to show that the situation is less predictable:

> ...the literature on language contact today reflects this relation [between language and ethnicity] more carefully and it is generally accepted that while linguistic, ethnic and culture boundaries tend to coincide in many cases, this is by no means a must (Brenzinger, Heine, and Sommer 1991: 35).

It is this latter, less-isomorphic, relationship between language and identity that characterizes the Mesmes situation. While the Mesmes have indeed lost their language, they have still maintained their ethnicity. First, they have continued to call themselves by their Guragoid ethnonym: /mɨsmɨs/, a reduplication of /mɨs/, meaning 'man'. This name is recognized by insiders as well as outsiders to the Mesmes community. Second, as mentioned above, the Mesmes have preserved their 'northern' migration myth of origin, linking themselves with their Semitic-speaking history. Their house construction, as well, set the Mesmes apart from their Hadiyya neighbors. Like Gurage

houses, the Mesmes houses in Ast'ey are made of split bamboo, woven through wooden poles. Naigzy[14], in his description of Ethiopian housing types, notes, "Generally, very little chika [mud] plaster is used in Gurage houses, and then only on the inside surface" (1971: 116). The Hadiyya houses in the area surrounding Ast'ey, on the other hand, are externally covered with a plaster of mud containing decorative paintings. Finally, as late as 1991, the Mesmes had registered a political organization with the United Nations Disaster Preparedness Committee: UNDPC. Bahrwork Mesmes Nationals Unity Organization, was registered on October 27, 1991, according to the UNDPC's internet website. The author was unable to find any information as to whether or not this is still an active organization today. At the very least, however, such concrete evidence does show that at least some of the Mesmes people are continuing to view themselves as distinct from Hadiyya.

This is particularly interesting given that ethnolinguistic minorities are often led to internalize negative images of themselves which have been imposed by the more dominant surrounding group. Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter point out, "...members of the minority may experience identity conflicts and disturbances so that they may avoid admitting their group membership and be afraid of negative stereotypes and prejudices" (1977: 6). This is simply not the case with the Mesmes. Rather, the lack of negative in-group image is likely indicative of the lack of social and linguistic repression by the Hadiyya speakers.

[14] Naigzy also notes that Gurage houses are distinct from other housing types in their uniformity, "All Gurage houses look remarkably alike...[the] details are treated with a uniformity that is unique among Ethiopian traditional house-types" (1971: 115).

Based on the author's experience in trying to locate the Mesmes, it can be argued that the Hadiyya people also see the Mesmes as distinct but not in any overtly negative sense. It can be assumed that on the basis of very frequent intermarriage practices the Hadiyya do not wish to keep the Mesmes separate. That is to say, presumably, the Mesmes could be absorbed into Hadiyya, if they wished. Nevertheless, at this point, it is clear the Mesmes remain a distinct ethnicity while having completely shifted to Hadiyya as their first language.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPLICATIONS OF LANGUAGE DEATH

3.1 The Reliability Question

In recent years, the topic of language death and of endangered languages in general has received a great deal of attention. One of the most important considerations that must be made when examining a moribund or dying language is the question of the reliability of the data. The smaller the speaking community, the more difficult it is to evaluate data which are gathered (Dorian 1977).

3.1.1 The Challenge of a Terminal Speaker

Dorian argues that even in the most difficult situation, "An isolated last speaker may betray the uncertainty of his productions by the manner of delivery" (1977: 23). Beyond the evidence of halted speech is the general assumption that "reduction in use" results in "reduction in form" (Dorian 1977: 24). Thus, it can be argued that terminal speakers offer only glimpses of what their language was like before the "reduction" and death set in. In short, data collected in situations where only one speaker can be found must not be considered completely representative of language in its healthier days.

This does not mean that data collected from terminal speakers are of no value. The problem arises in assuming that the language of terminal speakers is representative of the language as it was when spoken by an entire community in many domains.

3.2 An Evaluation of the Reliability of the Mesmes Data

The Mesmes situation is characteristic of the "isolated last speaker" situation described above. As mentioned in chapter two, only a single speaker of Mesmes could be found in the area. It is important to recall that this terminal speaker had not used the language in an estimated thirty years, since his brother's death.

3.2.1 The Reliability of the Mesmes Wordlist

The presence of Bender and Stinson's wordlist, collected in 1969, offers some corroborating evidence, which aids in evaluating the Mesmes data. A comparison between the earlier list and the speech of the terminal speaker, Abegaz, shows no significant change. It may be in this instance that the most basic core vocabulary has been maintained due to the final domain of use having been that of the home and family. The reader will recall that the terminal speaker last spoke Mesmes with his brother. It has been found in some cases that isolated lexical items are the last vestiges of a language which is dying (Dressler 1991).

While lexicons do undergo reduction, grammatical systems do so on an even greater scale. Dressler's final category beyond the 'terminal speaker' is the 'rememberer' who recalls "only isolated items" (Dressler 1991: 99). In these cases, the grammar has been lost. It is no longer reconstructable in the mind of the speaker. Nevertheless, the lexicon may still be useful for comparative and reconstructive purposes. This could be expected to be the case with the Mesmes wordlist, but as will be shown below, even much of the Mesmes grammar remains surprisingly intact.

3.2.2 The Reliability of the Mesmes Text

Unfortunately, there is no other recorded text of the Mesmes language and thus no opportunity for comparison to help in evaluating the degree of reduction and reliability of the data. It is possible, however, to examine internal evidence to determine whether or not the terminal speaker's language has undergone some of the consequences of atrophy. During the recording of the text, there were frequent pauses as well as occasional re-iterations, suggesting the possibility of some degree of reduced fluency. The presence of some surprising Amharic loan words like /nɛbbɛr/, the Amharic existential, must be mentioned. This loan is sprinkled throughout the text, despite the fact that the speaker does also frequently use the Guragoid existential with the PWG main verb marker /-d/: /banɛ-d/.

Despite the presence of a few loan words and some reduced speaking fluency, it is remarkable how much in the text is indeed Guragoid. Endegeny speakers, when tested for comprehension of the Mesmes text with ten questions covering a range of syntactic and semantic categories, averaged a score of 78%[15]. This is significant since it is extremely unlikely that any of the test subjects in the Endegeny area had actually heard Mesmes spoken before. All of the testing was conducted in Dink'ulla, a principal Endegeny town, and each of the test participants was under the age of forty. Thus, it is likely that they were born after normal transmission of Mesmes had stopped. The 78% comprehension score appears to be indicative of the relationship between Mesmes and Endegeny. During a post-test interview, when the test participants were asked

individually to identify the language of the text, three subjects commented that it was 'old Endegeny'. One of the older subjects claimed that this language was similar to "the language of my grandparents". Thus, it must be admitted that the Mesmes language as represented in the text has retained enough of its Peripheral West Guragoid inheritance to be at least recognizable to Endegeny speakers as a closely related language. None of the test participants indicated that the text language was "mixed" or "poor language." While it can be assumed that the Mesmes text probably contains some simplifications of earlier systems which would presumably have been found in the language in previous generations, the lexemes themselves, as well as the morphological marking and syntactic constructions, do offer historical insight into the genetic history of the language.

3.3 Linguistic Implications

Two over-arching processes affect linguistic structures undergoing a process of death. The first is the change brought about by interference from the second language into the first (Seliger and Vago 1991). The second process of change is internally motivated linguistic change where systems within a language simplify and regularize.

3.3.1 Externally-Induced Changes

These externally-induced changes are brought about through a process of interlinguistic analogy where re-patterning of the first language takes place on the model of the second. It is commonly argued that these re-patternings may include everything from additions to the lexicon to changes in word order, semantics, agreement

[15] This testing was in conjunction with the large-scale intelligibility survey known as The Gurage

and case marking, and the use of *calquing* or loan translations where phrases and expressions from the second language are literally, and often ungrammatically, translated directly into the first language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Seliger and Vago 1991). In large-scale language shift, where a community as a whole is adopting a new language and using their first language in fewer and fewer domains, these external changes can often be expected[16].

3.3.2 Internally-Induced Changes

In addition to these externally-induced changes, there are also internally motivated changes involving the reduction of marked forms to less marked forms (Seliger and Vago 1991). In many cases, analogical leveling works to eliminate irregular patterns and marked features, leading toward simplification and an increase in regularity. The reduction of allomorphy within paradigms is a natural result of such processes (Maher 1991). In extreme cases, where language death is imminent, loss of verbal morphology and decay in both inflectional and tense/aspect systems are found (Seliger and Vago 1991).

It is not assumed that language reduction progresses systematically from lexicon to phonology to morphology and then finally to syntax. Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter argue against "universal implications among parts of grammar as to their susceptibility to alloglottic influences" (1977: 9). However, there are implications for each of the linguistic subsystems with the overall trend being one of simplification, as discussed above.

Language Survey of 2001 conducted by Ahland, Ahland and Mohammed, mentioned in chapter 1.

The internal process of reduction itself, in addition to being an indication of death, is also a catalyst for linguistic death since heavily simplified systems are less likely to be preserved overall (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977). Beyond paradigmatic and analogical leveling, even discourse styles undergo simplification.[17] Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter point out that stylistically speaking, the trend is toward the most casual speech style remaining in the end (1977: 37). The trend is toward "monostylism." Maher concurs:

> As language A dies out, speakers use it in fewer and fewer sociolinguistic contexts; it is suggested, therefore, that the need for stylistic variants in language A is reduced. Moreover, among intimates, context predetermines much of the message. The need for more formal, elaborated or context-independent speech varieties is, therefore, limited. It is supposed that elaborate language forms gradually die out, leaving only those informal variants used in the intimate setting (1991: 80).

3.3.3 Reduction and Replacement Trends in Language Contact

Julianne Maher, in her study of enclave speech communities (1991), notes that communities which are isolated from other speakers of their language and surrounded by another more dominant language which they also speak, undergo similar restructuring, regardless of the group's particular history as 'transplant' immigrant communities or as 'indigenous' communities which have been surrounded by the more dominant group. In addition to the tendency towards simplification and reduction, enclave communities show a preference for periphrastic constructions and analytic

[16] Externally induced changes will be dealt with in chapter 5.

[17] The topic of the Mesmes text is certainly one of the most likely to be retained domains for the speaker, even given the reduction of communicative situation that Abegaz was constrained by as an adult. That is, it can be assumed that he would have likely talked of his father with his brother and certainly a discussion of past events, as they relate to their own family, would have been part of the repertoire. Thus, it is not possible to use the Mesmes text to gauge the degree to which stylistic simplification has occurred.

forms over synthetic forms (Maher 1991). Coordination, also, is preferred to embedded constructions. She writes, "Enclave languages rely on coordinating elements, simple juxtaposition, and contextual clues to express complex syntactic relations and to avoid embedded constructions" (Maher 1991: 75). Finally, the result of the loss of inflectional morphology often results in less flexible word order (Maher 1991: 68).

The importance of Maher's study in the Mesmes context is that Mesmes, too, must be considered an enclave speech community. As mentioned above, the Mesmes people are surrounded on all sides by the more dominant Hadiyya-speaking community. It is unclear, however, if the Mesmes are a transplanted Gurage community which has moved into Hadiyya territory, a remnant of a wider Gurage area which has since been cut off by northern movement of the Hadiyya or if they are a pioneer community whose base area later submerged. In all cases, Maher notes, the effects on the speech of enclave communities are very similar.

3.4 The Modes of Language Death

Understanding the effects of death on a language requires knowledge of the dying process of the particular language in question. Campbell and Muntzel identify four basic types or modes of death: sudden, radical, gradual and bottom-to-top (1989). Most cases of language death discussed in the linguistic literature involve gradual death, where the language is lost through a slow shift toward the dominant language spoken in the area:

> This situation is characterized by a proficiency continuum determined principally by age (but also by attitude and other factors). Younger generations

> have greater proficiency in the dominant language and learn the obsolescing language imperfectly, if at all (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 185).

The nature of the contact and convergence between Mesmes and Hadiyya is certainly characteristic of the sort of situation where gradual death might be expected. The Mesmes have indeed shifted to speaking the more dominant Hadiyya language. Yet, as was mentioned in chapter two, no semi-speakers of Mesmes were found. In fact, the Gurage Survey Team was unable to find even those Mesmes who could understand but not speak the language. This is perplexing, considering all examples of gradual death in the literature lead naturally to the existence of semi-speakers.

Campbell and Muntzel's account of radical death may shed light on the history of Mesmes. Radical death is rapid loss that is "usually due to severe political repression, often with genocide, to the extent that speakers stop speaking the language out of selfdefense, a survival strategy" (1989: 183). The apparent peaceful intermarriage of Mesmes and Hadiyya people, the maintenance of the Mesmes ethnic identity and the lack of any evidence of past political or ethnic conflict between the Mesmes and Hadiyya pose a challenge to the radical death hypothesis. Yet the effects of radical death, as described by Campbell and Muntzel are quite similar to the Mesmes situation. Their description of a single "once-fully-competent" speaker of Salvadoran Lenca is of particular interest here:

> We believe that his language may typify the radical language death situation, and we hypothesize general features based on it. For such a speaker, once fluent but not having made active use of his or her language in many years, recall is bound to be limited (see Elmendorf's [1981] "former speakers", Dorian's [1982b] "formerly fluent"). Typically the phonology is intact, with few if any deviations from the former native model, but much of the lexicon is forgotten or only recalled after strained pondering, more frequent and salient vocabulary

> items being retained better than others: The grammar, as well, may be largely the same as the native model in its fully viable state, although actual production is characterized by fairly simple constructions and phrases, with reduced access to stylistic or pragmatic variants and complex sentences: such speakers are unable (at least initially) to produce a normal discourse. Situations which give rise to such a speaker may or may not produce so-called semi-speakers; in the case of Salvadoran Lenca, which we have treated as potentially typical of radical death, there are none (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 183-4).

The lack of semi-speakers of Salvadoran Lenca and the maintenance of the grammatical system is quite similar to Mesmes. As has already been alluded to and will be discussed below in greater detail, the grammatical constructions found in the Mesmes text are representative of the other Gurage languages in the subgroup. However, while Abegaz did pause and re-iterate while speaking Mesmes, he does not appear to have had any significant trouble in producing "normal discourse" as Campbell and Muntzel predict.

3.5 The "Later Loss" Hypothesis and "Rusty Speakers"

The Mesmes situation manifests some similarities with both the gradual death and radical death models. But neither can fully account for all the phenomena. It does appear, based on all the available information, that the shift from Mesmes to Hadiyya and the subsequent death of Mesmes happened quickly. Abegaz mentioned that he spoke Mesmes as a first language, but by the time he was married, probably in his early twenties, the language of the home domain was Hadiyya. According to his testimony, Abegaz's children never learned to speak Mesmes. Abegaz did, however, continue speaking Mesmes with his brother until roughly 30 years ago. That is, while normal transmission may have stopped sometime around the 1940's or 50's, Abegaz and his

brother continued speaking Mesmes to each other until the early 1970's. So then, what sort of semi-speaker is Abegaz?

Sasse adds the category *rusty speaker* to the continuum of semi-speakers proposed in the literature (Sasse 1992b: 62). The rusty speaker, Sasse argues, is a speaker who has learned the language through what he calls "regular" acquisition but then has lost his/her competence through "the lack of regular linguistic experience" (Sasse 1992b: 62). He writes:

> Those children who are socialized completely in the obsolescent language may forget it later due to the lack of communication partners; i.e. the regular continuation of language acquisition by intersubjective communication during adulthood does not occur. In other words, the continuum among semi-speakers and between semi-speakers and rusty speakers may be viewed as a continuum between random acquisition as the one extreme, and varying degrees of "regular" acquisition (Sasse 1992b: 63).

In the case of Mesmes, then, the terminal speaker is likely a rusty speaker who while not having had opportunity to speak Mesmes in the past 30 years, did learn the language through normal transmission and was thus fully competent, being able to continue use of the language in a severely limited communicative situation during adulthood. An examination of the Mesmes text is in order to determine if this rusty speaker's speech has undergone the same sorts of changes indicative of other types of semi-speakers' language. This maintenance of Mesmes between brothers could certainly help account for how Abegaz's speech is atypical of radical death.

3.6 An Examination of the Mesmes Text in Light of the Linguistic Implications

The Mesmes text was recorded in Ast'ey K'ebele in May of 2001. The initial sentence-level free translation was provided by the Mesmes speaker himself, through a

Hadiyya translator who conveyed the translation via Amharic[18]. The author is indebted to Mr. Heyru Mohammed, an Ennemor Gurage speaker who lives in Dallas, Texas. Mr. Heyru has helped the author by providing a more detailed translation and offering some Ennemor examples for comparison where required.

The work of Hetzron, in *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages* (1977), provides the foundation upon which most of the following analysis is based. His interlinearization of Ennemor and Gyeto texts as well as his careful cross-dialectal analysis of Guragoid grammatical structures has provided the author with means for detailed parsing which would have otherwise been impossible. Another important source for comparative data is Leslau's *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (1979), which provides lexical comparative data on all the major varieties of Gurage. Leslau's article, "The Verb Forms in Endegeny" (1992) has been essential in providing the morphological data linking Endegeny and Mesmes.

3.6.1 Possible Examples of the Impact of Language Death in the Mesmes Text

As mentioned above, the morphological markings and grammatical structures found in the Mesmes text are very similar to those found in other Peripheral West Gurage languages. There are however, a few unexpected phenomena which may be due, at least in part, to linguistic obsolescence.

First, the Amharic existential /nɛbbɛr/ is used a total of eight times in the text (Appendix C, lines: 2-4, 10 and 11). There does not appear to be any particular reason for using the borrowed existential since the PWG form /banɛ-d/ is also used just as

[18] The complete interlinearized transcription of the text is in Appendix C.

frequently (Appendix C, lines: 1, 6, 9, 12 and 13). This Amharic loan is not found in Heztron's PWG text corpus (1977). The Kistane (Soddo) variety of Gurage does in fact have the /nɛbbɛr/ form with the same durative-habitual meaning (Hetzron 1977: 84). However, based on other evidence, provided in chapter four, concerning genetic subgrouping, it is unlikely that Mesmes would have inherited such a form. The most reasonable explanation is that the form is a borrowing from Amharic.

Of particular interest is that Abegaz, the Mesmes speaker, is not a speaker of Amharic. While he was able to understand some simple questions in Amharic and probably possesses a degree of passive knowledge, he chose to speak Hadiyya to a Hadiyya-Amharic bilingual in order to communicate with the author. This sort of apparent inconsistent replacement of the existential with a borrowed form may be as a result of either language decay or recall problems due to the speaker's status as "rusty".

Second, there appears to be a loss of contrast in marking between the 1S and 3SM prefixes for the imperfect forms in Mesmes. This is most clearly evident in lines 1 and 2 in the text (from Appendix C):

(1) aβo-ɲ are? ɛ-wɔ?r banɛ-d
father-1SPO cow 3SM-guard.cattle EXIST.PAST-MVM
My father was watching cattle.

(2) aβo-ɲ tɨ-kɛʃʃ-e are? ɛ-wɔ?r nɛbbɛr
father.1SPO when-send-1SObj cow 1S-guard.cattle EXIST.PAST
When my father sent me, I was watching cattle.

All Peripheral West Gurage speakers who have translated these sentences have provided the same interpretation. It appears that the object-agreement marking in the subordinate verb /dɨ-kɛʃʃ-e/ as well as the rest of the contextual clues in line 2 are

enough to mark the subject as 1S. While this phenomenon appears to be a reduction in marking of the agreement paradigm, it may be that this simplification is not due to any obsolescence process in Mesmes. Leslau, in his description of Endegeny verb forms, finds a similar neutralization, marking both 1S and 3S agreement prefixes in the imperfect as /ɨ-/ (Leslau 1992: 469). In a later endnote, Leslau questions his transcription[19], "I may have recorded erroneously the singular, 1st person, with ə– instead of with ä– " (1992: 473). In both Leslau and Hetzron's work it is quite clear that the other Gurage languages do not exhibit such neutralization between the 1st and 3rd singular imperfect prefixes (Leslau 1992, Hetzron 1977). Hetzron posits /ɛ-/ for 1S imperfect and /jɨ-/ for 3SM imperfect across the Gurage languages (1977: 80). This is consistent with both the Ennemor and Gyeto texts (Hetzron 1977). Given this information, it appears that both Endegeny and Mesmes have lost contrast between the 1 and 3 singular imperfect prefixes. Since Endegeny is still very much alive and is not likely to have undergone reductions indicative of language death processes, it seems best to treat this neutralization in the Mesmes text as a innovation, shared with Endegeny[20], albeit that Endegeny and Mesmes have each chosen a different form for the basis of the leveling: Endegeny has leveled on the basis of the 3S while Mesmes has leveled on the basis of the 1S[21].

[19] In Leslau's transcription, the symbols ə and ä, correspond to the IPA ɨ and ɛ respectively.
[20] As will be shown in chapter 4, Endegeny and Mesmes do share a number of innovations, inviting the classification of a particular Endegeny / Mesmes subgroup (Hetzron 1977:79).
[21] There is also the possibility that Mesmes has simplified its prefixation for non-past verb forms. Where other Gurage languages maintain the distinction /jɨ-/ for the imperfect and /ɛ-/ for the jussive, it could be that Mesmes has extended the marker for jussive to mark the imperfect as well. For more discussion on the apparent leveling between 1S and 3S and the corresponding ø- allomorphy before imperfect forms with initial /a/, see the note on line 6 in Appendix D.

There is also the possibility that some of the Mesmes pronominal paradigm has undergone some leveling. In line 8, the form /hudua/ is 'they', the 3rd masculine plural pronoun. Leslau (1979) provides the 3M and 3MPL Endegeny forms as /hudɛ/ and /huno:/ respectively. An essential difference between the Endegeny singular and plural forms rests in the presence of the nasal in the latter. The same holds true for Ennemor. The forms for 3M and 3MPL are /xutɛ/ and /hunoa/ (Leslau 1979). It appears that Mesmes may have reanalyzed its pronominal paradigm, interpreting the final vowels of pronouns as agreement suffixes, marking number. First, the Mesmes form /hudɛ/ or /hʊd/ serves as both the 3M pronoun as well as the definite marker. The same is true for Ennemor (Hetzron 1977: 58). That is, this 3M pronoun / definite article occurs frequently and thus, is a likely candidate to serve as a template for leveling. Second, the final vowel on the pronoun is /-ɛ/, homophonous with the 3M agreement suffix on the perfect forms of the verbs[22]. Also the final diphthong on the 3MPL pronoun, /-ua/, is identical to the 3MPL suffix on verbs in the perfect. Finally, it is possible that Mesmes speakers, or at the very least, this terminal speaker, has interpreted /hʊd/ to mean 3M and the final vowels, /-ɛ/ and /-ua/ as denoting number, singular and plural, respectively.

In addition to these examples of leveling, there are a number of inconsistencies throughout the text that suggest, at the very least, the so-called "rustiness" of the speaker. The Peripheral West Gurage languages exhibit a suffix which is inherited from

[22] This final vowel is not present in the text; presumably, the Hadiyya practice of dropping final vowels in connected speech, while allowing them to surface in isolation has spread to Mesmes.

the Proto Semitic main verb markers. The k/t/d[23] suffix is found on the main negative verbs, on relative nonpast forms, and on temporal forms in Gyeto, Ennemor and Endegeny (Hetzron 1977: 93). In the Mesmes text, however, the distribution of this suffix is less consistent.

ɛ-kɛʃʃ-ɛtʃtʃ-e-dɨ
REL-sent-3SF-1SOBJ-**SFX**

In line 4 (cited above), the suffix, having undergone the alternation /t → d/, appears on the relative past form—an unexpected environment, given the distribution in other Peripheral West lects. In line 12, we find the suffix present on the temporal form, as expected. Yet, the same reflex is absent on the temporal constructions in lines 2, 11, and each of the three examples in line 16. This sort of inconsistency is not observed in Hetzron's Ennemor texts, where the behavior of the k/t/d suffix is far more regular. There is also an unexpected occurrence of the suffix on the perfect verb 'to give birth' in line 20.

Another inconsistency in the Mesmes text is the shape of the bound copula. The bound copula's recurring partial, that is the bound root of the copula construction, is the nasal /-n-/ (Hetzron 1977: 106). Heztron says that the shape of this copula in Ennemor is indicative of Peripheral West Gurage lects in general[24]. The copula is bound, as the second-to-the-last element in the word in PWG. The syntactic position as well as the shape of the copula is maintained in Mesmes, just as expected, in line 17:

geb:ɨrɨ-nn-ɨtɛ
farming-be.3M-SFX

[23] The reader should see Appendix D, note on line 4 for a description of the allophonic distribution.
[24] For a more complete analysis of this copula, see the note on line 8 in Appendix D.

Yet, in line 12, the shape of the copula is /-m-/:

ha:-ʔamɨ-soj?
that-be-time

This sort of allomorphy is not found elsewhere in PWG. There is nothing in the particular environments in these words to account for this inconsistency.

While the Mesmes text does contain these sorts of inconsistencies as well as unexpected loanwords and a few possible examples of paradigmatic leveling, there is not much evidence to suggest that the language has undergone decay or reduction. In fact, each of these phenomena could be ascribed to the fact that the speaker himself is "rusty", not having spoken the language for approximately 30 years.

3.6.2 Evidence of Maintenance of Inherited Structure in Mesmes

One of the most notable features in Gurage languages and Ethio-Semitic languages in general is extensive clausal conjoining. Hetzron comments:

> In Ethiopian languages temporal expressions are very important. The general tendency is to use long compound sentences instead of a sequence of simple ones. One way of compounding sentences is using converbial conjoining...but temporal constructions also play an important role (1977: 99).

The converbial construction in Ethiopian languages is a serialization mechanism where a chain of sentences is linked together with only the final verb carrying tense/aspect marking for the entire complex. Each of the conjoined verbs carries particular marking as well as communicates person and number through the same marking found on other verb forms. All the Gurage languages exhibit the so-called m-converb (Hetzron 1977: 94). In the PWG languages, the m-converb marker takes the form /-m$^{(w)}$/ in the 2FSG, 2MPL, and 3MPL (Hetzron 1977: 84). In the other persons, the PWG m-converb

marking is the same as that found in the Gura variety: the final vowel of the verb is stressed and where no final vowel is present, the epenthetic [ɨ] is added finally to carry the stress[25] (Hetzron 1977: 84). While Hetzron does not offer any statement regarding whether the PWG and Gura alternating forms or the non-alternating /-m/ found elsewhere in Gurage is the innovation, it could be reasonably assumed, given Hetzron's subgrouping for Outer South Ethiopic (Figure 1.4), that PWG should exhibit an innovation. A single innovation found throughout the rest of Gurage would be much less expected. This being the case, it is then likely that the stressing of the final vowel in the Gura and PWG varieties is due to a compensatory-like process where the loss of the final /-m/ marker leads to a stressed vowel (probably long in duration/timing)[26]. Hetzron notes this exact process with the loss of the main past ending /-m/ in some Gurage languages:

> If the basic stress rule is applied to the Chaha past tense forms, we obtain säpär'äm/säpär'ä. This –m has completely disappeared in Gura, it disappeared after short vowels in PWG (also after the feminine plural in Gyeto). The drop of the –m, however, did not lead to a readjustment of the stress in accordance with the basic stress rule. The earlier, positionally no more justified, stress was maintained as an allomorphic exponent of *-m, i.e. säpär'ä/säp'ärä for main/subordinate (1977: 42-3).

Thus, despite the loss of the coda on the formerly closed syllable, the stress of that syllable was maintained, marking the verb's status as the main past. This main past

[25] The stress here is certainly marked in that normal stress in PWG (Ennemor, specifically) is penultimate, when the final syllable is open (Hetzron 1977: 42). It is crucial to note that these converbs are all ending in vowels and yet are stressed.

[26] There is the other possibility as well that PWG and Gura retain the original heterogeneity and that the other languages regularized the converb system by generalizing the /-m/ to cover all persons. Thus, the other languages would have undergone analogical leveling for the purpose of achieving one-form / one-meaning. This would imply, however, a more upside-down view of the historical tree for Outer South Ethiopic.

ending /-m/[27] is not to be confused with the m-converb ending. Hetzron, in his parsing of the Ennemor texts, glosses the stressing of the final vowel which marks the converbial construction in PWG as *C* (see Hetzron's Ennemor text 19 on p. 236, line 6 of *The Gunnän Gurage Languages*), and he marks the stressing of the final vowel which marks main past marker and the related /-m/ enclitic as *M*. That is, while the form is identical between these two markers today, their functions betray their historical origins[28].

What is most central to this converbial conjoining discussion is that this type of marked embedding is found throughout the Mesmes text (lines: 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 18). As mentioned above earlier, Maher says coordination is preferred to embedding (1991). The nature of the converb, as a verb which is morphologically marked as part of a serial string and not as a main verb, is more like embedding than simple coordination, even though converbs may also be used to indicate the latter. The complex syntactic relationships communicated via converbial constructions are not indicative of the sorts of syntactic simplification found in many dying languages[29].

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[27] Hetzron appears to suggest that the /-m/ main past ending (which is identical to the m-converb in the perfect form) is related to the /-m/ enclitic—a highly multifunctional element which can mark coordination between nouns, can establish links between related topics and can also make reference to topics already established in earlier discourse (Hetzron 1977: 129). Perhaps the clearest example that these two forms are related is found in Hetzron's use of the single M as a grammatical reference marker for the main past marker as well as for the enclitic (1977: 143). For more on the main past marker, see the note on line 4 in Appendix D.

[28] Perhaps a more serious challenge in the analysis of these Gurage languages is the nature of the converb itself. If the converb marking (on subordinate verbs) is identical to the main past marking (on main verbs), what is implied about the nature of converbs in these languages? In texts where the most frequently used tense is past and the subjects of the converbials is 3S, there would be a loss of contrast between the main and the subordinate verbs—all would be marked with the same ending, the stressed final vowel.

[29] There is the possibility that the converbial construction is maintained because of its prevalence in the language area and its existence in Hadiyya (see Hudson's "Conjunctive" 1976: 269).

Another internal change indicative of language death is the decay of verbal morphology. This is not present in Mesmes. Many of the verbal markers found in Hetzron's Ennemor texts can be readily identified in Mesmes: the causative /a-/ (line: 7), the temporal /t-/ (lines: 2, 5, 12, 14 and 16), the relative perfect prefix /ɛ-/ (lines: 4, 10, 12 and 16), the negative[30] (relative) prefix /aɲ-/ (lines: 10 and 11), the passive[31] /t-/ (lines: 4 and 16), the purposive /-i/ (lines: 10, 11 and 17) and the all the various subject and object agreement morphology found throughout the text.

In short, based on the large number of morphological, syntactic and lexical reflexes found in the Mesmes text which correspond directly to other Peripheral West lects, the text appears to be a reliable source for Mesmes data. There is very little evidence of loss of syntactic structure or simplification of morphological paradigms in the data, and the few inconsistencies and possible levelings could be attributed to the "rusty" status of the speaker.

[30] In the other Gurage languages (apart from Mesmes), the negative prefix is listed as /an-/ as opposed to the palatal nasal found in Mesmes (Hetzron 1977: 87, Leslau 1992: 468).
[31] The reader should see the note on line 4 in Appendix D for a discussion of the passive's impact on the first radical of the verb root in the imperfect form.

CHAPTER 4

THE GENETIC POSITION OF MESMES

4.1 The Establishment of Mesmes as a Gurage Language

As has been noted above (section 1.6.2), Hetzron, upon examination of Bender and Stinson's wordlist and grammatical information, did claim that Mesmes was closely related to Endegeny. This claim, however, was not substantiated by data and analysis. In fact, the grammatical paradigms that Bender and Stinson collected were never published. In order to evaluate the comparative evidence for linking Mesmes with Gurage and then with Peripheral West Gurage in particular, an examination of Bender and Stinson's wordlist and grammatical paradigms and the author's Mesmes text is in order. These three sources of linguistic data comprise the entire Mesmes corpus.

It is assumed that the details discussed in the upcoming sections are likely some of the phenomena that Hetzron observed, leading him to proclaim a close relationship between Mesmes and Endegeny.

4.1.1 The Ethnonym as Evidence of Guragoid Placement

As is mentioned above in section 2.3.3, the Mesmes ethnonym /mɨsmɨs/ is a reduplication of the Gurage reflex /mɨs/ 'man' to express the meaning 'people'. According to Leslau's *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, /mɨs/, is still retained in the Muher and Kistane varieties. Based on wordlists that the author gathered, the term has been found in Gyeto, Desa, and Ezha. While this link with the Gurage languages cannot

be argued to be conclusive evidence of genetic relationship, it would be unlikely for one group (the Gurage) to assign a name like Mesmes 'the people' to a group other than themselves. When coupled with the comparative evidence below, a more complete picture emerges, linking the Mesmes and Gurage languages in history.

4.1.2 The Main Verb Marker Retention Attesting to a Genetic Link with Gurage

While true comparative work utilizing the comparative method would not permit the use of retentions as evidence in favor of any shared history between a set of languages, retentions may still be useful to the linguist involved in historical research. Retentions, assuming they are not borrowed features and they do not rely on the so-called *Wanderwörter* (examples of shared vocabulary in a linguistic area among unrelated or non-closely related languages), do in fact attest to a common genetic origin. They are not able, however, to be used to establish degrees of relatedness like subgroups within a larger family.

In the Mesmes text (Appendix C), lines 1 and 13 show an important and rare retention found only among select Guragoid languages. In each of these lines is found /banɛd/, the Past form of the existential verb /banɛ/, marked with zero for third person masculine and with the final /-d/ to indicate the main verb. These main verb markers, found in Outer South Ethiopic, can be traced to Proto-Semitic elements (Hetzron 1972: 37). Their presence in the Mesmes text on only the Past existentials is indicative of the relationship between Mesmes and the Peripheral West Gurage languages:

> Western Gurage dropped these markers altogether. They have survived only in the Past tense form of the verb "there is" in Peripheral West Gurage: Enär Sg. 3m. baanä-dä, f. baanäčə-dä, Pl. 3m. baanäwa-tä, 3f. baanaa-tä, where -dä

> represents –t, the suffix used after Complements of Sg. 3m./f. and –tä corresponds to –tt attested in Muxər [Muher] (Hetzron 1972: 38).

While this evidence does not prove a particular subgrouping within Peripheral West Gurage, it does, indeed, suggest that the Mesmes language is historically related to Gurage and to PWG in particular, barring the possibility of borrowing.

4.1.3 Morpho-Syntactic Evidence of Guragoid Relationship

The Mesmes text also provides a good deal of morphological and syntactic evidence of relationship between Mesmes and the other Gurage languages. This is alluded to in section 3.6.2 above[32]. It is known that borrowing may indeed include lexical features as well as morpho-grammatical and even syntactic features (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Seliger and Vago 1991). Yet, it must be assumed that shared phonological innovations attested in entire systems (a language's verbal morphology) would be more persuasive evidence than phonological shared innovations in unrelated lexical items. Thomason and Kaufman argue that a language must show linguistic evidence of relationship with its ancestors in both lexical and grammatical arenas before it can be classified as a so-called "genetic language" (1988).

The chart below offers evidence of relationship between Mesmes and other Peripheral West Gurage (PWG) lects through an examination of PWG verbal morphology as found in Hetzron 1977 and Mesmes verbal morphology as found in the Mesmes text. Essentially, all the morphology in Table 4.1 is identical, excluding the

[32] For more detailed analysis of the sorts of morphological and syntactic evidence the Mesmes text offers, the reader is encouraged to see the "Notes on the Analysis of the Mesmes Text" in Appendix D.

negative prefix which is palatalized in Mesmes[33]. Even the allomorphy involving the passive-reflexive prefix is the same in Mesmes as in other Gurage (and Ethio-Semitic) in general.

Table 4.1 Mesmes and PWG Verbal Morphology Comparison

Verbal Morphology	**PWG form**	**Mesmes form**	**Location in Mesmes Text**
Causative	a-	a-	7
Temporal	t-	t-	2,5,12,14,16
Relative Marker for Perfect	ɛ-	ɛ-	4,10,12,16
Negative Prefix[34]	an-	aɲ-	10,12
Passive-Reflexive[35]	t- / C:	t- / C:	4,16
Purposive	-i	-i	19,11,17

The word order of Gurage languages is summed up by Hetzron : Time-adverb --- Subject --- Complement(s) --- Verb (1977: 114). In the Mesmes text, the first half of line 7 provides an example of this ordering[36]:

bɛ-ha:da wa:da de:ŋga-ɲo gɛ:rɛd a-gɛʔpa-'hu
after-that that children-1SPO girl CAUSE-marry-1S.CONV
After that, I arranged marriages for my sons.

The final verb is marked as a converb[37] in the gloss and is not actually the final verb in this series of clauses, yet this clause order is complete, and the string above could stand alone as a sentence. The SOV order with time-adverbials in front is preserved

[33] This palatalization on the negative prefix may be due to an underlying initial /j/ on the relative prefix. This /j/ is not found in relatives without the negative, but there is a possibly related phenomenon where the epenthetic vowel is raised to /i/--again possibly a reflex of a historical /j/. See note 11 in Appendix D.
[34] The negative prefix is only found in the Mesmes text on relative clauses, though it is expected to be the general form for the negative.
[35] See the note on line 4 in Appendix D for a discussion of the allomorphy involving the passive/reflexive prefix in the environment of other prefixes in the imperfect.
[36] Ethio-Semitic languages drop pronouns frequently, and in this case, the subject 1S is dropped. Its position in Mesmes would be after the initial adverbial.

completely here. As in other Gurage languages, the relative clauses (and all modifiers, for that matter) precede the modified element (Hetzron 1977: 115). This is clear in lines 4 and 10: /ɛ-kɛʃʃ-u wɛd/ 'REL.-sent-3MP place' and /aɲ-ɛ-ʔeɲɲɛ hud/ 'NEG-REL-give.birth he'.

4.1.4 Lexical Evidence of Close Relationship with PWG

There is also lexical evidence that Mesmes is closely related to the Peripheral West Gurage lects. Table 4.2 below provides a summary of the words in the Mesmes corpus (wordlist and text) that appear to be unique to the Peripheral West languages. That is, these words are not found in other Gurage languages and are found in at least some of the Peripheral West speech forms.

Due to Hetzron's texts, there is substantially more data available on Ennemor than Endegeny, and it is the author's opinion that the lexical forms for 'children' and 'to give' that are provided above in Ennemor but not in Endegeny may actually exist in Endegeny[38]. The best set of Endegeny data is that which is found in Leslau's dictionary. It must be noted that Leslau did not find these two forms (for 'children' and 'to give') in Ennemor either. There are also five words in the Mesmes text which have not been found in any other Gurage language. It is unknown if some of these are borrowings or uniquely Mesmes terms[39]: /jɛsizi:ʔ/ (lines 5 and 6), /anɨkk/ (line 6), /sojgiʔ/ (lines 9 and 12), /tuiʔioi/ (line 14), /wɛdkɛ/ (line 20). In the Mesmes wordlist (Appendix A, with notes and Appendix B, with the Hadiyya and Kambaata

[37] A discussion of converbs is found in section 3.4.2, beginning on p. 47.

comparison), there are four additional words which appear to be unique to Mesmes: /k'ɔk'ɔ/ (5) 'big', /nuːba/ (39) 'heart', /k'ok'o/[40] (50) 'many', /t'oːna/ (67) 'sand'.

Table 4.2 Lexemes Unique to Mesmes and PWG

Gloss	Mesmes Word	Source for Mesmes	Endegeny	Ennemor	Gyeto	Source for PWG
'to send'	kɛʃʃɛ	text 2,4	kɛʃʃɛ	kɛʃʃɛ	x	Leslau 1979
'children'	deːŋga	text 2,7,8,20	x	deːŋgʲa	x	Hetzron 1977:244
'now'	waʔaka	text 8,16,17	waʔakkɛ	waʔaka	x	Leslau 1979
'to give'	iːm	text 9	x	jīːm	x	Hetzron 1977:238
'to beg'	saʔarɛ	text 10,11	saʔarɛ	saʔarɛ	saʔarɛ	Leslau 1979
'to spend the night'	ɲɛʔɛ	text 18	ɲɛʔɛ	neʔɛ	x	Leslau 1979
'good'	moˈʔo	wordlist 33	muʔ	moʔ	x	Leslau 1979
'mountain / hill'	aːnja	wordlist 53	aŋŋɛ	ʔaŋɛ	aŋɛ	Leslau 1979
'road'	moːja	wordlist 65	mejɛ	meja	mɛja	Leslau 1979
'to stand'	-tɛʃɛkkɔ-	wordlist 77	(tɛ)ʃɛkkɛː	(tɛ)ʃɛkɛβɛ	(tɛ)ʃɛkɛβɛ	Leslau 1979
'this'	wuː	wordlist 84	wa	waː	x	Leslau 1979
'wet' (adj.)	irˈramo	wordlist 94	iːrɛ	x	x	Leslau 1979

In short, the Mesmes autoethnonym, the retention of the main verb markers, the nearly identical verbal morphology and syntax as well as the lexicon all suggest that

[38] The etymon represented by the Mesmes /iːm/ 'to give' appears to be cognate with the same verb in Proto-Omotic (Bender, personal communication).
[39] For possible glosses for some of these terms, see the corresponding line notes in Appendix D.
[40] This word 'many' is likely related to (if not the same as) the word 'big' (5).

Mesmes is closely related to other Gurage languages, PWG in particular. This is enough evidence to establish the 'assumed relatedness' that Campbell (2000) considers as an essential precursor to using the comparative method in determining historical subgroupings.

4.2 Shared Innovations Linking Mesmes with PWG

In keeping with the time-tested comparative method, only shared linguistic innovations can be considered as conclusive evidence of closely shared history. Retentions may point to some genetic relationship (though they offer no subgrouping insight), but they may also be present due to borrowings.

If it were assumed, for instance, that lects A, B, C, and D are related genetically and that C and D both attest to a number of identical changes that are not in A or in B, one may assume that C and D have shared some history. That is, C and D are closely related, having at one time been one lect. This is, of course, a simplification of the historical process, but will suffice for now[41].

4.2.1 Innovations in the Pronominal Paradigm

Below, in Table 4.3, are found the pronominal paradigms for Mesmes, Endegeny, Ennemor, Gyeto and Cheha. Out of all the speech varieties in the chart, only Cheha is a non-Peripheral West Gurage lect, according to Hetzron's classification. Its inclusion here is to provide a representative Central West Gurage (CWG) form for comparison that did not participate in the Peripheral West Gurage (PWG) innovations.

[41] For a more complete discussion of the comparative method, its methodologies and historical sound change in general, see Campbell, Lyle. 2000.

The Mesmes pronominal data is from Bender and Stinson's unpublished fieldnotes. The other data is taken from Leslau's *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (1979). In Table 4.3, all the data have been 'regularized' by converting the phonetic representations to the more standard International Phonetic Alphabet.

Table 4.3 Mesmes, PWG and Cheha Pronominal Paradigms

Gloss	**Mesmes**	**Endegeny**	**Ennemor**	**Gyeto**	**Cheha**
1 S	hijjɑ	ɨjɛ	ɨjɑ	ɨjɑ	ɨjɑ
1 PL	ɨnnɑ	ɨnɛ	inɑ	inɑ	jɨnɑ
2 M S	ɑhe	ɑhɛ	ɑxɛ	ɑxɛ	ɑxɛ
2 M PL	ɑhu:we	ɑhu	ɑxɨwɑ	ɑxɨβɑ / axwɑ / ɑxuwɑ	ɑxu
2 F S	ɑ:ʃe	ɑʃɛ	ɑʃɑ	ɑxʲɑ	ɑxʲɑ / ɑxʲ
2 F PL	ɑhu:we	ɑhɑ:	ɑxɑ:	ɑxmɑ	ɑxmɑ
3 M S	hude	hudɛ	xudɑ	xutɑ	xut(ɑ)
3 M PL	hɑhunje	huno:	xɨnowɑ	xɨnowɑ / xɨnɛwɑ	xɨno
3 F S	ʃi:di	ʃidɛ	xʲidɑ	xʲitɑ	xʲitɑ
3 F PL	hɑhunje	hɨnɑ	xɨnɑ:	xɨnɛmɑ	xɨnɛmɑ

The most prevalent innovation in terms of sound correspondences in the data above is /x:h/. Consistently, where CWG, Gyeto and Ennemor have the velar fricative /x/, both Mesmes and Endegeny have the /h/. Table 4.4, below, isolates only those lexemes where the correspondence is evident:

Table 4.4 The Sound Correspondence /x:h/ in the Pronominal Paradigms

Gloss	**Mesmes**	**Endegeny**	**Ennemor**	**Gyeto**	**Cheha**
2 M S	ɑhe	ɑhɛ	ɑxɛ	ɑxɛ	ɑxɛ
2 M PL	ɑhu:we	ɑhu	ɑxɨwɑ	ɑxɨβɑ / axwɑ / ɑxuwɑ	ɑxu
2 F PL	ɑhu:we	ɑhɑ:	ɑxɑ:	ɑxmɑ	ɑxmɑ
3 M S	hude	hudɛ	xudɑ	xutɑ	xut(ɑ)
3 M PL	hɑhunje	huno:	xɨnowɑ	xɨnowɑ / xɨnɛwɑ	xɨno
3 F PL	hɑhunje	hɨnɑ	xɨnɑ:	xɨnɛmɑ	xɨnɛmɑ

It is important to consider the directionality here. There are two possibilities. Either the more widespread /x/ became /h/ in Mesmes and Endegeny or the /h/ is the older form and became /x/ everywhere else, being retained as /h/ only in Mesmes and Endegeny. Phonologically speaking, the /x/ is more marked than the /h/, being less common in the phonological inventories of the world's languages, acquired later by mature speakers and more subject to change across time (Faingold 1996). That is, it would be expected, given the general trend of markedness reduction, that the /x/ would weaken to the /h/. Thus, /x/ → /h/ in Endegeny and Mesmes is the most plausible direction, given that there is no evidence to suggest the other order is more likely.

In Table 4.5, below, the palatalized voiceless velar fricative /xʲ/ becomes the voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ in Endegeny and Mesmes and sometimes in Ennemor.

Table 4.5 The Sound Correspondence /xʲ:ʃ/ in the Pronominal Paradigms

Gloss	**Mesmes**	**Endegeny**	**Ennemor**	**Gyeto**	**Cheha**
2FS	ɑ:ʃe	ɑʃɛ	ɑʃɑ	ɑxʲɑ	ɑxʲɑ / ɑxʲ
3FS	ʃi:di	ʃidɛ	xʲidɑ	xʲitɑ	xʲitɑ

The example of 3rd feminine singular in Ennemor does not show the change. It is not known why the 3rd feminine singular pronoun in Ennemor does not participate in the change. In the bound forms (discussed in chapter five), it will be shown that Ennemor does participate in the innovation consistently. The form in Table 4.5 appears to be an anomaly. There is no distributional constraint in Ennemor, limiting the /ʃ/ to non-initial environments. The final sound change in this pronominal data involves the correspondence /t:d/:

Table 4.6 The Sound Correspondence /t:d/ in the Pronominal Paradigms

Gloss	**Mesmes**	**Endegeny**	**Ennemor**	**Gyeto**	**Cheha**
3 M S	hʊde	hudɛ	xudɑ	xutɑ	xut(ɑ)
3 F S	ʃi:di	ʃidɛ	xʲidɑ	xʲitɑ	xʲitɑ

The data above show the sound correspondence /t:d/: where Gyeto and Cheha have /t/, Mesmes, Endegeny and Ennemor have /d/. The pronominal paradigm exhibits this phenomenon in the intervocalic position only, which would be rather easily explainable as voicing due to the environment. However, this /t:d/ correspondence does appear across the board--initially, medially, and finally.

Table 4.7 The Sound Correspondence /t:d/ in 'house'

English Gloss:	**Lexemes:**	**Speech Variety**[42]
house	bet	Gura
	ge	Kistane
	bet	Mesqan
	bet	Muher
	bet	Cheha
	bet	Ezha
	bet	Desa
	be:t	Gyeto
	bi:d	Ennemor
	bi:d	Endegeny
	bi:de	Mesmes

[42] The data on Gura and Desa are from unpublished wordlists gathered as a part of the Gurage Language Survey by Ahland, Ahland, and Mohammed (2001). In terms of intelligibility, Gura is part of Sebat Bet and Desa is a sub-dialect of Muher. An interesting isogloss which distinguishes Desa from Muher is the use of the Kistane/Soddo 1S pronoun /ɛdi/ in Desa as opposed to the /anɛ/ found elsewhere in Muher. Hetzron (1977: 5) considered this speech form to be a variety of Soddo (Kistane), but the Gurage Language Survey research and interviews with the speakers in the area has shown Desa to be a variety of Muher.

Here, again, is found the /t:d/ correspondence. This time, however, the change occurs word-finally. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 (below) provide evidence of the additional innovation of vocalic length.

Hetzron (1977) deals with this phenomenon in Peripheral West Gurage, though its inheritance into Mesmes is not discussed. This vocalic length is indeed contrastive. In Ennemor, Hetzron found that the long vowels behave phonologically as a sequence of vowels, evidenced by stress patterns such as /bi`id/ (1977: 36). Unfortunately, the Mesmes data is not consistently marked for stress. Essentially, everywhere long vowels are found in Gyeto, Ennemor and Endegeny, they are found in Mesmes—excellent evidence for their shared history[43].

Table 4.8 The Sound Correspondence /t:d/ in 'fire'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
fire (n)	ɨsɑt	Gura
	ɛsɑt	Kistane
	ɨsɑt	Mesqan
	ɨsɑt	Muher
	ɨsɑt	Cheha
	ɨsɑt	Ezha
	ɨsɑt	Desa
	ɨsɑ:t / ɨsɑ:t	Gyeto
	ɨsɑ:d	Ennemor
	ɨsɑ:d	Endegeny
	ɨsɑ:de	Mesmes

It must be pointed out, however, that just as the intervocalic environment in Table 4.6 is not responsible for the voicing of the /t/, neither is the long vowel /

[43] Section 4.2.4.2. discusses the innovation of vocalic length in more detail.

geminate vowel sequence responsible for its voicing in Tables 4.7 or 4.8. In Table 4.9, below, the /t/ to /d/ voicing is in an environment lacking a long vowel:

Table 4.9 The Sound Correspondence /t:d/ in 'neck'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
neck	ɑngɛt	Gura
	ɑngɛt	Kistane
	ɑngɛt	Mesqan
	ɑngɛt	Muher
	ɑngɛt	Cheha
	ɑngɛt	Ezha
	ɑngɛt	Desa
	ɑngɛt	Gyeto
	ɑngɛd	Ennemor
	ɑngɛd	Endegeny
	ɑngɔdɑ	Mesmes

Below, as part of the examination of relative chronology, the voicing of the /t/ to /d/ in the initial environment will be discussed. Considering that the /t/ is voiced in all environments in Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes, it must be admitted that this is a reversal of the expected trend in markedness reduction. There is however, higher order motivation for this reversal of markedness reduction.

4.2.2 Markedness Reversal and the Beginnings of an Obstruent Chain Shift

It appears that the Peripheral West Gurage subgroup underwent at least the beginnings of a chain shift. The data are inconsistent, most likely attesting to the fact that the shift was never completed. Nonetheless, there are quite a few examples where the Outer South Ethiopic proto obstruent, when it is geminate, is devoiced in Gyeto, Ennemor, and Endegeny (Table 4.10, below). Unfortunately, due to the small size of the

Mesmes wordlist, no examples can be found. The lexemes where this occurs are not in the wordlist.

Table 4.10 The Sound Correspondence /dd:t/ in 'to throw down'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
to throw down	ɑddɛgɛ	Kistane
	ɑddɛgɛ	Mesqan
	ɑddɛgɛ	Muher
	ɑd ɛgɛ	Cheha
	ɑddɛgɛ	Ezha
	ɑt ɛgɛ	Gyeto
	ɑt ɛgɛ	Ennemor
	ɑttɛgɛ	Endegeny

There are, however, two examples of this same devoicing phenomenon in the Mesmes text[44]. In line 7, the verb for 'to marry' shows the same pattern in Mesmes (Appendix C):

bɛ-haːda waːda deːŋga-ɲo gɛːrɛd a-gɛʔpa-'hu
after-that that children-1SPO girl CAUSE-marry-1S.CONV

Elsewhere in Gurage, the word is as follows: Cheha /(a)gɛpa-m/, Ezha /(a)gɛbba-m/, Ennemor /(a)gɛpa/, Endegeny /(a)gɛppaʔa/, and Gyeto /(a)gɛpa/. Just as in Table 4.10 above, the form in Ezha is voiced and geminate, as well the corresponding form in PWG is voiceless, with gemination maintained only in Endegeny.

Before going on, it must be noted that only some Gurage lects have maintained geminate consonants: Kistane, Mesqan, Muher, Ezha and Endegeny. The innovation is

[44] The note on line 16 in Appendix D provides a discussion of the example of /gg/ → /k/ in the Mesmes text.

the loss of this distinction and does not appear to correspond to any particular shared history[45]. This devoicing occurs with other lengthened obstruents as well:

Table 4.11 The Sound Correspondence /bb:p/ in 'to skin'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
to skin	t'ɛbbɑ	Kistane
	t'ɛbbɑ	Mesqan
	t'ɛbbɑ	Muher
	t'ɛp ɑ	Cheha
	t'ɛbbɑ	Ezha
	t'ɛp ɑ	Gyeto
	ʔ ɛp ɑ	Ennemor
	ʔ ɛ́ppɑ	Endegeny

In Table 4.11, the /bb/ is devoiced in Peripheral West. The change also occurs in Cheha. It is likely that these beginnings of a chain shift could provide the so-called higher order motivation which helps to account for the /t/ → /d/ voicing in Peripheral West, i.e. sound chain shifts appeal to restructurings of the larger phonological system and are not restricted to individual sounds and their individual values on a markedness scale.

4.2.3 An Examination of the Systematicity of Relative Chronology in the Mesmes Data

Because of the large corpus of Gurage data in Leslau's *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, and because of Hetzron's comparative work[46], it is possible to trace the relative chronology of some sound changes by beginning with the author's proposed Outer South Ethiopic proto-form and observing the changes leading up to the Mesmes

[45] That is to say that the loss of long consonants (geminate sequences, phonologically), does not cluster with other innovations. Rather, these lects appear to have undergone this markedness reduction apart from one another.

form found in Bender's data. It must be admitted that the author has not yet consistently attempted an entire reconstruction of Outer South Ethiopic, but has only worked through the proto-forms for the 99-item Mesmes wordlist, for the purpose of showing the proposed relative ordering of these sound changes in the data[47].

Table 4.12 Guragoid and Mesmes Forms for 'leaf'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
leaf	k'ɨt'e	Muher
	k'ɨt'e	Desa
	k'ɨt'ɛl	Kistane
	k'ɨt'ɛl	Mesqan
	k'ɨt'ɛr	Gura
	k'ɨt'ɛr	Ezha
	k'ɨt'ɛr	Cheha
	k'ɨt'ɛr	Gyeto
	k ɛʔ ɛr	Ennemor
	k ɛʔ ɛr	Endegeny
	k oʔ ora	Mesmes

Table 4.12 provides the various forms of the lexeme 'leaf' in the same Gurage varieties which have been considered above. The data provide a look at the reflexes found in the daughters of Outer South Ethiopic today. The changes from the proposed proto-form may now be traced down to the current form in Mesmes.

To begin with, the author posits the form /*k'ɨt'ɛl/ as the proto-form. Table 4.13, traces the various changes as they apply, working up to the realization in Mesmes.

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[46] Because the Mesmes corpus is so small, Hetzron's comparative work in the rest of Gurage is particularly important. The author relies on some of his well-documented innovations in Gurage to help to identify the same changes in Mesmes.

[47] While using Leslau's dictionary as a great resource, the author does not rely on his proto forms. As noted earlier in this paper, Leslau holds that there is a single parent for all Gurage (including Silt'e, Wolane, Zway, etc.) The author has relied on Hetzron's trees and thus only wishes to posit reconstructions which will account for the daughters of Outer South Ethiopic.

By examining which changes occur in which varieties, it is possible to begin to reconstruct the relative ordering or time-depth of the sound changes in the data[48].

Table 4.13 The Relative Chronology as Evidenced in 'leaf'

RULES	*k'ɨt'ɛl
1a.	*l > r
	k'ɨt'ɛr
2.	*k' > k
	kɨt'ɛr
3a.	*t' > ʔ
	kɨʔɛr
4.	vowel changes
	/koʔorɑ/

First is found the rule *l > r. This is a sound change which occurs as part of a larger series of changes involving the liquids, l/n/r (Hetzron 1977). For the argument here, it is enough to note that the proto /*l/ becomes /r/ word-finally, as follows:

1a. *l > r in Gura, Ezha, Cheha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes (3-T Gurage)
> ∅ in Muher, Desa

That is, essentially this change occurs in those same lects that inherited the innovation of the future tense (Hetzron's 3-Tense Gurage). This change (1a.) is the first change to occur to the proto-form; that is, it occurs at a time-depth earlier than the other changes. This is made obvious by the vast number of lects where the change is consistently found. The loss of the word-final /r/ in Muher and Desa appears to be a later innovation in those two lects.

[48] The rules (1a) and (1b) in Tables 4.13 and 4.15 respectively occur at the same relative time-depth. This is apparent since the languages exhibiting this change are the same. The rules (3a) and (3b) in Table 4.15 are also numbered in like manner to show that they too occur at the same relative time-depth, affecting Endegeny, Ennemor and Mesmes.

The next sound change (rule 2 in Table 4.13) to occur in history affects only Endegeny, Ennemor and Mesmes. That is, it must have occurred at a time after Gyeto had separated from the other Peripheral West varieties. This *deglottalization* rule can be generalized as follows:

2. *C' > C /#___V(C)(V)C' 'deglottalization' in Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes

Basically, there is a dissimilatory process here where the first of two glottalized consonants occurring in a phonological word is deglottalized. The second is left intact. This process only occurs when two ejective (glottalized) consonants are found in the same word.

The following rule also affects Endegeny, Ennemor and Mesmes. Rule 3a. is a *debuccalization* process where the place features of the glottalized consonant (ejective) are lost and only the glottal remains. While Hetzron does not generalize this rule with any formalism, he does make mention of the process (1977). This debuccalization[49] merger took place at a slightly more recent time-depth than rule 2. above and occurs in every environment:

3a. *C' > ʔ 'debuccalization' in Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes

Finally, after this rule applies, a series of vowel changes take place in the Mesmes form. Vocalic phenomena are discussed in section 4.2.4.3 below. It is assumed that some of these vocalic changes, such as the final vocalism, are due to contact with

[49] In the data presented in this paper, debuccalization occurring outside the intervocalic environment is not observed. Yet, a more thorough examination of Leslau's extensive corpus shows that the process occurs in every environment and therefore must have occurred after the deglottalization process: /t' → ʔ/ in /ʔupʷaʔɛ/ Ennemor /ʔupapɛ/ Endegeny meaning 'narrow' and /k' → ʔ/ in /ʔinawɛ/ Ennemor

Hadiyya (discussed in chapter five). The stem vowels have undergone a backing process and a final vowel has been added. The deglottalization and debuccalization are find additional support when one considers data from other South Ethiopic languages, such as Amharic. The ejectives seen in tables 4.13 and 4.15 are clearly attested outside of Outer South Ethiopic as well.

The regularity of these changes (not including the vocalic phenomena evident only in Mesmes) is clearly seen in that they apply to sets of lects which have already been seen to subgroup together on the basis of other innovations. One more example of relative chronology will be considered before other processes are examined.

The proposed Outer South Ethiopic proto-form for 'moon' or 'moonlight' is /*t'ɛr:ɑk'ɑ/:

Table 4.14 Guragoid and Mesmes Forms for 'moon (light of)'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
moon (light of)	t'ɛrrɑk':ɑ	Muher
	t'ɛr ɑk' ɑ	Desa
	t'ɑn ɑk' ɑ	Gura
	t'ɛn ɑk' ɑ	Cheha
	t'ɑn ɑk' ɑ	Gyeto
	t'ɛnnɑk':ɑ	Ezha
	t'ɛnnɑk':ɑ	Mesqan
	d ɛrrɑk':ɑ	Kistane
	d ɑn ɑʔ ɑ	Ennemor
	d ɑnnɑʔ ɛ	Endegeny
	d ɛnnɑʔ ɑ	Mesmes

/ʔiriw/ Endegeny meaning 'near'. This debuccalization is a large-scale merger where all ejectives (glottalized consonants) are becoming glottal stops.

As in the example above, tracing the changes from the proposed proto-form in Outer South Ethiopic to the realization in Mesmes is possible (Table 4.15, below).

Table 4.15 The Relative Chronology as Evidenced in 'moon (light of)'

RULES	*t'ɛrrɑk'ɑ
1b.	*r > n
	t'ɛnnɑk'ɑ
2.	*t' > t
	tɛnnɑk'ɑ
3a.	*k' > ʔ
	tɛnnɑʔɑ
3b.	*t > d
	dɛnnɑʔɑ

The first sound change found in this example is the merger of liquids where *r > n when it is geminate, preconsonantal, or initial (Hetzron 1977).

This rule, as did rule (1a) above, occurs in 3-tense Gurage:

1b. *r > n in Gura, Ezha, Cheha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes (3-T Gurage)

The next two sound changes (deglottalization and debuccalization) have already been discussed above. Deglottalization (2) is followed by debuccalization (3a). It must be noted that rule (1b) must occur at the earlier time-depth because of which lects it affects. But also, it can be assumed that rule (2) occurs before either (3a) or (3b). In (3b), after, the initial consonant has been deglottalized, it undergoes the voicing rule /t/ → /d/ discussed in section 4.2.1.

4.2.4 Additional Links Between Mesmes and PWG

There are a number of processes which do shed light on the linguistic relationships internal to Peripheral West Gurage, including Mesmes. The details of some of these processes are discussed in the subsections below.

4.2.4.1 Weakening of the Bilabial Nasal and the Genesis of the Non-Etymological /n/

The nongeminate bilabial nasal[50], in intervocalic environments, in PWG appears to have already been weakened or 'spirantized' to use Leslau's[51] terminology for the weak articulations of some Guragoid phones (1979). This process of weakening in such a highly sonorant position is not enough evidence to suggest shared history since these sorts of processes can happen independently in a variety of languages, regardless of genetic relationship. Statistically speaking, this sort of spirantization is too common cross-linguistically to use for subgrouping. Yet, it must also be argued that when viewed in the context of additional changes which are more indicative of shared history, these weakenings may help to explain relationships internal to a particular subgroup.

Table 4.16, below, shows the weakening of nongeminate /m/ within PWG as well as the later changes that have taken place in Mesmes. The /m/, in this environment, even in the PWG proto-form, is already weakly articulated [m̥][52]. Both the Endegeny

[50] The *PWG geminate bilabial nasals do not weaken; an example can be seen in the word 'fat' (item #25 in Appendix A).
[51] Leslau's (1979) volume 3, p. 29 provides a discussion of spirantization / weakening.
[52] This diacritic is the IPA notation for weak articulation (cf. Handbook of the International Phonetic Association, Cambridge University Press, UK., 1999: 193).

and Mesmes varieties share the same innovation of /m/ → /w/[53]. That is, in those lexemes where the /m/ is seen to have weakened to the /w/ in Endegeny, the same forms show the innovation in Mesmes[54]. The presence of the *m in the proto-form is further supported by other South Ethiopic languages, as in the Amharic /amɛd/ 'ash'.

Table 4.16 Historical Derivation for Mesmes 'ashes'

	Lexemes	**Speech Variety**
PWG Proto-form (#2)	*hamɛ̃d[55]	
	amɛ̃d	Gyeto
	amɛ̃d	Ennemor
/m/ → /w/	awɛ̃d	Endegeny
nasal formation	awɛnd	
addition of final V	hawɛnda	Mesmes

In a few instances, the Mesmes form has lost even the /w/ trace of the bilabial and has resulted in a geminate vowel, a compensatory process (#14, Appendix A). Nongeminate /m/'s which are part of a consonant cluster appear to be protected from weakening, their environment not being intervocalic (#'s 8 and 38).

A brief discussion concerning the changes internal to Mesmes is necessary before continuing the discussion of nasalization in PWG. The Mesmes form has undergone the innovation of a final vocalism (a detailed discussion follows in chapter

[53] Appendix A items 2,10,14,48 show this correspondence. Exceptions are found in #'s 9 and 10. The voiced bilabial stop /b/ undergoes a similar process in Endegeny and Mesmes, weakening in the intervocalic environment (#'s 26 and 49).

[54] 'Sun' (80) appears an exception to the rule. The author argues however, that this example involves the nasal formation process where nasalized vowels are realized as nasal consonants in Mesmes. It appears that the /m/ is the result of the nasalized vowel and the /w/. Also, the verb 'to give' (31) does not show further weakening of the spirantized /m/ in PWG.

[55] The loss of the initial laryngeal /h/ (also found in wordlist items 10, 31, 61, 69, and 76) in all of Gurage except for Mesmes does not appear to be indicative of shared history. Rather, it is this author's opinion that the loss of the laryngeal is due to an areal phenomenon that swept across Gurage proper; Mesmes, not being part of Gurage geographically, was left unaffected. This account explains why the loss of the laryngeal does not correlate with the shared innovations discussed in this work.

five) and the nasal formation process where nasalization on vowels (in many cases an innovation itself) in PWG often corresponds with the formation of a non-etymological nasal consonants in Mesmes[56].

Table 4.17, below, provides another example. In this case, there is good evidence that the PWG proto-form did not have a nasal consonant or a nasal vowel. There is no evidence within other Gurage languages or in other South Ethiopic languages (such as Amharic) of the nasal that appears in the Mesmes form. Leslau offers the reconstruction /*t'ɨfɨr/ for all of Gurage.

Table 4.17 Historical Derivation for Mesmes 'claw'

	Lexemes	**Speech Variety**
PWG Proto-form (#13)	*t'ɨfɨr	
	t'ɨfɨr	Gyeto
debuccalization	ʔɨfɨr	
spontaneous nasalization	ʔɨ̃fɨr	Ennemor and Endegeny
vowel backing	ʔʊ̃fur	
nasal formation	ʔunfur	
loss of initial glottal	unfur	
addition of final V	unfura	Mesmes

Only the Endegeny and Ennemor forms have a nasalized vowel, according to Leslau (1979). In every example throughout the wordlist data in Appendix A, Gyeto preserves any nasalization that is inherited from the PWG Proto form. Boivin, in his "Spontaneous Nasalization in Inor" (1996), provides evidence that spirantized nasals, which spread the [nasal] feature, and, even more interesting, glottal stops, which are

[56] Apart from two exceptions, nasalization of vowels in Mesmes is dispreferred (see #10 in Appendix A and lines 5 and 6 of the Mesmes text in Appendix C for the exceptions).

often remnants of "gutturals" (pharyngeals and laryngeals, in this case), may lead to the genesis of a non-etymological /n/ in PWG[57]. Boivin writes:

> #ħ/ʕ +V +C → #h/ʔ +$\tilde{V}$ +C → #h/ʔ +V +n +C
>
> Let us first consider [the process above]. Aside from the change in the gutturals /ħ/→/h/ and /ʕ/→ /ʔ/, the vowel V between the laryngeal /h/ or /ʔ/ and the consonant C first becomes nasalized. This nasalization then turns into a full nasal consonant /n/ (1996: 23).

Boivin's conclusion is that nasalization is specified for the glottal in these languages. His argument is that the process is not merely articulatory (if it were, many languages should exhibit the same phenomenon) but cognitive (1996: 33). Boivin, in his article, notes that in many cases, the nasalized vowel is maintained in Inor and a full nasal consonant is not yet formed. While the phenomenon is rare, the link between glottalic sounds and nasality, or *rhinoglottophilia*, as it has been termed (Matisoff 1975), is not completely unknown in other languages (Michailovsky 1975, Parker 1996 and Blust 1998).

The Mesmes wordlist and the relative chronology of the innovations in PWG offers some credence to Boivin's claims. Table 4.16 shows the spirantized nasal[58] spreading its feature and resulting in a non-etymological nasal consonant /n/ in Mesmes. In this case, no laryngeal is involved. Table 4.17 shows that the glottal stop, even one resulting from the large-scale merger of glottalized consonants through debuccalization

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[57] Hetzron (1977) has also suggested that the non-etymological /n/ is a result of gutturals. Leslau (1992b) disagreed with Hetzron, suggesting that nasalization is also found in environments without gutturals.

[58] The spirantized nasal in Mesmes also changes /*r/ → /n/ in those words where the nasal spread is not blocked by the presence of an obstruent (obstruents are specified for nasality). /*r/ becomes /n/ in wordlist examples 48, 79, and 95 through this process. In item 13, the spread is blocked by the obstruent

in PWG, can also trigger nasalization in Ennemor and Endegeny and the resulting non-etymological /n/ in Mesmes.

Table 4.18 Historical Derivation for Mesmes 'bird'

	Lexemes	**Speech Variety**
PWG Proto-form (#6)	*ã:fʷ	
	ã:fʷ	Gyeto, Ennemor and Endegeny
nasal formation	a:nfʷ	
vowel backing through labialization spread	ɔ:nfʷ	
addition of final V and loss of labialization	ɔ:nfa	Mesmes

Table 4.18 shows the same process, but in this instance the nasalization is due to an ancient pharyngeal (Leslau 1979). The vowel on this word is nasalized throughout the Gurage languages and can be assumed to have been inherited to PWG as a nasalized vowel (Leslau 1979). Again, as in the data in Tables 4.16 and 4.17, the nasal consonant /n/ is unknown elsewhere in Ethio-Semitic, according to Leslau's Etymological Section, volume 3 of his *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (1979: 20).

Thus, the nasal formation process results in a non-etymological /n/ in Mesmes where nasalized vowels are found in Ennemor and Endegeny and sometimes Gyeto (depending on the method of nasalization genesis)[59]. The nasalization may be due to the spreading of a nasal feature from a spirantized nasal consonant (wordlist #'s 2 and 3), the historical presence of an ancient pharyngeal (wordlist #'s 6, 54 and 60), or a glottal

/f/ and in 21, the spread is blocked by /z/. In item 37, the nasal is geminate and thus not spirantized. No spread is able to occur and thus the /r/ remains in Mesmes.

[59] In those cases where debuccalization results in nasalization from the innovation of the glottal, Gyeto does not show any [nasal] feature.

stop formed through debuccalization in the glottalized consonant merger found in Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes (wordlist # 13). Ultimately, whatever the genesis of the nasalization and the non-etymological /n/, the fact remains that a systematic correspondence between Mesmes and other PWG languages exists.

4.2.4.2 Relevant Vocalic Length

The Peripheral West Gurage varieties share the innovation of phonemic vocalic length (Hetzron 1977 and Leslau 1992, 1996). Hetzron writes, "...PWG developed long vowels....They may represent older diphthongs (*moodä* 'he died'from **mawta*), but most often they result from the loss of an intervocalic consonant" (Hetzron 1977: 36). Mesmes maintains the vocalic length in the same lexemes where it is found in other PWG varieties (wordlists #'s 3, 6, 15, 24, 27, 48, 76 and 84). There are only two clear exceptions to this rule in the Mesmes wordlist (#'s 17 and 96). The verb 'to go / to pass' (#32 in the wordlist) is found in the Mesmes text with the long vowel, as expected (lines 12 and 16, Appendix D)[60].

Mesmes also exhibits a tendency to lengthen vowels which are not long in the other PWG varieties: first, in a compensatory process where consonants are lost through *lenition* (wordlist #'s 14, 44, 72 and 85) and second, in a similar process where inherited geminate consonants are reduced to single consonants and the vowel to the left of the proto geminate consonant is lengthened (#'s 18, 42, 53, 61, 63, 64, 65, 88 and 90).

[60] This author is uncomfortable with the term "innovation" used to refer to all of the examples of vocalic length in PWG. In many cases, as Hetzron notes, the length is due to a compensatory process of consonant or glide loss. In a few instances, like /wɛːr-ˈɛ/ in line 12 of the Mesmes Text (Appendix C), the vowel length is a true innovation and not attributable to any compensation.

Table 4.19 provides an example of compensatory lengthening brought about by consonant loss in Mesmes. In this example, the glottal stop is lost intervocalically and vocalic contraction leads to the long vowel in Mesmes.

Table 4.19 Historical Derivation for Mesmes 'three'

	Lexemes	**Speech Variety**
PWG Proto-form (#85)	*so?ost	
	so?ost	Gyeto, Ennemor and Endegeny
lenition of glottal	soost	
vowel laxing[61]	sɔ:st	
addition of final V	sɔ:sti	Mesmes

There are many examples of the second process described above, where geminate consonants are reduced and the vowel undergoes lengthening as a result. The geminate consonants in the following charts are indeed attested in those geminating varieties (Ezha, in particular) outside of PWG (Leslau 1979). The process is limited to the coronal phonemes /j/, /t/, /ɲ/ and /n/:

Table 4.20 Historical Derivation for Mesmes 'rain (n)'

	Lexemes	**Speech Variety**
PWG Proto-form (63)	*dijjɛ	
	dijɛ	Gyeto
	dijɛ	Ennemor
	dijɛ	Endegeny
vocalic lengthening	di:je	Mesmes

[61] In this case the geminate vowels, [oo] appear to have been interpreted as in a closed syllable. It is likely that the Mesmes vowels /ɔ/ and /u/ have come about as a result of closed syllables, historically (see section 4.2.4.3).

Table 4.21 Historical Derivation for Mesmes 'mountain'

	Lexemes	Speech Variety
PWG Proto-form (53)	*aŋŋɛ	
	aŋŋɛ	Gyeto, Ennemor and Endegeny
vocalic lengthening	a:ŋɛ	
addition of final V	a:ŋa	Mesmes

Table 4.22 Historical Derivation for Mesmes 'one'

	Lexemes	Speech Variety
PWG Proto-form (61)	*hatt	
	a:t	Gyeto
	at	Ennemor
	att	Endegeny
vocalic lengthening	a:t	
addition of final V	ha:ti	Mesmes

In the first case, above, only Mesmes appears to reflect (through vocalic length) the proto-geminate consonant within PWG; as mentioned earlier, the length is attested in Ezha (Leslau 1979). In Table 4.21, however, the other PWG varieties have not lost the length (that is, one of the consonants making up the geminate pair), yet Mesmes again shows the lengthening of the vowel. Table 4.22 shows that the process of gemination reduction in each of the PWG varieties appears not to be indicative of shared history but an independent process in each lect. In each instance, Mesmes exhibits vocalic lengthening. It must also be mentioned that this process can involve any form of gemination in PWG. For example, the 2nd radical of verbs in the perfect form[62] is geminate in those Gurage languages which maintain gemination. The Mesmes

[62] Leslau argues that gemination in Endegeny is phonetically conditioned. In this case, the gemination is maintained because the verb ends in /r/, according to his analysis (Leslau 1992c). The Gurage root appears to be /qtl/ or /qt'l/--Leslau cites both (1979, volume 3: 263). Rose offers an alternative analysis where gemination in Endegeny is determined by the duration of the final consonant: "if the final consonant is of short duration, gemination is found. If the final consonant is of long duration (i.e. a voiceless fricative or ejective), then no gemination is found" (Rose 2003: 1).

wordlist item (42) /ɔːtɔrɔ/ 'to kill' shows that, again, the geminate consonant may be reduced and the vowel lengthened as a result—even in the case where verb roots are involved.

4.2.4.3 Other Vocalic Changes in Mesmes

In addition to length, there are other vocalic phenomena internal to Mesmes. A careful examination of the comparative wordlists in Appendix A shows the following correspondences: /ɛ/ in PWG and /ɔ/ in Mesmes (#'s 4, 8, 9, 40, 57, 83, 87), /ɨ/ in PWG and /ʊ/ in Mesmes (#'s 13, 21, 74, 90, 95), /u/ in PWG and /ʊ/ in Mesmes (#'s 37, 44, 47 and 60) and /o/ in PWG and /ɔ/ in Mesmes (#'s 71 and 85). In each of these examples, the correspondence occurs within closed syllables. There are examples of this phenomenon found in the Mesmes text as well (line 1 notes, Appendix D).

Mesmes vowels exhibit a tendency to undergo a degree of neutralization in closed syllables, with /ɛ/ and /o/ merging to /ɔ/ and with /ɨ/ and /u/ merging to /ʊ/, respectively. While there are certainly exceptions[63] to this process, the tendency is well attested in Mesmes. It is likely that this merger is the historical process by which the vowels /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ have become phonemes in Mesmes. While these vowels are most frequently found in closed syllables, there are instances of them in open syllables as well[64]. It appears that an additional process has occurred where the velars /g/, /k/, /w/

[63] There are 6 exceptions where the vowels /ɨ/, /o/ and /u/ are found in closed syllables: 24,25,30,55,75 and 93. Out of these, numbers 25 and 55 appear to be borrowings since they do not show participation in expected sound change processes: debuccalization and the non-etymological /n/ nasal formation process, respectively.

[64] For /ɔ/ in open syllables, see wordlist items 12,19,22,31,32,38,42,51,56,73 and 77. For /ʊ/ in open syllables, see wordlist items 35, 84 and 92. It is not possible to trace the manner in which item #90

and /ʔ/ can bring about the /ɔ/ and /u/. Out of all the open syllable instances of these two vowels, only three exceptions are not in close proximity to one of the three velars or to the glottal stop (wordlist #'s 12, 19 and 31). It must also be mentioned that these vowels are not found in other Ethio-Semitic languages. They are in the Highland East Cushitic languages of Hadiyya and Kambaata, the two Cushitic languages which have had the most impact on Mesmes. This will be discussed in more detail in section 5.5 of chapter five on externally-induced change.

As has been included in Table 4.18, there are instances in the Mesmes data where labialization spreads and affects vowel quality, typically backing / rounding vowels to /ɔ/, /o/ and /u/[65]. Leslau (1992) and Hetzron (1977) note the same labialization spread affecting vowels in Ennemor and Endegeny as well. The Mesmes data also show some examples of vowel harmony involving the vowels /o/ and /ɔ/ (wordlist #'s 12, 17, 32, 33, 42 and 73)[66]. This sort of harmony involving back vowels is not found in other PWG languages nor in the Cushitic languages of Hadiyya and Kambaata (Hudson 1976 and Sim 1989).

4.2.4.4 Pharyngeal Archaisms and Systematic Metathesis

Another interesting sound change involves the pharyngeal consonant in Ethio-Semitic. In many Ethio-Semitic languages, this consonant is lost today, and only the vowel that followed it, /a/, remains in most of Gurage: Cheha, Ezha, Muher, Gura,

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underwent the vowel change. The change could be due to the closed syllable, before the loss of the /r/ or it could be due to the presence of the glottal stop.

[65] Examples of this phenomenon are found in Table 4.18 and Appendix D, notes on lines 5,13 and 20.

[66] Wordlist items (45) and (52) also show duplication of the vowels /o/ and /ɔ/, respectively. Each of these words, however, ends with the final /a/; the harmony does not extend to all the vowels.

Kistane, Mesqan, and Desa. However, the Peripheral West lects have preserved the pharyngeal through maintaining the glottal stop preceding the vowel: /ʔa/[67]. This is not an innovation itself, since the glottal is most likely a retention of some of the pharyngeal's features.

There is, however, still a regular sound change process within Peripheral West Gurage, strengthening the evidence for the subgrouping.

Table 4.23 Pharyngeal Archaism in 'to hear'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
hear	sɛm ɑ	Cheha
	sɛmmɑ	Ezha
	sɛmmɑ	Muher
	sɛm ɑ	Gura
	sɛmmɑ	Kistane
	sɛmmɑ	Mesqan
	sɛm ɑ	Desa
	sɛmʔɑ	Gyeto
	sɛmʔɑ	Ennemor
	sɛpmɑ	Endegeny
	sɔʔmɑ	Mesmes

Leslau (1979) posits the Ethiopic etymon /*smH/ for the data in Table 4.23, above. The final /a/ vowel in the data is the vowel which followed the *pharyngeal. The geminate /m/'s are due to consistent gemination (in those geminating varieties of Gurage) in the derivational process which derives the perfect form of the verb. This is not due to any compensatory lengthening. As mentioned above, only some of the Gurage lects have maintained gemination as a relevant feature.

[67] Leslau refers to these glottal-consonant sequences as 'stop-attacks' in his writing (1992c: 263).

Within Peripheral West Gurage, both Endegeny and Mesmes have metathesized the glottal and the nasal[68]. In fact, this metathesis occurs regularly in the perfect[69]. There is no metathesis found in the jussive and imperfect forms of these verbs in Endegeny (Leslau 1992c). Table 4.24 provides another example of this process:

Table 4.24 Pharyngeal Archaism in 'to eat'

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
eat	bɛn ɑ	Cheha
	bɛnnɑ	Ezha
	bɛnnɑ	Muher
	bɛn ɑ	Gura
	bɛllɑ	Kistane
	bɛnnɑ	Mesqan
	bɜnnɑ	Desa
	bɛn?ɑ	Gyeto
	bɛm?ɑ	Ennemor
	bɛtnɑ	Endegeny
	bɑ?nɔ	Mesmes

In the case of Table 4.24, Leslau posits the Ethiopic etymon /*blH/ (1979). Once again, the pharyngeal becomes the vowel /a/ in most cases, but /?ɑ/ in the Peripheral West lects. Then the metathesis occurs in both Endegeny and Mesmes.

This metathesis does not have any relationship to the historical process of the pharyngeal becoming /?ɑ/. The data back this up. In the case of 'twenty,' in Table 4.25,

[68] The author doubts the transcription of the Endegeny word here. The difference between [?m] and [pm] is very difficult to distinguish. Hetzron, also, questioned Leslau's transcription here (1977).

[69] Leslau labels this the /zɛ^{t}na/ pattern (1992c: 463). The metathesis is not found in other tenses/aspects in Endegeny. It does appear that Mesmes has undergone some leveling. While the verb 'to marry' /(a)gɛppa?a/ in Endegeny follows Leslau's /nɛssa?a/ pattern, for those verbs "whose original third radical was /?/ or /ʕ/ and whose second radical is a consonant other than *n* or *m* (Leslau 1992c: 464), the same verb in Mesmes follows the /zɛ^{t}na/ pattern, having undergone analogical leveling /gɛ$^{?}$pa/ (line 7 of the Mesmes Text, Appendix C).

Leslau posits the Ethiopic root as /kl?/ (1979). Thus, the glottal stop is not an innovation in PWG but a retention, and no pharyngeal is involved.

Table 4.25 Systematic Metathesis in Endegeny and Mesmes

English Gloss:	Lexemes:	Speech Variety
twenty	kʷɨjɑ	Kistane
	xu jɑ / hujɑ	Mesqan
	xʷɨjɑ / xʷet as:ɨr	Muher
	xʷɨjɑ	Cheha
	xʷɨjjɑ	Ezha
	xʷɨj?ɑ	Gyeto
	xʷij?ɑ	Ennemor
	hu ?jɛ	Endegeny
	hu ?jɑ	Mesmes

As a side note, the gemination in Ezha is, in this case, likely due to the loss of the glottal stop and could thus be considered compensatory. Again, the same metathesis process occurs in both Endegeny and Mesmes. This process of metathesis is so regular that it must have occurred at a time prior to the divergence of Endegeny and Mesmes, but, of course, after the split within PWG between Gyeto and Ennemor on the one hand and Mesmes and Endegeny on the other[70].

Even a cursory examination of the morphological and syntactic retentions discussed in the early sections of this chapter provides sound argumentation for assuming Mesmes to be genetically related to the Gurage languages. In particular, the plethora of shared innovations attested in the Mesmes and PWG pronominal paradigms and lexicons provide conclusive evidence that Mesmes did share some history with the

[70] Chapter 5 includes an explanation for how these glottal stop-consonant complexes came about. It is likely that externally induced change is involved.

PWG languages and with Endegeny in particular. A complete understanding of the Mesmes data is not possible without considering the apparent impact that the shift to Hadiyya has had on the Mesmes syntax, lexicon and phonology. This is the subject of chapter five.

CHAPTER 5

EVIDENCE OF CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE IN THE MESMES DATA

5.1 The Nature of Externally-Induced Change

The Mesmes speech form is surrounded by the Cushitic language, Hadiyya. As has been shown in the second chapter, the Mesmes people have adopted Hadiyya as their language and have lost the ability to speak Mesmes. This language contact between Mesmes and Hadiyya and subsequent shift to the more socially and linguistically dominant Hadiyya language, coupled with the fact that Mesmes and other Gurage languages make up part of a convergence area (see Table 2.1) marked by high degrees of multilingualism, suggests that the Mesmes speech form has likely undergone some degree of change as a result of contact. This is externally-induced change.

Thomason and Kaufman charge, "The methodological principles embodied in the powerful Comparative Method include as assumption that virtually all language change arises through intrasystemic causes" (1988: 1). Yet, as has already been asserted by other Ethio-Semitic and Guragoid scholars, there are indeed features in Gurage languages that have come about through contact (Hetzron 1977, Leslau 1945, 1979, 1992c and 1992d). Thomason and Kaufman argue that this is, in fact, the norm in the world's languages, "We believe, with Schuchardt, Bailey, and Mühlhäusler, that foreign interference in grammar as well as in lexicon is likely to have occurred in the histories of most languages" (1988: 3).

The Mesmes corpus, made up of the text, wordlist and unpublished grammatical paradigms, provides evidence that while much of the phonology, grammar and lexicon appears to be inherited from the Proto-PWG parent, there are significant changes in Mesmes which correspond to structures found in the Cushitic languages of Hadiyya and neighboring Kambaata.

5.2 Loanwords in the Mesmes Wordlist

While lexical borrowing is not necessarily indicative of a high degree of bilingualism, it is certainly a contact-induced phenomenon. Perhaps of greatest interest is the seemingly very small number of non-Guragoid words in the Mesmes list and text. Only three[71] words in the wordlist appear to be from a non-Guragoid source (see Appendix B for the Hadiyya / Kambaata wordlists): (29) 'fly' from Kambaata, (46) 'liver' from Hadiyya, and (69) 'to see' from Amharic /aj:ɛ/.

The fact that there are not many loanwords in the Mesmes data may be suggestive of the speakers' history. Thomason and Kaufman argue that if language (a) speakers were learning to speak language (b), their mother-tongue, language (a), would have some impact on the phonology and structure of language (b), though not the lexicon, necessarily:

> ...unlike borrowing, interference through imperfect learning does not begin with vocabulary: it begins instead with sounds and syntax, and sometimes includes morphology as well before words from the shifting group's original language appear in the [target language] (1988: 39).

[71]It must be noted that wordlist item #81 'to swim' is also found in Hadiyya and in Kambaata as well as in Gurage. The sound change of debuccalization of the glottalized consonant suggests that this word was inherited through normal transmission to Mesmes—even though it may originally be of Cushitic origin.

This is quite interesting, given that there is no evidence that Hadiyya speaking peoples were ever learning Mesmes. However, since the area is marked by a high-degree of multilingualism, it is not difficult to entertain such possibilities. The mother-tongue Hadiyya speakers certainly were not in the process of shifting to the minority Mesmes language, but enough of them may have learned to speak the language that, at the time when Mesmes was in decline, the Hadiyya-influenced mispronunciations could have led to changes in the phonology and syntax, without necessarily affecting the Memses lexicon to any great extent. The Mesmes people would have also been speaking Hadiyya which may have made these phonological and syntactic changes more palatable.

5.3 Paradigmatic Leveling in Mesmes

In the pronominal paradigm (Table 4.3, above) the Mesmes data show an example of interlinguistic analogical leveling. Where Outer South Ethiopic languages all maintain gender distinctions in the plural forms (2nd masculine plural / 2nd feminine plural and 3rd masculine plural / 3rd feminine plural), Mesmes appears to have lost this distinction in the 3rd person. Hadiyya does not make these gender distinctions in plural forms and the loss of this feature in Mesmes may be considered due to a sort of interlinguistic analogy—a leveling between lects. That is, the Mesmes paradigm has been simplified on the pattern of the Hadiyya paradigm. Like Hadiyya, Mesmes does not make any distinction for gender in plural forms.

Table 5.1 Comparison of Mesmes and Hadiyya Pronominal Paradigms

	Mesmes	Hadiyya[72]
1 S	hijjɑ	ani
2 M S	ɑhe	ati
2 F S	ɑ:ʃe	ati
3 M S	hʊde	itt'o
3 F S	ʃi:di	isi
1 PL	ɨnnɑ	neese
2 M PL	ɑhu:we	ki?ne
2 F PL	ɑhu:we	ki?ne
3 M PL	hɑhunje	itt'u / issu
3 F PL	hɑhunje	itt'u / issu

However, it does appear that Mesmes has maintained the gender distinction in the 2nd person singular while Hadiyya does not make such distinctions. This sort of asymmetry in contact-induced change is not particularly troublesome. Changes that are due to contact situations can quite often be very asystematic. Markedness reduction may not be involved. Also, in terms of markedness, the distinction of gender in the plural forms is more marked than the distinction of gender in the singular.

5.4 The Mesmes Final Vocalism

The data, in Tables 4.7 - 4.9 above, show that Mesmes consistently adds a final vowel to the end of each noun[73]. This is clearly an innovation and is likely as a result of contact with Hadiyya. Stinson, in his write-up on Hadiyya phonology in Bender's *Language in Ethiopia*, notes: "Nouns in isolation end in /–a/, /-e/, or /–o/. This may be considered an accusative suffix since it is retained (often as a voiceless vowel) in the accusative, but dropped in the nominative" (1976: 150).

[72] This Hadiyya data is from Hudson (1976).
[73] The only exceptions to this process are numbers (24) /ɨːn/ 'eye' and (55) /ʃum/ 'name'.

Hudson, also, agrees that the "accusative is the absolute or citation form of the noun" (1976: 253). He points out that in Hadiyya, these final vowels are case markings but that they are "generally lost in connected speech[74]". As has already been seen in the data above, Ethio-Semitic nouns do not necessarily end in vowels. Yet, in each case, the Mesmes lexemes do. It appears this is due to the influence of the Hadiyya word structure that Stinson and Hudson describe. The likely scenario would have been that Mesmes speakers, having become bilingual in Hadiyya and having begun the shift to Hadiyya, were accustomed to the final vocalism underlying Hadiyya word structure. This may also be not so much a process of borrowing as a process of interference[75] from imperfect learning.

The question must be raised then, how did this change in word structure take place? Appendix B offers both the Hadiyya and Kambaata wordlists for comparison with Mesmes. Before comparing with the Cushitic languages, it is important to note which final vowels in Mesmes nouns are not found in PWG. Table 5.2, below, provides those examples of final vowels in Mesmes which are not found in other Gurage languages. Also considered in Table 5.2 is the possibility of a semantic link with one of the Highland East Cushitic languages spoken in the region. In addition to Hadiyya, Kambaata, too, exhibits the final vowel in citation form. An important question is whether or not the final vowels in Mesmes (mainly /-a/ and /-e/; with three /–i/ vowels

[74] Sim (1988: 79) in his "Violations of the Two-Consonant Constraint in Hadiyya," agrees that the final vowel is lost in connected speech and only barely audible in normal speech before pauses.
[75] There is also the possibility that the interference came from imperfect learning of Mesmes by mother-tongue Hadiyya speakers (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988 for a discussion of interference through imperfect learning). This is suggested as a possibility to account for the apparent lack of Hadiyya loanwords in the Mesmes data.

and one /–o/ vowel) can be linked to the word with the corresponding meaning in one of the Cushitic languages.

Table 5.2 Examination of Mesmes Final Vocalism

Lexeme #	New Mesmes Vowel	Semantic Link with Hadiyya / Kambaata
2	-a	in H
4	-a	in K
6	-a	in both H and K
10	-a	in neither
13	-a	in both H and K
21	-a	in neither
26	-e	in neither
27	-e	in neither
30	-e	in neither
36	-a	in H
37	-e	in H
40	-a	in K
44	-a	in K
45	-a	in both H and K
48	-a	in H
49	-e	in neither
51	-a	in both H and K
54	-e	in H
56	-a	in neither
61	-i	in neither
66	-e	in neither
74	-e	in neither
75	-a	in both H and K
78	-e	in K
79	-a	in H
83	-a	in K
85	-i	in neither
87	-a	in K
88	-e	in H
90	-i	in neither
91	-o	in neither
95	-e	in neither
96	-e	in neither
97	-e	in H

Table 5.3 Results of Final Vowel Comparisons Between Mesmes, Hadiyya and Kambaata

in Hadiyya	in Kambaata	in Both H and K	in Neither	Total
8	6	5	15	34

No apparent semantic connection can be seen linking the Mesmes final vowels with corresponding words in either Hadiyya or Kambaata. In fact, 15 of the 34 'new' final vowels are of a different shape altogether from what is found in either Hadiyya or Kambaata.

A phonological explanation for the various shapes of the final vowel must be considered. The shapes /-a/, /-e/ and /-o/ are found in Hadiyya (Stinson 1976). In the Mesmes data, the vast majority of the examples (30 out of the 34) are either /-a/ or /-e/. Of the three /-i/ examples[76], each is a numeral (lexemes 61, 85 and 90). It is by no means inconceivable that numerals would be treated in a different manner from the rest of the lexicon.

The only other example of a vowel not /-a/ or /-e/ is the /-o/ in lexeme number 91. First, it should be pointed out that the /-o/ is not the final segment in the word; it is followed by an approximant: /ma?oj-/. The /-o/ is considered final only in the sense that it follows the final consonant found in the cognate forms elsewhere in Peripheral West Gurage (Appendix A). It is possible that the glottal stop has had some impact on the original vowel here, but it is impossible to say for sure with only a single example in the

[76] Lexeme number 34 /sa?ari/ 'grass', while ending with the /-i/ vowel, may be an retention of the final /-i/ found in Tigrinya and an even more ancient source, Akkadian (Leslau 1979). This vowel shape, as a result of contact with Hadiyya, is only found on numerals. Also, it must be mentioned that identical and unrelated innovations of this final vowel /-i/ in Akkadian, Tigrinya and Mesmes would be unexpected. As discussed earlier, the Gurage languages do, at times, maintain archaisms that are typically lost elsewhere in Semitic (see section 1.5).

data. For the present, the final /-o/ must be considered the lone example of its shape as it is not predictable from any other process.

There is some tendency in these data suggesting that Mesmes may have begun to harmonize its final vowel with the vowels in the stem. While the final vowel /-e/ is found attached with stems exhibiting vowels that are both back and non-back, the /-a/ final vowel is found almost exclusively attaching to stems with only back vowels. It may be that Mesmes initially added only the /-e/ as a final vowel on the pattern of Hadiyya word structure. After the addition of the vowel, a harmony process could have begun where stems with back vowels would require their final /-e/ become the /-a/ to agree in backness. Since this kind of interference would only happen in cases of significant bilingualism, it is likely that the addition of the final vowel would have occurred late and thus the harmony process (which would have begun after the final vowel's addition and not as interference from Hadiyya) was not able to complete and regularize before normal transmission was stopped. That is, the Mesmes language may have died before the vowel harmony could spread throughout the lexicon.

This very tentative solution would suggest that Mesmes, rather than indiscriminately adding various vowel shapes to the ends of words, copied the Hadiyya word structure by simply adding the /-e/ vowel word-finally. Then, processes of harmony and possibly even the creation of a numeral class were begun. Ultimately, however, there is not enough evidence to say for certain.

5.5 Vocalic Phenomena in Mesmes

The presence of lengthened vowels (section 4.2.4.2 above) in Peripheral West Gurage, is also an innovation, most probably due to contact with Hadiyya. In Ethio-Semitic languages, lengthened vowels are not found, generally. In Hadiyya, however, each of the five phonemic vowels has a relevant [+ long] counterpart (Stinson 1976). Recall that geographically, it is the Peripheral West languages (Gyeto, Ennemor, and Endegeny) that have the most contact with Hadiyya. Mesmes, of course, would be included in this grouping. While, as mentioned above, the source of vocalic length in PWG and Mesmes can be identified as corresponding to diphthongs and compensatory lengthening through consonant loss (Hetzron 1977: 36), it is likely that the presence of Hadiyya long vowels played a role in these long vowels reaching productive phonemic status in PWG and Mesmes.

The merger of the /ɛ/ and /o/ neutralizing to /ɔ/ and the /ɨ/ and /u/ neutralizing to /ʊ/ (discussed in section 4.2.4.3 above) is likely also a result of contact with Hadiyya (and possibly other Highland East Cushitic languages). Hudson writes:

> In four of the languages [Higland East Cushitic], all but Sidamo, there is vowel laxing in closed syllables, and in the interior of words. This usually involves /a/ and /i/, less commonly /e/, and rarely /o/ and /u/. The lax allophones are, respectively, [ə, ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ] (1976: 249).

As mentioned in chapter four, it is likely that the Mesmes vowels /o/ and /u/ became [-ATR] in closed syllables, on the pattern of Hadiyya phonology. The merger of /ɛ/ with /o/ and /ɨ/ with /u/ would have occurred later. Unlike Hadiyya and other Highland East Cushitic languages, additional processes involving velar consonants and the glottal

stop / glottalization feature appear to have extended the distribution of /ɔ/ and /ʊ/, even to word-final positions (wordlist #'s 12, 19, 22, 32, 73, 77 and 84).

5.6 Possible Syntactic Change as a Result of Contact

Finally, there is a possible example of contact phenomena evident in Bender's unpublished data. Table 5.4, below, compares the bound possessive forms in Mesmes, Endegeny and Ennemor[77]:

Table 5.4 Bound Possessives in Mesmes, Endegeny and Ennemor
Attaching to 'house'

Gloss	**Mesmes**	**Endegeny**	**Ennemor**
1 S POSS	hī(ne)- bi:de	bi:d -ɨɲɛ	bi:d -ɨɲɑ
1 PL POSS	hɨʔne- bi:de	bi:d -nɨjɛ	bi:d -ɨnɨɾɑ
2 M S POSS	hɑhe- bi:de	bi:d -ɑhɛ	bi:d -ɑxɛ
2 M PL POSS	hɑho- bi:de	bi:d -ɑhu:j	bi:d -ɑxɨwɑ
2 F S POSS	hɑʃi:n- bi:de	bi:d -ɑʃ/-ɑ:ʃi	bi:d -ɑʃ/-ɑ:ʃɑ
2 F PL POSS	hɑho- bi:de	bi:d -ɑhɑ:j	bi:d -ɑxɑ:
3 M S POSS	hudun- bi:de	(no bound form)	bi:d -x^{w}ɛ
3 M PL POSS	hunu(j)e- bi:de	bi:d -heno:	bi:d -xɨnowɑ
3 F S POSS	ʃidi- bi:de	bi:d -ɛʃidɑj /iʃɛ	bi:d -ʃɑ
3 F PL POSS	hunu(j)e- bi:de	(no bound form)	bi:d -xɨnɑ:

Within the data, the same sorts of sound changes which have been seen elsewhere in the data are found—particularly those changes found in the pronominal paradigm (Table 4.3). The position of the bound possessive form in Mesmes, however, is quite unexpected. In Ethio-Semitic languages, bound possessive pronominals always attach to the right of the stem, never to the left. The shapes of the prefixed elements in

[77] The Ennemor and Endegeny data is from Leslau (1979).

Mesmes are clearly Gurage, attesting to the same sound correspondences found in the pronominal paradigm. Yet the syntactic placement of these morphemes has shifted.

As has already been established, the contact between Mesmes and Hadiyya has had a noticeable impact on the structure of Mesmes words. Might it also have had an impact on Mesmes syntactic structure?

Table 5.5 Comparison of Mesmes and Hadiyya Bound Possessives[78]

	Mesmes	Hadiyya
1 S POSS	hī(ne)-	i-
1 PL POSS	hɨʔne-	ni-
2 M S POSS	hɑhe-	ki-
2 M PL POSS	hɑho-	kiʔn-
2 F S POSS	hɑʃi:n-	ki-
2 F PL POSS	hɑho-	kiʔn-
3 M S POSS	hudʊn-	it':- / it'-
3 M PL POSS	hunu(j)e-	it':u- / is:u-
3 F S POSS	ʃidi-	is-
3 F PL POSS	hunu(j)e-	it':u- / is:u-

An examination of the data above (Table 5.5) shows that while the shape of the prefixal element in Mesmes is Guragoid, the syntactic placement suggests influence from Hadiyya. According to Hudson, both Hadiyya and Burji (another geographically distant Highland East Cushitic language) exhibit these prefixed possessives (Hudson 1976). Since this syntactic placement is unknown in any other Ethio-Semitic language and since it has already been established that contact with Hadiyya has worked to shape Mesmes, it follows that Hadiyya syntactic order could also have an impact on Mesmes.

[78] The Hadiyya data is from Hudson 1976.

This is especially true given the high degree of bilingualism in Hadiyya among Mesmes speakers at the time that Bender gathered his data[79].

It must be admitted, however, that the Mesmes data in Table 5.4 may not actually be bound. The free form pronoun, with the prefixal genitive 'of' attached, would occur in the position before the possessed noun in an Ethio-Semitic language. A major challenge to this interpretation, however, is that the preposition-genitive marker in Ennemor is /ɛ-/ (Hetzron 1977: 59). Something similar to this is expected in Mesmes. However, the only consistent addition to these 'bound' forms from the free forms in Table 4.3 is that of the /h-/ in all but the 3rd feminine singular form[80]. Another challenge to the possibility of syntactic change is that the Mesmes text does exhibit many examples of the 1S bound possessor, and in each case the possessor is an enclitic only (lines 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 19). That is, in the Mesmes text, the bound pronominal attaches to the right of the stem.

It is entirely possible that Bender and Stinson's Mesmes contact may have been more of a semi-speaker than Abegaz, the speaker from whom the text was collected. It could be that the Abegaz's speech more closely resembles the original inherited Mesmes syntax and that Bender and Stinson's contact's speech had undergone more interference from Hadiyya[81].

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[79] It was likely that Mesmes was already moribund in 1969, given the lack of speakers today.
[80] The /h-/ is already present on the free forms in the 1st singular, the 3 masculine forms, and the 3rd feminine plural.
[81] Sections 3.4 and 3.5, above, provide a discussion of different degrees of semi-speakers which may be encountered.

5.7 Cushitic *Stop-Attacks* in Endegeny and Mesmes

The glottal stop-obstruent complex segments discussed in section 4.2.4.4 are most probably of Cushitic origin (Leslau 1979, 1992d and Hetzron 1977). Hudson (1976), Hetzron (1977) and Leslau (1979) all mention the prevalence of glottal stop-sonorant sequences (considered complex segments in the Highland East Cushitic languages) found in Hadiyya and elsewhere in Cushitic. In fact, Leslau attributes these glottal stop-consonant complex segments in Endegeny to borrowings from the Highland East Cushitic languages: Hadiyya and Kambaata, among the others[82] (Leslau 1992d).

The author suspects that the metathesis found in Endegeny and Mesmes (discussed in section 4.2.4.4.) is due to a remodeling on the basis of the Hadiyya complex segments. In Ennemor and Gyeto, the sonorants (wordlist #'s /m/, /n/, and /j/ in Tables 4.23, 4.24 and 4.25, respectively) precede the glottal, which is a partial reflex of the ancient pharyngeal. In Endegeny and Mesmes, a systematic metathesis is found, with the stop preceding the sonorant, exactly as occurs in Hadiyya.

Within Hadiyya, stop-sonorant complex segments are very common. In a convergence situation where there exists a high degree of multilectalism, these sorts of contact phenomena are expected. If Mesmes and Endegeny speakers (prior to their divergence), were also commonly speaking Hadiyya, they might have possibly found the sonorant followed by the glottal and then the vowel /a/ to be rather strange. It is likely that the metathesis occurred as a result of a re-patterning of the sequence (causing

[82] The reader will recall that Leslau did not deal with Mesmes data in his work. Thus, he only finds the glottal stop and consonant complex segments in Endegeny and occasionally in Ennemor and Gyeto (Leslau 1992d: 263).

metathesis) on the basis of Hadiyya's phonological template: something akin to an inter-linguistic process of proportional analogy. The metathesis could also be a change brought into PWG through the imperfect learning of Hadiyya speakers who were picking up these Gurage lects.

When the data are viewed holistically, it must be suggested that Mesmes has undergone interference from the Hadiyya language. Despite a dearth of loanwords, there remain several clear cases of structural interference: paradigmatic leveling of gender distinction in the pronouns, the addition of final vocalisms to word structure, new phonological processes such as the so-called vowel laxing in closed syllables as well as the systematic metathesis leading to glottal stop-sonorant segments all point to outside interference. Without recourse to externally-induced language change, understanding of the Mesmes data would be limited at best and quite possibly misinterpreted.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Subgrouping Internal to PWG

It is clear from the examination of the syntax, morphology and lexicon, as attested in Bender and Stinson's Mesmes data (both the wordlist and the unpublished pronominal paradigms) and in the Mesmes text, that Mesmes belongs to the Ethio-Semitic family and, even more specifically, the Western Gurage (3-Tense) cluster of languages. A more in-depth analysis of the sound changes consistently shows Mesmes to be a part of Hetzron's Peripheral West Gurage subgroup.

Table 6.1 Sound Change at Relative Time-Depths

	Sound Change	**Varieties Attesting to the Change**
1a	l> r	Gura, Ezha, Cheha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(3-Tense)**
1b	r> n	Gura, Ezha, Cheha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(3-Tense)**
2a	dd > t	Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(PWG)**
2b	bb > p	Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(PWG)**
3a	x^j > ʃ	Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(Inor)**
3b	C' > C / #___V(C)(V)C'	Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(Inor)**
4a	C' > ʔ	Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(Inor)**
4b	ʔv > ʔṽ/vn	Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(Inor)**
4c	t > d	Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes **(Inor)**
5a	x > h	Endegeny and Mesmes **(South Inor)**
5b	m > w /V___V	Endegeny and Mesmes **(South Inor)**
5c	Nʔ > ʔN	Endegeny and Mesmes **(South Inor)**

It is possible to examine the sound changes according to their relative depths in time. Table 6.1, above, shows the sound changes discussed in chapter four. The numerals denote the relative time-depth of the innovation. For instance, in time-depth one, there are two sound changes l > r and r > n[83]. These changes occur in all the so-called 3-Tense varieties. The innovations at time-depth two, however, occur only in the Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes varieties. Figure 6.1, below, shows the geographic area pertaining to each of the sound changes in Table 6.1:

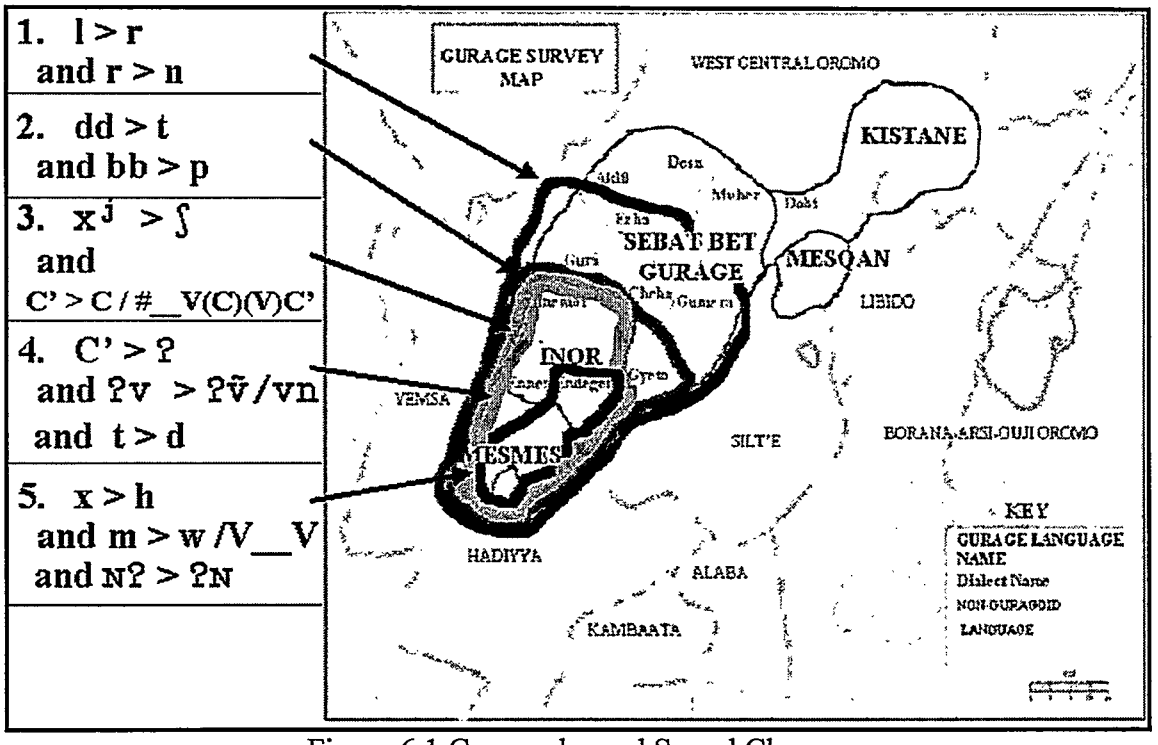

Figure 6.1 Geography and Sound Change

[83] For the sake of space, the conditioning environments have not been included with these changes (the reader should see section 4.2.3 for the environments).

The early sound changes (1), occur in all of Hetzron's Central West and Peripheral West Gurage (including Mesmes). The sound changes in (2) occur throughout Peripheral West Gurage and Mesmes. Time-depths (3) and (4) involve changes in the varieties of Ennemor, Endegeny, Enner and Mesmes[84]. Finally, the changes in time-depth (5) involve only the varieties of Mesmes and Endegeny.

Based on this data, it is possible to further subdivide Peripheral West Gurage, showing the relative relationship between the speech varieties on the basis of the patterns of sound change:

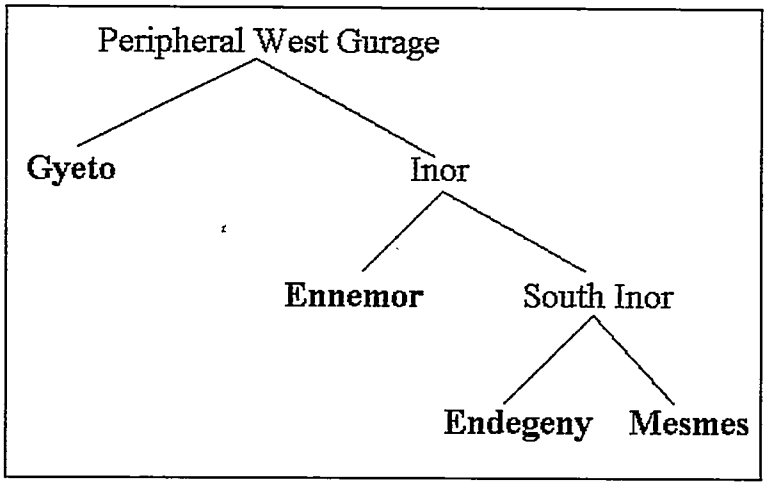

Figure 6.2 Proposed Subgrouping for Peripheral West Gurage

For the subgroup within PWG that does not include Gyeto, the author has elected to use the term *Inor* in keeping with the over-arching name for the intelligibility-

[84] It should be noted in this case that Gyeto is not included in the changes at time-depths 3 and 4. Rather, these depths help to explain the Gurage Language Survey's identification of *Inor* as a center of communication distinct from PWG (section 1.3). PWG includes Gyeto and the lects of Inor. According to the sound changes shown above, Inor must include Mesmes along with Enner, Ennemor and Endegeny. In terms of intelligibility, however, Mesmes, as a result of the contact-induced changes

based language boundaries proposed in section 1.3 above. The specific subgroups in Figure 6.1 are not meant to suggest language boundaries but to show the history of the varieties. While Endegeny and Ennemor share a high degree of intelligibility with one another (Table 1.1) and may be considered a single language in terms of intelligibility, there are innovations shared between Endegeny and Mesmes that are not found in Ennemor. The tree in Figure 6.1 shows this historical relationship[85]. Likewise, while the intelligibility level between Mesmes and Endegeny is less than that between Endegeny and Ennemor, Mesmes and Endegeny do subgroup together, according to the shared innovations.

It must be argued that while there is certainly a relationship between intelligibility and shared history and while a positive correlation would normally be expected, the sorts of innovations which occur in particular lects and the nature of any externally-induced change and linguistic interference may have a negative impact on the level of intelligibility between varieties[86]. The relatively low[87] comprehension score of Endegeny speakers on the Mesmes text (78%) is due in part to the contact phenomena discussed in chapter five. The five words in the Mesmes text which are unique to Mesmes are likely not enough to significantly reduce comprehension scores,

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discussed in chapter five, is less intelligible with Endegeny than the other varieties of Inor are with one another (section 6.2, below).

[85] The use of the term South Inor is meant to suggest the shared intelligibility of all of Inor as well as to note the geographic position of both Mesmes and Endegeny with reference to the other PWG lects.

[86] C.J. Bailey discusses the role of sound change and intelligibility in *Essays on Time-Based Linguistic Analysis*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

[87] J. Grimes, in his *Language Survey Reference Guide* discusses an optimization methodology for determining language boundaries based on comprehension test scores (1995).

especially since none of the 10 questions in the comprehension test directly questioned any of these words.

It should also be noted that Gyeto, as Hetzron indicates (1972 and 1977), does not participate in all the innovations of Inor. The subgrouping above in Figure 6.1 reflects this fact. The details discussed in chapter four show that Gyeto does not participate in debuccalization, deglottalization, the /t/ → /d/ voicing or the /xʲ/ → /ʃ/ change. Gyeto does, however, exhibit participation in the PWG innovations which led to lengthened vowels, the devoicing of /dd/ → /t/ and /bb/ → /p/ in the obstruent chain shift and vowel nasalization processes[88], where the vowel nasalization is due to spreading from weakly articulated nasal consonants (Table 4.16) or from the effects of an ancient guttural through the relationship called *rhinoglottophilia* (Table 4.18). The syntactic, morphological and lexical evidence also show Gyeto to be part of PWG (Hetzron 1977 and Table 4.2, above).

6.2 Underscoring the Holistic Approach

As is clear from chapters four and five, the Mesmes data are not fully elucidated until factors involving the linguistic history of the language and factors involving the social history of the people are considered. Without an examination of the externally-induced changes that have taken place in Mesmes, the language would not appear to be so closely related to Endegeny. In fact, the changes in the vowels (the so-called laxed

[88] Gyeto does not participate as frequently as the Inor lects in the nasalization since debuccalization (which does not occur in Gyeto but does occur in Endegeny, Ennemor and Mesmes) does not feed the process in Gyeto—the reader should compare Table 4.17, where debuccalization feeds nasalization through rhinoglottophilia, and Table 4.18, where the nasalization is likely the result of an ancient guttural, not fed by debuccalization.

vowels) and the word-structure (the final vocalism) could be enough to mask Mesmes' genetic position to the casual observer who does not work out the sound changes.

An examination of the externally-induced changes and the reconstructed social history between the groups is also important because it aids in explaining why Endegeny speakers understood Mesmes less than they understood Ennemor (Table 1.1) despite the fact that Mesmes and Endegeny appear to have shared history in which Ennemor does not participate.

While it is no longer spoken today, Mesmes still serves as an excellent source of comparative information which helps to cast light on the history of Endegeny and Gurage in general. The systematic metathesis of the glottal stop and sonorant sequences in Endegeny, for example, is clearly seen to be a consistent process once the Mesmes data is added to the comparative pool. The Mesmes data also provide an interesting look at the sorts of contact-induced changes occurring when languages undergo a rapid shift and death: changes affecting both the phonology and morphology while leaving much of the syntax in tact.

According to Hans-Jurgen Sasse half of the world's languages have become extinct in the last 500 years (1992). In Africa alone, nearly 200 are on the endangered list (Sasse 1992). It is imperative that linguists make documentation of these disappearing speech forms a high priority. It is imperative that languages like Mesmes be described before they are lost permanently.

APPENDIX A

PERIPHERAL WEST GURAGE WORDLIST COMPARISON WITH MESMES

Peripheral West Gurage Wordlist Comparison with Mesmes*

#	Gloss	Mesmes	Endegeny	Ennemor	Gyeto	Proto form
1.	all	ɔtˈtemi	ɨtnɨ / hinnɨ	ɨnnɨ / ɨtnɨ	ɨtnɨ / inʔɨ	*ɨʔnɨ / ɨnnɨ
2.	ashes	hawɛnda	awɛ̃d	amɛ̃d	amɛ̃d	*hamɛ̃d
3.	bark (tree)	haːnna	haːnɛ	xãːra	xaːra	*xaːna
4.	belly	kɔssa	kɛs	kɛs	dɛn	*kɛs
5.	big	kʼɔkʼɔ	nuʔ	nuʔ	nɨkʼ	*nɨkʼ
6.	bird	ɔːnfa	ãːfʷ	ãːfʷ	ãːfʷ	*ãːfʷ
7.	bite (v)	ˈnakɔse	nɛkɛsɛ	nɛkɛsɛ	nɛkɛsɛ	*nɛkɛsɛ
8.	black (person/object in M & End. cattle in Enn. & Gyeto)	gɔmbɔnna	gɛmbɛnɛ	gɛmbɛnɛ	gɛmbɛnɛ	*gɛmbɛnnɛ
9.	blood	dɔ	dɛm	dɛm	dɛm	*dɛm
10.	bone	hãu̯wa	aʔɨ̃w	aʔɨ̃m	atʼɨm	*hatʼɨm
11.	breast	tʼuwiye	tʼu / tʼɨw	tʼu	tʼu	*tʼɨwɨyɛ
12.	burn (tr. v)	totosɔ	(a)tɛkɛsɛ	tɛkɛsɛ	tɛkɛsɛ	*tɛkɛsɛ
13.	claw	ʊnfura	ʔɨ̃fɨr	ʔɨ̃fɨr	tʼɨfɨr	*tʼɨfɨr
14.	cloud	doːna	dawɛnɛ	damɛ̃ra	damɛra	*damɛra
15.	cold	ziːz- ə	zɨzɛ	zɨza	ziːza	*ziːza
16.	come	-mmaʔa	maʔa	maʔa	tʃaɲa	*matʼa / mɛtʼa
17.	die	mɔtɔ-	moːdɛ	moːdɛ	moːtɛ	*moːtɛ
18.	dog	giːje	gɨjɛ	gɨ̃jɛ	gɨjɛ	*gɨjjɛ
19.	drink (v)	sɛˈt͡ʃɔ	set͡ʃt͡ʃʼɛ	sɛt͡ʃʼɛ	sɛt͡ʃʼɛ	*sɛt͡ʃt͡ʃʼɛ
20.	dry (adj)	dɛˈro- e	dɛrɛʔ	dɛrɛʔ	tʼɛrɛkʼ	*tʼɛrɛkʼ
21.	ear	ʊnˈzuːra	ɨnzɨr	ɨnzɨr	ɨnzɨr	*ɨnzɨr
22.	eat	baʔˈnɔː	bɛtna	bɛnʔa	bɛnʔa	*bɛnʔa
23.	egg	kʼuːra	ɨnkʼulɛ	ɨnkʼura	ɨnkʼura	*ɨnkʼura
24.	eye	ɨːn	eːn	ẽːr	ajn	*eːn
25.	fat (n)	t͡ʃʼomma	t͡ʃʼoːmɛ	sɨwʔɛ	sɨwʔɛ	*t͡ʃʼomma *sɨwʔɛ
26.	father	aːwe	ɑw	ɑb	ɑb	*ab
27.	fire	ɨˈsaːde	ɨsaːd	ɨsaːd	isaːt / isaːt	*ɨsaːt
28.	fish (n)					
29.	fly (n)	taːje	zɨmb	zɨmb	zɨmb	*zɨmb
30.	foot	ɨgˈgɨre	ɛgɨr	ɛgɨr	ɛgɨr	*ɛgɨr
31.	give	haˈmɔ-	amɛ	amɛ̃	aβɛ / amɛ	*hamɛ
32.	go	hɔˈrɔː-	wɛːrɛ	wɛːrɛ	wɛːrɛ	*wɛːre
33.	good	moˈʔo	muʔ / keːr	moʔ / keːr	keːr	*keːr

						*mvc’
34.	grass	saʔari	saʔar	saʔar	sɛʔɛr	*sɛʔɛr
35.	hair (‘of head’ in M ‘of body’ in PWG)	duˈguːra	dɨgɛr	dɨgɛr	dɨgɛr	*dɨgɛr
36.	hand	idʒdʒa	ɛdʒ	ɛdʒ	ɛdʒ	*ɛdʒ
37.	head	gunnure	gutnor	gunʔɛr	gunʔɛr	*gunnɛr
38.	hear	sɔˈʔma	sɛpma	sɛmʔa	sɛmʔa	*sɛmʔa
39.	heart	nuːba	hin	xˈin	xˈin	*xˈin
40.	horn	kɔnna	kʼɛn	kʼɛn	kʼɛn	*kʼɛnn
41.	I	hijˈja	ɨjɛ	ɨja	ɨja	*ɨjja
42.	kill	ɔːtɔrɔ	ʔɛttɛrɛ	ʔɛtɛrɛ / ʔɛtɛrɛ	kʼɛtʼɛrɛ	*kʼɛttʼɛrɛ
43.	know	haˈroː-	harɛ	xarɛ	xarɛ / harɛ	*xarɛ
44.	knee	gunnoːda	gunoːd	gurmɛ̃d	gʷɨrmɛ̃t	*gʷɨrmɛ̃t
45.	leaf	koˈʔora	kɛʔɛr	kʼɨtʼɛr	kʼɨtʼɛr	*kʼɨtʼɛr
46.	liver	fɔre	hɛrt	xɛrt	xɛrt	*xɛrt
47.	long	gudˈdɔr-	fatʼuːlɛ	fatʼuːra	fatʼuːra	*fatʼura
48.	louse	kʼuˈwaːna	ʔɨwaːn	ʔɨ̃maːr	kʼɨmaːr	*kʼɨmaːr
49.	man	sɛwʲe	sɛw	sɛb	sɛb	*sɛb
50.	many	kʼokʼo	dibaʃɛ	dɨbaʃɛ	dɨbaʃɛ	*dɨbaʃɛ
51.	meat	bɔˈsɔra	bɛsɛr	bɛsɛr	bɛsɛr	*bɛsɛr
52.	moon (‘light of–’ in PWG)	dɛnˈnaʔa	dannaʔɛ	danaʔa	tʼanakʼa	*tʼannakʼa
53.	mountain (‘hill’ in Enn / Gyeto)	aːnja	aɲɲɛ	ʔaɲɛ	aɲɛ	*aɲɲɛ
54.	mouth	anfe	ãfʷ	ãfʷ	ãfʷ	*ãfʷ
55.	name	ʃum	ʃũ	ʃũ	ʃũ	*ʃum
56.	neck	angɔda	angɛd	angɛd	angɛt	*angɛt
57.	new	wɔjˈjamo	wɛjɛ	wɛja	gɛdɛr	*gɛdɛr *wɛja (after Gyeto split)
58.	night	haʷɔnʃɔde	massakkɛ	mɨsaʔarɛ	mɨsaʔarɛ	*mɨsaʔarɛ
59.						
60.	nose	anˈfunna	ãfunɛ	ãfuna	ãfuna	*ãfunna
61.	one	haːti	att	at	aːt	*hatt
62.	other	gɛnˈnamune	ɛɲɲɛ	ɛɲa	ɨngʷɛd	*ɛɲɲa *ɨngʷɛd
63.	rain (n)	diːje	dijɛ	dijɛ	dijɛ	*dijjɛ
64.	red	biːʃa	buʃɛ	bɨʃa	bɨʃa	*bɨʃʃa
65.	road	moːja	mejɛ	mɛja	mɛja	*mɛjja

66.	root ('bottom of thing' in End & Gyeto)	k'ine	ʔin	ɛsɨr	k'in	*k'in
67.	sand	t'o:na	aʃawɛ	aʃawa	aʃawa	*aʃawa
68.	say	-beɲɔ:- [89]	barɛ	barɛ	barɛ	*barɛ
69.	see	-ha:^{j}jɔ:-	aʃʃɛ	aʃɛ	aʃɛ	*haʃʃɛ
70.	seed	zur(i)ji	zɨtnɛ / zɛr	ziɲʔɛ	ziɲʔɛ / zɛr	*ziɲʔɛ *zɛr
71.	sit	-t͡ʃɔna:-	t͡ʃɛnna:	t͡ʃɛna:	t͡ʃo:na	*t͡ʃonna
72.	skin (human)	go:ga	gogɛ	gõ:dʒɛ	go:ga / gɛwɛdʒɛ	*gɛmɛdʒɛ
73.	sleep (v) ('sleep (n) in PWG)	-wɔdɔ(ʔɔ)-	wɛ̃ʔɛ̃d	wɨʔɨ̃d	wiʔint	*wiʔint
74.	small	ʊ:nse	ons	ɨns	ɨrs	*ɨrs *ɨns
75.	smoke (n)	tonna	tɛn	tɛn	tɛn	*tɛnn
76.	snake	hawa:j	ɛwa:w	(ɛ)saʔar tʃɨrɛ	((ɛ)saʔar) tʃɨrɛ	*tʃɨrɛ *hɛwa:w
77.	stand	-tɛʃɛkkɔ-	(tɛ)ʃɛkkɛ:	(tɛ)ʃɛkɛβɛ	(tɛ)ʃɛkɛβɛ	*tɛʃɛkkɛβɛ
78.	star	hõhõje	hoho	xoxo / xoxowɛ	xoxɛ̃m	*xoxomɛ
79.	stone	oŋna	ɛwɨn	ɨ̃mɨ̃r	ɨmɨ̃r	*ɨmɨ̃r
80.	sun	ime:	ɨ̃wã:jɛ /ayɛd	ũwã:jɛ̃ / ajɛ:d	ɛ̃wajɛ / ajɛt	*ima:jɛ *ajɛ:d
81.	swim	-waʔa:	dara:gɛ	darag'ɛ	darag'ɛ	*dara:gɛ
82.	tail	dʒuʔe	dʒũwɛ	dʒɨ̃wɛ	dʒɨ̃wɛ	*dʒɨ̃wɛ
83.	thin	k'ɔt͡ʃt͡ʃ'ɨna	k'ɛt͡ʃt͡ʃ'ɨr	k'ɛt͡ʃ'ɨr	k'ɛt͡ʃ'ɨr	*k'ɛt͡ʃt͡ʃ'ir
84.	this	wʊ:-	wa	wa:	zɨ	*wa: *zɨ
85.	three	sɔ:sti	soʔost	soʔost	soʔost	*soʔost
86.	you (m.sg.)	ahe	ahɛ	axɛ	axɛ	*axɛ
87.	tongue	an'nɔda	anɛ:d	anɛbɛd	anɛbɛt	*annɛbɛt
88.	tooth	sɨ:ne	ʃin / ʃɨn	ʃɨn	ʃɨn	*sɨnn
89.	tree	jeʔe	jeʔɛ	eʔɛ	ɛt͡ʃ'ɛ	*ɛt͡ʃ'ɛ
90.	two	wʊ'ʔɛ:ti	wɨrʔet / hurʔet	wɨrʔet	x^{w}et	*wɨrʔett
91.	warm	maʔoj-	mo:ʔ	mo:ʔ	mo:k'	*m^{w}ak'
92.	water	ʔʊ'ha	ɨhɛ / ɨxɛ	ɨxa	ɨxa	*ɨxa
93.	we	ɨnna	ɨnɛ	ɨna	ɨna	*ɨnna
94.	wet	ɨr'ramo	ɨ:rɛ	zɨsu	zɨsu	*zɨsu

[89] The Mesmes text (see Appendix) shows the more expected /bare/ form for 'say'. It is unclear why Bender's list shows the unexpected alternation /r:ɲ/.

95.	what?	mʊn	miɾ	miɾ	miɾ	*miɾ
96.	white	gɛd- e	ga:d	g^{w}a:d	g^{w}a:d	*g^{w}a:d
97.	who?	homun- e	ma:n	ma:n	m^{w}a:n	*m^{w}a:n
98.	woman	ɛ:(n)ʃta	miʃt / ẽ:ʃɛ (pl)	miʃt / ɨ͡tʃa (pl)	miʃt / iʃta & iʃt͡ʃa (pl)	*miʃt
99.	you (m.pl.)	a'hu:we	ahu:	axɨwa	axɨba / axwa	*axɨba

The Mesmes data are from Bender's list (1971). The rest of the data are adapted from Leslau's Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (1979). These data have been modified from the original lists. The phonetic transcription has been regularized using the International Phonetic Alphabet, where possible. For the ease of maintaining geminate consonants across syllables, geminate consonants are written as doubles.

The PWG (Endegeny, Ennemor and Gyeto) data contain a few uncommon symbols: Lelsau's [m̲], a spirantized bilabial nasal which is etically [ɱ], is written as [m]; his [b̲], a weakly articulated voiced bilabial stop, which is etically [ɓ], is written as [b]; and finally, Leslau's prepalatal velars,[91] are written as [x', g']. These prepalatals are found in Ennemor and Gyeto.

Notes on the Mesmes Wordlist

The following numbers refer to the items in Bender and Stinson's Mesmes wordlist. If a particular number is not listed below, the reader is to assume that the word is found throughout the 3-Tense Gurage languages (CWG and PWG). It may or may not be found in the other varieties of Mesqan, Muher, Gogot, Soddo and Eastern Gurage.
The Hadiyya and Kambaata data are from Bender (1971).
The Gurage data are from Leslau (1979).

2 the initial /h/ is found in Kistane and many of the other non-OSE Ethio-Semitic languages (Leslau 1979, volume 3: 47)[92]

4 unique to PWG with this meaning, except for /kɛrs/which is found in Soddo. Also cognate found: 'one who has big belly' in Mesqan, Gogot, Soddo

5 unique to Mesmes; not found in Hadiyya or Kambaata.

[90] In Bender's published list, /mʊnn:e/ is found, yet his unpublished notes suggest that the final /-ne/ is a copula.

[91] This is Leslau's terminology. It is assumed here that these are palatalized velar stops.

[92] It appears that Mesmes is more conservative, maintaining the initial laryngeal where other Gurage lects have lost it (#'s 2,10,31,61,69 and 76 above). The initial laryngeals can be found in other Semitic languages like Hebrew and Arabic and often in some of the Ethio-Semitic languages such as Tigrinya, Argobba, Tigre and Gi'iz (Leslau 1979: volume 3). The reader should see table 4.16 and footnote 54 in section 4.2.4.1 above for a brief discussion of the loss of the initial laryngeal and why it is not indicative of shared history.

8 the meaning 'black person or object' is found only in Mesmes and Endegeny; the meaing 'black cow' is found throughout Gurage

12 the /tks/ verb root is found throughout Gurage, as the second entry

15 as an adjective, found throughout Gurage.

16 unique to PWG and Soddo (with ejective /t'/ in Soddo) in Gurage; Also found in the so-called East Gurage languages

25 this word for 'fat' (nominal) is found only in Mesmes, Endegeny, Muher, Mesqan, Gogot, Soddo and the East Gurage languages. That is, within 3-Tense Gurage, only Mesmes and Endegeny have it.

29 possibly borrowed from Kambaata /tawɪ/ 'fly' (noun)

32 this word appears as the expected /wɛːrɛ/ 'to go / to pass' in the Mesmes text (lines 12 and 16)

33 unique to PWG (Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes); not in Gyeto or other Gurage languages.

35 found throughout Gurage as 'hair of body'; the semantic shift is only in Mesmes.

39 unique to Mesmes; not found in Hadiyya or Kambaata

46 possibly borrowed from Hadiyya /afɛre/ 'liver'

47 found only in the East Gurage languages.

50 unique to Mesmes; not found in Hadiyya or Kambaata.

53 unique to PWG: found in Endegeny with meaning 'mountain'—same as in Mesmes; also found as 'hill' in Ennemor and Gyeto.

57 possibly unique to PWG: (Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes); similar word /wɛrija/ and /weːrɛ/ found in Muher/Gogot and Zway, respectively.

58 related to the secondary entry in Leslau's dictionary: /mɨʃɛtɛ/ and /mɨʃɛdɛ/ in Cheha/Ezha/Muher and Endegeny respectively; also related to Gogot and Soddo /mɨʃɛt/.

62 unclear relationship with other Gurage reflexes; typical correspondences would not lead to the expectation of the initial /g/ dropping in Ennemor and Endegeny; This may be a compound built on the same reflex found in East Gurage: /gɛnɛ/.

63 found throughout CWG / PWG (3 Tense). This reflex is found in Leslau, but not in Bender's list for Cheha.

65 unique to PWG: (Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes and Gyeto).

66 found throughout Gurage (though not listed for Ennemor) as 'bottom of thing'; The semantic shift is only in Mesmes.

67 unique to Mesmes; not found in Hadiyya or Kambaata

69 this Mesmes form for 'to see' may be borrowed from Amharic /ajːɛ/; no other Gurage languages show this form.

73 the verb form in Mesmes is related to the nominal form for 'sleep' in the PWG languages (see the comparative wordlist for the forms); The maintenance of the pharyngeal as glottal stop is unique to PWG, but the reflex without the glottal can be found throughout Gurage; It is not clear if the /n/ is present in the proto

form or if the nasalization may be attributable to the glottal stop as discussed in section 4.2.4.1.

76 related to form found in Endegeny; also found in Muher, Gogot, Soddo and the East Gurage languages.

77 unique to PWG: (Ennemor, Endegeny, Mesmes and Gyeto).

80 possibly unique to PWG, not found in other 3-Tense languages; Possibly related to /imir/ in Gogot and /jimɨr/ in Soddo.

81 possibly of Guragoid origin: reflex found in Mesqan /wak'ːɛ/, Goggot /wak'ːɛ-m/, and the East Gurage languages; Also, the Mesmes word is quite similar to the Hadiyya and Kambaata words for 'swim'.

83 not found in CWG, but present in PWG, Muher, Mesqan, Soddo, and East Gurage.

84 unique to PWG (Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes); not found in Gyeto; The vowel in 'this' in the Mesmes text is a geminate /a/ (line 7), as expected from the PWG examples.

94 unique to PWG (Endegeny and Mesmes); not found elsewhere.

96 found throughout Gurage.

98 the word in Mesmes is the plural form for 'woman' elsewhere in Gurage; the coronal stop is not found in the example in the Mesmes text (line 19).

APPENDIX B

MESMES, HADIYYA AND KAMBAATA COMPARISON

MESMES, HADIYYA AND KAMBAATA COMPARISON[93]

#	English	Mesmes	Hadiyya	Kambaata
1.	all	ɔtˈtɛmi	hunda	horaːnk
2.	ashes	hawɛnda	-bʊtʃa	t'abaro
3.	bark (tree)	haːnna	hoˈbara	omola
4.	belly	kɔssa	goˈdɛbo	gʷɔdɛːba
5.	big	k'ɔk'ɔ	loːb	abba
6.	bird	ɔːnfa	tʃ'iːʔa	tʃ'iːʔeta
7.	bite (v)	ˈnakɔse	gɛʔme	gɛʔtmi̱
8.	black	gɔmbɔnna	heːˈm-	gɛmˈbella
9.	blood	dɔ	t'iːga	k'ɛːgi
10.	bone	hãu̱wa	mik'e	miˈk'-
11.	breast	t'uwiye	anuːna	aˈnuːna
12.	burn (tr. v)	totosɔ	ʃokise	bʊssi
13.	claw	ʊnfura	t'uˈrɛːnk'a	t'ulunga
14.	cloud	doːna	duːba	goːma
15.	cold	ziːz- ə	k'iːda	giˈda
16.	come	-mmaʔa	waːre	waːl(i)
17.	die	mɔtɔ-	lehe	reh
18.	dog	giːye	wʊʃ-	wɛˈʃː-
19.	drink (v)	sɛ͡tʃɔ	age	agːe
20.	dry (adj)	dəˈro- e	goge	moːla
21.	ear	ʊnˈzuːra	mɛtʃ'eː	mɛtʃ'-
22.	eat	baʔˈnɔː	ite	iːt
23.	egg	k'uːra	k'uːnk'a	k'uˈp'-
24.	eye	ɨːn	ille	ɪlˈlita̱
25.	fat (n)	t͡ʃ'omma	diʔira	maʃeːla
26.	father	aːwe	anna	anna
27.	fire	ɨˈsaːde	giːra	giɾeta̱
28.	fish (n)			
29.	fly (n)	taːye	biːmbeʔe̱	tawɪ̱
30.	foot	ɨgˈgɨre	lokko	lokkata
31.	give	haˈmɔ-	ʔuːwe	aːss
32.	go	hɔˈrɔː-	mɛre	ɨroːk'i
33.	good	moˈʔo	dɛnaːm-	dɛˈnaː-
34.	grass	saʔari	hit'eː	hit'i-
35.	hair (of head)	duˈguːra	odˈdaː	muːmiya

[93] The Hadiyya and Kambaata data is taken from Bender (1971).

36.	hand	idʒdʒa	anga	anˈg-
37.	head	gunnure	hoˈroːre	bok'uta
38.	hear	sɔˈʔma	mɛˈtʃ'ese	mɛtʃ'oːtʃ
39.	heart	nuːba	wɛˈdɛno	wɔˈzɛna
40.	horn	kɔnna	buːdo	buːˈda
41.	I	hijˈja	ane	aːn̪i
42.	kill	ɔːtɔrɔ	ʃiːhe	ʃiː
43.	know	haˈroː-	leʔe	dɛg(i)
44.	knee	gunnoːda	gu-t'ub	gulubita
45.	leaf	koˈʔora	bujja	bɔnta
46.	liver	fɔre	afɛre	aˈfɛlita
47.	long	gudˈdɔr-	k'eːˈraʔl	k'eraːrʷa
48.	louse	k'uˈwaːna	iˈbiːba	iˈbiː-
49.	man	səwʲe	mɛn-	mɛn-
50.	many	k'ok'o	lobakat̪a	hoːˈlama
51.	meat	bɔˈsɔra	maːra	maːˈla
52.	moon	dənˈnaʔa	aˈgɛna	aˈgɛn-tʃu
53.	mountain	aːnja	duːna	duːna
54.	mouth	anfe	suːme	aˈfoːha
55.	name	ʃum	summa	suʔm
56.	neck	angɔda	gaːndʒe	goːb-
57.	new	wɔjˈjamo	haːretʃ(o)	haːroha
58.	night	haʷɔnʃɔde	hiːmo	ankaˈrija
59.				
60.	nose	anˈfunna	sɛne	sɛˈnuta
61.	one	haːti	mɛto	mɛto
62.	other	gənˈnamune	mull-	wɛːlu
63.	rain (n)	diːje	t'eːna	t'eːˈna
64.	red	biːʃa	kɛˈʃaːr(a)	biːʃa
65.	road	moːja	goːgo	wɔːˈk'aha
66.	root	k'ine	nɪgga	t'ɛˈp'a
67.	sand	t'oːna	ʃɛʃɛr̪a	ʃaːfa
68.	say	-beɲɔː- [94]	jiˈhe	jiː
69.	see	-haːʲjɔː-	moːʔe	t'uːd̪i
70.	seed	zur(i)ji	wiːt'o	zɛrɪtta
71.	sit	-t͡ʃɔnaː-	aˈfuːre	afuːʔl
72.	skin (human)	goːga	oːmɛːtʃo	goːga
73.	sleep (v)	-wɔdɔ(ʔɔ)-	diˈriːre	usɛʔe
74.	small	ʊːnse	hoːf-	k'awa

[94] The Mesmes text (see Appendix) shows the more expected /bare/ form for 'say'. It is unclear why Bender's list shows the unexpected alternation /rːɲ/.

75.	smoke (n)	tonna	wɪˈriːra	wiˈleːlita
76.	snake	hawaːj	haːmɛʃʃ-	wɛˈr-
77.	stand	-təʃəkkɔ-	ʔulle	u-rri̯
78.	star	hõhõje	bolˈlanka̯	bɛzeː-
79.	stone	ou̯na	kina	kino
80.	sun	imeː	eːˈliːn-	arˈrɛ-u
81.	swim	-waʔaː	waːtʃe	waːtʃ
82.	tail	dʒuʔe	ʃerimo	ʃeri̯ma
83.	thin	k'ɔt͡ʃt͡ʃ'ɨna	witʃ'	k'ɛtʃ'awa
84.	this	wuː-	kuki	kan-
85.	three	sɔːsti	sɛso	sɛso
86.	you (sg)	ahe	ate	ati̯
87.	tongue	anˈnɔda	alˈlɛbo	arˈrɛbita
88.	tooth	siːne	ɪnk'e	ɪnˈk'uta̯
89.	tree	jeʔe	hak'a	hak'a
90.	two	wuˈʔɛːti	lɛmu	lɛmo
91.	warm	maʔoj-	iːbˈbal-	iːba
92.	water	ʔuˈha	woʔo	wuʔa
93.	we	ɨnna	neːse	naˈʔɔ
94.	wet	irˈramo	aːʃal	muːt'aʷa
95.	what?	mʊn	maha	ma
96.	white	gəd- e	k'ɛˈdal-	wɔdʒʷa
97.	who?	homun- e	aːjje	aj
98.	woman	ɛː(n)ʃta	mɛːnt-	mɛːnˈt-
99.	you (pl)	aˈhuːwe	k'iʔne	ʔatnɔʔ

These data have been modified from Bender's original lists (1971). The phonetic transcription has been regularized using the International Phonetic Alphabet. For the ease of maintaining geminate consonants across syllables, geminate consonants are written as doubles.

[95] In Bender's published list, /mʊnnːe/ is found, yet his unpublished notes suggest that the final /-ne/ is a copula.

APPENDIX C

THE MESMES TEXT

1

ɨʃi bɛ-tɛʔeɲɲawud aβo-ɲ are? ɛ-wɔʔr
okay at-birth/childhood father-1SPO cow 3SM-guard.cattle

banɛ-d are? ɛ-wɔʔr banɛ-d
EXIST.PAST-MVM cow 3SM-guard.cattle EXIST.PAST-MVM

እሺ ከተወለድኩበት አባቴ ከብት ያረባ ነበር ከብት ያረባ ነበር

Okay, during (my) childhood, my father was taking care of cattle.

2

aβo-ɲ tɨ-kɛʃʃ-e are? ɛ-wɔʔr nɛbbɛr
father.1SPO when-send-1SObj cow 1S-guard.cattle EXIST.PAST

ba-bar-e bɛ-de:ŋgɨnɛd-ɨɲa are? ɛ-wɔʔr nɛbbɛr
if-say-1SObj in-childhood-1SPO cow 1S-guard.cattle EXIST.PAST

አባቴ ሲልከኝ ከብት አረባ ነበር ካለኝ በልጅነት ከብት አረባ ነበር

When my father sent me, I took care of the cattle. If, during my childhood, he told me to, I guarded the cattle.

3

la:j-ɨggud afor ɛ-tʃʷɔd nɛbbɛr
then-after land 1S-farm EXIST.PAST

ከዛ በኋላ መሬት አርስ ነበር

After that, I was farming..

4

aβo-ɲ ɛ-kɛʃʃ-u wɛd ɛ-kkɛʃʃ nɛbbɛr adod-jome
father-1SPO REL.-sent-3MP place 1S-PASS.sent EXIST.PAST mother-1SPO

ɛ-kɛʃʃ-ɛtʃtʃ-e-dɨ ɛ-kkɛʃʃ nɛbbɛr bɛ-ha:wɛd tɛra:ʔ-ɛ'hu
REL.-sent-3SF-1SOBJ-SFX 1S-PASS.sent EXIST.PAST after-that grew-1S.MAIN.PAST

አባቴ የላኩኝ ቦታ እላክ ነበር እናቴ የላከችኝ ቦታ እላክ ነበር በኋላ አደግኩ

I went to the place where my father sent me, and I went to where my mother sent me. After that, I grew up.

5

ɨ-biːd bɨ-hoːno-ɨw-ɛd tɛ-biːd-ɨɲa konnt'om ɨk'aː
to-house when-be-1S-SFX from-house-1SPO Hadiyya language

ziniɨkɨ-ma tɨ-ñ-ʒ̃ɨ̃ñɨ̃x jɛsiziː?
spoke-1P when-1P-speak after.that

ካገባሁ በኋላ ካገባሁ በኋላ ሐዲያ ቋንቋ እናገር ነበር ስናገር ከዛም

Beginning from the time when I married, we (my family) spoke Hadiyya. We were speaking after that...

6

tɨ-ñ-ʒ̃ɨ̃ñɨ̃x jɛsiziː? waʔar-hʷ-'iː zɛʔʔn-ɛ'hu
when-1P-speak after.that raised.cattle-1S-CONV sowed-1S.CONV

tʃʷɔd-ɛ'hu k'ɛbbɛr-'hu haː-hɛ ø-anɨkk ba
plowed-1S.CONV planted-1S.CONV that-like 1S-do EXIST.PAST

ስናገር ከዛም አረባሁ ዘራሁ አረስኩ ተከልኩ እንደዛ አደርግ ነበር

After that, I shepherded cattle, having sowed, plowed and planted. That's what I was doing.

7

bɛ-haːda waːda deːŋga-ɲo gɛːrɛd a-gɛʔpa-'hu
after-that that children-1SPO girl CAUSE-marry-1S.CONV

k'oːt'ok'oːt'o barɛ-'hu haː-hɛ a-raːʔ-ɛhu
arrange.in.orderly.manner say-1S.CONV that-like CAUSE-grow-1S

ከዛ በኋላ ለልጆቼ ልጃገረድ ድሬያቸው ቦታ ቦታ አስይዤ እንደዛ አሳደግኩአቸው

After that, I arranged marriages for my sons. Having settled them, arranging them in various places, I raised them.

8

haː-n deːŋga-ɲa waʔaka tɛraːʔ-ɛ hudua
that-be children-1SPO now grow-3MS they

haː-m-n-ua
that-MAIN.PAST-be-3MPL

እንደዛ ልጆቼ አሁን አድገው እነሱም እንደዛ ናቸው።

Now, my children have grown; and (now), they are living like that (raising their own kids).

9

ba-ha:-ɨggud aβo-ɲo-gat t-awaʔonɛd sojgiʔ
after-then-after father-1SPO-time with-awak'inet (religious title) time

wɨr i:m ba wi i:m ba
ox 3M.give EXIST.PAST honey 3M.give EXIST.PAST

ከዛ በኋላ አባቴ ባዋቅነት ግዜ በሬ ይሰጡ ነበር ማር ይሰጡ ነበር

After that, (they) were giving oxen and honey to my father, during his time as Awak'in (a ritual leader in the b^{w}ɛʒɛ cult).

10

agɛɲɛru aɲ-ɛ-ʔeɲɲɛ hud ɛ-ʔeɲɲ-i
poor NEG-REL-give.birth he 3M-give.birth-PURPOSIVE

maʔ-'ɛ ɛ-sɔʔɨr nɛbbɛr
come-3MS.CONV 3M-begged EXIST.PAST

ልተችገር ያልወለደ ለመወልድ መጥቶ ይለመን ነበር

The poor (and) those who lacked children, in order to give birth, came and were begging.

11

a-ti-i-sɛʔr-i wɨr ø-agaʔ nɛbbɛr wi
after.that- when-3-beg-PURPOSIVE ox 3M-CAUSE.enter EXIST.PAST honey

ø-agaʔ nɛbbɛr hado da:r-un-'tɛ
3M-CAUSE.enter EXIST.PAST after.that bless-3MPL-SFX.MAIN.PAST

ከዛም ሊለመን በሬ ያመጣ ማር ያመጣ ነበር። ከዛ መረቁዋቸው

In order to beg, they were bringing in oxen and honey. After that, he blessed them.

12

ha:-ʔamɨ-sojʔ ti-i-da:r-uwɛ-tu aɲ-ɛ-ʔeɲɲɛ
that-be-time when-3M-blessed-3MPL-SFX NEG-REL-give.birth

hud wɛ:r-'ɛ ɛ-ʔeɲɲɛ ba
he went-3MS.CONV 3M-give.birth EXIST.PAST

በዛንግዜ ሲመረቁ ያልወለደው ሄዶ ይወልድ ነበር

At that time, once they were blessed, those who were not giving birth went and were giving birth.

13

ɨze:gɛ hʊd ɛ-ʔʊf ban are? aggɛl-'ɛ
poor the 3M-be.sated EXIST.PAST cattle raised.cattle-3MS.CONV

k'ɛbbɛr-'ɛ ha:-hɛ ɛ-ʔʊf banɛ-d
plant-3MS.CONV that-like 3M-be.sated EXIST.PAST-MVM

የድኸየው ይጠግብ ነበር ከብት እያረባ እየተከለ እንደዛ ይጠግብ ነበር

The poor were satisfied. Having raised cattle and planted (crops, probably inset—the false banana tree, a Gurage staple), they were satisfied. (This is to be understood to be a result of the blessing.)

14

bɛ-ha:-ʔɨggʊd aβo-ɲ t-i-mowɛd hukko
after-then-after father-1SPO when-3MS-died like.this

ha:mmɛdɛ t-uiʔio-i gebbɛr-'hu
like.this/that ? pay.taxes-1S.CONV

ከዛ በኋላ አባቴ ሲሞት እንደዛ ? እየገበርኩ

Later, after my father died, I paid taxes,

15

tʃʷɔd-ɛ'hu waʔar-ɛ'hu ha:-hɛ hija ɛ-hɛnɛr
plowed-1S.CONV guard.cattle-1S.CONV that-like I 1S-be

አረሼ (ከብት) እያረባ እንደዛ እኔ እኖራለሁ

plowed, and took care of the cattle; I lived like that.

16

ba-ha:da wa:da waʔaka ɛ-wɛ:r-ɛ mɛngɨst tɨ-n-gebbɛr
after-that that now REL-pass-3M government when-1P-pay.taxes

tɨ-n-t-akkɨd tɨ-n-t'ɛd ha:-hɛ ɛ-hɛnɛr
when-1P-PASS-be.bound when-1P-be.released that-like 1S-be

ሁሉም ነገር ካለፈ በኋላ አሁን ለመንግሥት እየገበርን እየታሠርን እየታፈታን እንደዛ ኖርኩ

After all that, now, we are paying taxes to the various governments, we being bound, we being released...I lived like that.

17

wa?aka mɨhɛmɨ? wa?aka-hɛ tʃʷɔd-ɛh-'i:
now likewise now-like plow-1S-PURPOSIVE.CONV

wa?ar-ɛhʷ-'i: ha:-hɛ geb:ɨrɨ-nn-ɨtɛ
guard.cattle-1S-PURPOSIVE.CONV that-like farming-be.3M-SFX
አሁን እንደዛ ነው፥ አሁን እንደዛ አረሼ፥ አገጇ፥ እንደዛ ግብርና
Now, as well, farming is in the same manner: plowing and taking care of cattle.

18

ha:-hɛ tʃɨmtʃud ha:-hɛ ɲɛ?ɛ-'hu an:ɛ-hu
that-like field that-like spend.night-1S.CONV EXIST-1S
እንደዛ እያረስኩ ውዬ እያደርኩ እኖራለሁ
This is how I've lived, spending my days in the field and my nights at home.

19

bɛ-ha:-?ɨggud (ɨ)duro ga?at zɛm aβo-ɲɑ
after-then-after formerly dawn period.of.time father-1SPO

b-awnst e:ʃɨ (ɨ)?eɲɲ-'ɛ
by-five women give.birth-3SM.MAIN.PAST
ከዛ በኋላ ድሮ ጧት ነገር (በመጅመሪያ ግዜ) አባቴ ካምስት ሴቶች ወለደዋል
Back in the beginning, my father had children by five women.

20

b-awnst ?eɲɲ-uwɛ-tu hu?ja wɛdkɛ
by-five give.birth-3MPL-SFX twenty ?

de:ŋga ha:-hɛ nor-ɛ
children that-like lived-3MS
ከአምስት ሴቶች ሃያ ልጆች ወለዶ ነበር። እንደዛ ኖረ።
By five women, he gave birth to twenty children. He lived like that.

APPENDIX D

NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF THE MESMES TEXT

The text is broken up into twenty meaningful units, most of which are sentences or clusters of clauses. The numbers in the notes below correspond to these meaningful units. Not every word will be discussed; rather the focus in these notes will be on selected features (syntactic, morphological, lexical and phonological) of the Mesmes text and their relationship to other Gurage lects as described in Hetzron 1977 and Leslau 1979 and 1992.

If a word or structure is found in multiple places in the text, the discussion of the feature is typically handled in the notes on the line of the feature's first occurrence.

Line 1:
According to Leslau (1979), the word for 'birth' is /t'inwɛt/ with the /n/ geminate in Cheha. Leslau does not include the nominal forms in Ennemor or Endegeny for this word. But the /t→d/ found in Mesmes is indeed expected, as seen elsewhere in the text and the wordlist.

Hetzron writes that /bɛ-/ means 'in' and 'from' (1977: 243) while with the high central vowel, it means 'when' in Ennemor. It is also possible, though not in this context, for /bɛ-/ to refer to the conditional 'if' (Hetzron 1977: 241). Leslau's Gurage dictionary provides the following for the verb 'to guard cattle': Cheha /ɛre warɛ-m/, Ezha /ɛre warɛ-m/, Ennemor /are? wa?arɛ/, Endegeny /are? wa?arɛ/, and Gyeto /araj wa?arɛ/. The vowel in Mesmes appears to have backed in the imperfect. Yet, in later examples, in the perfect, the vowel is indeed /a/ (lines 6, 15,17). There is a tendency for vowels to undergo a degree of neutralization in closed syllables, with /ɛ/, /o/ → /ɔ/ and /ɨ/, /u/ → /ʊ/ respectively (see section 4.2.4.3.). There is some contrast (suspicious, as it is) between /o/ and /ɔ/. That is, [ʊ, ɔ] do appear to be phonemes in Mesmes. This is quite possibly a feature which has arisen from contact with Hadiyya and Kambaata (Highland East Cushitic).

Line 2:
In the second line of the text, the existential form is borrowed from Amharic. While this form is present in Soddo/Kistane, there is no reason to assume this has been inherited to a Peripheral West lect. There is a Peripheral West cognate /nɛppɛrɛ/ 'to live' which is related to the Amharic existential. The temporal morpheme /t-/ found throughout Hetzron's Ennemor texts (1977: 243, line 5) is identical in Mesmes, but is often voiced in the most sonorant environments. The transcription does not show this. Voicing occurs in lines 2 and 14. The Gurage words for 'childhood' are: Cheha /tɨknɛt/, Ezha /tɨknnɛt/, Ennemor /de:ng'ɨnɛd/, Endegeny /de:ngɨnɛd/, and Gyeto /de:ng'ɨnɛt/ (Leslau 1979). The Mesmes example shows relationship with Endegeny through the loss of the prepalatal as well as the two examples of /t→d/ voicing.

The /-e/ 1S object agreement (complement suffix) is the same as found in Ennemor (Hetzron 1977: 238).

Line 3:
The verb for 'farm' is: Cheha/Ezha /tʃotɛ/, Ennemor/Endegeny /tʃo:dɛ/, and Gyeto /tʃo:tɛ/. The postposition /-ɨggʊd/ is also found in Leslau's dictionary as 'after'. Again, the existential here is borrowed from Amharic.

Line 4:
The verb /kɛʃʃɛ/is unique to PWG (Peripheral West Gurage), found only in Ennemor and Endegeny. Gyeto and Cheha and others of West Gurage have /na:xɛ/for 'send' (Leslau 1979). The t→ d correspondence is seen in 'mother' where Cheha and other Sebat Bet Gurage have /t/ and PWG exhibits /d/. The same /ɛ-/ marker for the relative clause is found in Mesmes as in Hetzron's texts. However, the suffix /-d/ is unexpected here. The so-called k/t/d suffixes (Hetzron 1977:92) are found throughout PWG. Their distribution is inherited from the ancient main verb markers (1977:93). While the –d suffix is expected after a short vowel or a consonant which is part of a suffix (1977: 92), the –k after a radical, the -t after a geminate vowel or diphthong, the –d suffix is not expected on the past relative. In Ennemor, it is found on the main negative verbs and the relative nonpast—among other forms.

As for the passive constructions, Hetzron writes: "The element /tɛ-/ (-t- after prefixes often assimilated to the next consonant), attached to type A or type B forms constitutes the passive-reflexive..." (1977:72). In line 4, the prefix is dropped due to the presence of subject agreement marking in the imperfect form. As a result, the first radical is geminated, as Hetzron describes.

With regard to the plural agreement morphology, it must be mentioned that Heztron notes the phenomenon of labial harmony, with left-spreading labialization attaching as off-glides to consonant radicals in Endegeny verbs containing a suffix with /u/ (1977: 81). Leslau notes the /-um/ is the 3MPL agreement marker for the perfect form in Endegeny (1992: 467). There is no evidence of this sort of labial harmony affecting consonants to the left in Mesmes. There is, however, some labial impact on vowels, as noted below in the note for line 5.

The main verb in line 4 is marked with the final stressed vowel, what Hetzron terms the main past marker. Originally, this was the suffix /-m/ (related to the /-m/ enclitic). Just as has occurred with the loss of the /-m/ converb marker (see the note on line 6), the stress, which was placed on the final closed syllable, is maintained despite the loss of the final consonant (Hetzron 1977: 42-3). Of special note here is the fact that these processes lead to a loss of contrast between main verbs in the perfect and subordinate verbs which are marked as converbs. That is, main verbs (in the perfect) and subordinate verbs appear identical phonetically. Hetzron, in his grammatical glosses,

does note the distinction, using *C* for the stressed final vowels that are converb markers and *M* for the stressed final vowels that are marking the main past or the /-m/ enclitic (see Hetzron 1977: 236, text 19, line 6 for an example of both forms on one line). Not every main verb in the perfect in the Mesmes text is marked with this final stressed vowel. Main verbs in the perfect, which are not marked as main past: lines 5,7, and 18. Main verbs in the perfect, which are marked as main past: lines 4,11, and 19.

Since it appears that all the so-called Gunnän Gurage languages (Soddo/Kistane, Goggot/Dobi, Muher, Mesqan, CWG lects, and PWG lects) have the m-converb form, and that the m-converb construction includes the perfect + -m as well as other forms of the verb, it is most likely that this /-m/ as a converb marker was the earlier form and that in the so-called 3G (3-Tense Gurage—which is Central West and Peripheral West Gurage) languages the /-m/ ending was generalized to become the marker for the main past verbs (in the perfect + -m) form. It is unclear whether the /-m/ enclitic or the /-m/ converb is the older form, though it certainly seems likely that they are related. Though it must be admitted that the /-m/ enclitic, as a discourse function word, is also found in Amharic outside of Outer South Ethiopic.

Line 5:

The first phrase in line 5 is an idiomatic expression which is also found in Hetzron's Ennemor text (1977: 244, line 24): /ɛ-biːd-hunoa hõːr-m^{w}-ta/. Heztron parses this Ennemor example as follows: to-house-their were-CONV-ta. According to Hetzron, Polotsky says the /-ta/ element comes from 'when-there+is' /t-anɛ/. Hetzron says its function is to "break up the monotony of converbs and indicate a relative hierarchy of the breaks between them" (1977: 244). The high central vowel (stressed) before the –ta element may be omitted in PWG (1977: 98). It is the author's assumption that the –d in the Mesmes ending is a reflex of this –ta and that the –Vw is probably the converbial marker in the Mesmes example. Heztron does note the phonological correspondence of /m^{w}/ becoming /w/ in Endegeny (1977: 50). The verb /hoːno/ is the copula. This form is clearly related to Ennemor: /xɛ̃rɛ/and Endegeny /hɛːnɛ/ (Leslau 1979). Presumably, the vowels in the Mesmes copula have undergone backing, akin to what Leslau found in perfect verb forms in Endegeny (1992: 467). In this case, however, the process is a result of the /w/ not a /u/.

According to Leslau, /k'ar/ is the word for language in Ennemor (1979). The initial vowel is likely epenthetic in Mesmes. The final /r/ consonant has been lost with compensatory gemination of the vowel as the result. The verb 'to speak' is cognate with other PWG languages. There appears to be a word-final weakening process in Mesmes where /k→ x/. In Ennemor's, 'to speak' the /k/ is maintained and not weakened word-finally (Leslau 1992). The author has not been able to determine the meaning of the word /jɛsizi:ʔ/in the Mesmes text. It is not found in Leslau's dictionaries and was unknown by his Ennemor contacts. The meaning is not determinable from the Mesmes

speaker's own translation of his text, which was primarily on the sentence level and does not include every word or morpheme.

Line 6:
The nature of the /i/ vowel suffix on the verb 'to raise cattle' is unclear. Hetzron notes (1977:89) that /–i/ is one of the main verb markers in Goggot (Dobi), attaching to the perfect main verb with no complement suffixes, where the subject is 1SG. 'Polotsky, according to Hetzron, traces the /-i/ back to /-u/ which followed short vowels and consonants (while the –n/-tt was following original long vowels). This /-i/ is formed through dissimilation with the labial of /k^w/ and /h^w/. There is the possibility, though quite unlikely in the author's opinion that the suffix may be postpositional (Hetzron 1977: 55), though the meaning of 'toward' does not seem to fit any applicative that would be expected in the context of this verb, such as benefactive might. Also, there is the common PWG /-i/ ending which marks the purposive (Hetzron 1977: 99). The purposive is found in the Mesmes text in lines 10,11, and 17. It is unclear if the context in line 6 could warrant the use of the purposive.

There appear to be four converbial constructions in the above sentence. The stressing of the final vowel on the verbs, 'sow' 'plow' and 'plant' marks the m-converb (Hetzron 1977: 94). Converbs are used throughout Ethio-Semitic languages to conjoin clauses through a serialization mechanism where subordinate verbs can be chained together before the fully inflected main verb at the end of the sentence.

It should be mentioned that the author assumes the stressing of the final vowel in PWG to be the result of a compensatory process. Outside of PWG, in Gurage, converbs are marked with a verb in the perfect form, followed by an /-m/. It is the author's argument that the /-m/ is lost in PWG and the final vowel is then lengthened. Hetzron does not discuss this process as compensatory, but simply notes the 'stressed' status of the final vowels and the loss of the /-m/. Since duration is often an important component of stress, it is quite possible that Heztron's 'stress' (1977: 94) is underlying a long vowel, which is filling two timing units, compensating for the loss of the /-m/.

An interesting find is that the Mesmes word for 'to plant' does not exhibit the same merger of glottalized sounds to the glottal stop, as evidenced in PWG: /ʔɛpɛrɛ/ in Ennemor and /ʔɛppɛrɛ/ in Endegeny (Leslau 1979). This word in Mesmes also fails to show the expected (and attested elsewhere in the data—line 7, 'to marry') devoicing of the geminate second radical of the verb root, common in PWG but not elsewhere in Gurage. As a result of Mesmes' lack of participation in these expected innovations, it is the author's opinion that this word is likely borrowed from another Gurage language. Words inherited through normal transmission would be expected to show these innovations.

The author has been unable to find other attestations of the verb 'to do' /anɨkk/ outside of the Mesmes text. The author's Ennemor contacts immediately recognized the word to mean 'do', yet it is not found in Hetzron's texts or in Leslau's dictionary. The word was originally translated by the Mesmes speaker (through a Hadiyya-Amharic bilingual), as 'managing'. The root for 'do' in PWG is /epɛ/ in Ennemor and /eppɛ/ in Endegeny (Leslau 1979).

It appears that the 1S agreement prefix on the verb 'to do' for this imperfect form is lost due to the presence of the initial /a/. This same phenomenon may be observed on the verb 'to enter' in line 11, though in the latter case, the prefix is the 3S—identical in phonological form to the 1S, due to the leveling described in section 3.4.1.

The existential in Gurage is typically a form related to /banɛ/ (Hetzron 1977). Hetzron adds, "Outside of Soddo, an invariable ba may also be used, especially when it acts as an auxiliary" (1977:106). This reduced form, functioning as an auxiliary, is found in lines 6, 9 and 12.

Line 7:
Leslau's dictionary does not show this word for 'child' or 'children'. A form of it is listed for 'childhood' (see notes on line 1). Hetzron does, however, show it in his texts (1977: 244, line 25), where /deːngʲa/is glossed as 'children'. The author's Ennemor contacts have reported that /dengɛ/is the singular while /dengo/ is the plural.

The verb for 'to marry', as in other Ethio-Semitic languages, is formed from the verb 'to enter' --/gɛppaʔa/ in Endegeny (Leslau 1979). The following list provides Leslau's data on 'to marry' in Western Gurage: Cheha /(a)gɛpa-m/, Ezha /(a)gɛbba-m/, Ennemor /(a)gɛpa/, Endegeny /(a)gɛppaʔa/, and Gyeto /(a)gɛpa/. The Mesmes example /a-gɛʔpa/ shows the maintenance of the pharyngeal in the form of the glottal stop, as does Endegeny. Mesmes, however, has undergone metathesis, reversing the order of the stop and glottal. This is a common process, often shared by both Endegeny and Mesmes (see discussion of this phenomenon in chapter four). The last vowel of this verb is stressed, marking it as a converb.

As in Amharic, Gurage has verb complexes which employ the use of the verb 'to say' /barɛ/. Throughout Gurage, according to Leslau (1979), the verb /kʼutʼkʼutʼbarɛ/ is found, meaning something along the lines of 'to sit properly, in an arranged fashion'. The last vowel of this verb 'say' is stressed, indicating its marking as a converbial construction.

The /a-/ prefix on the final verb is a valence increaser, essentially the causative marker, seen also on the verb 'to marry'. For a clear comparison between this causative 'to grow' and the intransitive, see line 4.

Line 8:
The Gurage languages exhibit a bound copula. The following chart provides a few of the examples from Ennemor (Heztron 1977: 106):

-nhʷ-	1SG
-nɨra-	1PL
-n-	3MSG
-noa-	3MPL

Hetzron claims that the shape of the Ennemor bound copula is indicative of PWG in general. Syntactically, the copula tends to be the second-to-the-last element in the word in PWG; it is syntactically free in Muher, and word-final elsewhere (1977: 106).

Hetzron writes that when the last word has any suffix, the copula does attach before that suffix, but in the case where the sentence-final word has no suffix, the copula will be the final element. The Mesmes word 'now' /waʔaka/ is clearly cognate with PWG: Cheha /ɛxʷa/, Ezha /ɛxʷa/, Ennemor /waʔaka/, Endegeny /waʔakkɛ/, and Gyeto /ɛxʷa/ (Leslau 1979). This word appears to be unique to Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes.

There is an interesting phenomenon in the 3MPL pronoun /hudua/. According to Leslau, the Endegeny 3M and 3MPL are /hudɛ/ and /huno:/ respectively (1979). In Ennemor the form for 3M and 3MPL are /xutɛ/ and /hunoa/. It should be mentioned that, as it does in Mesmes, the 3M pronoun /huda/ (Hetzron 1977: 58) also serves as the definite article in Ennemor (243, line 2). Lines 10,12 and 13 of the Mesmes text show the Mesmes form for 3M is /hʊd/. An interesting problem is why does Mesmes not have a nasal for the second consonant in the 3MPL form. Mesmes may have reanalyzed its pronominal paradigm, interpreting the final vowel(s) on the pronouns as agreement markers. It must be pointed out that the ending for the 3M /-ɛ/ (lost in the connected speech of the text, but evident in the wordlist) is homophonous with the 3M subject agreement suffix found on perfect verbs. Also, the /-ua/ on the Mesmes 3MPL pronoun is the same as the 3MPL subject agreement ending on verbs in the perfect form. It could be that the /hʊd/ has come to mean 3M and the final vowels denote number accordingly. This could account for the loss of the nasal.

Line 9:
The initial transition word is certainly related to the Endegeny pre-postposition complex meaning 'after': /bɛ__e:ggɛd/(Leslau 1979). The transition word in Endegeny, however, is not exactly the same as the pre-postposition; it requires the time word /gida:d/ as in /bɛha gida:d/: literally 'at that time or after that time'. The Mesmes

example shows the use of the pre-postposition as a transition mechanism. It must be recalled that multifunctionality among discourse markers is the norm.

The prepositional /t-/, marking accompaniment on /t-awaʔonɛd/, is found in Hetzron's Ennemor texts as well (1977: 235, line 1). The root here is related to /wak'/. One of the author's Ennemor contacts reports that the speaker was serving as the /awaʔɨn/ or /awaʔɨned/. This term is likely related to the ritual dignitary of Wak' (the War-God)'s title, as reported by Shack and Habte /abɛk'^{j}ɛ/ (1974). They write:

> Religious dignitaries who represented the national deities, Wak, Bwaza and Damwamwit, could alone collect tribute from all Gurage directly, without regard for their clan and tribal affiliations, and also indirectly through their ritual agents who were headquartered in every clan of every tribe (1974: 19).

Shack and Habte also report that the Maga ('ritual agents' of the Thunder-God /bwɛʒɛ/'s representative /gwetakwɨjɛ/) are given the skin of every sacrificed animal (see Shack and Habte 1974: 29, footnote 15). The Maga are also given honey, for ceremonial extinguishing of fires caused by lightning (see page 33, footnote 17). It may be that the gifts given in the Mesmes text, oxen and honey, are in some way related to this practice. One of the author's Ennemor contacts disagreed with Shack and Habte, saying that Wak' (the War-God's name in Shack and Habte 1974) is actually in the service of the Thunder-God, /bwɛʒɛ/, who is supreme. Thus, he concluded that Mesmes speaker's father, in the text, was in the service of /bwɛʒɛ/. To further complicate the matter, it must be mentioned that Leslau's Endegeny dictionary gives /ɛwaʔ/ as the term for 'a person possessed by a spirit' (1979: 160, vol. 1). Whatever the case with the Mesmes term, the fact remains that the speaker's father was an important religious figure who was given gifts and offered blessings to those who came to him.

In the word 'give', the spirantized (weakly articulated) nasal in medial position is unique to PWG in this position: Cheha /abɛ-m/, Ezha /abɛ-m/, Ennemor [a^{m}ɛ̃], Endegeny [a^{m}ɛ̃], Gyeto [a^{m}ɛ̃] or [a$_{m}$ɛ][96] (Leslau 1979). Hetzron, in his Ennemor text number 20 (line 9), provides two forms for the verb 'give': /jɪ̃:m/ and [a^{m}ɛ̃] (1977: 238). It is the former of the two that appears to be closely related to the Mesmes verb. This form for 'give' is not found in Hetzron's Gyeto texts; it is unique to Ennemor and Mesmes and thus, in the author's opinion, probably present in Endegeny as well.

For a brief mention of the reduced auxiliary existential, see the note on line 6.

The Mesmes word for 'ox' /wɨr/ may be a reduction of the PWG example of the standard Gurage reflex, sharing the /w/: Cheha /bora/, Ezha /bora/, Ennemor

[96] The diacritic under the m and b ([$_{m}$] and [^{m}]) represents weak articulation.

/bawɨra/, Endegeny /bawrɛ/, Gyeto /bawra/ (Leslau 1979). It may be that vowels in final position, on nouns are frequently dropped (by analogy with those vowels which have been added through HEC contact phenomena, see chapter five)—an overgeneralization of the principle found in Hadiyya (no final vowels on nominal forms in connected speech). The initial /ba/ has dropped as well in Mesmes, but the word is clearly recognizable to Ennemor speakers.

According to Leslau, 'honey' is /wɨjɛ/ in Cheha, Ennemor, Endegeny, Gyeto, Muher, Mesqan, and Gogot. The palatal is geminate in Ezha (1979: 314). It may be that the environment of the word in the Mesmes text has masked this form as a simple /wi/.

The author has been unable to determine the meaning of /sojgiʔ/ beyond doubt. It is not found in Leslau's dictionaries and no translation of the Mesmes text, by either the Mesmes speaker himself or two Ennemor speakers, provides clear indication of the meaning.

Line 10:
Leslau shows the negative for Endegeny verbs in the perfect to be /an- -dɛ/ (1992: 468). This /an-/ is evidenced in the Mesmes negative relative. It is unclear if the palatal nature of the nasal in Mesmes is due to a sort of palatal harmony (akin to labialization harmony found in Endegeny and mentioned above). The only examples of this negative morpheme in Mesmes is on the verb 'to give birth' which contains a palatal nasal of its own (lines 10 and 12). Of interest here, is the main verb marker /-d/, which is present on the relative perfect form in line 4 but absent in this negative relative perfect in 10. It is unclear why this is lost on the negative.

The origin for /agɛɲɛru/ 'poor' is unclear. This word could be related to Leslau's 'be poor', though it is not clear where the nasal comes from: Cheha /ɛdʒ at'ɛrɛ/, Ezha /ɛdʒ att'ɛrɛ/, Ennemor /ɛdʒ aʔɛrɛ/, Endegeny /ɛdʒ eʔɛrɛ/, Gyeto /ɛdʒ at'ɛrɛ/ (1979). The verb 'to give birth' in Ennemor and Endegeny is /ʔeɲɲɛ/ and /tʃ'ɛnɛ/ elsewhere in Western Gurage. The Mesmes example certainly shows the same merger where glottalized sounds (ejectives) lose their place features through debuccalization.

See the note on line 8 for discussion surrounding the 3M pronoun/definite article. There is an /-i/ on the verb 'to give birth', marking purposive (Hetzron 1977: 99). See note on line 6 for brief discussion. Etically (and thus not shown in the text transcription), the stem-internal vowel and the agreement prefix agrees in height with this purposive suffix, raising the 3M /ɛ-/ to /i-/; this is not completely unlike the harmony Leslau noted in Endegeny: "In the plural, 3rd masculine, the vowels of the 1st and 3rd radicals change into o, undoubtedly under the influence of the ending –um" (1992: 467).

The verb 'to come' (also exhibiting the glottalized consonant merger—/t/ → glottal stop in PWG) is marked as a converb with slight stress on the final vowel. This construction is what Hetzron calls the durative habitual past (1977: 96). In this case, the clauses can be literally translated 'came and were begging'. Converbs are also discussed in notes on line 6,7,12,13,14,15,17 and 18).

The root for 'beg' is unique to the Ennemor and Endegeny subgroup, according to Leslau's dictionary: /saʔarɛ/ 'beg' in PWG and /tʃɛkʼʷɛsɛ/ elsewhere in Gurage.

Line 11:
The author has been unable to determine the meaning of the initial /a-/. It may be a discourse function word. The vowel in the verb 'to beg' is fronted in the imperfect form here. This is quite different from what is found in line 10, also in the imperfect. This may be due to the [-back] status of the purposive suffix or possibly the prefix.

There is an unexpected vowel shape for 'when' /ti-/ and 3M marker. Why is the vowel the high front /i/? Hetzron notes that 3M imperfect prefix in PWG is /jɨ-/or /j-/ while 3M jussive is /ɛ-/ without the glide (1977:80). Leslau notes the Endegeny 3M imperfect prefix is /ɨ-/ (the 1SG has also become /ɨ-/, according to Leslau [p.468]) while the 3M jussive is /ɛ-/. The important thing to note here is that in Endegeny (and in Mesmes) there does not appear to be a palatal glide in the 3M prefix, yet, after the temporal marker /t-/ the vowel is often raised to /i-/ just as would be expected if the glide had remained. In fact, in Ennemor, after the /t-/ temporal, the vowel for 3M is always /i/ (Hetzron 1977: 101). Hetzron notes: "In general, ɨ is realized as [i] in contact with y and [u] in contact with w" (1977:141). It is unclear if the /j/ is present but not allowed to surface word-initially. It is unlikely, but possible that when the /t-/ temporal attaches, the /j/ is then able to raise the vowels; otherwise it is simply dropped in the basic imperfect where no other prefix is needed. It may be that the remnant of the /j/ is only maintained in these instances where the /i/ surfaces as a result of morpho-phonological processes. Elsewhere in Mesmes, the /j/ is allowed word-initially, though it is somewhat rare. Out of the 99 words in Bender's list only 'tree' begins with a palatal--identical to the form found in Endegeny (the other Gurage forms do not have the palatal).

As mentioned above, in the note for line 7, the root for 'enter' in Gurage is: Cheha /gɛpa-m/, Ezha /gɛbba-m/, Ennemor /gɛpa/, Endegeny /gɛppaʔa/, and Gyeto /gɛpa/ (Leslau 1979). It appears that Mesmes has metathesized (see note for line 7) the glottal and then dropped the rest: /agaʔpa/ to /agaʔ/. The metathesis is certainly expected. It could also be that the /p/ is maintained, but not heard in the imperfect form since hearing a /ʔp/ word-finally would be quite difficult. Also, the 3M marker /ɛ-/ is dropped, as expected, when the root begins with a vowel.

The Mesmes word /hado/ is not found in the other Gurage literature. It was recognizable to the author's Ennemor contacts as meaning 'after that' and clearly the construction contains /ha-/ which is most probably related to 'that'. The root for the verb 'to bless' is /da:rɛ/throughout Gurage. The geminate vowel, however, is unique to PWG, seen only in Leslau's data for Ennemor, Endegeny and Gyeto (1979). Leslau also shows /-um/ as the 3MPL ending in Endegeny (1992: 467). In the Mesmes text, the plural form is used to indicate politeness. This main verb is marked as main past by the final stressed vowel (see note on line 4).

Line 12:
Again, as in line 8, the bound copula is the second-to-the-last element (Hetzron 1977:106). It is unclear why the copula is in the form of /m/ and not /n/. The nature of the /m/ is weakly articulated as well, pronounced like Leslau's spirantized nasals elsewhere in Gurage. Also, the glottal and vowel before the nasal are unexpected.

The auxiliary existential is shortened in 12, as noted in the discussion for line 6. The verb 'to bless' is in the imperfect form here, 'when + 3M + bless + 3MPL', with both agreement affixes (the prefix and the suffix) agreeing with the subject (polite—plural). The /-uwɛ-/ suffix is expected; Leslau notes the same in Endegeny (1992:468). The k/t/d final suffix, in this environment /-t/ is known to appear on temporal verbs: "the most general and fundamental temporal form is t +imperfect + [k/t/d sfx] in PWG" (Hetzron 1977:101).

Again, as noted in line 11, the 3M prefix in the imperfect, following the temporal /t-/ is raised to /i/. There is only the most minimal stress on the final syllable of the verb 'went', yet it does appear to be functioning as a converb. The verb appears to be another example of the durative-habitual past here as found above, in 10.

The Mesmes word 'to go / to pass' /wɛ:rɛ/ is identical to the other PWG languages. The lengthened vowel is not found outside of PWG: Cheha /wɛrɛ-m/, Ezha /wɛrɛ-m/, Ennemor /wɛ:rɛ/, Endegeny /wɛ:rɛ/, and Gyeto /wɛ:rɛ/ (Leslau 1979).

Line 13:
See the notes on line 6 for comments regarding the possibility of the verb 'to plant' entering Mesmes through borrowing from another Gurage language. The stress marked on the final syllables of the verbs 'to raise cattle' and 'to plant' is indicative of what Heztron calls the /-m/ converb (1977: 94). For a discussion of this construction, see the note for line 6. Etically, the stress sounds like gemination of the final consonant radical.

The Mesmes word for 'poor' (nominal) is clearly a reflex of the Gurage etymon: Cheha /zega/, Ezha /zega/, Ennemor /zi:ga/, Endegeny /zi:gɛ/, Gyeto /ze:ga/ (Leslau 1979), though the first vowel does not show the heightening innovation seen in Ennemor and Endegeny. The verb 'be sated' in Central West Gurage (CWG) is

/t'ɛfʷɛ-m/and /t'ɛffʷɛ-m/ and in Ennemor and Endegeny: /ʔofʷɛ/ and /ʔoffɛ/ respectively. It is likely that the backing of the vowel in PWG (and Mesmes) is due to left-spreading labialization which then must surface on the vowel since the glottalized stop debuccalizes.

Line 14:
The /t-/ temporal on the verb 'die' is actually pronounced like the voiced affricate [d͡ʒ], probably due to the fast speech and heavily voiced, heavily palatalized environment. The verb 'to die' in CWG is /mʷɛtɛ-m/ but in PWG, the vowel is rounded (backed) due to the /w/ which is then lost (this is akin to the process hypothesized above, in the note on line 13). The stem vowel is geminate in PWG: /mo:dɛ/(Ennemor and Endegeny) and /mo:tɛ/ (Gyeto) (Leslau 1979). Mesmes has retained the /w/ and thus the vowel is not lengthened; it is the author's opinion that intervocalic /w/'s are often lost in these languages and that this innovation is not necessarily indicative of shared history. As expected, the /t/ → /d/ voicing is evident in Ennemor, Endegeny and Mesmes.

The Mesmes word meaning 'like' /hukko/ appears related to the reflex found in Muher, Mesqan and Zway, respectively: /ɨkki/, /ɨkka/ and /ukku/, meaning 'like this' according to Leslau's dictionary (1979). The other word in this construction, /ha:mmɛdɛ/, may be related to the Endegeny /wam:ɨhɛ/, meaning 'like this' (Leslau 1979). It must be admitted, though that the sorts of alternations between the Endegeny and Mesmes words here are not attested elsewhere in the data. Thus, it is impossible to say for certain what the origin of this lexeme is. It is also possible that the word /ha:m:ɛdɛ/ could be parsed as 'that-be-SFX'. In this case, the nasal would be interpreted as the bound copula and the suffix would be from the k/t/d reflex.

The Mesmes word for 'to pay tax' /gebbɛr/ shows the same initial vowel change from /ɛ/ to /e/ attested in Endegeny; elsewhere in Gurage (including Ennemor) the /g/ is a prepalatal and the vowel is /ɛ/. The prepalatal is lost in Endegeny and Mesmes. The gemination is the same as in Endegeny. This word is marked as a converb in the text.
The author has been unable to determine the meaning of the Mesmes word /tui?ioi/ and the morpheme breaks as they appear in the text are mere hypotheses based on parsing elsewhere in the text: /t-ui?io-i/.

Line 15:
At the outset of line 15, the serialization continues with two additional converbs before the final clause 'I lived like that.' For the discussion regarding the verb 'to guard cattle', see the note on line 1.

In Ennemor, the copula, (minus the agreement prefix) is /-hɛ̃:r̃/ (Hetzron 1977: 238, line 9 in text 20). Thus the expected form for the copula in Mesmes would be (also minus the agreement prefix) essentially the same. But given that Mesmes, except for

very few exceptions, disprefers nasalized vowels, nasalization in other PWG languages is often manifest as an actual nasal consonant, as seen here in the Mesmes copula: /-hɛnɛr/. There is also the strong possibility that the nasal is archaic here and that the loss of the /n/ resulted in the vocalic length and nasalization found in Ennemor. As in Hetzron's texts, the copula may be used for 'live' as well as 'be'. The form /nɛppɛrɛ/ may be used for 'live'. This is the imperfect (non past) form.

Line 16:
Hetzron writes, regarding demonstratives: "PWG has waa/haa preceding a noun, but waada/haada without a noun" (1977:57). This example appears to show both forms of the demonstrative pronoun in PWG. The author's Ennemor contacts prefer the translation of 'after all that', provided above.

The word /mɛngɨst/ 'government' is a loan from Amharic. Again, as before in line 4, the relative clause marker is /ɛ-/, as expected in PWG (1977:98). But in this example the relative clause is lacking the k/t/d suffix, unlike the example in line 4. The 1PL /n/ agreement marker undergoes assimilation and is pronounced as a velar nasal before a /g/.

For a discussion of the verb 'pay taxes', see note on line 14 above.

The Mesmes word for 'be bound' is /tɨ-n-t-akkɨd/. Here, the passive marker /t-/ is added to the root. The Mesmes example shows the devoicing of the /g → k/ as well as the gemination maintenance in accordance with Endegeny: Cheha /agɛdɛ-m/, Ezha /aggɛdɛ-m/, Ennemor /akɛdɛ/, Endegeny /akkɛdɛ/, Gyeto /akɛdɛ/ (Leslau 1979).

The author was unable to find a source for the Mesmes word for 'be released' or 'be free' /tɨ-n-t'ɛd/. Gurage does have /ftr/ be.loosed but this seems an unlikely source, since both the f and r would have to be lost in Mesmes and this is by no means a typical change between the varieties.

It is likely that the second half of line 16, /tɨ-n-t-akkɨd tɨ-n-t'ɛd/, is idiomatic; the author has not been able to determine the specific meaning here.

Line 17:
The Mesmes word for 'likewise' /mɨhɛmɨʔ/ is possibly related to the forms /ɨm:ɛxɛ/ in Ennemor or /wam:ɨhɛ/ meaning 'like' in Endegeny (Leslau 1979). Both the verbs 'to plow' and 'to guard cattle' are inflected for the purposive (Hetzron 1977: 99) as well as the converb (the latter marked with the stressing of the final /-i/ vowel). See the notes on line 6 for more on the purposive.

The deverbal formation for farming is interesting. Leslau, in his dictionary, does not list the verb root /gbr/ as associated with ploughing or farming in Gurage, only paying taxes. It may be that the word here has been borrowed from Amharic. The copula /-n-/ is clearly geminate here, but that is unexpected. Hetzron does not mention the bound copula nasal geminating in PWG languages. It does, however, appear to be geminate in Muher, at times (1977:109). The copula in Mesmes is the penultimate element, as expected (1977: 106), followed by the expected -t suffix (see note on line 4).

Line 18:
The Mesmes verb for 'to spend the night' is unique to Ennemor / Endegeny (and Mesmes) subgroup. The Mesmes word is identical to the Endegeny, having palatalized the initial /n/: Cheha /adɛrɛ-m̰/ or /atɛrɛ/, Ezha /adɛrɛ-m̰/, Ennemor /ne?ɛ/, Endegeny /ɲɛ?ɛ/, Gyeto /atɛrɛ/ (Leslau 1979). The verb is marked as a converb in the text.

The Mesmes existential verb in line 18 is the same as the word in Ennemor / Endegeny. In Mesmes, the gemination is maintained as it is in Endegeny: Cheha /nɛrɛ/, Ezha /nɛrɛ/, Ennemor /anɛ/, Endegeny /annɛ/, Gyeto /nɛrɛ/ (Leslau 1979). This existential-locative, as Heztron calls it (1977: 108), "is conjugated as a perfect, [but] has a present tense meaning and may have the prefix /t-/ 'when' which otherwise appears before the imperfect only" (1977: 108).

Line 19:
The beginning of line 19 contains an apparent idiom for 'back in the old days'. The word /duro/ is 'formerly' in Leslau's dictionary; the /u/ vowel is found only in Endegeny and Zway. The first vowel is /ɨ̱/ elsewhere in Western Gurage. The initial vowel, set off with parentheses, is most likely epenthetic, required between the two coronals. The expected shape for the genitive prefix would be /a-/, according to the author's reading of Hetzron's Ennemor texts (1977). The Mesmes word /ga?at/ is 'dawn' (a nominal): Mesmes certainly shows the same change as Endegeny here: Cheha /gat/, Ezha /gatt/, Ennemor /ga?at/, Endegeny /ga?at/, Gyeto /ga?at/ (Leslau 1979). The Mesmes word /zɛm̰/ is found in Leslau's dictionary, meaning 'period of time'. Cognates are found throughout Gurage: Cheha /zɛbɛr/, Ezha /zɛbɛr/, Ennemor /zɛ̃ɸɛr/, Endegeny /zɛ:n/, Gyeto /zɛɸɛr̃/[97] (1979).

The /b-/ prefix is used on verbs to mark conditionals as well as temporals (1977:104-6); it is also used on nouns to mark location (in), accompaniment (with) and instrumental (by means of). In line 19, the /b-/ prefix is on the quantifier /awnɜt/, marking

[97] As mentioned above, the diacritic under the /m/ is meant to show weak articulation (see section 4.2.4.1).

instrumental. See Hetzron's Ennemor text #20 (1977: 237) for a clear example containing many of these uses.

The numeral 'five' in Mesmes has an initial /h-/ in the wordlist, which has been dropped when the /b-/ prefix was added in the text. The reader should see footnote 55 in section 4.2.4.1 for a brief discussion of the loss of initial laryngeals in Gurage and their maintenance in Memses. The final vowel /-e/ is dropped, as expected, in connected speech. These two changes aside, there are still differences between the shape of the Mesmes numeral in the text and its shape in Bender's wordlist: text /hawnste/ wordlist /ha:nste/. Leslau's dictionary provides the Endegeny numeral 'five' which helps to explain the history: /ã:wɨst/ and /ã:st/. Both these forms are recorded as Endegeny. Here, it is clear that the /m/ has weakened to the /w/, or in the other example, lost all together, and the nasalization has been maintained on the vowel. In Mesmes, rather, the nasal is maintained as a full consonant not a suprasegmental feature—this is a common process between Mesmes and Ennemor/Endegeny (see note on line 15).

The Mesmes word for 'women' (in the plural) is /e:ʃi/. As expected, the vowel change in Endegeny is also attested in Mesmes, but without the nasalization. The final vowel in Mesmes is raised due to the palatal, a common process encountered throughout this text: Cheha /ɨʃta/, Ezha /ɨʃta/, Ennemor /ɪ̃ʃtʃa/, Endegeny /ẽ:ʃɛ/, Gyeto /ɨʃta/or /iʃtʃa/ (Leslau 1979).

The final verb 'to give birth' is marked as main past by the final stressed vowel (see note on line 4).

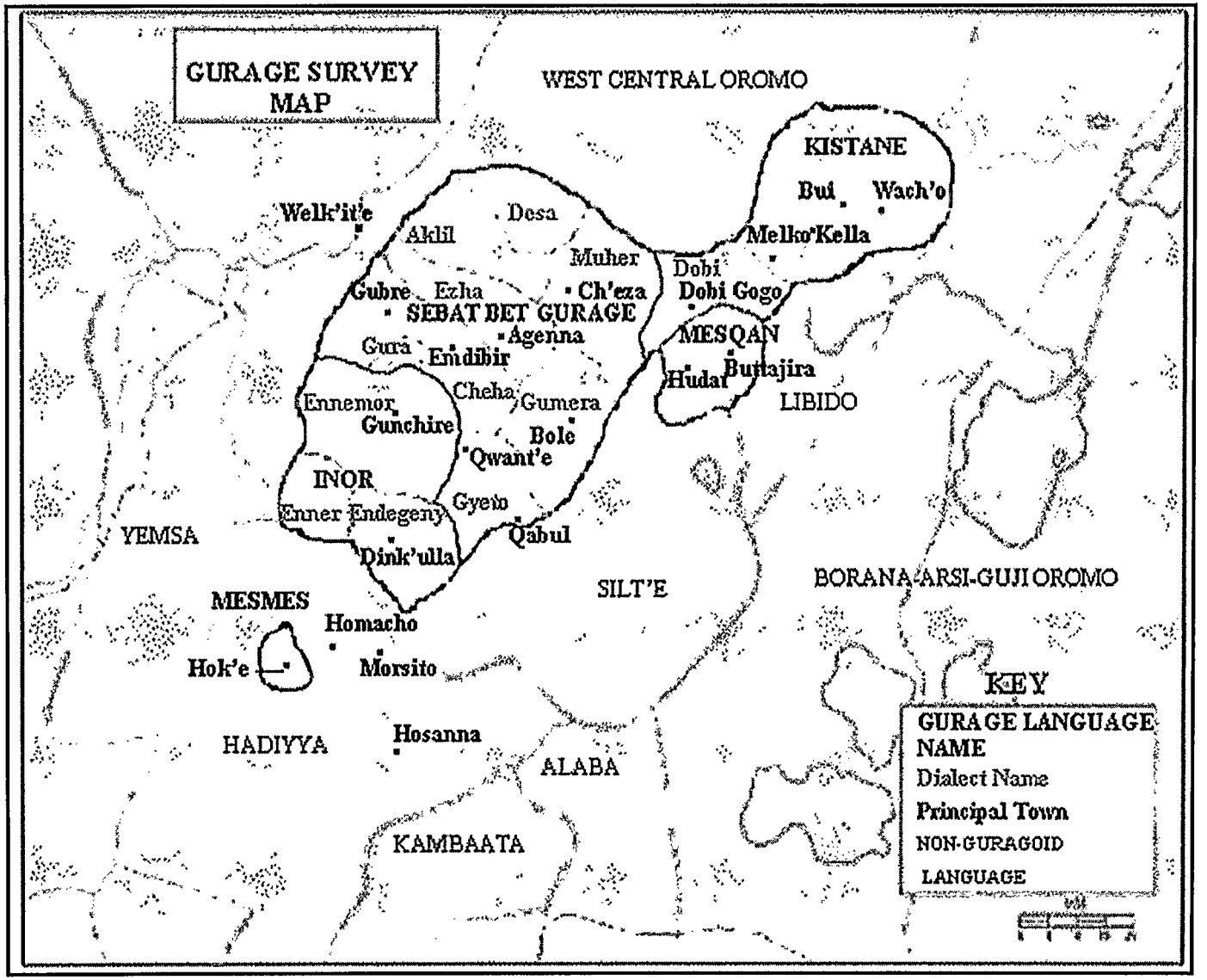
Line 20:
The author has been unable to determine the meaning of the Mesmes word /wɛdkɛ/. No cognate has been found elsewhere in Gurage for words that fit the particular context, such as 'all' or 'total'.

As seen elsewhere, the main verbs are only inconsistently marked with the k/t/d suffix. In this case, 'to give birth' carries the suffix.

The numeral 'twenty' in Mesmes (discussed in greater detail in chapter four) shows the same vowel change due to the labialization, which then drops in both Endegeny and Mesmes and it also shows the same metathesis phenomenon: Cheha /xʷɨja/, Ezha /xʷɨjja/, Ennemor /xʷijʔa/, Endegeny /huʔjɛ/, Gyeto /xʷɨja/ (Leslau 1979). Due to the form of the verb 'to live', it is the author's opinion that this is a borrowing from Amharic. The expected PWG reflex is /nɛp:ɛrɛ/ which is cognate with the Amharic past existential.

APPENDIX E

GURAGE LANGUAGE SURVEY MAP WITH PRINCIPAL TOWNS


GURAGE SURVEY MAP
WEST CENTRAL OROMO
KISTANE
Bui
Wach'o
Welk'it'e
Desa
Aklil
Melko'Kella
Muher
Dobi
Gubre
Ezha
Ch'eza
Dobi Gogo
SEBAT BET GURAGE
Agenna
MESQAN
Gura
Endibir
Hudar
Burtajira
Cheha
Gumera
LIBIDO
Ennemor
Gunchire
Bole
Qwant'e
INOR
Gyeto
Enner Endegeny
YEMSA
Qabul
Dink'ulla
SILT'E
BORANA-ARSI-GUJI OROMO
MESMES
Homacho
Hok'e
Morsito
KEY
GURAGE LANGUAGE NAME
Dialect Name
Principal Town
NON-GURAGOID LANGUAGE
HADIYYA
Hosanna
ALABA
KAMBAATA

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Michael Ahland attended the University of Missouri at Columbia and graduated in 1992 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Education, with an emphasis in English. He taught secondary English for three years in the Columbia Public School system and for an additional two years in Grand Prairie, Texas. In 1995, Michael and his wife joined SIL International. After completing linguistics training in 1997, Michael served as a linguistics teaching assistant in North Dakota and in the U.K. In 1999, he and his wife went to live and work in Ethiopia with SIL. While there, Michael served as the Language Survey Team Leader and was involved in surveying Ethio-Semitic, Nilo-Saharan, Omotic and Cushitic languages. In 2002, Michael returned to Texas to resume his studies and earn his Masters degree in linguistics. During his academic career, Michael has presented papers on his historical-comparative work in Ethiopia at the 4th International Language Assessment Conference in Chiang Mai, Thailand, the North American Conference on Afroasiatic Linguistics both in Nashville and in San Diego as well as at The University of Texas at Arlington's Student Conference in Linguistics. Michael has also served as conference organizer for the North American Conference on Afroasiatic Linguistics. His primary research interests include language contact phenomena, historical-comparative linguistics, language death, and all topics related to the languages of Ethiopia.