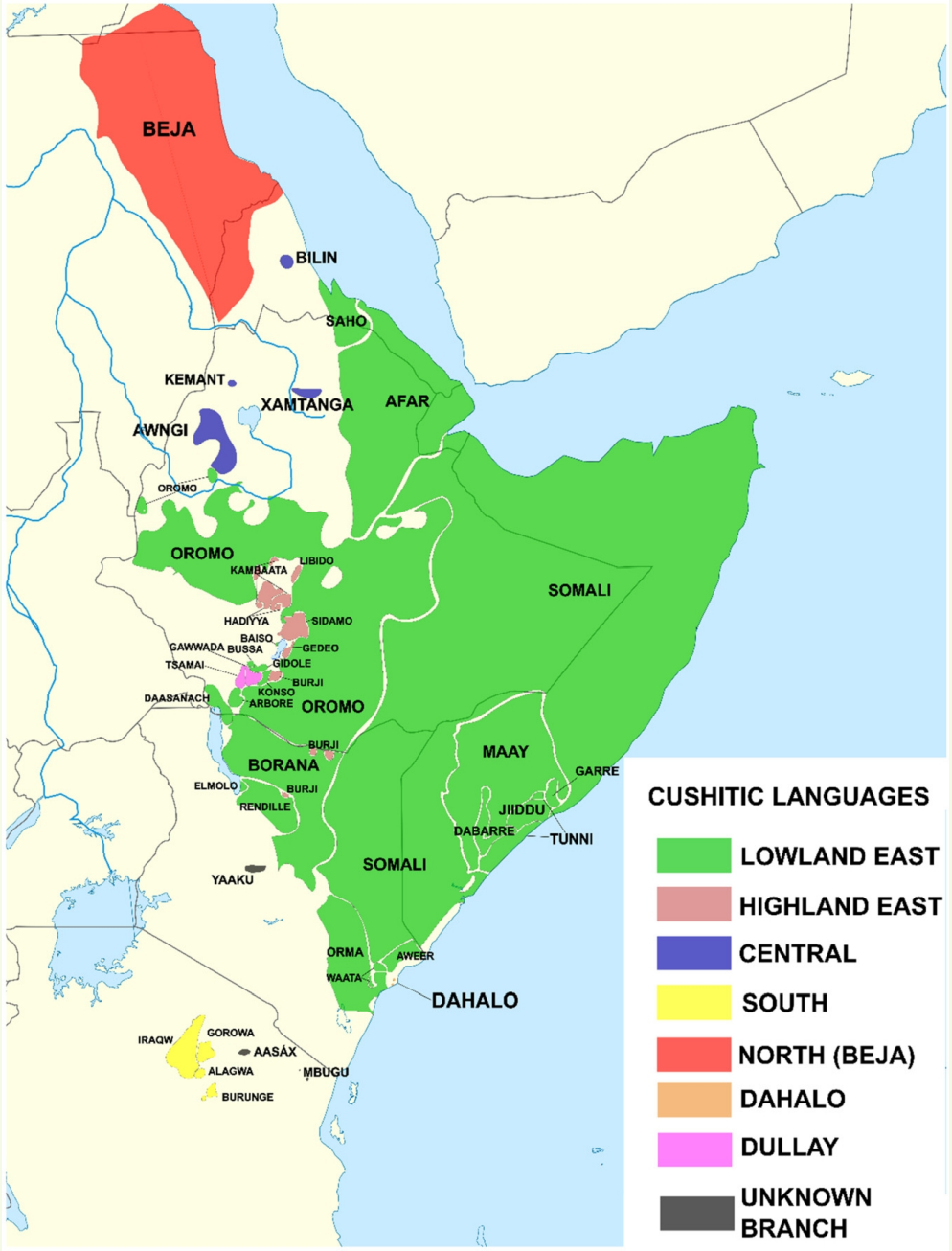
Proto East Cushitic

Work in progress..

AHMED SOSAL

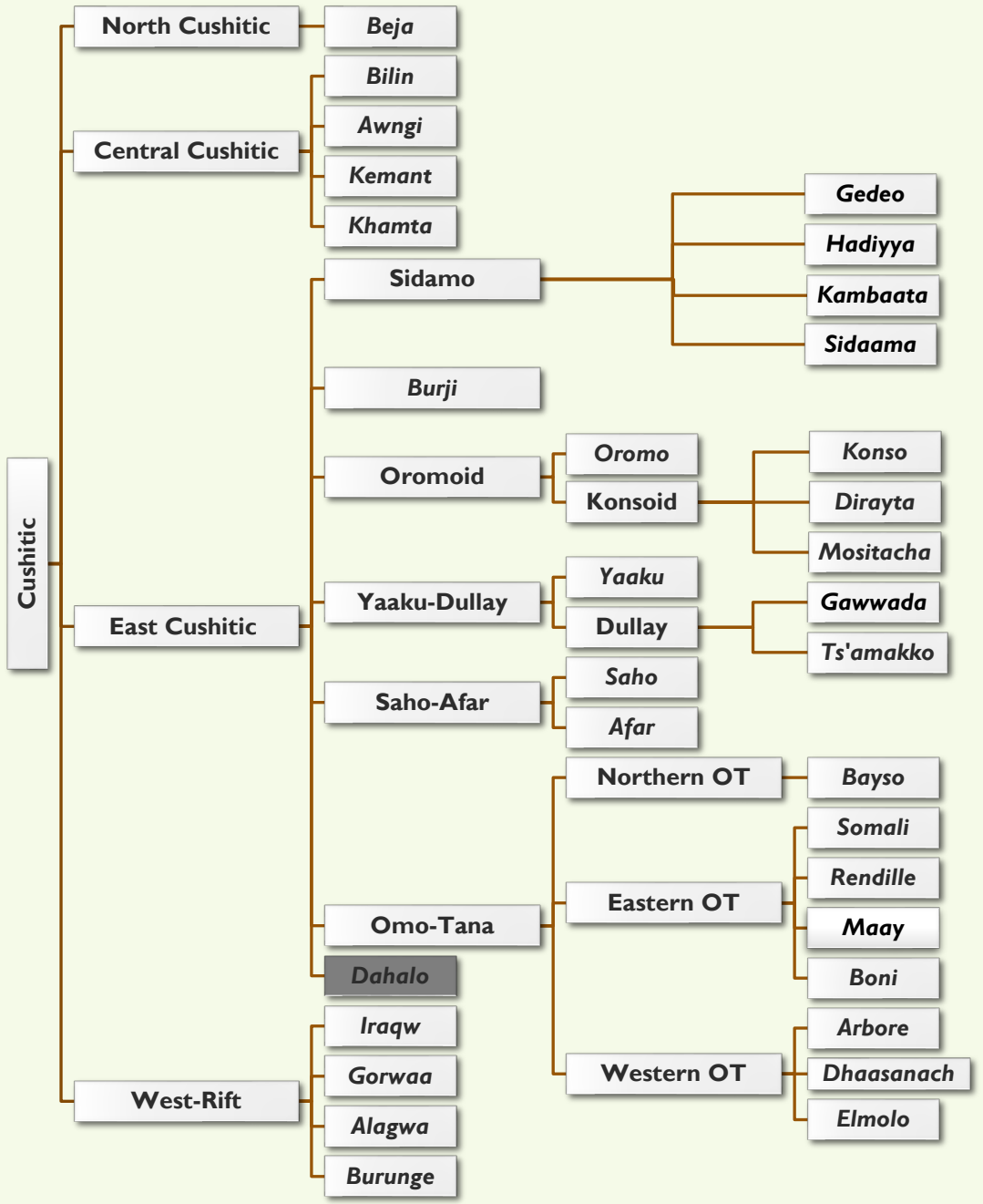
Outlines

- EC subgroups
- East Cushitic Lexical Database
- EC glottalized alveolars (d's)



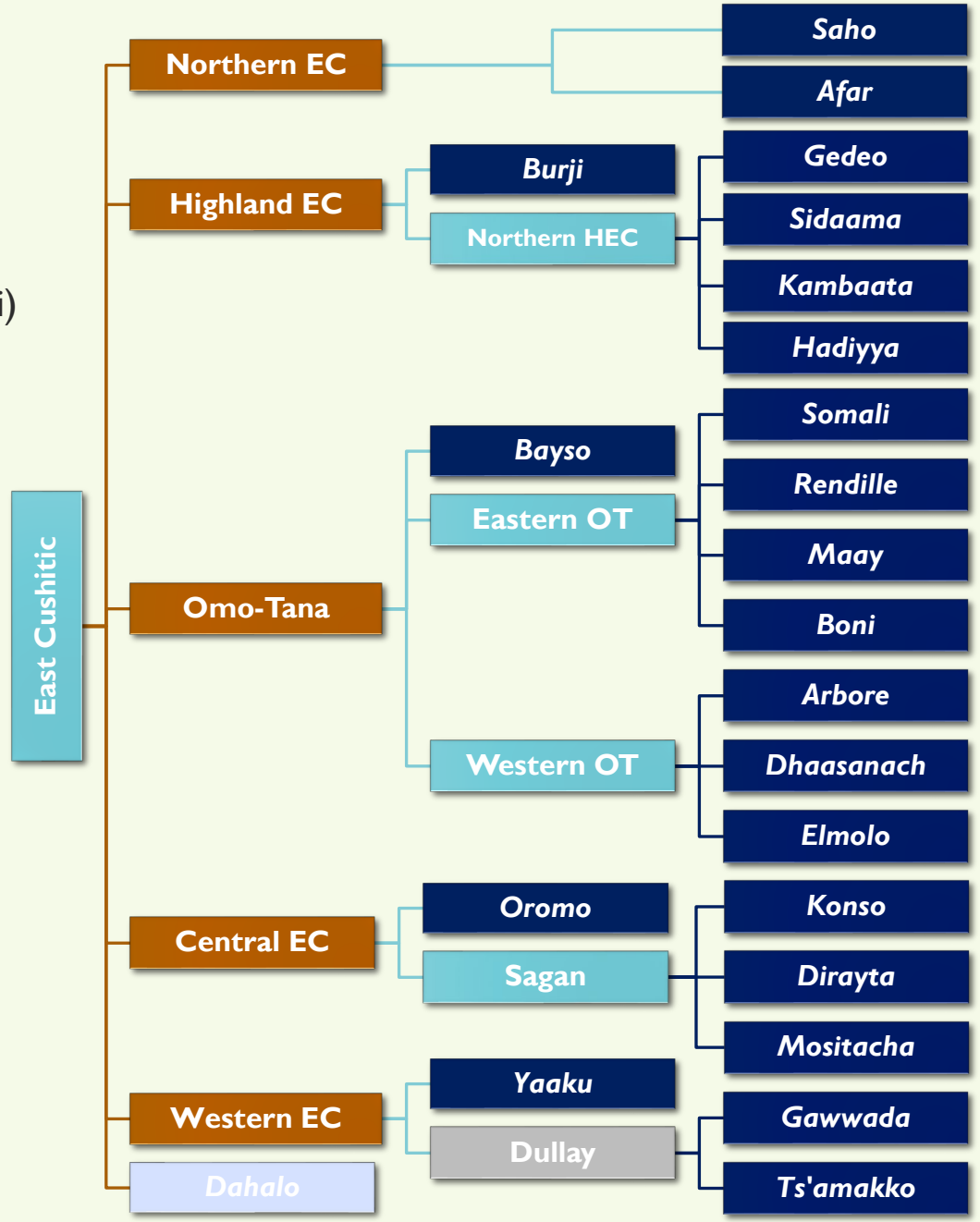
Vanhove (2022)
https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/zfs-2021-2047/html

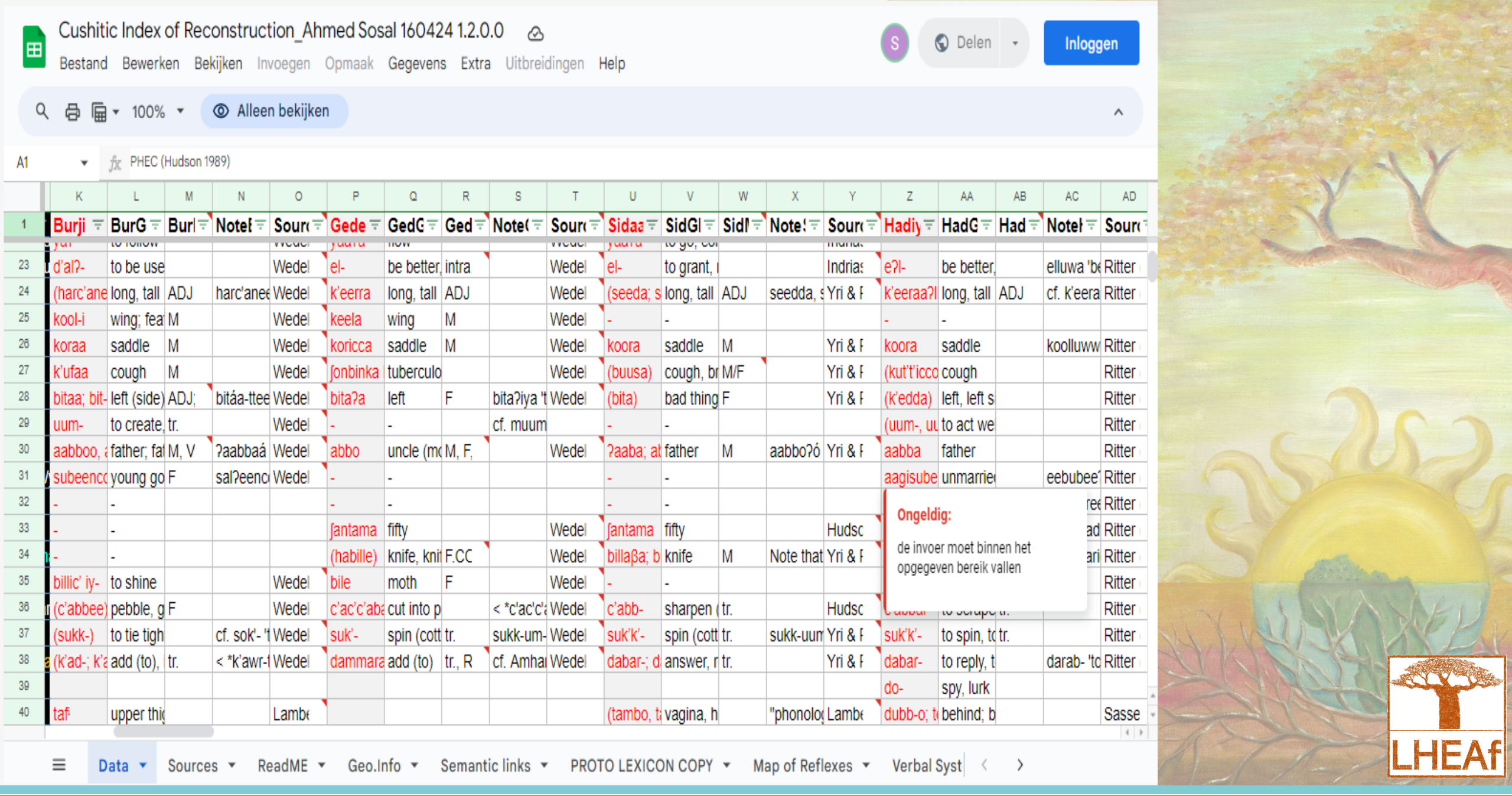
"…a subclassification of EC… treats [Saho-Afar, Omo-Tana, Oromoid, Sidamo group, Burji, Dullay (-Yaaku)] groups as more or less equivalent, i.e. a larger group comprising Saho-Afar, Omo-Tana, and Oromoid in the sense of Bender's LEC is not recognized here." (Sasse 1979:3-4)



New terms

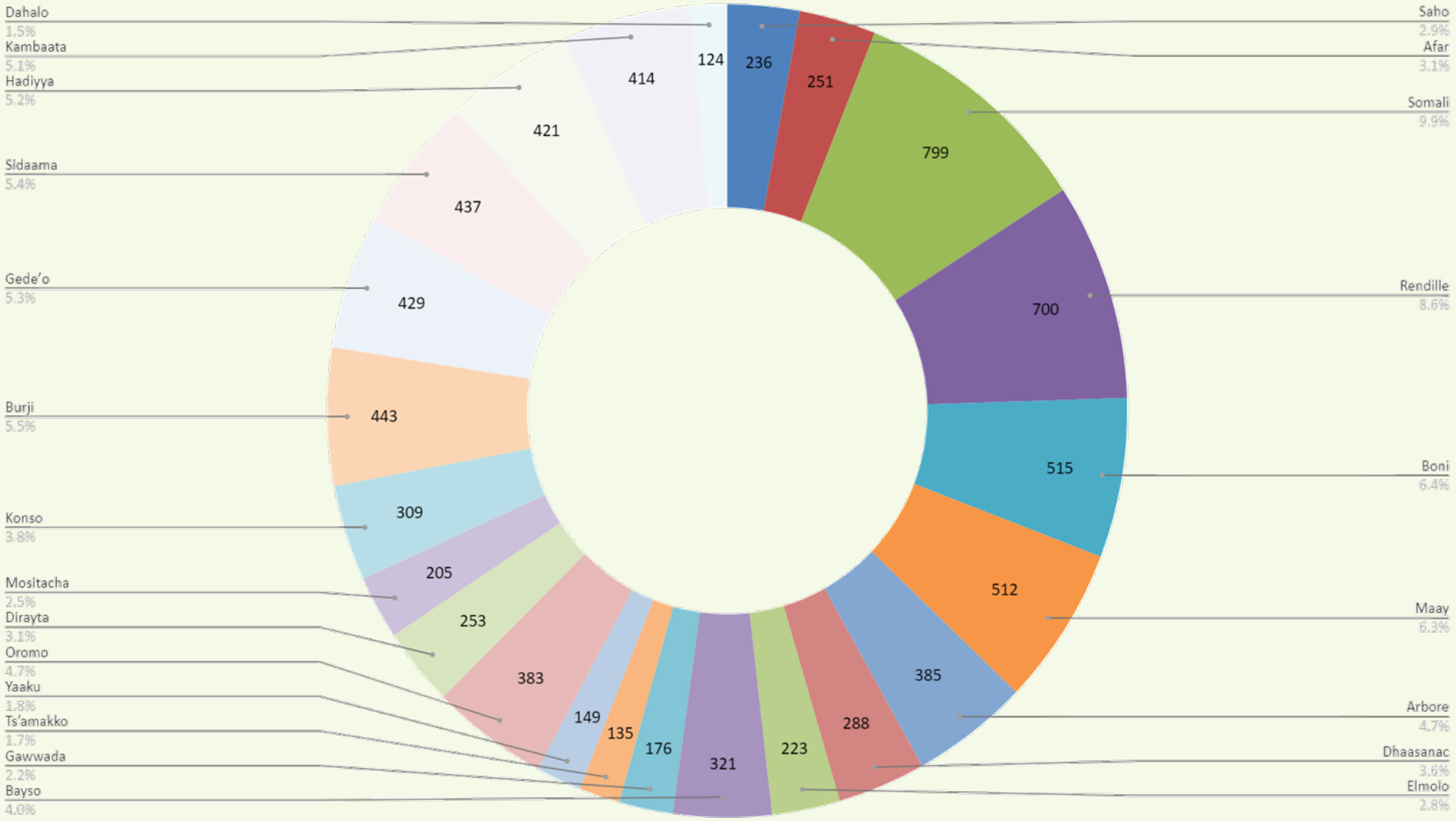
- Northern EC = Saho-Afar
- Northern Highland EC = HEC (excl. Burji)
- Western EC = Yaaku-Dullay
- Central EC = Oromoid
- Sagan = Konsoid

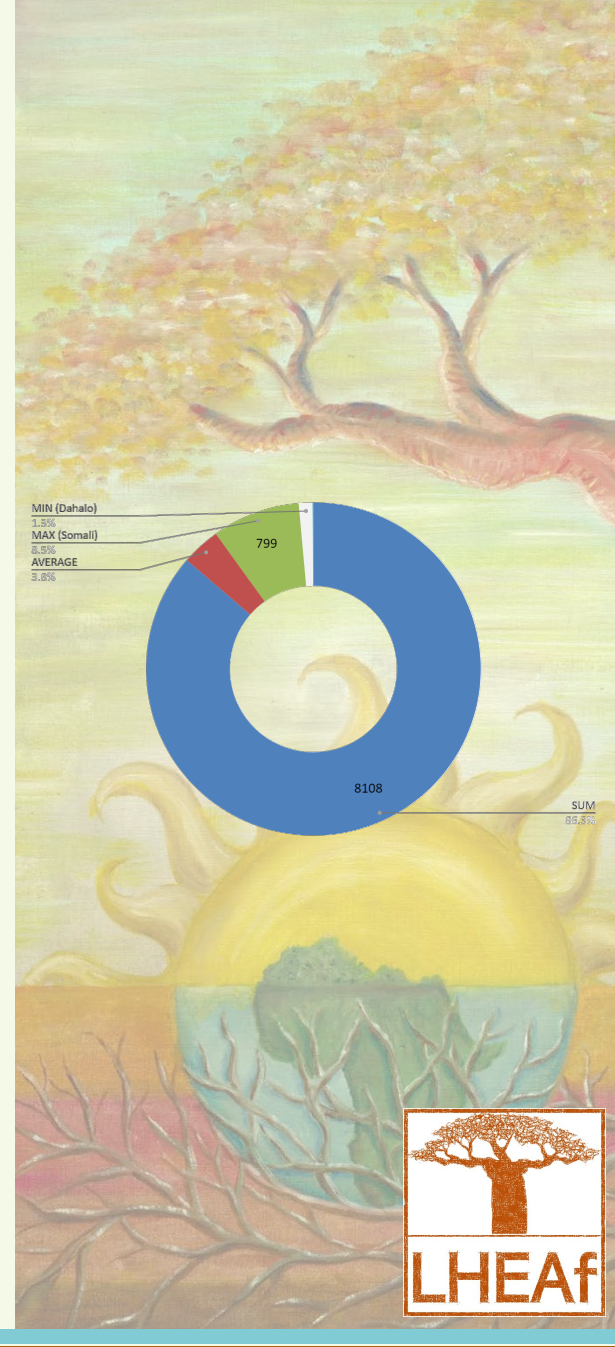




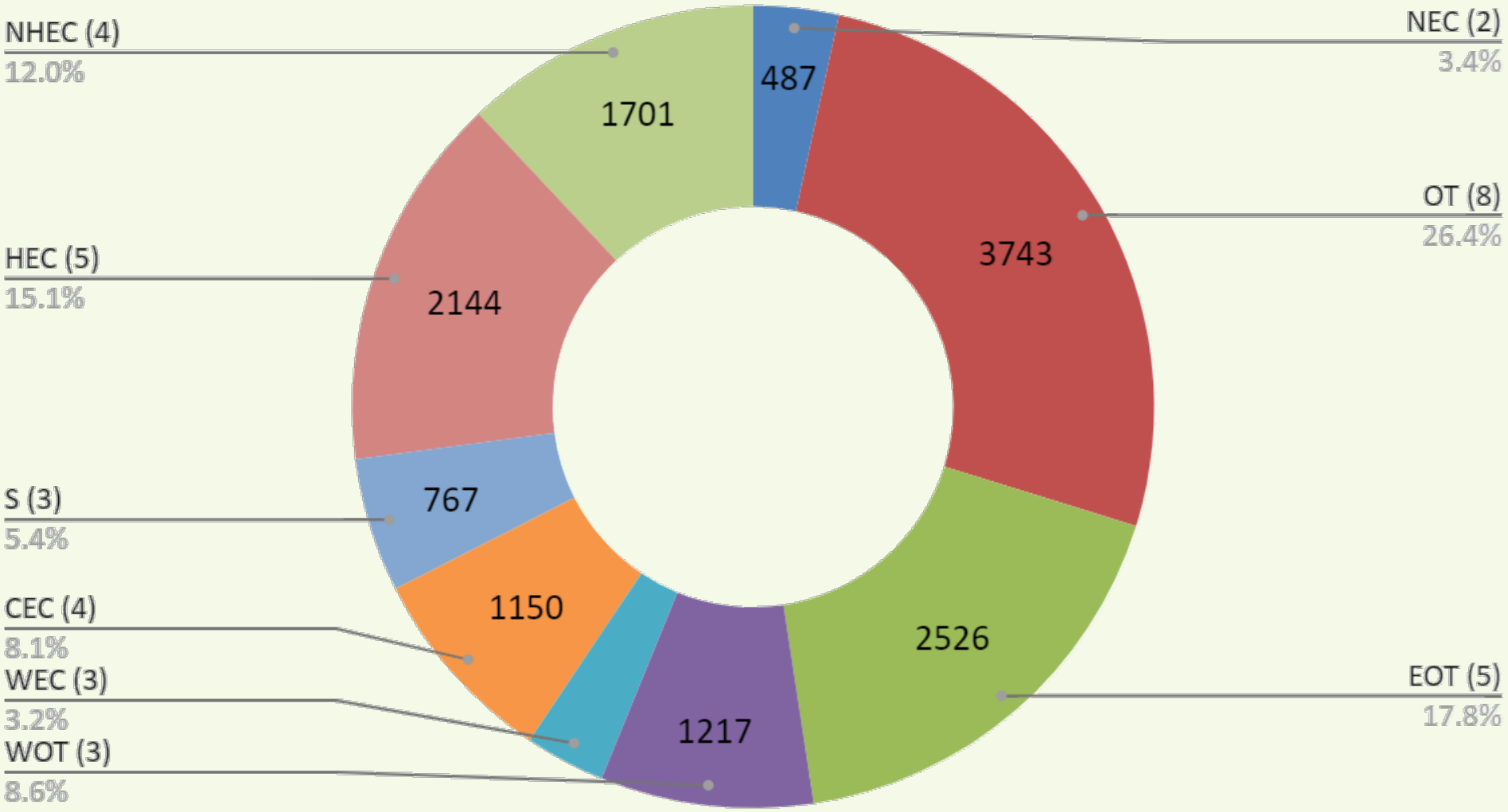
	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD
1	Burji	BurG	Burl	Notel	Sourc	Gede	GedC	Ged	Note(	Sourc	Sidaa	SidGl	Sidl	Note!	Sourc	Hadiy	HadG	Had	Notel	Sourc
23	d'al?-	to be use			Wedel	el-	be better,	intra		Wedel	el-	to grant,			Indrias	e?l-	be better,		elluwa 'be	Ritter
24	(harc'ane	long, tall	ADJ	harc'anee	Wedel	k'eerra	long, tall	ADJ		Wedel	(seeda; s	long, tall	ADJ	seedda, s	Yri & F	k'eeraa?l	long, tall	ADJ	cf. k'eera	Ritter
25	kool-i	wing; fea	M		Wedel	keela	wing	M		Wedel	-	-				-	-			
26	koraa	saddle	M		Wedel	koricca	saddle	M		Wedel	koora	saddle	M		Yri & F	koora	saddle		koolluww	Ritter
27	k'ufaa	cough	M		Wedel	ʃonbinka	tuberculo			Wedel	(buusa)	cough, br	M/F		Yri & F	(kut't'icco	cough			Ritter
28	bitaa; bit-	left (side)	ADJ;	bitáa-ttee	Wedel	bita?a	left	F	bita?iya 't	Wedel	(bita)	bad thing	F		Yri & F	(k'edda)	left, left s			Ritter
29	uum-	to create,	tr.		Wedel	-	-		cf. muum		-	-				(uum-, uu	to act we			Ritter
30	aabboo, a	father; fat	M, V	?aabbaá	Wedel	abbo	uncle (mo	M, F,		Wedel	?aaba; at	father	M	aabbo?ó	Yri & F	aabba	father			Ritter
31	subeencc	young go	F	sal?eenc	Wedel	-	-				-	-				aagisube	unmarrie		eebubee'	Ritter
32	-	-				-	-				-	-								Ritter
33	-	-				ʃantama	fifty			Wedel	ʃantama	fifty			Hudsc					Ritter
34	-	-				(habille)	knife, knif	F.CC		Wedel	billaβa; b	knife	M	Note that	Yri & F					Ritter
35	billic' iy-	to shine			Wedel	bile	moth	F		Wedel	-	-								Ritter
36	(c'abbee)	pebble, g	F		Wedel	c'ac'c'aba	cut into p		< *c'ac'c'a	Wedel	c'abb-	sharpen (	tr.		Hudsc					Ritter
37	(sukk-)	to tie tigh		cf. sok'- 't	Wedel	suk'-	spin (cott	tr.	sukk-um-	Wedel	suk'k'-	spin (cott	tr.	sukk-uum	Yri & F	suk'k'-	to spin, to	tr.		Ritter
38	(k'ad-; k'a	add (to),	tr.	< *k'awr-t	Wedel	dammara	add (to)	tr., R	cf. Amha	Wedel	dabar-; d	answer, r	tr.		Yri & F	dabar-	to reply, t		darab- 'to	Ritter
39																do-	spy, lurk			
40	taf-	upper thig			Lambe						(tambo, t	vagina, h		"phonolo	Lambe	dubb-o; t	behind; b			Sasse

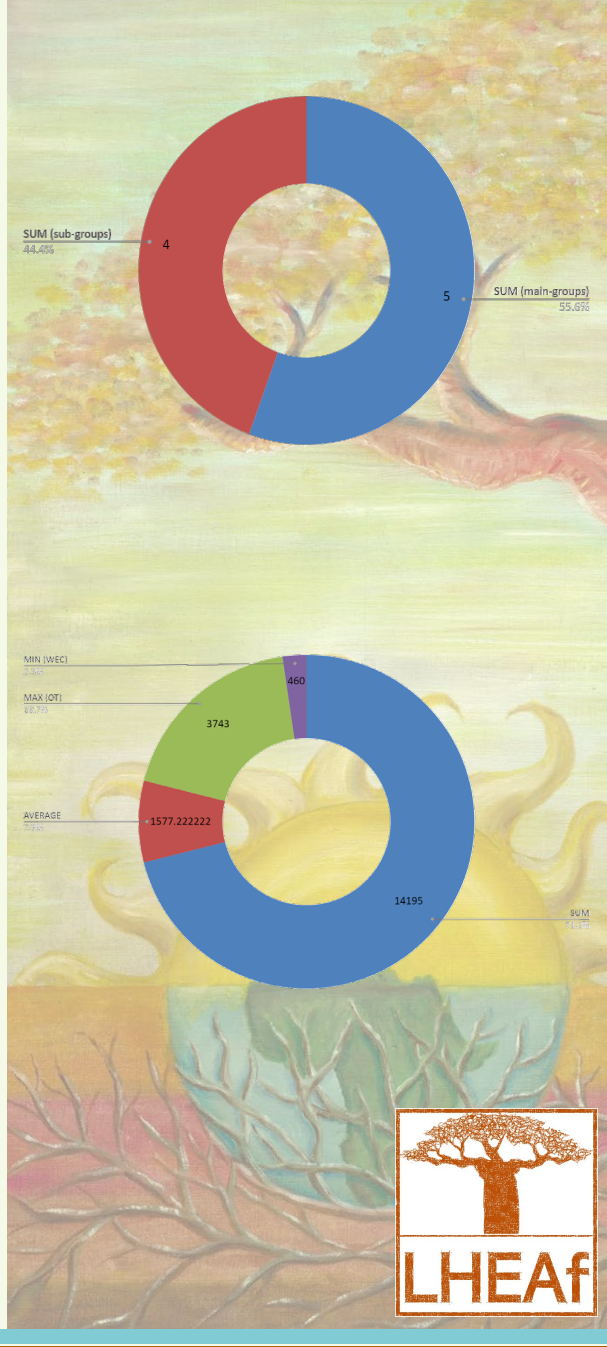
Languages data





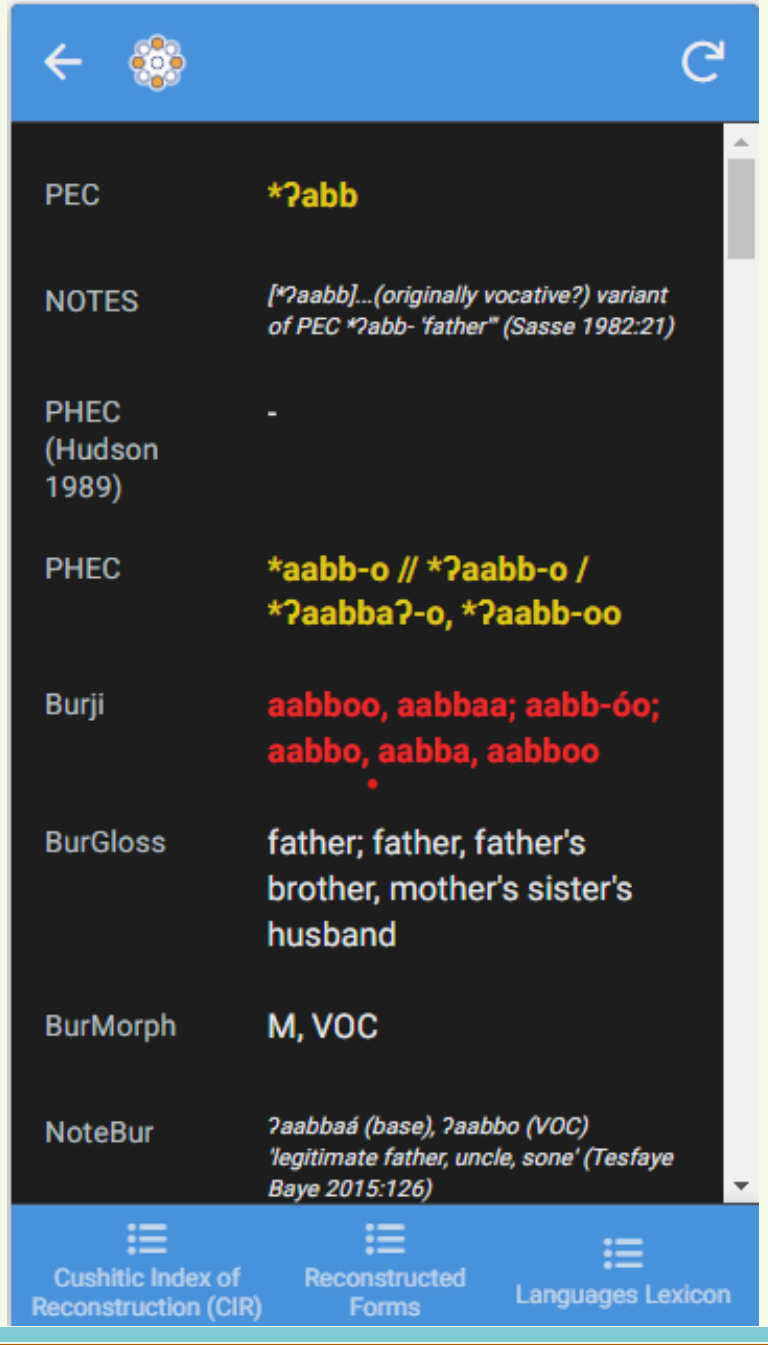
Groups data


NHEC (4)
12.0%
NEC (2)
3.4%
OT (8)
26.4%
HEC (5)
15.1%
S (3)
5.4%
CEC (4)
8.1%
WEC (3)
3.2%
WOT (3)
8.6%
EOT (5)
17.8%
487
3743
2526
1217
1150
767
2144
1701


SUM (sub-groups)
4
5
SUM (main-groups)
MIN (WEC)
460
MAX (OT)
3743
AVERAGE
1577.222222
14195
SUM

PC browser app

Mobile app


PEC
*ʔabb
NOTES
[*ʔaabb]...(originally vocative?) variant of PEC *ʔabb- 'father" (Sasse 1982:21)
PHEC (Hudson 1989)
-
PHEC
*aabb-o // *ʔaabb-o / *ʔaabba?-o, *ʔaabb-oo
Burji
aabboo, aabbaa; aabb-óo; aabbo, aabba, aabboo
BurGloss
father; father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband
BurMorph
M, VOC
NoteBur
ʔaabbaá (base), ʔaabbo (VOC) 'legitimate father, uncle, sone' (Tesfaye Baye 2015:126)
Cushitic Index of Reconstruction (CIR)
Reconstructed Forms
Languages Lexicon

LHEAf

Glottalized alveolars

PEC *d’ → Saho-Afar, Somali, Rendille ɖ = Boni, Dasanaach, Arbore and Elmolo d’

PEC *d’$_1$ → Dirayta d’ = Konso ɟ = Oromo c’

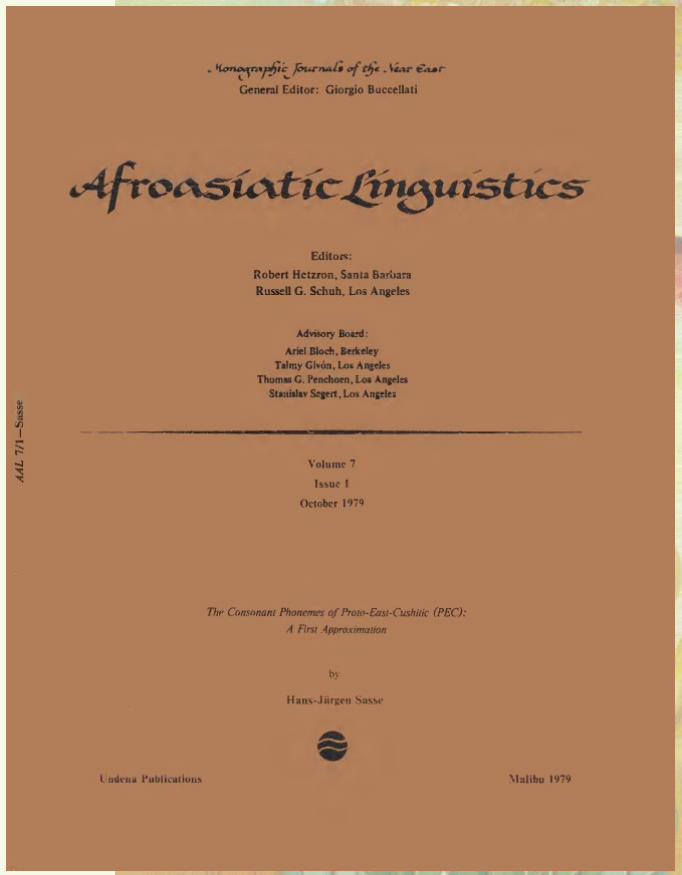
→ Somali j = rest of EC d’ (tentatively)

PEC *d’$_2$ → Dirayta c’ = Konso ɟ = Oromo d’ (Oromo dialectal var. instead)

PEC *d’$_3$ → Dirayta d’ = Konso ɟ = Oromo t' (scanty evidence, so Oromo t’ (irregular) (← d’$_1$)

“*The reconstruction of PEC glottalized (or otherwise affected) stops in the denti-alveolar region seems unproblematic as long as the principal "Lowland East Cushitic" languages are examined, but becomes more and more complicated once other languages are taken into consideration*.”

(Sasse 1979: 25, 27-29)



Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *t’

PHEC	*t’uut’-	‘to suck’	*wit’- / *wat’-	‘to sow’
Burji	*t’uunt’-	‘to absorb’	wat’ar-, wot’ar-	‘scatter’
Gedeo	*t’uut’-	‘to suck’	(wiisa)	‘to sow’
Sidaama	*t’uut’-	”	wit’-	”
Hadiyya	*t’uut’-	”	wit’-	”
Kambaata	*t’uut’-	”	wit’-	”

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *t’

- Proto-East-Cushitic *t’ab- ‘to diminish’ ?
  - Proto-Northern EC -
    - Saho –
    - Afar –
  - Proto-Highland EC *t’aʔ- ‘be extinguish’, *t’eʔ- ‘to diminish’
    - Burji t’ay- ‘extinguish’, t’ey- ‘dry out’
    - Proto-Northern HEC *t’aʔ- ‘be extinguish’, *t’eʔ- ‘to diminish’
      - Gedeo t’eʔy- ‘be incomplete’
      - Sidaama t’eʔ- ‘be depleted, be insufficient’
      - Hadiyya t’aʔa ‘depleted’, t’aʔ- ‘be depleted/diminish’
      - Kambaata t’aʔu‘extinguish’, t’eʔ- ‘be depleted’
  - Proto-Omo-Tana -
    - Bayso -
    - Proto-Eastern OT -
      - Somali -
      - Rendille -
      - Boni -
      - Maay -
    - Proto-Western OT -
      - Arbore -
      - Dhaasanac -
      - Elmolo -
  - Proto-Central EC *d’ab- ‘be lacking’
    - Oromo d’aa-m- ‘extinguish’, d’aba ‘be unable, lacking’
    - Proto-Sagan *dap ‘to not find, lose’
      - Dirayta ɗap- ‘not find’
      - Mositacha ɗab- ‘lose’
      - Konso ɗap- ‘be unable to find, miss’, ɗox- ‘be hungry/extinguish’
  - Proto-Western EC -
    - Yaaku -
    - Dullay -
      - Gawwada ɗoʔ- ‘to dry up and crack’, ɗap- ‘to lose’
      - Ts'amakko -
  - Dahalo |aʔ ‘to dry out’

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      - Ts'amakko -
  - Dahalo |aʔ 'to dry out'

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic

PHEC *t' → Burji t' = Gedeo t' = Sidaama t' = Hadiyya t' = Kambaata t' (= Sasse's *d' and *d'_3)

- Labial *b loss via *w in HEC, Oromo d'aa-m- 'extinguish'?
- Gawwada ɗap-aɗ- (MID) 'to get lost', taaʕ 'to dry up'
- Pre-PHEC *t'ab-ʔ- (reflexive) ?
- Regular Proto-Sagan devoicing of the stops: *b → *p
- Dahalo /|/ is a dental click

+ Regular correspondences and retention beyond HEC

- Limited evidence particularly in non-initial position

see Wolayta t'ay- 'to get lost'

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *c’ /*tʃ’/

PHEC	*c’il	‘to defecate’	*c’uub-	‘dip in, immerse’	*c’iid’-	‘bird’
Burji	c’il-	”	c’uub-	”	c’iid’aa	”
Gedeo	c’il-	”	c’uup’-	”	c’iʔa	”
Sidaama	c’il-	”	c’uuʔi	”	c’iiʔ-	”
Hadiyya	c’ir-	”	c’ufc’ufaaʔ-	”	c’iiʔ-cco	”
Kambaata	c’in-	”	c’uf (c’aba) ai	”	c’iiccu-	”

- Burji c’ : Ged c’ : Sid c’ : Kam c’ : Had c’
- Sasse (1979: 30): “*All HEC languages have a phoneme c’ which is mainly confined to loanwords. The two or three instances in which it appears to be autochthonous do not seem to have cognates outside HEC.*”
- *c’ob-ʔ- ‘to drip, to leak’
- *d’$_1$aff- 'meadow' (maybe a loanword) (Sasse 1979: 27, 61)

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *ts’

PHEC	*ts’uf	‘to close’	*ts’alla	‘only, alone’
Burji	c’ukk-	”	c’alla	”
Gedeo	c’uf-	”	c’alla	”
Sidaama	c’uf-	”	c’alla	”
Hadiyya	t’uf-	”	t’alla	”
Kambaata	t’uf-	”	t’alala	”

- Burji, Ged, Sid c’alla ← Oromo c’alla 'alone' ? (Sasse 1982, p. 46).
- See Wolaytta t’alaala 'alone'

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *ts’

- Proto-East-Cushitic *ts’uur- ‘ant sp.’
  - Proto-Northern EC *d’uur- ‘ant’ ?
    - Saho ɖuuɾe ‘ant’
    - Afar ɗuuné ‘ants’
  - Proto-Highland EC *ts’uuts’- ‘black ant’
    - Burji c’uuc’c’ee ‘black ant’
    - Proto-Northern HEC *ts’uuts’- ‘black ant’
      - Gedeo t’ut’e ‘small black ants’
      - Sidaama t’ut’e, c’uunc’a ‘big black ants’
      - Hadiyya c’uun-co ‘big black ants’
      - Kambaata t’ut’i-ta ‘
  - Proto-Omo-Tana -
    - Bayso tunce ‘red ant’
    - Proto-Eastern OT *c’uur- ‘ant sp.’
      - Somali ɖuurʕaso ‘ant sp.’, ɖuuɖi ‘a kind of louse’
      - Rendille ɖúuɖe ‘black ant(s)’
      - Boni d’óói (Kilii), j’úúrə (Baddey), c’úúrə (Bireeri) ‘ant sp. (small)’
      - Maay ɖuuri ‘ants’
    - Proto-Western OT -
      - Arbore -
      - Dhaasanac -
      - Elmolo -
  - Proto-Central EC -
    - Oromo (t’iint’-ana) ‘maggot’
    - Proto-Sagan *d’uud’-eta ‘ant sp.’
      - Dirayta ɗuuɗɗéṭ ‘small black ants’
      - Mositacha ɗuɗe-ta ‘ant’
      - Konso -
  - Proto-Western EC -
    - Yaaku t’oroʔtɛ ‘driver or safari ant’
    - Dullay -
      - Gawwada -
      - Ts'amakko –
  - Dahalo t’at’e ‘small ant’

- Proto-East-Cushitic *ts'uur- 'ant sp.'
  - Proto-Northern EC *ɗ'uur- 'ant' ?
    - Saho ɖuuɽe 'ant'
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      - Arbore -
      - Dhaasanac -
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      - Ts'amakko –
  - Dahalo t'at'e 'small ant'

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic

- PHEC *ts' → Burji c' = Gedeo c', t' = Sidaama c', t' = Hadiyya t' = Kambaata t' (= Sasse's *d', *d'$_1$, *d'$_3$)
- Sasse (1979: 30): "*All HEC languages have a phoneme c' which is mainly confined to loanwords. The two or three instances in which it appears to be autochthonous do not seem to have cognates outside HEC.*"
- Lamberti (1986) reconstructs PEOT *d'y
- Jiddu Jiddu ɖuuɖuʔ 'ant'
- Two separate roots Ged-Sid t'ut'e 'small black ants', c'uunc'a 'big black ants'?

+ Regular correspondences mainly in HEC

- Limited evidence particularly in non-initial position

- cf. PWR *ts'ilaʔu 'small black ants (sp.)' → Burunge c'ilaʔu.

Regular PEC *d’

- Proto-East-Cushitic *d’iʃ- ‘to plant, build’
  - Proto-Northern EC *d’iʃ- ‘to build, plant’
    - Saho ɖiʃ- ‘establish, to found’
    - Afar ɗis- ‘plant, build’
  - Proto-Highland EC -
    - Burji d’iʃ- ‘plant, build’
    - Proto-Northern HEC -
      - Gedeo -
      - Sidaama -
      - Hadiyya -
      - Kambaata -
  - Proto-Omo-Tana *d’is- ‘to build’
    - Bayso -
    - Proto-Eastern OT *d’is- ‘to build’
      - Somali ɖis- ‘to build’
      - Rendille ɖis- ‘to build’
      - Boni d’is- ‘to build’
      - Maay ɖis- ‘to build’
    - Proto-Western OT *d’is- ‘to build’
      - Arbore d’is- ‘to build’
      - Dhaasanac d’is- ‘to build’
      - Elmolo d’is- ‘to build’
  - Proto-Central EC *d’iʃ-, *d’ih- ‘plant, build’
    - Oromo d’iʃ- ‘stretch out skin’
    - Proto-Sagan *d’iʃ-, *d’ih- ‘plant, build’
      - Dirayta ɗih ‘plant, transplant, build’
      - Mositacha ɗih ‘build’
      - Konso ɗiʃ- ‘plant’
  - Proto-Western EC -
    - Yaaku -
    - Dullay *ɗiʃ- ‘to plant’
      - Gawwada ɗiʃ- ‘to plant, sow’
      - Ts'amakko ɗiʃ- ‘to plant, sow’
  - Dahalo -

- Proto-East-Cushitic *ɗ'iʃ- 'to plant, build'
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    - Proto-Northern HEC -
      - Gedeo -
      - Sidaama -
      - Hadiyya -
      - Kambaata -
  - Proto-Omo-Tana *ɗ'is- 'to build'
    - Bayso -
    - Proto-Eastern OT *ɗ'is- 'to build'
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      - Gawwada ɗiʃ- 'to plant, sow'
      - Ts'amakko ɗiʃ- 'to plant, sow'
  - Dahalo -

Regular PEC *ɗ'

- PEC *ɗ'iʃ- 'plant, build' (Sasse 1982: 195; Sasse 1979 :26)
- PEC *ʃ → POT *s
- Dirayta and Mositacha h might be from a fossilized suffix or independent root
- No attestation in NHEC

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *ts’

PHEC	*d’iib-	‘to push’	*d’aban-	‘to slap’	*c’iid’-	‘bird’
Burji	d’iib-	”	d’aban-s-	‘bend’	c’iid’aa	”
Gedeo	d’iibema	‘be pushed’	d’abanaasa	”	c’iʔa	”
Sidaama	t’iibi	‘to push’	d’aʔa assa	”	c’eʔicco	”
Hadiyya	t’iib-	”	t’aban-s-	”	c’iiʔ-cco	”
Kambaata	t’iib-	‘press’	t’aban-s-	”	c’iiccu-	”

- Initial: Burji d’ = Ged d’ = Sid d’ = Had t’ = Kam t’
- Non-initial: Burji ø/ʔ = Ged ø/ʔ = Sid ø/ʔ = Had ø/ʔ = Kam ø/ʔ (reflexive/middel)
- Non-initial: Burji d’ = Ged r/d’/ʔr = Sid ʔr = Had ʔ/ø = Kam ʔ/ø (after a vowel)
- Non-initial: Burji d’ = Ged d’ = Sid d’ = Had ʔ/d’ = Kam ʔ/d’ (adjacent to sonorants)
- Non-initial: glottalization and gemination of stem final consonants (adjacent to obstruents)

- Proto-East-Cushitic *d'arb-an- 'to slap'
  - Proto-Northern EC -
    - Saho -
    - Afar -
  - Proto-Highland EC *d'aban- 'to slap'
    - Burji d'aban-s- 'bend', d'abanaa 'side'
    - Proto-Northern HEC **d'aban- 'to slap'
      - Gedeo d'abanaasa 'hit, beat'
      - Sidaama d'aʔa assa 'to slap (the face)'
      - Hadiyya t'abans- 'to slap', oob a'p'is- 'to slap', t'iffeʔe (n) 'slap'
      - Kambaata t'aban-s- 'slap'
  - Proto-Omo-Tana **d'ab-an- 'to slap'
    - Bayso -
    - Proto-Eastern OT *d'arb-an-, *d'arb-aħ 'to slap, strike'
      - Somali ɖarbaaħ 'slap, strike'
      - Rendille dábaħ '(act of) stamping on (something)'
      - Boni d'arbah- 'to slap, to hit, to box ear'
      - Maay ɖarbaaŋ 'guided punch'
    - Proto-Western OT *d'ab-n 'to slap'
      - Arbore dan- 'beat, punish', rébb 'slap'
      - Dhaasanac d'án 'to tear off, to pieces; to twist'
      - Elmolo (dáu, dá-a) 'to slap'
  - Proto-Central EC *d'aan- 'to beat'
    - Oromo d'aana 'beat on, punish'
    - Proto-Sagan -
      - Dirayta ɗaan 'beat millet' (said to be Mashile, not Gidole)'
      - Mositacha -
      - Konso -
  - Proto-Western EC -
    - Yaaku -
    - Dullay -
      - Gawwada -
      - Ts'amakko -
  - Dahalo -

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *d'

Word initial: PHEC *d' → Burji d' = Gedeo d' = Sidaama d', t' = Hadiyya t' = Kambaata t' (= Sasse's *d', *d'$_1$, *d'$_3$)

- Sidaama d' ~ t' : t'aam- ~ d'aam- 'to give a message to' (← *d'aam-)

  d'agge ~ t'agge 'story, miracle' (← *d'agn-)

- Arabore -dan 'schlagen' (Klein-Arendt 2004: 92)

- Proto-East-Cushitic *d’ag-, *d’eg- ‘to hear’
  - Proto-Northern EC *-ɖag- ‘to know’ ?
    - Saho -eɖeg- ‘know, recognize’
    - Afar ɖag ‘auricular region’
  - Proto-Highland EC *d’ak-ʔ- ‘to listen, spy’
    - Burji d’aggeyʃad ‘to listen to, to pay attention’
    - Proto-Northern HEC *c’ak’as- ‘to listen, spy’
      - Gedeo c’ak’as- ‘listen’
      - Sidaama -
      - Hadiyya c’ak’as- ‘to check, to wait for s.b. eagerly’
      - Kambaata c’ak’as- ‘listen to, spy’
  - Proto-Omo-Tana *d'ag-ay ‘to listen’
    - Bayso -
    - Proto-Eastern OT *d’ag-ay- ‘to listen’
      - Somali ɖegeyso ‘hear, listen to’
      - Rendille ɖaaga ‘hear’
      - Boni (diŋésio) ‘listen’
      - Maay ɖeeɣ- ‘hear’, ɖuɣinsið- ‘listen’
    - Proto-Western OT *d’eg-ay ‘to hear’
      - Arbore d’eg(a)y-‘hear’, tʃ’ak’as- ‘listen’
      - Dhaasanac -
      - Elmolo d'ekait, d'ey ‘to hear’
  - Proto-Central EC *d’ag-ay- ‘to hear’
    - Oromo d’agaya ‘
    - Proto-Sagan **d’ak-ay ‘to hear’
      - Dirayta ɗakay- ‘hear’
      - Mositacha ɗakay ‘listen’, ɗak’a ‘hear’, he-ɗak’aʔ-e 'hear'
      - Konso ɗak-ay- ‘hear’
  - Proto-Western EC -
    - Yaaku dek- ‘hear’
    - Dullay -
      - Gawwada -
      - Ts'amakko -
  - Dahalo -

Irregular PEC *d’

- PEC *d’eg- / *d’og- 'hear’ (← *-d’eg- / *-d’og-) (Sasse 1979: 17)
- Irregular PNHEC *c’ak’as- ‘to listen, spy’ and Arbore tʃ’ak’as- (loanword ?)
- Base ‘hear’, Causative ‘listen’ ?

- Proto-East-Cushitic *d'al-, d'el- 'give birth, lay eggs'
  - Proto-Northern EC *d'al- 'to give birth'
    - Saho ɗal 'procreate, give birth'
    - Afar ɖale 'to bear, to give birth to'
  - Proto-Highland EC *al 'give birth, beget (of human)'
    - Burji all- 'to bear, give birth, beget'
    - Proto-Northern HEC *il "give birth, beget (of human)'
      - Gedeo il- 'give birth, beget (of human)'
      - Sidaama il- 'give birth, beget (of human)'
      - Hadiyya (k'ar-) 'give birth, beget'
      - Kambaata il- 'give birth, beget (of human)'
  - Proto-Omo-Tana *d'al- 'give birth'
    - Bayso -
    - Proto-Eastern OT *d'al- 'give birth'
      - Somali ɖal 'beget, bear, father (a child), give birth'
      - Rendille ɖela 'give birth to, bear offspring (of humans or animals)'
      - Boni d'el, el- (Kilii), d'el- (rest of Boni)
      - Maay ɖal 'bear'
    - Proto-Western OT *d'al- 'give birth'
      - Arbore d'al- 'give birth, lay eggs'
      - Dhaasanac d'ál- 'to generate'
      - Elmolo d'âl- 'to bear children'
  - Proto-Central EC *d'al- 'give birth'
    - Oromo d'ala 'give birth, beget'
    - Proto-Sagan *d'al- 'give birth'
      - Dirayta ɗal 'to give birth'
      - Mositacha ɗaliy 'give birth'
      - Konso ɗal-, ɗel 'beget, bear offspring (especially animals)'
  - Proto-Western EC *d'al- 'give birth'
    - Yaaku del- 'to bear children'
    - Dullay *d'al- 'give birth'
      - Gawwada ɗal- 'to beget, generate, give birth'
      - Ts'amakko ɗal- 'give birth'
- Dahalo -

Irregular PEC *d'

- *d'al- 'beget, give birth' (Sasse 1979: 21)
- Irregular *d' loss in NHEC
- see PHEC *k'al- 'give birth, beget (of animals)'

Conclusions

- The majority of the glottalized (alveolar) consonants show irregular sound correspondences.
- Evidence from HEC and the rest of EC does not support a reconstruction of glottalized consonants based on regular sound correspondences.
- Contact with Cushitic and non-Cushitic languages might have played a role in distorting the evidence (future research, see Crass 2002)
- An alternative tentative hypothesis might be to consider all the glottalized (alveolar) consonants secondary? Such a hypothesis could be supported by synchronic morphological/morphophonemic evidence.

References

Available on request.

*galat-a!