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The classification of South Cushitic

Maarten Mous, Leiden University

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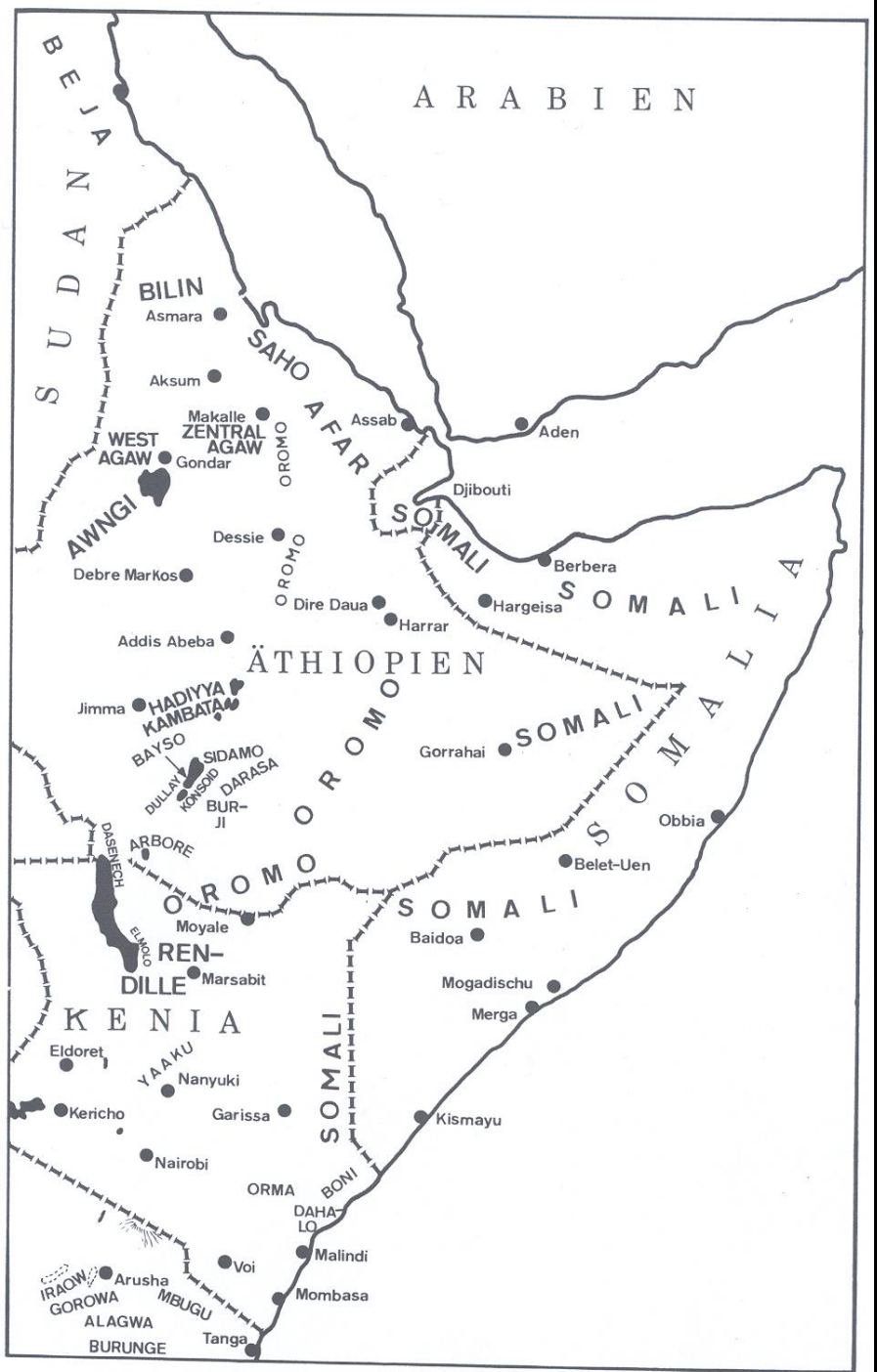
Content

- Introduction
- Primary branch? (early classifications)
- East Cushitic? (Hetzron proposal)
- No. Older



Introduction

The Cushitic languages



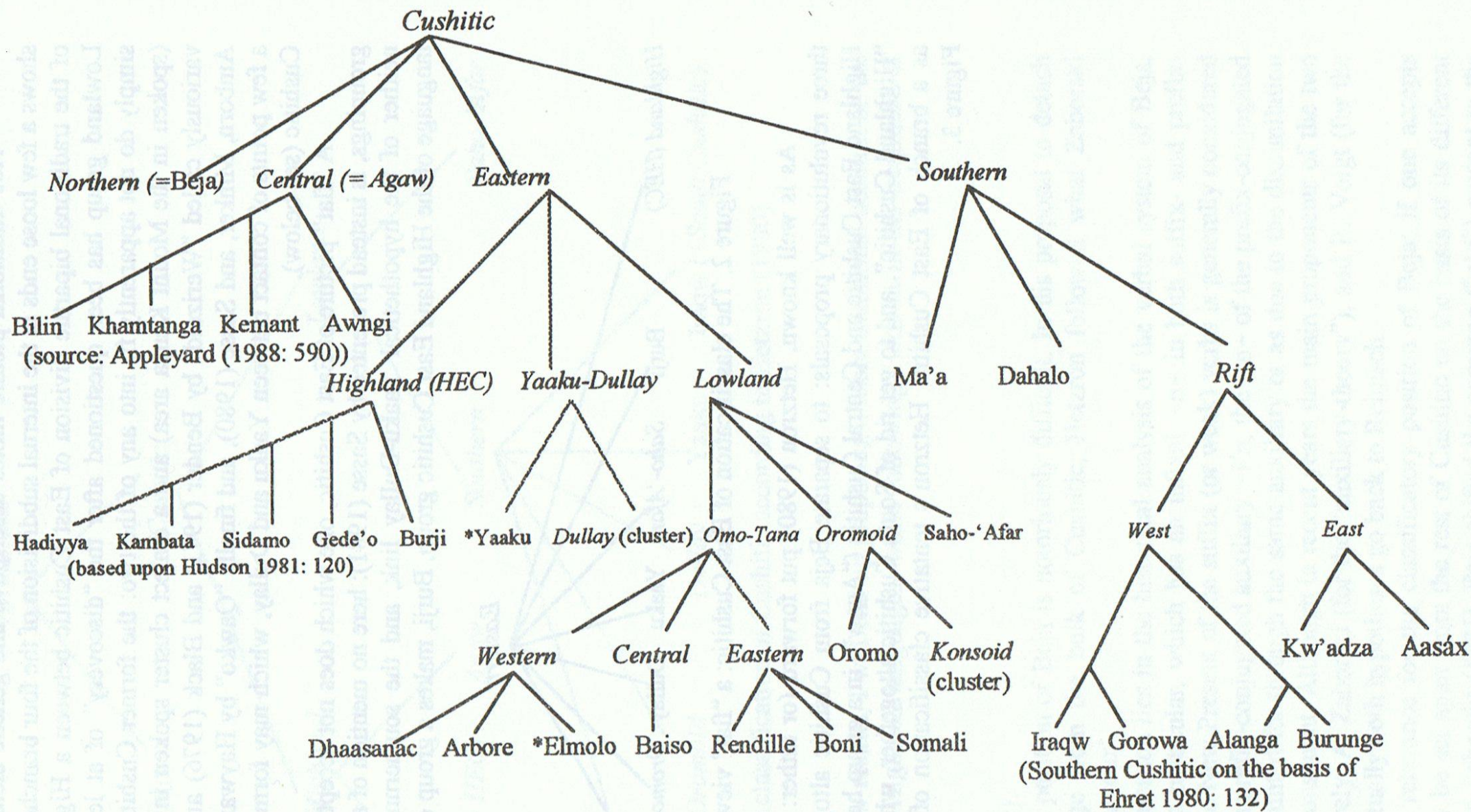


Figure 1. The classification of Cushitic: the traditional view

South Cushitic a primary branch?

South Cushitic languages

- Dahalo: 1 click, shifted to Dahalo, position debated “peripheral EC”
- Ma’á/Mbugu: a mixed language not to be used for reconstruction
- East-Rift: Aasáx: data collected when dying/shifting
- Kw’adza: same. LHEAf proposes Kw’adza is part of West Rift
- Tanzanian Cushitic = West Rift SC: Burunge Alagwa Gorwaa Iraqw

Northern-Central-Eastern-Southern

- What is meant? Primary branch or Unclassified Cushitic?
- Indications for primary branch is presence of archaic features in South that are lost in the rest:
 - lateral fricative
 - ejective lateral affricate
 - rounded (post-)velars
 - voiced and voiceless pharyngeal (retained in EC)

Cushitic Consonant Chart (Ehret) approximation

b	d	dz	dl		g	g ^w	ʕ
p	t	ts			k	k ^w	ʔ
p'	t'	ts'	tl'	c'	k'	k ^{w'}	
f	s		ɬ	ʃ	x	x ^w	ħ
	z						
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	ŋ ^w (?)	
w	l, r			y			h

. The proto-Cushitic consonant system.

TzCushCons

	labials	laterals dentals	dental	palatals	uvulars velars / uvulars	labialised velars / uvulars	pharynge als	glottals
voiceless plosives	p	t		tʃ	k	k ^w		
voiced plosives	b	d		dʒ	g	g ^w		
laryngealised plosives		ts'	tɬ'		q	q ^w	ʕ	ʔ
fricatives	f	s	ɬ		x	x ^w	ħ	h
nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	ŋ ^w		
approximants / liquids		r	l	j		w		

Comparison

b	d	dz	dl		g	g ^w	ʕ
p	t	ts			k	k ^w	ʔ
p'	t'	ts'	tl'	c'	k'	k ^{w'}	
f	s		ʈ	ʃ	x	x ^w	ħ
	z						
m	n			ɲ	ŋ	ŋ ^w (?)	
w	l, r			y			h

The proto-Cushitic consonant system.

p	t		tʃ	k	k ^w		
b	d		dʒ	g	g ^w		
	ts'	tʈ'		q	q ^w	ʕ	ʔ
f	s	ʈ		x	x ^w	ħ	h
m	n		ɲ	ŋ	ŋ ^w		
	r	l	j		w		

Lateral fricative †

- Beer (et. al) f.c.: Contact induced non-change in the Tanzanian Rift Valley since Hadza and Sandawe also have this sound. (Challenge is that Hadza and Sandawe are isolates) = P1 in Kiessling et.al. on Tanzanian Rift Valley as a *Sprachbund*.
- † reconstructed for proto Cushitic but lost everywhere except South
- Not innovation of South because † is retention from Afroasiatic

Retention of ʈ in South Cushitic

P-West-Rift Cushitic	Afroasiatic links
ʈaaʔ 'want'	Chadic: Gwandara só ~ jó 'want', Goemay sa 'like', proto Semitic *ʈiiʔ- 'wish'
ʈaw 'get, find'	PChadic: *ʈəwə 'accept, answer' Newman (1977: 22 #1)
ʈuf 'swell'	Old-Egyptian ʃ-f 'swell'; West Chadic ʈafaf 'heat up, make hot' (O&S)
ʈi:mfa (f) 'lip'	PSemitic *ʈap-at- 'lip' (Kogan 2011:222)
^{ALBU} niinga-ʈaaba 'monitor lizard'	PWestSemitic *ʈ'əbb- 'monitor lizard' (Kogan 2011:211)

Developments of ʔ in rest of Cushitic

- Hardly any etymons.
- Those reconstructed in the Afroasiatic collections have very few reflexes in Cushitic
- = s in EC in those few instances

Faber (1984:198); Orel and Stolbova (1995)

Semitic	Chadic	South Cushitic	East Cushitic	Berber ⁹	Egyptian
S ₁	s	s/t/∅	s	s	s
S ₂	š/hl	ʃ	s/š	s	š
S ₃	(s)	—	(s)	—	(<u>t</u>)
θ	s	ʃ	t/l	s/t	s/š

TABLE VI: Sibilant correspondences among Afro-Asiatic language groups.

Proto-Afrasian	*ʃ	*tʃ	*tʃ'
Proto-Semitic	*ʃ	*tʃ	*tʃ'
Ancient Egyptian	š □	š □	<u>d</u> 𓆎
Proto-Berber	*s	*c	*ç
Proto-East Cushitic	*s	*s *š	*c'
Proto-Southern Cushitic	*ʃ	*tʃ (?)	*tʃ'
Proto-Chadic	*ʃ	*tʃ	*tʃ'

Retention of tʰ in South Cushitic

Proto West Rift	Cushitic	Remarks
*tʰaw (v) 'get up, rise, fly'	Oromo d'aab- 'upright, erect' (KM:280)	PAA <i>âa</i> / <i>âaw</i> / <i>âay</i> move upwards (O&S 516)
*tʰeed (adj.sg) 'long'	PEC *d ₁ iir- 'male', Oromo d'eera 'long'	PAA <i>âîhar</i> - grow, be long (O&S: 555)
*ʕeetʰ (v) 'be unripe'	Arbore heedd'í 'raw', Afar ʕeed' 'be raw', Somali ʕayd'iin 'unripe'.	This corresponds to ECush d ₁ '
*tʰapaa (n.sg.f) 'level ground, depression'	PEC *d ₁ aff- 'meadow'	
*tʰafiya (n.sgv.f) 'cloud'	Somali dhaaf- 'pass by, overtake'.	regular reflex of d ₁ ' in Somali is dh [d].
*tʰaʕaangw (n.sg.m) 'middle'	Somali dhehh 'waist, middle'	
*tʰaa/a (n.sg.f) 'rock'	Somali dhaʕa 'sound of a falling stone'	
*tʰeeqw (v) 'dam up'	PEC *d ₁ ak' / *d ₁ ik' 'wash'. (Sasse 1997)	
*tʰibiʕ (v) 'push'	PEC *d ₁ iib- 'squeeze' (Borana Oromo d'iiba 'push')	
*tʰub (v) 'rain'	PEC *d ₁ ub- 'dip in'	
*tʰubaʕa (n.sg.m) 'upper arm'	Afar d'abʕe 'armpit'	This corresponds to ECush d ₁ '
ALBU*tʰuḥ-iyā (n.sgv.f) 'elbow'	PEC *d ₁ ikl- 'elbow'	
*tʰuumfuqáa (n.sg.tant.f) 'mixture of mud and wet dung'	PEC *d ₁ ookk'- 'mud'	
*tʰup (v) 'smash'	PEC *d ₁ uf- 'close, shut'	
*qatʰ (v) 'die, be finished'	Somali qadhid 'die out'; P-Agaw kət 'die'	
*quutʰ (v) 'go away, run away'	Beja kuud	

Fate of $t\text{ʔ}'$ in rest of Cushitic: East C $*d_1'$

- an abstract separate consonant set up for LEC for its separate cognate set
- rest: Little evidence from cognates. Possibly Beja d , Agaw t .

Pronunciation of tʈ' in Proto-Cushitic

- The phonetic value of tʈ' (and/or tʈ) for proto-Afroasiatic consonants is proposed on the basis of phonetic plausibility of correspondences and naturalness in loan adaptations.
- The reconstruction of tʈ' in this pronunciation for proto South Cushitic is straightforward.
- These are the (indirect) arguments to assume that the reconstructable P-South Cush tʈ' = P-East Cushitic *d₁' yields P-Cushitic tʈ'
- Nowhere in East Cushitic is there a sound tʈ' but it cannot be excluded that Proto East Cushitic *d₁' was pronounced tʈ'

Rounded (post-)velars: retained in SC?

- Lost in East Cushitic
- Proto South Cush has *k^w, *g^w, *q^w, *x^w, *ŋ^w
- But can they be shown to be retentions?
- Superficial first scan: 9/62 in South Cush have cognates with rest of Cushitic; 1 rounded cognate in Central Cushitic (Agaw):
- ***daqw-ay** (n.sg.m) ‘donkey’: AL alternative singulars daqwa (m) and daqwi(i) (f) point to the original derived status of the stem as a collective in *-ay. Cushitic cognates: Bilin **duqwara** ‘donkey’.
- **PIRQ*gwal.ay** (m) ‘vagina’ Cushitic cognates: PEC ***gel** ‘vulva’.

Pharyngeals

- Pharyngeals retained in South Cushitic and Proto East Cushitic.
- Lost in Beja; lost in most of Central Cushitic (Agaw); lost in several subbranches of East Cushitic (parallel developments)
- $\text{ʔ} > \text{ʕ}$ and $\text{ħ} > \text{h}$ common changes. Not suitable innovations for subclassification
- Loss of pharyngeals in the (other) highest branches render AA cognates essential for proof of pharyngeals in proto Cushitic.

Summary

- Lateral fricatives only retained as such in South Cushitic
- Cognates with AA essential for claim that these are retentions
- (South Cushitic as first branch is unlikely in view of its suffixing nature while Beja retains AA verbal prefixes)
- Fate of laterals has not been shown to be a common innovation of East Cushitic with other branches. Work to be done
- Pronunciation of d_1' in Proto East Cushitic unclear. Evidence for lateral pronunciation in PCushitic is indirect. It cannot be excluded to be a South Cushitic development. Even common retention South and East cannot be excluded

Summary

- history of rounded velars not well studied
- appearance in South Cushitic in inherited words
- most of these only cognates in East where rounding was lost
- supposing the loss of rounding of velars was East C innovation, then South is not East C and higher in the tree.
- South C retention of ku/ki 2sg.m vs 2sg.f distinction. Loss of semantic distinction in East C; with retention of both forms
- *Beja –South Cushitic lexical links seem easier established*
- *South Cushitic morphological innovations not shared or parallel > no argument*

Lexicon SCush + Beja; ECush separate < Blažek

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	South Cushitic	Comments MM
ageriisó ^{Rp} apart, on one side	*gaar- edge; eyebrow		PIRQ*geeraa (m) 'front'	semantic innovation in EC not shared by SC
ála ^{Rp} neck	*ʔalʔal- back of the neck		*ʔaluu-ngw (n) 'back side, rear'	Reduplication innovation in EC not shared by SC
daba ^{Rp} chest, breast	PEC *laʔb- 'breast- bone'	*dzab- front side	PNWR*daʕaba (n) 'chest'	d>l in EC not shared by SC (nor Beja)
gwáaraar ^{Rp} large intestine, colon	*gurʔ- udder	Bilin gir & jir belly; Awngi guriaŋχε navel	*guraʔa (m) 'belly'	Semantic innovation in EC not shared by SC

Beja – Tz Cush cognates (only) <Blažek

Beja	East-Cushitic	Agaw	p-Tz Cush
hami ^{Rp} hair, wool, hámo ^{Re} eyelash	-	-	PIRQ*ḥama-ḥam-imo (m) 'eyebrow eyelid'
túmba ^{Re} hole, opening, anus	-	-	PNWR*tuumba (m) 'pond, pool, puddle'
amas adv. at night	-	-	*ʔamasi (n) 'night'
darák die kalte Jahreszeit (Re)	-	-	Iraqw daraqi 'coolness'
haš m ground, earth (HuB)	-	-	*ḥas-aangw (m) 'sand'
eelaat f 'water hole' (Wd)	-	-	PNWR*ḥaala (f) 'well, waterhole'
amar m 'cave' (Wd)	-	-	*mara'-oo (f) 'caves'
s'ai 'mist' (HuB) oos'aay 'dew (Wd)	-	-	*tsa' (adj.sg) 'cool'

Morphosyntactic innovations of Tanzanian Cushitic

- *-m* verbal derivation passive > durative
 - but not shared with any other Cushitic language
- introduction of a third gender value
 - but most likely recurrent parallel innovation in some East C
- separate preverbal clitic cluster as second inflection host
 - but most likely recurrent parallel innovation in some East C (Hayward shows how it developed from clefts in Arbore)
- development of post-verbal negation
 - but late within South C

South Cushitic in East Cushitic

Pre-Oromo link to Tanzanian Cushitic

Proposal by Hetzron

- South Cushitic grammar is very East Cushitic - like
- similar conclusion by Ahmed Sosal on basis of nominal number marking
- Kiessling 2001: “By and large, the evidence for the inclusion of Southern Cushitic, i.e. West Rift, within Cushitic in general is convincing beyond doubt, but its closer affiliation to EC rests on typological criteria mostly. If the nominal plural suffixes and the preverbal clitic clusters could be demonstrated to be distinctive and exclusive Eastern Cushitic innovations within Cushitic, then Southern Cushitic, i.e. West Rift, would definitely go with it according to Hetzron’s LC-hypothesis, but as long as there is no reliable reconstruction of EC and PC grammar, we also have to keep in mind Fleming’s (1983, 22) hypothesis of Old East African Cushitic which sees SC plus Yaaku as descendants from the very first split of Cushitic.”

Suggested links to Pre-Oromo (KM)

PWR:	PEC
*tsuma 'dirt'	Borana-OR c'uma 'chyme'
*yaa'ee 'river'	Borana-OR yaa' 'flow'
*karaama 'castrated animal'	Borana-OR korma 'bull'
*'aleema 'branch'	OR elema 'index finger'
ALBU *quunsa 'back of the head'	OR qoosee 'upper nape'
PNWR *dariya 'mane'	OR dari id.
ALBU *qiindi 'vagina'	OR qiinti ~ qiint'ii 'loins'
PIRQ *tsaba'oo 'axe'	OR c'aba 'break'
ALBU *tsoontsáa 'pullets'	Borana-OR c'uuc'ii id.
*xab 'marry'	OR qab 'grasp, catch, have', Borana-OR xab id.
*tleer 'long'	OR d'eera id.
*tsuf 'sweat'	OR c'ob 'drip'

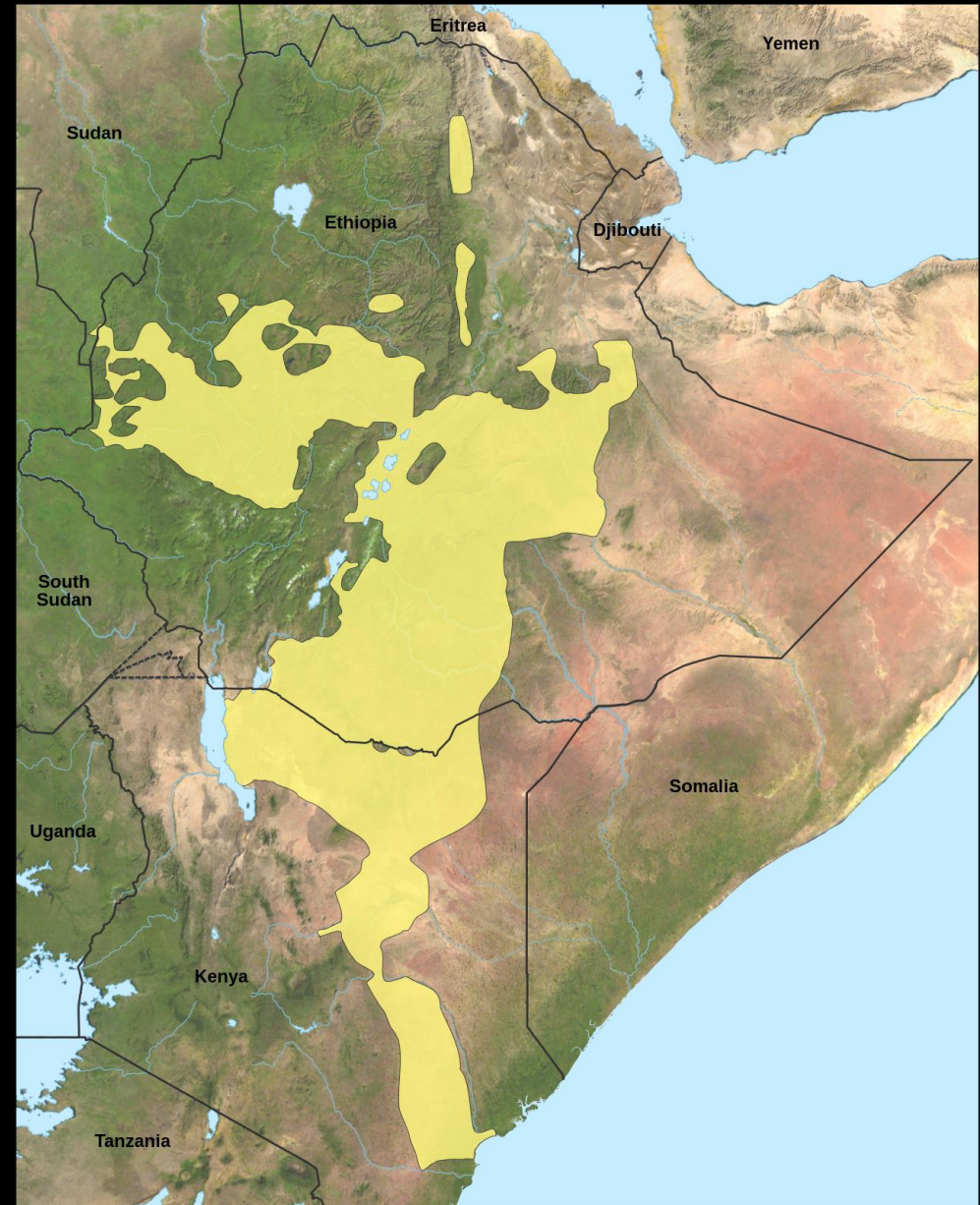
moreover

- PWR **fu'unay* 'meat' (OR *fooni* id.) early transfer
- after Pre-Oromo had shifted **s* (**θ*) in PEC **θo* 'meat' to **f*
- before the Oromoid deletion of the glottal stop
- **-iimaa* ~ **-uumaa* for nouns of quality
= Oromo *-ummaa* Konso *-uuma* same function
- Plus those 12 (+) Oromo cognates

What if Tanzanian Cushitic is Oromoid?

- Instead of 4000 BP less than 400 BP
- Place and period of lexical transfer into Bantu languages changes
- Extensive differentiation of Tanzanian Cushitic in little time

Oromo
widely
distributed
but not
near current
South Cushitic
in Tanzania



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a5/Map_of_the_Oromo_language.svg/1283px-Map_of_the_Oromo_language.svg.png by User:SUM1

Tanzanian Cushitic is not Pre-
Oromo

Evidence that Tanzanian Cushitic is earlier

- Proto-South-Cushitic words that can be shown to be Cushitic retentions but did not undergo Oromoid innovations

Old words-1

Proto South Cushitic *daangw (m) ‘elephant’

IR daangw

GO daw

AL daw

BU daw

Cushitic cognates:

- Somali **dagon** id., Proto-Highland-East-Cushitic ***dzaane** id.; Proto-North-Agaw ***zan-a** ‘elephant’.
- Different root: Oromoid: Oromo **arpa**; Konso **arpa**; Dullay: Gawwada **arap**; Tsamakko **araf-ko**;
- NB: Omotic parallels: Aari **dangór**, Karo **dongwar**, Hamer **dongur**, Wolaytta **dangarsa**.

Old words-2

Proto South Cushitic: ^{PNWR}*ʕeetl (v) ‘be unripe’

IR ʕeetl (adj) ‘fresh, raw’

GO ʕeetl (adj) ‘unripe’

AL ʕeetl (v) ‘be unripe, be raw’

- Cushitic cognates: Arbore heedd’í ‘raw’, Afar ʕeed’ ‘be raw’, Somali ʕayd’iin ‘unripe’.
- Different: Oromo d’eed’ii ‘raw’; Konso: orkooma ‘unripe’; Gawwada ʔarkum-k-o ‘unripe fruit’; Tsamakko laxx.
- Good cognate set within Cushitic including South Cushitic but excluding Oromo (and Dullay).
- Many more

Early Contact

EC contact situations (other results LHEAf)

- Intense Dullay-Konsoid-Burji contact > Sagan language area (Sasse)
- P-East C – P-South Nilotic contact especially numerals 6-10, and all decimals
- West Omo-Tana East C –South Nilotic and East-Omo-Tana East C – Kalenjin South Nilotic
- **Quite intense South Cushitic and Kalenjin contact**
- **(South?) Cushitic and Bantu in the mountain area Kilimanjaro-Pare-Taita (-Usambara)**
- **South Cushitic + South Nilotic lexical transfer into East African Bantu languages 'milk', 'calf', ++**

Conclusions

- Pre-Oromo influence on an existing Cushitic speaking population.
- Where?
- Before entry of South Cushitic into Tanzania
- Hence a long period of South Cushitic in Kenya
- Late presence of Cushitic in Tanzania
- Cushitic influence on Bantu in East Africa comes from period in Kenya
- Link Pastoral Savannah Neolithic culture (archaeology) = Cushitic does not work, at least not for the Tanzanian sites

More Conclusions

- South Cushitic is a branch higher than East Cushitic. It is not part of East Cushitic
- It is not yet possible to disentangle subclassification of South, Agaw and Beja branches.
- The initially presented classification is the best possible.
- This suggests its southward movement of South Cushitic from Ethiopia is relatively early.

Thank you!



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Dullay and SC

Bonny Sands and Mauro Tosco proposed a Dullay (peripheral East Cushitic) presence in the Tanzanian Rift Valley based on cognates between Hadza and Dullay

KM: Some of the reconstructions reveal a special affinity to Dullay lexemes:

- *'ar 'see' (Dullay 'ar id.),
- *beeʒa 'sheep' (Dullay peeʒatté 'young female goat'),
- *ʒaantl'oo 'molar teeth' (Dullay ʒad'o 'cheek'),
- *xaw 'come' (Dullay xaf id.),
- *tsat 'cut' (Dullay d'ot 'stab'),
- *hats 'be full' (Dullay huc' ~ xuc' 'full').

PTzC cannot be branch of Yaaku-Dullay nor EC

- Old words (earlier slide) not in Dullay-Yaaku
- Double reflexes

Double reflexes ?

- = old retention in one part of Tanzanian Cushitic and a other Cushitic one in another part.

- Guinea fowl

Proto-Iraqw-Gorwaa: *sakari (sgv.f.)

--- links to Saho **zagrā** -Afar, Agaw, Ethio-Semitic, AA

Burunge: **weelaqóo** (pl.f.)

--- link to Dullay (Tsamakko: **warrakko**), HEC (Sidaama: **hey Yah-ko**)

> ? Contact Yaaku-Dullay – x - Burunge



Possible Dullay influence on Tanzanian Cushitic

- **PTzC *bala'uungw** (n.col.m) 'millet (generic)'
- Proto-E-OT *bèer 'garden' (Heine 1978: 46, 54)
- Dullay *porto 'barley'.
- Konso poórta 'barley'

- Possibly Dullay *porto transfer: Gawwada port-o (m) barley; Tsam boorto.
- No Yaaku cognate
- Transfer Dullay into Konso; Not in Oromo.

- Transfer of *[b]ort- 'barley' into PTzC bala'- 'millet (generic)' with (regular loss of third radical (t)
- Unexplained "loan adaptation" a for o, l as r (PTzC had r); barley does not grow in Tz.

- **PTzC *beeʁa** (f) ‘sheep’
- Dullay **peeʁatté** ‘young female goat’ (but not in Gawwada, Tsammay).
- Not Oromo. Could very well be from Dullay
- Cognate with Geʁez **bagʁ** ‘lamb’ hence inherited

- **PTzC *ʕag (v) ‘eat’**
- **PEC *ʕag ~ *ʕig ~ *ʕug ‘drink’**
- This is not too far-fetched, since in nomadic societies which are based economically on animal husbandry and which use milk as the main food, a semantic shift from ‘drink’ to ‘eat’ makes perfect sense.
- Dullay source: Tsam: ʕug ‘drink’; Gaww: ʕuk- ‘drink’
- Not likely to be pre-Oromo: Not in Oromo (agabuu ‘hunger’ G), nor in Konso.
- No cognates higher up in the tree:
 - not Proto Agaw *ʕəq- / *ʕaq- ‘drink’; and qw- ‘- ‘eat’
 - Not in Beja

- **PTzC *daḥ-aangw (m) ‘calabash’**
- Dullay transfer: Tsamakko: **daḥan** ‘calabash to fetch water’. Very close in form & meaning!
- Also transferred to Konso **ḍahaan-ta** ‘gourd’; Not in Oromo, not Gawwada

- PIRQ***bahha'i** (n.sg.n) ‘side, direction’
- PIRQ irregular regressive vowel assimilation, terminal erosion (PIRQ20). IR further regressive vowel assimilation. IR optional glottal stop deletion. GO irregular terminal erosion of the glottal stop. Cushitic parallels: PEC ***bidhh-** ‘left side’. > *bara.
-
- Possibly Dullay transfer (but only PIRQ!): Gawwada: **pih-att-e** (F) left arm.
- Oromo **bitaa** ‘left’ (G), hence probably not Pre-Oromo
-

- ***Ʒidaangw** ~ ***Ʒidamu** (n.sg.m) ‘udder; pudenda’
- PAgaw *’**əng^w**- / *’**ang^w**- ‘breast’; Arbore 'ed'ú (m).
- Gawwada **Ʒadun-k-o**; Tsammay **Ʒadinko**. Possible Dullay transfer
 - IR **Ʒiraangw** (m) ‘pudenda’
 - GO **Ʒiraangw** (m) ‘udder; pudenda’
 - AL **Ʒiraa** (f) ‘udder; pudenda’
 - BU **Ʒidaang** (m) ‘udder’
- Not in Oromo, not Konso

skip

- PIRQ***daʕaraa** (n.acti.f) ‘ashes’
- PIRQ innovation on the basis of *daʕ ‘burn’ by nominalisation with suffix *-araa. Cushitic cognate: PEC *darʕ ‘ashes’.
-
- Possible Dullay transfer: Gawwada **tarʕ-o**, Tsamako **darʕo**;
- Agaw different; Beja different. Cannot be Oromo **daaraa** ‘ashes’ (G) transfer before loss of pharyngeal

skip

- *'akookoo (n.sg.m) 'great-grandfather'
- Cushitic parallels: Oromo akóokoo 'grandchild'.
-
- Possibly Dullay or Pre-Oromo transfer: Tsam: 'akka 'grandfather'. Gaww: akkaw-o 'grandfather'
- Konso 'akka 'grandfather'; Oromo-Orma: 'ak(k)aakayyoo 'grandfather akaakayyuu (G),
- NOT: PNorthAgaw *ʔan 'gandfather' cognate with PHEC *anna 'father'.