

Proto East Cushitic

Work in progress..

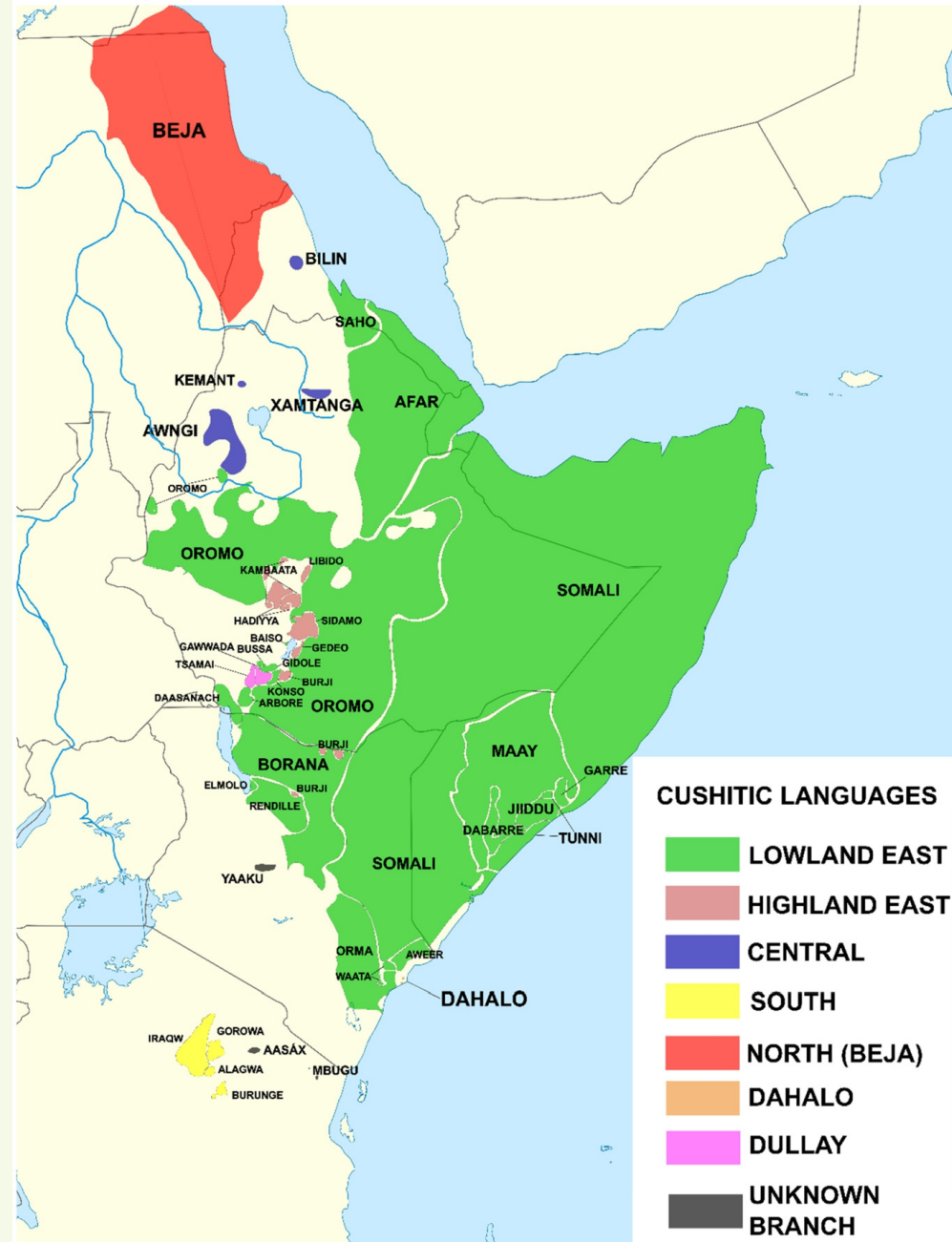
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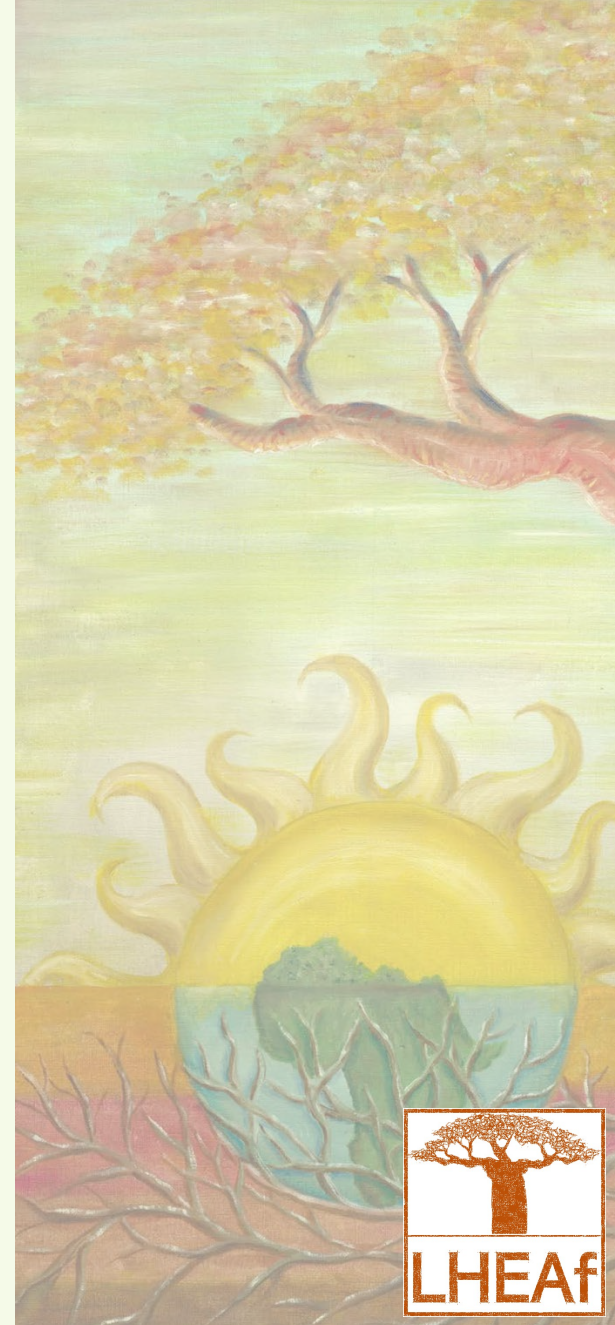
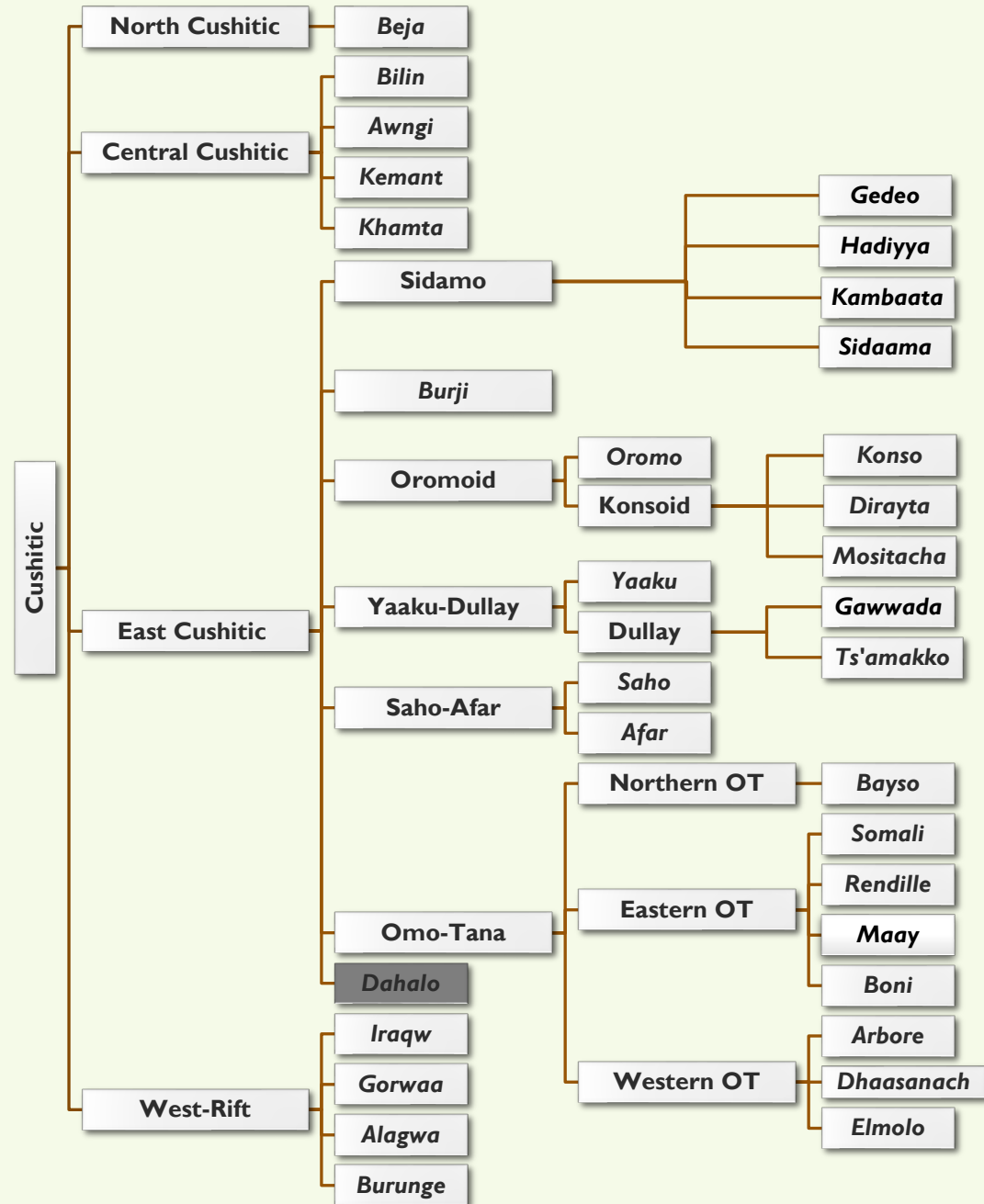
Outlines

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



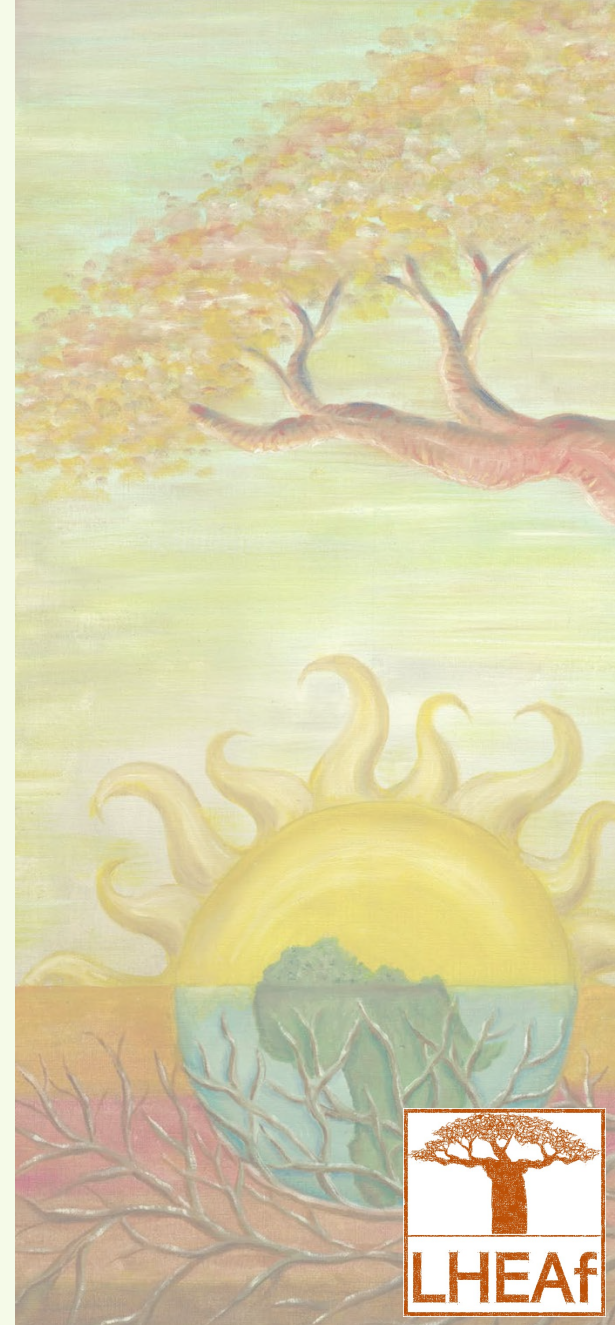
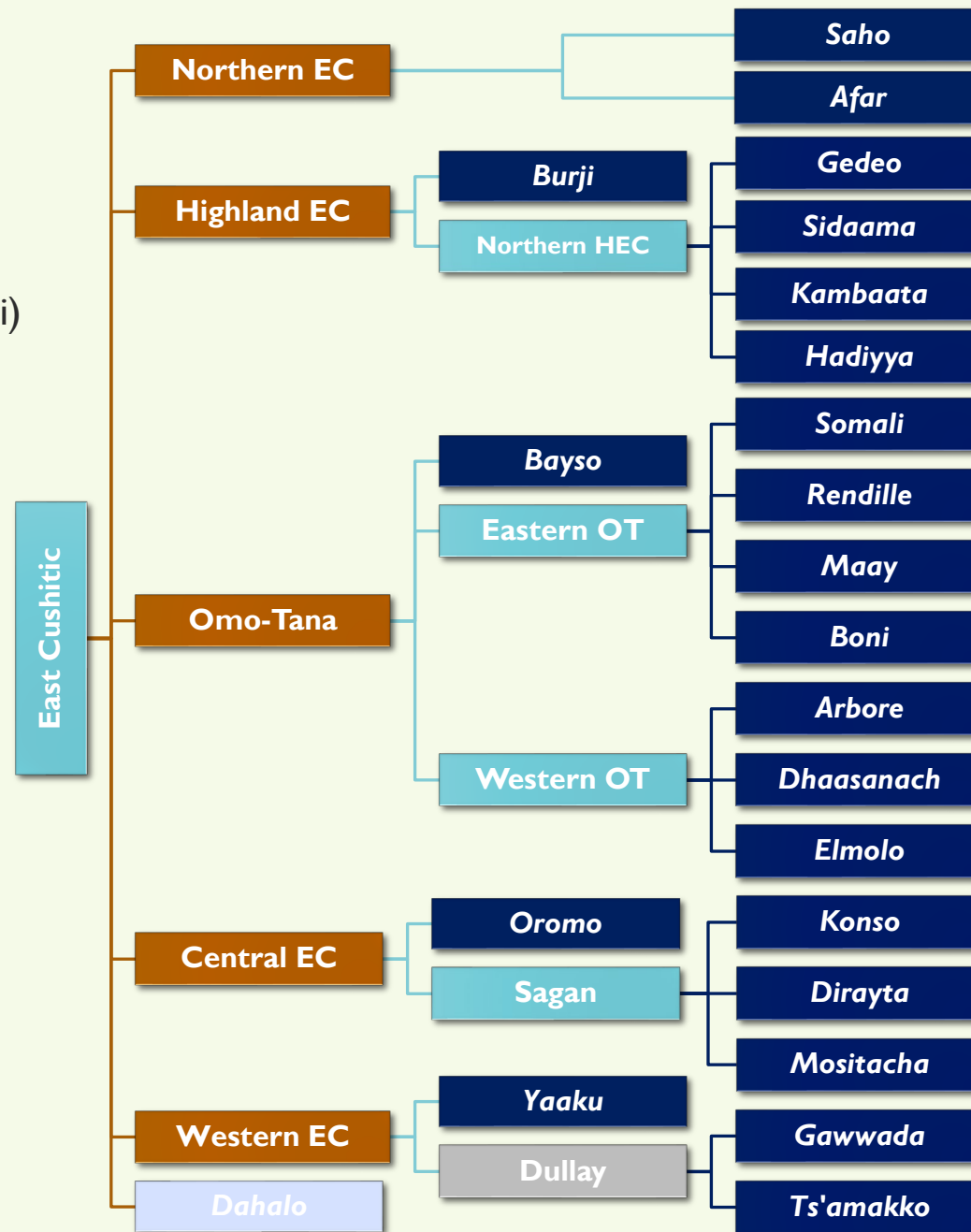


“...a subclassification of EC... treats [Saho-Afar, Omo-Tana, Oromoid, Sidamo group, Burji, Dullay (-Yaaku)] groups as more or less equivalent, i.e. a larger group comprising Saho-Afar, Omo-Tana, and Oromoid in the sense of Bender's LEC is not recognized here.” (Sasse 1979:3-4)



New terms

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





A1 fx PHEC (Hudson 1989)

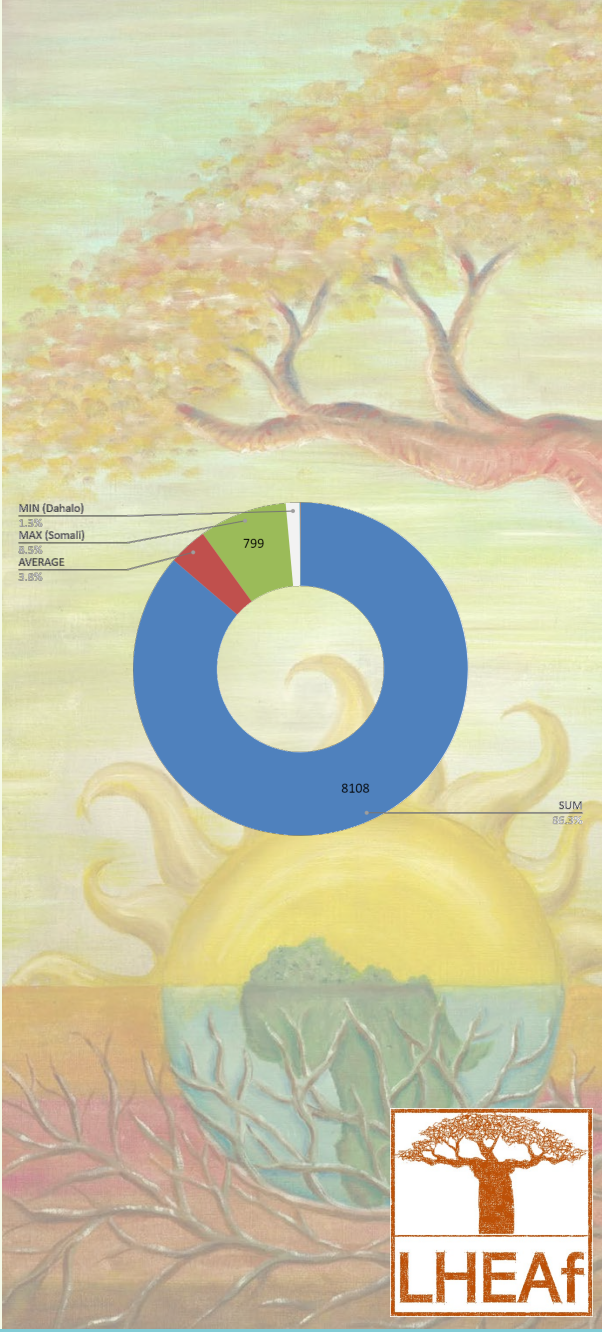
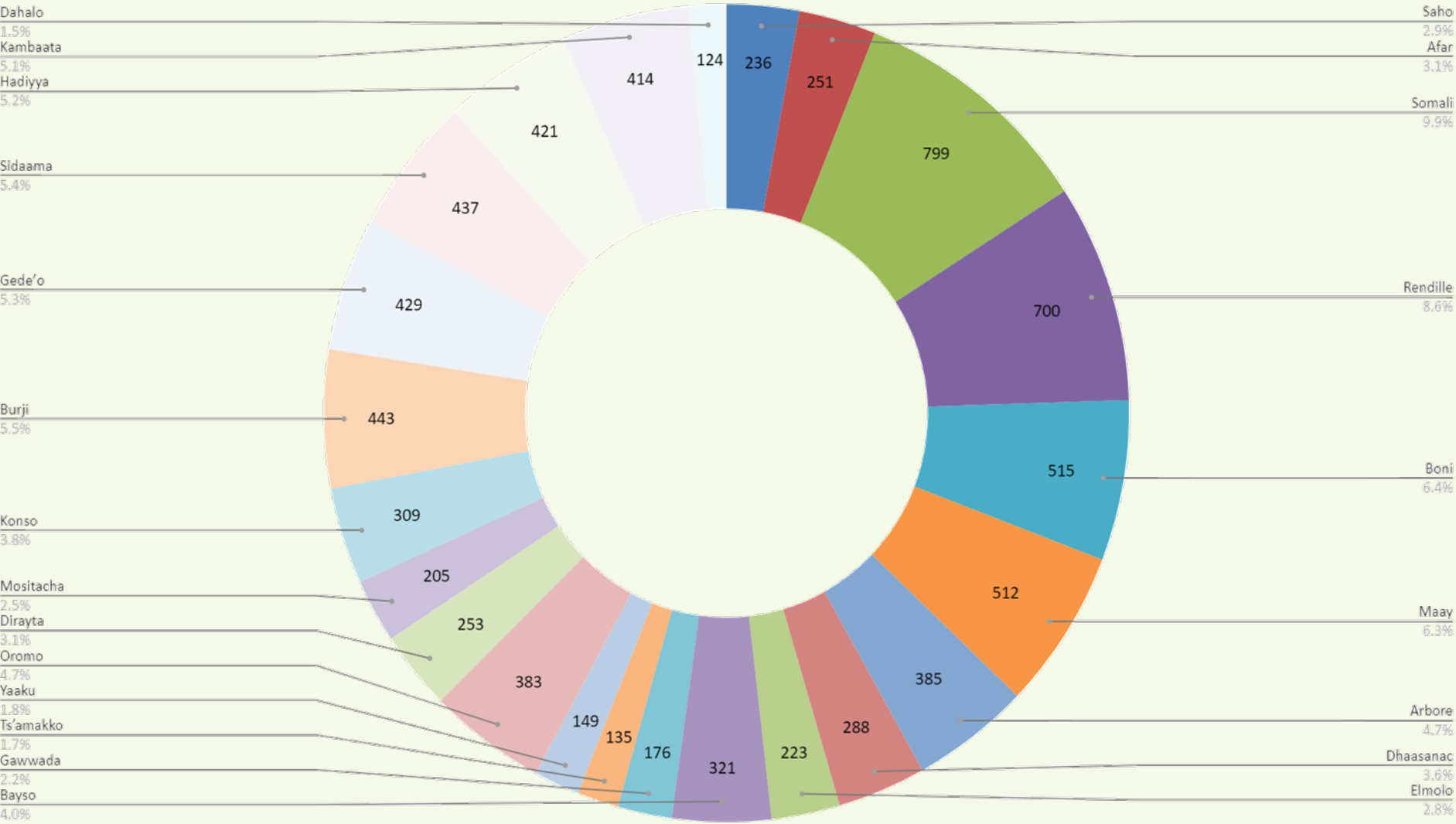
	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD
1	Burji	BurG	BurI	NoteI	SourI	Gede	GedG	Ged	NoteI	SourI	Sidaa	SidGI	SidI	NoteI	SourI	Hadiy	HadG	Had	NoteI	SourI
	ɣaɾ	to follow			Wedel	ɣaɾa	now			Wedel	ɣaɾa	to go, cut			maɳa:					
23	d'alʔ-	to be use			Wedel	el-	be better, intra			Wedel	el-	to grant, i			Indria:	eʔI-	be better,		elluwa 'bɛ	Ritter
24	(harc'ane	long, tall	ADJ	harc'ane	Wedel	k'eerra	long, tall	ADJ		Wedel	(seeda; s	long, tall	ADJ	seedda, s	Yri & F	k'eeraaʔI	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;		bitaa-ttee	Wedel	bitaʔa	left	F	bitaʔiya 't	Wedel	(bita)	bad thing	F		Yri & F	(k'edda)	left, left s			Ritter
29	uum-	to create, tr.			Wedel	-	-		cf. muum		-	-				(uum-, ul	to act we			Ritter
30	aabboo, s	father; fa	M, V	ʔaabbaa	Wedel	abbo	uncle (mc	M, F,		Wedel	ʔaaba; al	father	M	aabboʔo	Yri & F	aabba	father			Ritter
31	subeenco	young go	F	salʔeenco	Wedel	-	-				-	-				aagisube	unmarrie		eebubee'	Ritter
32	-	-				-	-				-	-								ree Ritter
33	-	-				ʃantama	fifty			Wedel	ʃantama	fifty			Hudsc					ad Ritter
34	-	-				(habille)	knife, knif	F.CC		Wedel	billaʔa; b	knife	M	Note that	Yri & F					ari Ritter
35	billic' iy-	to shine			Wedel	bile	moth	F		Wedel	-	-								Ritter
36	(c'abee)	pebble, g	F		Wedel	c'ac'c'aba	cut into p		< *c'ac'c'?	Wedel	c'abb-	sharpen (tr.			Hudsc					Ritter
37	(suk(-)	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-	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 thi			Lamb						(tambo, t	vagina, h		"phonolo	Lamb	dubb-o; t	behind; b			Sasse

Ongeldig:

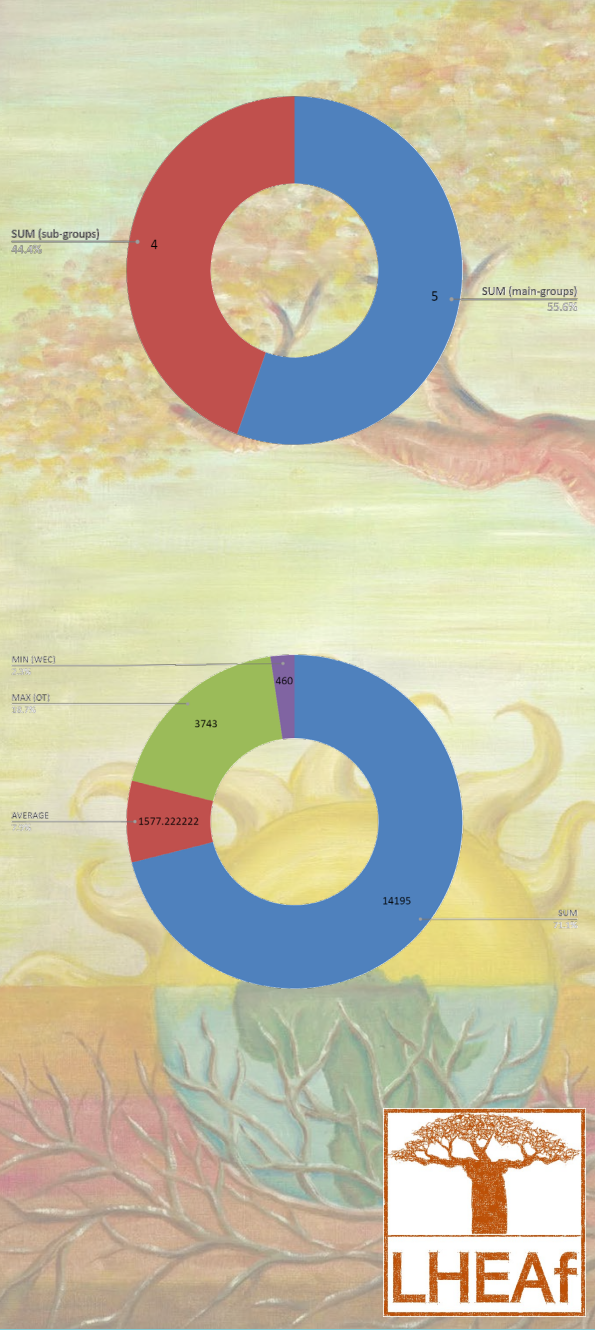
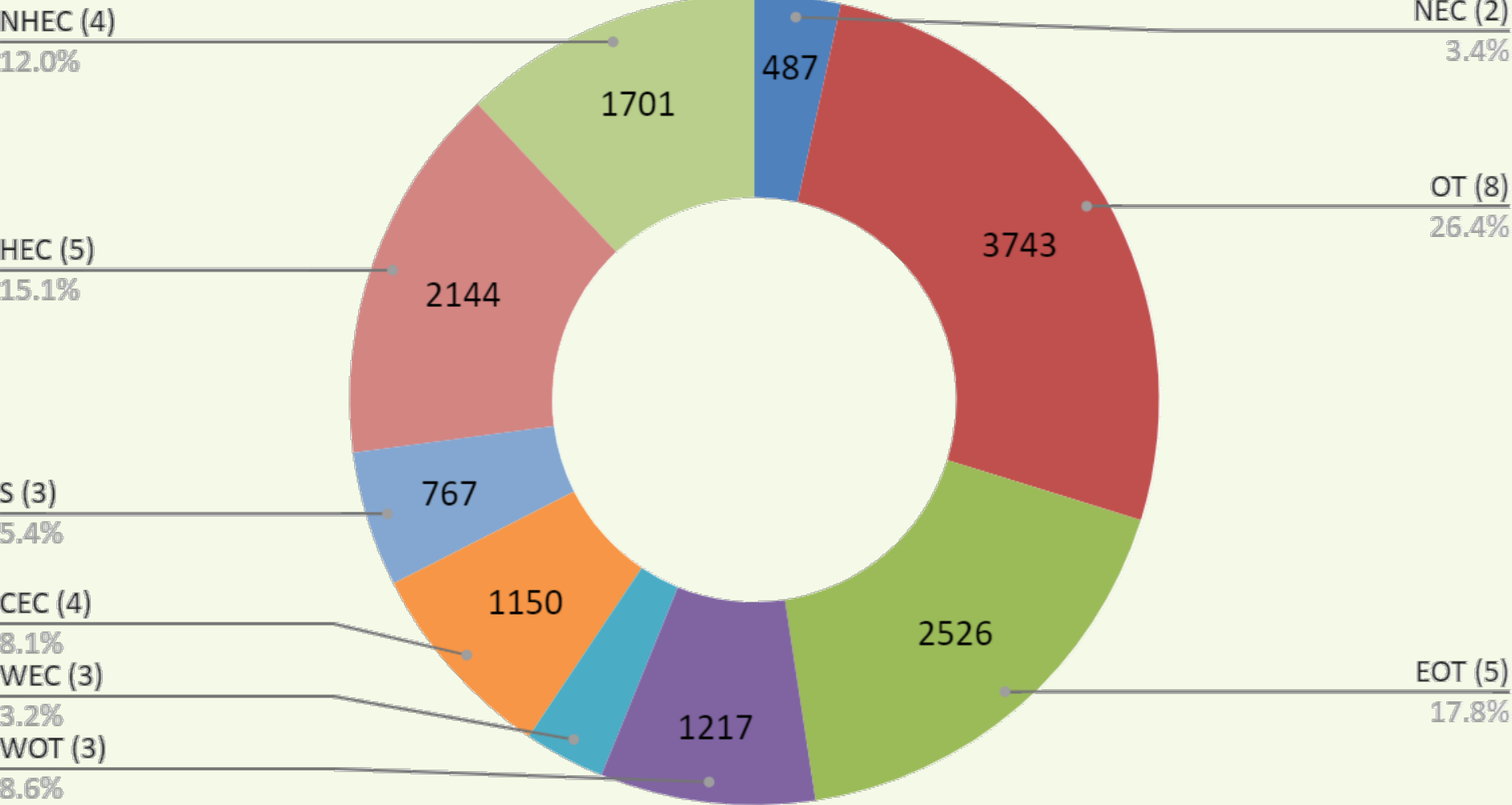
de invoer moet binnen het opgegeven bereik vallen



Languages data



Groups data



←	🌀	↺
PEC	*ʔabb	
NOTES	<i>[*ʔaabb]... (originally vocative?) variant of PEC *ʔabb- 'father' (Sasse 1982:21)</i>	
PHEC (Hudson 1989)	-	
PHEC	*aabb-o // *ʔaabb-o / *ʔaabbaʔ-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	<i>ʔaabbaá (base), ʔaabbo (VOC) 'legitimate father, uncle, sone' (Tesfaye Baye 2015:126)</i>	
Gede'o	abbo	
GedGloss	uncle (mother's brother), nieces (sister's children), sir! you! (said by married man of same age)	
☰	☰	☰
Cushitic Index of Reconstruction (CIR)	Reconstructed Forms	Languages Lexicon



PEC

***ʔabb**

NOTES

*[*ʔaabb]...(originally vocative?) variant of PEC *ʔabb- 'father' (Sasse 1982:21)*

PHEC
(Hudson 1989)

-

PHEC

***aabb-o // *ʔaabb-o /
*ʔaabbaʔ-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



Glottalized alveolars

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

PEC *d'₁ → Dirayta d' = Konso ɟ = Oromo c'

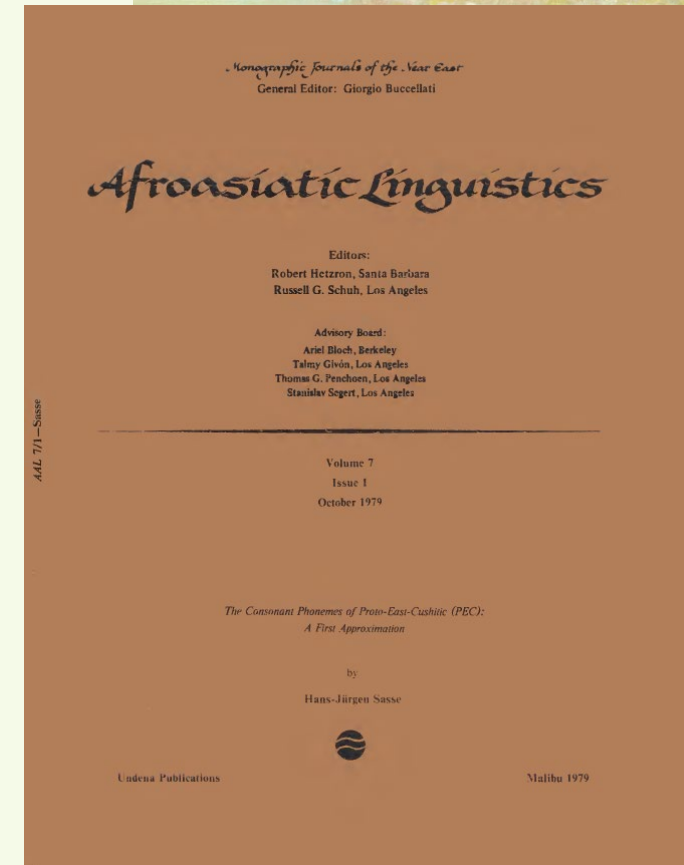
→ Somali j = rest of EC d' (tentatively)

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'	(wii ^a sa)	'to sow'
Sidaama	*t'uut'-	”	wit'-	”
Hadiyya	*t'uut'-	”	wit'-	”
Kambaata	*t'uut'-	”	wit'-	”

Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *t'





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 dap-ad- (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'₁aff- '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'





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 **quuduʔ** 'ant'
- Two separate roots Ged-Sid **t'ut'e** 'small black ants', **c'uunc'a** 'big black ants'?

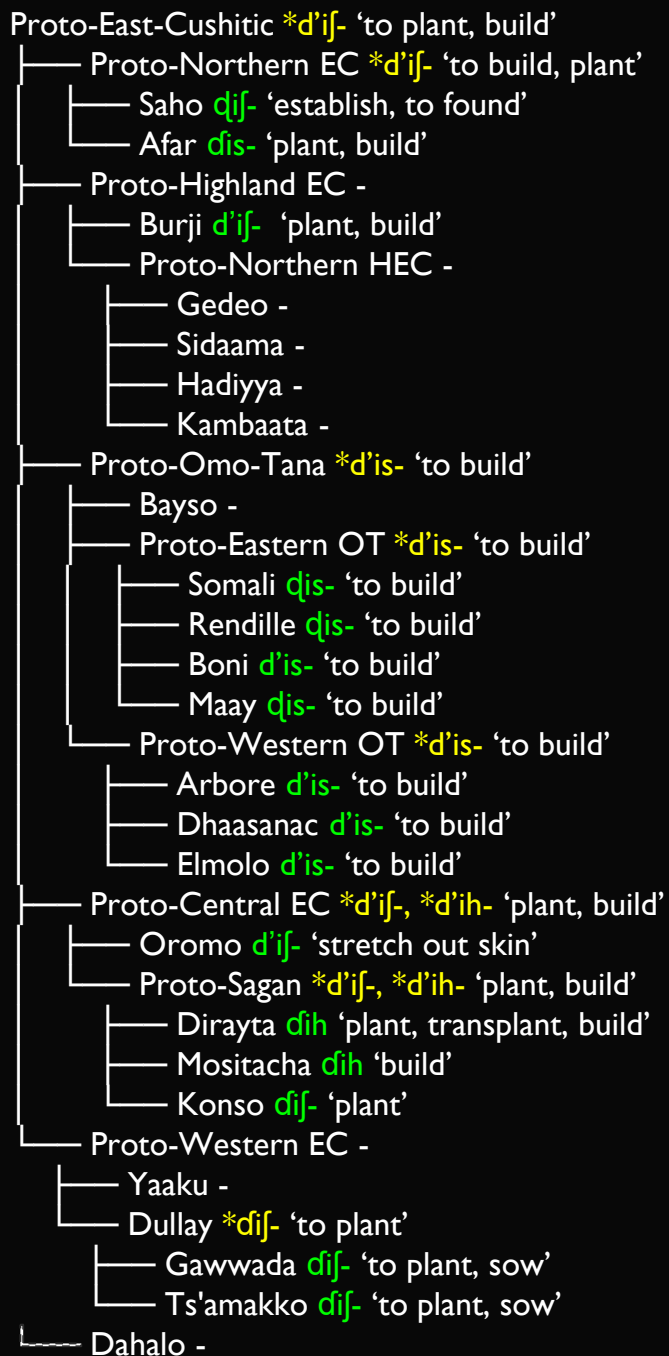
+ Regular correspondences mainly in HEC

- Limited evidence particularly in non-initial position

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

Proto-East-Cushitic *d'ij- 'to plant, build'
 └─ Proto-Northern EC *d'ij- 'to build, plant'
 │ └─ Saho d'ij- 'establish, to found'
 │ └─ Afar d'is- 'plant, build'
 └─ Proto-Highland EC -
 │ └─ Burji d'ij- '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 d'is- 'to build'
 │ │ └─ Rendille d'is- 'to build'
 │ │ └─ Boni d'is- 'to build'
 │ │ └─ Maay d'is- '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'ij-, *d'ih- 'plant, build'
 │ └─ Oromo d'ij- 'stretch out skin'
 │ └─ Proto-Sagan *d'ij-, *d'ih- 'plant, build'
 │ │ └─ Dirayta d'ih 'plant, transplant, build'
 │ │ └─ Mositacha d'ih 'build'
 │ │ └─ Konso d'ij- 'plant'
 └─ Proto-Western EC -
 │ └─ Yaaku -
 │ └─ Dullay *d'ij- 'to plant'
 │ │ └─ Gawwada d'ij- 'to plant, sow'
 │ │ └─ Ts'amakko d'ij- 'to plant, sow'
 └─ Dahalo -

Regular PEC *d'



Regular PEC *d'

- PEC *d'ij- 'plant, build' (Sasse 1982: 195; Sasse 1979 :26)
- PEC *j → 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-añ 'to slap, strike'

└ Somali qarbaañ 'slap, strike'

└ Rendille dábañ '(act of) stamping on (something)'

└ Boni d'arbah- 'to slap, to hit, to box ear'

└ Maay qarbaan '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 daan 'beat millet' (said to be Mashile, not Gidole)'

└ Mositacha -

└ Konso -

└ Proto-Western EC -

└ Yaaku -

└ Dullay -

└ Gawwada -

└ Ts'amakko -

└ Dahalo -

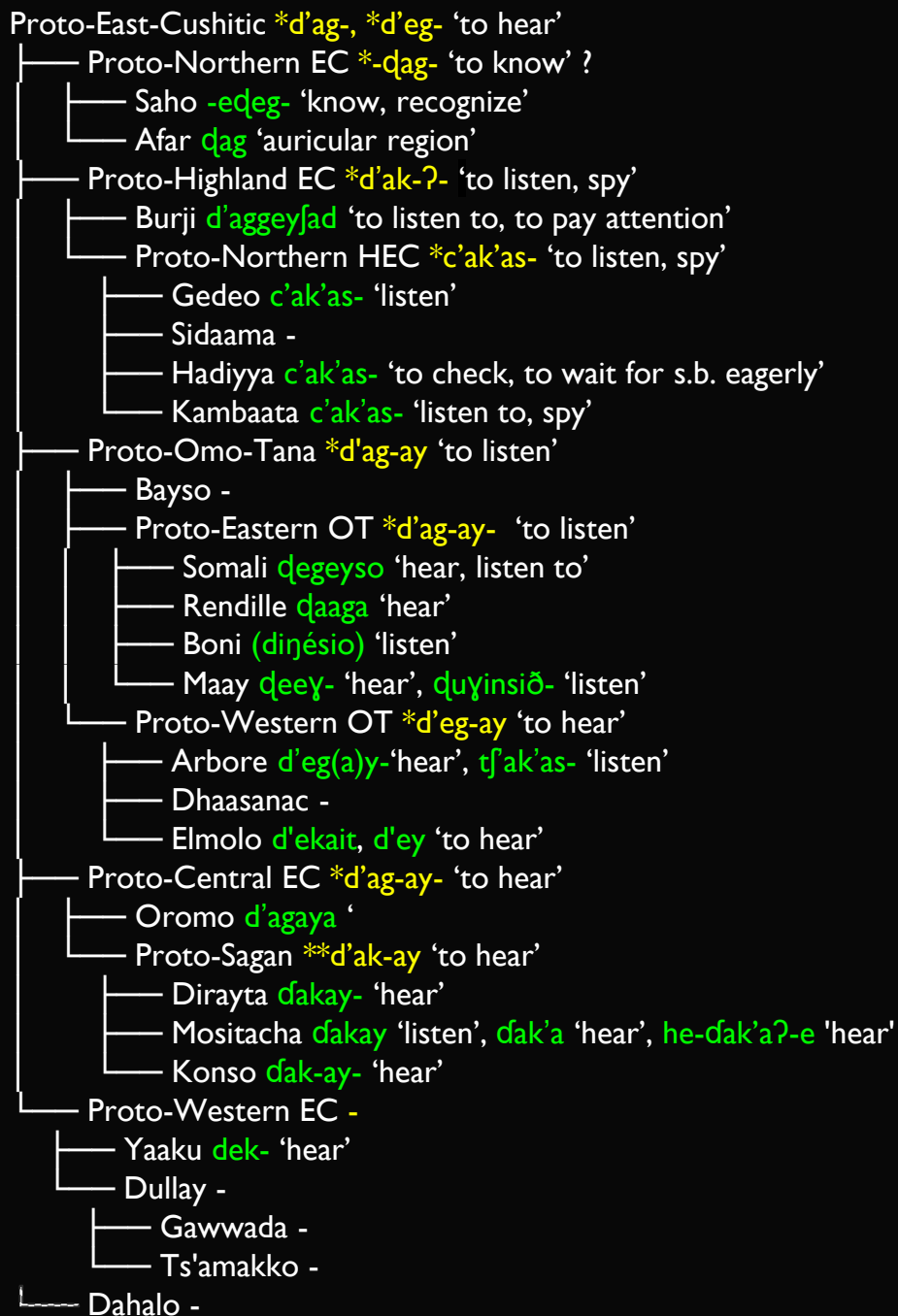
Evidence from Highland East-Cushitic: PHEC *d'

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)



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 tɕ'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 d'al 'procreate, give birth'
 - Afar d'ale '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 d'al 'beget, bear, father (a child), give birth'
- Rendille d'ela 'give birth to, bear offspring (of humans or animals)'
- Boni d'el, el- (Kilii), d'el- (rest of Boni)
- Maay d'al 'bear'
- Proto-Western OT *d'al- 'give birth'
- Arbore d'al- 'give birth, lay eggs'
- Dhaasanac d'al- 'to generate'
- Elmolo d'al- 'to bear children'
- Proto-Central EC *d'al- 'give birth'
- Oromo d'ala 'give birth, beget'
- Proto-Sagan *d'al- 'give birth'
- Dirayta d'al 'to give birth'
- Mositacha d'aliy 'give birth'
- Konso d'al-, d'el 'beget, bear offspring (especially animals)'
- Proto-Western EC *d'al- 'give birth'
- Yaaku d'el- 'to bear children'
- Dullay *d'al- 'give birth'
- Gawwada d'al- 'to beget, generate, give birth'
- Ts'amakko d'al- '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!

The middle suffix

	mid	*ʔ (refl./benf.)	→ *d' (mid)	→ *k' (mid)
	agr.		*t	*k
Burji		-ʔ (/C _[+sonorant] __)	-d' (/b, f __) -ad' -eed' (N → V-eed')	
Gedeo		-ʔ	-t (fossilized ?) -d' -ed' -l, (-'r (V__V))	
Sidaama		-ʔ (-p' ← *-b-ʔ- ?) (-t' ← *-d -ʔ- ?)	-t (fossilized ?) -(i)d' -(i)r	
Hadiyya		-ʔ (refl.)		-ak'k' (reciprocal.refl.)
Kambaata		-ʔ		-ak'k'



The middle prefix ?

- Burji rik'k'- (tr.)'to return' → d'irk'- (intr.)'to give back, return'
- Burji *d'alʔ*- 'to be useful', Ged *e/-* 'be better, improve', Sid *e/-* 'to grant, make donation; use, be useful to', Had *eʔ/-* 'be better, improve'
- Burji *d'aybad'*, PNHEC *-eyb → Sid, Had, Kam iibb- 'be(come) hot/warm'

