The multitude of Cushitic and Nilotic contacts

ROLAND KIESSLING, MAARTEN MOUS, CHRISTIAN RAPOLD

Research overview

Summary of Mous & Rapold (in press) Proto-Baz revisited, accepted for AuÜ

Heine, Bernd, Franz Rottland & Rainer Vossen. 1979. Proto-Baz: Some Aspects of Early Nilotic-Cushitic Contacts. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 1:75–91

addition: Ehret (1979) revisited; on South Cushitic-South Nilotic contact, in progress, Kiessling, Mous & Rapold,

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Main Contact events:

1. Proto Omo-Tana East Cushitic and Proto Nilotic

2. Proto West-Omo-Tana and Proto South Nilotic

3. Proto East-Omo-Tana and Proto Kalenjin

4. Proto South Cushitic and Proto Kalenjin

Proto-Baz revisited:

RESULTS

No Proto-Baz

Sound rules separating proto-Baz not convincing

Centralisation of Proto East Omo-Tana *a > Proto Baz *ɛ/e in the context of pharyngeal consonants. Borrowed as pronounced.

But vowel centralisation by pharyngeal is common allophonic variation in Cushitic

Split of Proto East Omo-Tana *r into two rhotics, Proto Baz *r and *ʀ.

Based on *maʀ 'calf' which has wider distribution and *aʀ 'male bovine' which is from West-Omo-Tana.

→ re-assess all those loans and allow for series of separate transfers.
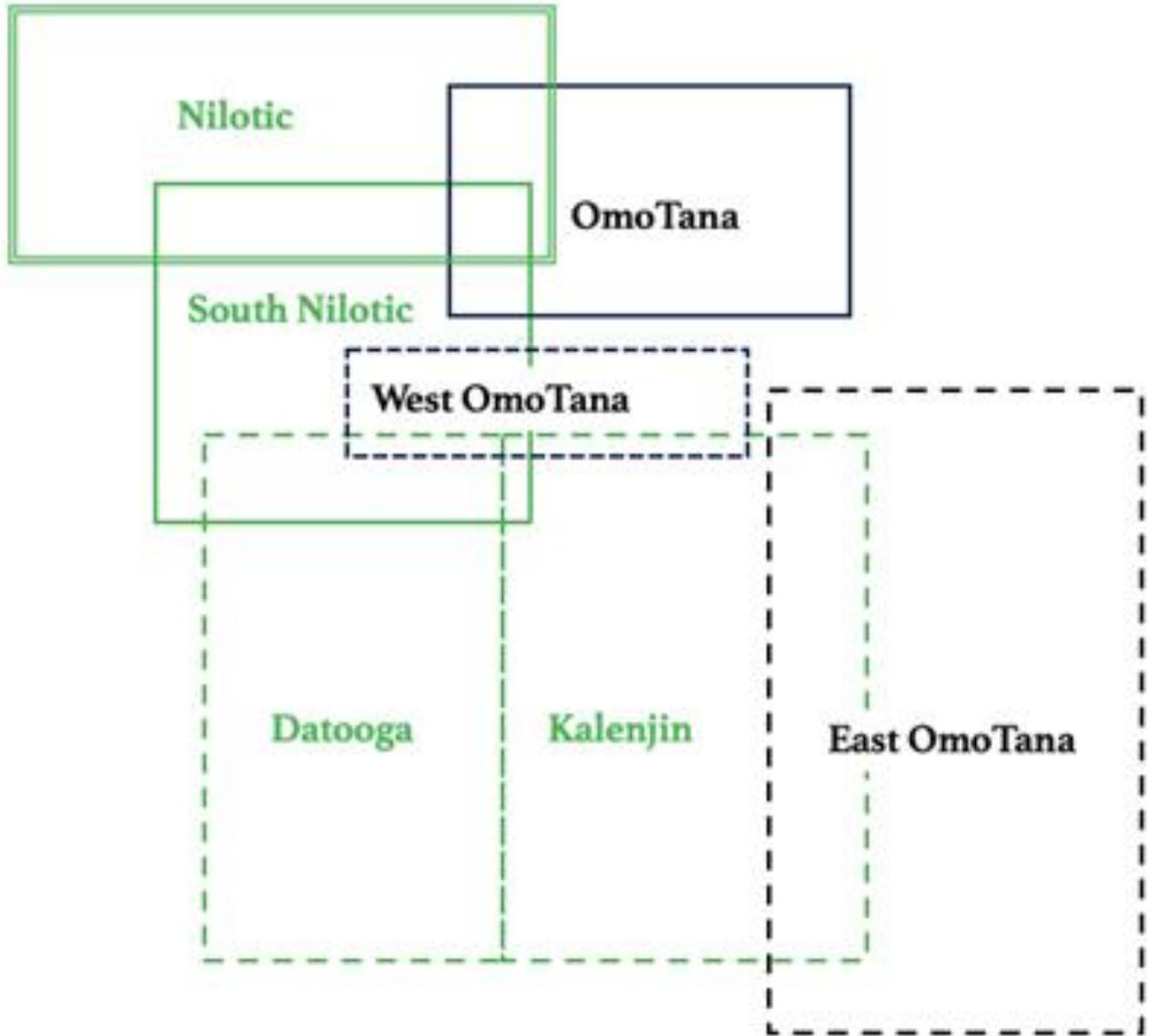
Overlap indicates contact for the main overlap partners

Double, solid, dotted lines represents chronology

Schematic map to separate geographical interpretations from linguistic ones
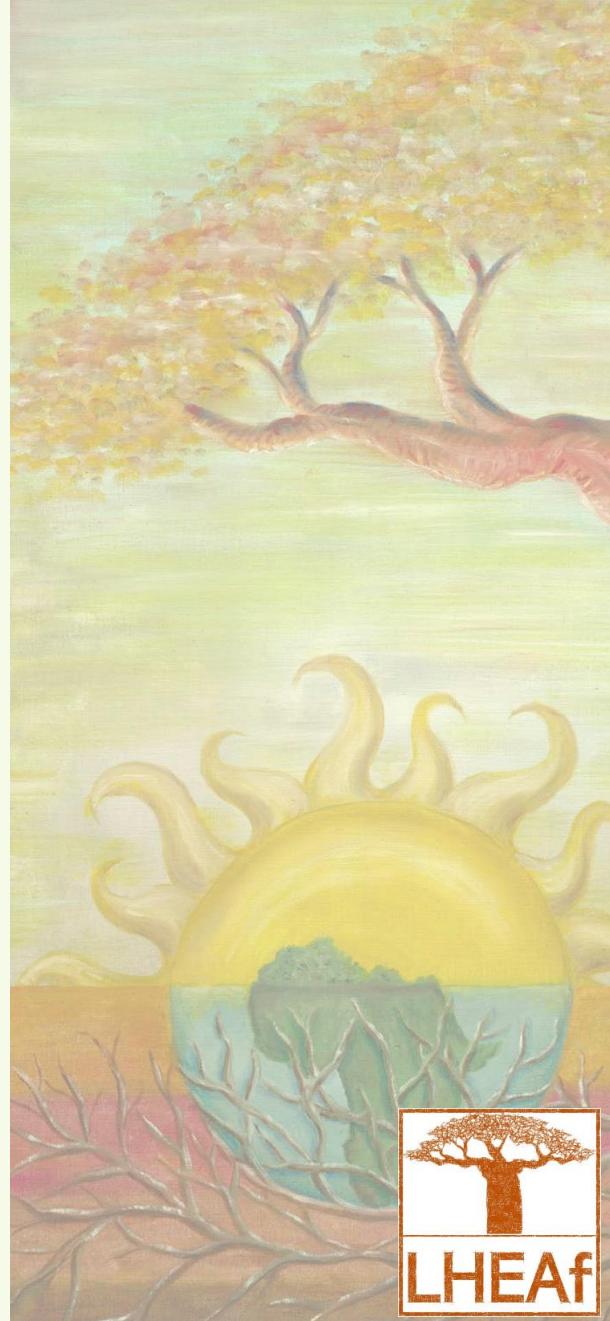
Proto Omo-Tana East Cushitic and Proto SouthNilotic: Higher numbers

transfer of Proto **Omo-Tana** into Proto **South Nilotic**

where there are several interpretations possible for level of transfer, we maximise the hypothesis of South-Nilotic as level of transfer:

For example, we assume proto Kalenjin even decimals were transferred at South Nilotic level where Datooga innovated.

cultural dominance of Proto Omo-Tana

paradigm of numbers 20, 30, etc., 6-10.

+ 4 relatively basic verbs

Points to intense contact. But what kind of sociolinguistic situation?
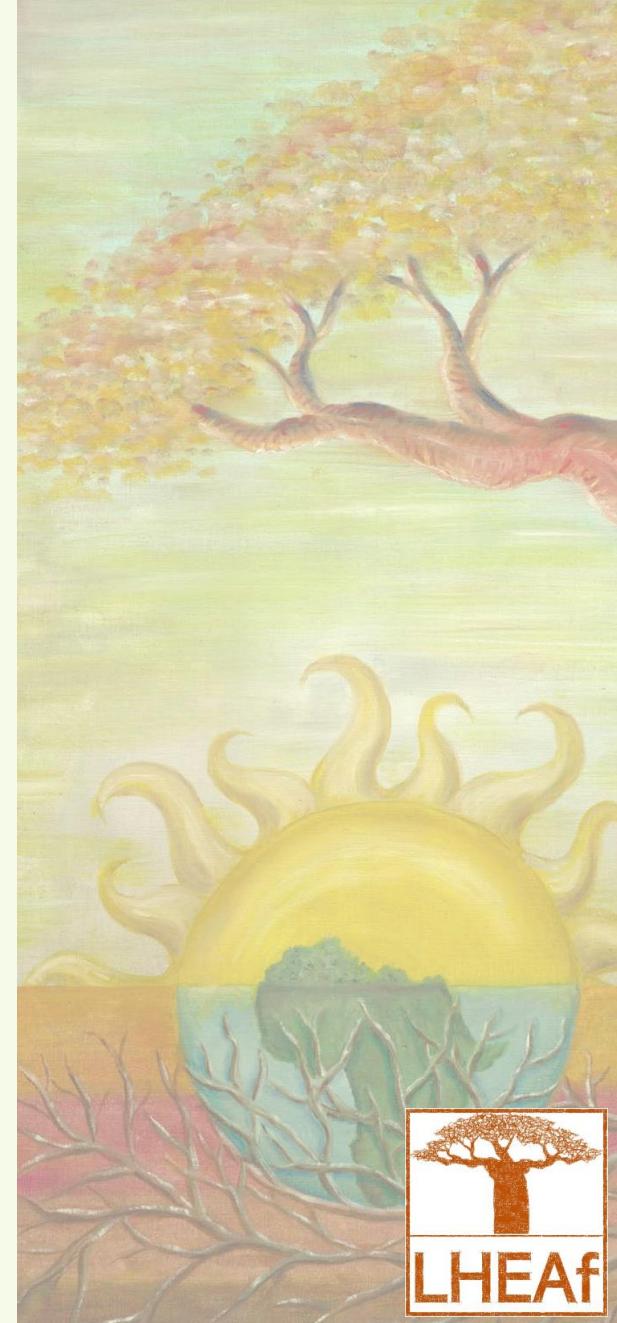
Higher decimal

Proposal from Heine et al. (1979) and Ehret (1970)

Nandi *artam* '40' (Creider & Creider 2001) Datooga-Asimjeega *ardam* '40' (Griscom ed. 2018: 9)

transfer into Proto South Nilotic *artam,

from (East-)Omo-Tana *afar-tam (extrapolated from Somali *afartan*) *tam* from Cushitic *tomon* 'ten' Adaptation: loss of intervocalic *f*

Likewise:

Proto South Nilotic *tɪktɛm '20' from Cushitic: Oromo *digdama* '20', Burji *lamat(t)an*, Agaw languages *läŋäːtäŋən*. → pEC construction and transfer of '20', '40', '60'. and '80' from Proto (East) Omo-Tana to proto South Nilotic.
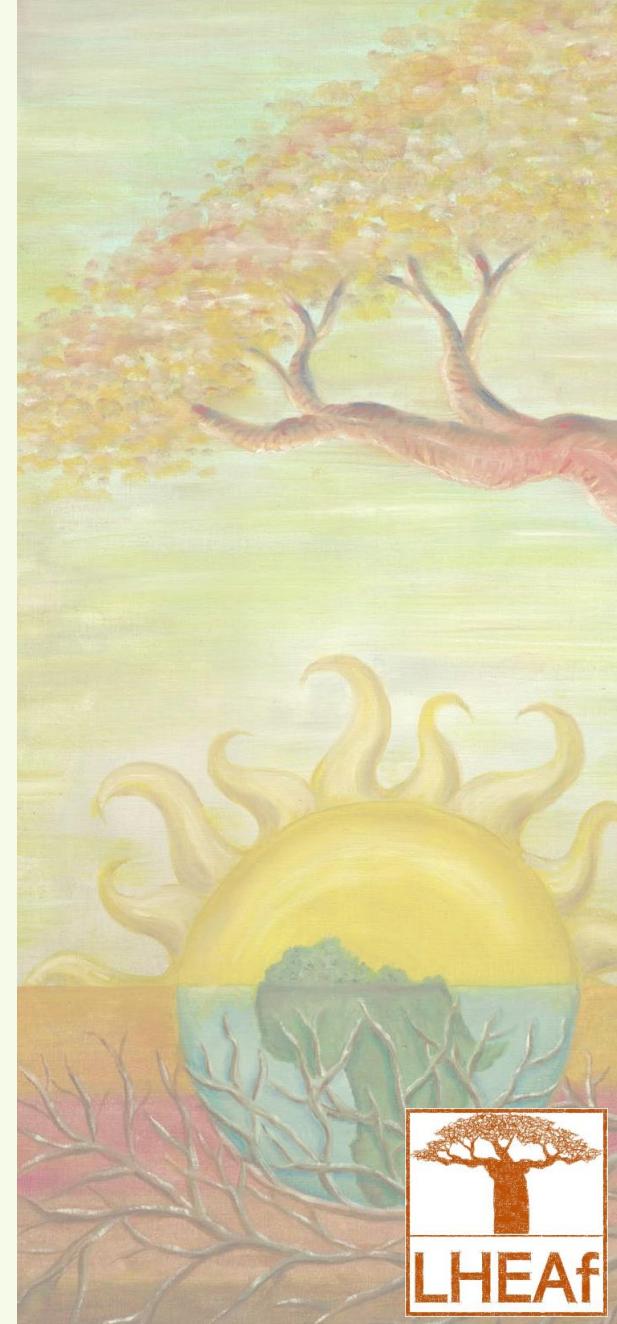
Decimal numbers '30', '50'

Proto Kalenjin *sasam '30'; Datooga innovated a construction 20+10 for thirty. Hence transfer to Proto South Nilotic

Proto (East) Omo-Tana: contraction of *sízzàhh* 'three' + *tomman* 'ten'

as in Oromo *soddoma* 'thirty'

Most Lowland East Cushitic languages innovated with a transparent head-modifier construction of decimal followed by the digit, including West OT

But higher, Central Cushitic, still the Mod-Head contractions, hence proto-OT

as in Proto Agaw *säɣwä-/səɣwä- + *-täŋən, 'three' (Appleyard 2006: 135, 60).

OT (not lower) because contact pre-dates East Omo-Tana innovations around *z and *m
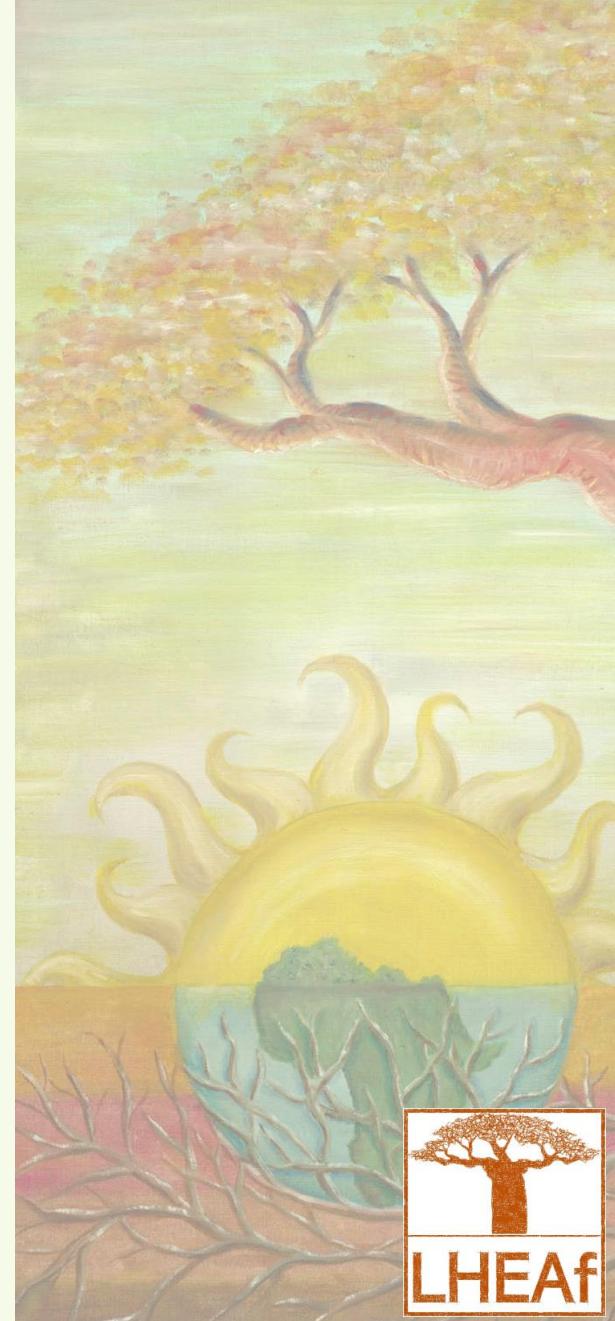
pOmo-Tana > pSouth Nilotic

ALL higher numbers: 20, 30,… 90; 6, 7, 8, 9,10, 100
- no indication for centralised government (no tax etc.)
- need for higher numbers: trade?, bride wealth, large herds?, ?

◦ Numbers: also West OT > Southeast Surmic > Maasai (Blažek (2018: 53)

Plus:

◦ QUUT 'scratch, dig' which has cognates in East Nilotic

◦ ROOB 'rain', which can be from any level of East Cushitic into Proto South Nilotic

◦ MUR 'cut, circumcise, marry', which is reconstructable to the Proto Nilotic level,

◦ HAM 'eat' from Proto (East) Omo-Tana to Proto South Nilotic OR <u>sound symbolic</u>.

◦ PATAI 'back' Other direction Proto South Nilotic to Proto Omo-Tana.

◦These are fairly basic words, verbs! Replacive borrowing → bilingualism
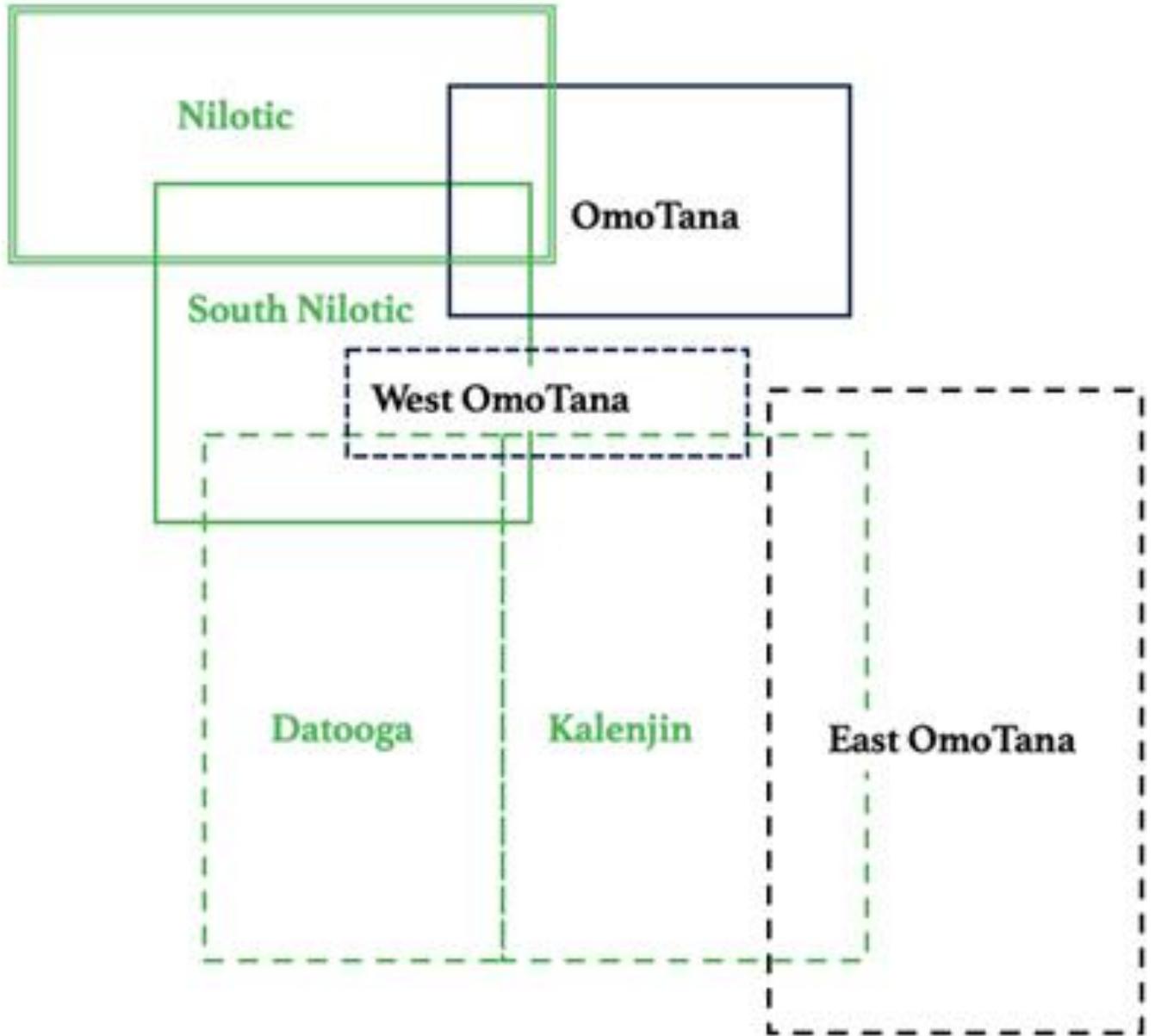
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Schematic map to separate geographical interpretations from linguistic ones

Proto West Omo-Tana into Proto South Nilotic

Few loans and refer to male domestic animals → what does it mean for the nature of cultural influence?

- AR 'male bovine'
- QUAR 'male goat'
- METEH 'head'
- possibly TOR 'spear'
- MALAB 'honey' (currently Datooga only, Kalenjin innovated)

pWest Omo-Tana and pSouth Nilotic "contemporary"

male domestic animals → breeding?

'head': core vocabulary, replacive, but only one

Dominance of pWest Omo Tana (previously mentioned influence on SE Surmic)
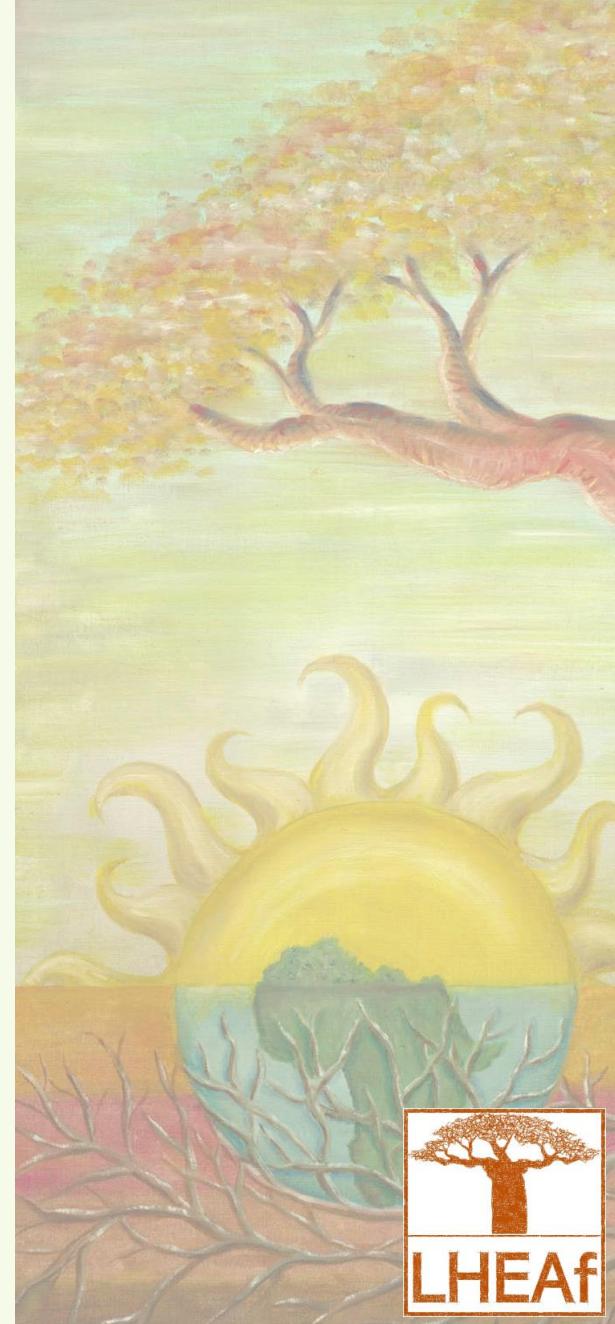
p East Omo-Tana → p Kalenjin

was centre of proto-Baz article
- INSIR 'louse'
- ɗERI 'claypot'
- SUBEEN 'ewe'

too few for further interpretations

but some other transfers can be re-classified here (matter of choice)

Also contact South Nilotic (level unclear) with Yaaku-Dullay and Oromoid but very few cases.

p Kalenjin – p South Cushitic
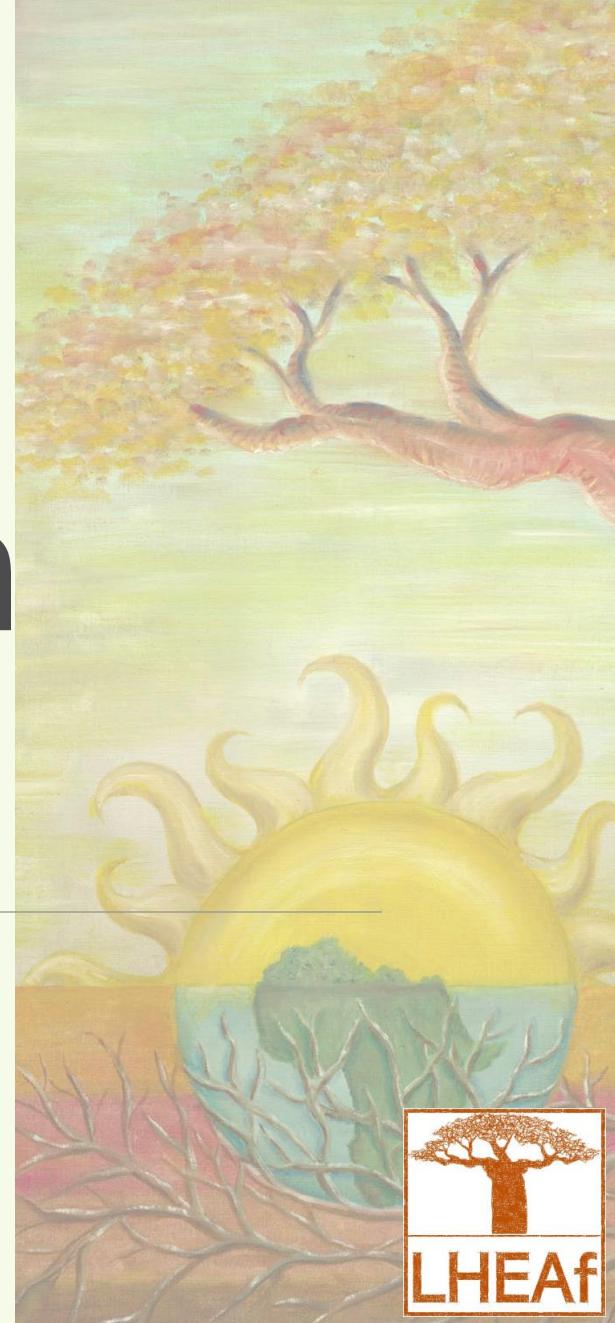
Overview

Ehret (1969,1971) in his PhD thesis on South Nilotic history proposes a set of borrowings of South-Cushitic into Kalenjin (Ehret 1969: 153-157).

We have (re-)assessed his proposals in view of later historical work on South Nilotic, Rottland (1982) and South Cushitic, Kiessling and Mous (2003)

With some modifications, we accept some of his proposals

After studying South Nilotic dictionaries, we were able to extend the set considerably.

Resulting in over 50 potential cognate sets; half are convincing

Classification South Nilotic

GLIEDERUNGSDIAGRAMM DER SÜDNILOTISCHEN SPRACHEN
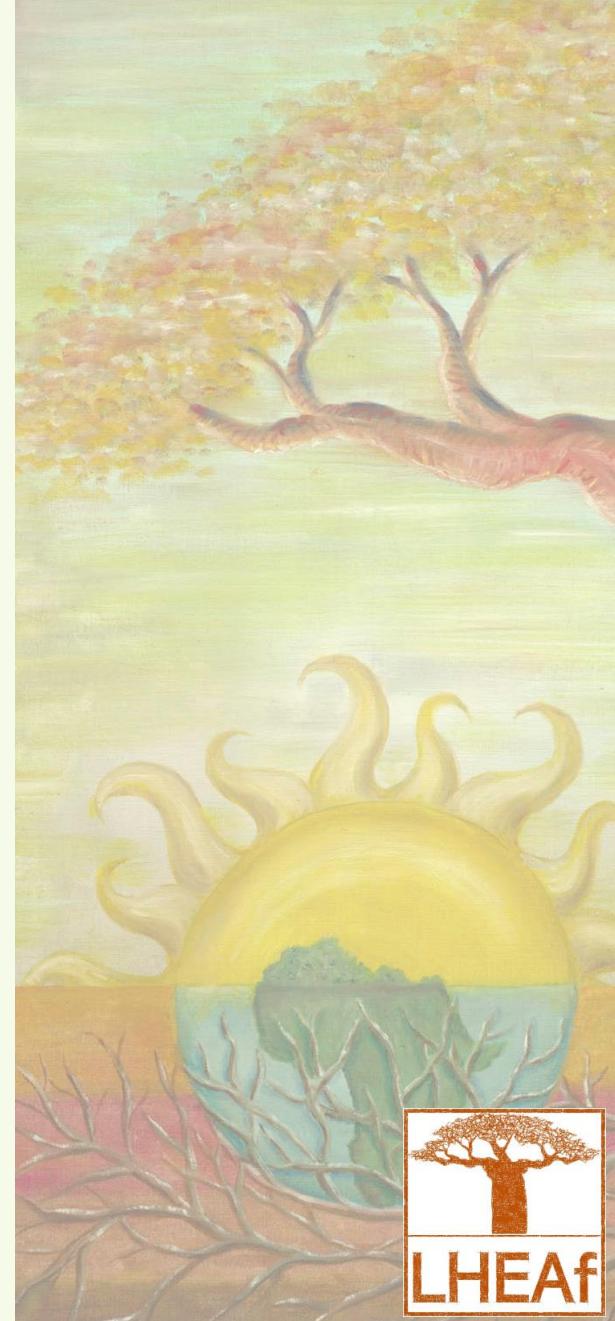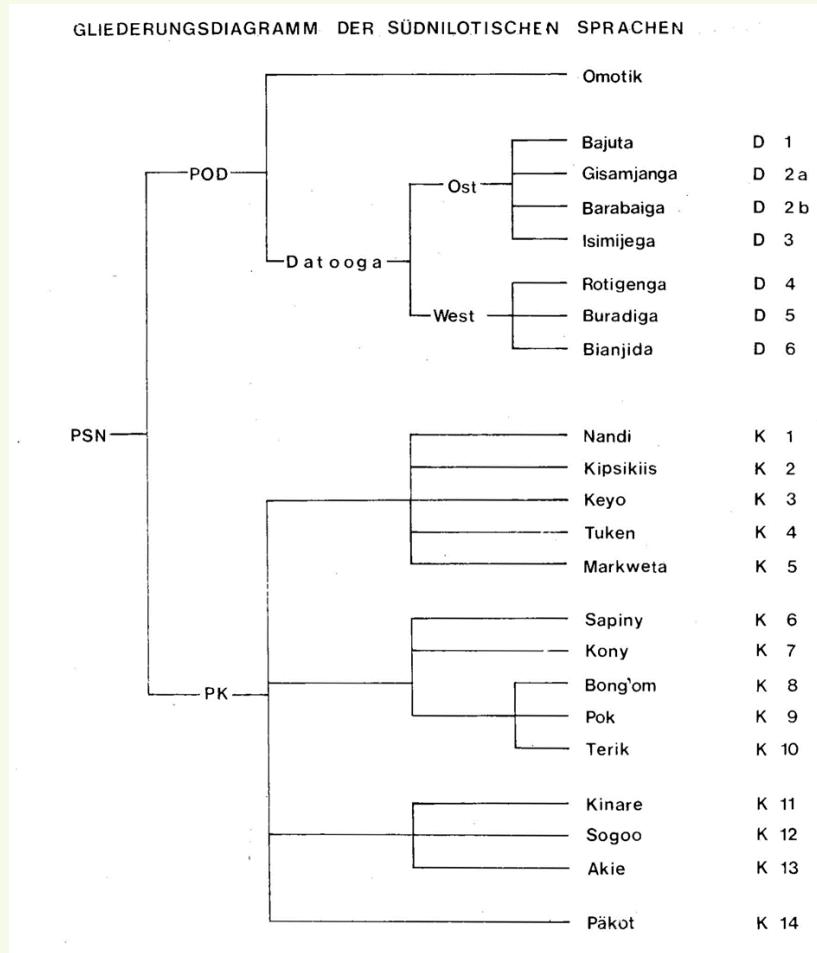
# Classification South Cushitic
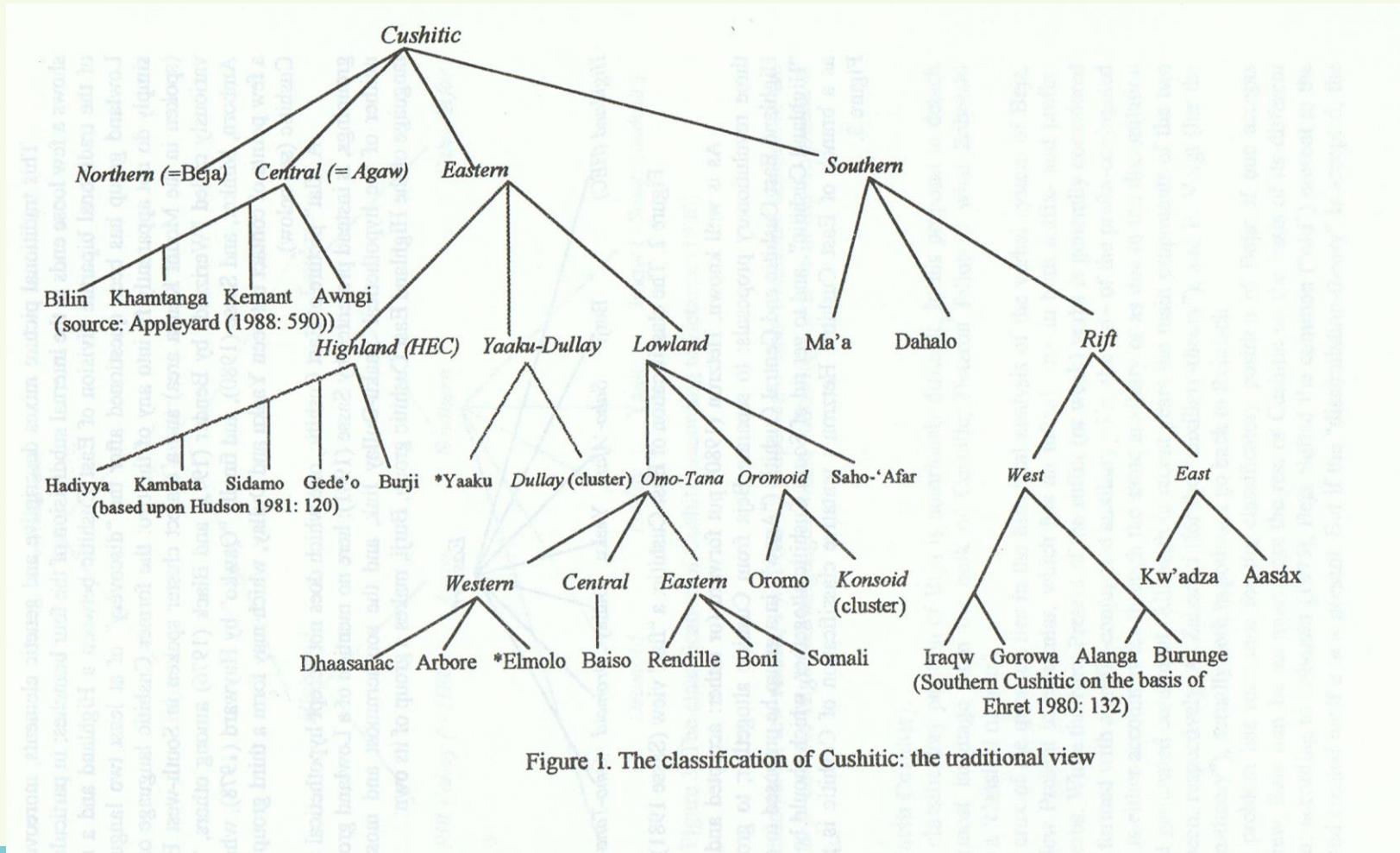
Figure 1. The classification of Cushitic: the traditional view

Current geographical distributions
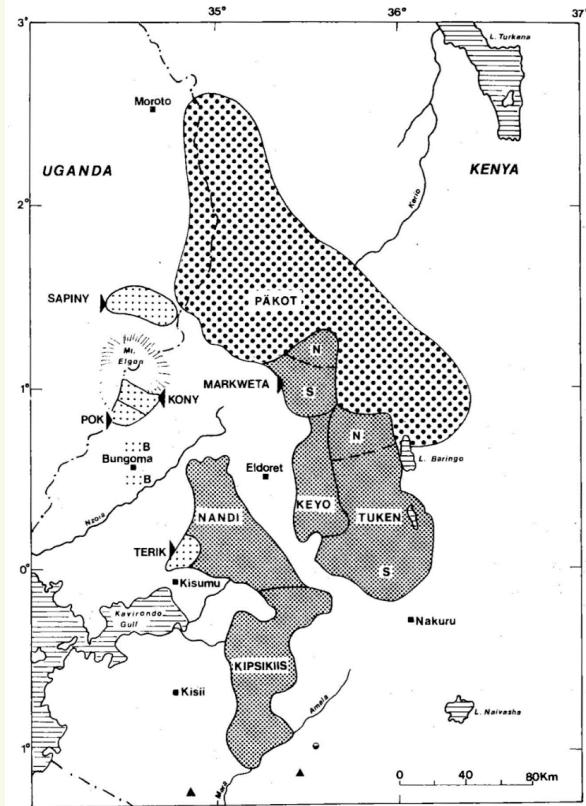
Karte 1
Verbreitung der Kalenjin-Sprachen und des Omotik

Paköt-Zweig   Nandi-Markweta-Zweig   Elgon-Zweig
B BONG'OM   SOGOO   OMOTIK
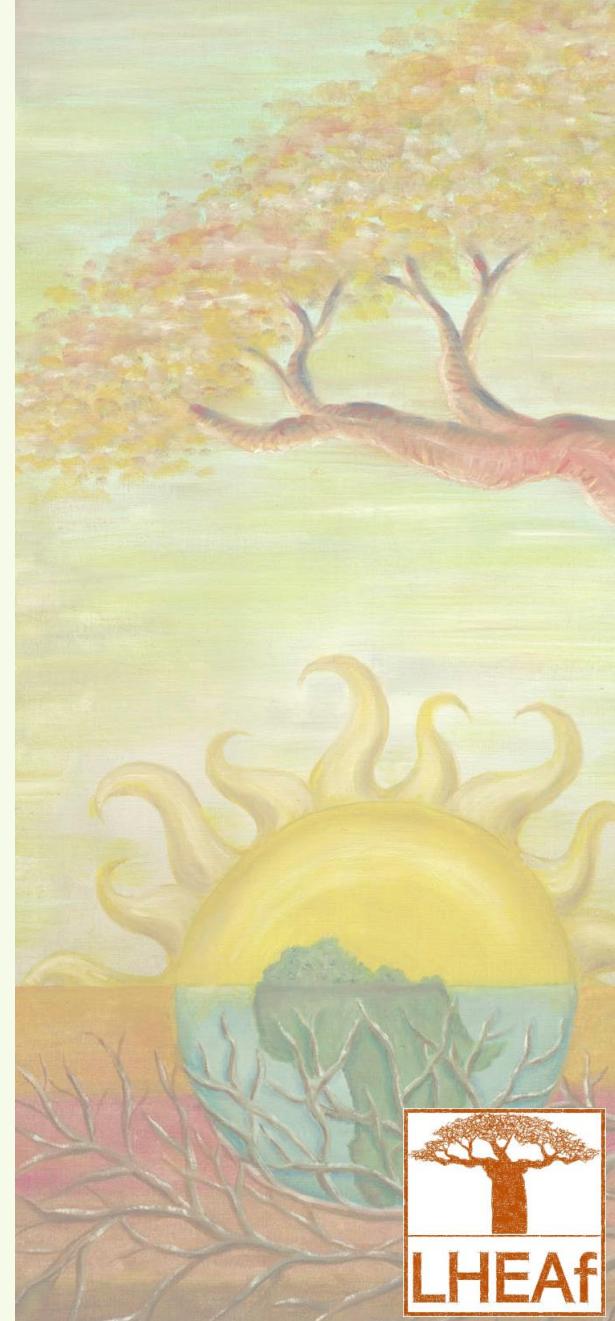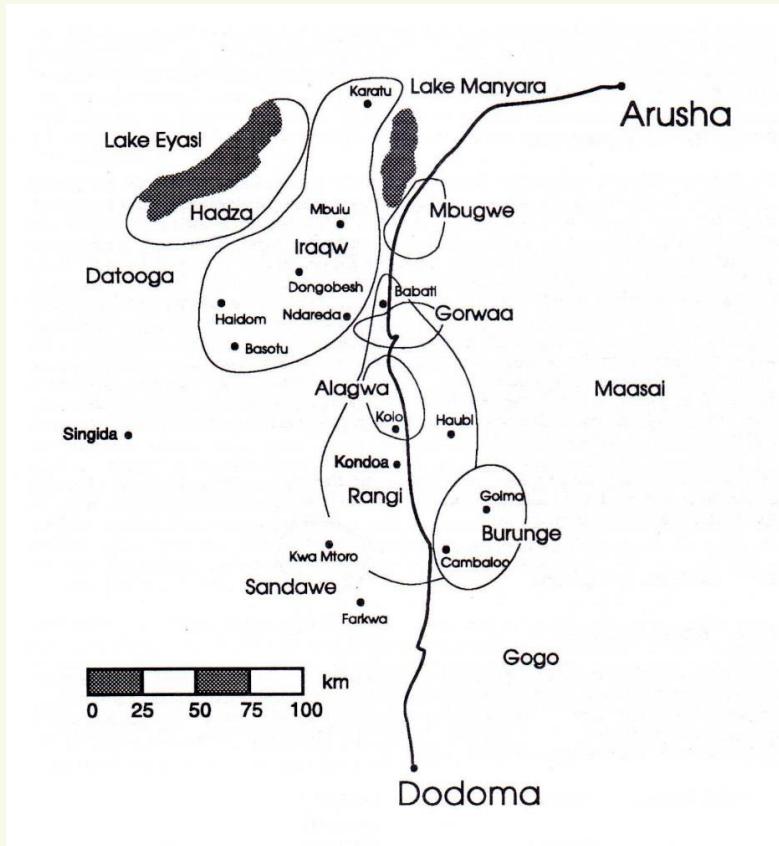
Contact area
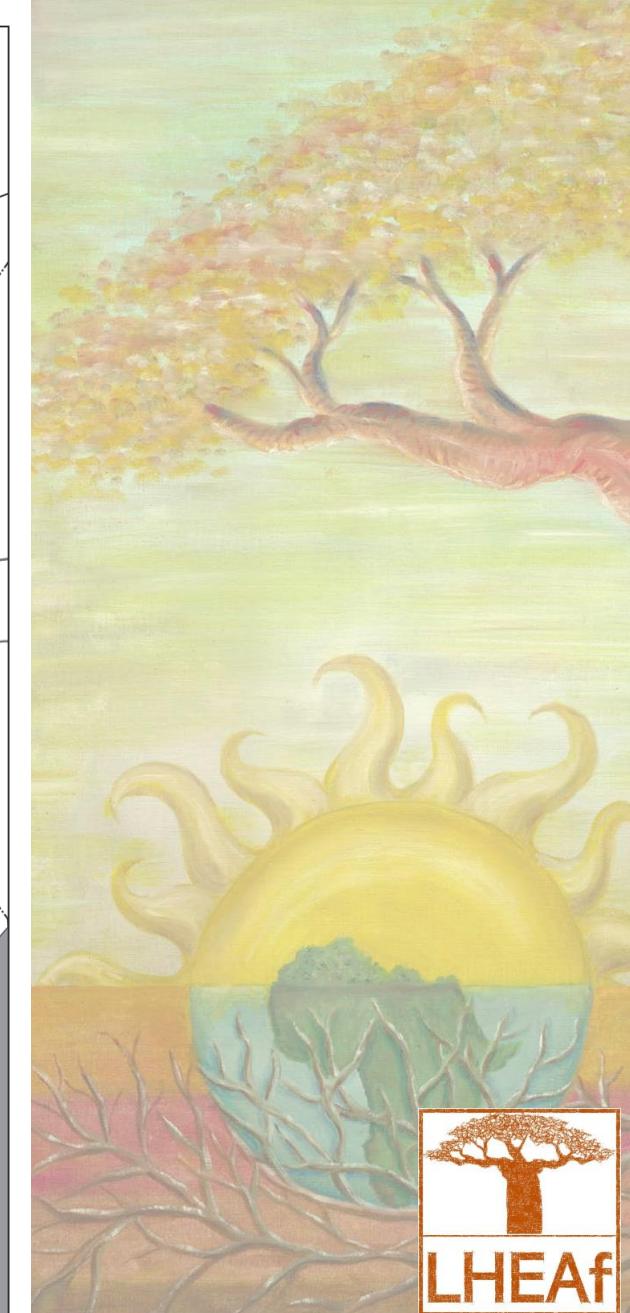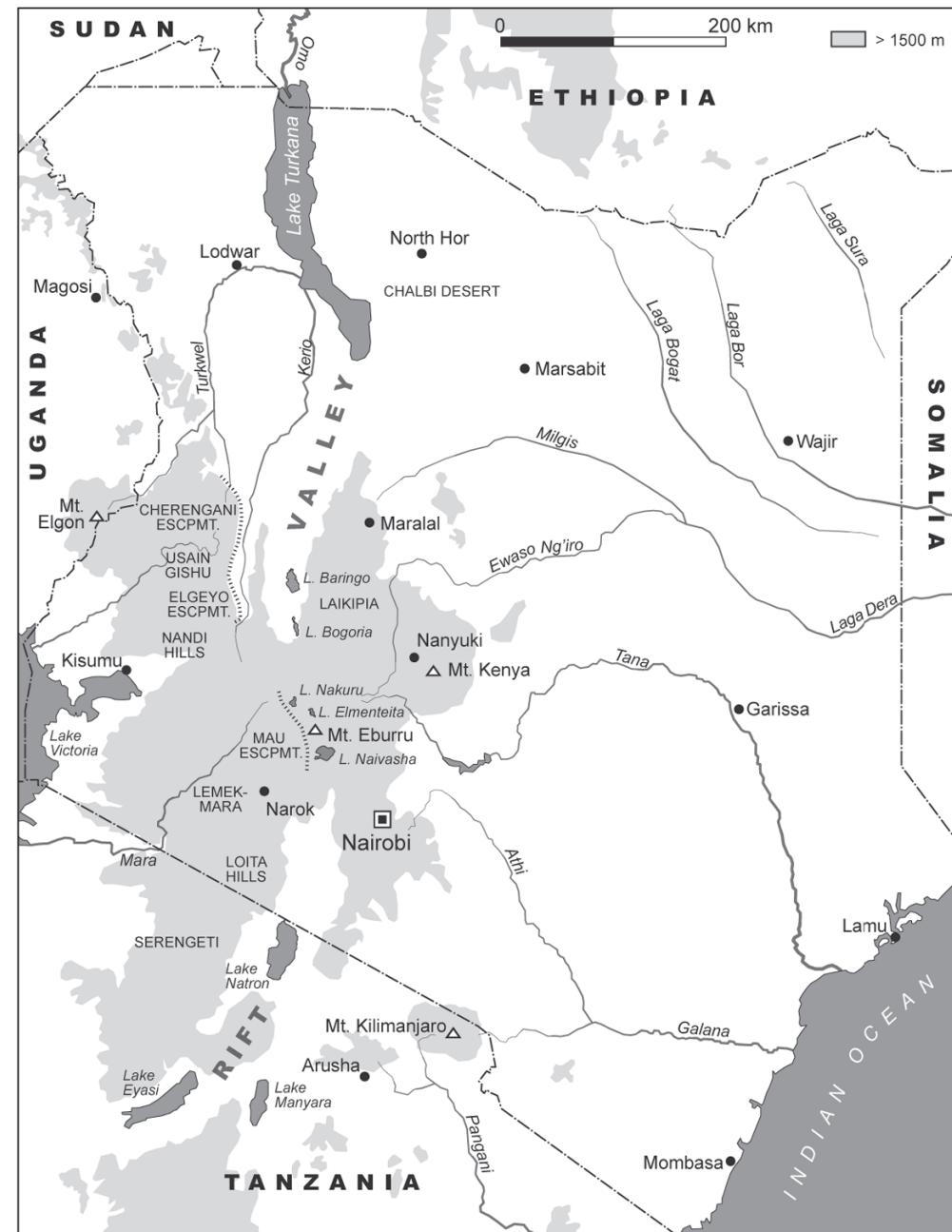
Some examples

*sɑɑpɪt 'porcupine'

Proto-Kalenjin *sɑɑpɪt

PWR *sapata (n.col.f) 'porcupines'

Common Datooga has sibid- (Gisamjanga úsíbícáandà)

Hadza tsípìtí 'porcupine'.

Could this be a pre-Hadza transfer to one or both language groups?

Independent: Saghala, Dawida, Chaga have sasa 'porcupine'. Turkana cec
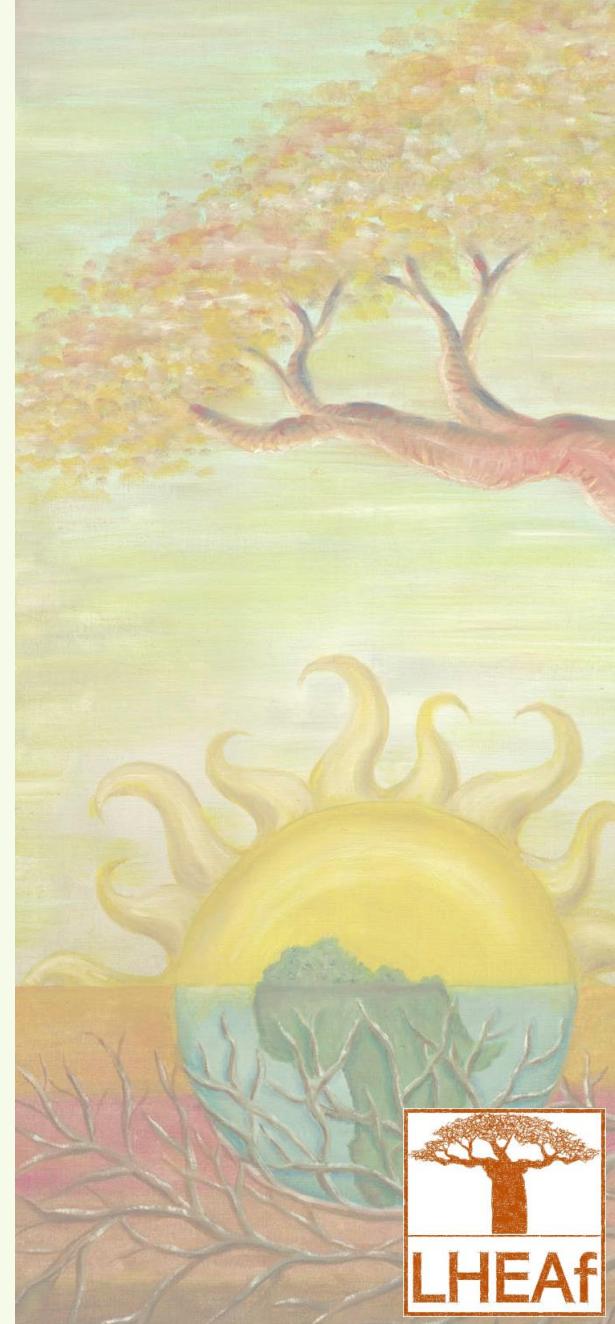
Nandi **sepet** 'half gourd' Ehret B4

○ Nandi sepet,

○ Keyo sapta 'half gourd',

○ Sengwer sepetay 'eggshells'

○ Akie: sóttee 'gourd, calabash' ?<sop-te

○ Not found in Pokot.

PNWR*seep-áy (m) 'calabash for milk or fat'.

PWR to Kalenjin assuming a -t suffix in Kalenjin and pending a reconstruction for PK.

The adjustment rules

PK c for PWR ts CAR, CAT
PK loss of intervocalic x CAR
PK loss of ʕ SOI, OR
PK lenition of d to y SOI
PK lenition of k to x verb finally (in Pokot) WAAX
PK t for PWR tl TOKOL
PK u for i before a labial consonant TUP
PK devoicing of stops. KUTəŋ
PK loss of glottal stop SUYE, TAKWEES
PK kw for qw TAKWEES Did PK have uvulars?
PK ko for qwa INKOR
? PK c for PWR ɬ. ? CAM love
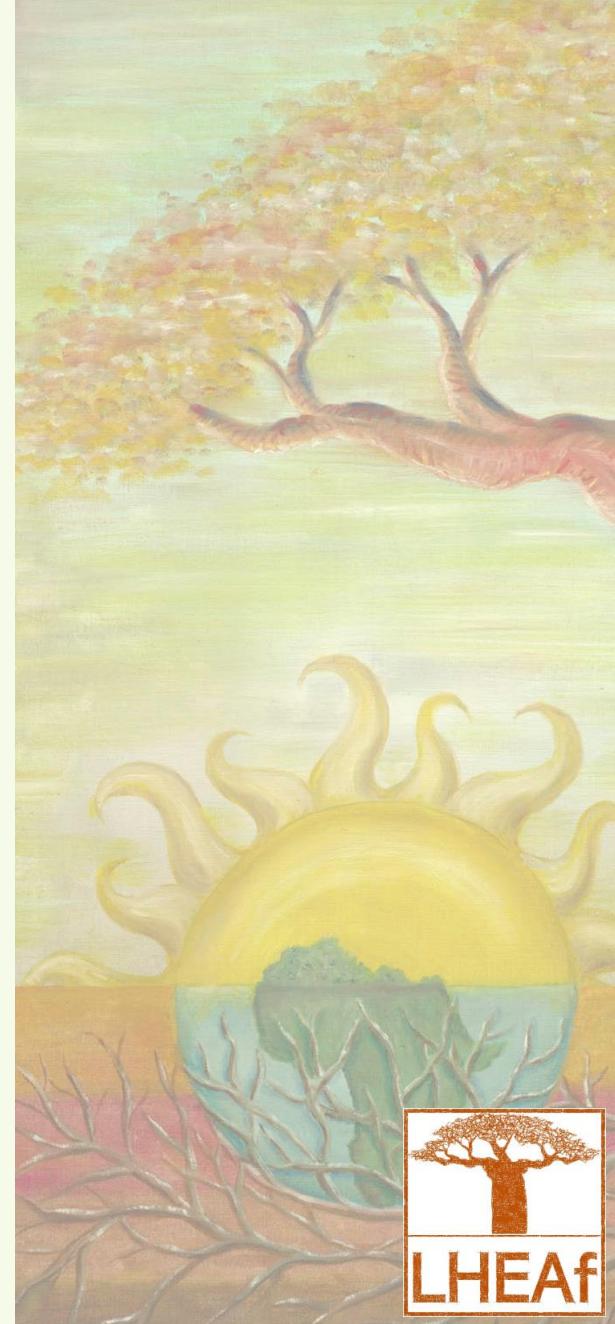
Replacive borrowings

The transfer of core concepts and verbs shows that contact must have been intense. Possibly PK people being bilingual in PWR.

AARA 'goats/sheep'
ARAAR 'see'
CAT 'clip, cut'
ɬAKAAT 'hunt
OR 'ashes'
TAKWEES 'greeting'
TUP 'bury, cover'
TEERIIT 'cloud of dust'
TAA 'guest'
WAAX 'fear
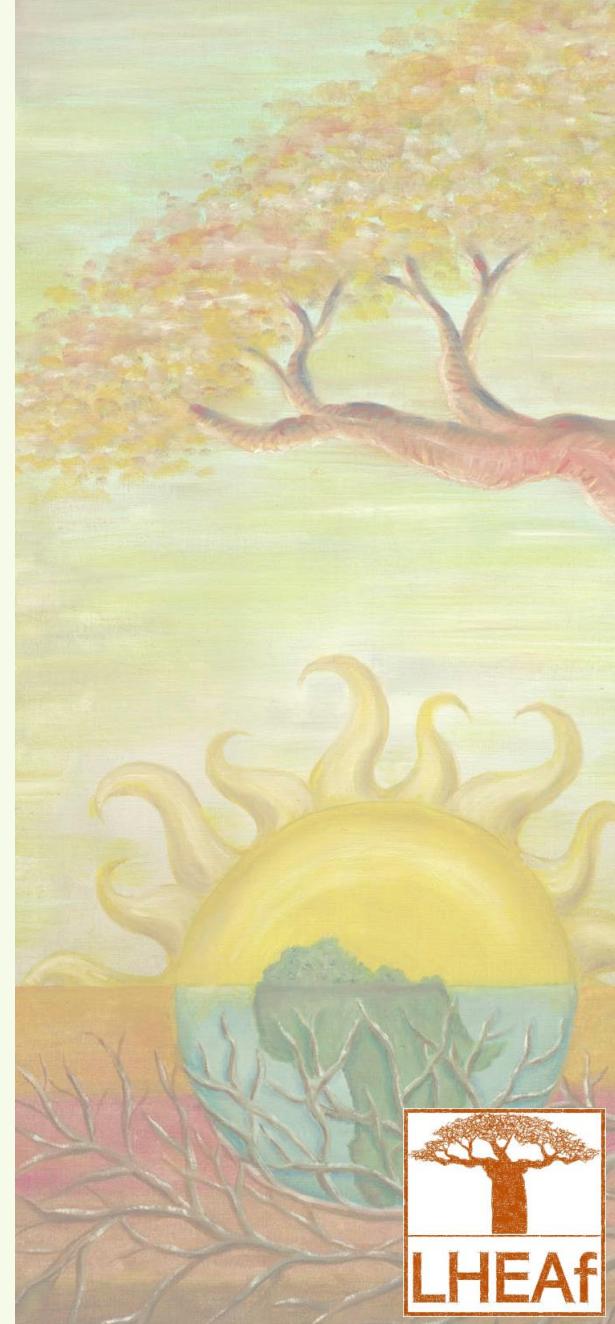
Additive borrowings

Environment:

◦ KENEER 'hyrax'

◦ KUUTA 'aardvark'

◦ MAK 'hippo'

◦ SOORI 'buffalo'

◦ SUYE 'wild dog'

Food production

◦ CAR 'bleed cow'

◦ SOON 'barren'

◦ TOMPES 'camel'

◦ TUI 'pound grain'

Cultural artifacts and house

◦ INKOR 'apron'

◦ SEPET 'half-gourd'

◦ TUKADUK 'doorpost'

◦ YAAMA 'floor'

Social relations

◦ PANAN 'pauper; orphan';
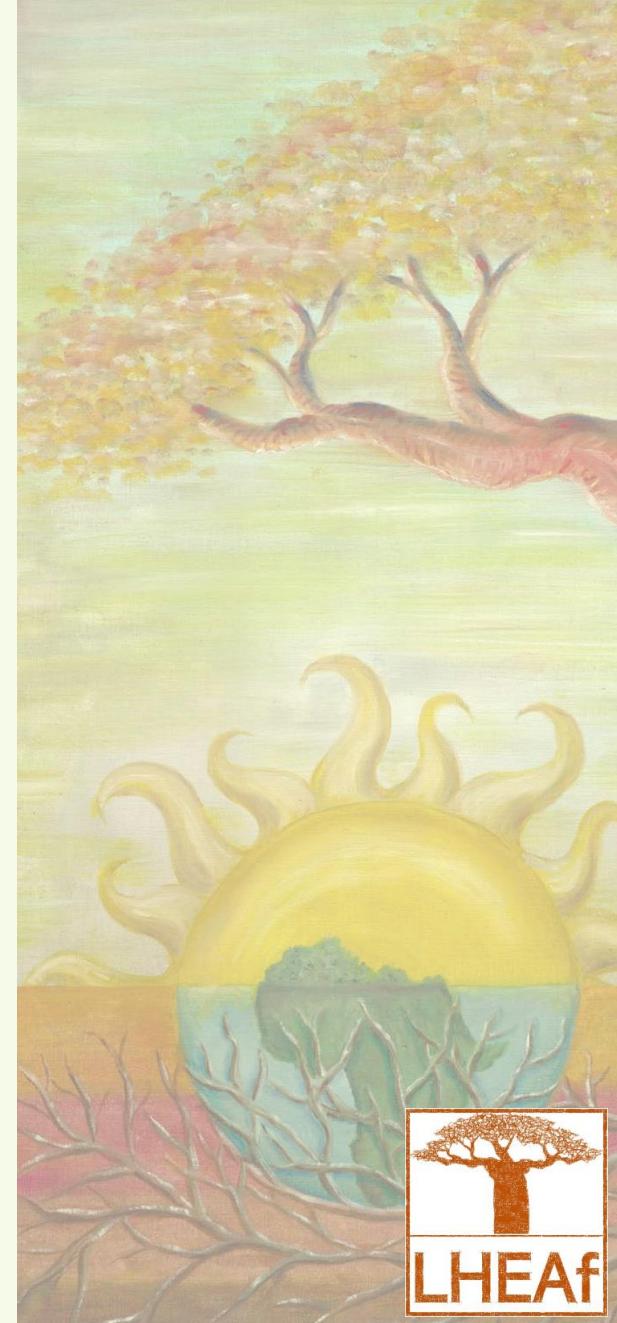
The unit in contact is pWR

Cushitic retentions and close in form to the PK form:

- AARA 'goat, sheep';
- ARAAR 'see';
- KUTA 'aardvark';
- MAK 'hippo';
- OR 'ashes';
- SEPET 'half-gourd'

But no wider Cushitic cognates (yet):

- CAR 'bleed cow';
- INKOR 'leather clothing';
- PANAN 'pauper',
- SAPIT 'porcupine'

Not much differentiation within WR, for example MAKAA, but lower level unlikely

Transfer into PK argument that the item must have existed in PWR: KENEER 'hyrax'.

The unit in contact is p Kalenjin

Not lower: more of an assumption. We expanded the number of cognate sets first by reading the Pokot dictionary.

Pokot-ProtoWestRift contact would put the West Rift migration and later split too late. PK-Iraqw contact is unrealistic given the geographical distance.

Not Higher: working hypothesis is Proto-Kalenjin. We may adjust this position after more profound research into Datooga.
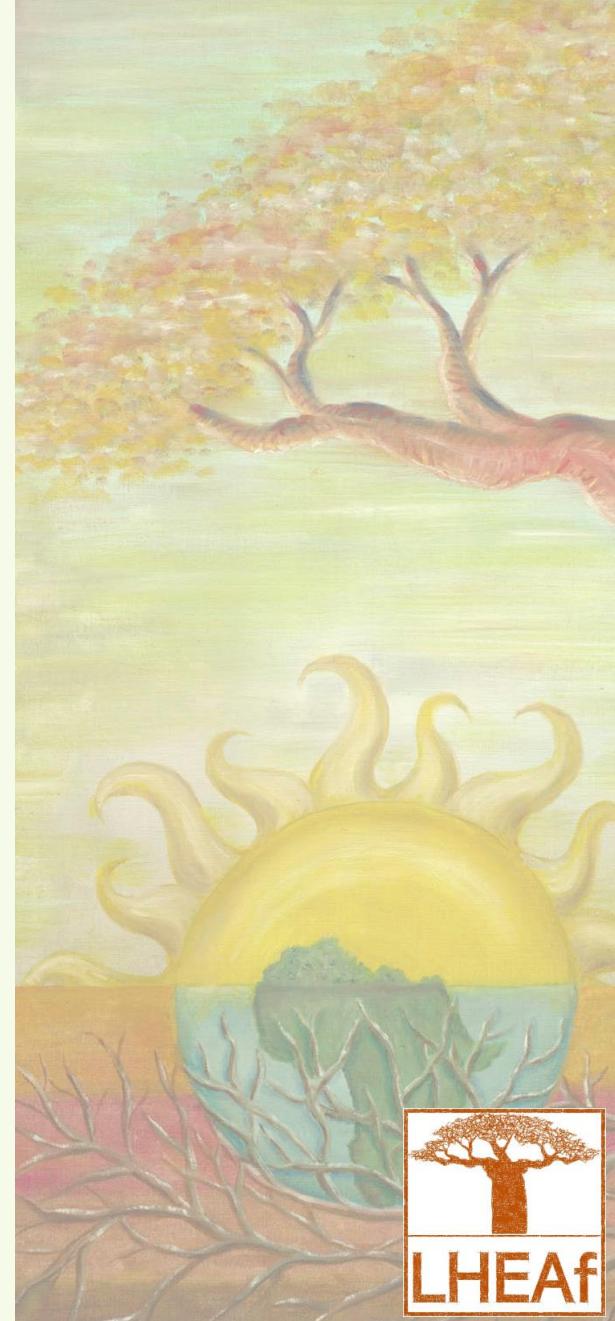
The direction of transfer

Mostly Cushitic > Nilotic on several grounds:

Cushitic retention in PWR

Complex phonology in PWR

Other direction is possibly for PANAN 'orphan'

Parallel borrowing

Plenty of examples with Bantu. But also:

PK *saaŋk 'quiver' ≈ PNWR*tlaang**aasi** (f) 'box, small container' ('quiver' in Iraqw, Gorwaa). (Kiessling & Mous 2003) Kw'adza: *tɬ'ani-ko* 'arrows'

Hadza: [cʌ̥'ang**ase**] 'quiver (for arrows)'.

NB Sandawe *dʒàní* 'arrow' (Ehret and Ehret 2012:22).

There is no obvious candidate for a separable final element/suffix *asi* in WR:

      Hadza > WR ?

Several sources are possible including Hadza and Sandawe.
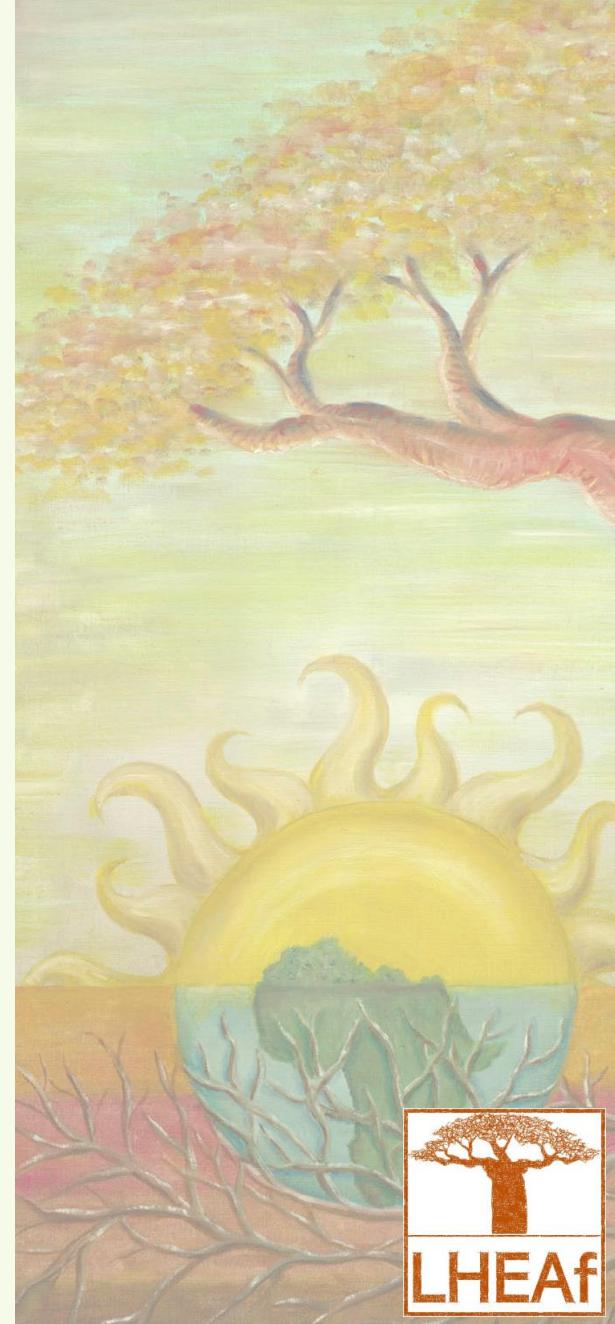
Warning

Pokot *kálámbás* 'aardvark (ant-eater)' (Crazzolara 1978)

Iraqw *kalambaytu* 'honey badger'.

Michael Karani (p.c.) points out that it also occurs in Maasai.

Not in Payne & Ole-Kotikash.

Possibly Maasai influence on Iraqw?
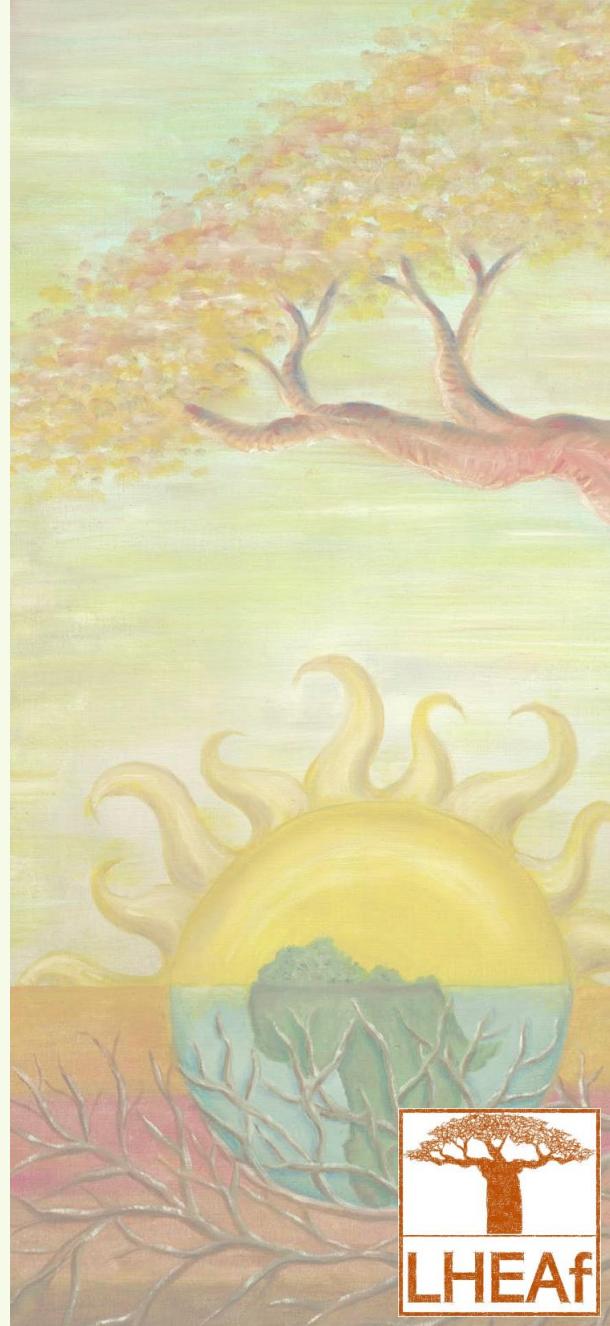
pSCushitic <> pKalenjin

We conclude that there was a long and intense contact between pre-West-Rift South Cushitic speakers and proto Kalenjin speakers and this took place in Western Kenya and Eastern Uganda.

The fact that proto West-Rift speakers were contemporary with proto Kalenjin speakers suggests that their entry into Tanzania and subsequent splits was relatively late.

Transfers between pre-WR and several stages of pre-Datooga suggest a continuation of contact between these two in their movement from Western Kenya – Eastern Uganda into Tanzania (KM 2003 + in prep)

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