

# KULIAK influence

TERRILL SCHROCK PRESENTED BY MM



# Kuliak important factor

Numerous Kuliak <> Sandawe apparent cognates

Kuliak <> Hadza links

Numerous Kuliak <> pWR apparent cognates

Considerable Kuliak influence on Mara Bantu



# SANDAWE

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<b>Sandawe gloss</b>	<b>Sandawe word</b>	<b>Kuliak word</b>	<b>Kuliak gloss</b>
<b>to herd</b>	bálo	báro-	flock, herd (n)
<b>to shave/wipe off</b>	bute	poʃ-	peel, skin (v)
<b>cattle yard</b>	buru	bóré-	cattle pen, corral
<b>bush, shrub</b>	dákʰwa	dakú-	plant, tree, wood
<b>to linger, stay, wait</b>	dara	Idaar-	ambush, waylay
<b>Sansevieria sp.</b>	dzaátsa	jódè-	Sansevieria sp.
<b>net for hunting</b>	dzágo	ságó-	snare, trap (n)
<b>to defecate</b>	dzákí	nts'áká-	defecate
<b>to boil over</b>	fa?é	fa-	cook by boiling



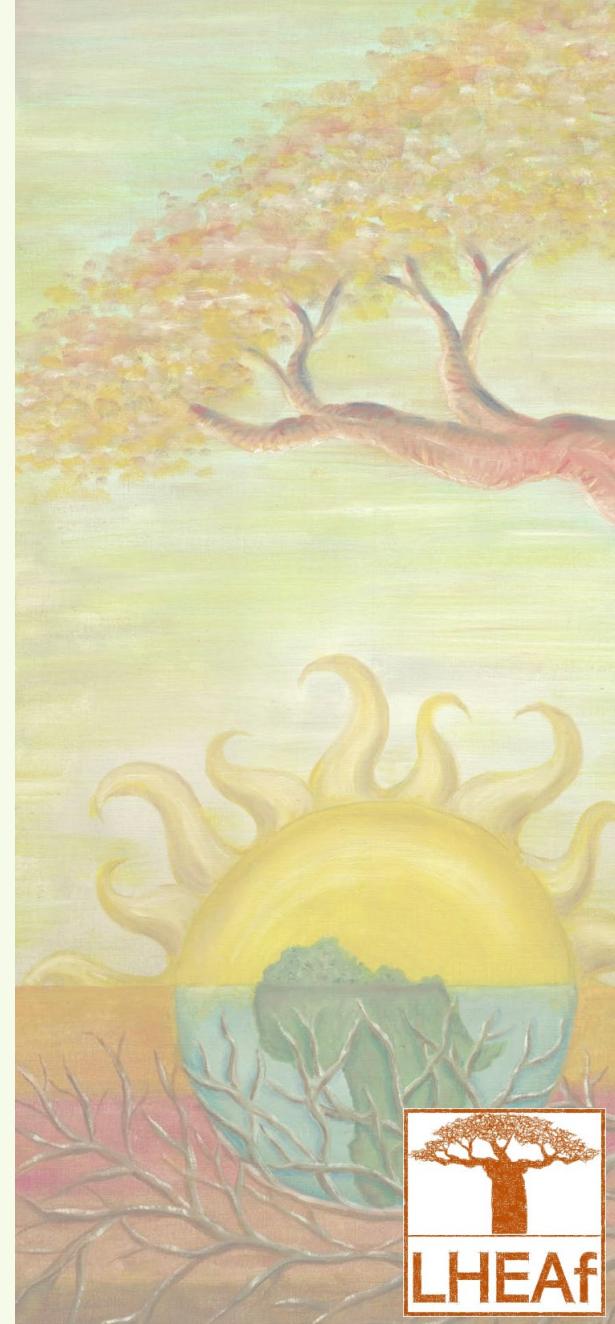
<b>to become emaciated, weak</b>	gáda	Ikár-	emaciated, skinny
<b>edible (?)</b>	gets'ugets'u	gwéts'-	sweet/tasty, be-
<b>to burn, light, set fire to</b>	káma	gàm-	kindle, light (v)
<b>house</b>	k <sup>h</sup> oo	hòò-	house, hut
<b>ankle bone, outer ankle</b>	k <sup>h</sup> uruk <sup>h</sup> uru	gòrìgòrì-	barefoot, hoof
<b>to kneel</b>	k <sup>h</sup> utúté	kutúŋ-	kneel (vi)
<b>water ladle</b>	kókori	kóré-	dipper, ladle
<b>to get lost, go astray, miss</b>	‡áká	hák-	get lost, go astray, err
<b>to lap up (like a cat)</b>	‡ak'‡ak'	Ijakíjak	lap up



<b>to caress, comfort</b>	mamase	Imámá-	speak to/treat gently
<b>to love, like, wish, want</b>	ména	mín-	love, like (v)
<b>striped grass rat</b>	mo-lo-to	lolòtà-	giant Gambia rat
<b>mange</b>	mú-kudzi	kótsá-	scabies
<b>light, daylight</b>	pañí	pàkì	bright white (ideo)
<b>to break, crack, snap</b>	páti	pɛsél-	break, chip, knap (vt)
<b>thin horizontal wall pole</b>	rikito	rikò-	horizontal pole



<b>Corcorus trilocularis (plant)</b>	sagári	segerí-	Steganotaenia araliacea
<b>to rub, apply friction</b>	susugé	tsutsúk-	rub in hands
<b>mud, swappiness</b>	tl'ók'odo	dòk-	wet, be-
<b>to belch, burp</b>	ts'eek'áá	jík-	belch, burp (v)
<b>meat from belly/hide</b>	ts'ákusa	jàkú-	meat left on hide
<b>gravy, sauce</b>	ṭóxoma	jàkú-	meat left on skin



# some with wider spread

+mother's brother	mááma	momoo-	mother's brother
+castrated bull	karam	karamú-	male eland
+hoe	kolō	okol	small hoes
+goat	ta	hyɔɔ-	cattle, cow
+pure honey	ts'égáni	ts'Ika-	bee
+Dombeya shupangae	wáára	warIwarí-	Dombeya quinqueseta



# Observations

Semantics: HG domain, cattle domain, body domain, food, basic actions

These are remarkably many too-good look-a-likes and in unexpected domains. These are not shared with WR SC (except last bit). Not shared with Hadza (needs checking).

The languages are too different structurally to consider a genetic relationship. The lexical similarity is mostly so close that we must assume direct contact; moreover, the potential intermediate languages do not share these words.

There are also Kuliak – West Rift SC links that require contact. Those contacts could either be due to Kuliak presence in the Tanzania Rift Valley or due WR-SC passing through the “Kuliak area”. But Sandawe – Kuliak contact points Kuliak presence in the Tanzanian Rift Valley.

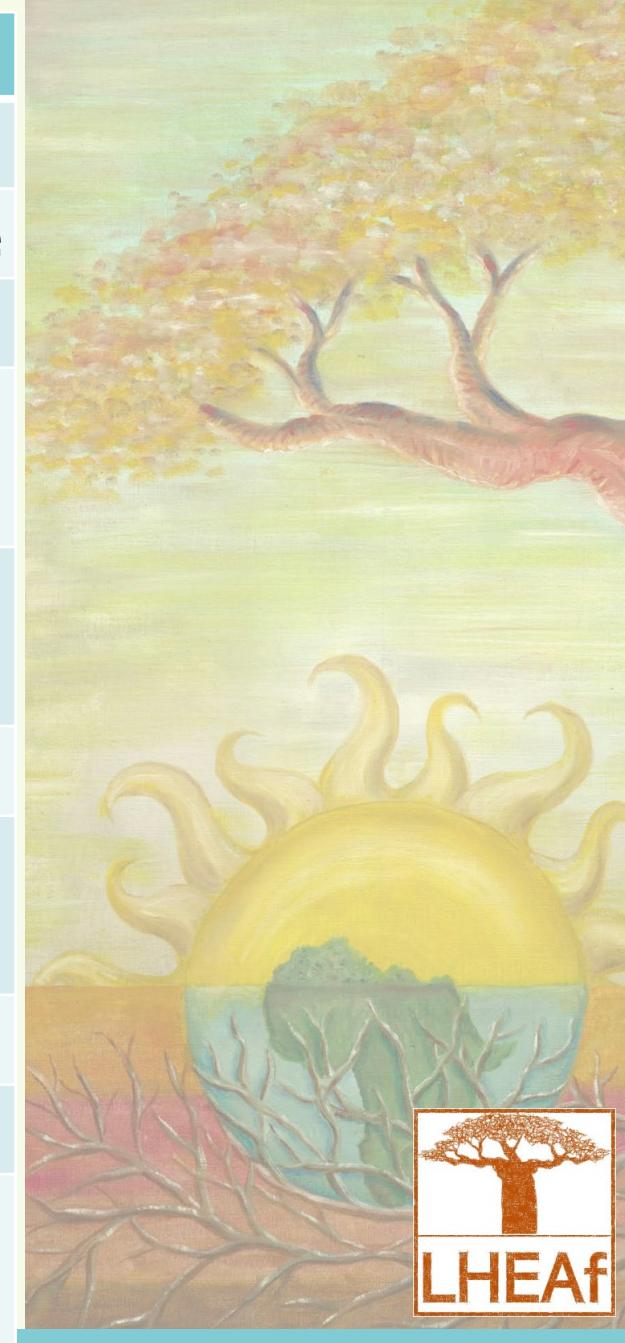


# HADZA

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Hadza Gloss	Hadza	Kuliak	Kuliak gloss
eye	ʔákʷhá-kó	ekú-	eye
spear (n)	ʔutʰume-ko	ìtsúm-	pierce, puncture
big warthog	bajagu	békù-	male warthog
to break/crush, shatter	baṭa	pɛsél-	break, chip, knap
area of burnt grass	daso-ko	dàsòkò-	flatland of the Dodoth
area of burnt grass	daso-ko	dàs-	be flat (of land)
four-toed elephant			
shrew	dorokʰa	déró-	mouse, rat
young woman	cλ'akʷe-ko	ceki-	woman, wife
pile(s) of shit	hitʃi	ets'í-	dung, feces
Acacia sp	ḥorai	kúraì-	Acacia brevispica



baldness	paja-ko	palóró- (m-)	be bald (on top)
grey-headed sparrow	dʒaʃa	dzàrà-	oxpecker, tickbird
millipede	kʷitʃi	kuts'á-	bug, insect, worm
crested francolin	kereketh̩a	bílíkərət̩é è-	crested francolin
abdomen, belly	hotʃha-(ko)	hejuú-	suprapubic area
bruise from being struck	kʷa?aja	kwárá-	bruise, scar
bushes, thicket	tʃiki-ko	tsèk-	bushy/hairy, be-
white, light	pecλ'a	bèts'-	light/white, be-



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# pWestRift South C

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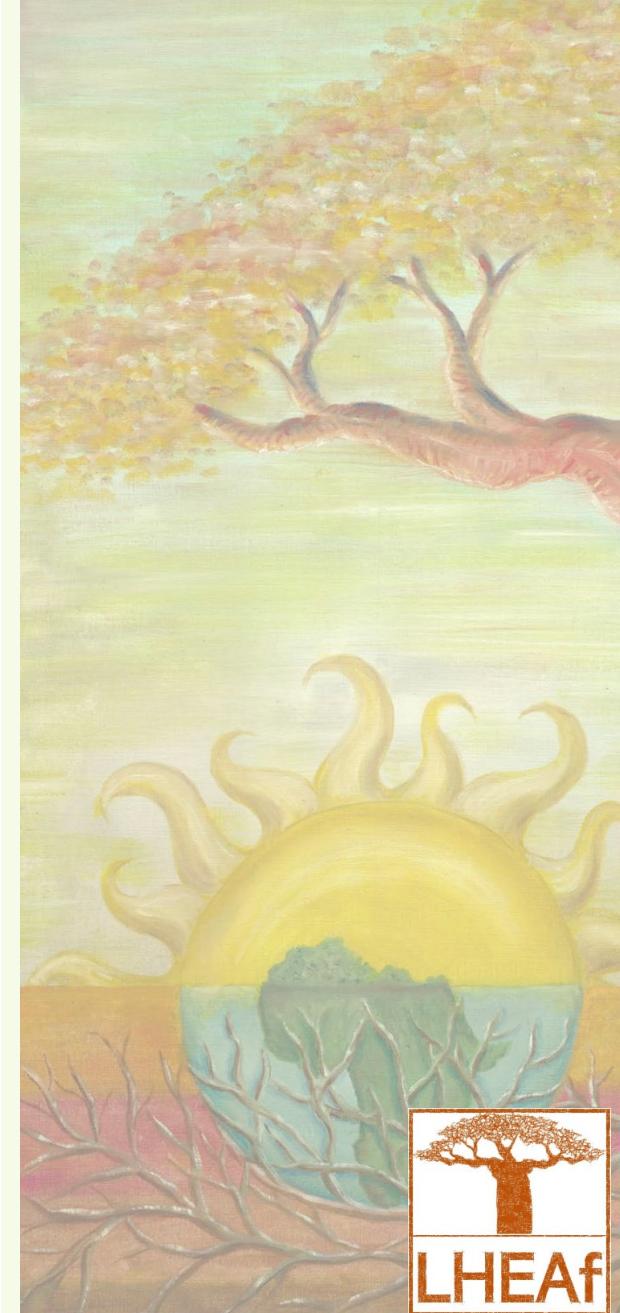


<b>pWR gloss</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>pWR</b>	<b>Kuliak (Ik)</b>	<b>Kuliak gloss</b>	
close	y	ts'eeg	zik		Ikizu zεεg
foot (print)	y	dag-ira	dε(gw)á	foot	
rhino	X	doofaa	Ny: dòp		
belly	y	gura'a	gúró	heart	pODAT *koror
throat	X	gwa᷑.aba	gwàà-	crop, stomach	
hot	X	haam	háb		
rope		hima	simá	cord, fiber	lhanzu s>h
tendon (of knee)	X	kanú	konì-	ligament, tendon	
go to	X	kaw	ka-	go	
hyraxes	X	kuunaa	kwIníkí-	hyrax	

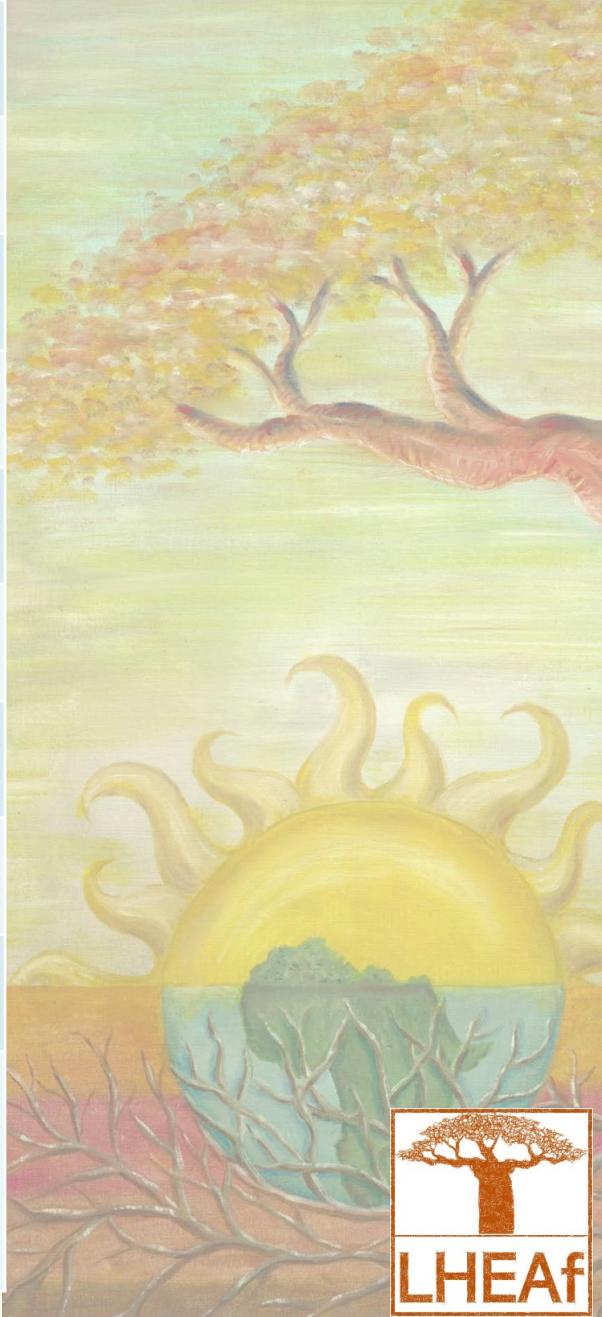


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maggots	X	kwits-ináa	kots'á-	insect, worm	
rib, chest	y	ṭabi	laṭù-	pectoral muscle	
give birth	X	laqwal	S: lakwan	child	
anoint, rub in		maax	imák-	bandage, bind	
suck	SS	nuunuu'	nuunú	suckle!	pKAL
orphans		pan.áy	bɔnání-	orphan	pSN
cover (v)	y	qup	gùb-	cover	
sky	y	rawa	rèbè-	light rain	
throw up bile		saax	kutsák-	urine	
urinate		soox	kutsák-	urine	

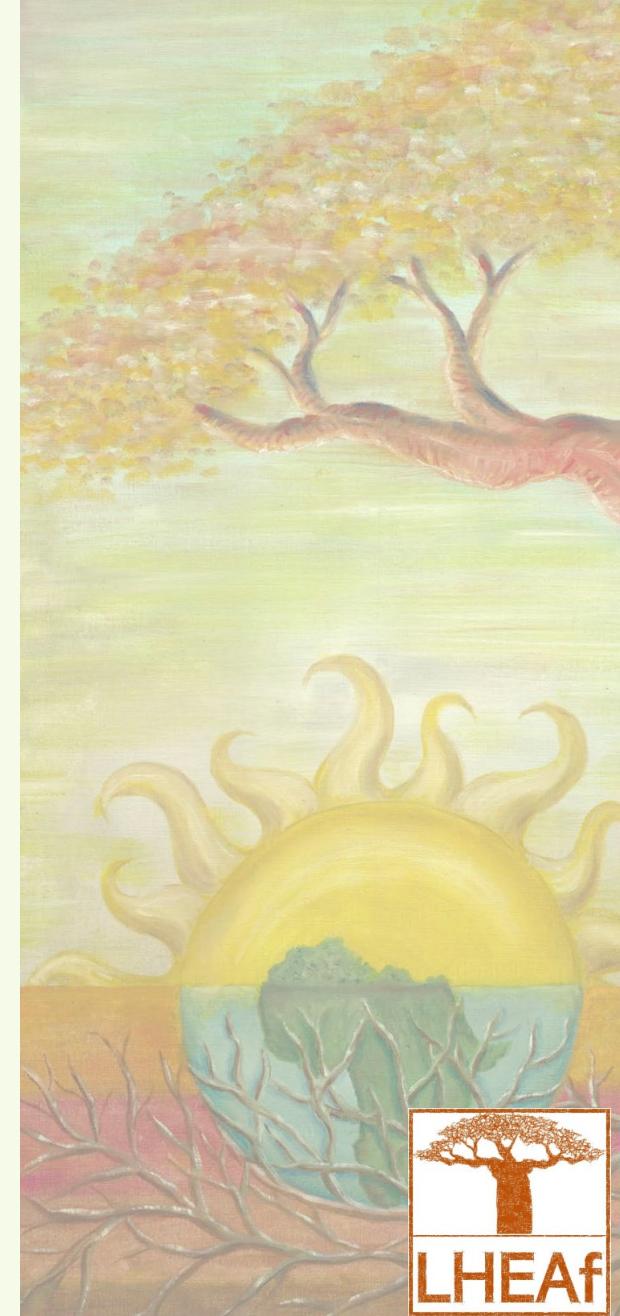


head	y	saga	sog	mountain	
mousebirds		samiyú	tsówírì-	mousebird	
dog	X	soo'ay	tsoé-	wild dog	
doves		tɬ'abaa	jabú-gwàà-	guinea fowl	
buy	X	tɬ'axw	dzígw-	buy, sell	
bushy ends		ts'aaboo	tsúbá-	bird tail	
cool	X	ts'a'	tsá-	dry	
blood	y	ts'eedee	sèà	blood	
4	y	ts'igahha	ts'agúsé	4	
press, squeeze	X	ts'ooñ	tütsú	squeeze, wring	



LHEAf

dirt	y	ts'uma	jumú-	dirt, earth, soil	
uproot	X	tuč	rù-	uproot	
drink	X	wah	wèt	drink	
dombeya tree		wahaaru	warIwarí-	dombeya tree	
fig tree	X	ɿaants'áa	áts'á-	sycamore fig	
homestead, area		ɿaya	awá	homestead	
call	y	ɿooɿ	ó-	call	
shame, respect, pity	X	muree	mòr	flee, respect	Sandawe mure.
name of mountain		Kwará	kwará	mountain	



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# Observations

About 50 quite strong similar lexical items for Kuliak – West Rift contact. This is a lot!

There must have been quite intense Kuliak - West Rift contact.

For some items the WR word is retained from Cushitic

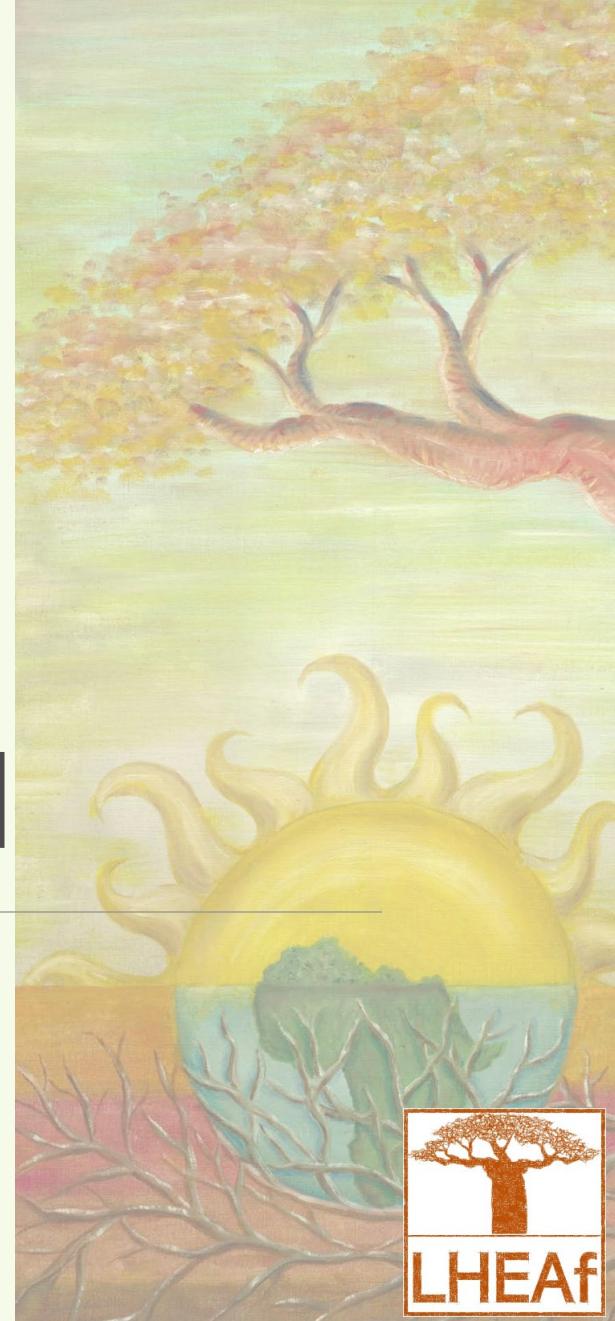
For quite a few, the WR correspondent is in Factor X. If we assume Kuliak > WR in these cases this is part of the solution of the problem of Factor X in WR SC.

A second round of reconsideration is needed and try to set up correspondences and to understand differences.



# Kuliak – Mara Bantu

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# 1 'close'

Kuliak zik

Ikizu zεeg

PWR ts'eeg **Cushitic cognate: Somali joog 'stop'.**

If it is indeed a Cushitic in PWR, then we can assume transfer from a WR Cushitic source into Ikizu (more?). Ikizu is geographically closest to WR

The potential cognate to Kuliak looks good. Scenario? Direct contact PWR or through Mara Bantu. The latter is unlikely if it is restricted to Ikizu in Mara



# 2 'foot'

Ik      dɛ(gw)á

Soo      tegw

PWR      dagira 'foot' Cushitic

Could be analysed as derived from a simplex \*dag (v) via suffix \*-ira for nouns of instrument. PNWR metonymic shift, GO collective reanalysis. PIRQ absence of velar lenition unexplained. PSWR progressive vowel assimilation. AL transvelar vowel levelling. PIRQ regressive vowel assimilation. PIRQ tonalisation of the accent (PIRQ5), terminal erosion (PIRQ20). IR loss of final high tone. Cushitic cognates: PEC \*lak- 'foot, leg'.

IR digir (m) 'footprint, trail'

GO digír (m) 'trails'

AL degera (f) 'trail'

BU dagara

WR – Kuliak transfer before WR added the instrumental suffix



### 3 'rhino'

pWR \*doofaa

Nyang'i dòp            rhino

Remarkable resemblance PWR and Nyang'i. Is the p word-final in Nyang'i or can we assume a (prior) final vowel? p>f intervocally is likely sound change. Any Kuliak internal p-f relations?

WR-Kuliak/Nyang'i transfer

+ transfer into Bantu languages with final /p/

Other root: Ehret (1971) has ho:burje:d < \*yo:buria found in Dadog (=Barabaig); Rottland has (h)o:burj ((h)o:buljé:ra (5,6=Buradiga, Bianjida)139, 141: As SN in Kikuyu (horia (<p), Sonjo (mboria), Gusii (ekeobiiria). GP: only some Chaga (Mochi) mbuRa, South Rombo mbuRya, Gweno mbúria, Chathu mburia.



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#### 4 'belly'

Ik gúró- heart

**pWR** \**gura'a* (n.sg.m) 'belly'. Cushitic retention: Arbore geré' 'belly', Oromo garaa 'stomach', **PEC** \**gar/-* 'belly'

DAT gúrōr-òo-dà < POD koror

WR is retention from Cushitic. stomach > heart is possible (feeling body part in WR). Is there any story possibly for final ó in Ik. Only Ik? The cognate with Datooga would explain a final ó in Ik. If this is Cushitic transfer into Datooga and then into Ik, where would that contact have happened. Tale-Cushites in Northern Tanzania? Is a transfer from Ik into Datooga conceivable?



5 'throat'

Ik gwàà- crop, stomach

**pWR \*gwaʕaba** (n.sg.f) 'throat' Probably derived from \*gwiʕ 'swallow' by a lost suffix \*-Vba for nouns of instruments.

The PWR root is factor X = cannot shown to be Cushitic retention

Formal connection good especially if -Vba is PWR sfx and derivation.

Semantics through 'crop' in Ik?



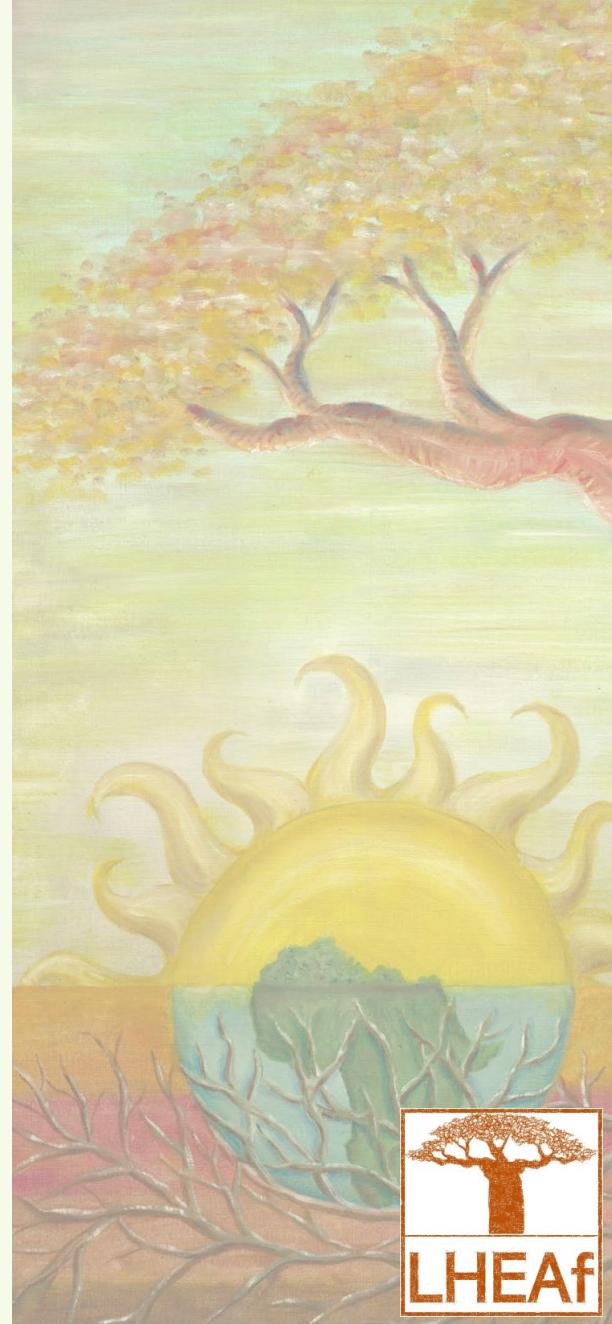
6 'hot'

Ik háb- be hot

**PWR \*haam** (v) 'be(come) hot'

Factor X in PWR.

b >m needs explanation. It is a verb in WR, hence possibly hab-am with lenition and loss of b but b does not lenite in Burunge, does not work.



7 'rope'

Ik simá- cord, fiber

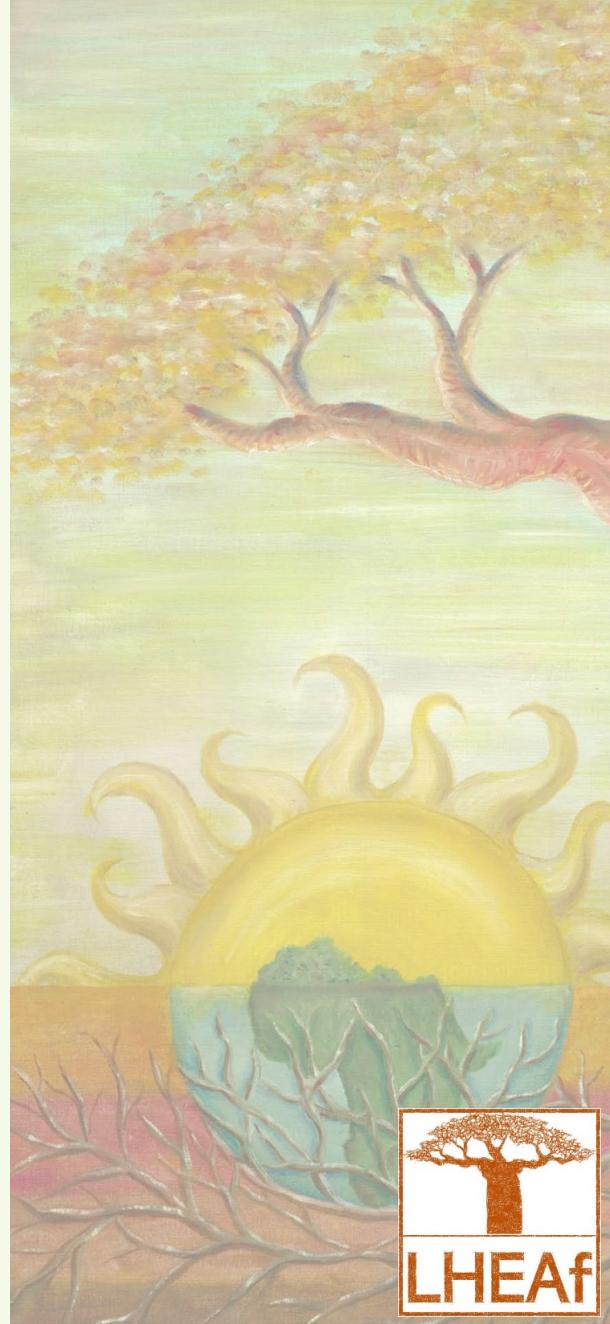
PWR \***hima** (n.sg.m) 'rope'

s > h is the likely direction.

So, if related, Kuliak → PWR

or Kuliak <> PWR and WR internal sima > hima but there is no indication of inner WR  
s>h

but there is a sound law in Ihanza in the Tanzanian Rift Valley.



‘tendon’

Ik: kanú koní-      ligament, tendon

PWR \*kanú (n.sg.m) ‘tendon (of the knee)’

PWR factor X

Vowel differences difficult to account for.



# ‘go’

go to, advance |kaw kà- go lk

PWR \*kaw (v) ‘go to, advance’

Final -w in WR could be derivational suffix.

PWR factor X.



# ‘hyrax’

Ik kwiničí-                    hyrax

**ALBU\*kuunaa** (n.pl.f) ‘hyraxes’

PWR factor X. Can final syllable in Ik be viewed as a formative?



# ‘maggots’

Ik k̄uts’á- ‘insect, worm’

**ALBU\*kwitsináa** (n.pl.f) ‘maggots’

Factor X.

-inaa is an nomen actionis suffix in PSWR.



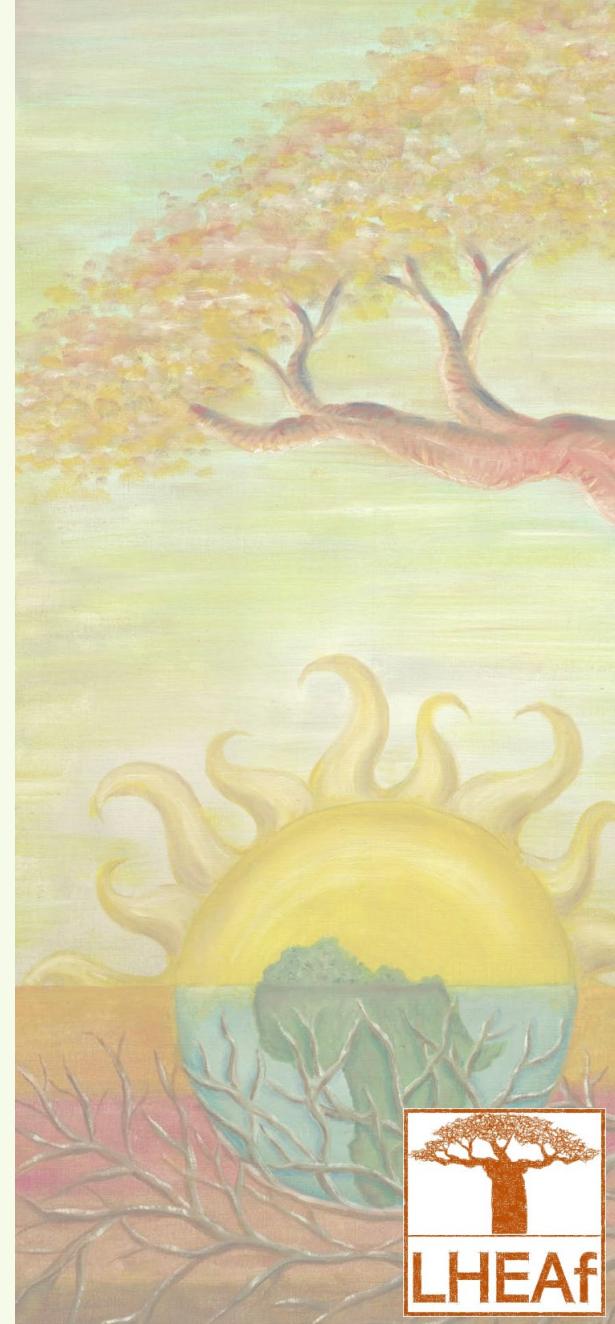
# ‘rib, chest’

Ik làfò- pectoral muscle

PWR \*slabi (n.sg.m) ‘1. rib, chest; 2. bush; 3. group, mass’

Cushitic cognates: Somali laab ‘chest’.

PWR inherited root. Is there any confirmation of b>f or b>f within Kuliak?



# ‘birth/child’

Soo lakwan      child

PWR \*laqwal (v) ‘give birth, deliver’

Factor X.

Is final nominaliser in lk?



# ‘swear’

Ik imák-                   bandage, bind

What is initial i- in Ik? i- is caus pfx in S+E Niloitc (rk)

**\*PWR maax (v)** ‘anoint, rub in, smear medicine’

> <sup>ALBU\*</sup>maaxu ‘clay of light colour’

Semantics different. Final consonant difference cannot be explained. Maybe not?



# ‘suck’

Ik: nuunú                   suckle! (said to infants)

**PIRQ\*nuunuu'** (v.frq) ‘suck breast’

Root of limited distribution within WR. Possibly sound symbolic

also pKalenjin



# ‘orphan’

Ik bɔnání-                    orphan

PIRQ\***panáy** (n.col.m) ‘orphans’

Limited distribution WR and possibly a transfer from Proto Southern Nilotic \*panan ‘poor person, pauper’ (Ehret 1971: 99), but also present in Bantu, e.g. Nyamwezi mpIIIna (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992).

Is there a -ani sfx in Ik, Kuliak

also in pSN



# ‘cover’

Ik: gùb- blanket, cover (v)

PWR \*qup (v) ‘cover’

Cushitic retention in WR: Dullay (Gawwada Dalpena) k'up ‘close (e.g. house)’.

WR -Kuliak contact. Direction?

> \*qip ‘be shut, be closed, be full, be stuffed’.



# ‘sky, rain’

Ik rèbè- light rain

\*rawa (n.sg.tant.m) ‘sky’

Cushitic parallels: PEC \*roob ‘rain’.

Cushitic retention in WR but also cognate in DAT róob-dà which is inherited from PSN róop. The b in PEC suggest b>w in development to WR. Vowels differ. Hypothesis of PEC transfer into PSN (in Kenya) and also transfer to Ik/Kuliak?



# ‘bile’ ‘urine’

Ik k̩otsák-      urinate

PWR \*saax (v) ‘throw up bile’

BU semantic shift and merger with \*soox ‘urinate’

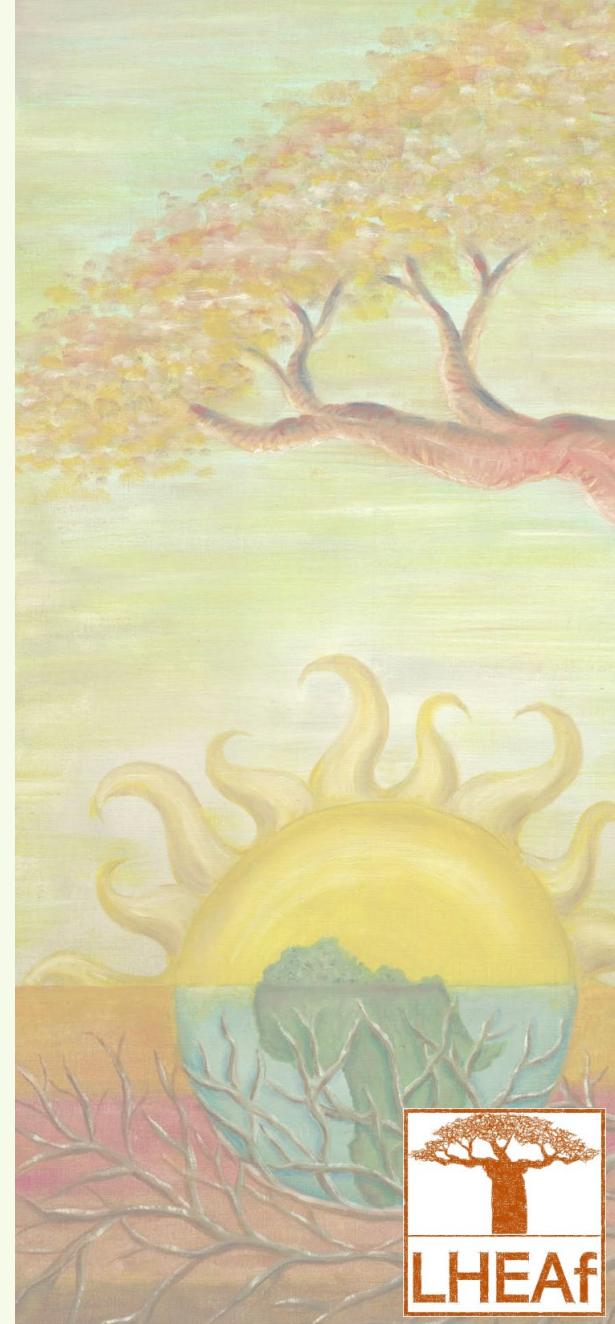
PWR \*soox (v) ‘urinate’

Can the initial *ku* in Ik be a formative? If it is then there is a potential link – but the vowel is for the other meaning in WR.

DAT sagwas ‘bile’ is unrelated.

Are PWR saax- and soox- are actually cognate

To do: look for links further in Cushitic



# ‘head’

Soo sog mountain

\***saga** (n.sg.m) ‘head’

Inherited root in WR. Somali sagan ‘neck’.

Form in Soo has final *g*. Do we know anything about the Kuliak history of this sound?

*g* -> *g* easier than the other way around.



# ‘mousebird’

Ik tsówíři-

mousebird

**PIRQ\*samiyú** (n.col.m) ‘mousebirds’

Very limited distribution in WR (lack of data?).

Correspondence s-ts reoccurs.

m<>w need to be resolved

and the endings. -iyu is not formative in WR.

How about -iri in Kuliak?

Uncertain to be cognate.



# ‘dog’

Ik: tsoé- wild dog

PIRQ\***soo’-ay** (n.sg.m) ‘dog’

WR ay ~ee. s<>ts re-occurs. Promising cognate

Factor X.

The Cushitic root kuri is present in Rangi? Rest of WR has completely different root.  
‘dog’ is HG term? no cognate in Hadza,



# ‘dove’ ‘guinea fowl’

Ik jabú-gwàà- guinea-fowl

pWR: \*tlaabaa (n.col.f) ‘doves (sp.)’

Facotr X in WR.

tl'<> j OR dz

What is known about the Ik compound?



# ‘buy’

Ik dzígw-

buy, sell

PNWR\***tlaxw** (v) ‘buy, purchase’

WR Factor X.



# bushy tail

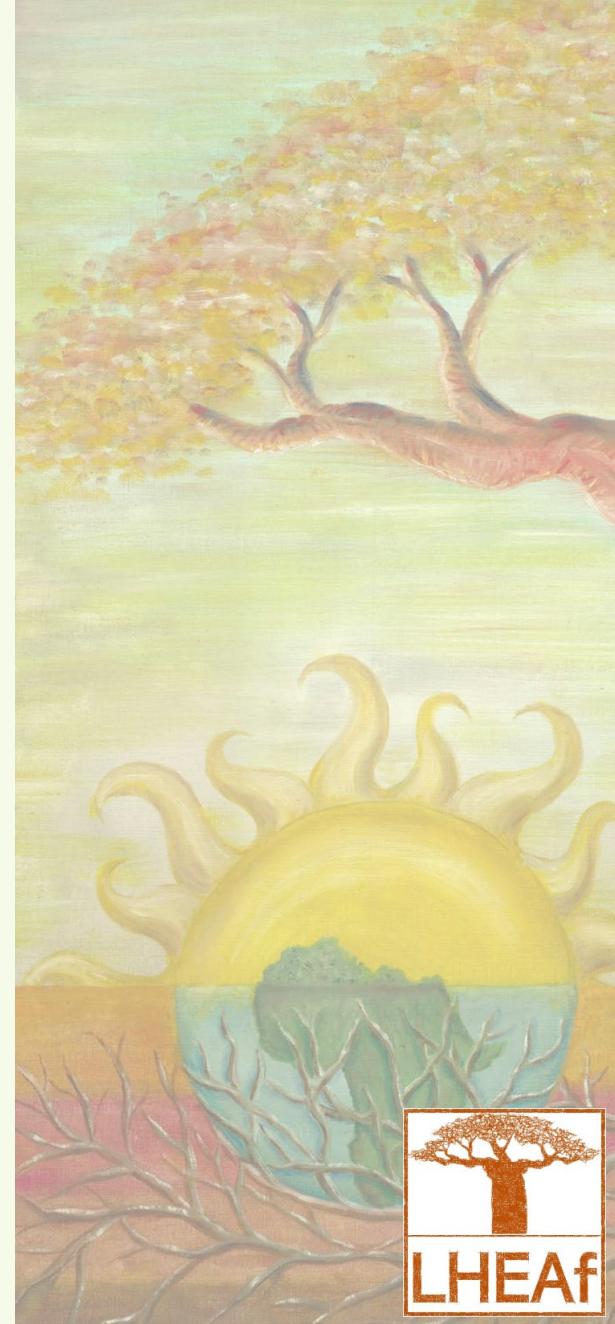
Ik tsóhbá-bird tail

PWR \*tsaaboo (n.pl.f) 'bushy ends; sisals'

Factor X in WR.

Sense of sisal lexical internal innovation.

Is semantic link with Kuliak convincing?



# ‘cool’ ‘dry’

Ik tsá- dry, be-

PWR \*tsa' (adj.sg) 'cool'

Factor X in WR. cool-wind-dry

s <> ts, s, z, Which one is regular? Are differences acceptable?

Is this semantic link attested elsewhere? .



# ‘blood’

Ik sèà- blood Ik

PWR \*tseedee (n.sg.f) ‘blood’

Cushitic retention in WR: Cushitic cognates: Agaw \*sär- ‘red’, PEC \*d'íig ‘blood’: Burji c'eeji.



# ‘bind, tie’

Ik zík- bind, fasten, tie

\*tseeg (v) ‘bind, tie, fasten, lock’

Cushitic retention. Cushitic cognate: Somali joog ‘stop’.



Ik        ts'agúsé four

**\*tsigahha** (num) 'four'

Cushitic retention.

Is -se a formative in Ik/Kuliak?



# ‘squeeze, wring’

Ik totsú- squeeze, wring

\***tsoo/** (v) ‘press, squeeze, wring’

Factor X in WR.

Semantics seems very close but is it?

Ik/Kuliak reduplication.



# ‘dirt’

Ik jʊmó- dirt, earth, soil

**PWR \*tsuma** (n.sg.tant.f) ‘dirt’

Cushitic retention or Oromoid.

WR > Kuliak



# ‘uproot’

Ik rù- uproot

pWR \*tu/ (v) ‘uproot’

Factor X in WR.

t<>r does it re-occur (r>d word-initial WR internally but not here).

