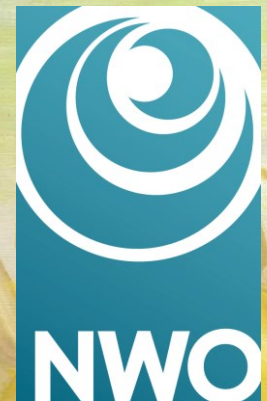


KULIAK influence

TERRILL SCHROCK PRESENTED BY MM



Kuliak important factor

Numerous Kuliak <> Sandawe apparent cognates

Kuliak <> Hadza links

Numerous Kuliak <> pWR apparent cognates

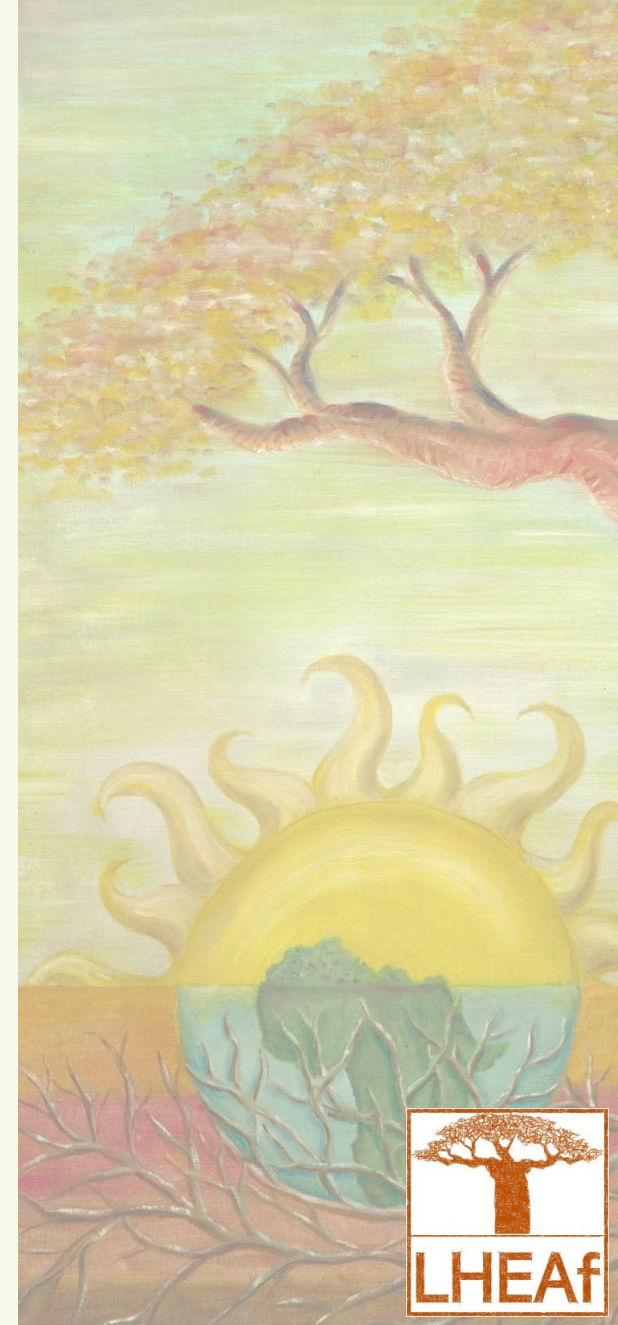
Considerable Kuliak influence on Mara Bantu



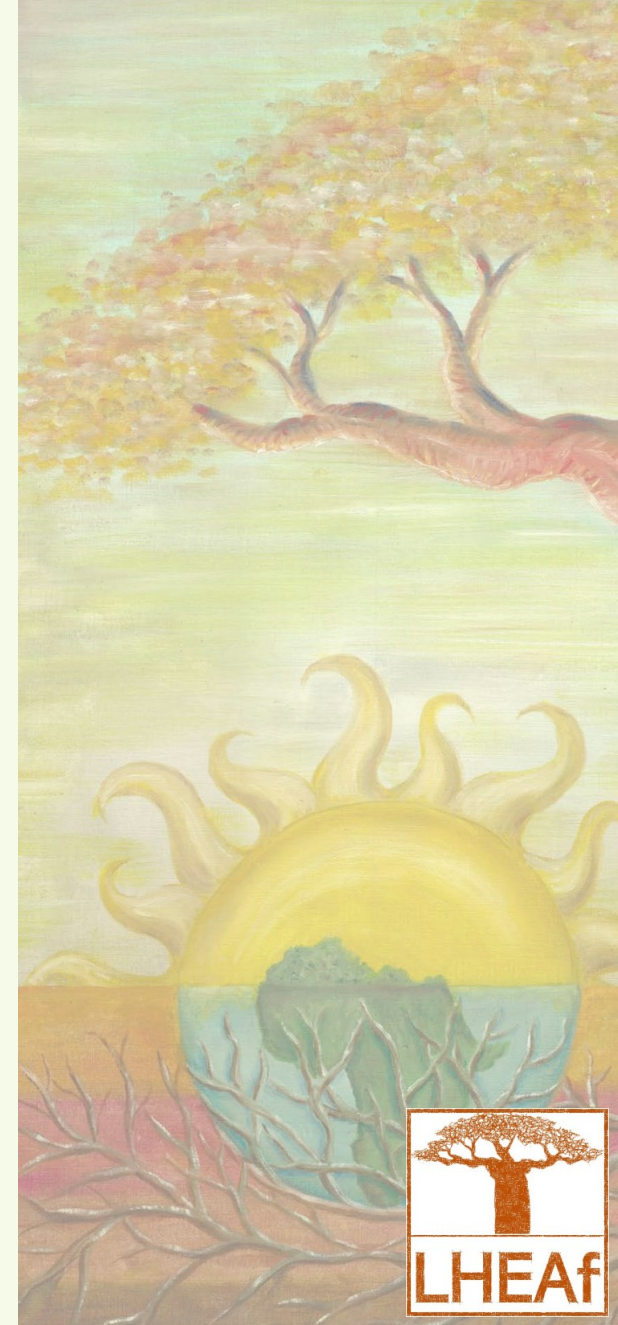
SANDAWE



Sandawe gloss	Sandawe word	Kuliak word	Kuliak gloss
to herd	báló	bàrò-	flock, herd (n)
to shave/wipe off	buťé	pòj-	peel, skin (v)
cattle yard	buru	boré-	cattle pen, corral
bush, shrub	dák ^h wa	dakú-	plant, tree, wood
to linger, stay, wait	dara	Idaar-	ambush, waylay
Sansevieria sp.	dzaátša	jódè-	Sansevieria sp.
net for hunting	dzágo	ságò-	snare, trap (n)
to defecate	dzákí	nts'áká-	defecate
to boil over	faʔé	fá-	cook by boiling



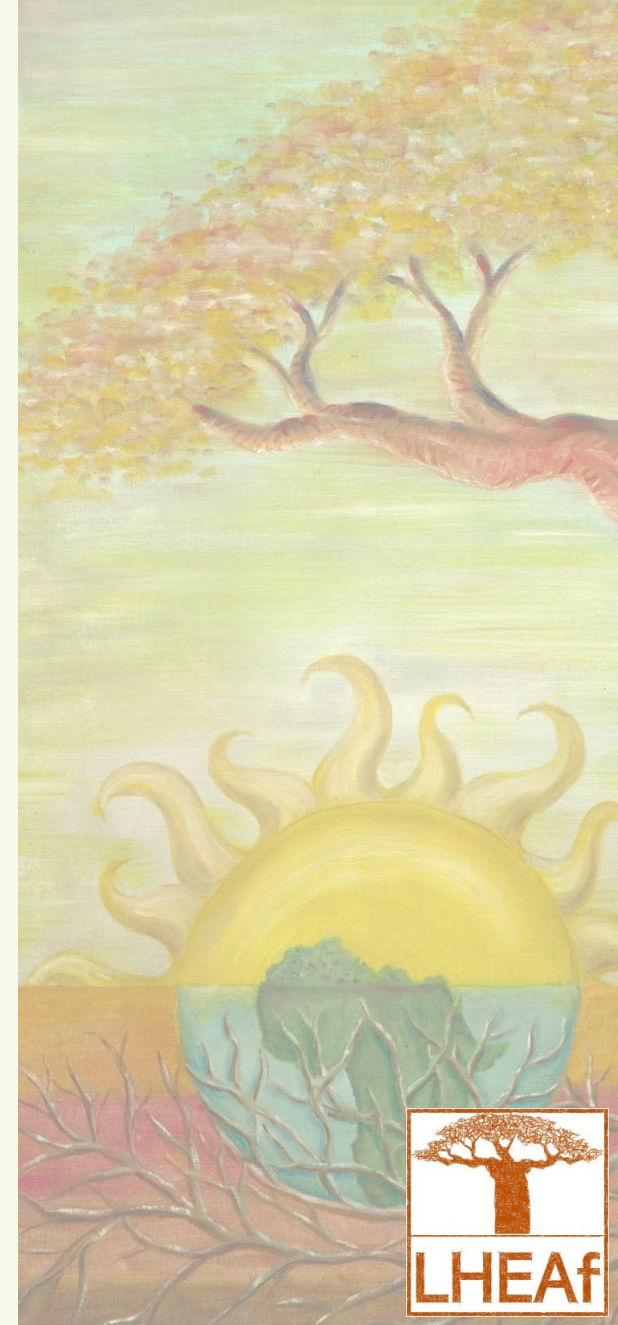
to become emaciated, weak	gāda	Ikár-	emaciated, skinny
edible (?)	gets'ugets'u	gwéts'-	sweet/tasty, be-
to burn, light, set fire to	káma	gàm-	kindle, light (v)
house	k ^h oo	hòò-	house, hut
ankle bone, outer ankle	k ^h uruk ^h uru	gòrìgòrì-	barefoot, hoof
to kneel	k ^h utũté	kutúnj-	kneel (vi)
water ladle	kókori	kóré-	dipper, ladle
to get lost, go astray, miss	ṭáká	hàk-	get lost, go astray, err
to lap up (like a cat)	ṭak'ṭak'	ɪjakíják	lap up



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

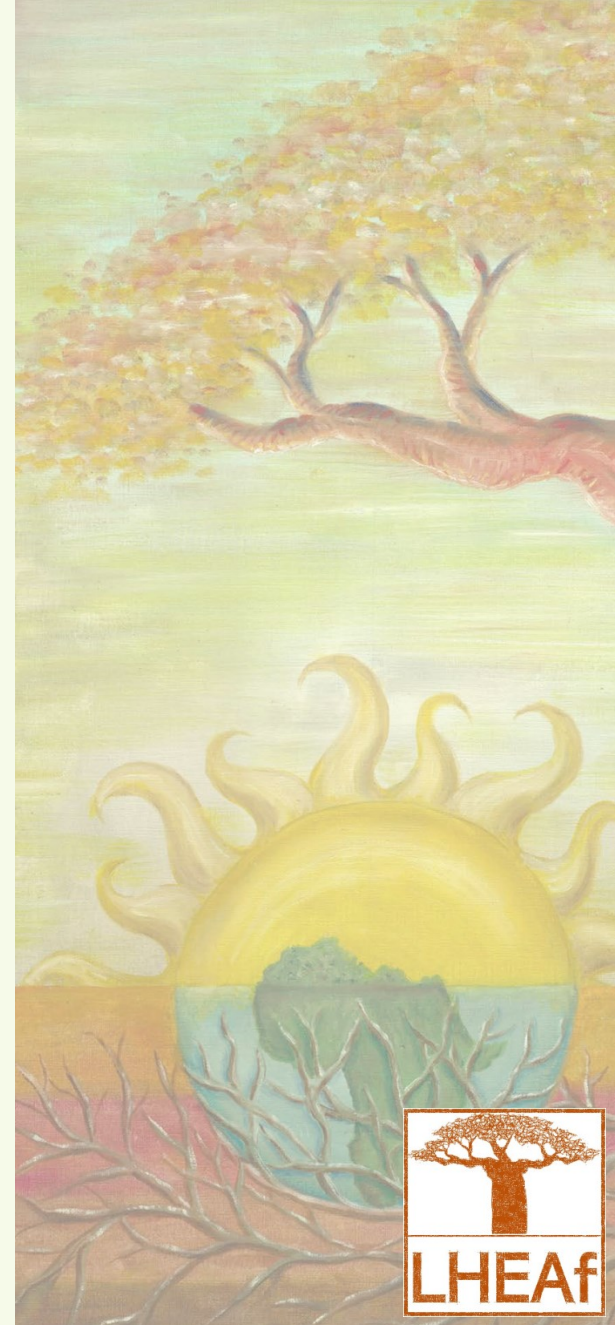


Corcorus trilocularis (plant)	sagári	segerí-	Steganotaenia araliacea
to rub, apply friction	susugé	tsutsúk-	rub in hands
mud, swampiness	tl'ók'õdo	dòk-	wet, be-
to belch, burp	ts'eeek'áá	ǰík-	belch, burp (v)
meat from belly/hide	ts'ákúsa	ǰákú-	meat left on hide
gravy, sauce	ǰoxoma	ǰákú-	meat left on skin



some with wider spread

+mother's brother	mááma	momóò-	mother's brother
+castrated bull	karam	karámǔ-	male eland
+hoe	koló	okol	small hoes
+goat	ṭá	hyòò-	cattle, cow
+pure honey	ts'égáni	ts'Iká-	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



Hadza Gloss	Hadza	Kuliak	Kuliak gloss
eye	ʔák ^{wh} á-ko'	ekú-	eye
spear (n)	ʔut ^h ume-ko	ìtsùm-	pierce, puncture
big warthog	baɽagu	bèkù-	male warthog
to break/crush, shatter	baɽa	pɛsél-	break, chip, knap
area of burnt grass	daso-ko	ɗàsòkò-	flatland of the Dodoth
area of burnt grass	daso-ko	ɗàs-	be flat (of land)
four-toed elephant shrew	doɽok ^h a	ɗé ró-	mouse, rat
young woman	cɿ'ak ^w e-ko	ceki-	woman, wife
pile(s) of shit	hitʃi	ets'í-	dung, feces
Acacia sp	hoɽai	kúraì-	Acacia brevispica



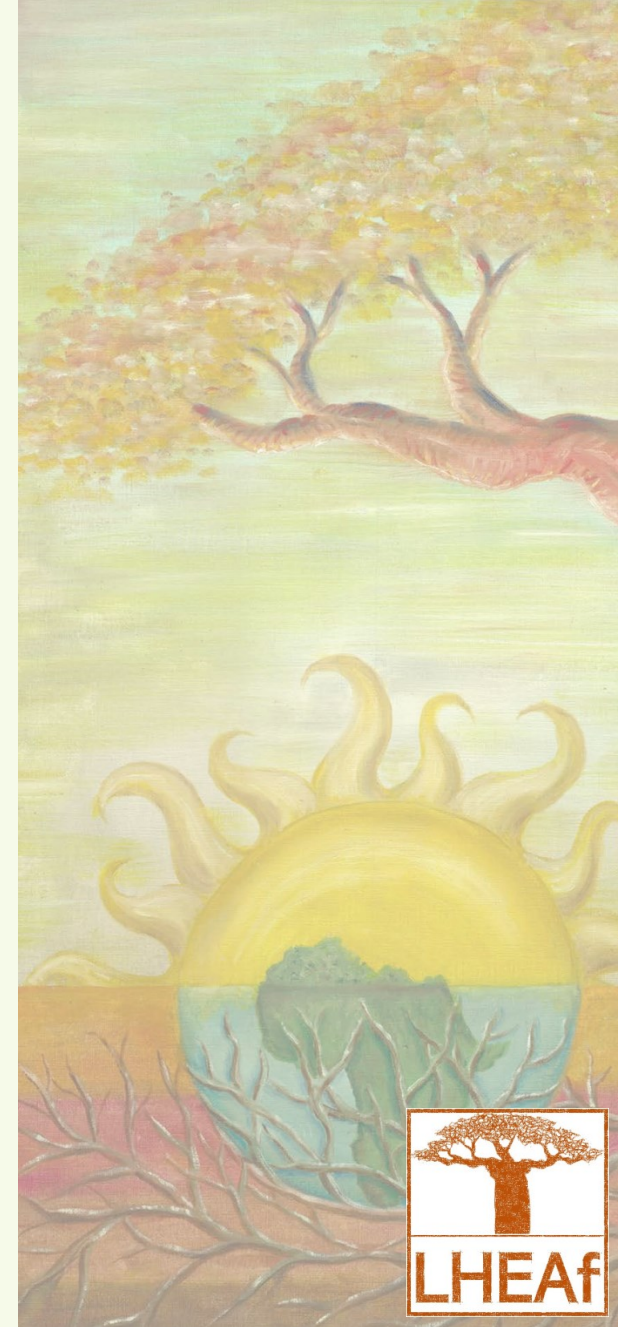
baldness	paɬa-ko	palóró- (m-)	be bald (on top)
grey-headed sparrow	dʒaɬa	dzàrà-	oxpecker, tickbird
millipede	kʷitʃi	kʊts'á-	bug, insect, worm
crested francolin	keɾeket ^h a	bílíkɛɾɛtɛ́ è-	crested francolin
abdomen, belly	hɔtʃ ^h a-(ko)	hejúù-	suprapubic area
bruise from being struck	kʷaʔaɬa	kʷará-	bruise, scar
bushes, thicket	tʃiki-ko	tsék-	bushy/hairy, be-
white, light	pecʌ'a	bɛts'-	light/white, be-



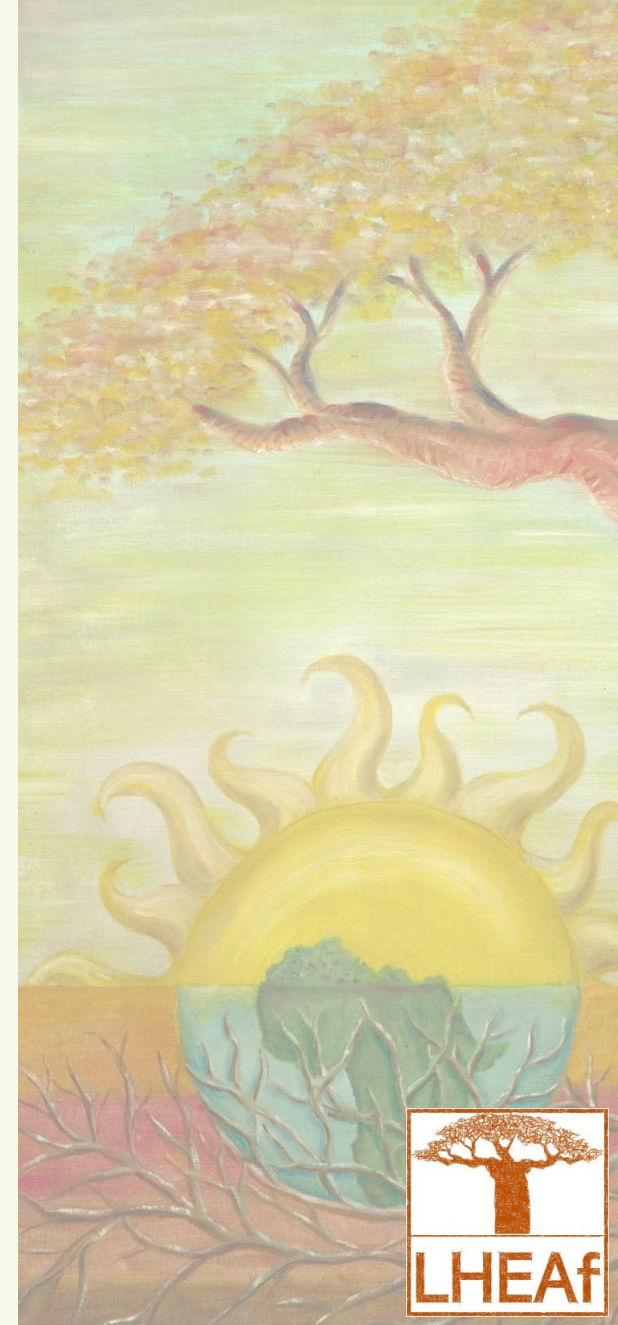
pWestRift South C



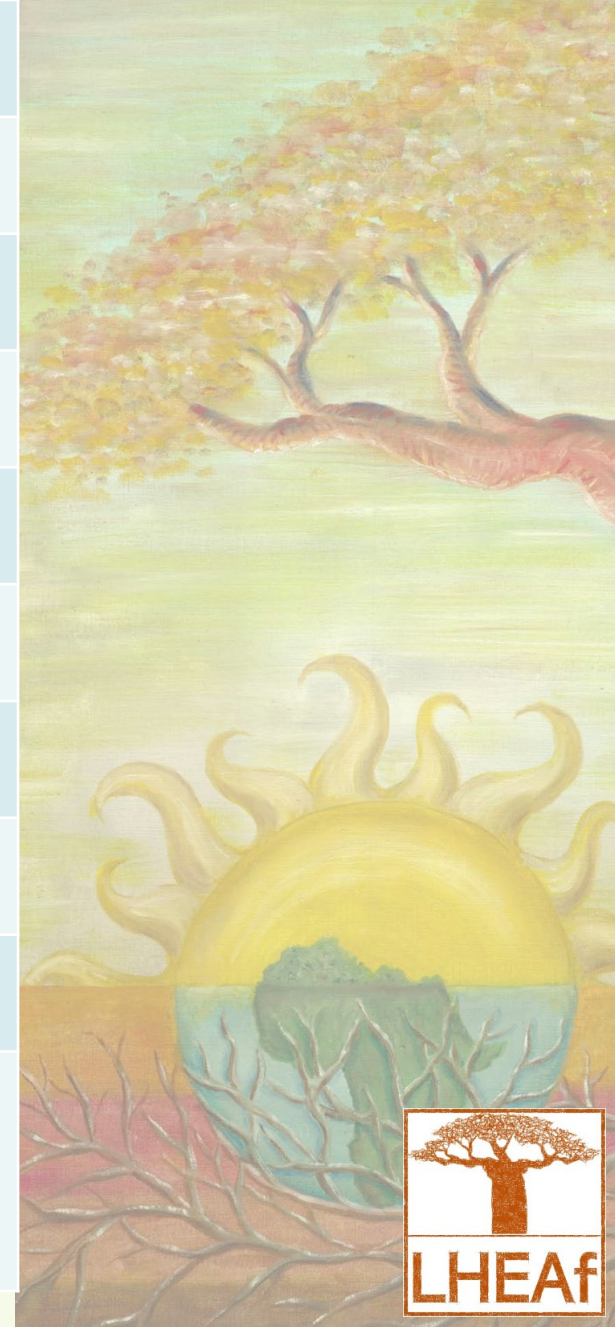
pWR gloss	C	pWR	Kuliak (Ik)	Kuliak gloss	
close	y	ts'eeg	zik		Ikizu zεεg
foot (print)	y	dag-ira	dε(gw)á	foot	
rhino	X	doofaa	Ny: dòp		
belly	y	gura'a	gúró	heart	pODAT *koror
throat	X	gwaʕ.aba	gwàà-	crop, stomach	
hot	X	haam	háb		
rope		hima	simá	cord, fiber	Ihanzu s>h
tendon (of knee)	X	kanú	konì-	ligament,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



maggots	X	kwits-ináa	kʊts'á-	insect, worm	
rib, chest	y	ɬabi	làfù-	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	kʊtsák-	urine	
urinate		soox	kʊtsák-	urine	



head	y	saga	sog	mountain	
mousebirds		samiyú	tsówíri-	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	tsúba'-	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'ooɕ	tʉtsú	squeeze, wring	



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



Observations

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

There must have been quite intense Kuliak - WestRift contact.

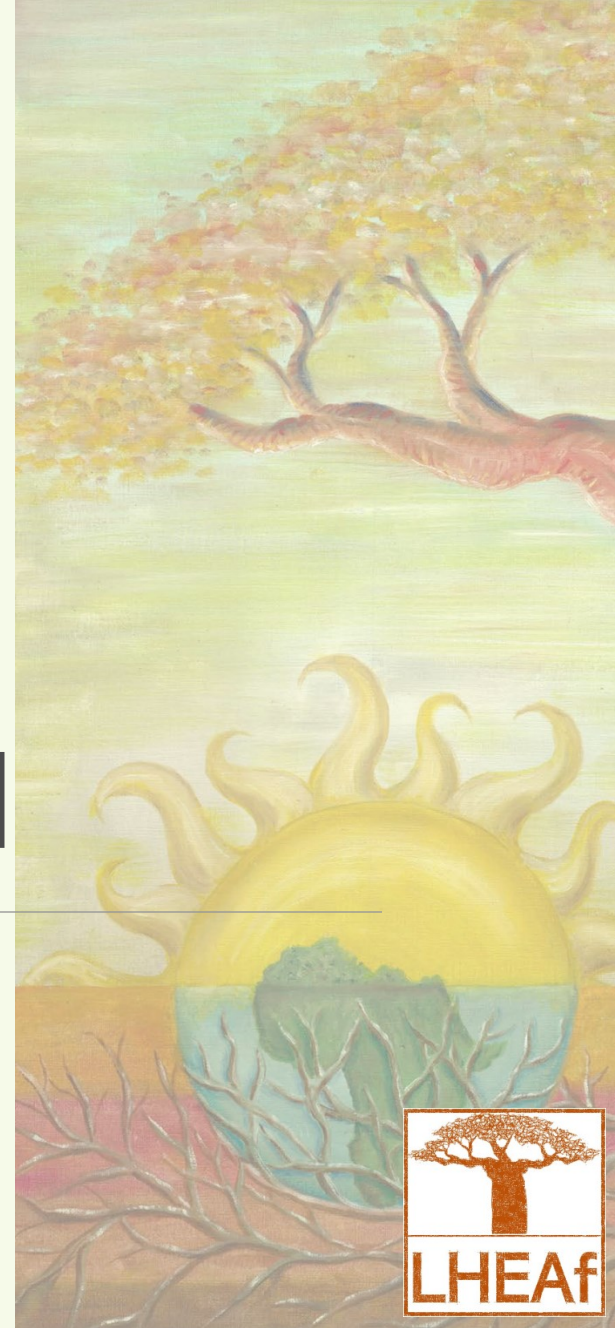
For some items the WR word is retained from Cushitic

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





1 'close'

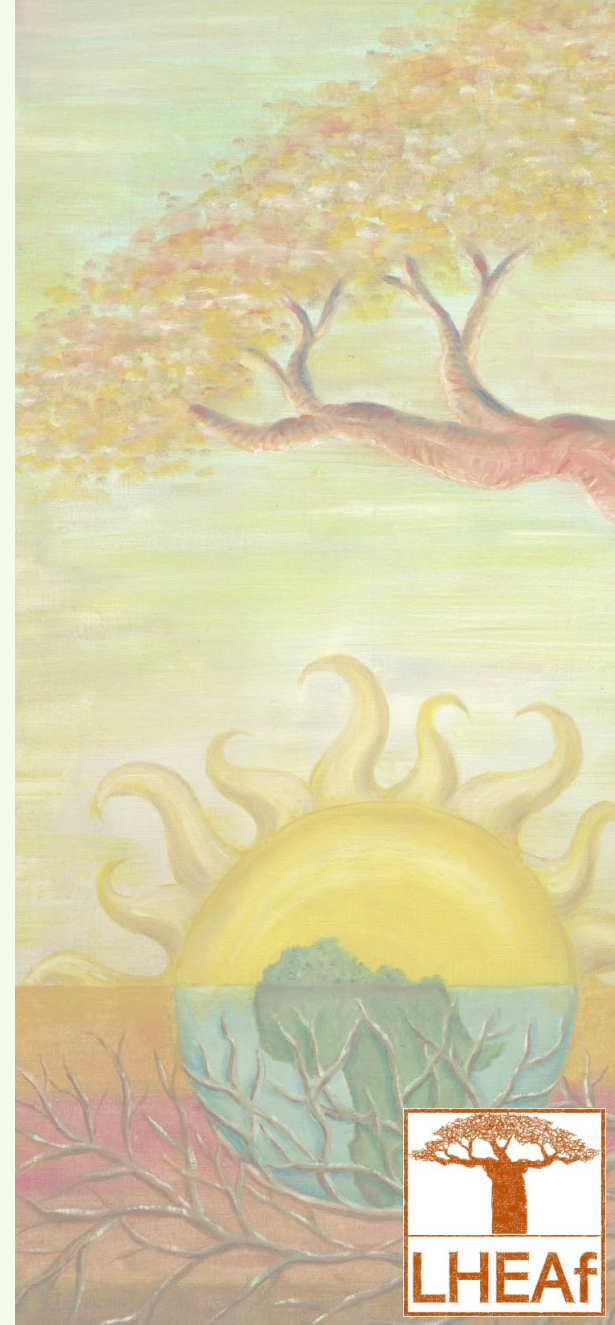
Kuliak zik

Ikizu zεεg

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’.

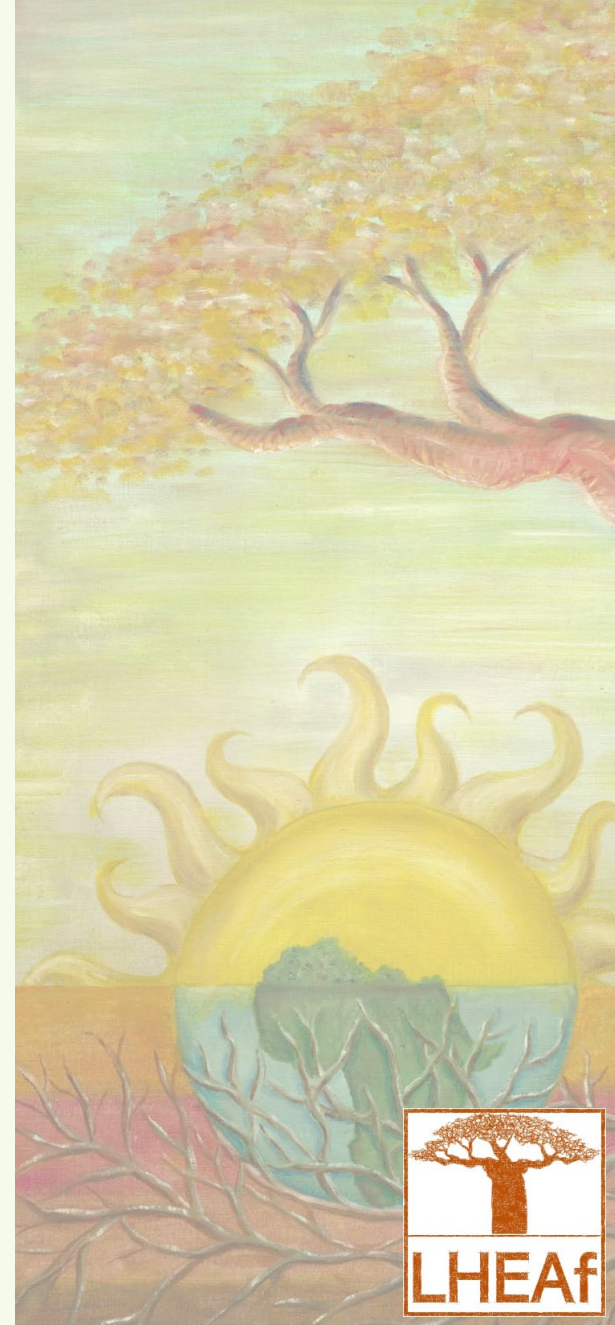
IR digir (m) ‘footprint, trail’

GO digír (m) ‘trails’

AL degera (f) ‘trail’

BU dagara

WR – Kuliak transfer before WR added the instrumental suffix



3 'rhino'

pWR *doofaa

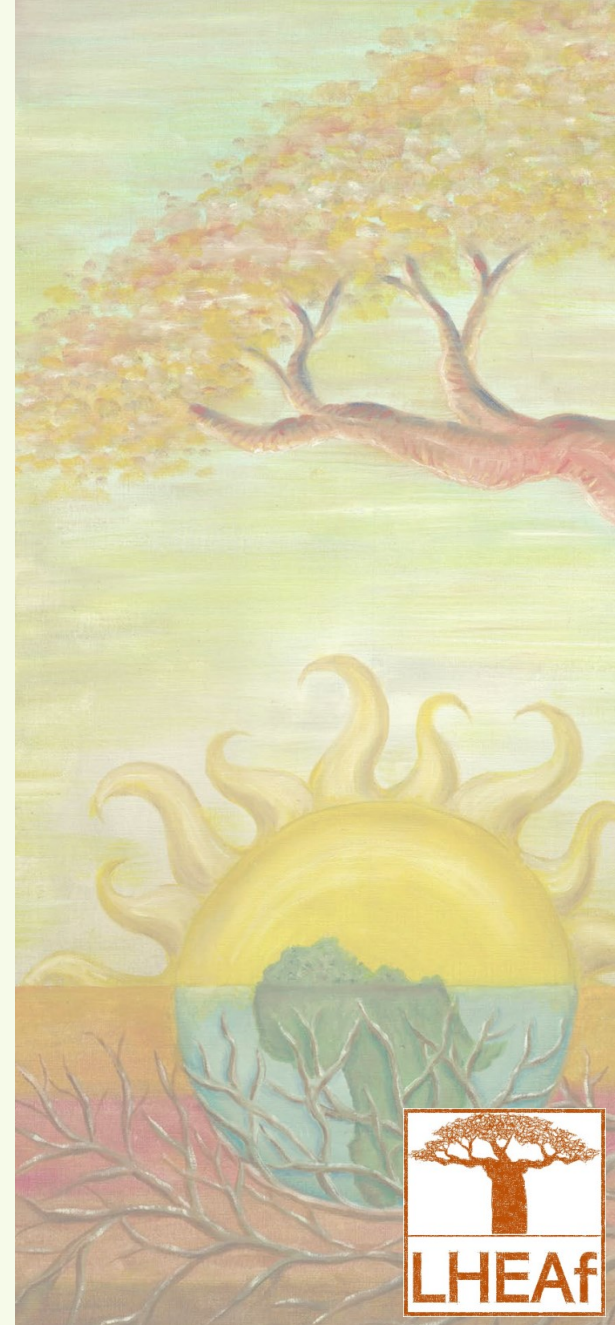
Nyang'i dòp rhino

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.



4 'belly'

Ik gúró- heart

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

DAT gùróṛ-ḵḵ-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'

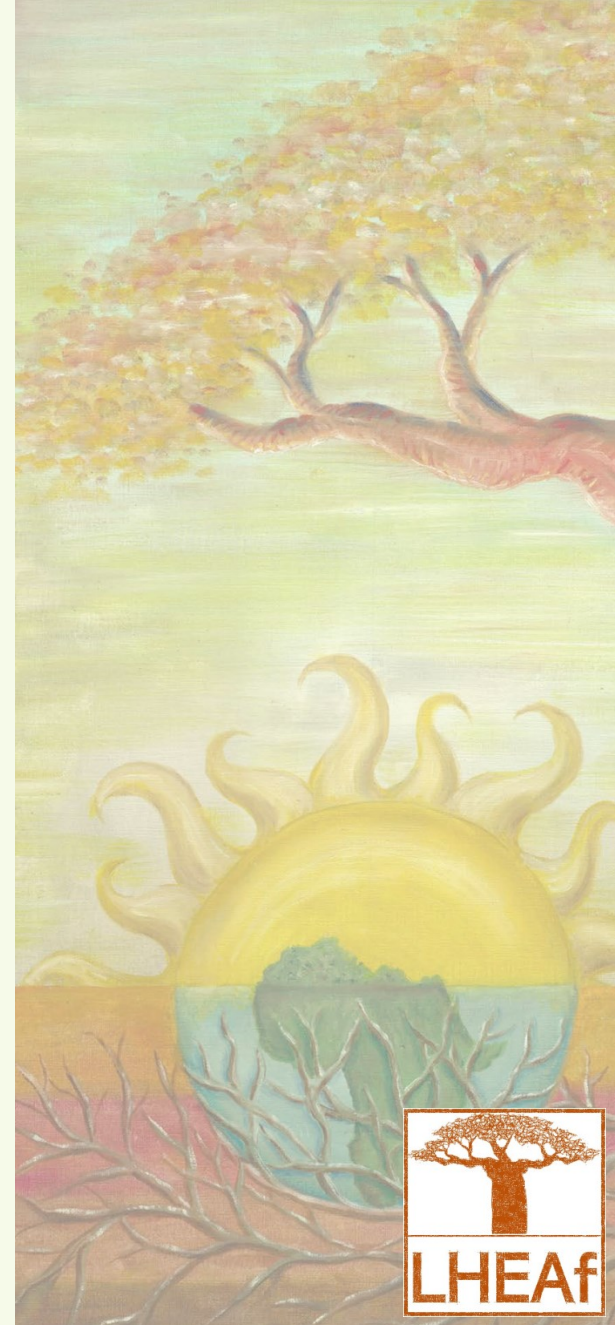
Ik gwàà- crop, stomach

pWR *gwaɣaba (n.sg.f) 'throat' Probably derived from *gwiɣ '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 Ihanzu in the Tanzanian Rift Valley.



‘tendon’

lk: 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.

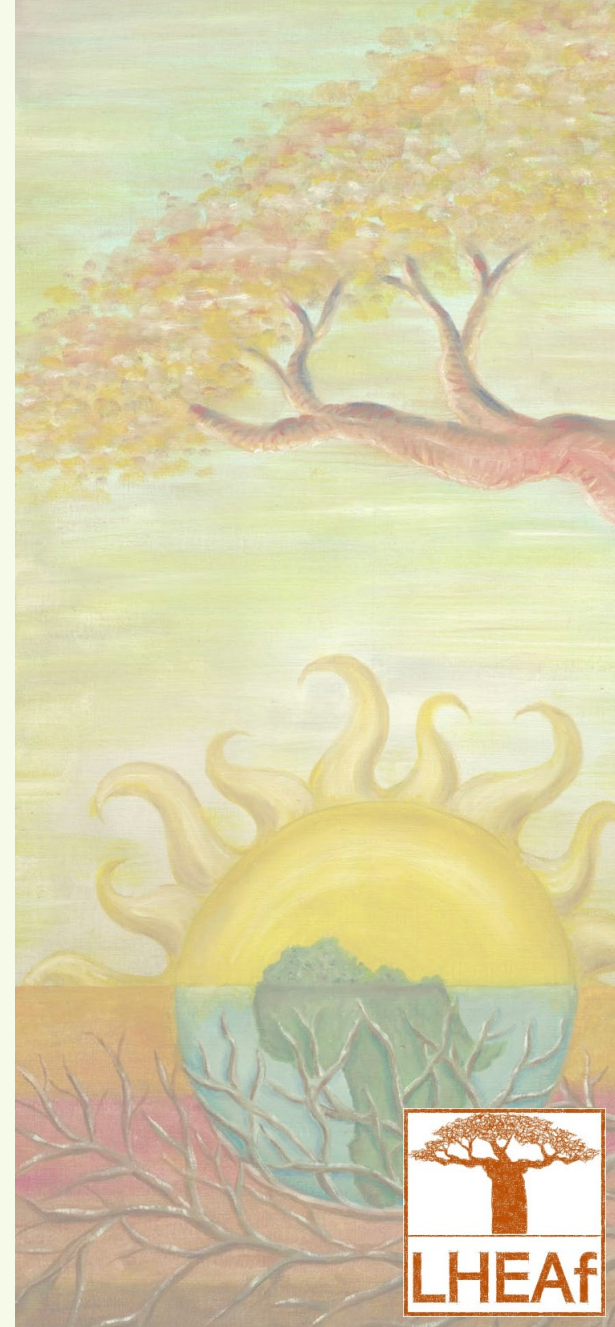


‘hyrax’

Ik kwini- hyrax

ALBU***kuunaa** (n.pl.f) ‘hyraxes’

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



‘maggots’

Ik kuts’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 Ik?



‘swear’

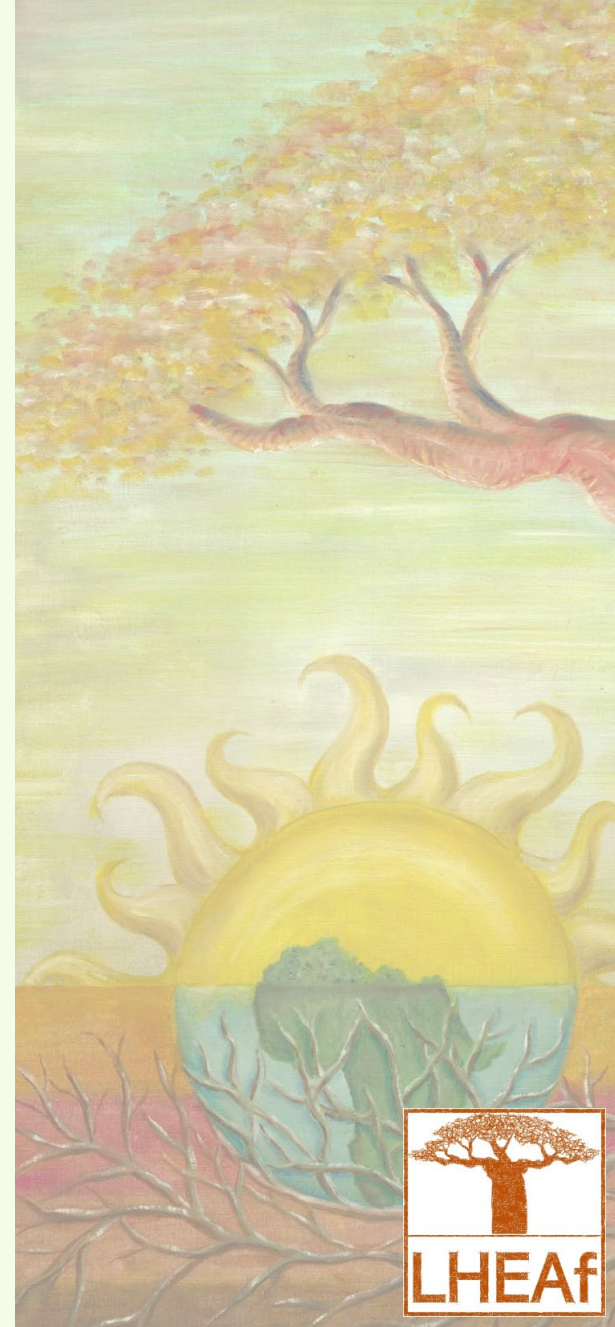
Ik imák- bandage, bind

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

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

> ^{ALBU}*maaxu ‘clay of light colour’

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

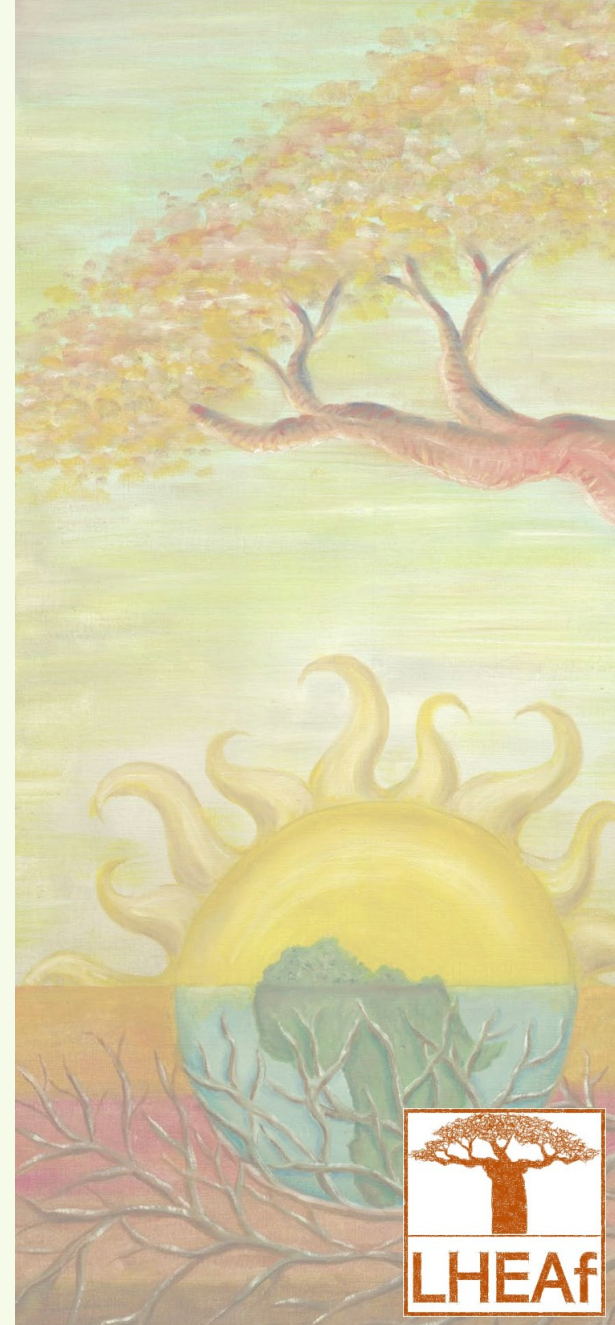


‘suck’

Ik: nuunú suckle! (said to infants)

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

Root of limited distribution within WR. Possibly sound symbolic
also pKalenjin



‘orphan’

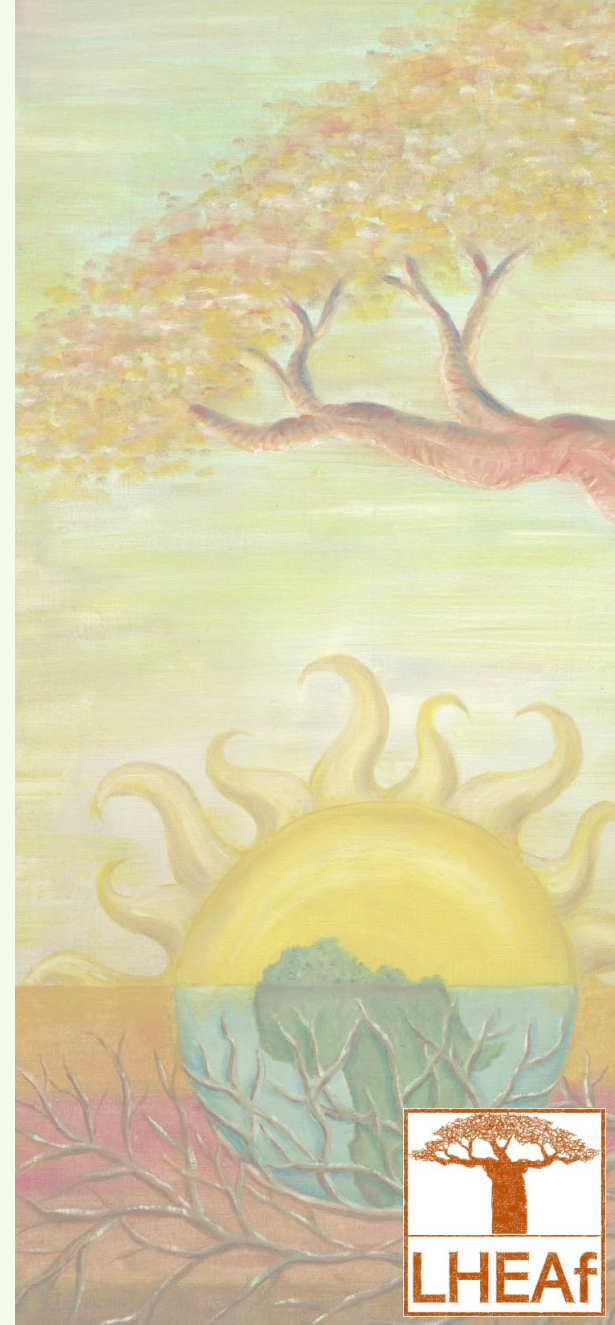
Ik bonání- orphan

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 mpllna (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992).

Is there a -ani sfx in Ik, Kuliak

also in pSN



‘cover’

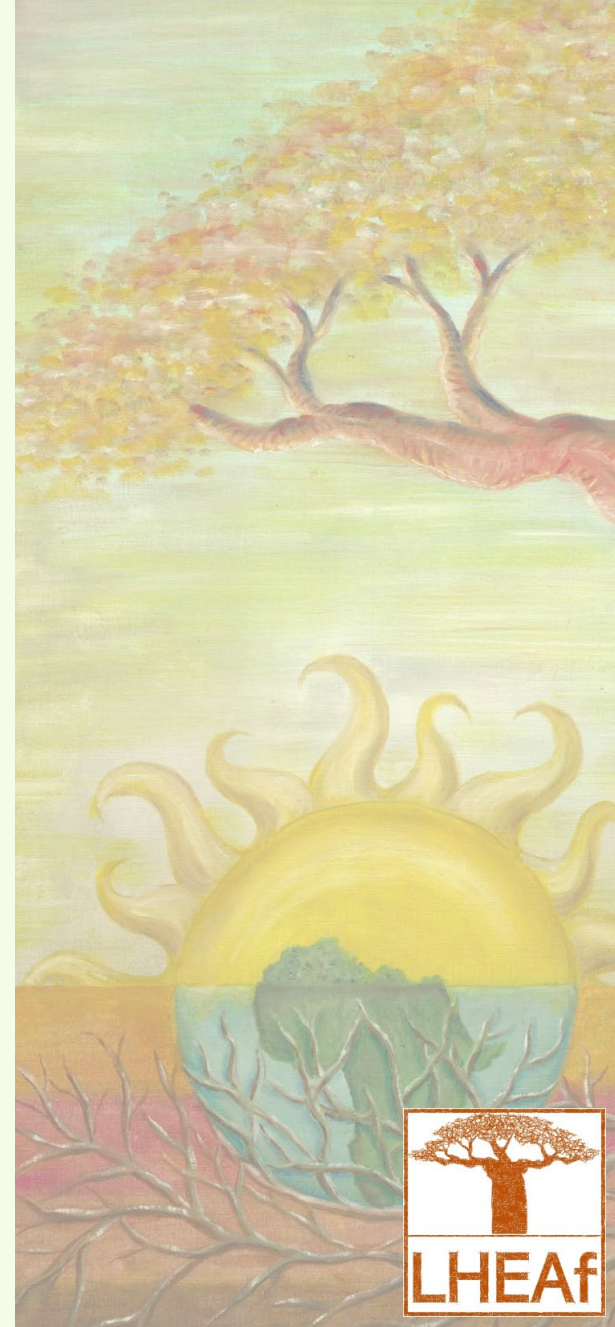
Ik: gùb- blanket, cover (v)

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 roop. 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 ḳɔtsák- urinate

PWR *saax (v) ‘throw up bile’

BU semantic shift and merger with *soox ‘urinate’

PWR *soox (v) ‘urinate’

Can the initial ḳɔ 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’

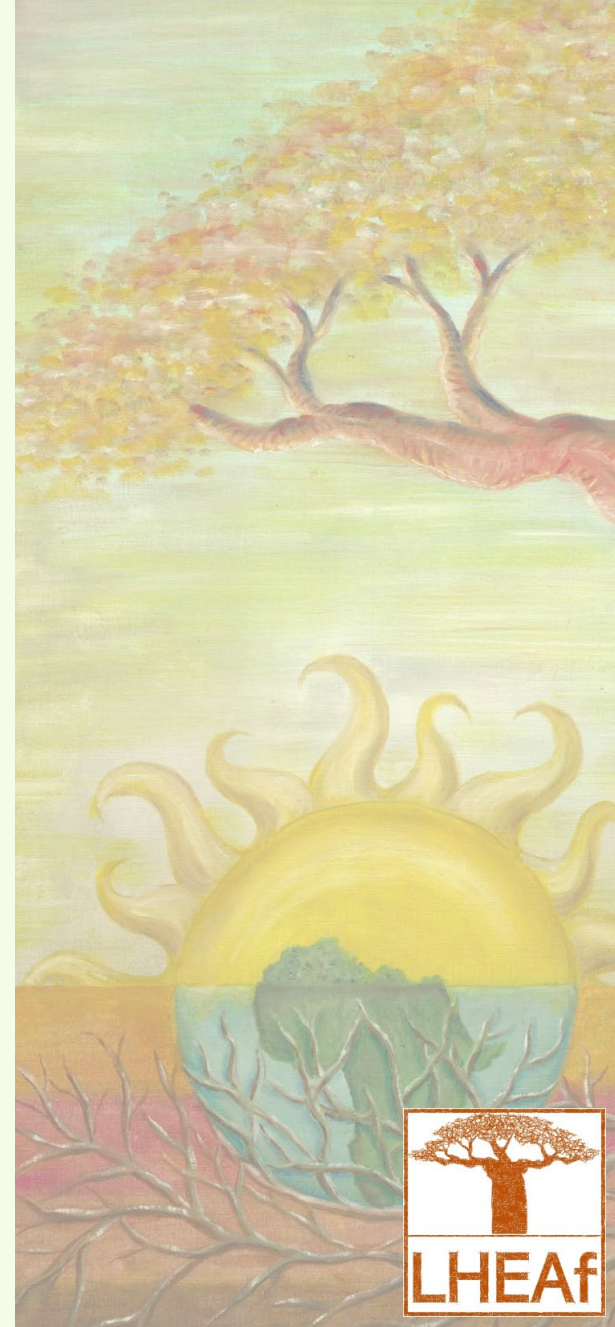
Soo sog mountain

***saga** (n.sg.m) ‘head’

Inherited root in WR. Somali sagan ‘neck’.

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

ǵ -> g easier than the other way around.



‘mousebird’

Ik tsówĩř- 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’

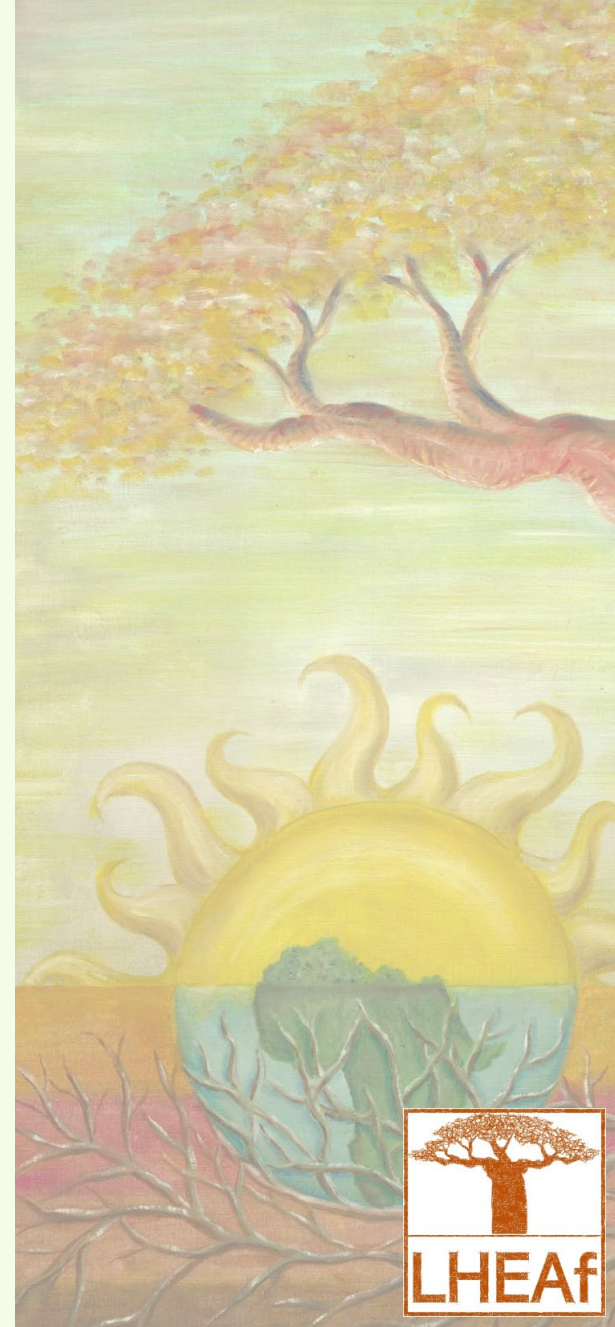
Ik jabú-gwàà- guinea-fowl

pVWR: *tlabaa (n.col.f) ‘doves (sp.)’

Facotr X in WR.

tl’<> j OR dz

What is known about the Ik compound?

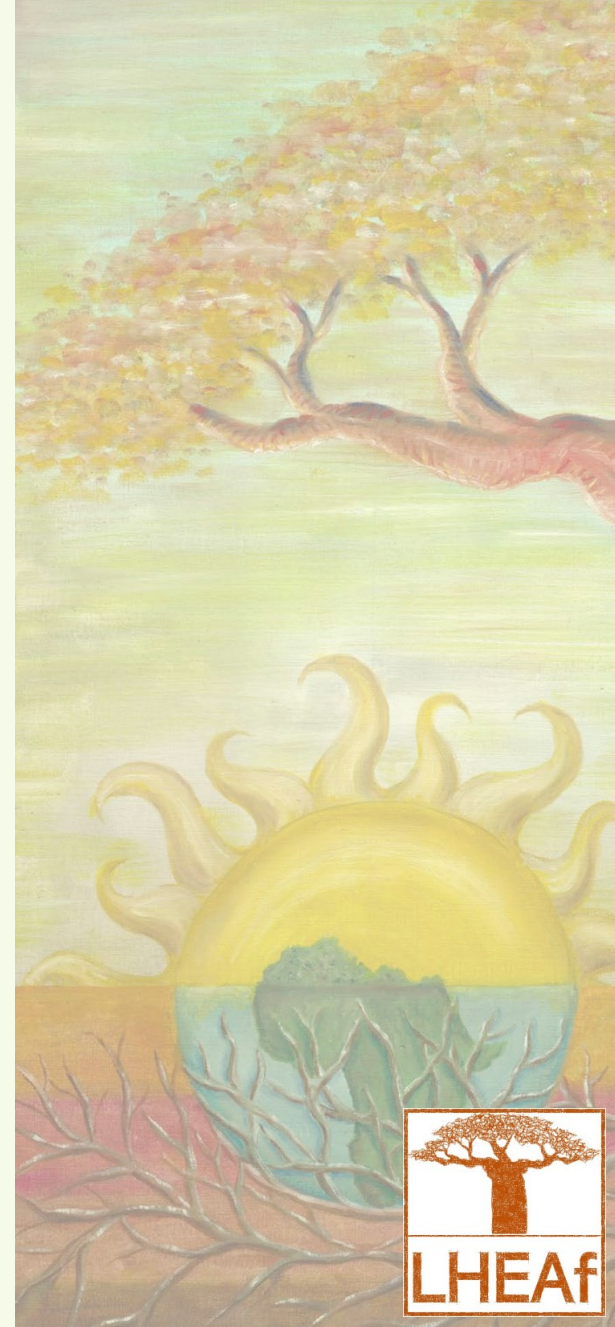


‘buy’

Ik dzígw- buy, sell

PNWR***tlaxw** (v) ‘buy, purchase’

WR Factor X.



bushy tail

Ik tsó bá-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’

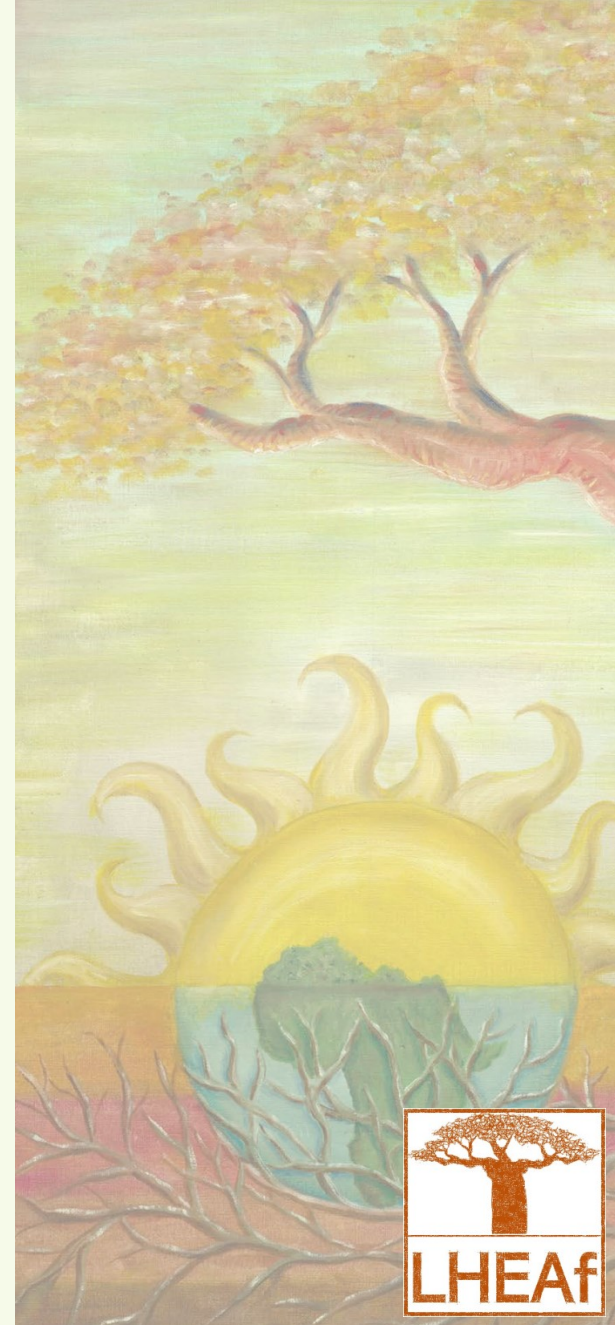
Ik tsá- dry, be-

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? .

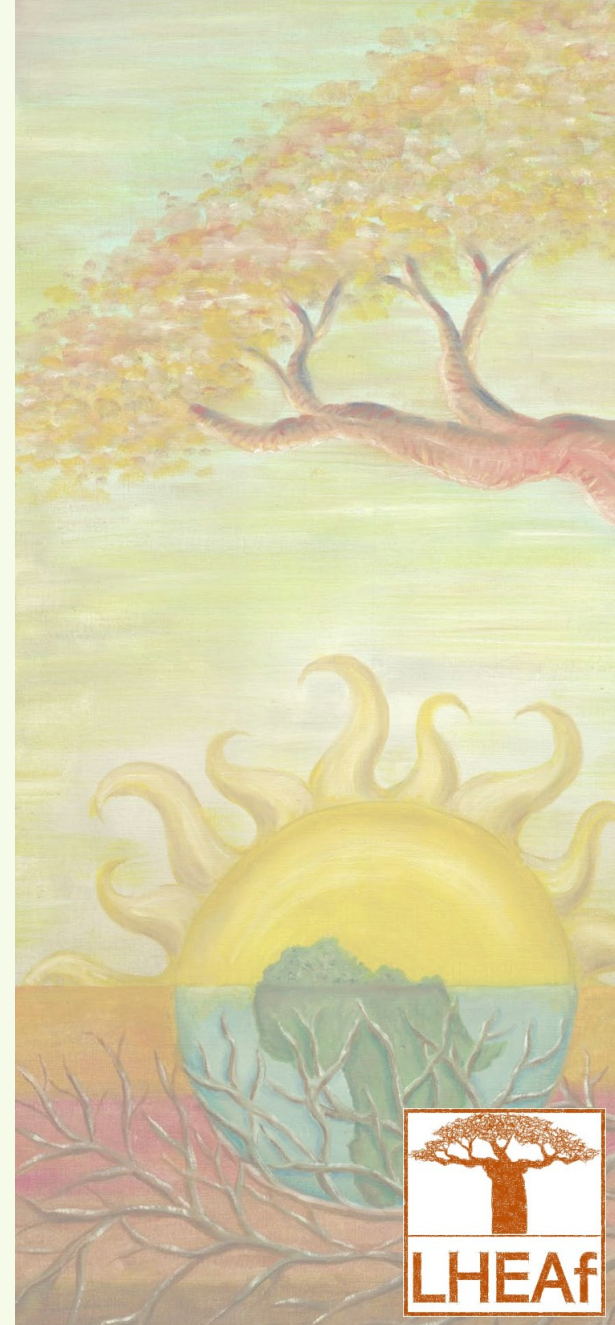


‘blood’

Ik sèà- blood Ik

PWR *tseedee (n.sg.f) ‘blood’

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

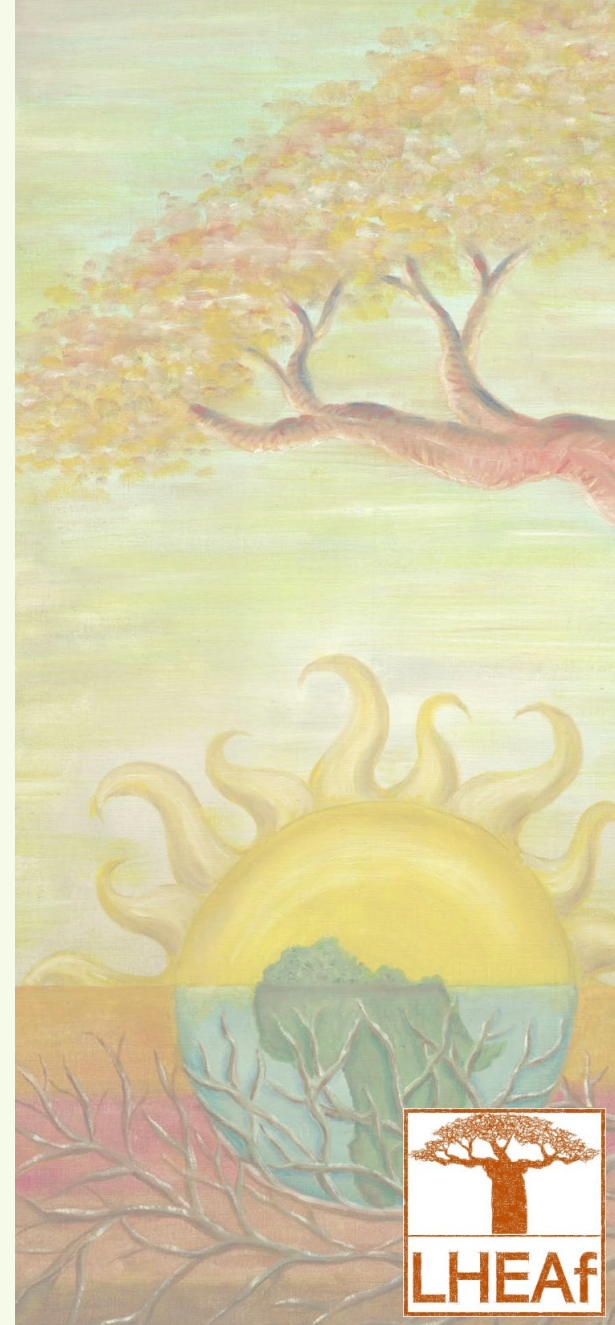


‘bind, tie’

Ik zík- bind, fasten, tie

*tseeg (v) ‘bind, tie, fasten, lock’

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

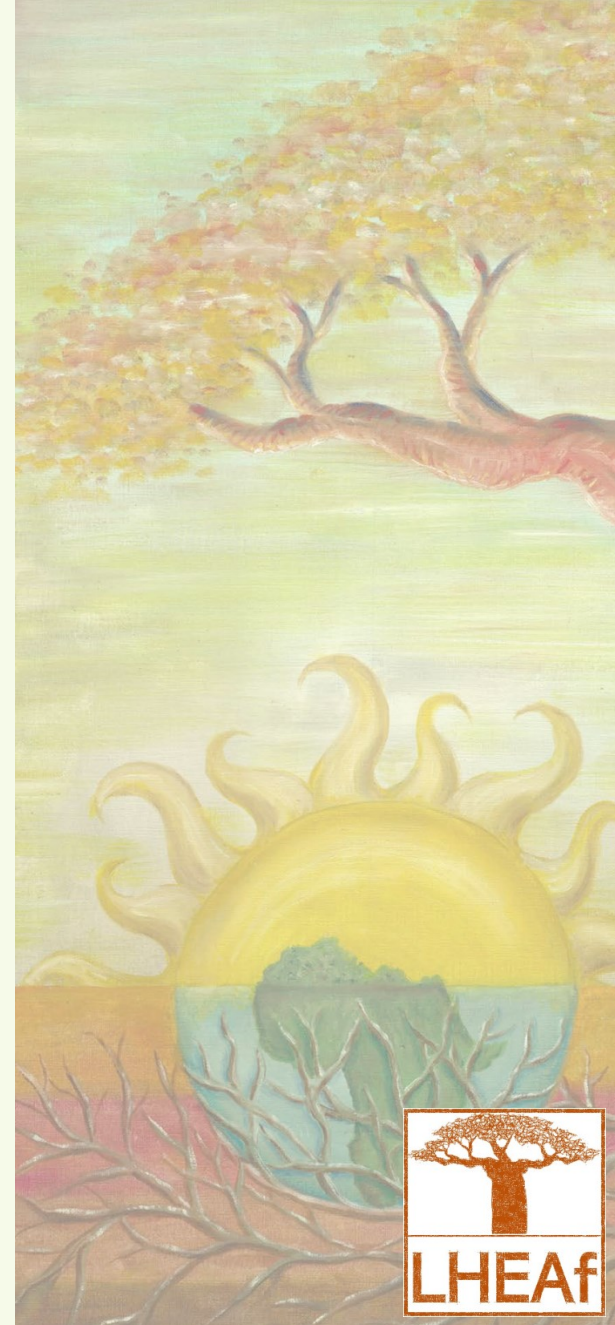


Ik ts'agúsé four

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

Cushitic retention.

Is -se a formative in Ik/Kuliak?



‘squeeze, wring’

Ik tɔtsɔ- squeeze, wring

*tsoo/ (v) ‘press, squeeze, wring’

Factor X in WR.

Semantics seems very close but is it?

Ik/Kuliak reduplication.



‘dirt’

Ik j̥omó- dirt, earth, soil

PWR *tsuma (n.sg.tant.f) ‘dirt’

Cushitic retention or Oromoid.

WR > Kuliak



‘uproot’

lk 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).

