

Western Nilotic Languages

Jochen Trommer

`jtrommer@uni-leipzig.de`

University of Leipzig
Institute of Linguistics

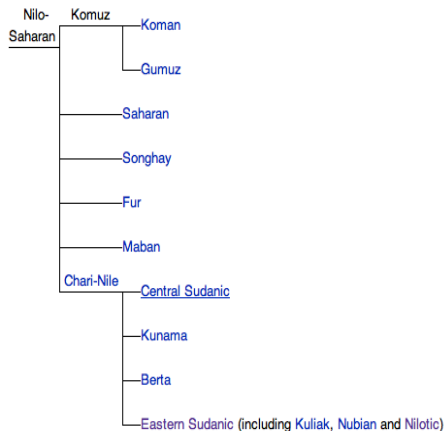
Languages of Africa



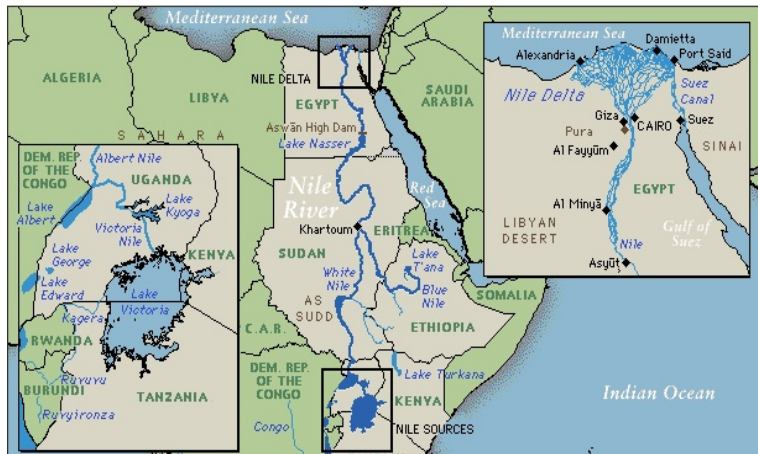
Nilo-Saharan Languages



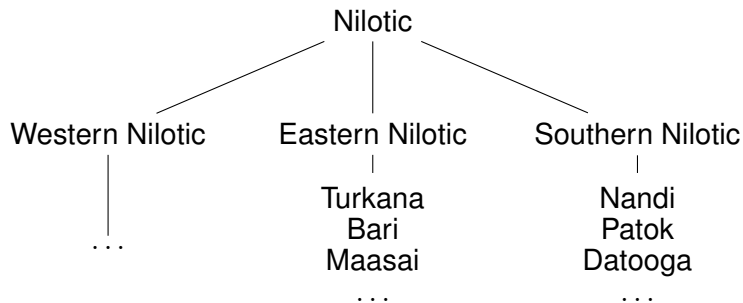
Nilo-Saharan Languages (Bender, 1989)



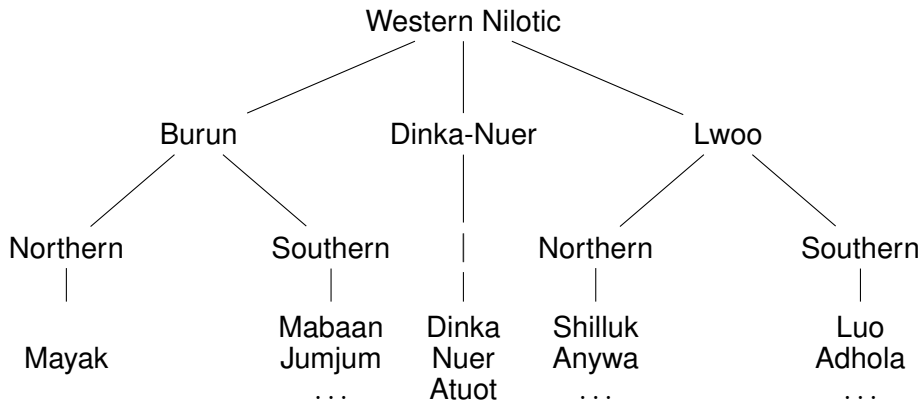
The Nile



Nilotic Languages



Western Nilotic Languages



OVS and Ergativity (Päri)

(2a) ùbúr á-túuk`

Ubur C-play

‘Ubur played.’

(2b) dháagò á-ηèeth-ò

woman C-laugh-SUF

‘The woman laughed.’

(3a) dháagò á-yàap ùbúrr-ì

woman C-insult Ubur-ERG

‘Ubur insulted the woman.’

(3b) ùbúr á-pùot dháag-è

Ubur C-beat woman-ERG

‘The woman beat Ubur.’

(Andersen, 1988:292)

Topik- und Argumentkodierungs-Morphologie (Dinka)

	Topic	Decl	Neg	Verb _{fin}	Subject	Obj _{dir}	Verb _{nf}	Obj _{indir}	Adv
(a)	<i>m̄ariàak̄i</i> Marial	<i>à̄i</i> D	<i>c̄è</i> NEG	<i>b̄ii</i> FUT:NTS	<i>d̄áan-d̄è̄i</i> boy-3S	<i>m̄èt</i> child	<i>t̄áat</i> beat:B:NF	<i>t̄iik</i> woman	<i>niàak</i> tomorrow
(b)	\emptyset_i	<i>à̄i</i> D	—	<i>t̄êet</i> beat:AP	\emptyset_i	—	—	—	—
(c)	<i>r̄òor̄i</i> men	<i>à̄a_i</i> D:PL	—	<i>b̄uut̄</i> build:B	\emptyset_i	<i>γòt̄</i> house	—	<i>t̄iik</i> woman	—
(d)	\emptyset_i	<i>à̄i</i> D	—	<i>w̄èec̄_j</i> kick:3S	\emptyset_j	\emptyset_i	—	—	—
(e)	<i>juiêen̄i</i> rope	<i>à̄i</i> D	—	<i>c̄iin-è̄</i> PF-PAS:CT	—	<i>w̄é̄ŋ</i> cow	<i>m̄iit̄</i> pull:NF	—	\emptyset_i
(f)	<i>γòt̄i</i> house	<i>à̄i</i> D	—	<i>leéer̄</i> roll:NTS	<i>t̄iik</i> woman	<i>doòot̄</i> stone	—	—	<i>t̄ín̄i</i> PRO:LOC

Topik- und Argumentkodierungs-Morphologie (Dinka)

- (a) 'Marial's boy will not beat the child for the woman tomorrow'
- (b) 'He is beating'
- (c) 'The men are building a house for the woman'
- (d) 'He is kicking it'
- (e) 'The cow has been pulled with the rope'
- (f) 'The woman is rolling a stone in the house'

Three-Way Vowel-Length Contrast (Dinka)

(3) short	à-wèc ³	'You are kicking it'	(D-kick:2S)
half-long	à-wèec	'He is kicking it'	(D-kick:3S)
long	à-weèec	'He is sweeping it'	(D-sweep:3S)
(4) short	à-bók	'It is being thrown at'	(D-throw:PAS)
half-long	à-bóok	'He is throwing it thither'	(D-throw:CF:3S)
long	à-boóok	'He is throwing repeatedly'	(D-throw:M:AP)

(Andersen, 1995:4)

Consonant Harmony (Anywa)

Simple Form	Antipassive	
ḍir	ḍiḍ-o	'to jostle'
ṭoor	ṭooḍ-o	'to finnish'
dɔl	dudo	'to fold'
tiir	tiido	'to adjust'

(Reh, 1996:59)

Threeway Number Marking (Anywa)

Singular	Unmarked	Plural	
	deel	deett-i	'body'
tɔŋ-ɔ	tɔŋ		'eggs'
weel-o		wɛɛl-i	'paper'

(Reh, 1996:96)

Nuer: Nominal-Suffixe im Singular

	‘potato’	‘ring’	‘cookie’
NOM SG	tac	nyanyet	patpat
GEN SG	tac-kä	nyanyet	patpat-kä
LOC SG	tac	nyanyet-kä	patpat-kä

(Baerman, 2009 nach Frank, 1999)

Nuer: Nominal-Suffixe im Plural

	‘fish’	‘thief’	‘bear’	‘cat’
NOM PL	rɛɛC	wään	leet	nyaw-n̩i
GEN PL	rɛɛC-n̩i	wään	leet-n̩i	nyaw-n̩i
LOC PL	rɛɛC	wään-i *	leet-n̩i	nyaw-n̩i

**degemination of nn is morphophonologically regular*

(Baerman, 2009 nach Frank, 1999)

Nuer: Suffixe in verschiedenen Nominal-Klassen

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NOM SG	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
GEN SG	a	a	a	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
LOC SG	a	a	ka	a	a	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
NOM PL	ni	∅	∅	ni	∅	ni	ni	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
GEN PL	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	∅	ka	ni	ni	∅	∅
LOC PL	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	∅	ni	∅

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
NOM SG	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
GEN SG	ka	ka	ka	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
LOC SG	∅	∅	∅	a	a	ka	ka	ka	∅	∅	∅	∅
NOM PL	ni	∅	∅	ni	∅	ni	∅	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅
GEN PL	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	∅	ni	ni	ni	∅
LOC PL	ni	ni	∅	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	∅	∅

(Baerman, 2009 nach Frank, 1999)

Applikativ und Qualitativ in Luo

- ▶ Applikativ-Formen des Verbs sind transitive Grundformen und erscheinen obligatorisch mit einem Objekt
- ▶ Qualitativ-Formen sind aus Applikativ-Formen abgeleitet und sind transitive Formen, bei denen das Objekt nicht ausgedrückt wird

Multiple Mutation im Luo-Qualitativ (I)

pogo cam 'divide the grain'

ludhɔ̃ ɲa:tɔ̃ to maltreat someone

kadɔ̃ tɔl 'to plait a rope'

kabɔ̃ ɲatɔ̃ 'to hold someone tightly'

po:ko 'to make a division'

lu:tho 'to maltreat in general'

ke:to 'to plait in general'

ke:po 'to be rough in handling'

Stammfinale stimmhafte Plosive werden stimmlos

Multiple Mutation im Luo-Qualitativ (II)

ka w ɔ pɛ:sa	‘to accept money’	ke: p o	‘to accept in general’
bu w o nyathɪ	‘to bully a child’	bu: p o	‘to act in a bullying’
ga j ɔ ji	to reconcile the people’	ge: c o	‘to act as a peace maker’
rɔ j ɔ nyarwa:th	‘to castrate a bull calf’	aro: c o	‘to castrate in general’

Stammfinale Approximanten
werden zu stimmlosen Plosiven

Multiple Mutation im Luo-Qualitativ (III)

la**m**ɔ due 'to pray to the moon'

ka**n**ɔ pɛ:sa 'to keep the money'

ciɛ**l**ri:ŋo 'to roast meat'

cwɛ**r**ɔpien 'to scrape a skin'

le:**m**o 'to pray'

ke:**n**o 'to keep'

cie:**l**o 'to do the roasting'

cue:**r**o 'to do the scraping'

Andere Sonoranten bleiben unverändert

Multiple Mutation im Luo-Qualitativ (IV)

bu p o ji	‘to hit with a large soft object’	bu: p o	‘to do this kind of hitting’
lu th o la:w	‘to dip a cloth’	lu: th o	‘to dip in general’
ke t o piny	‘to put down’	ke: t o	‘to put in general’
ro c o ŋaɔ	‘to frustrate a person’	ro: c o	‘to be frustrating’
pɔ k ɔ rabwɔn	‘to peel a potato’	po: k o	‘to do the peeling’

Stimmlose Plosive bleiben ebenfalls unverändert

Multiple Mutation im Luo-Qualitativ (V)

pogo cam	‘divide the grain’	po:ko	‘to make a division’
lɔdho ŋa:tɔ	‘to maltreat someone’	lu:tho	‘to maltreat in general’
ka ɔ tɔl	‘to plait a rope’	ke :to	‘to plait in general’
ka ɔ ŋatɔ	‘to hold someone tightly’	ke :po	‘to be rough in handling’

[a] in der ersten Silbe wird zu [e]

Multiple Mutation im Luo-Qualitativ (VI)

pogo cam 'divide the grain'

ludhɔŋa:ɔ to maltreat someone

kadɔ tɔl 'to plait a rope'

kabɔ ŋatɔ 'to hold someone tightly'

po:ko 'to make a division'

lu:tho 'to maltreat in general'

ke:to 'to plait in general'

ke:po 'to be rough in handling'

Alle Vokale werden [+ATR]

Einsilbige Morphologie: Dinka

(14) a. Simple

ḍḍòk à-m̀ìit wéŋ
 boy D-pull cow
 'The boy is pulling the cow'

b. Centrifugal

ḍḍòk à-m̀īit wéŋ
 boy D-pull:CF cow
 'The boy is pulling the cow thither'

c. Centripetal

ḍḍòk à-m̀iit wéŋ
 boy D-pull:CP cow
 'The boy is pulling the cow hither'

(Andersen, 1995:9)

d. Benefactive

ḍḍòk à-m̀ìit wéŋ m̀òc
 boy D-pull:B cow man
 'The boy is pulling the cow for the man'

e. Benefactive-antipassive

ḍḍòk à-m̀īit m̀òc
 boy D-pull:BAP man
 'The boy is pulling for the man'

f. Antipassive

ḍḍòk à-m̀iit
 boy D-pull:AP
 'The boy is pulling'

Insilbige Morphologie: Dinka

length/ tone class	inflectional category	derivational category (and voice quality class)		
		simple	centrifugal	centripetal
cvc/F	∅	c̣vc	c̣'vc	c̣̀vc
	NF	c̣vvc	c̣'vc	c̣̀vc
	NTS	c̣'vc	c̣'vc	c̣'vc
	1S,3S	c̣̀vc	c̣'vc	c̣̀vc
	2S	c̣vc	c̣̀vc-ʋ	c̣'vc
	1P,2P,3P	c̣'c-c̣̀	c̣'vc-c̣̀	c̣'vc-c̣'vc
	PAS PAS:CT	c̣'vc	c̣'vc-ḁ	c̣'vc-ḁ
cvc/L	∅	c̣vc	c̣vvc	c̣̀vc
	NF	c̣vvc	c̣vvc	c̣̀vc
	NTS	c̣'vc	c̣'vc	c̣'vc
	1S,3S	c̣̀vc	c̣vvc	c̣̀vc
	2S	c̣vc	c̣̀vc-ʋ	c̣'vc
	1P,2P,3P	c̣'c-c̣̀	c̣'vc-c̣̀	c̣'vc-c̣'vc
	PAS PAS:CT	c̣'vc	c̣'vc-ḁ	c̣'vc-ḁ
cvvc/F	∅	c̣̀vvc	cṿvvc	cṿ̀vvc
	NF	cṿvvc	cṿvvc	cṿ̀vvc
	NTS	cṿ'vvc	cṿ'vvc	cṿ'vvc
	1S,3S	cṿ̀vvc	cṿvvc	cṿ̀vvc
	2S	cṿvvc	cṿ̀vvc-ʋ	cṿ'vvc
	1P,2P,3P	cṿ'vc-c̣̀	cṿ'vvc-c̣̀	cṿ'vvc-c̣'vc
	PAS PAS:CT	cṿ'vvc	cṿ'vvc-ḁ	cṿ'vvc-ḁ

Luo Voicing Polarity: Basic Pattern

Voiceless → Voiced

	singular		plural	
[-voiced]	a. arip	'milky way'	arib-e	[+voiced]

Voiced → Voiceless

	singular		plural	
[+voiced]	b. cogo	'bone'	cok-e	[-voiced]

Luo Voicing Polarity: More Data

[-voice] → [+voice]

	sg	pl		
a.	bat	bed-e	‘arm’	(Okoth-Okombo, 1982:30)
b.	luθ	luð-e	‘walking stick’	(Okoth-Okombo, 1982:30)
c.	eri:p	eri:b-e	‘milky way’	(p. 128)
d.	guok	guog-i	‘dog’	(Okoth-Okombo, 1982:30)

[+voice] → [-voice]

	sg	pl		
a.	ki:dí	kí:t-ê	‘stone’	(p. 128)
b.	ɔkê:bɛ	oké:p-ê	‘tin can’	(p. 127)
c.	cogo	cok-e	‘bone’	(Okoth-Okombo, 1982:30)