

1. Nilotc

Michael Cysouw, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands

1.1 Introduction¹

The Nilotc languages are a sub-branch of Nilo-Saharan, one of the four large stocks in Africa. The Nilotc languages are spoken in Southern Sudan, Western Kenia, Western Ethiopia, Uganda, Northeastern Zaire and Northern Tanzania. Although the Nilotc languages are seen as one group, there are interesting differences between the languages. In the case of pronominal marking the difference between the Western Nilotc branch (formerly known as 'Nilotic') and the Eastern and Southern Nilotc branches (formerly known as 'Nilo-Hamitic') is especially relevant: the Eastern and Southern Nilotc languages have a special inflectional pronominal paradigm that is not found in the Western Nilotc languages. The independent pronouns of all Nilotc languages will be described in section 1.2, but the discussion of the inflectional pronominal marking will be split into two sections because of the apparent differences between the Eastern and Southern Nilotc languages (section 1.3) and the Western Nilotc languages (section 1.4).

The split between the Eastern/Southern branches and the Western branch is also found in the basic word order pattern. Almost all Eastern and Southern Nilotc languages are quite straightforward VSO, have subjectagreement and some form of objectagreement with pronominal first and second person objects. Lotuho has no affixed objectagreement (see section 1.3.2) and sometimes SVO-order (Tucker et al. 1966:489). Bari is a real exception, being straightforward SVO with no agreement at all. Note that Bari and Lotuho, with more or less SVO-order, are the most northward-bound Eastern Nilotc languages which are in geographical contact with the Western Nilotc languages. The Western Nilotc languages are all SVO, or better TVC, Topic-Verb-Comment, as syntactically different constituents can occur at the start of a sentence.² The Western Nilotc languages also make much more use of preverbal auxiliaries than the other Nilotc languages. These auxiliaries are often the site for cliticization of pronominal elements (see section 1.4).

The genetic classification of the Nilotc languages mentioned in this chapter, as described in Grimes et al. (1996), is shown below:

¹ I thank Gerrit Dimmendaal for useful comments and additions on this chapter.

² There are a few comparative analyses of word-order analyses of the Nilotc languages in the literature, with rather different results. Givón (1976) reconstructs internally an SOV order (which is not attested at all synchronically). SOV changed to VSO and is now on its way towards SVO. Creider (1989:Ch. 4) oppositely argues that syntactically the basic word order for Eastern en Southern Nilotc is SVO and that VSO and VOS order are the results of synchronic syntactic processes like verb phrase fronting.

- Nilotic: – Eastern: – Bari: **Bari**
 – Lotuxo-Maa: **Lotuho, Maasai**
 – Teso-Turkana: **Teso, Turkana, Karamojong, Toposa**
 – Southern: – Kalenjin: **Päkot, Nandi, Markweta**
 – Tatoga: **Datooga, Omotik**
 – Western: – Lwoo: – Northern: **Anywa, Päri, Shilluk**
 – Southern: **Lango, Acholi**
 – Dinka-Nuer: **Dinka, Nuer**

1.2 Independent Pronouns

The independent pronouns of a few Eastern Nilotic languages are shown in Table 1 and Table 2. The major break in the forms of the paradigms is between the Teso-Turkana branch and the others. First, all Teso-Turkana languages distinguish between an inclusive and an exclusive first person, a distinction that is not found in the other Eastern Nilotic languages:

‘The inclusive/exclusive distinction is a common feature of the Teso group within Eastern Nilotic.’ (Dimmendaal 1982:207)³

Second, the morphology of the pronouns in Lotuxo-Maa (here exemplified by Maasai and Lotuho) show almost complete correspondence with the pronouns from Bari. Only the second person singular from Bari is strikingly different. There is no correspondence between the pronouns of these three languages and the pronouns from Teso-Turkana.

This division between Teso-Turkana and the rest of Eastern Nilotic is unusual, as there is ample comparative evidence for a basic historical split in Eastern Nilotic between Bari and a common branch of Teso-Turkana with Lotuxo-Maa (Vossen 1982:295 ff.; Vossen 1983). It is unclear why the independent pronouns do not follow this division.

		<i>Teso</i>		<i>Turkana</i>		<i>Karimojong</i>		<i>Toposa</i>	
		<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>1 Excl</i>	εɔŋɔ	í̄s(y)ɔ̄	a-yɔŋ`	sùā	á̄'ɔŋ	ì̄zua	à̄yoŋ	ì̄swà	
		ðni		ŋwòñi		ì̄wón			ì̄jwòn
2	íjɔ̄	yɛsɪ	i-yɔŋ`	è̄sì̄	íyóŋ	ì̄ez	iyòŋ	è̄s	
3	nesɪ	kesɪ	ŋesì̄	keçì̄	ì̄než	ì̄kéz	injès	ikès	

Table 1: Teso-Turkana independent pronouns⁴

³ Dimmendaal uses the name ‘Teso’ here for what is now normally called the ‘Teso-Turkana’ group (Dimmendaal 1982:2).

⁴ Data from Tucker et al. (1966:469, cf. Hilders 1957:20) on Teso, Dimmendaal (1982:207) on Turkana, Novelli (1985:107) on Karimojong and Givón (1976:75, 78) on Toposa. Note that Givón wrongly classifies Toposa as Southern Nilotic, and that he mixed up the inclusive and exclusive forms. Comparison with Karimojong, Turkana and Teso shows that Toposa quite clearly belongs to the Teso-

	<i>Maasai</i>		<i>Lotuho</i>		<i>Bari</i>	
	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
1	nánú	iyíoók	(n)áni	xóxɔí	nan	yi
2	iyié	íntái	íyé	ítáí	dɔ	ta
3	ninyé	nincé	ínyí	íslí	nye ⁵	se

Table 2: Other Eastern Nilotc independent pronouns⁶

Without attempting to reconstruct the historical developments of the independent pronouns in precise detail, I want to discuss a few correspondences in these paradigms that point towards some interesting historical connections. In Teso-Turkana the first and second person singular and the inclusive are based on the same stem ‘-ɔŋ/ɔn’. The prefixes for first and second person (*a-* and *i-*) are found also as inflectional prefixes on verbs (see section 1.3). Another stem ‘-es’ connects third person singular and second and third person plural. The first person plural exclusive ‘sua’ is completely different from both. The correspondences are summarized in Table 3.⁷ This structure clearly shows the close bond between first, second and inclusive person, as opposed to first person plural and to third persons. This indicates that the inclusive once was a category of person, not a plural form.

1	a + ɔŋ
2	i + ɔŋ
1+2 (inclusive)	ɔŋw + ɔn
1+3 (exclusive)	sua
3	ɔŋ + es
2+3 (2 plural)	i/e + es
3+3 (3 plural)	k + es

Table 3: Correspondences in Teso-Turkana pronouns⁸

For Proto-Lotuho-Maa (PLM) Vossen (1982) reconstructs a few independent pronouns, shown in Table 4. Dimmendaal (1991:297-298) hints at a connection between *-tai and a verbal plurality suffix *-ta from Proto-Teso-Turkana (PTT). The second person plural ‘ta’ from Bari does fit perfectly in this set. Dimmendaal also hints at a

Turkana group within Eastern Nilotc, and that ‘iswà’ is the exclusive form and ‘iŋwòn’ the inclusive form.

⁵ ‘Nye is also used alone to mean ‘yes’, ‘that’s it’, when answering a question in the affirmative.’ (Spagnolo 1933:80, fn.1)

⁶ Data from Tucker et al. (1953:200) on Maasai, Tucker et al. (1966:469, cf. Muratori 1938:72) on Lotuho and Spagnolo (1933:80) on Bari.

⁷ These forms are not meant to be accurate reconstructions, they should be interpreted as a concise summary of the diversity in Table 1. No phonemic, let alone phonetic accuracy is claimed. Besides the differing reflexes of these forms in the individual languages, to some of the forms but not all there is an ‘i/ɪ’ suffigated or prefigated. In Teso and Turkana it is mostly suffigated (pace the exclusive in Teso), in Karimojong and Toposa it is always prefigated.

⁸ The use of the numbers to categorize the different persons is adapted from Rodrigues (1990).

connection between the plurality suffix *-s₁ from PTT and the third person plural forms shown in Table 2.

<i>1 Sing</i>	* n ₂ an ₃ -
<i>2 Sing</i>	* iyye
<i>2 Plur</i>	* -tai

Table 4: PLM reconstructed pronouns (Vossen 1982:259, 384-385, 446)

The independent pronouns in the Southern Nilotc languages all have a classic six-form paradigm.⁹ The forms show clear resemblances, but the differences are too large to propose a final reconstruction. Rottland (1982) describes the variation between the Southern Nilotc languages and dialects in detail. He proposes a reconstruction of the independent pronouns from the Kalenjin-languages, shown in Table 5. The Omotik and Datooga forms are presented for comparison. The Datooga forms are synchronic abstractions from slight dialectal variations.

	<i>Proto-Kalenjin</i>		<i>Omotik</i>		<i>Datooga</i>	
	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
1	*ən _a	*əc _a	ánê	éçâ	ani:ni	ase:sa
2	*iŋ _a	*ɔ̄kw _a	iŋê	ɛcu, ɔ̄kwa	aj̄i:ŋ̄i	agwe:ga
3	*ɪn _a	*ɪc _a	ŋ̄ē	cáŋka	ni:ŋ̄i	sa:wa

Table 5: Southern Nilotc pronouns¹⁰

	<i>Dinka</i>		<i>Nuer</i>		<i>Pari (Anywa)</i>		<i>Lango (Acholi, Shilluk)</i>	
	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
1 Excl	yɛn	ok	yǎn	kón	?áaní	wání	an	wan
				kóðn		?òoní		
2	yin	wek	j̄n	yèn	?íiní	?úunú	yín	wun
3	yen	kek	j̄n	k̄n	yíní	gímí	ɛn	ḡm

Table 6: Western Nilotc pronouns¹¹

The Western Nilotc independent pronouns are shown in Table 6. The correspondences between the forms are strong, but a reconstruction has yet to be made. Interestingly only some of these languages have an inclusive-exclusive opposition. The inclusive from Nuer is probably an emphatic version of the first person plural (cf.

⁹ Cazzolara (1978:56-57) distinguishes an inclusive from an exclusive first person plural for Päköt. His ‘inclusive’ forms though are presented as ‘emphatic’ by Rottland (1982:139). Regarding the morphology of the pronouns, the purported inclusive clearly belongs to an ‘emphatic’ paradigm. In actual use though an emphatic ‘we’ can hardly be interpreted differently as having an inclusive meaning.

¹⁰ Data from Rottland (1982): Kalenjin: p. 137-139, 229; Omotik: p. 151; Datooga: p. 194, 248-249

¹¹ Data from Nebel (1948:15) on Dinka and Cazzolara (1933:62) on Nuer. The data on Päri (Andersen 1988:297) and Anywa (Lusted 1976:499; Reh 1996:164) are almost identical; the cited forms are from Päri. The data on Lango (Bavin 1981:90), Shilluk (Westermann 1911:13) and Acholi (Kitching 1907:9; Cazzolara 1955:64) also are almost identical; the cited forms are from Lango.

footnote 9). It is only included because of the likeliness to the Pari/Anywa inclusive. The Western Nilotc languages distinguish also short forms of the pronouns, that all cliticize in rather different ways. The different ways in which the Western Nilotc languages use these pronouns and their cliticized variants is described seperately in section 1.4. The full form of the pronouns shown in Table 6 is probably a combination of the short pronoun with a suffix ‘...-n(i)’ (cf. Reh 1996:164-165 on Anywa).

1.2.1 Case

There exists case marking for nouns by using tone differences through all Nilotc languages. This same case marking system is often found with the independent pronouns. There is a basic opposition between absolute (unmarked) and nominative.

‘The identification of syntactic functions such as direct object and subject is not based on their position in the sentence (since the subject can occur before and after the direct object or indirect object). Instead, it is based on an explicit case-marking system. Case in Turkana (and in other Nilotc languages) is indicated by tonal inflection in the noun phrase. [...] The absolute case, which is used for nouns (or noun phrases) which function as direct or indirect object, for topicalized subjects (which precede the verb), and for nouns (or noun phrases) when used in isolation. [...] The nominative case, which occurs with subjects, but only when they follow the verb.’ (Dimmendaal 1983:251)

The same distinction is described for Maasai (Tucker et al. 1953:175, 200), Kalenjin (Rottland 1982:116-117) and Omotik (Rottland 1982:149). This case marking system though is not found on pronouns in Bari:

‘There is no separate form to distinguish nominative, accusative, genitive, dative or ablative case in the pronouns.’ (Spagnolo 1933:80)

Vossen (1983:194) brings up this difference between Bari and the other Eastern Nilotc languages as an argument for an early Bari-Non Bari split within Eastern Nilotc. For the Western Nilotc languages only Andersen (1988:297) mentions different independent pronouns for different cases in Päri, distinguished by tone.

1.2.2 Use of the independent pronouns

The independent pronoun is used regularly, but they can be ellipsed. The reason that is presented for this ellipsis is the presence of a prefixal pronominal inflection (or ‘agreement’, see section 1.3). Dimmendaal comments on Turkana:

‘Because of the extensive agreement marking system on the verb, pronouns may be left out in intransitive and transitive sentences.’ (Dimmendaal 1982:207)

Textcounts of the two glossed texts that are presented in the Turkana grammar by Dimmendaal (1982:474-483) show that zero subjects are quite common. In the first text I counted all finite verbs and determined whether there was an overt NP subject (full), an overt pronominal subject (pro) or no overt subject (zero). A finite verb is defined here as a verb that shows prefixal pronominal inflection. The results are presented in Table 7. Zero subjects occur roughly equally frequent as full NP subjects, pronouns are relatively uncommon.¹² The general impression of the zero subject cases

¹² There are a few cases in the text that are difficult to categorize. There was one impersonal verb, which did not have an overt subject. I categorized this as ‘zero’, although it could be argued that there is no subject to be zero at all. Another problem are auxiliary constructions (Dimmendaal 1982:134-

is that they have a low referential distance and a relatively high topic persistence, in concord with the results in Givón (1983).¹³

<i>Full</i>	51	(44%)
<i>Pro</i>	17	(15%)
<i>Zero</i>	47	(41%)

Table 7: Turkana subjectmarking textcount

Because the texts are both stories, the subject in the texts are mainly third persons. Through both texts there are only 13 cases of speech-act participant inflected verbs. This amount is much too small for conclusive statements, but it is indicative that almost all of the speech-act inflected verbs have a coreferential subject pronoun. The amounts are presented in Table 8.

<i>with pronoun</i>	11	(85%)
<i>without pronoun</i>	2	(15%)

Table 8: Turkana speech-act participants in textcount

The question under which circumstances a free pronoun is used, falls outside the traditional grammatical description; it is a ‘pragmatic variable’ (Dimmendaal 1986:147 fn.2). The common use of ellipsed subjects is also noted in another Eastern Nilotc language, Maasai:

‘The subject pronoun is optional and is usually omitted; the same applies to the 3rd person *object* pronoun.’ (Tucker et al. 1953:15)

Crazzolara (1978) states clearly that the use of the independent pronouns in the Southern Nilotc language Päkot is strongly marked. In the accompanying texts there are no occurrences of independent pronouns (Crazzolara 1978:149-156).

‘The absolute form may be met with expressions like ‘it was I’ [etc.] or with prepositions. The stressed form is only very occasionally met with. [...] The 3rd persons are more commonly not expressed; 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural of regular verbs, as a rule, are identical. If clearness is required, *ŋíinde* or *cáane* has to be added.’ (Crazzolara 1978:56-58)

138). The auxiliary and the matrix verb are both inflected for person, and consequently there are two ‘finite’ verbs in my counts, but they only have one overt subject. One of the inflected verbs is therefore categorized as ‘zero’. It could be argued that these constructions do not have zero marking. I decided to include the zero marking as now the counts incorporate the unusual fact that both auxiliary and matrix verb are inflected. From this perspective, the counts from Table 7 show the amount of inflectional person marking relative to the amount of overt subjects. There are 8 of these auxiliary constructions in the text

¹³ Most zeros follow directly upon a coreferential verb (low referential distance) and they occur in chains, with identical reference (high topic persistence). A large part of the zeros could be accounted for by taking a loose definition of the notion ‘sentence’. This solution is implied by Givón in an article on Toposa, a near relative of Turkana:

‘The use of the post-verbal independent subject pronouns seems to be obligatory, at least when one works at the sentence-grammar level.’ (Givón 1976:75)

Rottland (1982:150) though notes that the subject in Omotik is ‘often’ marked by an independent pronoun. Omotik is an only sparsely described Southern Nilotic language. It is unclear what ‘often’ means compared to the textcounts presented above. He gives one example, shown here as (1).

- (1) to-m-a-ye áñê
Past-Neg-1Sg-drink 1SgPron
 Ich trank nicht. (Rottland 1982:150)

Omotik seems to be rather atypical when compared to the other Southern Nilotic languages. Creider (1977:336) notes for Nandi the ‘highly marked status of self-standing pronouns’. The pronoun in (2) is optional.

Creider offers a ‘pragmatic’ account of the highly marked meaning of an overt pronoun. Overt pronouns are rare as they are doubly marked – first as emphatic and second as ‘tie-creating’. With ‘tie-creating’ Creider refers to a context-dependent phenomenon where the use of an independent pronoun identifies the referent as belonging to a group, together with other individuals in the discourse. He exemplifies this with the following discourse, repeated here only in translation:

- (3) 1. A: Kiprono, take the cattle to the salt-lick
2. B: What is Kibet doing?
3. A: He's going to school. (Creider 1977:336)

If in the third sentence the pronoun ‘he’ is overt in the Nandi original, this pronoun creates a tie between Kibet and Kiprono:

‘A’s answer to B’s question (note that B could be either Kiprono himself or some other party) is no just as assertion about Kibet as a solitary individual, but is a statement about him in his role as a member of some set of which Kiprono is also a member (they might be brothers, or members of the same neighbourhood play group).’ (Creider 1977:335)

In Bari there is no prefixal pronominal inflection on the verb as in the other Nilotc languages (see section 1.3). If there is a connection between the presence of inflection and the possibility to ellipise the pronoun (as Dimmendaal argues in the quote at the start of this section) then one would expect that *without* inflection in Bari, the pronoun has to be obligatorily present. This is not the case:

¹⁴In Bari the Self-standing form precedes the Verb as Subject, without contraction. It may be emphasised by a demonstrative. The 3rd person is often omitted.' (Tucker et al. 1966:469)

Even a first person pronoun can be omitted in Bari, as is shown in example (4):

¹⁴ cf. Spagnolo (1933:80, 226)

1.2.3 Demonstratives and third person pronouns

The demonstratives are clearly different from the third person independent pronouns in all Nilo-Saharan languages.¹⁵ Demonstratives are regularly used anaphorically in Bari (Spagnolo 1933:80). The demonstratives in Bari can be also used as definite marker, even accompanying an independent pronoun as shown in example (5). The use of this definite marker is not redundant as it marks the gender of the referent.

¹This Pleonastic Pronoun [i.e. demonstrative, MC] compensates for the lack of the article. Its use or omission coincides, to a large extent, to our use of ‘the’ as opposed to ‘a’ or ‘an’. (Spagnolo 1933:227, see also 87-88)

- (5) Yi kulo tñí tu
IPlPron MascPlDem go
 We are going. (Spagnolo 1933:227)

1.3 Inflectional pronominal marking in Eastern and Southern Nilotc

Only the Eastern and Southern Branch of the Nilotc family will be discussed in this section.¹⁶ The Western branch does not generally show inflectional marking, although there are reminiscent phenomena. These will be discussed in section 1.4.

1.3.1 Prefixed pronominals

The most general pronominal inflection that is found in the Nilo-Saharan languages is pre-fixal. All Eastern and Southern Nilo-Saharan languages (except Bari, which is a general exception as far as person marking is concerned) have prefixal inflection.

1.3.1.1 Subject prefixes

All Eastern and Southern Nilotic languages (except Bari) have pronominal prefixes that refer to the subject. In Table 9 the prefixes from some Eastern Nilotic languages are shown. The paradigm with four morphemes is very consistently found throughout this branch.

In Table 10 the reconstructed Proto-Southern Nilotic prefixes are shown. The general structure with five different prefixes is found throughout Southern Nilotic. The third person prefix is found always in Datooga and Omotik, but only occasionally in the

¹⁵ For the demonstratives of Eastern Nilotic see Spagnolo (1933:80, 85-88) on Bari, Dimmendaal (1982:306-308) on Turkana, Tucker et al. (1953:16-18) on Maasai, Tucker et al. (1966:473) on Teso and Muratori (1938:168-169) on Lotuho. For the demonstratives of Southern Nilotic see (Rottland 1981:10; Rottland 1982:107-108, 148, 152, 169, 193). For the demonstratives of Western Nilotic see (Nebel 1948:15-16, 54) on Dinka, (Cazzolara 1933:73-76) on Nuer, (Lusted 1976:500) on Anywa, (Kitching 1907:11-12) on Acholi and (Westermann 1911:17) on Shilluk.

¹⁶ The Eastern and Southern Nilotc languages also have number-suffixes (Tucker et al. 1966:461-464). In Maasai and Lotuho only the second person plural gets a suffix. In Maasai the verb-root is duplicated (Tucker et al. 1953:53), in Lotuho ...-tV is suffigated. In Turkana (Dimmendaal 1982:125-126) and Teso ...-tV/sV is suffigated in the second and third person plural, and incidentally in the first person plural. Sometimes nominal plurality suffixes are used as plural-marker, especially with adjectival verbs or verbs of state (Tucker et al. 1966:464-465; Dimmendaal 1982:28). As there is no first versus second person opposition, I do not include this marking in the present discussion of pronominal marking.

Kalenjin languages; in the latter it is often zero. The first person and second person singular show some likeliness to the Eastern Nilotic forms.

	<i>Teso</i>		<i>Turkana</i>		<i>Maasai</i>		<i>Lotuho</i>	
	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
1	a-...	ki-...	a-...	ki-...	a-...	ki-...	a-...	ɛ-...
2	I-...		i-...		i-...		I-...	
3	ɛ-, a-...		e`-...		e-...		ɔ-...	

Table 9: Eastern Nilotic pronominal prefixes¹⁷

	Sing	Plur
1	* α -...	*ki/kɛ-...
2	*I-...	*ɔ-...
3		*kɔ/∅-...

Table 10: Proto-Southern Nilotic pronominal prefixes (Rottland 1982:243-244)

1.3.1.2 Bipersonal prefixes

All Eastern Nilotic languages, except Bari and Lotuho, have some form of bipersonal marking in transitive constructions. The pronominal prefixes, as shown in Table 9, are replaced by special prefixes, marking a combination of the person of the subject and the person of the object. These bipersonal prefixes are not found in the Southern Nilotic languages; in those languages the pronominal object is marked with suffixes (see section 1.3.2.2).

Exceptions to this general pattern are Bari and Lotuho. Bari does not have pronominal prefixes at all, and it neither has bipersonal prefixes with transitives. Lotuho also does not have bipersonal marking. Interestingly, Lotuho is the only Eastern Nilo-Saharan language that has pronominal suffixes that refer to the subject (see section 1.3.2.1). Whether there is any causal connection between these two aspects remains speculative. Pronominal objects in Lotuho are marked with independent pronouns as exemplified in (6).

- (6) a-bak-ne iye
1Sg-struck-1Sg 2SgPron
 I struck you. (Tucker et al. 1966:470)

The general pattern in the forms of the *bipersonal* marking is that the prefixes used with third person object are identical to the prefixes with no object (i.e. intransitives); but with first or second person objects there are special morphemes. These special morphemes almost all consist of a 'k' with a vowel; the distribution of the vowels shows interesting agreements but also differences between the individual languages.

¹⁷ Data from Tucker et al. (1966:470) on Teso, Dimmendaal (1982:120) on Turkana, Tucker et al. (1953:53) on Maasai and Tucker et al. (1966:470) on Lotuho. The forms of the prefixes differ according to the class of the verb stem, see Dimmendaal (1983:279). In this table only the forms used with the first class are shown.

In Table 11 to Table 15 the structure of the bipersonal prefixes is shown for five different languages.

		Subject					
		1		2		3	
		Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur
Object	1 Sing					ka-...	
	Plur						
	2 Sing	ka-...	ki-...			ki-...	
	Plur						
3		a-...		i-...		e-...	
Intransitive							

Table 11: Turkana transitive prefixes (Dimmendaal 1991:281-282)

A first observation is that the marking for first person plural subjects, a prefix 'ki' is always the same irrespective of the object. It is also identical to the intransitive first person plural prefix. This identity holds in all five languages shown here, although the vowels of the prefixes differ slightly between the languages. This identity makes it unlikely that the intransitive 'ki' is different from the transitive 'ki', as for instance is argued by Dimmendaal (1982:122-123; 1991:281-182). Morphophonologically, the same 'ki' is also found in other parts of the diagram.

The other bipersonal prefix is 'ka'. In all languages this prefix is used for first person singular subject with second person object and for roughly the inverse of this, first person singular object with third person subject. Again, the morphophonological form of the prefix may vary between the languages, but the correspondence between the different cases in each table is found in all languages. Exactly this general structure is found in Turkana (Table 11), Karimojong (Table 12) and Toposa (Table 13).

		Subject					
		1		2		3	
		Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur
Object	1 Sing					aka/ɔkɔ/ɛke-...	
	Plur						
	2 Sing	aka/ɔkɔ/	iki/ itɔ-...			iki/itɔ-...	
	Plur	ɛke-...					
3		a-...		i-...		e-...	
Intransitive							

Table 12: Karamojong transitive prefixes (Novelli 1985:108-110)

		Subject						
		1		2		3		
		Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur	
Object	1 Sing			ì-ki-...		à-kà-...		
	Plur							
	2 Sing	à-kà-...		kì-...			è-...	
	Plur							
3		à-...		ì-...		è-...		
Intransitive								

Table 13: Toposa transitive prefixes (Givón 1976:79-80, with a few gaps in the data)

In Teso (see Table 14) there is a slight difference, as the ‘ka’ prefix is also used for first person *plural* object with third person subject. This is probably a relatively recent innovation as it is not found in any other of the Eastern Nilotic languages.

		Subject						
		1		2		3		
		Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur	
Object	1 Sing			kì-...		ka-...		
	Plur							
	2 Sing	ka-...		kì-...			è-...	
	Plur							
3		a-...		ì-...		è-...		
Intransitive								

Table 14: Teso transitive prefixes (Tucker et al. 1966:471, Hilders et al. 1957:21)

Maasai is the only language that shows relatively strong deviations from the general patterns outlined above. First, the ‘ka’ prefix has lost its ‘k’, and the two different meanings of this prefix are differentiated by tone: ‘áá-...’ versus ‘áa-...’ (see Table 15). The different ‘ki’ prefixes seem to be identical, but the different meanings induce different tonal patterns in the verb stems, as can be seen in (7) and (8).

- (7) kí-tó-du-á
1Pl-Perf-see-Perf
 We saw you (Sg/Pl).
 We saw him/her/them. (Payne et al. 1994:295)
- (8) kí-tó-du-a
Bip-Perf-see-Perf
 you (Sg/Pl) saw me.
 He/she/they saw you (Sg). (Payne et al. 1994:295)

Also the prefixes that mark the first person plural object are different in Maasai: they align with the intransitive prefixes. Because this is only found in Maasai this is probably a relatively recent innovation.

		Subject					
		1		2		3	
		Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur
Object	1	Sing		kí-...		áa-...	
		Plur			í-...		é-...
	2	Sing	áá-...	kí-...		kí-...	
		Plur					
	3		á-...		í-...		é-...
	Intransitive						

Table 15: Maasai transitive prefixes (Payne et al. 1994:290-298, Tucker et al. 1953:71-72)

As an explanation for this rather messed up structure I propose the following historical restructuring of the paradigm. This history only presents a hypothetical story which consists of a minimal amount of changes that could lead to a system as is found presently in Eastern Nilotic.

Once there was no prefix for the intransitive first person plural; there was only person marked by prefixes, no number. The ‘k’ functioned somewhat like an inverse marker, as still can be found in the pronominal system of Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946:98-99).¹⁸ The ‘k’ marked that the object was referred to in case of a combination of third person subject with a speech-act participant object. With speech-act participants for both subject and object the same prefixes with ‘k’ were used, but now referring to the subject. This situation is shown in Figure 1A. Then, for some unknown reason, the prefix ‘ki’ became reanalysed as a first person plural prefix, used for both subject and object. This addition is shown in Figure 1B. This paradigmatical structure is identical to the Turkana and Karimojong structure.

(A)			→	(B)			
				Subject			
				1Sg	1PI	2	3
Obj	1		ki			ki	ka
	2	ka		ki		ki	ki
	3	a	i		ki		ki
		a	i		ki	i	e
	Intransitive		a	ki	i	e	

Figure 1: restructuring in Eastern Nilotic pronominal system

1.3.2 Suffixed pronominals

There is a major difference in the pronominal marking between the Eastern and the Southern Nilotic languages. All Southern Nilotic languages have suffixed pronouns

¹⁸ cf. Dimmendaal (1986) and Payne et al. (1994) for synchronic analyses in similar terms of Turkana and Maasai respectively.

for pronominal objects; these do not occur in any Eastern Nilotc language. The suffixed object pronouns will be discussed in section 1.3.2.2. First, in section 1.3.2.1, an exceptional phenomenon is discussed that is found in Lotuho (Eastern Nilotc) and Päkot (Southern Nilotc): both languages have suffixes for subject reference. This is not found in any other Nilotc language.

1.3.2.1 Subject suffixes

Lotuho and Päkot are presently not in geographical contact: Lotuho is spoken in Southern Sudan (Vossen 1982:43-38), and Päkot in Western Kenia (Rottland 1982:26, 31). This is not extremely far apart far apart, but the whole Teso-Turkana group, that does not have suffixed pronominals, intervenes between the two. The subject suffixes could be an areal phenomenon from a time when the Eastern Nilotc languages didn't intervene between Lotuho and Päkot. It is also possible that the suffixed pronominals are an independently developed innovation in both languages.

In the Eastern Nilotc language Lotuho the independent pronouns are suffigated onto the verb. The suffixed pronominals (shown in Table 16) resembles strongly the independent pronoun paradigm (cf. Table 2). This suffix paradigm is normally used with all finite verbs to refer to the subject.

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
1	...-nɛ, ni	...-tɔxɔx
2	...-iɛ	...-tai
3	...-inyi	...-isi

Table 16: Lotuho suffixed pronouns (Tucker et al. 1966:470, Muratori 1938:72-73)

If the independent pronoun is used, as sometimes occurs for emphasis, this independent pronoun *precedes* the verb, and the suffigated pronoun is *not* used, exemplified in (9) and (10). The occurrence of a pronominal suffix leads to the unusual fact that the same referent is referred to twice on the same predicate.

'In Lotuho [...] the Self-standing Pronoun, or a contraction of it, is suffixed to the Verb in normal constructions, in addition to the Conjugational Prefixes; in Lotuho, further, the full Self-standing Pronoun precedes the Verb for emphasis, and there in then no Personal Suffix.' (Tucker et al. 1966:469-470)

'La forma lunga si usa quando il pronomine personale soggetto è messo prima del verbo, e quando è usato come complemento. [...] Quando il pronomine personale fa da soggetto e segue il verbo, talora usa la forma breve, tal'altra al forma lunga, secondo che ora si dirà.' (Muratori 1938:174)

- (9) nani á-bwaxa
ISgPron ISg-dig
 I (emphatic) am digging. (Tucker et al. 1966:470)
- (10) á-bwaxa-ni
ISg-dig-1Sg
 I (normal) am digging. (Tucker et al. 1966:470)

This complementary distribution of independent pronoun and suffixal pronoun indicates recent cliticization of the independent pronoun. In the other Nilotc languages that are regularly VSO (i.e. all except Bari), the independent pronoun *follows* the verb for emphasis.¹⁹ Maybe this emphatic construction with the pronoun following has become unmarked in Lotuho, leading to an eventual cliticization.

Almost the same phenomenon can be found in the Southern Nilotc language Päkot. In Päkot there are also pronominal suffixes that are used to mark the subject with finite verbs. The suffixes (shown in Table 17) resemble the independent pronouns, although the third person pronoun does not occur cliticized (cf. Table 5). An example is shown in (11).

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>I</i>	...-an	...-ca
<i>2</i>	...-ju(ju)	...-kwa

Table 17: Päkot suffixed pronouns (Rottland 1982:133)²⁰

There are no examples of the independent pronouns as subject of a lexical finite verb in Päkot, neither in Rottland (1982) nor in Cazzolara (1978). It is therefore unclear whether the suffix disappears when an independent pronoun is used as in Lotuho. It seems unlikely that this is the case as there are other suffixes following the suffixed pronouns (cf. example (11)).

1.3.2.2 Object suffixes

All Southern Nilotic languages have suffixed pronominals for object reference. The paradigms are shown in Table 18. The forms strongly resemble the independent pronouns (cf. Table 5), and consequently also resemble the Pákot subject suffixes (cf. Table 17). The difference in vowel length, depending on the person of the subject, seems to be a innovative feature of the Kalenjin languages. In (12) an example is shown of the use of the object suffix from Merkweta, a language from the Kalenjin subgroup.

- (12) i-cam-á:n
 $2Sg$ -love- $1Sg$
 Du liebst mich. (You love me.) (Rottland 1982:130)

¹⁹ Tucker et al. (1966:469) mention Teso, Maasai and Nandi as examples.

²⁰ Cazzolara (1978:79-80) gives suffixes that are only in detail different. A big difference is though an inclusive first person plural suffix ‘...-ei/ɔi’. Rottland (1982) does nowhere mention an inclusive for any Southern Nilotic language (cf. footnote 9).

Proto-Kalenjin				Datooga	
	Sing	Plur		Sing	Plur
	1/2 Subj	3 Subj			
1	*...-a:n	*...-an	*...-e:c	...-a:ni	...-e:sa
2	*...-i:n	*...-in	*...-a:k	...-e:yi/i:pi	...-e:gwa

Table 18: South Nilotc object suffixes (Rottland 1982:130, 191, 228-229)

Päkot, a member of the Kalenjin subgroup, also has object suffixes, just as the other Kalenjin languages, but because this language has also subjectsuffixes there is a complex bipersonal paradigm, shown in Table 19. These suffixes are not simply a combination of the subject and the object suffixes. Interestingly, the first person singular subject is not marked overtly. Further, when both subject and object are marked it is always the first person morpheme that precedes the second person morpheme, irrespective whether subject or object. Note that the suffixes that consequently are *segmentally* identical are distinguished by different *tone patterns*, as can be seen in the examples (13) and (14):

- (13) ki-cäm-é:ca:kwâ:
1Plur-love-1Plur,2Plur
 Wir lieben euch. (we love you-all) (Rottland 1982:131)
- (14) ä-cäm-é:câ:kwa:
2Plur-love-1Plur,2Plur
 Ihr liebt uns. (you-all love us) (Rottland 1982:131)

		Subject					
		1		2		3	
		Sing	Plur	Sing	Plur		
Object	1 Sing			...-a:n-e:ji:	...-a:n-ikwa:	...-a:n-in	
	Plur			...-e:c-a:ji	...-e:c-a:kwa	...-e:ca:	
	2 Sing	...-i:ji:	...-e:c-a:ji			...-i:ji:	
	Plur	...-a:kwa:	...-e:c-a:kwa:			...-a:kwa:	

Table 19: Päkot bipersonal suffixes (Rottland 1982:131)

1.4 Inflectional pronominal marking in Western Nilotc

The Western Nilotc languages do not have inflectional pronominal marking as a general characteristic. All languages have so called ‘short pronouns’ that tend to cliticise onto the verb. The independent pronouns, shown in Table 6, are probably historically derived from these ‘short’ forms by adding a suffix ‘...-n(i)’. As can be told from the published sources, there is hardly any regularity as to where the pronouns cliticise, neither is there regularity in the function that the cliticized pronouns represent. The identification of the syntactic functions in the descriptions is problematic though, as there are probably elements of ergativity (Andersen 1988) and topic-marking (Andersen 1991) in the Western Nilotc languages that are not acknowledged by older

authors. The differences in the various description could be a result of different interpretations of terms like ‘subject’, ‘object’ or ‘passive’.

The data on the different languages will be discussed separately in this section although the general comparative classification (see section 1.1) of Western Nilotc seems to a large extend to cover the diversity. Dinka and Nuer have inflection-like marking of the pronouns on auxiliaries. The Northern Lwoo languages Anywa and Päri have an ergative system of clitics: the prefixed pronouns mark absolute, the suffixes ergative. The Southern Lwoo languages Acholi and Lango have a regular subjectinflection by way of the prefixed pronouns. Areal tendencies are at least as important to explain the patterns as the comparative clusters. The Southern Lwoo languages are in contact with Eastern Nilotc that show inflectional marking as well. Interestingly, Shilluk, a Northern Lwoo language, but areally in contact with Dinka and Nuer, seems structurally to resemble Dinka.

The differences between the Western Nilotc languages, pace the noted correspondences, are still large enough to allow for a separate discussion of the phenomena described for the individual languages.

1.4.1 Dinka

Subjectmarking in Dinka, partly incorporated, partly suffixed, is exemplified by a paradigm of the verb ‘to call’ from Andersen (1991) shown in Table 20. Nebel (1948:26) though does not mention any changes of the verb according to the subject: ‘The verb [...] remains the same in all person of the singular and the plural.’

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>I</i>	àcaàal	àcòolkú
<i>2</i>	àcòol	àcàalká
<i>3</i>	àcòòol	àcòolké

Table 20: Dinka subjectinflection exemplified by verb ‘to call’ (Andersen 1991:275)

Both authors agree on the shortened forms of the pronouns that are used postverbally for object marking:

‘[The shortened forms] are used especially when they are objects of a verb in a compound tense. In this case the shortened pronoun is put after the verb particle and they may also merge.’ (Nebel 1948:53)

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>I</i>	â	wô
<i>2</i>	î	wê
<i>3</i>	ê	kê

Table 21: Shortened forms of the Dinka pronouns (Andersen 1991:276, cf. Nebel 1948:15))

Nebel mentiones contraction of this shortened pronouns with a tense particle that precedes the verb. This particle may be interpreted as an auxiliary.

'In questions and answers a subject pronoun is contracted with the tense particles ci, bi and ye. [...] If the pronoun is the object and a singular, its shortened form is put after the tense particle and my be contracted with it.' (Nebel 1948:20-21)

Double marking is possible, but it is strongly emphatic:

- (16) [tiŋtui yen] alɔ mat buro baai
[woman, Det 3SgPron] Aux join company village
 That woman joined the company of the village people. (Nebel 1948:53)

1.4.2 Nuer

In the closely related language Nuer the situation is rather different: a much more regular cliticization of the pronoun to the predicate is found, probably even with inflectional status. The pronoun is suffixed either to the verb or to the auxiliary, if present (see Table 22). The suffixed pronouns refer to the subject.

'The verbal suffix pronouns are annexed immediately to the corresponding stem in the Present Indicative Active (positive) (and in a few forms derived therefrom). In the compound moods and tenses they are annexed (mostly by contraction) to the auxiliary particles. No other kind of personal pronoun, other than these suffixes is normally required to express a pronoun subject.' (Crazzolara 1933:102)

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>1 Excl</i>	...-ä	...-ko
<i>1 Incl</i>		...-nè
2	...-i	...-e
3	...-e	...-ke

Table 22: Nuer cliticized pronoun (Crazzolara 1933:62)

If an independent pronoun is used for emphasis, the cliticized pronoun is still used. The clitics are thus better seen as an inflection. With auxiliaries (that have incorporated the pronoun; Crazzolara, 1933:109) this double marking of the subject is shown in example (17).

'Where the personal pronoun is the subject of a verb, only the corresponding verbal suffix is used as a rule. The full form is added, however, when particular stress has to be laid on the personal pronoun subject or, seldom, object. It is then placed at the beginning of the sentence.' (Crazzolara 1933:63-64)

- (17) *yän, bå wò céŋ, jín bi té wàne*
1SgPron Aux,1Sg go home 2SgPron Aux,2Sg remain here
 I shall go home, you will remain here. (Crazzolara 1933:64)

1.4.3 Anywa

In Anywa the short pronouns cliticise to the verb following an ergative pattern: the prefixed pronouns refer to an absolute argument, the suffixed pronouns refer to an ergative argument. If there is no tense/aspect marking the full pronoun is prefixed instead of the short pronoun prefix (Reh 1996:189-191).

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>I Excl</i>	ā	wā
<i>I Incl</i>		ó
2	í	ú
3	é	gí

Table 23: Anywa cliticized short pronouns (Reh 1996:190, 194)

Note that the third person singular prefix is optional, as shown in example (18). The third person singular *suffix* is obligatory, although the suffix is strongly deminished with verb-initial sentences (Reh 1996:195).

- (18) ('ēn)-ā-cámó.

(3Sg)-eat
She ate. (Reh 1996:190)

Lusted (1976) presents a rather different analysis of Anywa. Cliticization only happens suffigated and only with certain aspects/moods; (19) is an example of a non-cliticized *preposed* pronoun, in (20) a *suffixal* clitic is shown. It is unclear what the relation between these two analysis is.

'In the Qualitative the verb has no personal pronoun suffixes: person is shown by the preceding pronoun shortened form. The Applicative present tense follows the same pattern, but in the other tenses the pronoun suffixes are added to the verb stem.' (Lusted 1976:505)

- (19) a mäðo ki píi
ISg drink Obj water
I drink water.

(Lusted 1976:505)

- (20) píi amaað-a
water drink-ISg
I drank the water.

(Lusted 1976:505)

1.4.4 Päri

In Päri both the cliticized pronouns are found both prefixed and suffixed, as shown in Table 24. Andersen (1988) analyzes the use of these affixes as showing an ergative pattern: the suffixes mark ergative, the prefixes absolute.

'Pronominal subjects of transitive verbs with simple stems are expressed by suffixes and by consonant alternation in the verbal stem. [Derived stems] do not exhibit consonant alternation.' (Andersen 1988:295-296)

- (21) dháagò á-cóɔ̄l -à
woman Comp-call-1Sg
 I called the woman. (Andersen 1988:295)

'In intransitive clauses, on the other hand, pronominal subjects are expressed by absolute pronouns preceding the verb, or by prefixes, which should perhaps rather be considered absolute proclitics. Pronouns are used before verbs with the completive prefix, while prefixes or proclitics are used with verbs lacking that prefix. [...] The same set of preverbal pronouns prefixes/proclitics are used for expressing pronominal objects.' (Andersen 1988:296)

- (22) ?áan á-cóɔ̄l -í
1SgPron Comp-call-2Sg
 You called me. (Andersen 1988:296)
- (23) wá-yáŋg -í yáŋgo
1Excl-skin-2Sg skin
 You will knife us. (Andersen 1988:297)

	<i>Prefixed</i>		<i>Suffixed</i>	
	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>1 Excl</i>	á-...	wá-...	...-a	...-ó/ó
<i>1 Incl</i>				
2	i/í-...	ú/ó-...	...-i/I	...-u/o
3	yí-...	gí-...	...-e/e	

Table 24: Päri cliticized pronouns (Andersen 1988:297)

Predicates with full noun arguments do not have pronominal clitics, and if a full pronoun is used for emphasis, there is no clitic. This is shown in example (24), in comparison with (21). The affixes are thus clearly clitics and no inflection. Also pronominal third person absolutives can be zero in Päri.

'In intransitive clauses, pronominal third person subjects, whether singular or plural, may be expressed by zero instead of by a pronoun or a prefix/proclitic. [...] The same applies to pronominal third person objects in transitive clauses. [...] By contrast, pronominal third person subjects in transitive clauses cannot be expressed by zero.' (Andersen 1988:298)

- (24) dhàagò púot-à ?áan`í
woman beat-Foc 1SgPron
 I beat the woman. (Andersen 1988:311)

1.4.5 Shilluk

In Shilluk there are shortened forms of the pronouns that are used instead of the independent forms, but normally they do not cliticize (see the forms in Table 25). The short forms are generally put before the verb and are used for subject reference. Only the pronominal object in the singular can be suffixed to the verb, as shown in example

(26). This is not obligatory, as can be seen in (25), where an independent pronoun is used for object reference.

'[The independent pronoun] does not stand immediately before a verb, it is used when the person is to be emphasized, therefore it might be called the emphatic form. It is used for the subjective and objective form alike. [...The short] form is generally used as the subject of verbs.' (Westermann 1911:13)

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>I</i>	yá, ...-à	wá, wó
<i>2</i>	yí, ...-ì	wú
<i>3</i>	(y)é, gò, ...-è	gé

Table 25: Shilluk shortened pronouns (Westermann 1911:14)

1.4.6 Acholi and Lango

Acholi and Lango are the only Western Nilotic languages, besides Nuer, that have developed a regular inflection out of the cliticized pronouns.²¹ The affixes of Acholi are shown in Table 26. Each predicate obligatorily has a pronominal prefix, referring to the subject. Of the independent pronoun is used for emphasis, the prefix still is used, leading to double marking of the subject. The same affixes also occur suffixed to the verb to mark the object, but if the full form of the pronoun is used to emphasize the object this suffix is *not* used. An example of the affixed pronouns is shown in (27). In (28) it is clearly shown that the prefixes are obligatory.

'Normally the short pronoun prefixed to a verb is sufficient to show the subject; if, however, the subject has to be stressed, the absolute [i.e. full] form is *added* in front of the verb. [...] If a personal pronoun object has to be emphasized, the personal suffix is *replaced* by the full form' (Crazzolara 1955:65, italics added, MC)

- (27) i-mar-a
2Sg-love-1Sg
 Thou lovest me. (Kitching 1907:9)

(28) iin i-wacò, aan a-wacò köò
2SgPron *2Sg-say* *1SgPron* *1Sg-say* *Neg*
 You have said it, not I. (Crazzolara 1955:65)

²¹ All languages of the Southern Lwoo branch seem to have developed this regular inflection (Gerrit Dimmendaal, p.c.).

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>I</i>	à-...	wà-...
<i>2</i>	ì-...	wù-...
<i>3</i>	Ø/ò/è- ²² ...	gì/gú-...

Table 26: Acholi subjectinflection (Crazzolara 1955:66)

The closely related language Lango has been described by Driberg in 1923 (quoted by Bavin, 1981:90) as showing the same subjectprefixes as Acholi. 60 years later though, Bavin finds a strongly diminished set of prefixes. Generally the oppositions in the plural are all gone, and also the third person singular marking is waning. For the habitual for instance the prefixes are shown in Table 27. The suffigated object clitics are still used.

	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>I</i>	à-...	
<i>2</i>	ì-...	
<i>3</i>	Ø-...	ò-...

Table 27: Lango subject prefixes for habitual (Bavin 1981:91)

1.4.7 Conclusion

Two of the Western Nilotic languages that have real inflectional marking, Acholi and Lango, are geographically the most southern Nilotic languages, spoken next to Eastern Nilotic languages that all have prefixal subject inflection. This indicates an areal influence as an explanation for the inflections. This areal explanation does not hold for the inflection in Nuer, as there is no inflection found in the neighbouring close relative Dinka.

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²² 'For the 3rd person singular Present the finite verb takes no prefis; ò- is prefixed in the Past tense only. The prefix è- of 3rd person singular is added in all tenses in indirect speech when it represents the same subject as that of the introductory main clause. After a noun subject ò- has to be added in the Past tense.' (Crazzolara 1955:647)

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