

Word Order Change in Western Nilotic

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(1) Classification of Western Nilotic Languages

Nilotic ----- Nuer-Dinka ----- Nuer

Nilotic ----- Western Nilotic ----- Nuer-Dinka ----- Nuer

-- Dinka

--- Lwo ----- Northern Lwo -- Shilluk

-- Anywa

-- Pãri

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--- Southern Lwo -- Luo

-- Lango

-- Kumam

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-- Eastern Nilotic

-- Southern Nilotic

		Southern	Northern	Dinka	Nuer
		Lwo	Lwo		
Main Clause	Unmarked Aspect	AVO (3)	AVO (9)	AVO (18)	VAO (25)
	Marked Aspect	AAuxVO (4)	OAuxVA (10)	AAuxOV (19)	AuxAOV (26)
Clitics	Unmarked Aspect	A=V-O (5)	A=V O (11)	Ind=A V	V=AO (27)
Affixes	Marked Aspect	A=Aux-V	OAux-V	AAux=O V (20)	Aux=A OV
	Aspect	-O	=A	(12) OAux=S V (21)	
Negative		ANVO (6)	ONVA (13)	ANOV (22)	NAOV (28)
			/ANVO (14)		/VAN
Interrogative		AVO (7)	AVO (15)	VAO (23)	VAO (29)
			/OVA (16)		
Subordinate Clause		AVO (8)	VAO (17)	VAO (24)	VAO (30)

(3)	acien	o-tij-o	dapi	Luo (Stafford 1967: 4)
	Achieng	3SG-pick up-IND	water pot	
	'Achieng is picking up a water pot.'			
(4)	niri	abic	ɔ-se-kadh-ɔ	penj Luo (Stafford 1967: 47)
	girls	five	3SG-PERF-pass-IND	exam
	'Five girls have passed the exam.'			
(5)	a-kel-e			Luo (Stafford 1967: 5)
	1SG-bring-3SG			
	'I am bringing it'			
(6)	ɔnaŋɔ	ək	səm kitabu	Luo (Stafford 1967: 39)
	Onyango	NEG	read book	
	'Onyango is not reading a book.'			
(7)	dhakɔ	aciɛl	paɔ kelo	lewni adi? Luo (Stafford 1967: 13)
	woman	one	can to bring	clothes how many
	'How many clothes can one woman bring?'			
(8)	---	nikec	kəth	nɔ-sɪndɔ-gɪ Luo (Stafford 1967: 41)
		because	rain	3SG:PAST-prevent-3PL
	'---, because the rain prevented them.'			

- (9) ya nak-a dyel Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 32)
I kill-ACC sheep
'I kill the sheep.'
- (10) byél á-'rākk! yī jān dhájò Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 36)
grain:PL PST:E-grind:T:R ERG person female
'The woman ground the durra.'
- (11) ya thal-a riḡo Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 128)
I cook-ACC meat
'I cook meat.'
- (12) yá á-'cwōl! yī yín Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 38)
1SG PST:E-call:T ERG 2SG
'You called me.'
- (13) ḡu pa nak-i wun Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 148)
lion NEG kill-by 2PL
'You will not kill the lion.'
- (14) cōllo pa jni-madho mogo ma gir Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 148)
Shilluk NEG CONT-drink beer REL much
'Shilluk do not drink much beer.'

- (15) yū de-nako dyel? Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 152)
2SG:FUT INT-kill sheep
'Will you kill sheep?'
- (16) dyel a-cam-i uthwon? Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 136)
sheep PAST-eat-by hyena
'Did the hyena eat the sheep?'
- (17) ---, keḡ ade yud-i yel Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 137)
if PAST find-2SG durra
'---, if you had found durra.'
- (18) cōk a-nāk ḡeen Dinka (Nebel 1948: 42)
hunger IND-kill 1SG
'Hunger kills me.'
- (19) beḡ a-ci wet lek kōc Dinka (Nebel 1948: 10)
chief IND-PAST order tell people
'The chief gave an order to the people.'
- (20) yin a-caa koḡ apei Dinka (Nebel 1948: 21)
2SG IND-PAST:1SG help very
'You have helped me very much.'

- (21) wamuth a-ca tiŋ Dinka (Nebel 1948: 21)
 your brother IND-PAST:1SG see
 ‘I saw your brother.’
- (22) yin a-kec wet yic lueel Dinka (Nebel 1948: 17)
 2SG IND-NEG:PAST word true say
 ‘You did not speak the truth.’
- (23) cak ɲaŋ tiŋ wiir? Dinka (Nebel 1948: 21)
 PAST:2PL croco see in the river
 ‘Have you seen a croco in the river?’
- (24) te thet koc yiin, --- Dinka (Nebel 1948: 98)
 if beat people 2SG, ---
 ‘If the people beat you, ---’
- (25) deth cyek pi Nuer (Westermann 1912: 104)
 carry woman water
 ‘The woman carries water.’
- (26) cè ɲaŋ gāt kãf Nuer (Westermann 1912: 109)
 PAST croco man catch
 ‘The croco has caught a man.’

- (27) pōt-a thom Nuer (Westermann 1912: 101)
 play-1SG musical instrument
 ‘I play a musical instrument.’
- (28) kā yáŋ du kwal Nuer (Westermann 1912: 102)
 NEG:1SG cow your steal
 ‘I did not steal your cow.’
- (29) jin ci rwacdren liŋo? Nuer (Huffman 1929: 63)
 2SG PAST their words hear
 ‘Dis you hear their words?’
- (30) ---, kan té kɛ’ ma’c Nuer (Westermann 1912: 114)
 if have they guns
 ‘---, if they have guns.’
- (9’) ɲiláál cá-m-á riŋō Anywa (Reh 1996: 200)
 child eat-FC meat
 ‘The child is eating *the meat*.’
- (9’’) riŋó cá-m-á ɲiláal Anywa (Reh 1996: 200)
 meat eat-FC child
 ‘A *child* has eaten the meat.’

Passive or Ergative in Northern Lwo

- (13) ḡu a-nake ye en
lion PAST:PASS-kill by him
- (31) ḡu a-naki en
lion PAST:PASS-kill:by him
- (32) ḡu a-nage
lion PAST:PASS-kill:by:him
'The lion has been killed by him' Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 136)
- (33) ya kwobo Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 134)
1SG report:PASS
'I am reported.'
- (34) ya pwot Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 135)
1SG:PAST:PASS strike
'I have been struck.'
- (10) byél á-ʼfakk! yī nān dhájò Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 36)
grain PAST:E-grind:T:R ERG person femal
'The woman ground the durra.'

- (35) māc á-dùḡ áwāā Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 37)
fire PST:E-smoke:I yesterday
'The fire smoked yesterday'

Cross-referencing on the verb

- (36) bŭl á-ʼgǝj!-é áwāā Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 449)
Bol PST:E-hit:T-3SG yesterday
'S/he hit Bol yesterday'

(37) Bound/cliticised agent pronouns (Perfective Aspect)

	Kumam	Shilluk	
1SG (aḡo)	ǎ = ʼCVC	á-ʼCṽC!-á	á-ʼCṽC! yī yán
2SG (in)	í = ʼCVC	á-ʼCṽC!	á-ʼCṽC! yī yín
3SG (en)	é = ʼCVC	á-ʼCṽC!-é	á-ʼCṽC! yī én
1PLIn (wan)	ǎ = ʼCVC	á-ʼCṽC! wá	
1PLEx		á-ʼCṽC! wón	
2PL (wun)	í = ʼCVC	á-ʼCṽC! wún	
3PL	ǎ = ʼCVC	á-ʼCṽC! gén	
3PL (gm)	í = ʼCVC	á-ʼCṽC! yī (nān dhájò)	
3 (dako)	ǎ = ʼCVC	(In Anwa IDF pronominal suffix: /-í/ ~ /-í/)	

Shilluk *yī* is Case Marker, Preposition, or something else?

(38) *bōl á-bì yī* [+ATR]-*í*[-ATR] (phonetically *yí*[+ATR])

Bol PST:E-come:I to-2SG

‘Bol came to you’

(39) *bōl á-^lcwōl! yī*[-ATR] *yín*[-ATR] Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 49)

Bol PST:E-call:T ERG 2SG

‘You called Bol.’

(40) Kumam

i[+ATR]-*a*[-ATR] (ia, Vowel harmony)

to-1SGPOS

‘to me’

Independent pronouns in Shilluk

(41) *yá bā kéth* Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 38)

1SG NEG:NonPST go:I

‘I am not going.’

(42) *yá á-^lcwōl yī yín* Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001: 38)

1SG PST:E-call:T ERG 2SG

‘You called me.’

(43) Independent pronouns in Shilluk & Päre

	Shilluk		Päre	
	Short form	Long form	Absolutive	Ergative
1SG	<i>yá</i>	<i>yán</i>	?áan	?àan!-ì
2SG	<i>yí</i>	<i>yín</i>	?íin	?iin!-ì
3SG	Φ	<i>én</i>	<i>yín</i>	<i>yìn!</i> -ì

Independent pronouns in Päre

(44) *wán á-cóol!-ì* Päre (Andersen 1988: 297)

1Plex C-call-2SG

‘You called us.’

Ergative case formation in Päre

(45) Absolutive Ergative
màan *màan-nì* ‘women’
dàk` *dàk`-ì* ‘pot’

(46) Absolutive Ergative
kìd-í *kìd-î* ‘stone’

(47) *dháagò á-yàaṅ ùbúr-rì* Päre (Andersen 1988: 290)

woman C-insult Ubur-ERG

‘Ubur insulted the woman.’

Case inflection in Dinka

(47) jó à-kεεεc rāaan Dinka (Andersen 2002: 8)

dog:ABS D-bite:M person:ABS

‘A dog is biting a person repeatedly.’

(48) jó à-kεεεc rāaan

dog:ABS D-bite:M:NTS person:OBL

‘A person is biting a dog repeatedly.’

(49) V SUB(OBL) OBJ(ABS) → SUB(ABS) V OBJ(ABS) cf. (47)

(50) V SUB(OBL) OBJ(ABS) → OBJ(ABS) V SUB(OBL) cf. (48)

(51) Absolutive Oblique

t̩ŋ t̩ŋ ‘spear’ L → F

d̩t̩ d̩t̩ ‘bird’ H → L

àŋàw àŋàw ‘cat’ F → L

Case making in Pàri & Dinka, Demonstrative in Lango

(52) Pàri Dinka Lango

ABS ERG ABS OBL -nì ‘this’

m̩dan m̩dan-nì t̩ŋ t̩ŋ k̩l̩ k̩ll̩ ‘wart hog’

d̩àk̩ d̩àk̩-ì d̩t̩ d̩t̩ g̩l̩l̩ g̩l̩l̩-nì ‘pot’

Topicalization in Dinka

(53) m̩b̩b̩or à-c̩f̩ m̩r̩i̩ɔ̩l̩ y̩ɔ̩p Dinka (Andersen 1991: 278)

Mabor D-PF:NTS Marial:GEN beat:NF

(54) m̩r̩i̩ɔ̩l̩ à-c̩f̩ m̩b̩b̩or y̩ɔ̩p (S topicalization)

Marial D-PF Mabor beat

‘Marial has beaten Mabor.’

Topicalization in Nuer

(55) ce ran m̩ɔ̩kh n̩ɔ̩kh Nuer (Westermann 1912: 103)

PERF:3SG man buffalo kill

‘The man killed a buffalo.’

(56) wan ce rwac̩d̩en l̩ŋ Nuer (Huffman 1929: 62)

fox PERF:3SG words-their hear

‘The fox heard their words.’

Topicalization in Lango

(57) l̩ócà d̩ákó ò-nénò tè Lango (Noonan & Bavin 1979: 130)

man woman 3SG-kill and

‘The man, woman saw and ’

Topicalization in Shilluk

(58) dyel a-cam ye uthwon Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 136)
 sheep PST-eat CLIT hyena
 'The hyena ate the sheep.'

(59) uthwon dyel a-came Shilluk (Kohnen 1938: 136)
 hyena sheep PST-eat:3SG
 'The hyena, he ate the sheep.'

Topicalization in Western Nilotic

(60) Nuer

AUX A O V → T AUX:pro O V (A topicalization)

(61) Dinka

O AUX A V → T AUX O V (A topicalization)

(62) Northern Lwo

O AUX V A → T O AUX V-pro (A topicalization)

(63) Southern Lwo (Optional)

A AUX V O → T A AUX V (O topicalization)

Word Order Change in Western Nilotic (Marked Aspect)

(64) PWN Word Order

*(T) AUX A O V

(64) PWN > Dinka (Topic shift)

*(T) AUX A O V > O AUX A V (S Topic Sentence: S AUX O V)

(65) PWN > Northern Lwo (Topic shift)

*(T) AUX-V A O > O AUX-V A

(66) PWN > Southern Lwo

*(T) AUX V S O > A AUX-V O

(67) Origin of case marking

1. yi in Shilluk is clitic.

2. ERG in Northern Lwo and OBL/GEN in Dinka is Nominative. ERG *-ni in Pãri and OBL/GEN (tone) in Dinka originated from Demonstrative -ni 'this'.

Why DEM is added to Nominative?

(68) Information Structure

Old Information > New Information

Information Structure in Dinka, Northern Lwo

**O (New I) AUX-V A (Old I) > O (New I) AUX-V A (Old I) + DEM 'this'