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**The Classification of Kumam  
within Nilotic**

**Gerald Heusing**

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### **The Classification of Kumam within Nilotic**

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This publication is a slightly revised version of a paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> World Congress of African Linguistics in Lomé (August 21-26, 2000). It is one of the outcomes of a long-term project entitled »Aspects of a Comparative Grammar of the Southern Lwoo Languages« which is due to be completed in 2002. I am grateful to the German Research Foundation (DFG) for supporting the project with a grant which enables me to participate in international conferences (like the one in Lomé) and to do field work in Uganda.

I am indebted to my Kumam language consultants Mr. Richard Ebwolu and Mr. Sospata Akwenyu as well as to my Teso consultant Dr. Charles Peter Emudong. I also want to thank the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) – especially Mr. Julius Ecuru – for being so co-operative in terms of administrative matters. The long-term project has been approved by the UNCST and cleared by the Office of the President of the Republic of Uganda.

Kumam data presented in this paper were collected in Uganda from December 1999 to March 2000. Sources for data for other languages have always been indicated in the text. Data for Adhola have been taken from Mukarovsky (1956) which was the only source available at the time when I prepared this paper. Mukarovsky's work is based on material collected by Father Walser of the Catholic Mission in Tororo. Walser used a questionnaire which was published in the supplement to »Africa« Vol. VI, No. 2 (»Short Guide to the recording of African languages«). He did not indicate tones, his data are incomplete and partly unsubstantial. Therefore, Adhola is not adequately represented in this paper. In the final publication of the long-term project, Adhola will be presented by data from my own field notes which I will collect in Uganda from December 2000 to March 2001.

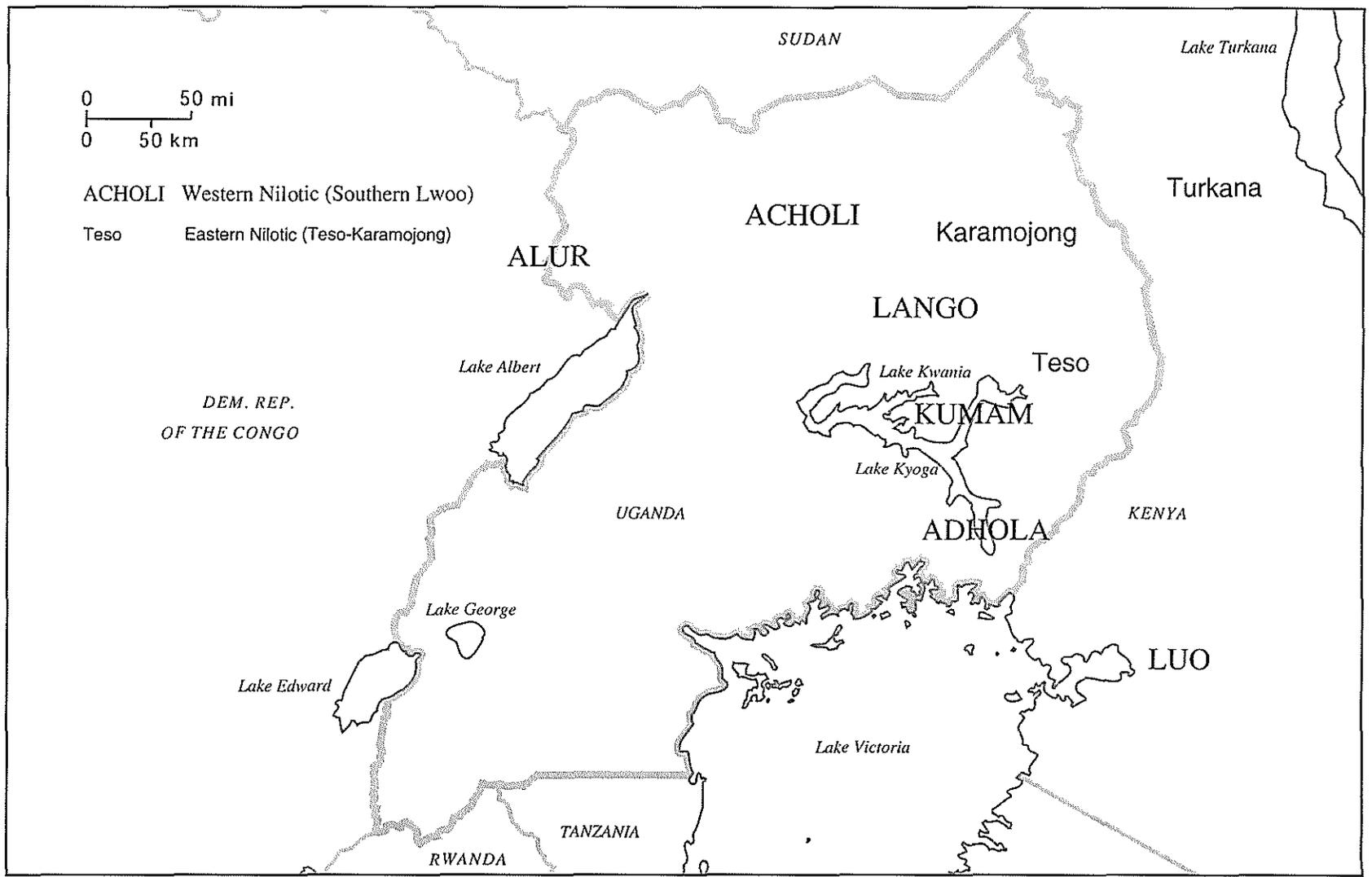
# The Classification of Kumam within Nilotic

Gerald Heusing

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Map: Geographic Distribution of some Western and Eastern Nilotic Languages



## 1. STATE OF THE ART

Kumam is spoken in Uganda by about 100,000 people, mainly on the Kaberamaido peninsula enclosed by Lake Kwania in the Northwest and Lake Kyoga in the Southeast. The cultural and economic centre of the Kumam people is the town of Kaberamaido itself. The language had not yet been surveyed and for this reason the exact determination of its genetic affiliation has caused problems. Kumam is a Nilotic language – that has never been in question if we consider earlier classifications. It is its internal status within Nilotic which had not yet been clearly determined. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to clarify the position of Kumam within Nilotic.

In the literature, we find three different classifications for the language in question. Köhler (1955: 85) in his widely accepted classification of the Nilotic languages classifies Kumam as an Eastern Nilotic language:

<u>Western Nilotic</u>	<u>Eastern Nilotic</u>	<u>Southern Nilotic</u>
A. Nuer-Dinka	A. Bari-Masai	A. Suk-Nandi
a. Nuer		
b. Dinka		
B. Lwoo	B. Karamojong-Teso	B. Tatoga
a. Northern Lwoo	Karamojong	
b. Southern Lwoo	Jiye	
Alur	Dodoth	
Lo-Naam	Topotha	
Acoli	Ngiangatom	
Jopalwo	Turkana	
Lango	Teso	
Jopadhola	Wamia	
Luo-Kavirondo	<b>Kumam</b>	
C. Burun		

The status of Kumam following Grimes (1996: 426) is that of a Southern Lwoo language within Western Nilotic:

Western Nilotic

|

Lwoo

|

Southern Lwoo

|

**Kumam**

Without mentioning names, Grimes (1996: 426) also writes that »some linguists classify it in the Dinka group«:

Western Nilotic

|

Nuer-Dinka

|

Dinka

|

**Kumam**

## 2. PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION

As a result of a comparison of the Kumam lexicon and grammar with five Western Nilotic languages of the Southern Lwoo group (Acholi, Alur, Adhola, Lango and Luo) and one Eastern Nilotic language of the Teso-Karamojong group (Teso), Kumam can clearly be classified as a Western Nilotic language belonging to the sub-group of the Southern Lwoo languages. Within the lexicon, Kumam displays a resemblance of about 90 percent with the Southern Lwoo languages. At the level of grammar, it shows almost no resemblance with Teso (letting aside Proto-Nilotic elements). One striking example for this is grammatical gender which is not present in Kumam (as in most Western Nilotic languages) but which is marked with the help of prefixes in Teso (as in most Eastern Nilotic languages). Another example concerns syntax: Kumam has an SVO basic word order (as most Western Nilotic languages), Teso on the other hand displays VSO (as most Eastern Nilotic languages).

Concerning Dinka, I could not identify the sources mentioned in Grimes (1996: 426). In my own comparison of Kumam and Dinka with the help of Nebel (1936 and 1948) I could not find similarities between the two languages others than those which can be traced back to a Proto-Nilotic level.

An explanation for the Teso elements found in Kumam, which gave rise to the classificatory problems mentioned above, offers the descent of the Kumam people. Oral tradition shows that they originate from the Eastern Nilotic Teso people from which they separated in the 18<sup>th</sup> (Köhler 1950: 186) or very early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Lawrance 1957: 15). They moved in a westerly direction and settled down at Lake Kyoga in an area which is today known as Kaberamaido. There they adopted the language of the Langi, i.e. a Southern Lwoo variety of the Western Nilotic language family.

Within the Southern Lwoo languages also Lango displays certain similarities with Teso, a fact which supports the hypothesis of an Eastern Nilotic origin of the Langi. They may have gone through a similar development like the Kumam but much earlier than the latter.

N.B. Teso words which are found in Kumam may not only be cognates but also recent borrowings which have replaced Lango words. This is due to the fact that speakers of both languages are still living next to each other and many speakers of Kumam (as a first language) also have a good command of Teso. To decide whether a Teso word in the Kumam lexicon is a cognate (i.e. a genealogical phenomenon) or a recent borrowing (i.e. an adstrat phenomenon) is difficult because of the little phonetic and phonological differences concerning these words in the two languages. This in turn is due to the short period which has passed since the Kumam abandoned their former language. In general I have treated Teso words in

Kumam as cognates unless, my informants clearly pointed out that a word is a recent borrowing or, unless there was convincing linguistic evidence for it.

### 3. EVIDENCE: SOME EXAMPLES

In this part of the paper, I will present evidence for the proposed internal classification of Kumam. The evidence concerns independent subject pronouns, verbs and cardinal numbers.

#### 3.1. Independent Subject Pronouns

Except for the 1. pers. sg. form /áŋó/ which is derived from Teso /eɔŋ/, all independent subject pronouns are Southern Lwoo cognates as the forms displayed in Table 1 below prove. In the left column, my provisional reconstruction for the Proto-South-Lwoo (PSL) forms are given. All Teso examples in the table are adopted from Hilders, Lawrance (1956: 20f.). Luo examples marked with the symbol © are taken from Gregersen (1961).

The Adhola forms /gɔ/ for 3. pers. sg. and /jo/ for 3. pers. pl. are obviously not correct. For the first one I do not have an explanation. /jO/ or /jU/ (capital letters stand for both [+ATR] and [-ATR] realisations of the respective vowel) in Southern Lwoo languages is a noun meaning *people*. It can occasionally be used in order to function as an impersonal 3. pers. pl. This is for example true for Alur where /jù/ *people*, 'they' can be used in this way.

Teso has two forms for the 1. pers. pl. The difference between them is that /isio/ 1. pers. pl. excludes the hearer while /oni/ includes him.

Table 1: Independent Subject Pronouns

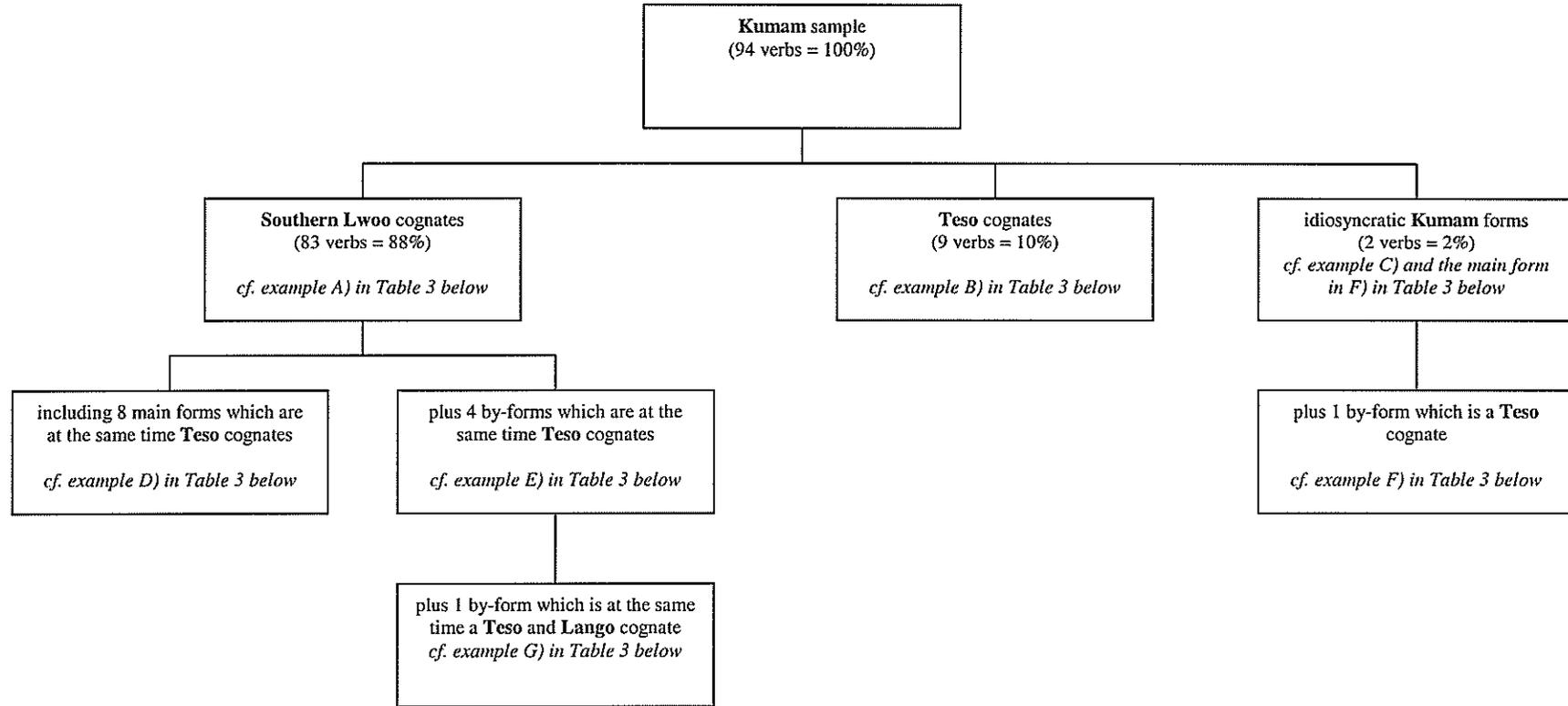
	<b>ACHOLI</b> <i>(Crazzolara 1938: 64)</i>	<b>ADHOLA</b> <i>(Mukarovsky 1956: 92)</i>	<b>ALUR</b> <i>(Knappert 1963: 103)</i>	<b>KUMAM</b>	<b>LANGO</b> <i>(Noonan 1992: 108)</i>	<b>LUO</b> <i>(Tucker 1994: 149)</i>
1. pers. sg. PSL: *án	āān	an	án	áńó <i>[Teso: eoŋ]</i>	án	áán; āān ⑥
2. pers. sg. PSL: *ín	īīn	in	ín	ín <i>[Teso: ijo]</i>	yín	íín; īīn ⑥
3. pers. sg. PSL: *én	ēēn	go	én	én <i>[Teso: nesi]</i>	én	één; ēēn ⑥
1. pers. pl. PSL: *wán	wāān	wan	wán	wán <i>[Teso: isio / oni]</i>	wán	wáán; wāān ⑥
2. pers. pl. PSL: *wún	wūūn	win	wún	wún <i>[Teso: yesi]</i>	wún	úún; ūūn ⑥
3. pers. pl. PSL: *gín	gīīn	jo	gín	gín <i>[Teso: kesi]</i>	gín	gíín; gīīn ⑥

### 3.2. Verbs

As it is displayed in Table 2 below, out of a sample of 94 Kumam verbs, 88% are Southern Lwoo cognates, 10% are Teso cognates and 2% are idiosyncratic Kumam forms, i.e. they do not show similarities with neither Southern Lwoo nor Teso. The idiosyncratic forms may be borrowings from other languages spoken in Uganda but this has still to be proved. The group of Southern Lwoo cognates includes 8 main forms which are at the same time Teso cognates, 4 additional by-forms which are at the same time Teso cognates plus one form which is at the same time a Teso and Lango cognate. The group of idiosyncratic Kumam forms includes one additional by-form that is a Teso cognate.

The 94 Kumam verbs on which this analysis is based are part of a comparative wordlist for the Southern Lwoo languages which comprises some 500 entries out of which 121 are verbs. At the time when I prepared this paper, only 94 of them were ready for comparison. The complete wordlist will be published in the final publication of the long-term project.

Table 2: Etymology of Kumam Verbs



One example for each etymological verb group is given in Table 3 below. Data marked with the symbol ① are adopted from Blount, Curley (1970). Teso data marked with the initials »C.P.« are from my own field notes, those marked with the symbol ④ are taken from Hilders, Lawrance (1958). Teso examples which are not marked represent correspondences between both sources. For Adhola, verbs bearing the meaning *to tear* and *to push* are not available from Mukarovsky (1956).

Table 3: Examples for the Etymology of Kumam Verbs

	ACHOLI (Crazzolara 1938)	ADHOLA (Mukarovsky 1956)	ALUR (Ukoko, Knappert, Spaandonck 1964)	KUMAM	LANGO (Noonan 1992)	LUO (Tucker 1994)
A) <i>to kill</i>	nèkò	neko	nego ①	nèkò [Teso: ai-yar]	nèkkò	nēgò ⑥
B) <i>to forge</i>	tèjò	thedho	thèdhò	cùkò [Teso: ai-murokin (C.P.); a-tat(a) ④; but: a-cukut = bellows ④]	tètò	thedho
C) <i>to surpass</i>	kàjò	kadhò	kàdhò	kàlà mò [Teso: ai-tub, a-depar (C.P.); ai-telekaarit ④]	kàtò	kaadhò
D) <i>to drink</i>	màjò	madho	màdhò	màtò [Teso: ai-mat]	métô	màdhò ⑥
E) <i>to tear</i>	yèccò	?	yèccò	yeco [Teso: ai-cil (C.P.)]; jilò [Teso: ai-jil ④]	yèccò	yiεεcò
F) <i>to beat</i>	gòyò	goyò	gòyò	jwàtò, jùtò; bùjò [Teso: ai-buj(a)]	gòyò	gòyò ⑥
G) <i>to push</i>	cwààlò	?	cwàlò	cwàlò; rèmarò [Teso: a-remor = to overthrow; ai-rem = to push, to bark ④]	còòrò èmmò to push aside, plunge through	còr ⑥

### 3.3. Cardinal Numbers

The numerical system is the part of the Kumam lexicon which shows the strongest resemblance with Teso. The cardinal numbers in the Southern Lwoo languages, in Kumam and in Teso are all based on a (presumable Proto-Nilotic) quinary system but the forms differ remarkably from each other. The only cardinal number which does not fit into the quinary system is Proto-South-Lwoo \*/abórò/ *eight*. For Acholi, Crazzolara (1938: 62) assumes that the second part of this form is borrowed from Lugbara (Central Sudanic) /àarò/ *three* (cf. Crazzolara 1960: 37).

A point which is worth mentioning concerns the Lango language. Driberg (1923: 311) describes six older forms for the cardinal numbers 5, 6, 10, 11, 20 and 100 which have cognates in Kumam and Teso. Today these forms are known only to very old Langi (except /kàj/ *five* which still exists as by-form to /àbîc/).

Within Kumam numbers 1-9, only 1 and 3 are Southern Lwoo cognates while number 2 and numbers 4-9 are Teso cognates. Kumam *five* /kàj/ exists also in modern Lango as by-form. In old Lango, it used to be the standard form (cf. Driberg 1923: 311). Kumam /kàjàpé/ *six* is also reported by Driberg (1923: 311) for old Lango. Luo /ōṅgācīē/ *nine* is a idiosyncratic form. Tucker (1994: 265) writes that it is a combination of the verb /oṅgée/ *to lack* and the numeral /acíē/ *one*. Following Gregersen (1961: 127), there exists a dialectal variant /ābūḡūēn/ which is a Southern Lwoo cognate.

The cardinal numbers 1-9 are displayed in the following Table 4. All Teso numbers in this table as well as in Table 5 and Table 6 below are from my own field notes. Lango forms marked with the symbol © are old forms as they are found in Driberg (1923: 311). In Teso, prefixes of the cardinal numbers 1-19 depend on the gender of the noun they are modifying (/e-/ = masc., /a-/ = fem., /i-/ = neuter). In the Southern Lwoo languages, cardinal numbers 1-10 have an initial vowel /a-/. Noonan (1992: 110) offers the following explanation for Lango: »It might seem that this prefix is the attributive particle (or some combination including the attributive particle) now conventionally prefixed to these numerals. Regardless of its origin, it is now used even when these numerals are said in isolation and when they are used as predicates: in neither case would one expect the attributive particle.«

Table 4: Cardinal Numbers 1-9

	<b>ACHOLI</b> (Crazzolara 1938)	<b>ADHOLA</b> (Mukarovsky 1956)	<b>ALUR</b> (Ukoko, Knappert, Spaandonck 1964)	<b>KUMAM</b>	<b>LANGO</b> (Noonan 1992)	<b>LUO</b> (Tucker 1994)
<i>one</i> PSL: *acél	àcḕèl	acyel	ácḕl	àcél [Teso: -diopet]	àcḕl	àcí̀é̄l; àcī̀è̄l ⑥
<i>two</i> PSL: *aryo	àryṑò	aryo	áryṑ	àré [Teso: -arei]	àryồ	àríyò̀; àríyò̀ ⑥
<i>three</i> PSL: *adek	àdḕèk	adek	ádḕk	àdék [Teso: -uni]	àdḕk	ādèk ⑥
<i>four</i> PSL: *aṅwen	àṅwḕen	aṅwen	áṅwḕn	òṅwón [Teso: -oṅon]	àṅwḕn	āṅŭ̀en ⑥
<i>five</i> PSL: *abic	àbíic	abic	ábíic	kàṅ [Teso: -kaṅ]	àbíic; (kàṅ ②)	ābíic ⑥
<i>six</i> PSL: *abicèl	àbíicè̀èl	awicyel	ábúsyè̀l	kàṅàpé [Teso: -kaṅ -pe]	àbíicè̀l; (kàṅ kape ②)	āúciè̀l ⑥
<i>seven</i> PSL: *abíryo	àbíir(y)ò̀	abiryo	ábírṑ	kàṅ(à)àré [Teso: -kaṅ -arei]	àbíryò̀	ābíriyò̀ ⑥
<i>eight</i> PSL: *abórò	àbṑorò	aboro	ábó̀ra	kàṅàùní [Teso: -kaṅ -uni]	àbó̀rò	ābṑrò ⑥
<i>nine</i> PSL: *abóṅwen	àbòṅwḕen	abuṅwen	ábúṅwḕn	kàṅàṅwón [Teso: -kaṅ -oṅon]	àbóṅwḕn	ōṅgàcī̀è̄l ⑥

Cardinal numbers 10-19 in Kumam are build up with the help of the Teso cognate /tòmón/ *ten* combined with a cardinal number of the basic group 1-5. Both forms are combined with the help of a cognate form of the Proto-South-Lwoo preposition \*/wìÈ/. Its actual form /híwíé/ *on top of it* in Kumam is more complex than its Southern Lwoo cognate. Morphologically it can be analysed in the following way: /hí-/ *in, on* + /wí/ *head* + /é/ *3. pers. sg. poss.* > /híwíé/ *on top of it (lit. on his head)*. For old Lango *ten*, Driberg (1923: 311) presents a form /tômon/, i.e. a cognate of Kumam and Teso. Additionally, the Teso cognate /tômon ape/ *eleven* is reported by the same author for old Lango.

Only cardinal numbers 10 and 11 are known for Adhola. For Acholi, number 18 could not be found in the literature, cardinal numbers marked with the symbol ② are adopted from Malandra (1957).

Cardinal numbers 10-19 are displayed in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Cardinal Numbers 10-19

	<b>ACHOLI</b> <i>(Crazzolara 1938)</i>	<b>ADHOLA</b> <i>(Mukarovsky 1956)</i>	<b>ALUR</b> <i>(Ukoko, Knappert, Spaandonck 1964)</i>	<b>KUMAM</b>	<b>LANGO</b> <i>(Noonan 1992)</i>	<b>LUO</b> <i>(Tucker 1994)</i>
<i>ten</i> PSL: *apar	àpāār	apar	ápâr	tòmón [Teso: -tomon]	àpâr; (tômon ②)	āpār ⑥
<i>eleven</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) acél	àpāār wìè àcēl	apar g'acyel	ápâr wì àcēl; ápâr kùd' àcēl	tòmón ìwíé àcél [Teso: -tomon -diopet]	àpâr wìè àcél; (tômon ape, tômon wiy'achel ②)	āpār g' acīl ⑥
<i>twelve</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) aryo	àpāār wìè àryō	?	ápâr áryō; ápâr áryō	tòmón ìwíé àré [Teso: -tomon -arei]	àpâr wìè àryō	āpār g' aríyō ⑥
<i>thirteen</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) adek	àpāār wìè àdēk	?	ápâr ádêk	tòmón ìwíé àdék [Teso: -tomon -uni]	àpâr wìè àdêk	āpār g' adèk ⑥
<i>fourteen</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) añwen	àpāār wìè àñwēn	?	ápâr añwên	tòmón ìwíé àñwón [Teso: -tomon -oñon]	àpâr wìè àñwên	āpār g' añwèn ⑥
<i>fifteen</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) abic	àpāār wìè àbīc	?	ápâr ábíc	tòmón ìwíé kàj; [Teso: -tomon -kaj]	àpâr wìè àbíc	āpār g' abìc ⑥

<i>sixteen</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) abicèl	apar wi abicèl ⑦ ?	ápár ábúsyèl	tòmón ìwíé kàràpé [Teso: -tomon -kaj -pe]	àpár wìè àbícèl	āpār g āúcièl ⑥
<i>seventeen</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) abírȳo	apar abiro ⑦ ?	ápár ábírō	tòmón ìwíé kàrà(à)à ré [Teso: -tomon -kaj -arei]	àpár wìè àbírȳò	āpār g ābīrȳò ⑥
<i>eighteen</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) abórò	? ?	ápár ábórà	tòmón ìwíé kàràùní [Teso: -tomon -kaj -uni]	àpár wìè àbórò	āpār g ābōrò ⑥
<i>nineteen</i> PSL: *apar (wìÈ) abóŋwɛn	àpāār wìè àbôŋwēēn ?	ápár ábóŋwèn	tòmón ìwíé kàrà ŋwón [Teso: -tomon -kaj -oŋon]	àpár wìè àbóŋwèn	āpār g ôŋgā cīèl ⑥

The formation principle of Kumam cardinal numbers 20-90 is comparable to that of the Southern Lwoo languages but different forms (mainly Teso cognates) are used. The form /ót/ *tens* serves as basis, followed directly by a cardinal number from the set 1-9. The form /ót/ *tens* is neither a Southern Lwoo nor a Teso cognate. Etymologically, this form can be explained in two ways. First, it could simply be the plural of /tòmón/ *ten* (comparable to \*/apar/ *ten* and \*/pyer/ *tens* in Proto-South-Lwoo). Second, it may have its origin in the Kumam word /òt/ *house*. This would be analogous to the way cardinal numbers 20-90 are build up in Teso and where the form /a-kais/ *tens* (*lit. houses*) is used. In any case, the form /ót/ *tens* itself is an idiosyncratic Kumam form.

For Lango, Driberg (1923: 311) quotes an old form /atômon aryô/ *twenty* whose first part is cognate with Kumam and Teso while the second part is derived from a Proto-South-Lwoo form.

Teso /a-kais/ *tens* (*lit. houses*) is an inherent feminine noun. The numerals defining it must agree with its gender regardless of the gender of the noun which the numeral qualifies. This is also true for /a-kwatat/ *hundred* and /a-rita/ *thousand*.

Table 6: Cardinal Numbers 20-90

	ACHOLI (Crazzolara 1938)	ADHOLA (Mukarovsky 1956)	ALUR (Ukoko, Knappert, Spaandonck 1964)	KUMAM	LANGO (Noonan 1992)	LUO (Gregersen 1961)
<i>twenty</i>  PSL: *pyer aryo	pyèèr àryòò	pyer aryo	pyèr áryō	ót àré [Teso: a-kais a-arei]	pyèr àryô; (atômon aryô ②)	pī(ē)r(ò) āríyò
<i>twenty-one</i>  PSL: *pyer aryo (wiÈ) acél	pyèèr àryòò wiè àcē èl /		pyèr áryō wí ácêl	ót àré ìwíé àcél [Teso: a-kais a-arei a-diop]	pyèr àryô wiè àcêl	pī(ē)r(ò) āríyò g' ācièl
<i>thirty</i>  PSL: *pyer adek	pyèèr àdēèk /		pyèr ádêk	ót àdék [Teso: a-kais a-uni]	pyèr àdêk	pī(ē)r(ò) ādèk
<i>forty</i>  PSL: *pyer aṅwen	pyèèr àṅwēèn /		pyèr àṅwên	ót òṅwón [Teso: a-kaisa a-oṅon]	pyèr àṅwên	pī(ē)r(ò) āṅūèn
<i>fifty</i>  PSL: *pyer abic	pyèèr àbīc /		pyèr ábîc	ót kàṅ [Teso: a-kaisa a-kàṅ]	pyèr àbîc	pī(ē)r(ò) ābîc
<i>sixty</i>  PSL: *pyer abicel	pyèèr àbīcèèl /		pyèr ábúsyèl	ót kàṅàpé [Teso: a-kais a-kàṅ a-pe]	pyèr àbîcèl	pī(ē)r(ò) āúcièl

<i>seventy</i>	pyèèr àbīīr(y)ò /	pyèr ábírō	ót kàjàrè [Teso: a-kaisa a-kaŋ a-arei]	pyèr àbíryò	pī(ē)r(ò) ābīrīyò
PSL: *pyer abíryò					
<i>eighty</i>	pyèèr àbōòrò /	pyèr ábórà	ót kàjàùní [Teso: a-kaisa a-kaŋ a-uni]	pyèr àbórò	pī(ē)r(ò) ābōrò
PSL: *pyer abórò					
<i>ninety</i>	pyèèr àbôŋwēēn /	pyèr ábúŋwèn	ót kàjàŋwón [Teso: a-kais a-kaŋ a-oŋon]	pyèr àbóŋwèn	pī(ē)r(ò) ôŋgā cīēl
PSL: *pyer ab(ó)ŋwen					

The form /tòl (àcél)/ (*one hundred*) in Kumam has a cognate in old Lango which is described by Driberg (1923: 311). Otherwise, the Kumam form is idiosyncratic. For Lango, Noonan (1992: 302) quotes /átúmù rò/ as an »old style number«. Acholi /mííyâ/, Lango /mîâ/ as well as Luo /miâ/ are obviously Bantu borrowings. The following Table 6 presents the different forms of cardinal number 100 (the Adhola equivalent is not stated in Mukarovsky 1956):

Table 6: Cardinal Number 100

	<b>ACHOLI</b> <i>(Crazzolara 1938)</i>	<b>ADHOLA</b> <i>(Mukarovsky 1956)</i>	<b>ALUR</b> <i>(Ukoko, Knappert, Spaandonck 1964)</i>	<b>KUMAM</b>	<b>LANGO</b> <i>(Noonan 1992)</i>	<b>LUO</b> <i>(Tucker 1994)</i>
<i>one hundred</i>	míyâ	pyer apar	dàk	tòl (âcél) <i>[Teso: a-kwatat]</i>	míô ; (atômon tômon, tolgag and tol ②)	pī(ē)r(ò) āpàr; mīà ⑥
PSL: *pyer apar						

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