Kamal Hussein Abdallah & Marcus Jaeger

Some Aspects of Deontic Modality in Andaandi Nubian

Deontic modality deals with describing necessary or obligatory actions. Frequently in language descriptions deontic modality is omitted. In Armbruster's (1960) nearly all-encompassing Andaandi/Dongolawi grammar one does not find anything about deontic modality.

In Andaandi we have discovered five different ways of expressing deontic modality that far, mainly on the morphological level. They express different degrees of requirement and tenses, offering a fine-tuned instrument. The paper explains its usages in different numbers, tenses, and moods.

After describing deontic modality in Andaandi the results are compared with Mattokki Nubian especially based on data taken from Samuel Ali Hissein, collected before 1927. Already during his time deontic modality was strongly influenced by Arabic loan words.

Colleen Ahland

Revisiting Komuz: new evidence that supports an old proposal

"Komuz" is a Nilo-Saharan (N-S) language family first proposed by Bender (1989, 1991) based on Greenberg's (1963) initial subgrouping of Koman and Gumuz languages within the N-S phylum. Bender 1989 originally proposed that Gumuz and Koman had a distant relationship within the same subfamily labeled "Komuz", but he later recanted (1997, 2000) stating these two groups had "no special relationship" (2000: 56).

Since then, others have maintained that these two groups do indeed show special relationship to each other (save Dimmendaal 2011), offering competing classifications which disagree as to a) whether these two are part of the greater N-S phylum and b) where they might fit within the phylum; Ehret (2001), Blench (personal communication), and Ahland (2013) maintain its N-S membership while Dimmendaal (2008, 2011) casts some doubt on its membership, stating that "very few of the more widespread nominal and verbal morphological markers of Nilo-Saharan are attested in the Coman languages plus Gumuz" (2008: 843). More recently, Dimmendaal et al. tentatively have placed Koman and Gumuz as an outlier branch in an N-S tree (forthcoming) even though Dimmendaal had previously listed Koman as an "independent family" and Gumuz as an "isolate" (2011: 408). All of these classifications differ greatly from each other as well as from Bender's 1991 Komuz proposal.

In this paper, I present evidence further supporting a Komuz subgroup within N-S and explore evidence for establishing a distant relationship with the Eastern Sudanic subfamily, which together form the "Core" subgroup of N-S as Bender had initially proposed. Similarities between a possible Komuz family and Eastern Sudanic are assessed in terms of whether there is evidence for shared retentions versus shared innovations, keeping in mind areal patterns and borrowing as possible explanations.

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Sawsan Abdel Aziz Mohammed Nashid and Garang Diing Akuong

CODESWITCHING, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF DINKA BILINGUALS IN JUBA, SOUTH SUDAN

Codeswitching (CS) is a communicative tactics widespread in bilingual communities where the people are able to speak two languages comparably well and, thus, they choose a code that transmits their intentions in the best way. An example: *wek, koc Aweil* need to be unified. /wekkɔjawīl/→ we, the people Aweil. As Coulmas (2005: 107) pointed out, bilinguals "... choices of codes go beyond the boundaries of a single language". In addition, the choice of a code can be seen as a tactics used by individuals to construct their individual's or social identities as being stated by many researchers. Auer (2007: 4) explains that through their linguistic practices, individuals become actors who- within certain limits- choose their affiliations and express them symbolically through language. Following the same line, Bailey (2002) and Heller (1988) agree on that language as a social practice is directly related to personal and social identity. According to Milroy and Gordon (2003), speakers' language use can be interpreted as part of a larger set of strategies and practices through which they associate themselves with particular groups, and distinguish themselves from others, and in this process construct social categories/identities.

Based on the above discussion, the present paper is a pilot study that aims at focusing attention on the phenomenon of codeswitching (CS) among Dinka bilinguals. It investigates how a network of Dinka bilinguals at Juba (South Sudan) alternate between Dinka and English, and Dinka and Arabic in everyday, casual conversations. The study attempts to answer a number of questions: when, how and why codeswitching or language alternation occurs during the daily conversation of the Dinka bilinguals? Is this phenomenon just a communicative tactics or linguistic style used by the target group (Dinka bilinguals) to facilitate communication? Or does it relate to their personal or social identity construction?

1) What about power relations within the Dinka society at large, such as 'high class', 'privileged', 'educated' style of communication vs. 'low class', 'disfranchised', 'uneducated'?
2) What about language domination, such as the case of Arabic dominance among illiterates and low-educated classes? Here the factor of high class style may be absent [VOCABULARY LACUNAS]

This study is based on interviews and observations, and audio recordings of casual conversation. The fieldwork was meant to allow a deep understanding of the meaning and social significance of code-switching among this group. The participants are Dinka whose home origin is Northern Bahr el Ghazal State. They consist of three groups: those who were Internally Displace People (IDP). IDP are the southern Sudanese people who leave southern Sudan and settled at northern Sudan during the last war (1982-2005). The second group includes those who used to be immigrants/refugees, and the third one includes those who never lived outside South Sudan.

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Torben Andersen

Some remarkable features of Regariik (Northern Burun, Western Nilotic)

Regariik (aka Ragreig) is a Northern Burun language and thus part of the Western Nilotic branch of Nilotic. It is spoken in the southern part of Blue Nile State in Sudan and seems to be the northeasternmost member of the Northern Burun group, with the Southern Burun languages Jumjum and Mabaan spoken further south. Regariik is still an undescribed language, but recent fieldwork has revealed that it differs from other Burun languages in some remarkable ways, of which three will be discussed here.

While root vowels in other Burun languages are contrastively short or long in monosyllabic words, such words have a short vowel in Regariik. However, when a suffix is added so that the word becomes disyllabic, the vowel of some roots become long; so underlyingly, Regariik has the same length contrast as other Burun languages. Moreover, if the root has a cognate in other Burun languages, its vowel remains short if the vowel of the cognate is short, and it becomes long if the vowel of the cognate is long. So Regariik has undergone vowel shortening in monosyllabic words. This innovation possibly reflects contact with Berta, a neighbouring Nilo-Saharan language.

While other Burun languages have no gender category, Regariik has a contrast between masculine and non-masculine (or "feminine") in its pronominal systems (personal pronouns, subject suffixes of verbs, possessive pronouns, and demonstrative identifiers). The masculine forms are used for referring to human males, while the non-masculine forms are used for referring to anything else. Human nouns that do not indicate sex (such as 'blind person', 'witch doctor', 'thief' and ethnonyms) can be anaphorically referred to with both the masculine form and the non-masculine form, thereby indicating whether the referent is male or female. In some of the pronominal systems, the non-masculine forms are similar to the gender-neutral third person forms of other Northern Burun languages, so the gender system of Regariik seems to be an innovation.

While other Burun languages have no morphological case system, Regariik marks postverbal subjects morphologically, namely by means of tone change, and it thus has what has been called a "marked nominative". Within Western Nilotic, a marked nominative seems otherwise to be restricted to a subset of nouns in Dinka, but a tonally expressed nominative in postverbal subjects is found in many languages of the two other branches of Nilotic, namely Eastern Nilotic and Southern Nilotic. A similar system exists in the neighbouring language Berta, but although Regariik has borrowed some nouns from Berta, the marked nominative appears not to be part of this borrowing. Regariik thus seems to have retained a case marking that goes back to Proto Nilotic.

Ari Awagana

Old-Kanembu and Western Kanuri Dialects

Dmitry Bondarev has published several studies on the Borno Qur'anic glosses in the last few years. It is to him that we owe this term "Old Kanembu" for the language in this Qur'anic glosses, which suggests a legitimate direction of research on the origin and history of this ancient form of Kanuri. In the absence of systematic studies of Kanuri dialects and particularly those of the west (Manga and Dagara), the comparisons were rather oriented towards the dialects of the east (the Kanembu continuum). What additional information can provide Manga and Dagara data on the history, development and use of the Old-Kanembu? The first systematic comparisons of Old-Kanembu forms with Manga and Dagara data on the phonological and lexical level as pronominal forms might point to another history of the Old-Kanembu.

Giorgio Banti

Nara pronouns and verbs

Keywords: Nara, North-Eastern Sudanic, Horn of Africa Minority Languages

Nara is a badly under described North-Eastern Sudanic (NES) language mainly spoken in northwestern Eritrea and by a historically strong diaspora in eastern Sudan. Different groups of researchers have devoted new attention to it in recent years, but until now this has mainly resulted in the publication of studies on the phonology and lexicon of its so-called Higir dialect, which has also provided the main source for the written Nara of recent Eritrean publications. Much less attention has been devoted to its morphology.

This paper aims at providing some data on the pronominal system, and on the still little understood verbal system of this language. Some comparative data will be drawn from the few available data on other varieties of Nara, and from other NES languages, also in order to understand a bit more about the history of this subgroup of Nilo-Saharan.

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Roger Blench

Morphological evidence for the coherence of East Sudanic

East Sudanic is the largest and most complex branch of Nilo-Saharan. First mooted by Greenberg in 1950, who listed seven branches, it was expanded in his 1963 publication to include Ama [=Nyimang] and Temein and also Kuliak, not now considered part of East Sudanic. However, demonstrating the coherence of East Sudanic and justifying an internal structure for it have remained problematic. The only significant monograph on this topic is Bender (2005) which uses largely lexical evidence. Bender proposed a subdivision into Ek and En languages, based on pronouns. Most subsequent scholars have accepted his Ek cluster, consisting of Nubian, Nara, Ama and Taman, but the En cluster has proven harder to substantiate. Rilly (2009) has put forward strong arguments for the inclusion of the extinct Meroitic language as co-ordinate with Nubian.

In the light of these difficulties, the paper explores the potential for morphology to provide evidence for the coherence of East Sudanic. The paper reviews the characteristic tripartite or 'replacive' number-marking system, consisting of singulative, plurative and an unmarked middle term. These forms are associated with specific segments, the singulative in t-, plurative in k- as well as other segments, whose relations are characterised by complex allomorphy. These are well preserved in some branches, fragmentary in others, and seem to have vanished completely in the Ama group, leaving only traces now fossilised in Dinik stems. The paper concludes that East Sudanic, despite its internal lexical diversity, does have a common morphological system. However, this data does not provide any evidence for the unity of the En languages, and it is therefore suggested that East Sudanic be analysed as consisting of a core of four demonstrably related languages, and five parallel branches which have no internal hierarchy.

The paper looks briefly at the argument that the early expansion of East Sudanic was correlated with the domestication of cattle in the light of recent archaeological evidence.

Roger Blench

Shabo and Kadu: Two orphan branches of Nilo-Saharan

Arguments about the proposed language groups which constitute valid members of Nilo-Saharan, continue. A recent trend, exemplified in the work of Gerrit Dimmendaal, is to simply exclude branches from overviews without any textual justification for their exclusion. The most comprehensive overview of Nilo-Saharan remains that of Bender (1997), who recognised thirteen branches. However, it is widely recognised that the evidence for the inclusion of some branches is tenuous, to say the least. This paper focuses on two branches, Shabo and Kadu, and explores the evidence for maintaining their affiliation.

On the face of it, continuing to recognise Kadu (=Kadugli-Krongo, the 'Tumtum' of Greenberg) is more obvious. The Kadu languages consist of nine distinct lects spoken in the Nuba Mountains. Kadu has many features associated with Nilo-Saharan morphology (despite its alternating affixes which appeared to link it to Niger-Congo), including a three-term number system with singulative in t- and plurative in k-, like much of East Sudanic. These were first explored in some detail by Roland Stevenson (1991) who also presented a series of morphological and lexical arguments for a Nilo-Saharan affiliation. Most of these remain valid and indeed can be extended in the light of a much expanded dataset. The paper will present the evidence for retaining Kadu within Nilo-Saharan.

A more problematic orphan language is Shabo [=Chabu], spoken by around 1000 near-hunter-gatherers in southwest Ethiopia. Until recently, grammatical and lexical data on this language has been scarce, and the basis for arguments about its affiliation correspondingly problematic. Moreover, it has come under heavy lexical influence from the neighbouring Majang, a Surmic language. However, in the light of the thesis by Tsehay (2015) it is now possible to see that Shabo is extremely different from other Nilo-Saharan languages in its grammar and that apparent lexical cognates are likely ot be deep-level borrowings. The paper argues that Shabo is probably a language isolate, and that apparent similarities with Nilo-Saharan are due to influence from Majang and Koman.

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Dmitry Bondarev

Past and future in Old Kanembu: relative tenses in posterior taxis

Key words: Old Kanembu, tense, taxis.

Old Kanembu has past and future tense categories which are cognate with the past and future tenses in Kanuri and Kanembu dialects. A diagnostic feature of these categories is suffix -no in the 3rd person forms of verb class 2. The suffixing pattern fully matches the inflectional paradigm of the past and future in Dagəra, Mowor and Tumari dialects (where the suffix -no occurs in both 3SG and 3PL forms) and partially the paradigm in Yerwa, Manga and Bilma (where -no is only used in 3SG).

In Old Kanembu, absolute tenses are expressed by the perfective and imperfective, whereas the past and future forms are mostly used to locate events after a reference point in the past or future, thus suggesting that these are relative tenses. The past and future forms occur in restricted environment, as follows.

(1) The verbs of the main clauses which describe events posterior to a reference point established by the subordinate adverbial clause (temporal or conditional):

> (1) *kngālbe nrye kōkōtiya qiyama waqaʕatmaye waqaʕaṯinō* (MS.1YM/Q.81:1)
> sun.GEN light.SJ lock.PASS.3SG.**COND** Judgment.Day happen.VN.AG.SJ happen.3SG.**FUT**
> 'when the light of the sun will be locked, the Judgment Day will be brought by the One who makes it happen'

(2) The verbs of simple or coordinated clauses also describing the events occurring after a reference point, usually introduced by such coordinating linkers as '(and) then' or 'and after that':

> (2) *klē andiye rēniyē* (MS.1YM/Q.80:27)
> then 1PL.SJ split.1PL.**PAST**
> 'and then We split (the earth)'

The relative tense semantics of the past and future in Old Kanembu may shed light on some unexplained behaviour of tenses in Modern Kanuri, such as the past (rather than perfective) form used in the expression *hotel X nápkoko* (stay.PAST) 'I stay in hotel X' in the context of "after having arrived in the town"(cf. **hotel X námngána* (stay.PRF)); or the merging of past and future forms in some Kanuri and Kanembu dialects.

Pascal Boyeldieu

Is Sinyar an SBB language?

Sinyar (*tàòr ꜜfàmŋà* {mouth=language/Sinyar}) is an underdocumented language that is spoken by some 20.000 speakers living in Western Darfur and extending on the Chadian side of the border with Sudan.

Up to now Sinyar has been considered a member of the SBB (Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi) branch of Central Sudanic languages (Tucker & Bryan 1956; Haaland 1978; Doornbos & Bender 1983, Bender 1992). However Doornbos ([1980?]: 1) himself questioned this classification as he wrote the first grammatical sketch of the language some forty years ago: "It is the contention of this writer that although many superficial bonds with the larger group [i.e. Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi] exist on the level of vocabulary, differences of phonology, grammar, and also vocabulary are very impressive."

Further research recently devoted to Sinyar confirms Doornbos' view: although Sinyar shares many lexical and morphosyntactic features with the neighbouring SBB languages, it also differs of them on many other points so that it looks, to some extent, as a mixed language, the 'non-SBB' component of which, however, has not been identified until now.

The aim of this paper is twofold:

1. First I will show the specificity of Sinyar regarding the other SBB languages and justify its status of 'mixed language' (Table 1 below summarizes the most significative features that will be commented):

SBB-like	SBB-unlike
– part of the lexicon (including 'basic')	– other part of the lexicon (including 'basic')
– part of the personal pronouns (namely in the nominative)	– no tonal alternation on verbs in relation with the personal indices
– personal indices 2 & 3 distinguished for number by plural suffixes on the verb	– some double (formally related) radicals for verbs distributed according to tense/aspect
– infinitive in *t-* (vowel-initial verbs)	– intensive verbs infixed with *-r-*
– relative verb forms in *k(V)-* and *t(V)-*	– factitive verbs suffixed with *-oo/-uu*
– adjectives in *k-* (vowel-initial verbs)	– usual noun plural in *-ŋá ~ -ŋà*
– compound verbs	– some noun plurals in *-aar/-oor* (animates)
	– case marker system

Table 1. SBB-like/-unlike features in Sinyar

2. Second I will try to identify the SBB languages Sinyar is the closest to, in order to bring elements to the tricky question of its genesis, i.e. was Sinyar originally an SBB language that underwent a strong foreign influence or, rather, was Sinyar an exogenous language that integrated numerous features of certain SBB languages he got a significant contact with?

These two points will be analyzed on the basis of original data, collected in Khartoum since 2010.

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Stefan Bruckhaus

Associated motion in Barabaig (Datooga)

Keywords: associated motion, verbal derivation, Southern Nilotic

Verbal suffixes indicating the direction of motion verbs with respect to a deictic center are one of the core features of Nilo-Saharan languages. These deictic-directional suffixes may reportedly also express associated motion (Belkadi 2016), i.e. that the activity encoded by the verb root is performed before, while or after going or coming. One peculiarity of Southern Nilotic languages is that they feature a dedicated associated motion suffix typically consisting of a long vowel *-V:. This suffix does, however, not occur in isolation but always combined with one of the deictic-directional suffixes (centrifugal *-t or centripetal *-un).

The primary aim of this paper is to provide a comprehensive overview of the category of associated motion in contemporary Barabaig, including morpho-phonological aspects, semantic facettes and combinatory potential with respect to different semantic classes of verbs. Associated motion is a highly productive derivation in Barabaig that can be applied pretty much across the board with merely a few exceptions. Besides, in combination with the majority of verbs it conveys iterativity of the basic verbal activity and the temporal relation between the root event and the associated motion event is one of simultaneity. The argument put forward is that, in conclusion, according to the typology proposed by Belkadi (2015) associated motion in Barabaig as encoded by the dedicated associated motion suffix should be categorized as inflectional rather than deictic-directional associated motion.

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Norbet Cyffer

Saharan Kanuri in a Chadic environment: Where does genealogy persist? Where does areality dominate?

The wider Lake Chad basin provides in many respects revealing information about the historical social processes in the region. These processes are also visible in the linguistic relations of this area.

Three of the four African language phyla are present in the area, i.e. Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo. The immediate environment of the Lake shows the linguistic changes which took place up to the recent past. The causes of these developments are connected with the political and social upheavals in West Africa in the past millennium. Many of these developments can be traced through the linguistic processes in the area.

Ronald P. Schaefer & Francis O. Egbokhare

Locus of Number Marking and its Typology

Number marking in Nubian languages, and Nilo-Saharan more generally, has attracted attention in recent years (Dimmendaal 2000, Alamin 2014, Helwig and Schneider-Blum 2014, Jakobi and Hamdan 2015). One result of these efforts identifies a tripartite system for expressing number on nominal forms. Most often, system exponents are suffixes. They mark the singular for inherently plurative stems or the plural for inherently singulative stems; they also instantiate a "replacive" strategy or number declension (Güldemann and Fiedler 2017), where a singular/plural suffix pair alternate on a stem. Also playing a role are tonal contrasts and root vowel alternation.

Relative to number expression, we propose to initiate comparative analysis between Nubian and the Edoid group of West Benue Congo. Our goal is to assess typological character. Although well-known languages in West Benue Congo, Yoruba and Igbo, do not inflect for number, this is not true of the lesser known and recently documented Edoid languages. Nominals in Edoid, particularly its northern varieties, inflect for grammatical number exclusively with prefixes. Comparison of Nubian and Edoid systems also affords an opportunity to assess asymmetries between suffixation and prefixation (Greenberg 1966, Hyman 2008).

Across singular and plural domains, we focus on inflection mark form and distribution. Typical Nubian systems for expressing number allow a zero mark (∅). This contrasts with Edoid, where there is no zero prefix for either singular or plural. Nubian also tolerates nasal consonant suffixes, Baale -n, and non-nasal consonants, Aiki -k. Comparable non-vocalic prefixes never appear in Edoid, where consonants occur only when a vowel does. In Edoid, grammatical number form is overwhelmingly vocalic. Further evidence for this vocalic nature appears in Edoid reconstructions by Elugbe (1983, 1989). Seven of nine reconstructed nominal prefixes in the singular and all nine in the plural are exclusively vocalic.

An additional item of comparison deals with number marking for augmentatives, diminutives and individuated collectives. In a Nubian language like Karko, individuation is signaled by a plural suffix on a singular stem, e.g. ōg-ōnd 'blood types' from ōg 'blood;' and diminutive by singular/plural -nd / -nèè suffixes, e.g. kòó-nd 'small man.' In Edoid's Emai, comparable meanings are conveyed by synthetic compounds in the frame prefix-verb-noun, e.g. úkpévbèè / íkpévbèè 'lobe/lobes of kola nut' from u-/i-prefix - kpa 'to apportion' - évbèè 'kola nut;' and e.g. úvbíémà / ívbíémà 'small yam/s' from u-/i-prefix - 'become tepid/faint' -émà 'yam.'

Further comparison concerns asymmetry in the allocation of affixes to singular and plural domains. In Edoid, a consistent finding is that individual prefixes for the singular more so than the plural occupy fewer domain positions and vary more in shape one to another. In Emai, for instance, there are eleven positions for singular and as many for plural. The singular prefixes are the five vowels o-, ɔ-, ɛ-, a-, u-; four distribute over two or three number positions and the fifth only over one. In the plural with only four vowels i-, e-, ɛ-, a-, two prefixes distribute nearly equally over nine number positions and the remaining two over one position each. Leveling of prefix form is more pervasive across plural positions than singular ones. In Karko, setting ∅ aside, suffix allocation is asymmetric in the other direction. Suffix leveling is more pervasive for singular positions with -t, -d than plural with -n, -l, -r. Hopefully, additional discussion will help clarify these and other points of typological comparison.

El-Shafie El-Guzuuli

The strategies and devices of plural object marking on verbs in Andaandi (Nile Nubian)

Andaandi [dgl], known also as Dongolawi, is a Nile Nubian language spoken in the Nile Valley of northern Sudan. This paper will investigate the different strategies that Andaandi employsin expressing number, in particular the three strategies for plural object and plural event marking on transitive verbs: the usage of the suffix -(ir)-ir; the suffix -(V)j, and reduplication of the verbal stem.

Esladig Omda Ibrahim Elnur

Tone changes in Nara (Northern East Sudanic)

According to Claude Rilly (2010), Nara (Nera, also known as Barya) belongs to Northern East Sudanic which is part of the Nilo-Saharan phylum. Nara is spoken in the border area of Eritrea and Sudan.

Nara consist of four dialects. Higir, Mogoreeb, Saantorta, and Koyta (Rilly 2005). Of these dialects, Higir is the only one described so far. The present paper focuses on the Mogoreeb dialect.

According to Thompson (1976: 484), Nara has two level tones, "normal and high". Hayward (2000) confirms the two level tones and examines in a more detail the tone patterns and tone constraints in the language. Dawd and Hayward (2002) point out that, apart from high and low tones, also falling and rising contour tones do occur in the language. However, Kievit (2007) does not mention contour tones. The present paper also confirms the existence of the two level tones and the contour tones as well.

In his grammar sketch on Nara, Kievit (2007: 1143) states: "High tone occurs only once in the tone melody of a word [...]. This constraint also applies in certain head-final syntactic constructions, leading to the dropping of any subsequent high tones after the first". The present paper confirms this finding and aims at investigating thoroughly the different syntactic constructions in which such high tone changes are attested. It also gives a summary of the tone patterns and their restrictions in the language.

The head-final syntactic constructions that we are going to address are of two types, noun phrases (NPs) and verb phrases (VPs). The NPs include genitive constructions (including a noun modified by another noun or a possessive adjective), NPs modified by numerals, NPs modified by quantifiers, and NPs modified by adjectives. By verb phrase we mean the syntactic object and its head (i.e. the verb).

Tom Güldemann

The historical-comparative status of East Sudanic

Revolving around the genealogical assessment of Nilotic, Greenberg (1950) first proposed East(ern) Sudanic as a language family and in Greenberg (1963) came to develop it into the core of the yet larger super-family Nilo-Saharan. While little contested among Africanists, the publicly available evidence for East Sudanic remains scarce and hard to assess, especially for outsiders. The talk gives an overview of the current perception of and arguments for East Sudanic, concluding that this grouping cannot be accepted as a language family according to canonical historical-comparative standards.

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Tom Güldemann & Jan Junglas

Toward gender (and number) in Krongo

Based on a new, cross-linguistically applicable approach to gender analysis by Güldemann (2000) and Güldemann and Fiedler (forthcoming), a reanalysis of the gender system of Krongo, a Kadu language from the Nuba Mountains, will be presented in this talk. Central to this analysis is the recognition and strict analytical division of the four core concepts gender class, agreement class, deriflection class and noun form class, which allows a clear cut differentiation of phenomena of syntax, i. e. agreement-based gender classes, and morphology, i. e. form-based deriflectional paradigms. In the special case of Krongo, the key challenge will be the adaptation of the analysis to a tripartite number system, since in common cases a binary opposition between singular and plural is given, which leads to the establishment of gender classes as pairs of agreement classes. By applying this to our general approach, the analysis of the Krongo gender system will lead to three or four distinctive gender classes.

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ElkheirYagoob Hagar

The usage of the two genitive markers (n – na) in tagle language

The tagle language is one of the Nubian languages spoken by the tagle people (a subgroup of Kordofan Nubian), which is known as Ajaŋ in Sudan.Thetaglepeople call their own language taglemmaa. Like other languages tagle has its own grammar and grammatical rules that organize its parts of speech and the sentence structure.

If two nouns are linked by the genitive -n- the possessee precedes the possessor(Example: shilenendo"king's daughter" which means princesses), but if they linked by the other genitive -na - then possessor precedes the possessee (example: tendon nashile"the daughter/lady of the kingship"), as well as the genitive –na- is in post position it changes the meaning (Example: shiletendona ""). the different usage of These genitive constructions are in the focus of this article. And how the middle and post positon of the genitive affect the sentences meaning.

Angelika Jakobi & Ahmed Hamdan & Ali Ibrahim

The Nubian inclusive vs. exclusive 1st person plural distinction

Anne-Christie Hellenthal

A survey of demonstratives in Gwama

Gwama [isocode kmq], a Koman language spoken mainly in Ethiopia, has a plethora of demonstrative forms. Previous research listed two degrees of distance (Zelalem 2005:9; Kievit & Robertson 2012:48), whereas this paper presents additional forms with a third degree of distance and further intensifying suffixes. Having a more complete set of demonstratives will aid comparative research with other Koman and Nilo-Saharan languages.

While the variation in the basic bound demonstratives can be accounted for by common semantic variables like number, gender and degree of distance, other variables seem to be more syntactic or pragmatic in nature: one set with the base *mīn-* occurs only attributively and cannot head an NP. In addition, demonstratives with the formative *-gVlV* appear to have a special kind of reference, probably activating shared knowledge (Diessel 1999:105).

Moreover, this paper investigates the function of demonstratives in narrative texts, looking among others at anaphoric and cataphoric usage as well as when and how participants are tracked through demonstratives.

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Ahmed Suliman Ibrahim

Attitude particles, attitude modifiers and ideophones of the Fur language

The Fur are an ethnic group from Western Sudan, principally inhabiting the region of Darfur, where they are the largest community. The Fur language is a Nilo-Saharan language spoken in the Darfur region and in some other parts of Sudan.

A good communication depends on the attitudes of speaker and listener. The Fur language has words that express the attitude of the speaker towards the situation. For example, it can be the feeling the speaker or the audience has about the situation, or the word can call for attention or mark the point of concentration, or it marks expectation or contra-expectation of the audience or the speaker, and sometimes it marks evidence. The words include grammatical words, ideophones and other particles. In the following these words are called attitude particles. Attitude particles are needed to make your speech become alive, because sometimes "ordinary" language is not enough in certain situations. The following are some examples of attitude particles in the Fur language.

1. Expression of concern
Híí   ay   jwa?
ATT   how   2sg.said
What did you say (Now I am ready to hear)?

2. Expectation of the speaker, asking for confirmation of the audience
Kǎl   rǎy   janni?
ATT   LOC.farm   2sg.going
(Needs confirmation) You are going to the farm, aren't you?

3. Getting attention
Namáis   ka-sí   in   kwǎ   yée.
so.PRON   me-OBJ   this   3sg.told   ATT
So he told me (Listen to what I am going to say!).

4. Mitigation
Dagá,   nuŋ   gí   janí.
ATT   food   me   give
Give me food! (Please, you have and I am starving!)

5. "Something is wrong here"
Ág   jurì   ná   dééŋ   á-iiba!
ATT   cloth   CONN   his   not.3sg.is.not
What?! Is the cloth not his! (what is wrong?)

6. Satisfaction
Nuŋ   pis   tírrìŋ   amí.
food   fully   ATT   3sg.ate
He ate the food filling the stomach completely (more than enough, he is very satisfied).

7. Warning to avoid something or excape
Arríe   bará   gíŋ   írí   kúró!
ATT   may   2sg.you.FUT   over   pass.
Run away/flee else, it will pass over you!

This is the first research about these particles that has been conducted in the Fur language by a native speaker. It is a preliminary study to explore more wider understanding of the attitude particles for future studies and to find the space for them in the general grammatical study. Such particles have a very important role in both direct and indirect communication, for example in the explanation of the whole situaton. This paper will discuss the attitude particles of the Fur language with more illustrations, together with some grammatical concepts that have a close relationship with them.

Gumma Ibrahim Gulfan Issa

Genitive construction in Taglennaa (Kordofan Nubian)

This paper explores the phonological and semantic features of genitive constructions in Taglennaa, a Kordofan Nubian language. Initial investigation shows that, in Taglennaa, the genitive constructions are used to express several denotations using relationships between head nouns and genitives. Examples of these relationships are possession, kinship, origin, and composition among others. Like other Nubian languages, the genitive is marked by the genitive marker -n or -na. As shown in examples 1 and 2, the genitive can precede the head noun in genitive constructions (GenN order) or can follow it (NGen order).

Prisca Jerono

Tugen and Maasai Interrogatives

Clauses in language can be categorized into declarative, imperative, and interrogative types. All these clause types are speech acts used to perform various functions. An interrogative is a speech act that is used to solicit information. Interrogatives can be divided into polar interrogatives, constituent questions and alternative questions. Alternative questions can be subsumed under polar interrogatives which have been reduced due to ellipsis, Siemund (2001). Languages use different strategies in coding interrogatives including intonation, particles, tags, disjunctives constructions, order of constituents among others. Most languages however, use intonation for polar interrogatives and word order for constituent questions. In constituent questions some languages use different word orders for focused and non focused constituent questions. This means the use of different word orders is related to information structure. This paper intends to examine how Tugen and Maasai code interrogatives by focusing on polar interrogatives and constituent questions. It will examine if there are differentiated word orders in terms of topic and focus in the use of constituent questions. Furthermore, it will provide a comparative view in terms of typology of polar interrogatives and constituent questions between the two languages. Data for the study will be sourced from elicitation and conversations among speakers of the two languages. Tugen is one of the languages of the Kalenjin group within the Southern Nilotic. It is spoken in Baringo county of Kenya while while Maasai is a language within the Eastern Nilotic group that is spoken in Kajiado and Narok counties of Kenya. Data for this study however, will be sourced from the speakers of Kajiado County.

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Definiteness, specificity, and animacy in Kupsapiny
Kazuhiro Kawachi

National Defense Academy of Japan
1-10-20 Hashirimizu, Yokosuka, Kanagawa 239-8686, Japan
kawachi@nda.ac.jp, kazuhirokawachi@gmail.com

Definiteness, specificity, and animacy in Kupsapiny
Keywords: definiteness, noun morphology, Kupsapiny (Southern Nilotic; Uganda)

This study shows that an important factor in the use of definite forms of nouns in Kupsapiny is how homogenous the speaker considers the structure of the category is to the extent that s/he understands what members of the category denoted by the noun are like.

The notion of specificity has been used to describe different interpretations of or distinctions made among indefinite noun phrases. One type of specificity, epistemic specificity (Fodor & Sag 1982, Farkas 1994), concerns the speaker's knowledge about the referent of a noun phrase. This study shows that not only this type of specificity but also a similar but slightly different type of specificity involving the speaker's knowledge about the structure of the category is relevant to the use of definite and indefinite noun forms in Kupsapiny.

Dryer (2014) includes under definite and indefinite articles any morphosyntactic form that expresses (in)definiteness in noun phrases. He proposes the Reference Hierarchy in (1) – a definite article is more likely to occur in a noun phrase type higher in the hierarchy than an indefinite article in the same language; if a definite or indefinite article is used for more than one type of noun phrase on this hierarchy, the noun phrase types must be contiguous to each other.

In Kupsapiny, most common nouns each have four forms, depending on number (singular vs. plural) and definiteness (definite vs. indefinite), both of which are usually marked with suffixes (Table 1). Table 2 summarizes the distribution of the use of definite and indefinite forms of Kupsapiny nouns in my natural conversation and story data. For (i) and (ii), only definite forms can be used. On the other hand, for (iii) and (iv), both definite and indefinite forms can be used, but their choice depends on the speaker's understanding of the structure of the category that the noun denotes, and this factor is associated with the degree of animacy of category members – the higher animacy members of a category have, the more heterogeneous its structure is regarded as and the more difficult to identify the referent is conceived as. Specifically, indefinite forms are more commonly used than definite forms when the structure of the category is considered heterogeneous (when the noun phrase refers to a human being or a domestic animal), whereas forms of either type can be used when the structure of the category is considered homogenous (when the referent of the noun phrase is inanimate or a living thing other than domestic animals and humans), as in the use of *róótw-e-t* in (2). For (v), when a nonspecific indefinite noun is within the scope of negation (e.g. 'They do not have a knife.'), indefinite noun forms must be used, but otherwise, definite forms are usually preferred over indefinite forms (e.g. 'They are looking for a knife/monster/husband.') because the speaker has some knowledge about what members of the category are like – the speaker knows that the existence of the referent is not entailed and that members of the category share this property.

(1) (i) Anaphoric definites (referring back in the discourse) >

    (ii) Nonanaphoric definites (used based only on the speaker and hearer's shared knowledge) >

    (iii) Semantically and pragmatically specific indefinites (e.g. *I went to this movie last night.* The movie is mentioned in the subsequent discourse.) >

    (iv) Pragmatically nonspecific but semantically specific indefinites (e.g. *John bought a car.* No mention is made of the movie in the subsequent discourse.) >

    (v) Semantically and pragmatically nonspecific indefinites (e.g. *John is looking for a unicorn.*)

(2)   ...   ňteené kii-póónt-o   *róótw-e-t*   čìì-či
            but   D.PST.3-have-3   knife-SG-DEF person.SG.DEF.NOM-this
    ɲee   kìì-mač-é   kulè à-paréén-a   àni.
    REL.SG   D.PST.3-want-IPFV CMPL PTCP.1SG-stab-1SG 1SG.NOM
    '... but this person had a knife with which s/he wanted to stab me.' (Story 2015.7/8-1: 005A_150728_2240) (A knife appeared for the first time in this context, and did not appear later in the story at all.)

Table 1: Examples of Kupsapiny definite and indefinite noun forms

Gloss	(a) N-SG-INDEF	(b) N-SG-DEF	(c) N-PL-INDEF	(d) N-PL-DEF
'large basket'	kulúŋ-ø-ø	kùluŋ-ø-út	kùluŋ-ùn-ø	kùluŋ-uun-àk
'thief'	čoor-ín-ø	čoor-in-tét	čooŕ-ø-ø	čòòr-ø-ik
'fish'	pùrpùr-yo-ø	pùrpùr-yòò-ntet	pùrpùr-un-ø	pùrpùr-ùùn-ak
'girl, daughter'	tyé	čèpto	tiipín	tììpik

Table 2: Ranges of the use of Kupsapiny definite and indefinite noun forms
in Dryer's (2014) Reference Hierarchy

Noun phrase type	Use of definite and indefinite forms of nouns
(i) Anaphoric definites	DEF, #INDEF
(ii) Nonanaphoric definites	
(iii) Semantically and pragmatically specific indefinites	If the category is considered more heterogeneous in structure: INDEF > DEF;
(iv) Pragmatically nonspecific but semantically specific indefinites	If the category is considered more homogenous in structure: DEF or INDEF
(v) Semantically and pragmatically nonspecific indefinites	Within the scope of negation: INDEF, #DEF; Elsewhere: usually, DEF > INDEF (sometimes, DEF or INDEF)

#: inappropriate, A > B: A is more common than B, A or B: A and B are equally common

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Roland Kießling

Future and persistive: Datooga innovations in verbal inflection

The tense-aspect system of Datooga (Southern Nilotic) has been described in terms of basically four categories, i.e. an unmarked present tense which contrasts with two other tenses, perfect and future, and a persistive (continuative) aspect (Rottland 1982). On the basis of historical and contemporary data of the Gisamjanga variety, this contribution aims at a morpho(phono)logically and morphosyntactically adequate (re)analysis of these categories. It argues for a basic contrast of a neutral tense/aspect category (aorist, prior "present") vs. a perfect tense, with a superimposed secondary contrast of future and persistive (continuative). Against the backdrop of an internal reconstruction which includes systematic decomposition of Datooga's fusional inflectional morphology, it can be shown that both, future and persistive, originate in periphrastic constructions involving reduced auxiliary verbs in combination with main verbs inflected with a subordinative subject marker paradigm.

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Don Killian

Origins of nominal gender in Uduk

Recent research has shown that the Chali variety of Uduk appears to be unusual among the Koman languages in having a more systematic and grammaticalized nominal gender system. Furthermore, Chali Uduk shows itself to be further unusual typologically in having very little in the way of a semantic basis for assignment to a particular class, including biological sex. Additionally, personal pronouns do not differentiate gender for any person; pronouns are instead assigned to a nominal gender class in the same way as other nouns are.

In contrast with Chali Uduk, however, Yabus Uduk shows itself to have no nominal gender. Both of these varieties of Uduk show themselves to be markedly different from other Koman languages, which show simple semantically-based gender systems which operate primarily in the domain of pronouns. This talk investigates possible origins of the Chali Uduk gender system and how such a system might have arisen.

Jane Akinyi Ngala Oduor and Shadrack Kipsang

Some Phonological Processes in the Okiek Language of Nessuit

The Okiek Language is one of the highly endangered languages spoken in the Mau Forest Complex and the Mount Elgon regions of Kenya. A few of its speakers, known as the Akie, are found in Tanzania. Micheli (2014: 190), who cites Ethnologue (http:// www.ethnologue.com/language/oki), gives a precise description of its language family by stating that '... Ogiek belongs to the Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic, Southern, Kalenjin group ...' It should therefore be noted that it is one of the languages in the Kalenjin group of Kenya. It has had a long history of being an unwritten language. This paper is based on the Okiek language spoken in Nessuit. Apart from the efforts of researchers such as Ilaria Micheli and Karsten Legère, research on the linguistic aspects of the Okiek language spoken in Kenya is scanty. Research should therefore be carried out, starting with the basic linguistic aspects of this language. Phonological processes is one such aspect. The aim of this paper is to describe the phonological processes that vowels and consonants of Okiek undergo.

Data for this paper were collected through the researcher's participation in the Okiek orthography development workshop and practical experience during fieldwork in an Okiek language documentation project sponsored by Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP). Data were gathered through listening to as well as audio recording Okiek speakers aged 47 to 70 years. Only audio recorded data were needed. Purposive sampling of the recordings was done in order to use clear recordings that had evidence of phonological processes.

Some of the common processes identified were assimilation involving nasals and oral stops at word boundary, insertion of sounds whose motivation was clear in some but not all cases, deletion in rapid speech, among others. An analysis of the phonological processes is important as it will help to show the similarities and differences at the level of these processes among Okiek dialects and other Kalenjin language groups. The paper therefore forms a basis for a comparative analysis with the closely related Kalenjin languages. It is hoped that the results will help to show and convince the Okiek speech community that their language is more closely related to Kipsigis and Nandi than the other Nilotic languages such as Maa.

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Christa König

Discourse markers in speaker-hearer interaction: The Akie language of Tanzania

Akie is a Southern Nilotic language spoken by traditional hunter-gatherers in the Maasai Steppe of north-central Tanzania. The language has a rich pool of devices for structuring discourse, serving a wide range of functions of text organization, speaker-hearer interaction, and for expressing speaker attitudes (König, Heine, and Legère 2015a; 2015b; Heine, König, and Legère 2017).

Based on a corpus of narrative, procedural and ritual texts, the question to be looked into in the present paper is how Akie speakers aim at involving the hearer in presenting their discourse contributions. More centrally, the paper will be dealing with a small set of discourse markers whose functions are similar to but need to be distinguished from those of tag questions in other languages.

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Keywords: discourse marker, Southern-Nilotic, hunter-gatherer language

Akie is a Southern Nilotic language spoken by traditional hunter-gatherers in the Maasai Steppe of north-central Tanzania. The language has a rich pool of devices for structuring discourse, serving a wide range of functions of text organization, speaker-hearer interaction, and for expressing speaker attitudes (König, Heine, and Legère 2015a; 2015b; Heine, König, and Legère 2017).

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Karsten Legère

The Akie language (including Kisánkara, Kinyalang'át) and the language of Il-Tórobó/Ndoróbo in Tanzania

The presentation is, on the one hand side, a summary of the critically endangered position of the Akie language which is supported by a 2019 map of the language distribution. This map updates an earlier 2014 version. It is based on a comprehensive contact with the speech community including field trips to places that were earlier not known or visited for the remoteness of the area. The ethnonym "Akie" is used even by small communities which, like the Kisankara, speak a linguistic variety that is modified by various factors such as the exposure to Bantu language speaking neighbors like the Zigula or Ngulu in Handeni and Kilindi district. In the case of those speaking Kinyalang'at the speech community accepts Akie as its ethnic identity, while the language is a Maa variety.

On the other hand, the Akie research project with its focus on language documentation (funded by the Volkswagen Foundation) had always to do with the Maa term "Il-Tórobó" (and in Swahili "Wandorobo" which resulted in the English version [N]Dorobo). In the course of the field work this term turned out as a pejorative way of addressing Akie and other communities that do not belong to the cattle complex represented by the Maasai. The latter identified all neighbors (and especially those who worked for them such as herding Maasai cattle) as Il-Torobo meaning "people without cattle, poor people, subordinates" i. e. as second class people. In the early days of the VWS project even the Akie accepted this term which has a long tradition as the result of the intense Maasai-Akie neighborhood.

In the 1977 Rottland & Voßen paper, the authors i.a. referred to the distribution of Ndorobo groups in the Serengeti and in other places (close to the Kenya-Tanzania border) away from the small, but rather homogenous Akie community further south. Stimulated by a small list of mostly linguistically not identified lexical items (but assumed to be related to Ndorobo) from North Tanzania that was circulated some years ago own field work started in 2014/5 with the objective of collecting linguistic material and spoken language data among Ndorobo. It was assumed that in the area there must have been linguistic traces which go back to the southward migration of Okiek groups some generations ago. Own material from Ngorongoro as well Longido area (December 2018) supplemented by 2018 data collected by D. Peterson and colleagues will be presented at the conference.

Ilaria Micheli & Mauro Tosco

Languge contact or cognateness? Ogiek in the Kalenjin continuum

When speaking about language contact it is always important to remember that contact happens between speakers and hearers (in other words: individuals) – *not* between languages. Languages do not meet nor interact – human beings do. Thus, when we call somebody "a speaker of [language] X" we qualify him or her on the basis of verbal behavior only – leading us eventually to forget that language interaction is ultimately just one of the many results of human interaction.

This is far from trivial: as an intrinsic part of human interaction, the linguistic effects of contact are most likely to reflect the diversity of (verbal and non-verbal) contact situations. Although strictly speaking neither necessary nor sufficient, an obvious factor favoring language contact is widespread bi- and multilingualism. Still, the chances that contact may result in language change might be affected, among other things, by demographic factors, matters of power, the geographical location (contact does not imply *physical* contact), the span of time involved, and the technologies used in communication – not to mention the individual disposition to contact.

All this must be taken into account in past contact situations where its language results only are available. The population of East Africa and the advent of herding and farming are one of those contact situations, and the hunting and gathering communities are one of its most peculiar linguistic effects.

The Ogiek of Marashoni is a Southern Nilotic, Kalenjin language, spoken by a community of Hunters and Gatherers of the Eastern Escarpement of the Mou forest in Kenya. Recent studies on the grammar and vocabulary of the language (Micheli I. 2018. *Grammatical Sketch and short vocabulary of the Ogiek Language of Mariashoni.* Trieste: EUT) have shown that it can be seen as part of a continuum stretching originally from Kenya to Tanzanzia, where a very similar language, Akie, is spoken by another gruop of former hunter-gatherers. The structural similarities, which are meaningfully common also to other Kalenjin languages (Nandi and Kipsigis) seem however to be stronger than the lexical ones, even though the mode of subsistence of Ogiek and Akie as HGs differs completely from the mode of subsistence of the other Kalenjin groups, which are organized in sedentary and farming societies.

The crucial question about the origins of HGs societies, if HGs have to be considered autochtonous, originally independent tribes or rather groups born by the union of different outcast people coming from neighbouring sedentary societies, will not be addressed here. Nevertheless, the author will here try to demonstrate, through the analysis of some lexical domains and in some cases of their morphological peculiarities, that at least something really endogenous seems to be present in the present day Ogiek language.

Alice Mitchell

"Hey, bonikalaaa": Language contact and the experience of Swahili among rural Datooga children"

This paper explores Datooga-speaking children's knowledge, use, and experience of the Swahili language in a pastoral village in the Yaeda Valley (Tanzania). In this rural area, Datooga (Southern Nilotic) is the predominant language, and children, especially those who do not attend school, are largely monolingual. Nonetheless, the national language Swahili shapes the linguistic experience of even very young children. Combining ethnography with analysis of recordings of spontaneous language use, the paper looks at the lexical domains in which children hear and use Swahili and considers the role Swahili plays in children's lives.

Several studies have investigated the nature and extent of borrowing from Swahili into minority languages of Tanzania (Lusekelo 2017; Mapunda & Rosendal 2015; Mous & Qorro 2009). Lusekelo's (2017) vocabulary surveys in Maa and Hadza demonstrated that Swahili borrowings were mostly additive and belonged to predictable semantic domains such as 'modern world' and 'clothing and grooming'. In Datooga, these semantic domains are similarly prone to borrowing and children in the case study household talk about mobile phones, solar lights, and the researcher's camera using Swahili words adapted to Datooga phonology and morphology. Perhaps more interesting are cases of substitutive borrowing, including numbers, telling the time, and kin terms. Concentrating on the last of these domains, I show how borrowings like *bibi*, *mjomba*, and *mama* belong to a 'motherese' register and argue that this usage pattern is partly motivated by the formal simplicity of these words.

Even though Datooga children's competencies in Swahili can be extremely minimal, we see the influence of the Swahili language in children's occasional use of Swahili-like nonsense words. For instance, in Extract 1, a six-year-old boy is playing in his mother's house and addresses the following set of mostly unintelligible words to his younger brother:

Extract 1

1   hey bonikala:: (1.2) ea::: (2.4)

2   eekulo::: [brother's name]

3   (0.9)

4   [brother's name] taile:: (0.3) rafiki tahiley

In Paugh's (2008) work on multilingual play in Dominica, she briefly discusses children's use of nonsense words that resemble a contact language, showing how children use linguistic difference to perform adult roles. In the Datooga case, I suggest that these creative imitations of Swahili perform a more ambiguous function, allowing children to inhabit new and indeterminate roles and relationships (Sutton-Smith 1997).

This study of the transmission of linguistic competencies in a largely monolingual household complements existing work on language contact in rural Tanzania (e.g. Rosendal & Mapunda 2017). By exploring Datooga children's spontaneous use of multilingual resources, I aim to develop a more nuanced understanding of the processes and contexts of language contact and change among speakers of Southern Nilotic languages, in particular, and in Africa more generally.

Angelika Mietzner

Naming, renaming and its cultural implications in Cherang'any (Kalenjin)

The talk on "naming, renaming and its cultural implications in Cherang'any (Kalenjin)" intends to illustrate the important and fascinating field of the study of names in the Cherang'any society, where naming is a powerful instrument.

Names may differ not only in respect to morphology, where they display a different structure from that of proper nouns, but they are also unique with regard to the insight they give into how people think. Names are often used as powerful spiritual instruments with regard to spirits, while in other cases they are associated with taboos, like food taboos (Storch 2014: 78). Whereas in the European-Western context names are usually selected due to their sound or to what parents see as proper for their children (De Klerk & Bosch 1995), naming in Cherang'any and in other African societies like the Xhosa (Neethling 2005: 9) is full of meaning, history and culture.

The talk will give insights into the kinship terminology, the anthroponymy and the taboo and avoidance of names and the interplay between lexemes and culture, between belief and naming will be illustrated. Subsequent, various naming strategies and naming ceremonies, the importance of semantics in combination with personal characteristics will be described in order to shed light on the Cherang'any people's belief in names.

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Mawahib Al-Tayeb Mustafa

An analysis of Bari noun phrase

This paper is a descriptive study of one of the Nilo-Saharan languages spoken in Republic of South Sudan; namely, the Bari language. It tries to describe and analyze the structure of noun phrase in the Bari language, which includes: possessive non phrases, demonstrative noun phrases, co-ordinate noun phrases, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases, appositional phrases, and Numeral phrases, focusing on the main grammatical categories of the noun phrase in this language. It aims at identifying the different word classes and the form of the noun phrase in the Bari language, to making a preliminary description of the noun phrase in the language and the way it functions, and to establish rules for the Bari noun phrases The Bari speaking tribes are clustered together in linguistic pockets in the south and south-west of Mongalla (spagnolo 1933:xi).

The Bari is widely spoken language in the Central Equatoria state in South Sudan. It is a major language spoken by 420,000 people (Lewis et al 2013). According to Greenberg (1966:85) the Bari language belongs to the Eastern Nilotic

sub-branch of the Chari-Nile branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family.
There are six main clans speaking Bari dialects (named after each clan). These are: the Bari proper (Who live in and around Juba), the Mundari (sometimes referred to as the shir in early literature, who live around Terekeka), the Nyangwara (who live in and around Rokon), Pojulu (who live around Loka), Kuku (who live in and around Kajo-kejo), and the Kakwa (who live around Yei), there are a number of small groups of people, namely the Nyefu,Ligi,Kaluba who are part of Bari speaking community (Spagnolo:1933: xiii).

Jane Akinyi Ngala Oduor

Some Aspects of the Segmental Phonology of the Okiek Spoken in Nessuit

Okiek is one of the highly endangered Nilotic languages according to SIL International (2009). It is spoken in the Mau Forest Complex and the Mount Elgon regions of Kenya. A few of its speakers called the Akie are found in Tanzania. This paper is based on the Okiek spoken in Nessuit in Kenya. It has had a long history of being an unwritten language but at the moment there are many efforts to have it documented and described in various research projects. While noting the efforts of researchers such as Ilaria Micheli and Karsten Legère, research on the linguistic aspects of the Okiek language spoken in Kenya still remains scanty. Thorough research should first be carried out on the basic linguistic aspects of this language, beginning with its sound system. This paper is therefore an effort to contribute to the existing research on Okiek. This aim of this paper is to describe some aspects of its segmental phonology. The paper first identifies its vowel and consonant sounds before analysing how the sounds pattern.

Data for this paper were collected through the researcher's participation in their orthography development workshop and practical experience during fieldwork in an Okiek language documentation project sponsored by Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP). For purposes of describing segmental phonology, data were gathered through audio recording Okiek speakers aged between 47 and 70 years. The same sounds were recorded through word lists for analysis. Data were fed into praat for further analysis and interpretation.

One of the findings, which agrees with other researches on Nilotic languages, is the existence of the feature Advance Tongue Root in the vowels of Okiek. Short vowels, long vowels and consonants some of which are suspected to be similar to those of the other Kalenjin languages were also identified. It should be noted that this analysis is necessary for the development of an appropriate orthography and an accurate description of its phonological structure, namely its syllable structure and consonant clusters. It will also help to show the points of convergence and divergence of sounds in Okiek dialects in Kenya, Akie in Tanzania and other Kalenjin languages. It forms a basis for future comparative analysis. As an immediate result, the paper will help to convince the Okiek speech community in Nessuit that their language is closely related to Kipsigis and Nandi and hence their orthographies do not have to be very different. The Okiek had already expressed the desire to have an orthography that is very different from that of the Kipsigis speech community.

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Doris L. Payne
Maa non-verbal predication and 'be' copular constructions

In non-verbal predication, the lexical portion of a predicate is not a verb (Overall, Vallejos & Gildea 2018). Such constructions have not been treated in prior literature on Maa (Eastern Nilotic). The present paper addresses this gap by examining the functional distribution of copular verb forms and a zero-copula construction. The Maa copular constructions predicate identity, attributes and set-inclusion, and figure in emphatic and in cleft-like constructions. They do not predicate existence, location, or possession.

The zero copula construction predicates identity between referents of two determined noun phrases (DPs), as in (1).

(1) ɪl-ŋɔ́rɪshɔ́   ɪl=mɔ́rrân.
    MPL=Ngorisho   MPL=warriors.NOM
    'The warriors are/were the IlNg'orisho age-set.' ~ 'The IlNg'orisho age-set are/were the warriors.'

Overt copulas have a root *ra/aa*, and are employed to predicate attributes or set inclusion. *Ra* indicates declarative aspect/modality, as in (2) with a DP predicate complement, and in (3) with an adjective complement.

(2) í-rá   ɔl=áíkɔ́shúaani.   (3) Á-rá kítɪ.
    2-be   MSG=glutton   1sg-be small
    'You are a glutton.'   'I am/was small.' ('young'/'little')

Taa indicates perfect(ive) or subjunctive aspect/modality, as in (4).

(4) Ɛ́-táá   ɛn=kíne   âî   in=kírí.
    3-be.PF   FSG=goat.NOM   my   FPL=meats
    'My goat has become meat.'

The form *aa* occurs when the 'be' copula itself is not inflected for any aspect/modality, as in (5).

(5) ɛ-tɔn   aa   ɛn=ɔɔ́   l=ɔɔ́-ɛ̃íbɔ́r   ɛn=kɔ̂p, ...
    3-still   be.GERUND   FSG=of.PL   M=REL.PL-be.white   FSG=land.NOM
    'When the land was still (the one) of the Europeans (lit. of those who are white), ...'

The function of *naa* is less straightforward. Historically this form likely contains a discourse-connective *n-* (Payne 2015), or the feminine relative-clause prefix *n-*. The melody *náa* occurs when the element before 'be' is a DP, as in (6). The resulting construction may have the force of a cleft.

(6) Óre   ɔl=tuŋáni   kársîs   **náa**   k=ɛ́-áta   in=kíshú   kúmok ɔ́   n=taré.
    DSCN   MSG=person   rich   be/CLEFT CN2-3-have   FPL=cattle   much   ASSOC   FPL=small.stock
    'A rich man is (one who) he has many cows and sheep/goats.'

The melody *naá* may also occur in contrastive or emphatic information structure contexts, but typically when the preceding element is not a DP, as in (7) and (8).

(7) amʊ̂   m-ɛ-áta   **naá**   il=ayiôk ...   (8) Shɔ́mɔ   **naá**   ɛndâ   ají.
    because   NEG-3-have   EMPH   MPL=boys   go.SBJV   EMPH   that   house
    'because he does not have sons...'   'Go to that house.'

Náa can also occur at the beginning of a clause (i.e., between clauses), as in (9). Here its function is rather like that of an inter-clausal conjunction (Mol 1996), though the preceding or following context typically shows marked word order or marked information structure focus.

(9) N-ɛ́-dɛ̃ɔ́mɔ́   lɛlɔ̂   tuŋanák   áārē,   **náa**   inkíshú   ɛ-ishɔr-í
    CN1-3-pick.up   those.M.NOM   people.NOM   two.M.NOM   be/and   FPL=cattle   3-give-PASS
    'Those two people pick him up, and cows are given to them.'

In sum, *náa/naá* does not function in simple non-verbal predication. However, it shows extension of 'be' into the domain of information structure. This extension was probably via a cleft construction. Clefts in other languages are often built around predicate-nominal structures, where a copula links two formal DPs, or a phrase with a formal relative-clause from which the phrase is "extracted."

Manuel A. Otero & Doris L. Payne

A preliminary reconstruction of the Proto-Koman obstruent series

The genetic affiliation of the Koman family to the Nilo-Saharan (NS) macro phylum has not been without controversy since Greenberg's (1963) proposal, though Koman's internal structure has largely been unchallenged. The only phonological reconstruction of Proto-Koman (PKMN) is Bender (1983), whose PKMN obstruent series contrasted five manners of articulations in three places of articulation. Based on original fieldwork on all of the living Koman languages, several previously undescribed varieties, and Dana which is a newly identified Koman language, this paper presents an alternate reconstruction of the PKMN obstruent series. We present details on sound changes at each node that give rise to the obstruent series of the synchronic Koman varieties.

In this new analysis, the PKMN obstruent series contrasts in five places of articulation (bilabial, interdental, alveolar, palatal and velar), as well as in five manners of articulation (voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiceless ejective, voiced and implosive). Of notable importance is the interdental series, which Bender (1983) claimed was a (Chali) Uduk innovation. This claim was most likely based on the fact that no other Koman language that he encountered exhibited a dental series. However, Dana, which also exhibits an interdental series, displays somewhat regular sound correspondences with the Chali Uduk interdental series. This correspondence is significant given that Dana and Uduk are situated in two distinct branches within Koman. A palatal series of stops, also lacking in Bender's analysis, can be confidently reconstructed to PKMN.

One main issue in Koman's troubled relationship to NS has historically been the paucity of data. This has led some scholars to rely on hand-picked data from particular Koman languages, given the lack of a substantive PKMN reconstruction. For instance, Ehret (2001) classifies Koman as an initial binary split from PNS based largely on previously collected data from Chali Uduk. Bender (1997) situates Koman within the "core" of NS employing prior data supplemented by his own fieldwork. Dimmendaal (2008, 2011) classifies Koman as an independent family until further data come to light. This paper does not make any claims with regard to Koman's genetic affiliation to NS, though it presents the first solid steps toward a reconstruction of PKMN, which is essential groundwork for addressing this family's genetic relationships to larger groups.

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Claude Rilly

Voicing neutralization of intervocalic stops in Old Nubian and Meroitic

The recent reconstruction of the Proto-Nubian (PN) phonological system shows considerable phonotactic restrictions in the use of consonants and particularly of stops. Voiced and unvoiced stops /b/, /d/, /t/, /g/ and /k/ can occur initially, but in intervocalic position, only the voiced stops (if single) /b/, /d/ and /g/ are attested. Double consonants or consonant clusters, generally due to added suffixes, are not subject to this restriction, e.g. PN *esti "water", *sukk- "descend".

Old Nubian is the earliest attested Nubian language. It was spoken in northern Sudan in the Middle Ages and written with a specific script derived from Coptic letters, to which three characters borrowed from Meroitic were added: /ŋ/, /ɲ/ and /w/. The modern offspring of Old Nubian is Nobiin, spoken between the 1st and 3rd cataracts of the Nile.

The conventions of the Old Nubian orthography reflect this neutralization of voicing in internal position. The letter p , transliterated p, is used for /b/ in any position, since its voiceless counterpart /p/ does not exist in Old Nubian. Internal /d/ can be written d (Idw /ido/ "eight", Nobiin ¡¥dwo¥) or t (eiten /iden/ "wife", Nobiin ¡˙de¥en). Internal /g/ can be written either g (AgL /agil/ "mouth", Nobiin a¥g) or k (AkL /agil/ "mouth", variant of the former). These alternative spellings are possible only because voicing is not relevant in intervocalic position.

Old Nubian is doubly connected to Meroitic, the ancient language of Sudan, first because it belongs to the same linguistic sub-group, Northern East Sudanic, and also because it succeeded it as the written language of medieval Sudan. Variant spellings in some Meroitic words suggest similar restrictions in the inventory of internal stops. For instance, the "Queen mother" is spelt either ktke and kdke whereas the only Greek transcription known to date is kandakē. King Natakamani's name (c. AD 60) is written with /k/ in Meroitic (Ntkmni) and with /g/ in Egyptian hieroglyphs (Ntg-Jmn).

It seems Old Nubian script borrowed from Meroitic not only three additional letters, but also spelling conventions, probably because the two languages had many phonological features in common. Another instance of the influence of Meroitic on the Old Nubian writing system is the use of d, normally reading /d/, to write internal /r/: intervocalic /d/ in Meroitic was retroflexed and acoustically close to [r].

Graziano Savà

Nara phonology

In this paper I present a layout of the phonological description of the Higir dialect of Nara (also Nera. ISO code nrb). Nara ia a Nilo-Saharan language belonging to the Northern East Sudanic family together with the groups Nubian, Meroitic, Tama and Nyiman. The language and the speech community are also known with the derogatory name Barya (Baria, Barea), which means slave in main Ethiopian languages such as Amharic, Tigrinya and Tigre. This is because for several centuries the Nara people were targeted by more powerful neighbours and the Ethiopian imperial army in their search of goods and manpower. The speakers also call the language Nara bana "Nara word/language". According to information found in Ethnologue, in 2016 Nara was spoken by about 99.800 people in Gash Barka region, north of Barentu area, in Northwest Eritrea. There are four dialects: Higir, Mogoreeb, Koyta and Santorta. Still according to Ethnologue there is "considerable dialectal variation within four main groups".

Arabic (the Nara people are muslim since the beginning of the 20th century) and Tigre are also used as second language. On the one hand, the Koyta have a special relation with the Cunama and are bilingual in their language. On the other hand, the Bilen use Nara as second language.

The number of speakers is increasing and the language is classified as vigourous (stage 6a), as it is spoken at all age and there is a positive attitude by the speakers. Nara is written in Latin script since 1988 and it is nowadays used in primary school. Female literacy rate is 21%. The language is also used in literature, radio and television.

So far, the following points have been described and will be presented:

1) phonemes inventory with a comparison with other descriptions; 2) distribution of consonantal phonemes; 3) realisation of consonantal phonemes; 4) vocalic phonemes; 5) syllables; 6) consonant clusters; 7) phonological rules and 8) tone.

The data on which the phonological description of Nara is based were collected by Giorgio Banti in Eritrea and in Sudan in the context of a broader Nara project. This project aims at the publication of a dictionary and a grammar of Nara.

Helga Schroeder

An ethnosyntactic perspective into Toposa verb lexicalisation

Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan has a unique way of packaging semantic information in the verb root. As observed in previous research XXX (2016, 2017) Toposa has an idiosyncratic way of packaging motions events. The research demonstrated that Talmy's (2000) dichotomy of motion events, as verb-framed and satellite-framed conceptualization did not apply to Toposa. Instead the language developed so-called hybrid frames where basic path verbs are packaged with manner information and manner verbs with path encoding. During the research it was observed that the unique verb lexicalisation extends beyond motion verbs.

This paper places the verbal lexicalization patterns of the language into the framework of ethnosyntax (Enfield 2002, Wierzbicka 1979). The claim of ethnosyntax is that repeated cultural "schemas", "frames" or "scenarios" (Holland and Quinn 1987 in Enfield 2002: 8) are packaged in preferred grammatical constructions. In a similar vein Langacker argues that cultural scenarios and expectations can be realised in language specific grammatical constructions (Langacker 1994: 39-40). Thus ethnosyntax claims a strong link between culture and syntax (see also Enfield (2000) on linguocentrism).

Mietzner (2015) already demonstrated that the Cherang'any language, a Southern Nilotic language, reflects a refined lexicon in the conceptualisation of ' walking and running' because in the society of the Cherang'any repeated schema and scenarios of the activity of walking and running occur.

This paper demonstrates that Toposa shows a refined verbal lexicalisation particular in cultural activities and scenarios of sacrifices, weddings, dances, fighting, carrying, herding, cutting meat, transportation of goods, and daily activities that at large reflect typical characteristics of the herdsman cultures of East Africa.

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Meaghan E. Smith
Restrictive and non-restrictive noun modification in Suri

This presentation focuses on noun modification in Suri (isocode [suq]), a Southeastern Surmic language spoken in Ethiopia, and argues that restrictive and non-restrictive relationships are marked in both clausal and non-clausal modification.

In Surmic languages, clausal modification constructions generally parallel non-clausal modification constructions. That is, there are structural similarities between the ways genitive nouns, possessive pronouns, adjectives, and relative clauses and their governing nouns are marked (Will 1989).

Much less common than the use of parallel structures across clausal and non-clausal modification in these languages is the use of two distinct patterns across each type of modification. Murle and Tennet each display two patterns for some but not all types of noun modification (Arensen 1982 and Randal 1998). The other four languages sampled exhibit, at most, one pattern each.[1] Suri, however, exhibits two complete patterns. This presentation argues that one pattern (marked with the clitic =a) indicates restrictive relationships while the other (marked with the clitic =te, often realized as =ye) indicates non-restrictive relationships.[2]

(1) (a) bi=a   komoruy-ny   (e) bi=ye   hir   kon-uny
          COW=RSTR   leader-GEN   COW=NRSTR   person   SPEC.SG-GEN
          '(the) leader's cow'   'a person's cow'

     (b) bi=a   nunu   (f) bi=ye   nun=de
          COW=RSTR   SGPSD.2SGPSR   COW=NRSTR   SGPSD.2SGPSR=NRSTR
          'his cow'   'his cow'

     (c) bi=a   hɔl-i   (g) bi=ye   hɔl-i
          COW=RSTR   be_white-ADJV   COW=NRSTR   be_white-ADJV
          'white cow'   'white cow'

     (d) bi=a   hɔl=a   (h) bi=ye   hɔl=de
          COW=RSTR   be_white=RSTR   COW=NRSTR   be_white=NRSTR
          'cow which is white'   'cow which is white'

Suri is the only Surmic language of those sampled to have a complete system of distinct restrictive and non-restrictive constructions for both non-clausal and clausal modification. Furthermore, the systematic difference between restrictive and non-restrictive modification in Suri also contrasts with other Nilo-Saharan languages and with other languages in the area, which rarely have structurally distinct non-restrictive relative clauses, much less non-clausal modifiers with a restrictive versus non-restrictive distinction.

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[1] For this presentation, six Surmic languages were sampled: Kwegu, Mursi, and Me'en from the Southeast Surmic branch, Murle and Tennet from the Southwest Surmic branch, and the North Surmic language Majang.
[2] The clitic =te is subject to consonant assimilation and weakening resulting in allomorphs such as =ye and =de.

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Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei

A new set of subject markers in Old Nubian

Traditionally, Old Nubian subject cross-referencing suffixes in the verbal complex have been limited to a single set of what I recently proved to be subject suffixes. This paper will propose the existence of a second, defective, and perhaps older set of subject markers that are used in a number of Old Nubian verbal forms, that heretofore have not been analyzed together.