

THE short vocabularies III to VIII were collected by me for a specific purpose which should first be explained. They are so short as to have little linguistic value, but there was no time to do more in the course of a rapid tour of the peoples concerned. This accounts for the words selected. They were chosen as the easiest to comprehend through an unfamiliar medium. That is why, for example, "today" was omitted though both "yesterday" and "tomorrow" were included, as experience has shown that "today" may often be mistaken for "now" or "immediately" and vice versa in the first attempts at securing a new vocabulary.

For vocabularies III, IV, V, and VI, Lotuko was used as the medium of interpretation and a Lotuko-speaking interpreter was employed, whom I was able to check by a slight knowledge of Lotuko and particularly of the Lango¹ dialect of Lotuko. Vocabularies VII and VIII were obtained directly through the medium of Didinga, which is understood by a large number of the members of these two tribes. Vocabularies I and II have been included for the purpose of comparison, the former being extracted from Lord Raglan's paper "The Lotuko Language."²

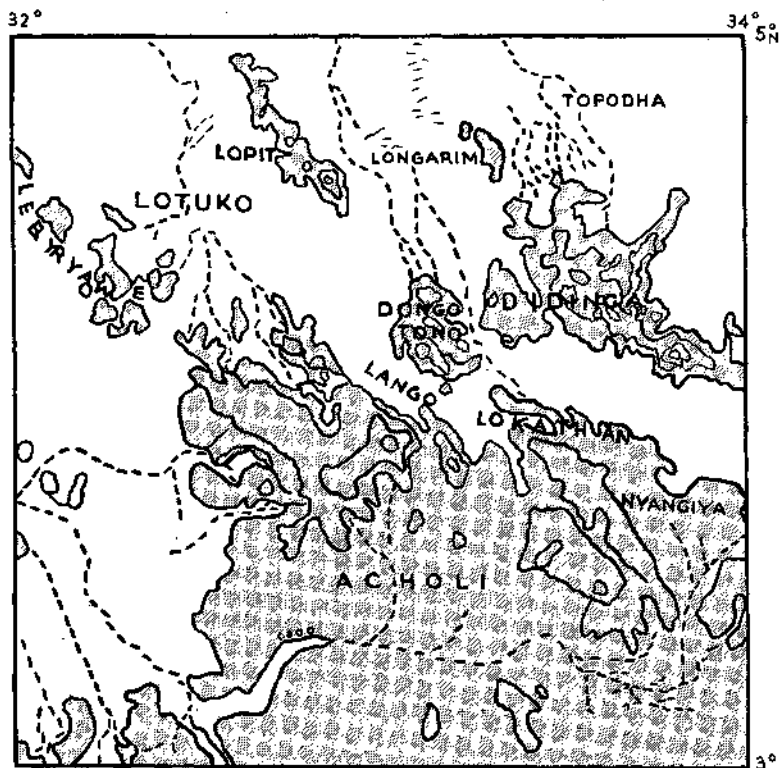
My purpose in collecting these vocabularies was to find some linguistic clue to the relationships of the various tribes, which would support or disprove certain theories I had formed on cultural grounds. This area was formerly the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking peoples, and from it the different tribes of the Nilotic family moved north and south after the dispersal in the fifteenth century. Ever since then different cultures have been in conflict here, and the mountains have preserved broken remnants of tribes isolated by the inundation of alien peoples into the more accessible plains.

I do not here wish to enter into the larger question of the relation be-

¹ Lango (sing. Lalangoni)—a Nilo-Hamitic tribe living round Ikoto, one of whose branches, the Lorwama, extends to Madiak and Madi Opei and has to some extent intermarried with the Acholi. Their culture shows considerable differences from Lotuko, but their language (if ever very different from Lotuko) has now been largely assimilated to that of the larger tribe. They claim that Lango is their tribal name, but they have no connection whatever with the Lango of the Uganda Protectorate, who are a Nilotic tribe. This term "Lango" is difficult to explain. It is claimed also by the Nilotic Lango and (possibly with more justice) by their Nilo-Hamitic neighbors, the Akum. It is also applied, however, as a nickname to various other tribes, but always in an eastward direction. Thus the Alur on the west of the Nile speak of the Acholi as Lango; the Acholi (who speak of the Nilotic Lango by the name Miro) apply the term Lango to the tribes living to their east: viz. the Ajie, Karamojong, Dodoth, and Didinga.

² Bul. School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II, pt. II: 267.

tween the Lotuko and the Nilo-Hamitic group, which includes elements so diverse as the Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Karamojong, and Topodha, not to mention many other tribes. There is as yet insufficient evidence to assert definitely that Lotuko does or does not belong to the Nilo-Hamitic group, and if anything the balance of cultural evidence is against any such al-



Map 1. Lotuko speaking tribes.

NOTE.—In northeast section of map, read *Lerya* and *Owe*.

location. Linguistically of course the allocation is attractive despite serious discrepancies: but here we should take warning from the Bari: from the linguistic point of view Bari might be classified with the Nilo-Hamites, but culturally they are clearly incomers from the west, who by conquest or contact have assimilated certain Eastern characteristics. It is not inconceivable therefore that the Lotuko are also alien from the Nilo-Hamitic group.

That, however, is not the point at issue here. What I wished to deter-

mine was the local relationship between tribes conquered by the Lotuko and generally accepted as Lotuko, because they can speak and understand that language: and though the vocabularies give somewhat negative results—possibly because too limited or possibly because it is too late to discover more than traces of the original dialects—they nevertheless contain some unsuspected features of interest.

Before starting this inquiry I knew from cultural evidence that the Dongotono and the Lokadhan were the same people and expected to find a linguistic affinity: I surmised that the Lopit were also non-Lotuko and possibly came of the same stock as the Dongotono. The 'Lokoya,' shown here as Lërya and Owé, are generally accepted as different from the Lotuko: I knew nothing about them but wished, if possible, to find some clue to their identity. I had no views concerning the Nyangiya.

The vocabularies suggest the faint possibility that in the distant past all these mountain tribes were related and spoke a common language, but that they have been isolated from each other by later Lotuko-speaking immigrants, and as a result of this isolation have largely fallen under the linguistic influence of their neighbors. There is not sufficient evidence to say whether their original language (if one may be predicated) was Hamitic or not, but in view of the absence of grammatical gender in Nyangiya (apparently the most primitive) the presumption is that it was not.

OBSERVATIONS

I. The Lotuko vocabulary calls for only two remarks. Comparison with Turkana will show not only the resemblances, but also the wide dissimilarities between the two languages.

The word given by Lord Raglan for clan is Kang or Nalaghang. I was unable to confirm this, but found nekhang used for the family enclosure in a village (*cf.*: Acholi, gang), and nakhang for the family. Both nemanit and nawoyo appear to be used for clan, but the latter has a more intimate connotation and appears generally to be restricted to a group of relatives extending back for not more than three generations. Nemanit is the general word and is also used for clan in the Lango dialect of Lotuko.

Lord Raglan writes (*op. cit.* p. 270):

It seems probable that all nouns were originally divided into three genders, and that the neuter gradually absorbed the feminine and most of the masculine.

On an earlier page na- is given as the neuter prefix, which combines with i-, the almost obsolete feminine prefix, to become naki- and then ne-, and with the masculine prefix lo- to become nalo- and then no-. We are told that k- or gh- as an initial vowel indicates a case distinction. It would appear, however, that k- has not always this significance, but that an initial k- or kh- often indicates a common (not a neuter)

TABLE 2. LOTUKO VOCABULARIES (Continued)

[illegible]

gender, while *l-* indicates the masculine and *n-* the feminine. One example will suffice. *Khobu* (pl. *khobwok*) means chief or rainmaker of either sex (an office invariably combined): *Lobu* (*lobwok*) is a male chief or rainmaker, and *nobu* (*nobwok*) a female chief or rainmaker. This word *khobu*, by the way, which appears as *kabu* in *Lopit* and *Dongotono* seems to be identical with the *Didinga kabu*, which means the leader of the *kabuchet* or clan and has no rainmaking significance. The phrase *abusak kiteng* for a bull shows, however, that the tendency is for grammatical distinctions of gender to disappear, whereas *Lerya* preserves these grammatical distinctions more completely: e.g. *akhiteng*, *okhiteng*, cow and bull: *otūmi*, *aūmi*, lion and lioness.

III. *Lopit*. The range of hills is officially miscalled *Lafit*, and the people are known to the *Lotuko* as *Lomya*: but they appear to call themselves *Lopit* (sing. *Lopitit*). According to Lord Raglan, northern *Lopit* is one of the principal dialects of *Lotuko*, and he adds that except for casual conversation interpretation is needed from *Lopit* to *Lotuko*. The vocabulary given above was collected at *Idali*, and possibly further north on the *Lopit* range the dialectical differences would have been even stronger. Even as it stands, however, the vocabulary shows remarkable resemblances to *Dongotono*, especially in the simplification it has undergone by the omission of prefixes of gender. It would appear, however, to be more assimilated to *Lotuko* and, if it ever had them, to have preserved fewer of the indigenous words than *Dongotono*. The *Lopit* hills lie on the trade route between the *Longarim* on their east and the *Beir* or *Ajiba* some three days' journey to the north, and there is a *Longarim* village at the north end of the range which serves as a half-way house for travellers. (The *Longarim* and *Ajiba* both speak dialects of *Didinga*.) This contact is reflected in the word *ōli*, which the *Lopit* use for a bull (*Longarim*, *ōli*), but there is no cultural or linguistic evidence that the *Lopit* were at any time *Didinga*-speaking.

During the dry season many *Topodha*⁴ encampments are to be found on the river *Kidepo* adjacent to the *Lopit*, and the latter frequently visit the *Topodha* to barter hoes and spears for sheep and ostrich feathers. This intimacy accounts for such loan words as *môrwo* and *kifyong* (the latter of which the *Dongotono* share for the same reason). The aberrant *kuro*, *kid*, is possibly also to be traced to the *Topodha eghoroi*, he-goat.

IV and V. The hills inhabited by the *Lērya* and *Owé* are known officially as *Lirya* and *Lueh*, and the people are called *Lokoya*. The name *Lokoya* was originally given to them by the *Bari* and is also used by the inhabitants of *Lepul Hill* (north of *Lopit*), who are an offshoot of the Nilotic *Añwa* tribe. By the *Lotuko* they are called *Koryok*, "the black people," because they are bowmen and, as they carry no shield, there is nothing to break up their blackness when they are massed in a body. The two groups were formerly one and they called their common country *Opōni*, but it appears that the tribe is now divided into two sections, the *Lērya* and the *Owé*.

⁴ The *Topodha* speak a language almost identical with *Turkana*, and list II suffices for purposes of comparison.

It is significant that some Didinga who accompanied me when I visited them at once noticed their exceptional blackness and compared them with the Dongotono and Lokadhan, whom they strongly resemble. They have several cultural traits which indicate a former connection, but during the short visit I was able to pay them I failed to elicit any tradition of a migration, and none of the old men appeared even to have heard of the Dongotono, the Lopit, or the Lokadhan. It is conceivable, however, that they know them by different names. I could find nothing to confirm Lord Raglan's suggestion that their dialect is intermediate between Lotuko and Bari.

Though their language has been much influenced by the Lotuko, even the Lotuko find it difficult to converse with them, largely (I think) because of an entirely different tonality, and an interpreter is much more needed here than among the Lopit. A comparison of vocabularies IV and V shows that they are obviously one dialect. Gender is grammatically indicated by the prefixes *o-* (masculine) and *a-* (feminine), which are probably the same as the *lo-* and *na-* prefixes we find in Lokadhan and in the Lango dialect of Lotuko, from which Lokadhan appears to have borrowed them. These *o-* and *a-* prefixes are occasionally used in Acholi and Lango (Nilotic languages) to differentiate between the personal names of men and women: e.g. masc. *Otim*, fem. *Atim*.

An examination of the vocabularies confirms the inference from cultural similarities. In *Lërya* and *Owé*, no less than in Lokadhan, the prefixes of gender may be due to foreign influences, or alternatively Dongotono and Lopit may have lost the sex distinctions which they at one time had. The former hypothesis is more probable, as Lokadhan has certainly acquired its sex prefixes from the *Lorwama*, a branch of the Lotuko-speaking Lango. Taking vocabularies III, IV, V, VI, and VIII together, we can see a strong tendency for the different dialects to come together whenever they depart from the Lotuko, to which they have all succumbed in different degrees of assimilation.

But the most significant feature of *Lërya* and *Owé* is their set of numerals. Lotuko, like all the other vocabularies which we are here considering, has the Nilo-Hamitic numerals, consisting of a mixture of two sub-groups, the Nandi and the Topodha-Turkana. *Miyat* and *ille* represent *mut* and *illo* of Nandi, but with the exception of the numeral for one the other numerals are basically the same as we find in the Topodha-Turkana sub-group. In this respect Lokadhan must be omitted from consideration, which will be deferred till later.

When we come to *Lërya* and *Owé*, however, we find not only *miyet* and *inde* (*ille* of Lotuko), but also 7 *chova* (*chyova*), 8 *tidhikh* (*tisit*), and 9 *sakhal*, numerals entirely new to this region. *Tidhikh* (or *tisit*) and *sakhal* may certainly be referred to the Nandi 8 *sisiit* (Masai, *isyet*) and 9 *sokol*. These again are due to Galla or Somali influence (*cf.* Somali 8 *sided*, 9 *sagal*), and it seems more than probable that 7 *chova* (*chyova*) is reminiscent of the Galla numeral *torba* (Somali, *tadoba*). These numerals open up a large problem. Nandi and our languages have certain elements of their vocabularies in common, because these elements are part of the general

Nilo-Hamitic culture and are shared both by members of the group and by others who may have come under the influence of the group. These common elements do not necessarily imply that there is anything else in common between, for example Nandi and Lotuko, or that they were at any time in contact with each other. But it is more remarkable to find two numerals such as those used for 8 and 9 by Lērya and Owé reappearing in Nandi, though in the intervening area, which is entirely Nilo-Hamitic, there is nothing whatever like them. This might imply a common origin for Nandi and Lērya, or at least that at some period in their history, when the Nandi were living further north and the Lērya further east, they were in intimate contact. There are however cultural (and possibly physical) difficulties which make this unlikely, and the alternative explanation is more probable. This is that both the Nandi and the Lērya independently came under the same influence, and this view is made more probable by the persistence of the numeral *chova* in Lērya, whereas no trace of the Galla *torba* can be found in Nandi. The presumption is therefore that the Lērya acquired these Galla words, either at some date when they were living in contact with the Galla, or during the period of Galla expansion in the early sixteenth century, when the westward march of the migrating Hamites led them by way of Mongalla to the Great Lakes. A detailed study, however, of the Lotuko dialects is required and also an investigation into the cultural antecedents of the numerous small tribes in this area before such questions can be determined with any degree of confidence.

VI. Dongotono (sing. Dongotononi) and Lokadhan traditions agree that the two peoples are a part of one and the same tribe. Formerly the Lokadhan lived together with their kinsmen on the Okiki hills, where the Dongotono still are, but owing to the continuous raids of the Kokir section of the Lango the Lokadhan migrated first to Teretenya hill and then to an upland valley on the hills behind Madial, called Nakoringoli from the kaolin of which there is a large deposit there. During this period they were on friendly terms with the Didinga, and after reaching Nakoringoli a number of families went further east again and settled on the southern foothills of the Didinga mountains. According to Dongotono tradition, which corresponds with that of the Nyangiya, their ancestors came from Morungoli by way of Nakoringoli, and so the Lokadhan section was really only returning to their former homes. The vocabulary calls for no further comment: its close similarity to Lokadhan is immediately obvious.

VII. There is no means of estimating the former size of the Nyangiya tribe, but it has dwindled now to a few hundred members only, who are rapidly forgetting their own language and prefer now to speak Dododh, a Nilo-Hamitic tongue akin to Karamojong. They claim relationship with the Dongotono, which is not inconsistent with the latter tribe's past history, and not entirely inconsistent with their respective vocabularies. While the Dongotono language has been influenced by Lotuko and especially by the Lango dialect of Lotuko, Nyangiya has been largely influenced by Dododh, and a few words like *pira*, *bidh* and *nyirwodhit* indicate contact with their

western neighbors, the Acholi. Its vocabulary possibly exhibits a much purer form of an original Nyangiya-Dongotono language, and such similarities as *tapat* with Dongotono *tafa*, *ma* with Dongotono *mayu* and Lokadhan *lomadhyu*, *edhike* with Dongotono *ozike* and Lokadhan *lidhike*, suggest that their claim is not so improbable as cultural differences today would appear to indicate.

The numerals *iyon*, *nôwé* and *tut* probably originate in Didinga *iy'ə*, *wəch* and *tūr*: while a few words like *kiru*, *dhio*, *unget* and *uket* may be derived from the same source as the Nandi *kiruk*, *iyuog*, *ngeta* and *ujet*. It should be noted that there is no grammatical distinction of sex and that the plural is invariably formed by prefixing *napat-* (?=many).

VIII. The Lokadhan (sing. Lokadhata) are known as Bira to Europeans, who have adopted the Acholi nickname. Though they are without doubt the same tribe as the Dongotono, the latter do not call them Lokadhan, but Lokote after Logotoi, the name by which the Lotuko-speaking Lango know them. By the Didinga they are spoken of as Locheke. Their language has been largely influenced by the Lorwama section of the Lotuko-speaking Lango, from whom they appear to have borrowed the sex-determining prefixes *lo-* and *na-*, but also by the Topodha, to whom such words as *naikwang* are due. Their numerals are aberrant. The word for 5 appears to mean "clenching the hand," but for the numerals 6-9 another word, *ngodé*, has crept in. This appears to be the Didinga numeral *khodé* (=1) and means "one hand": hence "1 hand and 1" = 6, and so on. *Ososokinekan* means "both hands clenched," and the phrase for 20 means "both hands clenched and feet." For 30 this phrase is repeated with the addition of "and another man," from which one assumes that a whole man originally represented 10 and not 20. I think however that beyond 20 all calculations are normally made, as in Dongotono, by sticks reckoned in units of 10.

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