Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the West Nilotic group (East Sudanic family).

Languages included: Nuer [wnl-nue]; Dinka [wnl-dnk]; Thok Reel [wnl-rel]; Mabaan [wnl-mab]; Jumjum [wnl-jum]; Kurmuk [wnl-krm]; Mayak [wnl-may]; Shilluk [wnl-shl].

DATA SOURCES

I. General

Bender 1971 = Bender, Lionel M. 1971. The Languages of Ethiopia: A New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion. In: Anthropological Linguistics 13(5): 165-288. // A lexicostatistical study of most of the languages of Ethiopia. Includes slightly modified Swadesh wordlists for a large number of Cushitic, Omotic, Ethiosemitic, and Nilo-Saharan (Nilotic, Surmic, Koman, etc.) languages. Unfortunately, the survey suffers from numerous inaccuracies of phonetic transcription and semantic glossing, making it practically unusable as a primary source for any of the languages concerned.


II. Nuer

Kiggen 1948 = Kiggen, J. 1948. Nuer-English Dictionary. Nederland: Drukkeri van het Missiehuis, Steyl bij Tegelen. // As of now, this source remains the single largest officially published document on Nuer lexicography. Precise dialect is not indicated, although the dictionary occasionally indicates dialectal variants. Accuracy of transcription is debatable, since the author clearly did not have a full comprehension of the extremely complicated vowel system of Nuer.

III. Dinka

Nebel 1979 = Nebel, Arthur. 1979. Dinka-English / English-Dinka Dictionary. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana. // A large dictionary of Dinka, concentrating on the Rek dialect of the language, but also containing a large number of specially marked dialectal forms. Phonetic transcription (particularly in the area of Dinka’s complicated vowel system) is not highly accurate, and tones are not marked at all.

Duerksen 2005 = Duerksen, John et al. 2005. Dinka-English Dictionary. Ms.: SIL. // A large compilation of various sources on Dinka lexicon, including Nebel’s dictionary as well as multiple addenda from fieldwork seemingly conducted by SIL personnel. Since the individual sources of data are not indicated, can only be used as an occasional control source for lexicostatistical purposes.

Roettger 1989 = Roettger, Larry; Roettger, Lisa. A Dinka Dialect Survey. In: Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages 6: 1-65. // A sociolinguistic and lexicostatistical study of the complex network of Dinka dialects. Includes 150-item wordlists collected for 20 subdialects of the 4 major Dinka dialects, as well as for the separate language of Atuot (Thok Reel). However, phonetic and semantic accuracy of the data are questionable.


morphology of Agar Dinka has a lot of information on the paradigmatic behavior of many basic nouns of this dialect.


IV. Thok Reel


Roettger 1989 = Roettger, Larry; Roettger, Lisa. A Dinka Dialect Survey. In: Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages 6: 1-65. // A sociolinguistic and lexicostatistical study of the complex network of Dinka dialects. Includes 150-item wordlists collected for 20 subdialects of the 4 major Dinka dialects, as well as for the separate language of Atuot (Thok Reel). However, phonetic and semantic accuracy of the data are questionable.

V. Mabaan


Detailed description of the vowel system and vocalic morphophonology of Mabaan.

Andersen 1999b = Andersen, Torben. Anti-Logophoricity and Indirect Mode in Mabaan. In: Studies in Language 23(3): 499-530. // This paper contains some important information on the general verbal system of Mabaan, among other things.


VI. Jumjum


VII. Kurmuk


VIII. Mayak

Andersen 1999c = Andersen, Torben. 1999. Consonant Alternation and Verbal


IX. Shilluk


NOTES

I. Nuer.


Our default source on the Nuer language remains [Kiggen 1948], as the single most comprehensive collection of lexical data, well illustrated by examples / contexts and ideally suited to the extraction of the Swadesh wordlist. For additional control, we have also checked the (not very reliable in itself) 100-item list in [Bender 1971], and also included transcriptions for noun stems from [Frank 1999] (important for the purpose of comparison and reconstruction, since Frank's description of Nuer's vowel system is much more detailed than Kiggen's).

Nuer, like its close relative Dinka, is well-known for its complicated system of vocalic and consonantal gradations in nominal and verbal paradigms; for this reason, we consistently adduce paradigmatic information (noun singulars and plurals; verbs in the infinitive and in the 3rd p. sg.) where it is available in Kiggen's dictionary and/or in Frank's thesis, since this information is critical for external comparison and reconstruction.

I.2. Transcription.

The system of transcription in [Kiggen 1948] is relatively simple, since the author simplifies the complex network of vocalic oppositions. The only amendments introduced are as follows:

(a) long vowels (aa, ee, etc.) have been converted to UTS standards (aː, eː, etc.);

(b) palatal affricates c, j are transcribed as ɕ, ʑ;

(c) the opposition between two series of coronal consonants that Kiggen transcribes as t / th, d / dh, n / nh, is converted to UTS t / ʈ, d / ɖ, n / ɳ respectively. Kiggen indicates that
th, dh are pronounced as interdentsals (θ, ð), but existing descriptions of Nuer phonetics are in conflict and indicate that the pronunciation of the second series actually varies between interdental and dental (stop) articulation. For reasons of consistency with data in related languages, we prefer to re-transcribe the phonemes as dental stops (it also makes the data more consistent with the marking of the nasal dental consonant, since ñ cannot be properly realised as "interdental").

In the thesis [Frank 1999], consonantal transcription largely agrees with Kiggen, but the vocalic system is analyzed in a completely different way, with many more oppositions in timbre and a major additional feature (breathiness) added as distinctive. The correlations between Frank’s system and the UTS, based on Frank’s own explanation, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Frank 1999]</th>
<th>UTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä</td>
<td>aʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>æʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ì</td>
<td>iʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>eʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó</td>
<td>oʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ</td>
<td>ọʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uʰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. Dinka.

II.1. General.

The Dinka language, spoken by close to a million and a half native speakers, is usually regarded as a "macrolanguage", with at least four or five major dialect clusters that could formally qualify as separate languages: (a) Northeastern Dinka (Padang-Ageer), (b) Northwestern Dinka (Pan Aru-Ruweng), (c) South-Central Dinka (Agar), (d) Southeastern Dinka (Bor), (e) Southwestern Dinka (Rek). Ideally, one should have at least one representative wordlist from each of these dialects (languages?). However, the situation is difficult: despite a lot of fieldwork conducted with speakers of all these varieties, the only coherent dictionary to focus on one particular dialect, produced so far, is [Nebel 1979], systematically describing the most widely spoken Rek dialect.

The single most useful comparative source on Dinka dialects is [Roettger 1989], with 150-item wordlists provided for no less than 20 different subdialects of the language: (a) Padang dialect: Abiliang, Paloc/Ageer, Dongjol, Ngok-Sobat, Thoi, Rut, Luac, Ruweng, Alor, Ngɔk; (b) Rek dialect: Rek, Luac, Twic, Malual; (c) Agar dialect: Agar, Aliab, Gok, Ciec; (d) Bor dialect: Bor, Twic, Nyarweng, Ghɔl. Theoretically, although including all of this data in our wordlists would be overkill (most of the individual subdialects within one dialect have completely or almost completely coinciding Swadesh lists), at least one representative wordlist from each dialect would be useful. However, careful analysis of the data in Roettger's wordlists and its comparison with other sources on Dinka raises certain doubts as to complete semantic accuracy of his entries - a very important detail when dealing with dialects the number of discrepancies between which on the Swadesh wordlist rarely exceeds 10%.

In the light of this, we currently prefer not to rely on Roettger's data as primary sources. All of it is, however, included in the Notes section on Dinka, and therefore, open to manual comparison. Addition of extra control sources, such as, e. g., data from a series of papers by T. Andersen on the phonology and grammar of the Agar dialect, shows that there are, indeed, some significant divergences between dialects (for Agar, cf. at least the following entries: 'cloud', 'give', 'leaf', 'mountain', 'new', 'road', 'sun', 'snake'), but the construction of a detailed and accurate set of wordlists on the most divergent
dialects of the language remains a task for the future.

II.2. Transcription.

The main discrepancies between the Dinka alphabet used in [Nebel 1979] and UTS are summarized in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Nebel 1979]</th>
<th>UTS</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c, j</td>
<td>ɕ, ɻ</td>
<td>Palatal affricates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th, dh, nh</td>
<td>t, ɬ, n</td>
<td>Dental consonants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Palatal nasal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>ɭ</td>
<td>Laryngeal articulation acc. to Nebel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ë, ò</td>
<td>ɛ, ɔ</td>
<td>&quot;Open&quot; ɛ and ɔ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>Vʰ</td>
<td>Breathy articulation of vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>Vː</td>
<td>Long vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä, ĩ, ö, ĕ</td>
<td>ɛ, i, ə, ɨ</td>
<td>Centralized vowels.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that Nebel's notation of the complex vowel system in Dinka is notoriously inaccurate; a much better source to ascertain the base quality and various secondary features of the vocalism is T. Andersen's description of the phonology of Agar (e.g. Andersen 1987), but it does not include a full coverage of the basic lexicon, and it is not entirely clear how precisely it correlates with the phonological systems of other dialects. Fortunately, this is not highly significant for basic lexicostatistical purposes, where Nebel's lexicon remains perfectly usable.

The main differences between Andersen's and Nebel's notation and description are as follows:

(a) In the consonantal system, Andersen marks the palatal nasal as ɲ; Nebel's laryngeal q (= UTS ɭ) corresponds to Andersen's velar voiced fricative ɣ.

(b) The base vowel system is described by Andersen as i, u, e, o, ɛ, ɔ, a, i. e. is practically the same as Nebel's. No special "centralized" phonemes or allophones are postulated in
his description. Breathy vowels (\( V_\cdot \)) in Andersen's description are opposed to creaky vowels (\( V \)). We do not specially mark creakiness in Andersen's entries, since it seems to be the default (unmarked) quality (Andersen himself marks it inconsistently in his records, since it is phonologically superfluous).

(c) Andersen postulates three degrees of length for Dinka: short (\( V \)), medium (VV), and long (VVV), as opposed to only two in Nebel's description. We transliterate Andersen's "medium" vowels as long (\( V : \)) and his "long" vowels as "ultra-long" (VV:).

(d) Andersen postulates two level tones (low \( \overline{V} \) and high \( \overline{V} \)), as well as one contour tone (high-low \( \overline{V} \)) for Dinka. His are the only sources so far that consistently note prosodic information for Dinka.

III. Thok Reel.

III.1. General.

Thok Reel, or Atuot (the name of the small ethnicity speaking the language in the Yirol West county of Lakes State of Southern Sudan), is a small and relatively recently discovered variety of Nuer-Dinka that is sufficiently distant from both the Nuer and the Dinka dialectal clusters to be considered a separate language, although in many respects (including lexicostatistics) it is genetically closer to Nuer than to Dinka (although the speakers have migrated into a Dinka-occupied area).

Data on the language are very scarce; however, a large wordlist may be found in [Roettger 1989], appended to the large collection of wordlists for various Dinka dialects. Like all of the survey materials in this source, certain inclusions are semantically problematic, and the accuracy of phonetic representation is also questionable (not to mention lack of any prosodic information), but some of the data may be double-checked by means of [Reid 2010], a detailed phonetic and grammatical description of the idiom - unfortunately, this source cannot be used as primary for the lexicostatistical wordlist due to huge gaps. In between the two sources, however, a more or less accurate picture of the language still emerges, although it is certainly liable to future amendments as (if) more and better data become available.
III.2. *Transcription.*

Transcription in [Roettger 1989] is the same as for the Dinka dialects in that source. It almost completely coincides with the orthography of the [Nebel 1979] Dinka dictionary, except that -ATR vowels ɛ, ɔ are transcribed as such.

IV. Mabaan.

IV.1. *General.*

Mabaan, spoken by about 50,000 speakers in Mabaan county (Upper Nile state), remains a somewhat poorly described language. As our main source, we have chosen the formally unpublished dictionary [Miller 2006], kindly made available for the general public by Roger Blench; it is a comprehensive source, well illustrated by textual examples, but one that suffers from various inaccuracies (e.g. the same word may be transcribed in different ways throughout the dictionary) and incomplete understanding of the language's phonology (particularly vocalism and prosody, with tonal information completely missing from transcriptions).

Of a far higher quality are the numerous works by Torben Andersen [1992, 1999, 1999b, 2006] that deal with various aspects of Mabaan phonetics, morphophonology, and morphology: Andersen's field data are accurately transcribed, and he always illustrates his observations with a plethora of examples. Unfortunately, all of these are still short papers, and it is impossible to put together a comprehensive Swadesh wordlist on the basis of Andersen's data alone. In a few cases where Miller's data are unavailable or most likely erroneous, we still include Andersen's elicitations in the primary slot (e.g. 'fat', 'louse'); but for the most part, we list his data in the notes section, since it is extremely important for historical reconstruction, but not so important for straightforward lexicostatistics.

A defective 100-item wordlist for Mabaan is also available in [Bender 1971: 269]; it has been made almost completely obsolete by the availability of Miller's and Andersen's results, but we still include the data in the notes section for the sake of completeness.
IV.2. Transcription.

The transcription used in [Miller 2006] is slightly simplified compared to T. Andersen's (largely for typographic reasons). For the most part, we do not introduce any amendments, except for the following:

(a) Mabaan distinguishes between two series of coronal stops: interdental and post-alveolar / retroflex, which Miller distinguishes as \( t, \ d \) vs. \( \mathring{t}, \ \mathring{d} \); Andersen usually transcribes them as \( t, \ d \) vs. \( t, \ d \). To avoid ambiguity, we use diacritic marks everywhere, transcribing the first series as \( t, \ d \) and the second as \( \mathring{t}, \ \mathring{d} \).

(b) Mabaan palatal affricates are transcribed as \( c, \ j \) by Miller and as \( c, \ \mathring{c} \) by Andersen; they are transliterated as UTS \( \varphi, \ \mathring{z} \). Palatal nasal is transcribed as \( \mathring{n} \) and transliterated as \( n \).

(c) Long vowels are transcribed as doubled \( aa, \ oo \), etc. by Miller and by Andersen; they are transliterated as UTS \( aː, \ oː \), etc.

V. Jumjum.

V.1. General.

The Jumjum language, spoken in the Blue Nile Province to the north of Mabaan by about 25,000 speakers (Ethnologue), remains poorly described. No systematic grammatical description or vocabulary has been published so far, and the majority of information on select grammatical aspects and lexicon of the language is to be gained from several publications of Torben Andersen [Andersen 2004; Andersen 2006b], containing high quality, but, unfortunately, limited field data collected by the author.

Alternate sources of data on Jumjum are scarce and far less reliable. Where available, we always quote the equivalents from M. L. Bender's Swadesh wordlist on Jumjum [Bender 1971: 268], and sometimes, when Andersen has no equivalent, Bender's data provide the only possibility to fill in the primary slot. These entries, however, are
always marked with #, since Bender's data typically suffer from phonetic and semantic inaccuracies.

V.2. Transcription.

T. Andersen's transcription is IPA-based and requires only minimal cosmetic amendments to UTS. We transcribe long vowels (aa, oo, etc.) as aː, oː, etc.; palatal plosives/affricates c, j as ç, ʒ.

VI. Burun (Kurmuk, Mayak).

VI.1. General.

The Burun language, spoken by several thousand people to the north of the Jumjum area, consists of several closely related dialects that Torben Andersen considers to be separate languages (belonging to the Northern Burun subgroup as opposed to Southern Burun, consisting of Mabaan and Jumjum); their names vary depending on the source, but according to Andersen, the main dialects include Mayak, Kurmuk, and Surkum. Unfortunately, not a single exhaustive grammatical description or vocabulary exists for any of these dialects; like Jumjum, most of the phonetically and semantically accurate information on them has to be extracted from T. Andersen's papers (see the complete list of references in the Data sources section). Seriously gapped, but workable Swadesh lists may be extracted for Mayak and Kurmuk (but not for Surkum, data on which are quite minimal). Additionally, some gaps in the Mayak list may be tentatively filled in by data from M. L. Bender's [Bender 1971: 272] wordlist on Burun, with the same caveats as for Jumjum (see above). We also rely on [Storch 2005] for supportive information, since Storch's data on Mayak nouns is partially original and can be used to fill in a few gaps and resolve some controversial situations.

VI.2. Transcription.

More or less the same cosmetic amendments to UTS are relevant for T. Andersen's transcription of Mayak and Kurmuk data as for his transcription of Jumjum data (see
VII. Shilluk.

VII.1. General.

Despite the large number of Shilluk speakers and the overall importance of the Shilluk ethnicity in South Sudan, there is as of now no modern-level dictionary or grammar for Shilluk. Lexicostatistical and etymological studies, therefore, have to take place at the intersection of older lexicographic sources (not highly reliable in terms of phonology) and partial new studies that provide better insights into the grammar and phonetics of Shilluk, but do not have enough data to properly fill up the entire Swadesh wordlist.

Our main source is [Heasty 1937], with [Kohnen 1994] (the actual data was collected in the first decades of the 20th century) selected as a supporting source. Where possible, we also provide the corresponding equivalents from more recent works by Leoma Gilley [Gilley 1992, 2000] that give a better idea of the words’ phonetic shape; unfortunately, there are no wordlists in Gilley’s works, and, moreover, some of the author’s own data vary in shape from one work to another.

VII.2. Transcription.

The transcription (alphabet) system of Heasty is generally simple and does not require a lot of transliteration efforts. The following systematic recodings have been performed:

(a) Palatals: Heasty’s c, j, ny = UTS ɕ, ʐ, ɲ;
(b) Dentals (interdentals): Heasty’s th, dh, nh = UTS ɬ, ɖ, ɳ;
(c) Heasty consistently distinguishes between "unmarked" vowels (a, e, ɛ, i, o, ɔ, u) and their "centralized" variants (which he transcribes as â, ê, ɛ, ĩ, ô, ɔ̞, ʊ̈). This is not the same as the well-known +/-ATR opposition and rather seems to correspond to the rare feature that Gilley [1992: 28] calls "expanded pharynx". Since in the other Luo languages the same feature is often analyzed as an opposition between breathy and non-breathy vowels, we tentatively mark Heasty’s "centralized" vowels (= Gilley’s [+EX] vowels) as breathy, i.e. aʰ, eʰ, ɛʰ, iʰ, oʰ, ɔʰ. It should, however, be noted that Heasty’s and Gilley’s
transcriptions are frequently uncorrelated, hinting at possible mistakes that could have been made by either of them.

The system of transcription in [Kohnen 1994] is almost exactly the same as Heasty's, except that Kohnen omits any indications of the centralized / uncentralized opposition. L. Gilley [1992, 2000] uses standard IPA to transcribe all the forms.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (last update: January 2018).
1. ALL
Nuer *dial* (1), Dinka *eben* (2), Reel *kan=dial* (1), Mabaan *wak-iđa ~ wak-enđa* (3), Jumjum *m̩r̩ɛn ù* (4), Mayak *kue* (5), Shilluk *ben* (6).

References and notes:

**Nuer:** Kiggen 1948: 75. Quoted as *ken=dial* in [Bender 1971: 271], where *ken* = ‘they’ (so the form is actually ‘they all’).

**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 29. Meaning glossed as ‘all, every’. The Rueng variant is reduplicated: *eben-eben* ‘all’ [ibid.] or *eben-eben* [Nebel 1979: 104]. Distinct from the bound morpheme *-g̩e*, used in conjunction with pronominal stems: *ω-ɡ̩ie* ‘we all’, *ωe-ɡ̩ie* ‘you all’, *ke-ɡ̩ie* ‘they all’ etc. [Nebel 1979: 104]. In [Roettger 1989: 30], the forms *eben* and *ke-ɡ̩ie ~ ke-ɡ̩ie ~ ke-ɡ̩ia* are sometimes listed as alternate synonyms and sometimes are found in complementary distribution across dialects; however, it is not clear how accurate these records really are.

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 30.

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 105. Derived from the noun *wak* ‘things’, cf. also *wak-a* ‘bodies’ [ibid.]. According to the source, the variant *wak-iđa* is applied to 1st and 2nd persons (‘we all’, ‘you all’); the variant *wak-enđa* is applicable to 3rd person (‘they all’). Quoted as *wok-nał* in [Bender 1971: 269].

**Jumjum:** Bender 1971: 268. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers.

**Kurmuk:** Not attested.

**Mayak:** Bender 1971: 272. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers.

**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 14. Quoted as *ben ~ bene* ‘all, every, entire, whole, complete, total’ in [Kohnen 1994: 17].

2. ASHES
Nuer *ŋe̞t ~ ŋet* (1), Dinka *ŋet* (1), Reel *a=ŋet* (1), Mabaan *tol-o* (2), Jumjum *təːt-ŋə* (3), Mayak *tɔd-dũ* (3), Shilluk *bur* (4).

References and notes:


**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 63. Meaning glossed as ‘wood-ashes’. Quoted as *ŋe̞tʰ* ‘ash’ in [Andersen 1987: 4]. Distinct from *arop* ‘dung-ashes’ [Nebel 1979: 12]. Cf. also NE, SEb *col*, pl. *cole* ‘ash, charcoal’ in [Duerksen 2005: 36]; this word is clearly derived from ‘black’ q.v. and corresponds to the compound form *col maq* ‘charcoal, soot’ (lit. ‘black of fire’) in [Nebel 1979: 20], so the submeaning ‘ash’, listed in Duerksen’s dictionary, seems suspicious. On the other hand, clearly the same word is also listed as *qočʰɬ* ‘ash from grass’ in [Andersen 1987: 12]. In [Roettger 1989: 84], the word is listed as *ŋeq* (very rarely *ŋeq*) for all dialects and subdialects of Dinka.

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 36.

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 99. Plural form; the singulative is *tɕɬ-d̩in*. Quoted as *tɕɬ-lu* in [Bender 1971: 269]. Distinct from *ɕɬl-o* ‘black ashes from burnt grass, soot’ [Miller 2006: 27].

**Jumjum:** Andersen 2004: 135. Quoted as *tut-ŋə* in [Bender 1971: 268].

**Kurmuk:** Not attested.


**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 16. Quoted as *burr* in [Kohnen 1994: 23].

3. BARK
Nuer kom (1), Dinka paːʰt (2), Reel kom (1), Mabaan ʒaŋ=poːt-en (2), Jumjum páːt-ikáy (2), Kurmuk kójːbáŋ (3), Mayak paːt-eka # (2), Shilluk pad-o (2).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 150. Polysemy: 'bark / pod / shell of egg, etc.': Singular and plural forms are the same. Quoted as sg. kuʰm, pl. kuːm in [Frank 1999: 84]; as ku⁴ in [Bender 1971: 271].


Mabaan: Miller 2006: 49. Literally = 'the trees' wrapping', cf. poːt-i 'to wrap' [Miller 2006: 92]. Cf., however, also pottin 'bark (of tree)' in [Miller 2006: 92]; it is not clear if this is an incorrectly spelled variant of the same root or a completely different entry (it is also not confirmed in any of the text examples). In [Bender 1971: 269], the word for 'bark' is listed as xe-na, i.e. simply 'tree' q.v.; this is probably the result of incorrect glossing.


4. BELLY

Nuer ʒiɛ (1), Dinka ɣaɛ (1), Reel ʒiɛ (1), Mabaan kon-ɛ (2), Jumjum ʒɪŋ (1) / kìn (2), Mayak bul (3), Shilluk yiɛ (1).

References and notes:


Reel: Roettger 1989: 34. Quoted as sg. ʒiɛ, pl. ʒi in [Reid 2010: 29].


Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 137. Meaning glossed as 'stomach'. Quoted as ʒiŋ-ɛ in [Bender 1971: 268]. Andersen 2004: 138. Meaning glossed as 'stomach'. Semantic difference between ʒiŋ and k ɲ remains unclear (perhaps one of the two words is really 'abdomen', but there are no indications of that in Andersen's papers).

Kurmuk: Not attested.


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 107. Plural: yeŋ ~ yeŋ-ɪ. The meaning 'belly' is found only in the English-Shilluk index; the Shilluk-English part of the dictionary glosses the word as 'intestines'. Quoted as ɣiŋ ~ ɣiŋ, pl. ɣiŋ 'belly, womb, interior (feeling); inside of anything; the contents of volume; extent, curve, winding; kind, species; in, into, therein, wherein, inside' in [Kohnen 1994: 219].

5. BIG

Nuer dìd (1), Dinka di (1), Reel diet (1), Mabaan qíaŋ- (2) / tól- (3), Jumjum tólŋ # (3),
Kurmkuk d₃ŋ (2), Mayak d₄ŋ-ke # (2), Shilluk dwŋ (2).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 75. Quoted as nz咡dᵣtᵣ² in [Bender 1971: 75] (with the relativizer attached).


Mabaan: Miller 2006: 40. Miller 2006: 99. The dictionary entries consist of complex (reduplicated) forms: ʃoʃ-ʃoʃ 'big' – ʃọʃ-ʃọʃ 'great, very'; however, textual examples frequently show the adjective in the non-reduplicated form, cf. b∧wɔm eko ʃọʃ-ʃọʃ 'his throwing stick is big', but eko wɔk ʃọʃ-ʃọʃ i ọna ʃọʃan 'he sat down opposite the big building'. In [Bender 1971: 269], quoted as ʃọʃ-ʃọʃ 'big'. Textual examples in [Miller 2006] do not allow to determine whether ọwọŋ- or tol- is the most suitable equivalent - they are encountered with approximately the same statistical frequency and in interchangeable contexts. We include both forms as technical synonyms.


Kurmkuk: Andersen 2007b: 76. Attested as part of the predicative form: d₃ŋ-ki 'it is big'. Cf. also the plural form d₄ŋ-kk 'big' (applied to young men, in the sense of 'strong') in [Andersen 2015: 545].


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 29. Plural: d₄ŋ. Polysemy: 'big / old / great / important'. Quoted as n. d₃ŋ ~ d₃ŋ-o 'greatness, largeness, height, size; old age; reputation, authority', v. d₄ŋ-o 'to become great, large; to grow, to get big, old' in [Kohnen 1994: 45].

6. BIRD

Nuer dit (1), Dinka dit (1), Reel dit (1), Mabaan ɖiː-ŋo (1), Jumjum dᵣiː-n (1), Kurmkuk ɗiː-ːaŋ (1), Mayak dᵣiː-n-eŋ ~ ɗiː-n-ɛ (1), Shilluk wɪŋ-ɔ (2).

References and notes:


Mayak: Andersen 1999c: 74. Quoted as de-n-ɛ in [Bender 1971: 272].


7. BITE

Nuer ƙaːŋ (1) / ƙaːm (2), Dinka ƙaːŋ (1), Reel ƙaːŋ (1), Mabaan kọːy ~ kọː-ɖi (1), Jumjum ƙaːŋ- (1), Kurmkuk nàn (2), Mayak ƙaːŋ (1) / nan- (2), Shilluk ƙaːŋ (1).

References and notes:
Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 135. 3rd p. sg.: kai-ɛ. Polysemy: ‘to bite / to sting’. Examples in the dictionary show that the word is applicable at least to insects and dogs. Quoted as kɔɛ in [Bender 1971: 271]. Kiggen 1948: 51. Same word as ‘to eat’. Examples in the dictionary show that the word, just like kaɛ, is applicable to insects and dogs. Since it is currently impossible to establish the semantic difference, we treat them as synonyms.

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 37. Polysemy: ‘to bite / to snap / to catch’. Variants recorded as keɛ, kæɛ in [Duerksen 2005: 85]. Quoted as ɛ=kɛɛɛ ‘he is biting’ in [Andersen 1987: 10]; as kæɛ for all dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 34]. The word ɛam ‘to eat’ q.v. is listed with the meaning ‘to bite’ for the Southwestern dialect in [Duerksen 2005: 33], but not in Nebel’s dictionary, which is why we do not include it on the list as a synonym.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 34. Quoted as kæɛ in [Reid 2010: 53].


Mayak: Andersen 1999c: 67. Quoted as ɛ=kaɛ-ɛɛ in [Bender 1971: 272]. Cf., however, also the form nan-ɛɛ ‘it is being bitten’ in [Andersen 1999c: 75]. It is unclear which of the two roots is a better semantic match for the Swadesh being, so we include both in the list for the time being (kæɛ is etymologically more archaic, but nan- has a direct parallel in the Kurmuk dialect of Buruun). Andersen 1999c: 75.

Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 40. Imperative form; the participial form is kæɛ-ɛ. Polysemy: ‘bite / sting / harvest’. Quoted as kæɛ ‘to bite; to ache; to pluck off, to gather (the durrah ears); to squeeze in, to stick fast, to hold fast, to pinch’ in [Kohnen 1994: 75].

8. BLACK

Nuer ɡar (1), Dinka ɡol (2), Reel ɡar (1), Mabaan uːl-uːlo (2), Jumjum ʔul- (2), Kurumuk ʔul- (2), Mayak ʔʊl- (2), Shilluk ɡɔ ~ ɡɔ̃ (3).

References and notes:


Reel: Roettger 1989: 37. Quoted as ɛɛɛɛɛɛ in [Reid 2010: 55].


Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 153. Attested as part of the form ʔul-ɛɛ ‘it is black’. Quoted as ʊl-ɛɛ in [Bender 1971: 268].

Kurumuk: Andersen 2007b: 41. Attested as part of the form ʔʊl-ɛɛɛ ‘it is black’.


9. BLOOD

Nuer riem (1), Dinka riem (1), Reel riem (1), Mabaan yim-go (1), Jumjum yim-gi (1), Mayak rim (1), Shilluk rem-ʊ (1).

References and notes:

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 115. Without the suffix, cf. yim ‘dura (red)’ [ibid.]. Quoted as yim-m in [Andersen 1999: 100]; as yim-go in [Bender 1971: 269].
Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 139. Plural form; the singulative is yim-müp. Quoted as yim-go in [Bender 1971: 268].
Kurmuk: Not attested.

10. BONE
Nuer ġoay (1), Dinka yuom (2), Reel a=ċa (1), Mabaan aː-no (1), Jumjum ʔáw-ni (1), Kurmuk ʔiːw-₇₄ (1), Mayak ʔiːw-₇₄ (1), Shilluk ġog-o (1).

References and notes:


11. BREAST
Nuer kau (1), Dinka pem (2), Mabaan ʒua-no (3), Kurmuk ʒɔ (3), Mayak ʒɔk (3), Shilluk ko (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 69. Quoted as sg. peːm, pl. pem in [Duerksen 2005: 142]; as peːɛm in [Andersen 1987: 16]. According to Duerksen’s dictionary, there is also a Southwestern variant of this word glossed as pek. There are also several other words, scattered across the dictionary and glossed as ‘chest’: egeu ‘chest (of body)’ [Duerksen 2005: 9], yau ‘chest’ [Duerksen 2005: 77], teŋ ‘chest (of body)’ [Duerksen 2005: 161]; the word ‘heart’ q.v. can also be used in the same meaning. However, out of all these, only pem is found in the meaning ‘chest’ in Nebel’s dictionary, so we tentatively leave it to occupy the primary slot. Distinct from ʧiːn, pl. ʧiːn (‘female) breast, udder’ [Nebel 1979: 87].
12. BURN TR.

References and notes:


**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 21, 22. Cf.: *waŋ* 'am I to burn it?' vs. *waŋ* 'he is burning' in [Andersen 1987: 15]. The verb has both transitive and intransitive usage. Cf. also *paŋ* 'to burn (any open fire)' [Nebel 1979: 66] (this seems to have the semantics 'burn to a crisp, roast' rather than the required 'burn smith. down'). In [Roettger 1989: 36], the most commonly listed equivalent for 'to burn' is *paŋ* (with occasional phonetic variants *paŋ* and *paŋp*), although several subdialects have *daŋ* as an alternative or additional synonym; this latter word is glossed as *daŋ* 'to burn (intr.)' in [Nebel 1979: 24].

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 36. Differently in [Reid 2010: 48]: *waŋ* 'burn'. Roettger's entry is identical to the Nuer equivalent, while Reid's is the same as in Dinka. Reid specifies that the verb is "antipassive", but not "transitive".


**Jumjum:** Not properly attested. Cf. *il* 'burn' in [Bender 1971: 268]; however, considering that the same root in Bender's entry for 'to burn' for Mabaan seems to be wrong for the required Swadesh meaning, it is better not to trust his entry for Jumjum, either.

**Kurmuk:** Andersen 2007b: 62. Attested in the phrase "I am burning the dry leaves".

**Mayak:** Andersen 1999c: 77. Attested in the phrase "The person is burning the grass". Differently in [Bender 1971: 272]: *el*-de 'burn' (cf. Bender's entries for Mabaan and Jumjum).

**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 86; Gilley 1992: 88. Imperative form; the participle form is *raŋ-o*. Quoted as *rap ~ raŋ* 'to set on fire' in [Kohnen 1994: 167] (the alternate meanings 'to turn up, down, away' probably represent homonyms); cf. *wat* *raŋ* en 'the house has been burned down by him'. The older root *waŋ* also listed by Heasty as a potential synonym, is glossed by Kohnen as 'to be partly burnt; to scorch, to scald oneself' [Kohnen 1994: 206], implying a slight semantic shift (examples are: "my dress was partly burnt by the fire", "I scorched my hand", "take care, you will burn yourself", etc.).

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Nuer *riɔb* (1), Dinka *riɔp* (1), Reel *riɔp* (1), Mabaan *kɛ:-nɛ* (2), Jumjum *kɔrk-ɔn* (3), Kurmuk *kɔrk-ɔn* (3), Mayak *kɔrk-ɔn* # (3), Shilluk *kuɔbŋ* (4).

References and notes:


**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 78. Meaning glossed as 'claw', but also as 'fingernail' in the English-Dinka index on p. 139. Quoted as sg. *riɔp*,

Reel: Roettger 1989: 34. Meaning glossed as ‘claw’.


Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 64.


14. CLOUD

Nuer puar (1), Dinka piol (1), Reel piar (1), Mabaan pɔl-lo (1), Jumjum pɔl-ʃàn (1), Kurmuk ągúrů (1), Mayak ƙol (2), Shilluk poŋl-o (1).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 71. Meaning glossed as ‘white clouds’. The word apparently has a large number of phonetic variants: pial (Northeast, Southeast), pied (Southeast), pire (general) [Duersken 2005: 142]. In [Andersen 1987: 16], the variant piakhr is attested for the Agar Dinka dialect. In [Roettger 1989: 36], this word is attested as pioł in the Bor dialect and in the Malual subdialect of Rek; as poŋl in the Agar dialect; as puł in the Rek proper subdialect of Rek. All the subdialects of Padang-Ager show a completely different root: luăt ~ luat ~ luat’ (also attested as luet in the Twic subdialect of Rek). In [Nebel 1979: 52], this word is attested as luęt ‘cloudy sky; clouds’.


15. COLD

Nuer koɕ (1), Dinka lier (2), Reel koɕ (1), Mabaan lu-yuy (3), Jumjum luy-an # (3), Shilluk lɨ’p (4).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 49. Verbal/adjectival stem: ‘to become cold’. Quoted as lir ~ lir ~ lier ~ a-lir ~ a-liar ~ kə-liar ~ kə-liar ~ kə-liar for all the dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 37] (all forms represent phonetic and morphological variants of the same root). Cf. also wır ‘cold’ (noun) [Nebel 1979: 95].
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 70. Quoted as ls-lui in [Bender 1971: 269].
Kurmuk: Not attested.
Mayak: Probably not attested. The word is not found in any of T. Andersen’s papers, and in [Bender 1971: 272] the equivalent for ‘cold’ is yömîj, which (a) looks like a noun and (b) is identical with the Kurmuk word for ‘wind’ q.v., so this could easily be an accidental misglossing. Moreover, in [Storck 2005: 104], ‘coldness’ is glossed as déy-î, implying that déy- might be the basic equivalent for ‘cold’.
Shilluk: Heasty 193: 53. Meaning glossed as ‘cool, cold’. Quoted as lib ‘cool, fresh’ in [Kohnen 1994: 102]. This seems to be the default equivalent for ‘cold’ as applied to objects such as ‘water’. But cf. also ko’y-o ‘cold, coldness’ (marked as a noun) [Heasty 1937: 45], a standard term applied to cold weather (e.g. pîj da ko’û ‘it is cold’, where pîj = ‘earth, world’).

16. COME

Nuer be-n (1), Dinka be-n (1), Reel be-r (1), Mabaan be-č-o (1), Jumjum ?/tːt- (2), Kurmuk ?d- (2), Mayak ɾd-ir (2), Shilluk bi (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 14, 15. Paradigmatic information: main form be-n, indicative form a-ba ~ a-be, imperative sg. ba-r, pl. ba-k. Cf. forms in Agar Dinka: a-h ʰ-b ‘he is coming’ [Andersen 2002: 12], bê-ɾ ‘come!’ [Andersen 1987: 2]. Morphological variants of this root in various dialects and subdialects of Dinka, as attested in [Roettger 1989: 35], include be-n ~ bê-ɾ-n ~ bê-ɾ ~ ba-r ~ ba-ɾ.
Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.

17. DIE

Nuer liu (1), Dinka ṭou (2), Reel liu (1), Mabaan ʈu-č- (2), Jumjum ṭîw- (2), Kurmuk ṭîw (2), Mayak ṭb-be # (2), Shilluk ṭo ~ ṭwo (2).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 89. Polysemy: ‘to die / to break (a pot) / to finish, cease’. Attested as ṭou in all dialects and subdialects of Dinka (only the Ruweng subdialect has the phonetic variant twou) in [Roettger 1989: 35]. Cf. also riar ‘to die, perish’ [Nebel 1979: 77] (same root as in the noun riar ‘twilight in the evening’ [ibid.], with a metaphoric development?): riap ‘to die (men, cattle, plants)’ [Nebel 1979: 77] (a plural action stem).
Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 98. The English-Shilluk section of the dictionary states that ṭɔ is "used mostly of animals" and adds two euphemistic constructions: (a) lay yino "a polite way of saying a person is dead. It is a combination of two words: lay meaning 'lost' and yino meaning 'some far away unknown place'; (b) ḥay literarily means 'lost'; ḥay "is perhaps from the same word and is used by the Anuaks". In [Kohen 1994: 199], ṭɔ is glossed as 'to die; to suffer, to be exhausted; to be most excellent in'; the expression ladi yino 'to disappear, to vanish' has the submeaning 'to die' in "distinguished language" [Kohen 1994: 97]. Based on the comparison of these sources, we suppose that ṭɔ is still the "neutral" rather than the "markedly vulgar" term, and include it in regular comparison.

18. DOG
Nuer ziok (1), Dinka ẓow (1), Reel ṭɔ (1), Mabaan gwɔŋ-o (1), Jumjum ɡwɔŋ (1), Mayak gwɔk (1), Shilluk gwɔŋ (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 36. Plural: ʒɔk. The Rung variant is sg. ʒɔ, pl. ʒɔk [Nebel 1979: 35]. Quoted as sg. ʒɔk, pl. ʒɔk in [Andersen 1987: 4]. Phonetic and morphological variants in various Dinka subdialects, listed in [Roettger 1989: 31], include ʒɔ ~ ʒɔk ~ ʒɔŋ ~ ʒɔŋ, but the root is always the same.
Kurumk: Not attested.

19. DRINK
Nuer maːt (1), Dinka deŋ (2), Reel maːt (1), Mabaan maːd-o ~ moːd-a (1), Jumjum maːŋ (1), Kurumk maːd (1), Mayak maːd / maːt (1), Shilluk maat (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 23. Quoted as dɛk in [Andersen 1993: 8]; as dɛk for the majority of Dinka dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 34], with dɛk and deŋ as additional phonetic variants in a few of the subdialects. The old Nilotic word for 'to drink' is still found in [Duerksen 2005: 113] as maːt 'drink all', maːt 'drink all (milk or merissa)'. However, maat in [Nebel 1979: 56] and maat in [Andersen 1993: 12] are only glossed in the meaning 'to smoke'.
Reel: Roettger 1989: 34.
Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 148. The quoted form is nominalized ('drinking'). The same form is probably quoted as maːŋ in [Bender 1971: 268].
20. DRY

Nuer kọt (1), Dinka kọt (1), Reel qì=kọt (1), Mabaan ɨwɨ (2), Jumjum ?a=ɨw-ôn # (2), Kurmuk ?tɨw~ (2), Mayak a=ɨw-an # (2), Shilluk ɨwa (3).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 132. Verbal stem: ‘to become dry’; the adjectival form is qì kọt ‘dry (when wet before)’. For some reason, only found in the English-Dinka index rather than in the main body of the dictionary. Some partial synonyms: buoŋ ‘to wither, to dry’ [Nebel 1979: 17]; dou ‘to dry up (of river)’ [Nebel 1979: 26]; riɛ ‘to be strong, hard, dry, difficult’ [Nebel 1979: 77] (applied, e.g., to grass). In [Roettger 1989: 38], the most common equivalent for ‘dry’ is riɛl ~ riaɨl; the form kọt is only listed as an alternate synonym for the Alor and Ngok subdialects. Additional synonyms also include (a) tiŋŋi ~ tiŋŋ (main equivalent for the Rek proper subdialect of Rek; secondary equivalent for the Malual subdialect of Rek and most of the Agar subdialects) = tiŋŋ ‘to dry, to bask’ (as in “the crocodile basks in the sun”) in [Nebel 1979: 87]; (b) dɨŋ (Twic subdialect of Rek) = dɨŋ ‘to fade; to be tiring’ in [Nebel 1979: 25]. As usual, it is unclear how accurately the semantics is represented in Roettger’s materials.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 38. Cf. also kàːkɛːŋ (1 sg.), kɔːŋ (3 sg.) ‘to dry’ in [Reid 2010: 36, 55].

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 49. Reduplicated adjectival derivate from the verb iw-a ‘to dry’. Quoted as ɨyw in [Bender 1971: 269].


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 98. Adjective; the corresponding verbal stem is twow [Heasty 1937: 99]. Quoted as ɨwa (adjective), twowo (verb) in [Kohnen 1994: 200, 201].

21. EAR

Nuer ʐɨt (1), Dinka ʑɨɛ (1), Reel ʐɨɛ (1), Mabaan ʒye-ŋɛ (1), Jumjum ɡɨt-ko # (1), Mayak ʔiɛ (1), Shilluk ɡiʔt (1).

References and notes:


Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Andersen 1999c: 72. Quoted as ʔi in [Bender 1971: 272]; as sg. ʔiɛ, pl. ʔiɛ-ʔi in [Storch 2005: 100].


22. EARTH

Nuer mʊn (1), Dinka pɨn (2), Reel mun (1), Mabaan tɛɾ-ɔ (3), Mayak tʊt # (4), Shilluk
lab-o (5).

References and notes:


**Dinka**: Nebel 1979: 71. Polysemy: 'earth / bottom'. It is not quite clear if 'earth (ground)' and 'earth (soil)' are lexically distinguished, but cf. also, as a possible candidate for inclusion, *top* 'clay, mud, soil; grave' [Nebel 1979: 83]. Cf. also for the South Central (Agar) dialect: sg. *kɛɲ*, pl. *kɛɲ* 'earth' [Duerksen 2005: 90], not found in Nebel's dictionary. In [Roettger 1989: 36], the lexemes *piɲ ~ piɲ* and *tiɲ ~ tiɲ* 'earth' are found scattered chaotically across various dialects and subdialects, sometimes as synonyms and sometimes individually; the situation with their real usage remains unclear.

**Reel**: Roettger 1989: 36.

**Mabaan**: Miller 2006: 97. Plural: *ɲer-ko*. Polysemy: 'earth / land / ground / soil / dirt / dust / country'. The same word is listed as *ɲer* 'earth, ground, dirt, dust' for several dialects [Miller 2006: 102].

**Jumjum**: Not attested.

**Kurmuk**: Not attested.

**Mayak**: Andersen 1999d: 3. Meaning glossed as 'soil'.

**Shilluk**: Heasty 1937: 50. Plural: *la*p. Meaning glossed as 'mud, clay, soil, earth, world, people'. A close synonym is *piɲ* 'earth, ground, world' [Heasty 1937: 83]; however, in the English-Shilluk index Heasty specifies that *la*b-o "carries with it more the idea of soil", which suits the Swadesh meaning better. Cf. the semantic glossing "piece of land" for sg. *piɲ*, pl. *piɲ* in [Gilley 2000: 7]. Cf. also *la*b-o 'earth, soil, clay, mortar, cement, mud; world, climate' in [Kohnen 1994: 97]; *piɲ* 'earth, world, soil, country; weather, climate; situation, circumstances; down, downwards, below, under, beneath, on the ground' in [Kohnen 1994: 160].

23. EAT

**Nuer** *ɕam* (1), Dinka *ɕam* (1), Reel *miː* # (2), Mabaan *am-ɖ-o* (1), Jumjum *ʔam-* (1), Kurmuk *ʔam-* / *ʔam-* (1), Mayak *ʔam-* ~ *ʔam-* (1), Shilluk *ɕaʰm* (1).

References and notes:


**Dinka**: Nebel 1979: 18. Polysemy: 'to eat / to attack (of wild animals) / to cheat / to win, bewitch'. Quoted as *ɕam* in [Andersen 1993: 8]. Quoted as *ɕam* for the majority of dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 34]; the only exception is the Luac subdialect of Rek, where 'eat' is listed as *miː*, and the same word is also listed as an alternate synonym for Rek proper (*miː*) and Agar proper (*miː*ːła). In [Nebel 1979: 58], the word *miː* is explained as the intransitive verb 'to take food, eat'; it is perfectly possible that in one subdialect the transitive and intransitive meanings may have merged in a single lexical root.

**Reel**: Roettger 1989: 34. Somewhat dubious: in [Reid 2010: 36], the meaning 'eat' is correlated with the same verb *ɕam* as in Nuer and Dinka. The verb *miː* goes back to the common Nuer-Dinka verb with the intransitive meaning 'to eat (food), to feed'; it is possible that in the dialect described by Roettger, it may have replaced the original transitive verb *ɕam* as well, but this would need to be confirmed; for now, one should keep in mind that this might be a false lexicostatistical distinction between Reel and Nuer-Dinka.

**Mabaan**: Miller 2006: 2. Transitive form; the intransitive equivalent is *am-ːmo*. Quoted as *ʔam-* in [Andersen 1992: 198]; as *am-ːa* in [Bender 1971: 269].

**Jumjum**: Andersen 2004: 147. Precise quoted forms are *ʔam-ːč* (3 sg. p.), *ʔam-ːːla* (verbal noun). The latter is probably quoted as *am-ːmo* 'eat' in [Bender 1971: 268].

**Kurmuk**: Andersen 2007b: 32, 34. The two forms are morphophonological variants.


**Shilluk**: Heasty 1937: 18; Kohnen 1994: 27. Stylistic synonyms: *κat* "eat, dine (a polite word for important people)" [Heasty 1937: 42]; *da*p "eat (this word is not in common use; when used it is to conceal the fact that one is eating)" [Heasty 1937: 24].
24. EGG

Nuer Ńwŋ (1), Dinka Ńwŋ (1), Reel Ńwŋ (1), Mabaan küm-mo (2), Jumjum küm-mú (2), Kurmuk küm-át (2), Mayak küm-á (2), Shilluk ńw-ō (1).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 305. Attested as part of the compound expression ńwŋ diet, pl. ńō ńm in [Bender 1971: 271].

25. EYE

Nuer wāŋ (1), Dinka jin (2), Reel wāŋ (1), Mabaan wāŋ-ę (1), Jumjum wāŋ (1), Kurmuk wāŋ- (1), Mayak wāŋ ~ wāŋ (1), Shilluk wāŋ (1).

References and notes:


26. FAT N.

Nuer tśl (1), Dinka mōk (2), Reel tśl (1), Mabaan kàl-g-ın # (3), Jumjum kōl-g-g (3), Kurmuk kōl-g-g (3), Shilluk mōw (4).

References and notes:

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27

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 58. Polysemy: 'fat / oil / grease'. In [Duerksen 2005: 142], this word is listed as belonging to the Southwestern dialect (cf. also a specialized Southwestern term *glip* 'fat of belly' [Duerksen 2005: 51]), opposed to South Central (Agar) *piat* 'fat'. This latter term is also confirmed as *piat* in [Andersen 1987: 16]. The equivalents in [Roettger 1989: 33] are, for the most part, irrelevant, since they refer to 'grease' rather than 'solid fat'.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 33. Meaning glossed as 'grease'.


Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 145. Differently in [Bender 1971: 268]: *a-sa* 'fat' (this is probably an adjective).

Kurmuk: Not attested.


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 61. Plural: *ma-t*. Meaning glossed as 'oil, grease of any kind, any liquid that is thick'. Quoted as *ma* in [Kohnen 1994: 121]. Apparently, there is no lexical distinction between 'solid fat' and 'liquid fat' in Shilluk.

27. FEATHER

Nuer ʒuat (1), Dinka nɔk (2), Reel nɔk (2), Mabaan wyen-ŋo (3), Jumjum liyán (4), Shilluk *okwɔn* (5).

References and notes:


Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Not attested in any of T. Andersen's papers. According to [Storch 2005: 111], 'feather' is sg. *riy-ant*, pl. *riy*, i.e. might be the same word as 'hair' q.v.; however, she transcribes the forms for 'feather' and 'hair' differently, and it is unclear if we really deal with two different words or the same one inaccurately transcribed in one instance.


28. FIRE

Nuer ma-ŋ (1), Dinka ma-ŋ (1), Reel ma-ŋ (1), Mabaan ma-ŋo (1), Jumjum mā-ŋ (1), Kurmuk mā-š (1), Mayak ma-ŋ (1), Shilluk ma-ŋ (1).

References and notes:


29. FISH

Nuer rei (1), Dinka rec (1), Reel rei (1), Mabaan yeŋ-ŋo (1), Jumjum yák-čan (1), Mayak rey-ŋiti (1), Shilluk re3-o (1).

References and notes:

Kurmuk: Not attested.

30. FLY V.

Nuer par (1), Dinka par (1), Reel peːr (1), Mabaan pey-i (1), Shilluk paʰr (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 69. Quoted as paʰr in [Andersen 1987: 21]. Quoted as paʰr - paʰr - par - peʰr for the majority of Dinka dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 35]. The only exception is the Dongjol subdialect of Padang, where ‘fly’ is glossed as gəʰr (no equivalent in Nebel’s dictionary).
Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.
Jumjum: Not attested.
Kurmuk: Not attested.
Mayak: Not attested.

31. FOOT

Nuer ɾoγ (1), Dinka ɾoːk (1), Reel ɾio (1), Mabaan ɾiːu (1), Jumjum kiɣ- (2), Kurmuk kɪr- (2), Mayak kɪr (2), Shilluk tyel-o (3).
References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 60. Singular and plural forms are the same. Meaning glossed specifically as 'foot'; but cf. also the compound expression pat aq'i 'sole of foot', where pat = 'palm of hand or sole of foot' [Kiggen 1948: 251]. It is this latter expression that is listed as the default equivalent for 'foot' both in [Frank 1999: 86] (sg. paʔt-ɕiok', pl. paʔt-ɕiok'-ni') and in [Bender 1971: 271] (pʰt-ɕiok' 'foot'); at the same time, the simple stem ɕiok' is listed as 'leg' in [Frank 1999: 87]. Numerous textual examples in Kiggen's dictionary show that Nuer does not properly distinguish 'leg' from 'foot', and that pat ɕiok' is a specially marked expression ('sole of foot'), so we unambiguously select ɕiok' as the primary entry.


Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 43. Attested as part of the possessive form kĩr- 'my foot'. Distinct from tĩl 'lower leg' [Andersen 2007b: 46].

Mayak: Andersen 2006b: 12. Meaning glossed as 'leg', but no separate form for 'foot' is attested. Also quoted as ker-'foot' in [Bender 1971: 272].

Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 96. Plural: tyel. Polysemy: 'foot / foundation / root'. Quoted as sg. tyel-o, pl. tyel 'foot, leg, root, foundation; prop, stem, trunk, stalk (of plants); kind, species, manner; sense, contents (of a speech); earnestness, seriousness; time, main, principal' in [Kohnen 1994: 194]. No separate form for 'leg'.

32. FULL

Nuer ʈian (1), Dinka ʈian (1), Mabaan ƙu:mm (2), Shilluk paŋ (3).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 311. Verbal stem: 'to fill, be full, add'.


Reel: Not attested.


Jumjum: Not attested.

Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Not attested.

Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 81. Quoted as pay-o 'to be, to become full, filled; deep' in [Kohnen 1994: 156].

33. GIVE


References and notes:

'to cause, infect, hand over' and is not seen in text examples in the default meaning 'give'.

**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 96. The two variants of the stem are glossed as 'to give smth.' and 'to give smbd.' respectively. For the Rueng dialect, the equivalent is listed as gam to answer, believe; assent, confess; give' (it also seems to serve as the default verb 'to give' in the Agar dialect: cf. aₕgɛːm `he is giving' in [Andersen 1987: 24]). Cf. also muₐɛ `to present smbd. with smth.' [Nebel 1979: 60]. This is one of the most serious points of disagreement between [Nebel 1979] and [Roettger 1989: 35], where the phonetic/morphological variants gam = gɛm = gɛm = gɛm = gɛm are listed as the default equivalent for the meaning 'give' for all the dialects and subdialects of Dinka, while the root yek is not even mentioned. It is not clear if this data should be fully trusted, considering that in Nebel's materials there are many textual examples of yek 'to give'.

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 35.

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 110, 116. Quoted as wuen-ge in [Bender 1971: 269].

**Jumjum:** Andersen 2004: 145. Quoted as dp-a in [Bender 1971: 268].

**Kurumk:** Andersen 2015: 529.


**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 98; Kohnen 1994: 200; Heasty 1937: 102; Kohnen 1994: 207. The difference between pet and wok is impossible to establish based on dictionary evidence - cf. pet-i yan `give me!', wok-i yan `give me!' in [Kohnen 1994: 200, 207]. A third equivalent is mu₃ 'give, present, give free, give away' [Heasty 1937: 61; Kohnen 1994: 121], whose meaning seems to be slightly more specialized.

### 34. **GOOD**

Nuer gɔay (1), Dinka pát (2), Reel len (3), Mabaan pwad-do ~ pwan-no (2), Jumjum ɲeran # (4), Kurumk pɔ télé (2), Mayak pɔ télé (2), Shilluk dɔq (5).

**References and notes:**

**Nuer:** Kiggen 1948: 104. Adjectival stem; the corresponding verbal stem is gɔx, 3rd p. sg. gɔay-ɛ 'to be good'. Quoted as ṣa=ɛ in [Bender 1971: 271].

**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 69. Polysemy: 'nice / good / handsome / kind'. An additional dialectal form (or morphological variant?) of the same root is mu₆ [Nebel 1979: 72]. Cf. aₕ-pat 'it is good' in [Andersen 1987: 3]. In [Roettger 1989: 38], the following variants of this stem are attested across dialects: pát ~ pia=t ~ aₕ-pat ~ aₕ-pia=t ~ aₕ-pia=t ~ aₕ-pia=t. Additionally, the synonymous etymon dik ~ dik ~ aₕ=dik is also listed in the meaning 'good' in the Ruweng-Pan-Aru area (for Pan, it is listed as the only equivalent) = dik 'be handsome, nice, kind' in [Nebel 1979: 25].

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 38. Quoted as bʰʔ in [Reid 2010: 69].

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 94. Quoted as puwi in [Bender 1971: 269].

**Jumjum:** Bender 1971: 268. Not attested in any of T. Andersen's papers.

**Kurumk:** Andersen 2015: 537. Adverbial form.

**Mayak:** Andersen 1999d: 22. Verbal stem: 'to be good'. Quoted as pát-u-pat (reduplicated adjectival stem) in [Bender 1971: 272].

**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 27. Meaning glossed as 'good, beautiful, pretty, grand, great, fine, wonderful, dandy, excellent, and like adjectives; in the small number of adjectives in the language this word is much overworked'. Quoted as doq 'good, nice, beautiful, honest; a very long time' in [Kohnen 1994: 44]. Cf. also mek 'sweet, good, happy, fertile' [Heasty 1937: 59] = mek 'sweet, nice, delightful' [Kohnen 1994: 117].

### 35. **GREEN**

Nuer ʨ (1), Dinka ʨ (1), Mabaan ɲɲa-ɲɲo (2), Shilluk mar (3).

**References and notes:**

**Nuer:** Kiggen 1948: 298.
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 83. Polysemy: 'green / raw'. Cf. a different equivalent in [Duerksen 2005: 134]: ṭok 'green (plants)', probably related to the Southeastern form ṭok 'wet' [ibid.]. This stem, however, is not found at all in [Nebel 1979].

Reel: Not attested.


Jumjum: Not attested.

Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Not attested.


36. HAIR

Nuer miem (1), Dinka ɲiem (1), Reel ɲiem (1), Mabaan ʒie-ːn (2), Jumjum ʒiː-k (2), Kurmuk rɪː (2), Mayak rŋ-ːniːt (2), Shilluk yiey (2).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 201. Plural: niem-ːni in [sic!]. Quoted as sg. ɲim, pl. ɲim in [Frank 1999: 86]; as niem in [Bender 1971: 271]. No difference between 'head hair' and 'body hair'. From an etymological point of view, Kiggen's variant with m- seems to be secondary (assimilated).

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 65. Plural: ɲim. In [Roettger 1989: 33], the most common variant is ɲiem; more rare phonetic variants include niem ~ ɲim ~ niem ~ ɲiem (initial m- is only attested in the Twic subdialect of Bor), but all the forms clearly represent the same root.


Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 77. Attested forms: riː-gīk 'his hair', riː-gīk 'my hair'.


37. HAND

Nuer teʃ (1), Dinka ɕin (2), Reel teʃ (1), Mabaan bieŋ-o ~ byeŋ (3), Jumjum ṭəŋ-ːli (2), Kurmuk ģal-ːt (4), Mayak ṭm-ːat (2), Shilluk ɕiʰn-o (2).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 19. Plural: ɕin. Polysemy: 'hand / finger'. Quoted as sg. ɕin, pl. ɕin in [Andersen 1987: 14, 15]. Distinct from ɕok, pl. ɕok 'arm' [Nebel 1979: 42]. Quoted as ɕin in the majority of Dinka dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 34], but also as ɕin (Ngo dialect of Padang and Twic subdialect of Bor) and as ɕin (Nyarweng subdialect of Bor).

Reel: Roettger 1989: 34. Quoted as sg. tɛʃt, pl. tɛʃʰ in [Reid 2010: 119].

Obviously, the old word is still preserved in the language, but it seems to have become completely marginalized.


**Kurumuk**: Andersen 2007b: 50. Meaning glossed as 'hand' (not 'arm').


38. HEAD

Nuer *wi-č* (1), Dinka *nom* (2), Reel *ywi-č* (1), Mabaan *wye-*we (1), Jumjum *wi-μ* (1), Kurumuk *wɨ-č* (1), Mayak *we-č* # (1), Shilluk *wi-č* ~ *wi-ʒ* (1).

References and notes:


**Reel**: Roettger 1989: 33. Quoted as *wε*-č, pl. *ʔε*-č in [Reid 2010: 30, 38].


**Jumjum**: Andersen 2004: 137. Quoted as *wi-*we in [Bender 1971: 268].

**Kurumuk**: Andersen 2015: 551. The exact quoted form is *wi*-č 'its head' (of a gazelle).


39. HEAR

Nuer *liŋ* (1), Dinka *piŋ* (2), Reel *liŋ* (1), Mabaan *tiŋ* (3), Jumjum *tiŋ*-o # (3), Mayak *tiŋ* (3), Shilluk *liŋ* (1).

References and notes:


**Dinka**: Nebel 1979: 71. Quoted as *piŋ* in [Andersen 1993: 8]. Attested as *piŋ ~ piŋ* in all dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 35].

**Reel**: Roettger 1989: 35.


**Kurumuk**: Not attested.

**Mayak**: Andersen 1999c: 6. Quoted as *tɛŋ*-č in [Bender 1971: 272].


40. HEART
Nuer lɛ̃ (1), Dinka puow (2), Reel lɛ̃ (1), Mabaan kîm-mo (3), Jumjum kîm- (3), Mayak ʒək (4), Shilluk min-o (5).

References and notes:

Reel: Roettger 1989: 34.
Jumjum: Andersen 1999: 144. The listed form is plural: kîm-ọ̀ọ̀. Quoted as kîm-e in [Bender 1971: 268].
Kurumk: Not attested.
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 59. Plural: mîn. Quoted as sg. mîn-ọ̀, pl. mîn-i in [Kohnen 1994: 118]. According to Heasty, distinct from pyɛ̀w, pl. pyɛ̀t ‘heart’ as ‘seat of the affections’ (i.e. figurative). This latter form is quoted as pyɛ̀w ‘heart’ in [Gilley 1992: 25]; as sg. pywọ̀ ~ pywọ̀ọ̀, pl. pyɛ̀t ~ pe-t ‘heart, mind, life, sense’ in [Kohnen 1994: 165].

41. HORN

Nuer tuŋ (1), Dinka tuŋ (1), Reel tuŋ (1), Mabaan tuŋ-o (1), Jumjum tuŋ # (1), Kurumk tuŋ # (1), Mayak tuŋ (1), Shilluk tuŋ-o (1).

References and notes:

Kurumk: Andersen 2007b: 51. Plural: tūŋ. Somewhat dubious, since the meaning is glossed as ‘horn (as musical instrument)’. However, this is the common West Nilotic equivalent for ‘horn’ in general, and no other word with this meaning is attested for Kurumk in available publications.

42. I

Nuer ɣa-n (1), Dinka ʃɛn (1), Reel ɣɛ-n (1), Mabaan ʔya (1), Jumjum ʔiŋ-k=à (1), Kurumk ạ (1), Mayak ac-neq (1), Shilluk ya (1).

References and notes:


Reel: Roettger 1989: 30. Quoted as ɾeŋ (with a “reduced” variant ɾe) in [Reid 2010: 41].


**43. KILL**

Nuer ɾa (1), Dinka ɾə (1), Reel ɾə (1), Mabaan ɾə (1), Jumjum ɾə (1), Kurmuk ɾə (1), Mayak ɾə (1), Shilluk ɾə (1).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 59. Polysemy: ‘to hurt / to kill / to beat (in game)’. Cf. the alternate morphological variant ɾə, glossed as ‘to slaughter’ [Nebel 1979: 60]. Quoted as ɾə (past stem) in [Andersen 1993: 8]. In [Roettger 1989: 35], phonetic and morphological variants ɾə-ɾə ~ ɾə ~ ɾə ~ ɾə ~ ɾə ~ ɾə are rather chaotically scattered across dialects, but all of them seem to represent the same lexical root.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 35. Quoted as ɾə (past stem) in [Reid 2010: 36].


Mayak: Bender 1971: 272. The exact quote form is ɾə-ɾə. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers, but well supported by etymological data.


**44. KNEE**

Nuer ɾə (1), Dinka ɾə (1), Reel ɾə (1), Mabaan ɾə (2), Jumjum ɾə (1), Mayak ɾə (2), Shilluk ɾə (2).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 65. Plural: ɾə. Quoted as ɾə in [Andersen 1987: 16]. The Northeastern dialectal form is glossed as ɾə in [Duerksen 2005: 115]. In [Roettger 1989: 34], the most common phonetic variant is ɾə, but the Abiliang subdialect of Padang has ɾə; the Dongjol and Ngok-Sobat subdialects have ɾə; and the Agere subdialect has ɾə.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 34.


Jumjum: Not attested.


45. KNOW

Nuer ŋač (1), Dinka ɲiə ~ niə (1), Reel ŋač (1), Mabaan ɲə; (1), Jumjum ɲiʃ- (1), Kurmuk ɲɛːd- / ɲɛːt- (1), Mayak ɲɛː- # (1), Shilluk ɲa3 (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 63. Cf. also, from the same root, ɲieq ‘to know to, be learned, have experience’ [ibid.]. Dialectal variation: ɲieq ~ niɛq [Duerksen 2005: 125]. Attested as ɲieq for the majority of Dinka dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 35]; the Bor proper subdialect of Bor and most of the Agar subdialects, with the exception of Aliab, feature the palatalized variant ɲieq.
Reel: Roettger 1989: 35. Quoted as ɲalvox in [Reid 2010: 56].
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 81. In [Bender 1971: 269], the equivalent of ‘know’ is listed as akende, which is probably a variant of the same stem as urkati ‘able’ in [Miller 2006: 105].
Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 38; Andersen 2015: 546. The two forms represent different morphophonological variants.
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 69. Participial form: ɲʊɛ-n. Cf. also ɲaqq ‘make known, inform, tell’ [ibid.]. Quoted as ɲač ~ ɲaɛ ‘to know, to be able, to feel’ in [Kohnen 1994: 130].

46. LEAF

Nuer zit (1), Dinka yar (2), Reel zit (1), Mabaan ʒye-ɲe # (1), Jumjum ɡɪt-ɡán (1), Kurmuk kizú-k (3), Mayak kɔda-k # (4), Shilluk yıt (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 96. Plural: ɲyar. Dialectal variety: ler (sg. and pl.) ~ ɲyar (pl.: ɲyar ~ ɲye [Duerksen 2005: 98, 191]. In [Roettger 1989: 32], this root is listed as ɲyar ~ ɲaːɾ ~ ɲaːɾ ~ ɲaːɾ ~ ɲaːɾ ~ ɲyə for several subdialects of Dinka (mostly in the Rek and Agar clusters); however, it frequently alternates with various simple and extended variants of the word ‘ear’ (yjaq ~ ɲet ~ yjaq, etc.), and sometimes also (in the Ageer subdialect of Padang and in two subdialects of Agar) with the form ɲɨpa(m), which probably corresponds to Nebel’s ɲɨpa(m) ‘rubberplant’ [Nebel 1979: 10]. We do not formally include the form yjaq ‘leaf’ as a synonym, since our main source [Nebel 1979] does not mention its usage in this meaning.
Reel: Roettger 1989: 32. Same word as ‘wear’ q.v. Alternate synonym: yar [ibid.].
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 52. Somewhat dubious, since only the meaning ‘ear’ is listed. However, there is little reason to doubt that the usual African polysemy ‘ear / leaf’ is typical of Mabaan as well, because there is one textual example in Miller’s dictionary confirming that ɲeq ɲeq-ke ɲeq-ke doki “the leaves of the tree have sprouted” [Miller 2006: 56]; also, cf. -ty-t-ko ‘leaf’ (actually a plural form) in [Bender 1971: 269].
47. LIE
Nuer tɔi (1), Dinka tɔɛ (1), Mabaan nin-ŋo (2), Jumjum nɛ:n- (2), Kurmuk nɛ:n- (2), Mayak nɛ:n- (2).

References and notes:
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 83. Meaning glossed as 'lie down, go to sleep'.
Reel: Not attested.
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 79. Meaning glossed as 'lie down, sleep, stay (e.g. overnight)'.
Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 137. Meaning glossed as 'to lie down'.
Kurmuk: Andersen 2015: 516. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'. Attested, among other things, in the phrase 'The dik-dik is lying near the stone'.
Shilluk: The precise equivalent is hard to establish based on existing sources. Cf. the following candidates: (a) but 'to lie down; recline; be confined to one's bed' [Heasty 1937: 16] = but-ɔ 'to go to bed, to be bed-ridden' [Kohnen 1994: 24] (this seems to be a dynamic rather than static verb, with very narrow bed-related semantics as per Kohnen); (b) ryep pij 'lie on the stomach' (where pij = 'earth' q.v.) [Heasty 1937: 90] = ryep pij 'to put, to lay something with the face or the upside downwards on the ground' [Kohnen 1994: 179]; (c) reŋ 'to lay down (so that it my dilate), reŋ yisi pij 'lay down your belly on the ground, i.e. lie, face downwards!' [Kohnen 1994: 169]. Neither of these three candidates fully conforms to the required Swadesh meaning, so we refrain from filling the slot at the moment.

48. LIVER
Nuer ɕœŋ (1), Dinka ɕuaɲ (1), Reel ɕuɛɲ (1), Mabaan ɕyɛn-no (1), Jumjum kɛŋ-ŋɔ # (1), Mayak kn-ʌ (1), Shilluk o=ɕwɨn ~ o=ɕuɲ (1).

References and notes:
Reel: Roettger 1989: 34.
Kurmuk: Not attested.
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 74. Quoted as sg. o=ɕuɲ, pl. o=ɕuɲ-i in [Kohnen 1994: 147]. Initial o= is a fossilized nominal prefix.

49. LONG
Nuer bar (1), Dinka bar (1), Reel bar (1), Mabaan bey-bey (1), Jumjum bɨːy- (1), Kurmuk bɨr (1), Mayak bɑr- (1), Shilluk bɑr (1).
References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 30. Quoted as buer-burr in [Bender 1971: 271]. Cf. also the "emphatic" synonym quaer-e 'to be very long or tall', quaer me 'very long, tall' [Kiggen 1948: 64-65].


Reel: Roettger 1989: 31. Cf. bé=bé(re) (reduplicated stem) 'tall' in [Reid 2010: 34]; also the nominal derivate bé(ː)r (with ultra-long vowel) 'tallness, length' in [Reid 2010: 54]. Alternate synonym: quaar 'long' [Roettger 1989: 31].

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 6. Reduplicated adjectival stem; cf. the simple verbal stem bey (to be) long, tall [Miller 2006: 5]. Quoted as be-bei in [Bender 1971: 269].

Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 146. The root is attested as part of the form bixa-ːqandɛ 'which is long'. Quoted as bxy-əŋ 'long' in [Bender 1971: 268].

Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 76.


50. LOUSE

Nuer noaŋ (1), Dinka nısk (1), Reel a-nɨk (1), Mabaan nɨa-k-ən (1), Jumjum nɨa-k-ən (1), Mayak yax-k-an-it (1), Shilluk nuxk (1).

References and notes:


Mabaan: Andersen 2006: 4. Plural: nɨa-k. Quoted as nɨa-ən in [Bender 1971: 269]. Curiously, in [Miller 2006: 84] this word (sg. nɨa-ən, pl. nɨk) is only listed in the meaning 'bedbug'. In the collective meaning 'lice', Miller quotes the form tɨjen [Miller 2006: 98] that has no parallels in other sources. Considering the evidence from Andersen and Bender as well as external data, we assume that there may be a semantic mistake in Miller's dictionary, pending further research on the issue.


Kurmuk: Not attested.


51. MAN

Nuer wuː-t (1), Dinka moŋ (2), Reel əou (3), Mabaan ʔwa-nə (3), Jumjum ʔjː-ŋ (3), Mayak ʔxːk # (3), Shilluk ʒal (4).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 331. Quoted as sg. wuː-t, pl. wu-ːnə in [Frank 1999: 87].

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 58. Suppletive plural: ro. Polysemy: 'man / husband / to be brave'. The bound form of this stem is glossed as
52. MANY

Nuer ɲuan (1), Dinka ʒueɕ (2), Reel dual (3), Mabaan ɕoŋɔ (4), Jumjum dirak # (5), Mayak a=koɗɛn # (6), Shilluk ɲeŋylɔ (7).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 37. Said of people. Cf. also kɨq ‘many, numerous’ (of substances?) [Nebel 1979: 41]. Dialectal variation: ʒuɛg ~ ʒuɛk [Duerksen 2005: 77]. In [Roettger 1989: 30], the most common equivalent for ‘many’ is ʒuɛk ~ a=ʒuɛk ~ ka=ʒuɛk ~ ka=ʒuɛk. The form a=ɨŋ is found as an alternate synonym in several subdialects, but is listed as the main and only equivalent only in the Luac subdialect of Rek. Another, very rare, equivalent is a=ɠak (Twic subdialect of Bor) ~ a=ɠak (Dongjol subdialect of Padang) = ɠa ‘to stay about; go on doing the same thing’ [Nebel 1979: 30], cf. such examples as yi a=ɠak ɗal ‘you laugh much’, indicating an adverbial usage in the derived meaning ‘a lot of time’.


Kurmu: Not attested.

Mayak: Bender 1971: 272. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers. Initial a= is most likely a copula.

Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 70. Meaning glossed as ‘many, much’. Quoted as ɲeŋo ‘much, many, a great number of’ in [Kohnen 1994: 132]; cf. also the corresponding verb ɲeŋo ‘to become many (more); to augment, to increase (numerically)’ [ibid.]. ‘Cf. also gɨr ‘much, many, plentiful, abundant’ [Heasty 1937: 34] = gɨr ‘much, many; great multitude, quantity of...; lot’ [Kohnen 1994: 61].

53. MEAT

Nuer rɨŋ (1), Dinka rɨŋ (1), Reel rɨŋ (1), Mabaan ɲoŋ-ɔ (1), Jumjum ɲiŋ-ɲːɬ (1), Kurmu kɔkɔɬ (2), Mayak rɨŋ (1), Shilluk ɲoŋ-ɔ ~ ɲiŋ-ɔ (1).

References and notes:


Reel: Roettger 1989: 32. Quoted as rɨŋ, pl. rɨŋ in [Reid 2010: 56].


**Kuruk**: Andersen 2007b: 30; Andersen 2015: 512. Plural: kikuk-uiq ‘meats’ [Andersen 2015: 523]. The original West Nilotic word for ‘meat’ is also attested by Andersen: ri̯-ʔ ‘meat’ [Andersen 2007b: 82]. However, it is not found in even a single textual example in either of the two articles surveyed for this wordlist. We have to assume that ri̯-ʔ, at best, serves as an archaic or narrowly specialized term in the language, and that the lexical innovation kỹ-k functions as the neutral equivalent for ‘meat’.


**Shilluk**: Heasty 1937: 87; Kohnen 1994: 171 (only the variant with r- in Kohnen’s materials).

54. **MOON**

Nuer pai (1), Dinka pe:i (1), Reel pai (1), Mabaan pa:-n-o (1), Jumjum pâ:-n (1), Mayak pa:ም (1), Shilluk dwa hy (2).

**References and notes:**

- **Kuruk**: Not attested.

55. **MOUNTAIN**

Nuer pam (1), Dinka gɔt (2), Reel pem (1), Mabaan pʰm-o (1), Jumjum pʰm (1), Kurmuk pʰm (1), Mayak pʰm (1), Shilluk kʰt (3).

**References and notes:**

- **Dinka**: Nebel 1979: 33. Plural: gat. Quoted as gat in [Roettger 1989: 37], but only for the Rek dialect. The majority of other Dinka dialects and subdialects (including even the Malual subdialect of Rek) have kur ~ kucr as ‘mountain’, i.e. the same word as ‘stone’ q.v.
- **Shilluk**: Heasty 1937: 45. Same word as ‘stone’ q.v. Plural: kʰt-i. Quoted as sg. ki- in pl. ki-i ‘stone, mountain, hill’ in [Kohnen 1994: 83].
56. MOUTH
Nuer توقي (1), Dinka توقي (1), Reel توقي (1), Mabaan توقي-ع ~ توقي-ع (1), Jumjum پُنج (139), Kurmuk توقي (1), Mayak توقي (1), Shilluk ڪﯚک (1).

References and notes:
Reel: Roettger 1989: 33. Quoted as توك in [Reid 2010: 37].
Jumjum: Bender 1971: 268. The common West Nilotic equivalent for ‘mouth’ is glossed as توك ‘lip’ in [Andersen 2004: 137].
Mayak: Andersen 1999c: 72. Quoted as توك in [Bender 1971: 272]. Cf. also توك ‘mouth’ in [Andersen 1999c: 3]; semantic difference is unclear.

57. NAME
Nuer گئت (1), Dinka رين (2), Reel رين (2), Mabaan ینت-و (2), Jumjum یاين-تین (2), Kurmuk مين-گتن (3), Mayak مين-ئن (3), Shilluk مين (4).

References and notes:
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 77. Plural: رين (only attested in [Duerksen 2005: 151]; according to Nebel, in some dialects the basic form رين already behaves as a formal plural). Quoted as رين ~ رين for all dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 38].
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 67. Quoted as نين in [Kohnen 1994: 142]. The word is homonymous with the suppletive plural form of the word ‘eye’, q.v., but we have no reason to suppose that this is a case of polysemy.Cf. also کئک, pl. کئک-ئن ‘name’ in [Gilley 1992: 82] - clearly a nominal derivative from the verbal root کئ ‘to name’ [Heasty 1957: 18] = سئ ‘to compose songs, to make poetry, to sing of’ [Kohnen 1994: 26], but no such nominal derivates are actually attested in Heasty’s or Kohnen’s dictionary.

58. NECK
Nuer ۓواك (1), Dinka ڌئ (2), Reel ۓئک (1), Mabaan ۾وان-ئو (3), Jumjum دئن (3), Kurmuk ڪئک (3), Mayak ڪئک (3), Shilluk مئو ~ مئن (4).
References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 228. Quoted as sg. yud’h, pl. yud’h in [Frank 1999: 87]; as yud’k in [Bender 1971: 271].


Reel: Roettger 1989: 34.


Kurmu: Andersen 2015: 537.


59. NEW

Dinka pal (1), Mabaan wɔn-e (2), Jumjum a=kik-çan-de # (3), Mayak a=keɛ (3), Shilluk ma’h (1).

References and notes:

Nuer: Not attested in Kiggen’s dictionary (most of the English textual examples with the word ‘new’ correspond to various idiomatic constructions in Nuer). In [Bender 1971: 271], the meaning ‘new’ is glossed as mi=pazjɛk, where the first morpheme is a relativizer and =paz, most likely, is ‘moon’ q.v., i.e., probably something that has to do with the new moon, cf. Kiggen’s pal-e bi tɛdʒi ‘at next new moon, next month’ [Kiggen 1948: 249], etc., although the last component in Bender’s equivalent remains unclear.

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 65. Cf. also the verbal stem yam ‘begin, start, found, invent’, also functioning as the adjective ‘new, modern’ [Nebel 1979: 96]. Dialectal equivalents: jot ‘new’ in Jieng [Nebel 1979: 36], possibly related to jot ‘young man’ [ibid.]. In [Roettger 1989: 38], the word pal is not attested at all. Instead, the situation is as follows: (a) all of the Alor and Rek subdialects feature the form yam; (b) all of the Agar and Bor subdialects feature the form jot ~ jot; (c) for many of the Padang and Ager subdialects, the word is not attested at all, but cf. Dongiol and Pan gɔl ‘new’ = gɔl ɔk ‘to begin’ in [Nebel 1979: 32]; Ngok-Sobat a=pelet ~ a=peyik (no parallels in [Nebel 1979]). On the whole, this is clearly an unstable item, but only Nebel’s pal does not have a clearly secondary verbal origin, so we preserve it as the default equivalent.

Reel: Not attested.

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 111. Cf. the simple adverbial stem wɔn ‘recently; newly’ [ibid.]. Quoted as wɔn-ɛ in [Bender 1971: 269].


Kurmu: Not attested.


60. NIGHT

Nuer war (1), Dinka wer (1), Reel wer (1), Mabaan nin (2), Jumjum wir-in # (1), Mayak war-in (1), Shilluk wa’h ~ wa’h (1).
References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 323. Quoted as sg. ʁəɛ, pl. ʁəɛʔ in [Frank 1999: 87]; as ʁəɛ in [Bender 1971: 271].
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 93. In [Roettger 1989: 37], this item is only listed as ʁəɛ ʁəɛ for the Ruweng subdialect, and as an alternate synonym weɛ ʁəɛ for the Rek proper and Twic subdialects of Rek. For all the subdialects except for Ruweng, a different form is attested: ʁəɛkə, ʁəɛkə. Corresponding to ʁəɛkə ‘at night’ [Nebel 1979: 91], i.e. a special adverbial form. Roettger’s wordlists make it impossible to understand if the noted form is a former adverb that has replaced the original noun in all these dialects, or if it is still an adverb, glossed instead of the required noun.
Kurmuk: Not attested.

61. NOSE

Nuer wum (1), Dinka wum (1), Reel wum (1), Mabaan ṭwum-gu (1), Jumjum om-don-de # (1), Kurmuk ṭəm-bɔn (1), Mayak ṭum-an (1), Shilluk rum (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 94. The plural form is listed as wəm in [Duerksen 2005: 187]. Quoted as wəm for all the dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 33].

62. NOT

Nuer =V (1) / ke (2), Dinka ɕi ~ a=ɕi (1) / keɕ (2), Reel ʨil (3), Mabaan be: (4), Kurmuk āná (5), Shilluk pa ~ ba (6).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 48, 54, 55. The most standard way of expressing negation in a Nuer sentence is raising of intonation on the pronominal marker in the verbal construction. Cf. the examples in [Nyang 2013: 63]: ɛɛ mi:t ‘he ate’ vs. ɛɛ mi:t ‘he cannot eat’ (where ɛɛ is the perfective marker and -ɛɛ is the 3rd p. sg. marker). In Kiggen’s dictionary, this is reflected in the form of dictionary entries ʊ=ɑ ‘neg. part. 1st pers. sing.’, ʊɛ ~ ʊi ‘particle used for negative past tense’, as opposed to “unaccented” ʊ=ɑ, ʊɛ ~ ʊi for the
corresponding affirmative forms. Kiggen 1948: 138. Glossed as "neg. past. act. partic."; seems to correspond to the negative particle that is glossed in [Nyong 2013: 63, 64] as kør. The semantic difference between simple tone lowering and this special particle is not well understood.

**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 3, 19. This is the basic negative particle for present (non-perfect) tense forms (a=q=il 'he does not come'). In [Andersen 2007: 95], it is glossed as q=ie ~ q=ie. In [Roettger 1989: 30], this is the most common equivalent for basic negation, usually glossed as a=q=il ~ a=q=ie, more rarely as a=q=il-n, a=q=iey, a=q=ey-n, a=q=il-n. In a few dialects, most notably some subdialects of Agar and Bor, the form a=q=ilu 'not' is listed as an additional synonym. This form is cognate with the negative verb liu 'absent, missing; not to be' in [Nebel 1979: 50] and is probably not eligible for the position of basic negation. Nebel 1979: 39. This is the basic negative particle for perfective tense forms (a=q=ey be-n 'he did not come'). In [Andersen 2007: 95], it is glossed as q=ey and identified as an auxiliary verb.

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 30. Quoted as =til- in [Reid 2010: 164], where the morpheme is described as a negation particle (morphologically, it seems to be incorporated within the verbal form).

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 6. Quoted as òh; in [Andersen 1992: 186].

**Jumjum:** Not attested.

**Kurmuk:** Andersen 2015: 514.

**Mayak:** Not attested.

**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 12, 80. Negative particle. Quoted as pa ~ fa in [Kohnen 1994: 155].

63. ONE

Nuer kəl (1), Dinka tok (2), Reel kəl (1), Mabaan eyclo (1), Jumjum kəlɔk (1), Kurmuk kəl (1), Mayak a=kəl # (1), Shilluk a=qyel ~ a=qyl (1).

References and notes:

**Nuer:** Kiggen 1948: 141. Quoted as kəl in [Bender 1971: 271].

**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 84. Consistently listed as tok for all subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 31].

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 31.

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 29. Quoted as eyclo in [Andersen 1999: 104]; as eylo in [Bender 1971: 269].

**Jumjum:** Andersen 2004: 142. Quoted as kəlɔk in [Bender 1971: 268].

**Kurmuk:** Andersen 2015: 541.

**Mayak:** Bender 1971: 272. Not attested in any of T. Andersen's papers.

**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 7. Quoted as a=qyel in [Kohnen 1994: 6].

64. PERSON

Nuer ran (1), Dinka ran (1), Reel nweer # (2), Mabaan me-ni ~ me-na (3), Jumjum mën (3), Kurmuk tàràk (4), Mayak tàrk (4), Shilluk ëà- (5).

References and notes:

**Nuer:** Kiggen 1948: 265. Suppletive plural: nəd. Quoted as sg. ran, pl. nət in [Frank 1999: 88], as røen in [Bender 1971: 271].


**Reel:** Reid 2010: 18. Suppletive plural: nəy [Reid 2010: 33]. Only the plural form is attested in Roettger's materials, quoted as nei 'people' in [Roett 1989: 38].

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 73. Plural: ma ~ ma-ka. Quoted as sg. me-ni, pl. má-ka in [Andersen 1999: 102]; as me-mju in [Bender 1971: 269].
65. RAIN

Nuer ɲial (1), Dinka ɗe ámb (2), Reel kɔt (3), Mabaan ɲal-ô (1), Jumjum ɲal- (1), Kurmuk kòt (4), Mayak kôt # (4), Shilluk kɔt (4).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 23. Polysemus: 'rain / thunderstorm / rainy season'. Cf. also Deŋ 'ancestor of the Jang and Jieng tribes and worshipped; believed to have been taken to heaven during a storm' [Nebel 1979: 24]. Quoted as dɛhمشاركة in [Andersen 1987: 4]. Quoted as Deŋ for all dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 36]. In [Duerksen 2005: 43], the paradigm for several dialects is quoted as sg. Deŋ, pl. Dey, with polysemus: 'rain / sky' (although the usual word for 'sky' is ɲi=yλ in [Nebel 1979: 65] = ɲial [Duerksen 2005: 129]).
Reel: Roettger 1989: 36. Quoted as kwo in [Reid 2010: 56].
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 46; Kohnen 1994: 88 ('rain, thunderstorm, lightning').

66. RED

Nuer loal (1), Dinka lual (1), Reel lual (1), Mabaan tít-tíj (2), Jumjum tíd-any # (2), Kurmuk míjn- (3), Mayak men-men # (3), Shilluk kwar (4).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 52. Nominal form; the complete adjectival form is ma=lual. The dialectal equivalent for Bor is glossed as cím [Nebel 1979: 19]. Cf. also tít 'reddish, rose colour' [Nebel 1979: 88]. In [Roettger 1989: 37], the situation is as follows: (a) lual ~ ma=lual 'red' is only listed as an alternate synonym for the Gok subdialect of Agar, the Ngsk subdialect of Aeger, the Tvic subdialect of Bor, and the Malual ('Red') subdialect of Rek; (b) the most frequent equivalent for 'red' is tíŋ ~ tít ~ tíj ~ tít ~ títj ~ ā=tíj ~ kë=tíj ~ kë=títj, attested in one of these variants everywhere except for Gok; (c) another rare equivalent is a=lual ~ ko=lual (Gok and Agar proper subdialects of Agar) = lual 'become reddish, yellow' [Nebel 1979: 52]. Judging by external comparanda (Nuer), lual is clearly the most archaic equivalent for 'red', and it remains unclear if Roettger's semantic glossing is perfectly accurate and whether (b) does not really denote some specific shade of 'red'.
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 98. Reduplicated stem. Cf. also tít-una 'very red' [ibid.]. Quoted as tít-ún in [Andersen 1992: 203]; as títjido in
67. ROAD


References and notes:

**Nuer:** Kiggen 1948: 87. Plural: *duɔp*. Meaning glossed as 'path, road'. Quoted as *duɔp* in [Bender 1971: 271].

**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 28. Plural: *dɔl*. Meaning glossed as 'path, road; way'. Cf. the dialectal form *pɔuər* 'cleaned road' in the Agar dialect = 'cultivation, farming' in the other dialects [Nebel 1979: 72].


**Kurmu:** Not attested.

**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 48; Kohnen 1994: 90.

68. ROOT

Nuer *mie-t* (1), Dinka *mei* (1), Reel *mie-t* (1), Mabaan *beŋ-pan* ~ *beŋ-ne* (2), Jumjum *bix-ɡán* (2), Mayak *bix-ιt* (2), Shilluk *byer-o* (2).

References and notes:


**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 32.

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 7. Plural: *be-kɛ*. Miller notes the presence of the more rare equivalent *be-kɛn* in the speech of younger people; this is probably an analogical innovation based on the re-analyzed plural form *be-ke*. Quoted as *beŋ-pan* in [Andersen 1992: 192].

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69. ROUND

**Nuer** roŋ-roŋ (1), **Dinka** roŋ-roŋ (1), **Mabaan** kuɔr-kwɔr # (2), **Shilluk** a=du=lo (3).

**References and notes:**


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 79. Cf. roŋ 'stone of a fruit; nut' [ibid.].

Reel: Not attested.

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 62. Reduplicated adjectival stem. Meaning glossed as "rounded" (as in "the back of the kola shell is rounded"), so the inclusion is somewhat dubious.

Jumjum: Not attested.

Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Not attested.

Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 4. Noun and adjective ('round, circular; a ring or circle'). Quoted as a=du=lo 'round, circular; cipher, zero' in [Kohnen 1994: 4].

70. SAND

**Nuer** lied (1), **Dinka** liɛt (1), **Reel** liɛt (1), **Mabaan** ŋɔm-me (2), **Jumjum** tŋ-ɔl (3), **Mayak** tŋ-ɔl (3), **Shilluk** kuɔɔ barang (4).

**References and notes:**


Kurmuk: Not attested.


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 49. Meaning glossed as 'sand' or 'sandy soil'. Quoted as sg. kuɔɔ barang, pl. kuɔɔ in [Gilley 2000: 11]; as kuɔɔ ~ kuɔɔ-barang in [Kohnen 1994: 93].

71. SAY

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 320. 3rd p. sg.: wey-a. This is the main verb that introduces direct speech, distinct from several other verbs with meanings closer to ‘tell’, ‘inform’, etc., e. g. lar ‘to say, to recommend’ [Kiggen 1948: 168]. The latter is listed in [Bender 1971: 271] as larr ‘to say’, but Kiggen’s data show that it is hardly eligible for inclusion.

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 53. Polysemy: ‘to say / to think’. Distinct from lek ‘to tell, order (a person)’, lek ‘to say (tell)’ [Nebel 1979: 48], cf. also in [Duerksen 2005: 99]: lek ‘to confess, order, tell (a person)’, lek ‘informing; information’ (noun). Phonetic variants luel ~ luel (also nur in the Nyarweng subdialect of Bor) are attested in the majority of dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 35]. For the Luac subdialect of Rek and the Aliab subdialect of Agar, the same source lists ʒan as the default equivalent; in [Nebel 1979: 35], this verb is glossed with the meaning ‘talk, speak’, and it is uncertain how accurate the semantic glossing in [Roettger 1989: 35] actually is.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.


Kurmu: Not attested.


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 45. Participle form: ɬoɓ-a. Quoted as ɬo ~ ɬoɓ-a ‘to say, to speak, to tell; to think, to imagine’ in [Kohnen 1994: 85]. Cf. yi ɬo aɗi “what did you say?”, etc. Another equivalent is ɕa ~ ɕama ‘to say’ [Kohnen 1994: 26], often used to introduce direct speech; but it seems to be limited to specific bound contexts, and is not at all found in this meaning in [Heasty 1937].

72. SEE

Nuer nen (1), Dinka tiŋ (2), Reel ʒuiŋ (3), Mabaan yuar- (4), Jumjum yəɾ-ɾû (4), Kurmu ɗâm- (5), Shilluk nen ~ nen (1).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 212. 3rd p. sg.: nen-ɛ. Intransitive verb; the transitive correlate ‘to examine, inspect, witness’ is listed as nen, 3rd p. sg. nen-ɛ [ibid.]. Quoted as nen-i in [Bender 1971: 271].

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 83. Polysemy: ‘to see / to look’. Quoted as tɕiŋ in the phrase “the woman saw the girls” in [Andersen 1987: 22]. Quoted as tɕiŋ ~ tɕiŋ for the majority of dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 34], but a couple alternate synonyms are attested as well: (a) the Ruweng subdialect has dɛi ‘see’ instead of tɕiŋ, and the form ɗai is also listed as an alternate synonym for tɕiŋ in Agar; in [Nebel 1979: 22], the word ɗai is glossed as ‘look at, observe’; (b) in the Aliab subdialect of Agar, the equivalent is ɲem, and the form ɲem is also listed as an alternate synonym for tɕiŋ in the Bor proper subdialect of Bor; this form finds no equivalent in Nebel’s dictionary.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 34.


Kurmu: Andersen 2015: 519. Cf. also ɬə- ‘to see’, attested in one textual example in [Andersen 2015: 550]; difference between the two items remains unclear.

Mayak: Not properly attested. Cf. ɬukudar ‘see’ in [Bender 1971: 272], a form with unclear morphological segmentation.

Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 63. Meaning glossed as ‘look at, see, expect, look for, wait for’. Quoted as nen ‘to see, to look; to live, to feel; to
73. SEED
Nuer kuai (1), Dinka kau (1), Reel kuai (1), Mabaan kɛːy # (1), Jumjum kɪw-ɔïn (1), Mayak kaw-it (1), Shilluk kɔʃ-t (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 39. Plural: kɔt. Quoted as sg. kɔtw, pl. kɔ ꞏg in [Andersen 1987: 15]. Cf. also ɛl, pl. ɛl 'seed' in [Duerksen 2005: 171] (not confirmed in Nebel's dictionary). In [Roettger 1989: 32], singular and plural variants are listed rather chaotically across dialects; singulative variants include kau ~ kauɛ, and plural variants include kɔt ~ kɔtɛ ~ kɔtŋ. Only in the Ruweng subdialect, instead of this common root, we find jɪn 'eye' in the meaning 'seed'.
Reel: Roettger 1989: 32. Listed as kɔt ꞏ kuai, where the first form is probably plural (see external parallels in Dinka).
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 56. Meaning glossed as 'seed (e.g. pumpkin)'. Singulative: ke-ɛgi. Differently in [Bender 1971: 269]; pɛeа 'seed' (cf. pye-sa bora 'to spread out' in [Miller 2006: 95]).
Kurmuk: Not attested.

74. SIT
Nuer nuc (1), Dinka nuc (1), Reel nus (1), Mabaan ci- (2), Jumjum ci-y- (2), Kurmuk ki: # (2), Mayak ke-kɛr # (2), Shilluk pek (3).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 244. 3rd p. sg.: nuc-e. Quoted as nuc-i in [Bender 1971: 271].
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 67. Meaning glossed as 'sit, sit down, establish'. Cf. also ɛwɛ 'to sit down; to be buried alive', listed in [Duerksen 2005: 174] for the Northwestern dialect; it corresponds to ɛwɛ 'to squat (on tiptoe)' in [Nebel 1979: 88]. Most of the dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 35] have the variant nuc; only in the Agar proper subdialect of Agar the attested form is nuc-i.
Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.
Kurmuk: Not attested properly, but cf. ɡɛr kɪ ɬɛ 'the man is sitting', literally 'the man is staying on [his] anus' [Andersen 2013: 515]; this example shows that the general meaning of 'sitting' is rendered by the verb ki: 'to stay, be located' with certain nominal-adverbial modifiers.
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 82. Participial form: pek-o. Quoted as pek-o, also pek-a piy (where piy = 'earth' q.v.) 'to sit down' in [Kohnen 1994: 158].

75. SKIN
Nuer guɔb (1), Dinka del (2), Reel guɔp (1), Mabaan be- nan (3), Jumjum bɔy- nàn (3), Mayak rxdẽ # (4), Shilluk del (2).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 116. Plural: guɔp. Meaning glossed as 'skin; leather'; cf. guɔb wɔŋ 'eye lid' (lit. = 'skin (of) eye'), showing that the word is applicable to humans. Quoted as sg. guɔp, pl. guɔp in [Frank 1999: 88]. Different equivalent listed in [Bender 1971: 271]: kel 'skin'. No such word is found in Kiggen's dictionary, but cf. perhaps kol 'skin of animal' [Kiggen 1948: 149], not applicable to humans.

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 23. Meaning glossed as 'skin (of men)'. Distinct from bick 'skin, hide' (animal) [Nebel 1979: 16]. Cf., however, dɛl 'skin' in [Andersen 1987: 25], quoted in the sentence "the man is giving a skin" (this shows that in at least some dialects, such as Agar, the word is also applicable to animal skin). Phonetic variants of the root in [Roettger 1989: 32] include del ~ de'l, also den in one subdialect of Padang. The form bick ~ bick is listed as an alternate synonym for three additional subdialects, and the form guɔp is listed as an alternate synonym only for the Abilang subdialect of Padang; it corresponds to guɔp, pl. guɔp 'body, oneself' in [Nebel 1979: 34], and, although clearly cognate with Nuer guɔb 'skin', cannot be judged as a lexicostatistical match with Nuer.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 32. Quoted as guɔp in [Reid 2010: 30].


Kurmuk: Not attested.


76. SLEEP

Nuer nien (1), Dinka niɛn (1), Reel nien (1), Mabaan nɛn (1), Jumjum ?ɔt- # (2), Kurmuk nɔɛn- (1), Mayak nɛn- (1), Shilluk nɛn (1).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 61. The nominal equivalent is nɛn 'sleep (n.)' [ibid.]. Attested as nɛn ~ nɛn in all dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 35].

Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 79. Cf. also nɛn-go 'to lie down, sleep, stay (e.g. overnight)' [ibid.]. Quoted as nɛn-kə in [Bender 1971: 269].

Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 154. Attested in the phrase "but he is not sleeping". Differently in [Bender 1971: 268]: nɛn-ka 'sleep' (probably a verbal noun). The fact that Bender's alternative is etymologically supported with data from Mabaan and Burun makes Andersen's entry somewhat dubious; however, pending the publication of more accurate data on Jumjum, we go along with Andersen's selection since this is our primary source.

Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 37; Andersen 2015: 543. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 63. Quoted as nem-o 'to sleep, to fall asleep' in [Kohnen 1994: 126].

77. SMALL

Nuer ṭɔ-t (1), Dinka ḥi (1), Reel i=qiut (2), Mabaan ḷiɛr- ḷier (3), Jumjum dɛ-d- (3), Mayak
leke # (4), Shilluk tiŋ (1).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 301. Adverbial and adjectival stem (ke=tɔ-t ‘a little, a while’; me=tɔ-t, pl. te=toa-ni ‘small’). Quoted as tɔtɔ in [Bender 1971: 271].

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 86. Plural: t. Cf. also kor ‘be small, little, young’ [Nebel 1979: 42] (applied not only to age, cf. the example ‘the cloth is too small’; however, the primary semantics of this stem seems to refer to more abstract qualities than physical size). It is only this second root, however, that is listed as the equivalent for ‘small’ in [Roettger 1989: 31]: kor ~ kur ~ a=kor ~ a=ko ~ ka=kor.


Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 142. The listed form is dəŋ ‘it is small’. Quoted as dɛdəŋ in [Bender 1971: 142].

Kurmuk: Not attested.


78. SMOKE

Nuer tol (1), Dinka tol (1), Reel tol (1), Mabaan ʐie-n (2), Jumjum ʐe-ŋa # (2), Mayak ri-t (2), Shilluk yiŋ-o (2).

References and notes:


Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Andersen 1999c: 3. Quoted as re-t in [Bender 1971: 272].


79. STAND

Nuer ʐəŋ (1), Dinka kɔ (2), Reel zero (3), Mabaan yɔd (4), Jumjum yɔd- (4), Mayak yɔd-ɛ # (4), Shilluk ɕuŋ (1).

References and notes:


As expected, the root is always the same.

Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 141. The quoted form is yug-ıṭ ‘they are standing’. Quoted as yug-din in [Bender 1971: 268].
Kurmu: Not attested.

80. STAR
Nuer ɛiɛr (1), Dinka kuɔl (2), Reel kwel (2), Mabaan ke:l-o (2), Jumjum kɪt-lə (3), Mayak ke-tm-età (3), Shilluk kyel-o (2).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 57. Plural: ɛer. Cf. a different equivalent in [Frank 1999: 89]: sg. kuɛl, pl. kuɛl-t, also quoted as kuɛl in [Bender 1971: 271]. In Kiggen’s dictionary, the meaning for this word is specialized: kuɛl ‘big star near the Southern Cross’, cf. also kuɛl-t ‘Pleiades star’ [Kiggen 1948: 157].
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 44. Plural: kuɔl. Quoted as sg. kuɛl, pl. kuɛl in [Andersen 1987: 14, 15]. Quoted as kuɛl ~ kuɔl ~ kuɛl for various dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 36]. A completely different equivalent, however, is attested for the Ruweng-Pan-Aru subdialect: ɛiɛr ~ ɛiɛr ~ ɛiɛr ~ ɛiɛr, and the same root (ɛiɛr) is also attested for the Twic subdialect of Bor. This word, glossed as ɛiɛr, is also attested in [Nebel 1979: 44] in the meaning ‘Venus, evening star; big star’. Cf. similar competition between these two words in various dialects of Nuer.
Kurmu: Not attested.

81. STONE
Nuer pam (1), Dinka kuɾ (2), Reel aŋuəl (3), Mabaan guo-nan (4), Jumjum gu-ŋəŋ # (4), Kurmu gur-ıt (2), Mayak gur-it # (2), Shilluk ki₄t (5).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 249. Plural: pɛm. Same word as ‘mountain’ q.v. Quoted as pɛm in [Bender 1971: 271]. Different equivalent in [Frank 1999: 89]: sg. doɭ, pl. doɭ-t ‘stone’. The closest equivalent to this in Kiggen’s dictionary is dol, pl. dol ‘heap of earth to support cooking pot’ [Kiggen 1948: 81].
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 46. Plural: kuɾ. Polysemy: ‘stone / hill’. Quoted as kuɾ ‘stone, rock’ in [Andersen 1987: 16]. Judging by the data in [Roettger 1989: 36], this item is notoriously unstable between Dinka dialects. No less than four different equivalents are found in Roettger’s lists: (1) Nebel’s kuɾ is typical of all three subdialects of the Bor dialect (as kuɾ); of the Dongjol and Ngok subdialects of Padang (as kuɾ); and is also encountered in the Gok subdialect of Agar (as kuɾ). (2) The form kɔi is attested in the Abiliang subdialect of Padang and in the Alor subdialect of Ruweng (as kɔi). It corresponds to Nebel’s kɔi ‘gravel’, attested only for the Agar dialect [Nebel 1979: 41]. (3) The form doɭ-t ~ doɭ-t is scattered throughout six various subdialects of Padang, Ruweng, and Agar. It finds no

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equivalent in Nebel's dictionary. (4) The form aₐ₁ is the main equivalent for 'stone' in all the subdialects of the Rek dialect, as well as one of the main equivalents for 'stone' in most of the subdialects of Agar. In [Nebel 1979: 8], this word, quoted as aₐ₁, pl. aₐ, is glossed as 'haematite, red stone; ironstone country'. As usual, it remains unclear and unconfirmed whether all these additional forms really function as the base equivalents of the Swadesh meaning 'stone' in all the individual subdialects. In any case, distribution-wise, kₐ₉ is clearly the optimal candidate for the original 'stone' on the Proto-Dinka level.

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 47. Plural: gui-yo ~ guo-yo. Quoted as guw-yu in [Bender 1971: 269]. In T. Andersen's works, a different word is listed with the neutral meaning 'stone': sg. kɛl-lj, pl. kɔl-k. [Andersen 2006: 10]. The closest equivalent to it in Miller's dictionary is sg. kɛl ~ kɛllo, pl. kɛl-kɔ 'dirt mound to hold pot in place on fire' [Miller 2006: 56].


82. SUN
Nuer ɕañ (1), Dinka a=kɔl (2), Reel ɕiæ (1), Mabaan ɑŋ (1), Jumjum ʔiŋ- (1), Mayak ɑŋ # (1), Shilluk ɕaŋ (1).

References and notes:
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 7. Glossed as akɔl ~ akɔl in the majority of Dinka dialects in [Roettger 1989: 35]. However, most of the subdialects of Agar (with the exception of Aliab) feature a different lexeme: ruel ~ a-ruel. In [Nebel 1979: 7], the verb ruel is glossed as 'to shine, be hot (of sun)'; no nominal usage is attested there.
Reel: Roettger 1989: 35. Quoted as ɕeŋ in [Reid 2010: 30].
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 86. Polysemy: 'sun / day / time'. Plural: ɑŋ-ko. The meaning 'sun', contrastive with 'day', may also be expressed by the compound form ɑŋ-ɑŋe, literally = 'sun's eye'; this is quoted as ɑŋ-ɑŋe in [Bender 1971: 269].
Jumjum: Andersen 2004: 159. The listed form is plural: ʔiŋ-k, 'suns'. Quoted as ʔiŋ in [Bender 1971: 268].
Kurmu: Not attested.
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 19. Polysemy: 'sun / day'. Quoted as ɕiŋ in [Gilley 1992: 25]; as ɕañ, pl. ɕañ ~ ɕiŋ 'sun, day; time'.

83. SWIM
Nuer kek (1), Dinka kuŋ (2), Reel ɕet (1), Mabaan kuŋ - # (2), Jumjum ɲi-pek - # (3), Mayak kuŋ # (2), Shilluk kuŋ (2).

References and notes:
Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 506. Attested only in [Andersen 1999a: 506] (ʔiŋ kɛñ- ɗI will swim'). In [Bender 1971: 269], the equivalent is ɲi eyɛti, a compound form probably meaning 'to roll / play in the water', cf. ɲi eyɛ to play; to roll, push' [Miller 2006: 83] + 'water'
q.v.

**Jumjum**: Bender 1971: 268. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers. The second part is ‘water’ q.v.; the first part is clearly the same as *njiey* ‘to play’ in Mabaan.

**Kurmuk**: Not attested.


**Shilluk**: Heasty 1937: 48; Kohnen 1994: 90. Noun (‘swimming’) and verb (‘swim’).

84. TAIL


**References and notes:**


**Dinka**: Nebel 1979: 98. Quoted as *yi’l* in [Andersen 1987: 4]. Quoted as *yɔl* for most subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 33], although a few of them lose the aspiration (*yɔl* in the Dongjol subdialect of Padang, the Lua subdialect of Rek, etc.; cf. also *yɔl* in Agar proper).


85. THAT₁

Nuer *=o* (1), Dinka *=e’h* (2), Reel *mì* (3), Mabaan *wa=n* (4), Jumjum *yâ=nnà* (4), Shilluk *=an=i #* (2).

**References and notes:**

**Nuer**: Kiggen 1948: 19. Intermediate deictic stem, usually preceded by a number marker and postfixed to the determined noun: =m=ɔ ~ =e=m=ɔ ‘that’ (e. g. *gɛl-ɔ ~ gɛl-ẹmɔ ~ gɛl-ẹmɔ* ‘that boy over there’; *mɛm=ɔ* ‘that (subj.)’, pl. *tu*="ɔ").

**Dinka**: Not properly attested in [Nebel 1979], where only the complex nominalized form is specified: *kene* ‘that’ [Nebel 1979: 40]. Andersen defines it as a high tone breathy vowel: =e’h [Andersen 1987: 5].


**Mabaan**: Miller 2006: 106. Also *wan-na* id. Quoted as *wan* in [Andersen 1992: 186]; as *wa=n* ~ *wa=.ẹ* in [Andersen 2006: 24].


**Kurmuk**: Not attested.

**Mayak**: Not attested.

**Shilluk**: Existing sources give either insufficient or confusing information on deictic systems in Shilluk. In the old grammar [Westermann 1911: 17-18], the system is given as follows: *à-n* ‘this’ (pl. *à-k ~ à-n ~ à-gàk*), *àu* ‘that, those’, *à-cà* ‘that / those over there’. None of these forms, however, are found in the same meaning in Heasty’s or Kohnen’s dictionaries. Heasty gives *men*, pl. *mɔk* as the default form for both ‘this’ and ‘that’, also listing the complex forms *men-ąqa* ‘that one there’, *men-ąqine* ‘that one yonder’, *men-ąn* ‘this one’, *men-ąnù* ‘that one’. However, *men* is a nominal rather than adjectival form - cf. *men*, pl. *mog* ‘who, which, that; whoever,
whatever, whose, wherewith, whereby, whereupon; one who, anybody who, everyone who’ [Kohnen 1994: 116]; men-an 'this one here', men-an 'that one there' [ibid.]. We tentatively include an as the equivalent for near deixis and its extension an-i (= Westermann's ēni) as the equivalent for distal deixis, but this would need to be confirmed by data from newer sources (unfortunately, as of now, no modern-level grammar of Shilluk is available).

85. THAT

Nuer =i (2).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 19. Distant deictic stem, usually preceded by a number marker and postfixed to the determined noun: =m=i ~ =e=mi 'that' (e. g. gōl=i ~ gōl-emi 'that boy farthest away'; mē=mi 'that (subj.)', pl. ti=mi).

86. THIS

Nuer e ~ e=me (1), Dinka =e (1), Reel ye=ne (1), Mabaan ne=n=i (1), Jumjum yâ=nn=i (1), Kurmuk ði=n=i (1), Mayak en # (1), Shilluk =an # (1).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 19. Proximal deictic stem, usually preceded by a number marker and postfixed to the determined noun: =n=ë ~ =e=me 'this' in [Bender 1971: 271].

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 97. Possessive prefix: yi- [ibid.]. Phonetically realized as yē-n or yi- in various dialects [Roettger 1989: 30].


Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 42. Short form; the full stem is ði-n in [Andersen 2007b: 38].

88. TONGUE
Nuer lep (1), Dinka liep (1), Reel liep (1), Mabaan lem-mu (1), Jumjum lêm-mà (1), Mayak lep (1), Shilluk leʰp (1).

References and notes:

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 49. Quoted as sg. lép, pl. liépʰ in [Andersen 1987: 4, 14]. Quoted as liep ~ liep for all the dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 33].
Kurmuk: Not attested.

89. TOOTH
Nuer lei (1), Dinka leɕ (1), Reel lei (1), Mabaan leŋ-ŋo (1), Jumjum lén-ŋà (1), Kurmuk lèg-iṭ (1), Mayak ley-iṭ (1), Shilluk leɕ-o (1).

References and notes:


90. TREE
Nuer ñia-t (1), Dinka tim (2), Reel ña-t (1), Mabaan Prosecution (1), Jumjum Prosecution (1), Kurmuk yá-t (1), Mayak ya-t (1), Shilluk ya-t (1).

References and notes:


Reel: Roettger 1989: 32. Quoted as ʒiː-t in [Reid 2010: 36].

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 49. Polysemy: ‘tree / wood / log / pole / post’. The same source also lists the form sg. ζɑm-o, pl. ζɑm-ɡo ‘tree’ [ibid.]; it is unclear whether this is a different root (not highly unlikely) or a dialectal variant (which would still require an explanation for the strange shift n > m). Quoted as sg. ζiː-n, pl. ζiː-n-ɡ in [Andersen 2006: 14]; as ζa-n-o in [Bender 1971: 269].


91. TWO

Nuer reu (1), Dinka rou ~ reu (1), Reel rou (1), Mabaan yyyɛwɔ (1), Jumjum yɛwɛwɛ (1), Kurmu rɛ: (1), Mayak re: (1), Shilluk a=ryo (1).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 76, 79. Also kaw-reu id. Quoted as rɛu in [Andersen 1987: 4]. Consistently listed as rou for all subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 31], except for the Twic subdialect of Bor, where the same word has the (more archaic) phonetic shape reu.


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 10 (the phonetic variant a=yo is also listed). Quoted as a-ryo in [Kohnen 1994: 10].

92. WALK (GO)

Nuer ʋ-w (1), Dinka lɔ (2), Reel wɛ-ɾ (1), Mabaan at (3), Jumjum at-ɔ # (3), Kurmu ζaɗ- (3), Mayak ad-ɛr # (3), Shilluk kɛt (4).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 319. Alternate stems are listed as ʋ-i, ʋ-e, etc.; cf. also imperative wɛ-ɾ. Quoted as wi-ɾ (imperative form) in [Bender 1971: 271].

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 50. Indicative form: a-la. Quoted as ʋ-l-ɛ; “he is going” in [Andersen 2002: 12]. Quoted as lɔ for the majority of dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 35]; some subdialects also feature the morphological variants ɬa and lɔ-ɾ of the same stem. The only true exception is the Luac subdialect of Rek, where the equivalent is ʒaɬ = ʒaɬ ‘go away, leave’ in [Nebel 1979: 35].

Reel: Roettger 1989: 35.


Jumjum: Bender 1971: 268. Probably a verbal noun. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers, but external data confirms that this is the likeliest neutral candidate for the meaning ‘go’ in the language.

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Kurmuk: Andersen 2015: 516. Attested in the form: 'i̯a≈ʔad- 'I will go'.
Mayak: Bender 1971: 272. Probably a verbal noun. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers, but external data confirms that this is the likeliest neutral candidate for the meaning ‘go’ in the language.
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 44. Imperative form; the participle is kaŋ-o. Quoted as keŋ, part. kaŋ- in [Gilley 1992: 110]; as keŋ-o ~ keŋ- ‘to go, to walk, to enter, to continue’ in [Kohnen 1994: 80].

93. WARM

Nuer tɔl-ɛ (1), Dinka tuŋ (2), Reel let (3), Mabaan ɕar-ɛɨn (4), Jumjum mi̯-aŋ # (5), Mayak mi̯-mi̯ # (5), Shilluk let (3).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 316. Verbal stem; meaning glossed as ‘to be hot (of liquids, sun etc.).’ Distinct from mor-mor ‘lukewarm’ [Kiggen 1948: 206], quoted as mor-mor ‘warm’ in [Bender 1971: 271]. Cf. also bor-bor ‘warm’ [Kiggen 1948: 41] (derived from the verb bor- ‘to burn’).
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 84. Meaning glossed as ‘hot, warm’ (also nominal: ‘heat, sweat, perspiration’). Allegedly distinct from mor ‘lukewarm, tepid’ [Nebel 1979: 59]. Cf. ʋtʼuː ‘it is hot’ in [Andersen 1987: 12]. Quoted as tuŋ ~ tuŋ ~ tuŋ ~ a=tuŋ ~ a=tuŋ ~ ke=tuŋ ~ ke=tuŋ ~ tuŋ for all the dialects and subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 37]; all forms represent phonetic and morphological variants of the same root.
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 19. Verbal stem (3rd p. sg. form). Meaning glossed as ‘hot’ (e. g. of ‘water’). Cf. mel-e immersion ‘warm’ in [Bender 1971: 269] (no separate word for ‘warm’ is listed in Miller’s dictionary, and Bender’s form finds no confirmation in that source).
Kurmuk: Not attested.

94. WATER

Nuer pi (1), Dinka piu (1), Reel pi (1), Mabaan pie-go (1), Jumjum piː-k (1), Kurmuk piː (1), Mayak piː (1), Shilluk pi (1).

References and notes:

Reel: Roettger 1989: 36. Quoted as piː in [Reid 2010: 30].
Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 82. Quoted as pi ~ pi-n ~ pi-g ~ pi-k in [Kohnen 1994: 160].
95. **WE**

Nuer *kɔ-n* (1), Dinka *o-k ~ o-g* (2), Reel *kɔ* (1), Mabaan *w-a-n* (2), Jumjum ṭ̄k=ʔ-n* (2), Kurmuk ṭ (3), Mayak *o-nɔk* # (2), Shilluk *wɔ* (2).

**References and notes:**


**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 68. Prefixal shortened form is simply *o* (*o-gim* 'in front of us', *o-gie* 'we all', etc.). No clusivity. Various dialectal realizations of the stem include *o-k ~ o-w ~ o-wk ~ o-y-k* [Roettger 1989: 30].

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 30.

**Mabaan:** Miller 2006: 89. Exclusive form. Quoted as *ʔɔ̌n* in [Andersen 1992: 186].

**Jumjum:** Andersen 2004: 135. Quoted as *ìkíːn* in [Bender 1971: 268].

**Shilluk:** Heasty 1937: 99; Kohnen 1994: 204. Inclusive form.

96. **WHAT**

Nuer *ŋu* (1), Dinka *ŋo* (1), Reel *adia=ŋu* (1), Mabaan *=w* (2), Jumjum *a=ŋaː-ka* # (1), Kurmuk *ŋòː* (1), Mayak *ŋə* # (1), Shilluk *a=ŋo* (1).

**References and notes:**

**Nuer:** Kiggen 1948: 227. Quoted as *ɛŋuh* in [Bender 1971: 271].

**Dinka:** Nebel 1979: 63. Quoted as *ŋo ~ ñu ~ e=ŋo ~ e=ŋu ~ ye=ŋu* in different subdialects of Dinka in [Roettger 1989: 30]; also as *ke=ŋo, ke=ŋə, e kæ ñɔ, ye kæ=ŋə*, etc. All of these forms seem to contain the same root with minor phonetic variations, sometimes in conjunction with a preceding copula.

**Reel:** Roettger 1989: 30. The first component is probably a copula, cf. the external parallels in Nuer and Dinka.

**Mabaan:** Andersen 1999: 102. The inanimate interrogative pronouns in Mabaan are formed on the basis of the suppletive noun 'thing' (sg. *gé-niː*, pl. *wòt-k-diː*); sg. *gɛ=ne=w*, pl. *wɔ=we=k*, where, apparently, the main carrier of the interrogative meaning is the final monovocalic morpheme with low tone. In [Miller 2006], special interrogative forms derived from 'thing' are not recorded explicitly, but are sometimes encountered in textual examples. Cf. also *gɛnu* 'what' in [Bender 1971: 269].

**Jumjum:** Bender 1971: 268. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers.

**Kurmuk:** Andersen 2007b: 41.

**Mayak:** Bender 1971: 272. Not attested in any of T. Andersen’s papers.
97. WHITE

Nuer bor (1), Dinka ma=bior (1), Reel bor (1), Mabaan bo-w-an (1), Jumjum bo-w-an # (1), Kurmuk bɔ (1), Mayak bo- (1), Shilluk tar (2).

References and notes:

Nuer ɕiek (1), Dinka tik (1), Reel ɕiek (1), Mabaan e:ŋo (2), Jumjum ʔi:n (2), Kurmuk mı:n (3), Shilluk ɗa-w-o (4).

References and notes:


Mayak: The singular form is not properly attested; cf. the compound form men-marak in [Bender 1971: 272]. Plural: m-en ‘females’ [Andersen 1999c: 3].


100. YELLOW

Nuer yan (1), Dinka ma=yen (1), Reel a=yan (1), Mabaan ɕway-ɕwayo # (2), Shilluk tibwɔr # (3).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 56, 206. Feminine: aː-yen. Plural: mı:n. In [Roettger 1989: 37], this stem is listed as the main equivalent for ‘yellow’ only for the Ngok-Sobat subdialect of Ageer (ke-yen) and the Alor and Ngok subdialects of the same (kan-yen), as well as one of two synonyms for the Ruweng subdialect (yen). Other than that, the most frequent equivalent listed is keːt ~ keːt ~ kan=keːt ~ ma=keːt ~ ma=keːt, corresponding to keː ‘be rusty (vb.), bile (n.)’ in [Nebel 1979: 40], a word that probably may denote a special shade of ‘yellow’, cf. la leː kɛt ‘have yellow teeth’ [ibid.]. Additional variants include (a) kan-lau (Abiliang subdialect of Ageer; no parallels in [Nebel 1979]); (b) aː-tul (Ageer proper subdialect of Ageer; no parallels in [Nebel 1979]); (c) keː ~ ma-ke (several subdialects of Bor), probably = keː ‘bitter’ in [Nebel 1979: 39]. On the whole, this is clearly an unstable etymon, and the degree of semantic accuracy in Roettger’s lists is unknown.

Reel: Roettger 1989: 37. Differently in [Reid 2010: 31]: maːkɔ ‘yellow’ (cf. the same word in Dinka dialects).

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 28. Reduplicated stem. Meaning glossed as ‘yellow, light colour, whitish’. Cf. also ɕway-an ‘yellowish, muddy colour’ [ibid.]. Cf. also gara ‘yellow thing (e.g., bronze, brass), garja-garja ‘yellow, jaundiced’ [Miller 2006: 43]; also ṭi-ć ‘yellow; wet’ [Miller 2006: 102], tiː-ti ‘yellow, golden, green’ [Miller 2006: 103]. It remains unclear which of these words is better applicable to quasispecially yellow objects (e.g., ‘sun’, etc.).

Jumjum: Not attested.

Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Not attested.

Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 118 (English-Shilluk section). Dubious inclusion; the word is only listed in the English-Shilluk, but not in the Shilluk-English section of Heasty’s dictionary, and is not confirmed at all in [Kohnen 1994]. The latter source only lists the following items with close semantics: (a) aɲan ‘whitish grey, yellowish’ [Kohnen 1994: 8] (not found in Heasty’s data); (b) maː ‘green, blue, yellow’ [Kohnen 1994: 114] (only in the meaning ‘green’ in Heasty’s data). For now, we leave Heasty’s dubious entry as the default
101. FAR
Nuer ɲɔn ~ nan (1), Dinka meɛ (2), Reel nan (1), Mabaan lɔn-ɔ (3), Kurmuk lîw-în (3), Shilluk laʰ:w-i (3).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 210, 214. Adjectival and verbal stem (cf. 3rd p. sg. ɲɔn-ɛ ~ nan-ɛ 'to be far, distant').
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 67. Verbal stem. Cf. also the reduplicated form lɔn-ə-ɔn-ɔ 'far, distant, difficult' [ibid.].
Jumjum: Not attested.
Mayak: Not attested.

102. HEAVY
Nuer ʈieɣ (1), Dinka ʈiek (1), Mabaan cyeɣ-ɛɣɛ-g-o (1), Shilluk pek (2).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 311. Polysemy: 'heavy / generous / magnificent'. Verbal stems: ʈieɣ-ɛ 'to be heavy', ʈieɣ-ɛ 'to make, cause to be heavy' [ibid.].
Reel: Not attested.
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 29. Reduplicated adjectival stem; cf. also the verbal stem ɛɣɛ-ɔ (to be) heavy' [ibid.]. Quoted as ɛɣɛ-än in [Andersen 1992: 203].
Jumjum: Not attested.
Kurmuk: Not attested.
Mayak: Not attested.

103. NEAR
Nuer ʈiay-ɛ ~ ʈieɣ-ɛ (1), Dinka ʈiok (1), Mabaan ɛwal-o (2), Shilluk ɛaʰk-i (3).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 310, 311. Cf. also the adverbial form ʈiak-a 'near'.
Dinka: Nebel 1979: 87. Quoted as à-ʈiɛ:k "it is near" in [Andersen 1987: 13].
Reel: Not attested.
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 26. Meaning glossed as 'near (direction not indicated)'. Verbal stem; cf. also ɛwal-ɛwal 'near', adv. ɛwal-ɔn 'near'.

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Jumjum: Not attested.
Kurmuk: Not attested.
Mayak: Not attested.

104. SALT
Nuer mile (-1), Dinka awai (1), Reel mele (-1), Mabaan ɛ-nan (2), Jumjum ?iy-yi (2), Shilluk kaød-o (3).

References and notes:

Nuer: Kiggen 1948: 202. Borrowed from Arabic. Cf. also kaide ‘salt, vegetable alkaline’ [Kiggen 1948: 134]; on p. 202, it is stated that this form is characteristic of the Thiang dialect.

Dinka: Nebel 1979: 13. Meaning glossed as ‘ash-salt’ (but simply ‘salt’ in the English-Dinka index on p. 182). Also awa-n kartum id. (literally “the awai of Khartoum”, referring to imported salt). For the Agar dialect, the same index yields the equivalent mela ~ melh ‘salt’, borrowed from Arabic. In [Roettger 1989: 42], the situation is as follows: (a) awai is listed as the only equivalent for all the subdialects of Bor and Rek Dinka, but is also encountered in at least several subdialects of Agar and Padang-Ageer as well; (b) mili is listed as the only equivalent for the Alor, Ngök, and Dongjol (quoted as mele for the latter) subdialects of Padang-Ageer, and is also sporadically encountered in other subdialects; (c) a third, most rare, equivalent is kata ~ kada ~ kat’ (Abilang, Ageer, Ruweng, Pan subdialects), corresponding to kada ~ kadda ‘sauce, salt’ in [Nebel 1979: 37] (probably a specialized term).

Reel: Roettger 1989: 42. Borrowed from Arabic.

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 39. Reduplicated adjectival stem; cf. also the verbal stem ɖul-o ‘to be short’ [ibid.].

Jumjum: Not attested.

105. SHORT
Nuer ɕieɣ (1), Dinka ɕiɛk (1), Mabaan ɖul-ɖul-o (2), Shilluk ɕek (1).

References and notes:


Reel: Not attested.

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 39. Reduplicated adjectival stem; cf. also the verbal stem ɖul-o ‘to be short’ [ibid.].

Jumjum: Not attested.

106. SNAKE
Nuer tɔl (1), Dinka ke=raç (2), Reel tɔl (1), Mabaan kaŋ (3), Jumjum kàŋ (3), Kurmuk kà:k (3), Mayak kà:k # (3), Shillük tɔwɔl (1).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 40. Plural: kαraɛ. The Agar equivalent is given as sg. kə=rok, pl. kə=ruoŋ [Nebel 1979: 188]; quoted as kə=rok r in [Andersen 1987: 2]. Roettger's comparative materials [Roettger 1989: 31] list as many as four possible equivalents: (a) ke=raç ~ kə=raç ~ kə=roc ~ kə=roq is typical of most of the subdialects of Padang and Rek dialects; (b) kə=pjɔn ~ kə=pjɔn, listed as a synonym for the Rek dialect; the form kə=pjɔn 'Snake' is also listed in Nebel's English-Dinka section of the dictionary [Nebel 1979: 188], but not in the main body of the dictionary. It may be related to pjiŋ 'earth' q.v.; (c) gə=, only listed as a synonym for kə=raç for the Ruweng-Pan-Aru subdialect of Padang (no parallels in Nebel's dictionary); (d) kə=recr ~ kə=recr ~ kə=recr ~ kə=roct - this is the only equivalent for 'snake' in Agar Dinka, thus marking one of the few certain lexicostatistical discrepancies between Agar and the rest of Dinka.


Mayak: Andersen 2006: 15. Plural: kəɻ-ɻt. Quoted as sg. kəɻ, pl. kɪg-ɪɻ in [Storch 2005: 119]. The situation is not quite clear, since in two of T. Andersen's papers on Mayak proper, the meaning 'snake' is only associated with the word nanac (sg.), n.mun ~ nonun (pl.) [Andersen 1999c: 9; Andersen 2000: 39]. If this latter word is really a generic term for 'snake', it is a lexical innovation, since only kəɻ has reliable external parallels in other Mabaan-Burun languages. It is, however, unclear from existing publications which of the two items is truly the most neutral and frequent equivalent for this Swadesh meaning. In this situation, we provisionally select the etymologically archaic equivalent for inclusion, pending further clarifications.


107. THIN

Nuer bieo (1), Dinka tɔi (2), Reel guak (3), Mabaan bom-bom-o (4), Shillük rep (5).

References and notes:


Dinka: Nebel 1979: 88. Meaning glossed as 'small, thin'. Cf. also yem 'thin, frail' (e.g. of vessels) [Nebel 1979: 96]. Quoted as tʊi ~ ɛtʊi ~ tʊi ~ a=tʊi ~ kə=tʊi ~ kə=tʊi for the majority of Dinka dialects and subdialects in [Roettger 1989: 37] (all forms represent phonetic and morphological variants). The same source also lists some additional synonyms: (a) nə=al ~ a=nə=al (additional synonym for the Bor and Twic subdialects of Rek; the only equivalent for the Dunggal subdialect of Padang) = nə=al 'thin, lean' in [Nebel 1979: 62]; (b) guak ~ gwek (main equivalent for the Gok subdialect of Agar and alternate equivalent for the Ciec subdialect of Agar) - no direct parallels in Nebel's dictionary, but cf. perhaps the expression guek ksu 'to chip wood' [Nebel 1979: 33]? Unfortunately, there are too few diagnostic textual contexts in Nebel's data to ascertain the proper semantics for every one of these items.


Mabaan: Miller 2006: 9. Reduplicated adjectival stem. Additional morphological variants include bom-an and bom-ciŋ [ibid.].

Jumjum: Not attested.

Kurmuk: Not attested.

Mayak: Not attested. Cf., however, dəm-ɻu 'thinness' in [Storch 2005: 103].

108. WIND
Nuer ʒiɔm (1), Dinka yɔm (1), Mabaan ʒwam-mo (1), Kurmuk ʒəm-ɪt (1), Mayak ʒəm-ɪt # (1), Shilluk ʒɔm-o (1).

References and notes:

Reel: Not attested.
Jumjum: Not attested.
Kurmuk: Andersen 2015: 550. Meaning glossed as ‘air’, but the word is used in conjunction with the verb wiɛp- ‘to blow’ and is clearly polysemous (‘air / wind’).

109. WORM
Dinka kɔm (1), Mabaan miella # (2), Kurmuk zàːgul (3), Mayak ruːyt (4), Shilluk ɲwel-o (5).

References and notes:

Nuer: Not attested.
Reel: Not attested.
Mabaan: Miller 2006: 74. Plural: myɛlla-. Cf. also sg. ywɛɔ-ɲan, pl. ywo-ɔ ‘worm, maggot’ [Miller 2006: 121, 122]. Insufficient semantic information makes it unclear which of these equivalents better correlates with the expected meaning of ‘earthworm’.
Jumjum: Not attested.
Kurmuk: Andersen 2007b: 47.

110. YEAR
Nuer ruɔn (1), Dinka ruɔn (1), Mabaan yuɔn-no (1), Jumjum yʊn (1), Kurmuk rʊn- (1), Mayak ruŋ (1), Shilluk ruŋ (1).

References and notes:

Reel: Not attested.

Mabaan: Miller 2006: 8. For some reason, the word is only found in textual examples and not as a primary entry. Quoted as *yûn-nʌ* in [Andersen 1999: 101].

Jumjum: Andersen 2006b: 15.


Shilluk: Heasty 1937: 89. Heasty also notes phonetic variants *un* ~ *wun*. Quoted as *rün* ~ *rü̃n-o*, pl. *rü̃n-i* in [Kohnen 1994: 176]. Alternate synonym: *wʌŋ* 'year' [Heasty 1937: 101; Kohnen 1994: 206]. The difference is unclear, but Kohnen's examples suggest that *rün* is better applied to 'year' as a measure of time (e.g. 'two years'), whereas *wʌŋ* is more commonly used in temporal constructions and clauses (e.g. 'this year', 'in the year when...').