

# **IK LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT**

Kaabong District  
Uganda

By Sabine Wiedemann and  
Prossy Nannyombi

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## **References**

## **Abstract**

This report presents an overview of the findings of the sociolinguistic survey conducted in September 2004 among the Ik people who speak one of the Kuliak languages, Ik, which is reported to be very different from other Eastern Sudanic languages. The Ik live in the Kaabong District in Uganda.

The purpose of the survey was to investigate the linguistic situation of the Ik to determine whether the Ik language is being replaced by the Karamojong language. The survey team also gathered information that would be useful in making decisions about a language-development project among the Ik.

The methods used include eliciting a word list and administering sociolinguistic questionnaires. The survey team gathered information from community leaders, teachers, religious leaders, and groups of villagers in two parishes, where most of the Ik people live.

The results of this research by the survey team indicate that the Ik language will continue to be used by the generation to come. The results also indicate local interest in developing their language. Some information collected indicates that the Nyang'i language has shifted to Karamojong.

## **1. Introduction and Background**

### **1.1. Introduction**

The SIL Language Assessment Team in Uganda (Heidi Anderson, Sabine Wiedemann, Leah Schreiner, Matt Connor, and research assistant Prossy Nannyombi) conducted research on the Ik language in Kaabong District. This report presents an overview of the findings of the sociolinguistic survey conducted September 13 through 23, 2004.

### **1.2. Acknowledgements**

Special thanks to John Lonya and the International Mission Board (Baptist) in Kaabong for their help and hospitality. We are grateful to government officials at all levels of local government<sup>1</sup> administration in Kaabong and Kalapata Subcounty for their help and information.

### **1.3. Description of the Ik Ethnic Group**

The Ik are a relatively small group of people living on the edge of the Karamoja-Turkana landscape along the Kenyan border. There are cultural aspects that are very distinct to the Ik people (see section 3.1).

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<sup>1</sup>The local government of Uganda is divided into districts; each with counties, sub-counties, parishes, and villages. Each of these levels of administration has local council representatives; for example, the Local Council 5 (LC5) at the district level, Local Council 3 (LC3) at the county level, Local Council 2 (LC2) at the parish level, and Local Council 1 (LC1) at the village level.

### 1.3.1. History

According to the three group interviews, the Ik came from the North (Ethiopia), migrating through Sudan, and inhabiting the mountains east of Kidepo Valley. The Ik lived there as hunters and gatherers, where they also cultivated the land. They split into three groups:

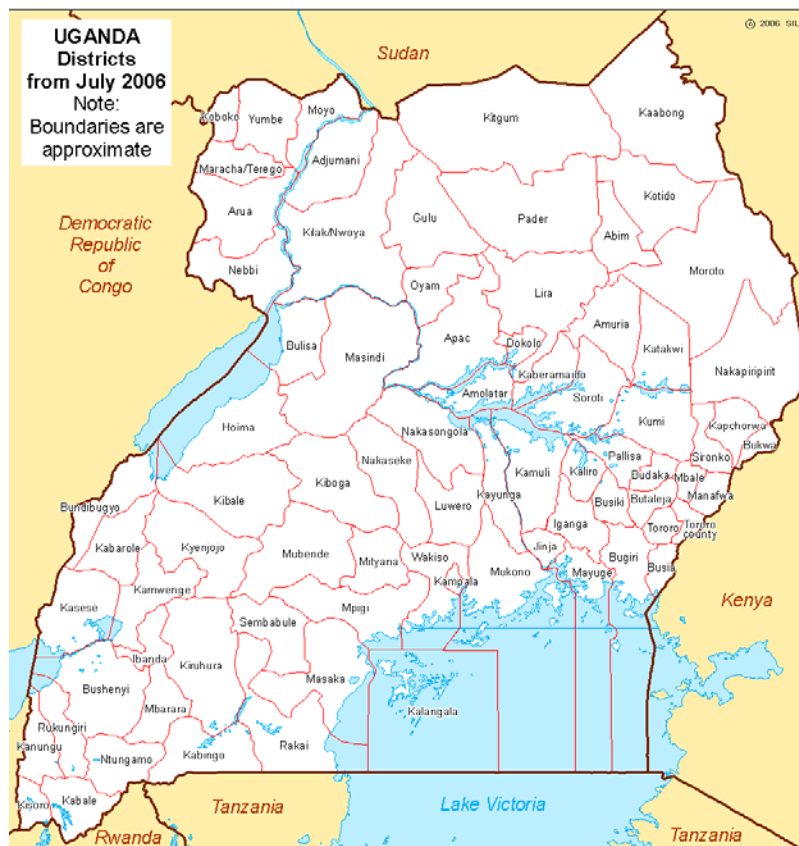
- Tepes, who moved to Mt. Moroto, Mt. Napak, and Mt. Kadam
- Nyangia, who moved to the Nyang'i mountains
- Ik, living on Mt. Morungole and the escarpment along the Kenyan border.

### 1.3.2. Population

Based on the 2002 census, the Ik-speaking population is estimated at around 16,000. According to information from the sub-county office in Kalapata, the population in Kamion parish is 5,636 and 4,260 in Lokwakaramoe parish. The village leader in Lokwakaramoe stated that the population in his parish is 4,689. The two parishes are populated only by Ik speakers.

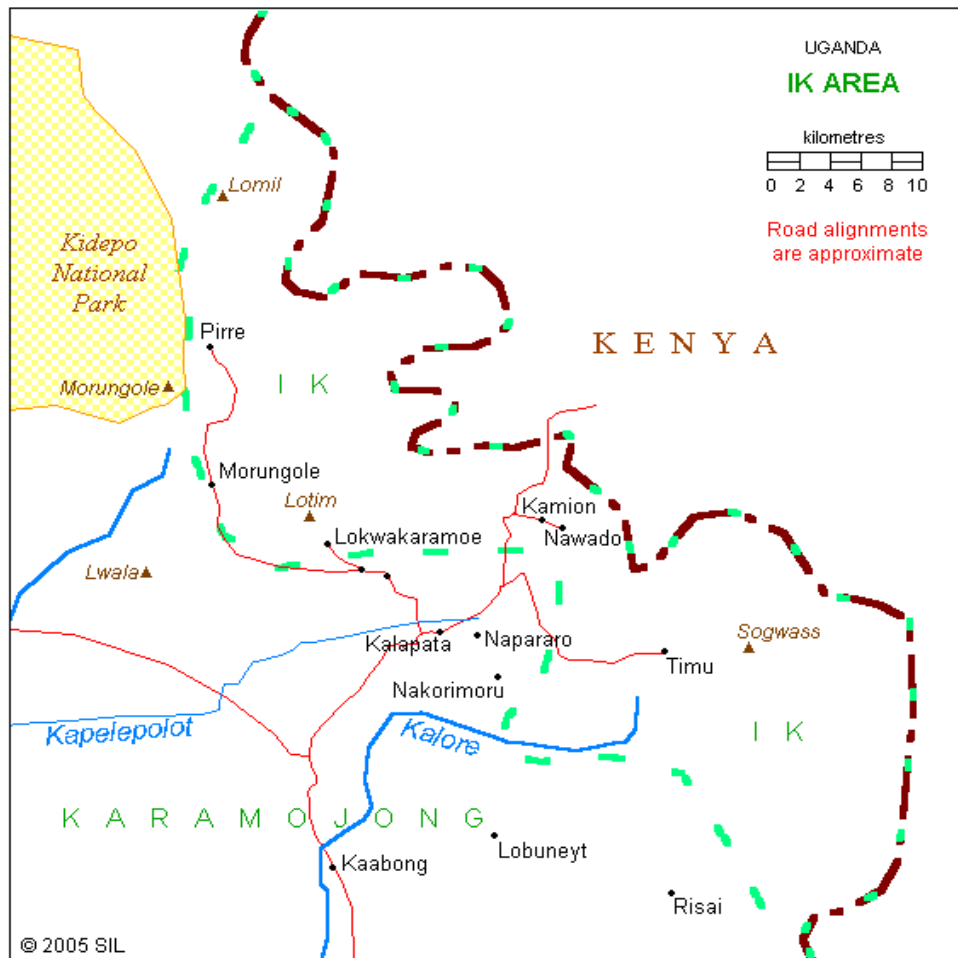
### 1.3.3. Locations

Ik is spoken by the Ik people in the Karamoja region of northeastern Uganda. Karamoja is the name of the political region, which is partitioned into three districts: Kaabong and Kotido Districts in the North and Moroto to the South.



The Ik live exclusively in the northern part of Kaabong District, in Dodoth County, Kalapata and Kathile Sub Counties. The Ik villages are scattered on top of a remote mountain escarpment along the Kenyan border between Timu Forest in the South and Kidepo National Park in the North. The

Ik are bordered in the north by the Didinga and Toposa of Sudan, in the west and south by the Dodoth (an ethnic subgroup of the Karamojong), and in the east by the Turkana of Kenya.



### 1.3.4. Neighboring Ethnic Groups and Languages

#### 1.3.4.1. Karamojong

The *Ethnologue* lists the Karamojong [kdj] of Uganda as classified under the Nilo-Saharan languages with two dialects: Jie (Jiye) and Dodoth (Dodos). These Karamojong dialects have 83 to 95 percent lexical similarity between them and 85 percent lexical similarity with Turkana. The Karamojong subdivide into more than one ethnic group; they are pastoralists. The Karamojong are part of a large group of African people called the Nilo-Hamites, or the Plain Nilotics.

In Uganda, Dodoth in the North, Jie in the center, and Karamojong proper in the South constitute the Karamojong language cluster. The Toposa in southern Sudan also belong to the Karamojong cluster.

#### 1.3.4.2. Turkana

The Turkana [tuv] are also part of the Nilo-Saharan group of languages. Turkana is partially intelligible with Karamojong. The Turkana people are friendly with Jie but are less friendly toward

the Karamojong and Pokot; they are pastoralists. The Turkana are also part of the Karamojong cluster but live outside of the Karamoja region, outside the border in Kenya.

#### 1.4. Language Classification

The *Ethnologue* listing for Ik [ikx] includes the following information:

**Alternative names:** Icietot, Teuso, Teuth, and Ngulak.

**Class:** Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic, Kuliak, and Ik (but it is very different from other Eastern Sudanic languages).

**Language use:** Speakers are reported to use Karamojong as a second language.

The Ik call themselves “icá-am”, pl. “Ik”, and their language “Ik” or “Icetot”. The Dodoth and Turkana neighbors call them “Teuso” (Heine 1999), meaning “poor people without cattle or guns.”

Ik seems to be an isolated language, not exactly matching with Eastern Sudanic, but not fitting into another category either. Ladefoged (1972:83) lists Ik as an Eastern Nilotic language, but adds a disclaimer that it does not fit well into any group. Heine (1976) groups it together with two other languages, Nyang’i and Soo, to form the Kuliak language group. However, there have been basic controversies as to where Kuliak fits into the broader linguistic picture: as Eastern Sudanic, Eastern Nilotic, Afro-Asiatic, or unclassified (Greenberg 1963; Bender 1976, 1989, 1996, Tucker 1972).

Other languages closely related to the Kuliak group (Gordon 2005) are as follows:

Nyang’i [nyp]

**Alternative names:** Nuangeya, Nyuangia, Nyangiya, Nyangia, Ngangea, Gyangiya, Nyangeya, Ngiangeya, Nipori, Niporen, Poren, Ngapore, and Upale.

**Class:** Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic, Kuliak, and Ngangea-So.

**Dialects:** A separate language from Ik.

B. Heine mentioned in an article from 1975 that Nyang’i is spoken by only 100 people. Also that the speakers of Nyang’i have shifted to the Dodoth dialect of Karamojong, which is spoken by all Nyang’i younger than 40 years of age.

Soo [teu]

**Alternative names:** So, Tepeth, Tepes.

**Class:** Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic, Kuliak, Ngangea-So.

**Language Use:** In some areas, the language is used mainly by those over 40 years old. Younger people speak Karamojong as their primary language.

#### 1.5. Previous Research

There are several publications about the Ik and their language. Heine published an Ik dictionary in 1999 and classified the speakers into two groups: (1) older people and (2) people born after 1950, based on their different use of consonants. He estimates a population of more than 3,000 Ik in 1983, and over 4,000 in 1996. He also makes the following remarks about the Ik population:

There is no reliable information on present population figures, but it would seem that it is at least twice as high as that given by Turnbull (1967:64) who mentioned a figure of 1,300. A survey carried out by the Red Cross in 1982 for purposes of food

programs yielded 2,696 persons as living in the Kamion/Teuso Parish including 1,096 heads of family, 1,010 wives but only 580 children. (Heine 1999:11)

Another famous but highly critical publication on the culture of the Ik people was by Colin M. Turnbull who gave a detailed and negative description of the Ik in the 1960s. In the 1980s, B. Heine modified Turnbull's description of the Ik based on his observations and the fact that the Ik were shocked about the way they had been described.

## **2. Survey Purpose and Methods**

### **2.1. Purpose**

The purpose of this Ik survey was (1) to get a well-rounded picture of the linguistic situation of the Ik and whether the Ik language is being replaced by Karamojong language and (2) to gather information that would be useful for making decisions about a language-development project among the Ik.

Another purpose of this survey was to gather more information about the Nyang'i language. The Nyang'i and the Ik are part of the Kuliak language group, but Nyang'i has allegedly been reported as extinct, therefore, a secondary purpose of this survey was to verify if the Nyang'i languages are truly extinct.

### **2.2. Research Questions**

The survey team sought to gather information in order to find out the following:

- The cultural distinctives and main livelihood of the Ik
- The vitality of the Ik language
- Attitudes of the Ik towards the Ik language and/or the neighboring languages, mainly Karamojong (the language of wider communication)
- What language development has been done and what other development is taking place in the Ik area.

### **2.3. Methods**

SIL's Language Assessment Team of Uganda visited government offices at the county, sub-county, and parish level where the Ik live.

Three Ik communities in Kalapata Sub- County were also visited; these include the following:

- Timu Sub-Parish
- Kamion Parish
- Lokwakaramoe Parish.

The research included collecting data through wordlists and interviews. They elicited a wordlist of about 220 words in Ik in Timu Sub-parish and administering sociolinguistic questionnaires. Interviews were conducted in English, when the interviewees were fluent in English; however, in the Ik villages, an interpreter was used to translate from English into the local language.



Sociolinguistic questionnaires were administered to the following:

- Ten government leaders
- Six religious leaders from the Roman Catholic Church
- Three groups of villagers
- Three schoolteachers.

Government leaders at sub-county level are Dodoth; government leaders at the parish level are Ik and originally come from Timu.

### **3. Results of the Survey**

#### **3.1. Cultural Distinctives**

The Ik legend of origin clearly forbids them to fight and kill. They tell how God created the herders, letting cattle down from heaven by a rope, giving the cattle, together with spears, to one group of people, and only the digging stick with the order never to kill. They are proud of their own culture.

##### **3.1.1. Housing**

The Ik villages are characteristically situated on the edge of very steep and precipitous slopes. They have outer stockades (fencing around the huts) of high interwoven sticks, with low openings to enter (for protection).

Within the village, the thatched-roof mud houses are grouped in twos or threes for each family, fenced and separated from the other families. The Ik mentioned that these separations are made to avoid quarrels. The men have a separate place where they gather to take their meals.

In their villages, they keep by themselves and do not mix with people from other ethnic groups. Outside each village are one or two sitting places (men and women separated) where they meet and work (making stools, tools, and other things).

##### **3.1.2. Farming**

Due to frequent droughts in the area, the Ik often face famine. The Ik traditionally live off the land, practicing subsistence farming of tobacco, maize, sorghum, millet, finger millet, bulrush, beans, cabbage, and pumpkins, milling their grain on grindstones. The vital role of farming is reflected in their ritual calendar.

They keep bees, gather white ants, and do some hunting. In some areas, they raise goats for the Dodoth, but do not own any livestock.

##### **3.1.3. Traditional Ceremonies**

The most important social and religious event in the annual cycle is “itowe-es,” the “blessing the seeds ceremony,” which usually takes place in December and marks the beginning of the agricultural year. Another important ceremony is called “dziberika mes”, “the beer of the axes,” which also relates to farming, blessing the agricultural tools with beer.

According to the group interviews, these ceremonies and customs of marriage (anointing women with oil when they get married) are the main distinctives from their neighbors, who practice a culture centered on the herding of cattle.

### **3.2. Language Vitality**

To determine the vitality of the Ik language, aspects of *Language use* were generally considered important in affecting language vitality. Another way of looking into the question of vitality is to see if there is a shift within the community as a whole away from the mother tongue and towards another language

The following sections address the language currently used in the community in certain situations (concentrating on Ik and Karamojong).

#### **3.2.1. Use of Ik**

##### **3.2.1.1. Use of Ik by children**

According to the group interviews, pre-school children and children at school use only Ik at home and while playing. It is also clearly the dominant language adults use to speak with their children. According to the teacher interviews, the Ik children use Ik amongst themselves during recess. Karamojong children use a mix of English and Karamojong. The interviewed groups expressed that the children, as well as the youth, speak Ik correctly.

##### **3.2.1.2. Use of Ik by Adults**

According to the group interviews, Ik is the dominant language in all domains of life by adults and children when they are amongst themselves. The adults use exclusively Ik at home, with their children, and when working together.

##### **3.2.1.3. Use of Ik in the Church**

According to the religious leader interviews, Ik is the main language used in church services and religious domains. Only when the priest (who is not an Ik speaker) or other Karamojong visitors are present, the Ik use Karamojong. In this case they translate into Ik, because not all Ik understand Karamojong. In Lokwakaramoe, both Ik and Karamojong are used in church because some Dodoth people attend services there.

#### **3.2.2. Use of Karamojong**

Karamojong is used with the neighboring ethnic groups and at the market in Kaabong. In the village leader and group interviews, the Ik claimed that they only speak a little Karamojong and the Karamojong always correct them. There were different opinions about how many Ik actually understand and speak Karamojong. According to the village leader interviews, the Karamojong do not speak the Ik language. Karamojong is therefore the only language of communication between the Ik and the Karamojong.

##### **3.2.2.1. Use of Karamojong in the Church**

Karamojong is also used in church services. According to the religious leader interviews, Ik is the main language used for prayers when they are amongst themselves. Their songs are in Ik and Karamojong. The Bible is in Karamojong, and they translate it into Ik during Bible studies. Out of the six interviewed catechists, five were Ik and one was Karamojong.

The Karamojong catechist said that only Karamojong people understand Karamojong perfectly. The five Ik catechists said that old people, young children, even some youth, young mothers, and people who are not traveling do not understand Karamojong. Few Ik people understand Karamojong perfectly.

### **3.2.2.2. Use of Karamojong in Schools**

The language of instruction from P1 to P4, together with Ik, is Karamojong (as there are only Dodoth teachers in Lokwakaramoe). The Ik children learn Karamojong at school, when they have to communicate with Karamojong teachers and friends. To summarize, Karamojong has limited use in the Ik community. The Ik language still remains the language of private domain and there is no evidence to indicate a shift from Ik to Karamojong. It is not clear how many Ik are actually bilingual.

### **3.2.3. Use of Other Languages**

English is the language of instruction in the schools, like the school in Kamion parish. Only few Ik are educated and speak English. The team observed that most of them come from Timu Sub-parish. According to the teacher interviews, English takes over as the main language in P4.

According to the group interviews, the Turkana language is not well known and is used only by a few people. They claimed that Turkana is not very different from Karamojong. One catechist, who had a New Testament in Turkana, said it is almost the same language.

Kiswahili is also understood and used by a few people who have traveled to Kenya.

### **3.2.4. Conclusion**

As noted in this section, the Ik language is clearly vital; it is the language that is mostly used in every-day life by children, adults, church, and throughout the Ik society. The exception is education, where Karamojong is the language most widely used in the district. There is no indication of language shift to Karamojong. Ik speakers believe that their language will continue to be used by generations to come. These factors indicate a strong vitality of the Ik language.

## **3.3. Attitudes**

This section addresses attitudes people have towards their own language, other languages and among the surrounding people groups. Positive attitudes toward the mother tongue indicate an interest in continuing use of the language.

### **3.3.1. Attitude Toward the Ik Language**

All interviews showed that the Ik are very proud of their language; they expressed a positive attitude towards their mother tongue. Men, women, and the younger people in every group claimed that Ik is the language used by all age groups of the population. The Ik do not think that their language will ever die out because it is their natural language and the only language that is spoken among them. The interviewees were certain that youth would not stop speaking Ik in favor of another language. This might only happen if an Ik is moving somewhere else and stays by himself; therefore, Ik is generally the preferred language.

In one group, (Kamion) young people also mentioned English and Karamojong as the languages they prefer to speak.

However, when an Ik woman is married to someone from a different ethnic group, the children will not learn Ik because they have to speak the language of their father.

Every group interview concluded that it is very important to Ik speakers to continue speaking Ik because it is their natural and “God-given” language. In all group interviews, people expressed their desire that the children learn to read and write Ik so that the language will last for many generations to come.

### **3.3.2. Are There Differences Within the Ik Language?**

When asked about the differences, the group in Timu mentioned that they speak pure Ik. This is because the Ik in the other two parishes would mix Ik with Karamojong; two village leaders also stated this. The other two groups in Kamion and Lokwakaramoe did not mention any language differences. All three of the interviewed groups said that the Ik all speak exactly the same throughout the area. They all said that they can tell where people come from by the way they speak.

Since all interviewees agreed that the purest Ik is spoken in Timu Sub-parish, a wordlist of 220 words was taken there. This wordlist confirmed the statement in the dictionary of Heine that *the only variation within the Ik language is the use of a different consonant system*. This seems to not be restricted by age. Although the four wordlist participants were between 20 and 40 years old, the use of ejective, lateral, and voiced fricative consonants (which, according to Heine, mark the speech of older people) was still observed, though not very often.

### **3.3.3. Homogeneity in the Ik Area**

According to the village leaders and the group interviews, most of the people in Kamion and Lokwakaramoe parishes are Ik.

When asked about intermarriage with other ethnic groups, two groups said that intermarriage with the neighboring ethnic groups (Dodoth, Turkana, Didinga, and Toposa) is rare, while one group said that they intermarry often. All groups mentioned that only women marry outside their people group. The men do not, because without cattle they are not able to pay the dowry.

Their concept of themselves as a mountain people is vital to their sense of identity and holds them together as an ethnic group. According to the group interviews, the Ik are not willing to leave the mountains, although they often faced times of famine because of the drought. The interviewed Dodoth also stated that the Ik like to live in the mountains and referred to them as “*mountain people*”; therefore, the Ik form a coherent ethnic group.

### **3.3.4. Relationships with Neighbors**

Groups and village leaders were asked about the relationships between the Ik and their neighbors. The Ik are peaceful and like to have good relationships with their neighbors. They live between the dominating Nilotic-speaking Karamojong and Turkana ethnic groups (who are cattle herders).

In the past, during cattle raiding between these ethnic groups, the Ik often assisted as spies and helped hide the cattle for both ethnic groups in exchange for meat. During the group interview in Timu, the interviewees said they warn each side that the other is coming; the other side gets upset with them about this and say they are informants. They claimed that during these raids their settlements are burned, food is stolen, and ethnic groupsmen are killed.. They also said that the Ik themselves do not fight.

The interviewees mentioned that they have the strongest relationship with the Dodoth because they live in the same sub-county. They intermarry and have friendships; they also get cows and goats from them for their ceremonies and exchange beer. The Dodoth also visit their celebrations. The survey team observed that, in Lokwakaramoe Parish, the relationship with the Dodoth seems to be closer than in the other two Ik parishes. However, the interaction with them is restricted because of the different languages, even though it is the language the Ik understand best after their own.

All interviewees stated that the Ik used to trade animals with the Turkana, but due to a recent incident in Timu Forest, the Turkana are now enemies. However, the Ik said that they are friendly to the Turkana during times of peace.

The Didinga and Toposa (Sudan) are geographically too far away to interact with the Ik.

### **3.3.5. Conclusion Regarding Attitudes Toward Ik Language Use**

The Ik have very strong, favorable attitudes toward their own language. The Ik believe their language is sufficient now and for generations to come; it is the language of preference by all segments of society. This is a strong indication that the language is not dying out or being replaced by another language at this time.

## **3.4. Language Development Potential**

### **3.4.1. Interest in a Mother Tongue (MT)-Development Project**

Almost everyone interviewed was in favor of a MT-development project. The Ik would like to have the Bible, schoolbooks, and a dictionary in Ik; their strong desire is that the children learn how to read and write in Ik. They would also like to have a radio program in Ik.

The teachers are interested in having and using teaching materials in Ik. The religious leaders were also strongly in favor of a MT-development project.

### **3.4.2. Education**

This section addresses the education status of the Ik people. Education is a key factor in language development because it provides the potential to resources and guidelines for a direct language-development project. There are two primary schools in the Ik area: one in Kamion and one in Lokwakaramoe (both are government owned). According to the LC3 interview, a school in Timu is proposed. In Kamion there are four teachers, (three Ik, and one Iteso); in Lokwakaramoe there are five teachers (all Dodoth).

According to the teacher interview, there are 491 children enrolled (all Ik) in Kamion but only 103 children attend school. The average age in P1 is between six to ten years old. In Kamion, most children leave school before P4 and very few continue after P7. During the 2-day stay in Kamion,

the survey team observed that only one teacher and about ten to twenty children were present at school.

According to the Timu village leader interview, sixteen children from Timu attend Kamion Primary School. The children have to walk up to thirty kilometers (km) to school (from Timu).

In Lokwakaramoe, there are 420 children (all Ik) enrolled but only 120 attend school. The average age in P1 is six years. The children have to walk up to fourteen km to school (from Morungole). In Lokwakaramoe, a few children leave school before P4, but only a few continue after P7.

Asked for reasons why children do not attend school, the teachers mentioned lack of food, poverty, insecurity, long distance, and few teachers.

There is also the Pajar Primary School in Kaabong (thirty six km from the Ik area); in this school there are no Ik children enrolled in P1 through P3; in P4 there are five Ik; in P5 there are three Ik; in P6 there are five Ik; and in P7 there are six Ik. These numbers are based on information from two Ik boys (one in P5 and one in P6).

The nearest secondary school is in Kaabong; at the present time there is only one Ik enrolled in this school. Two Ik girls are going to finish secondary school in Kampala and three boys have already finished secondary school there. One of them accompanied the team and helped interpret into Ik.

At the present time, only about one-fourth of the Ik children attend school, although the teachers stated that the parents see education of their children as very important. The group interviews confirmed this statement but also made clear that it is very difficult for the children to attend school in remote areas like Timu Forest and north of Lokwakaramoe. The walking distance to school is too far and, due to insecurity, too dangerous. Because of lack of funds, very few people can send their children to schools outside the Ik area.

It seems that the majority of the adults are not literate. When asked about how many people can read and write in one group of about thirty people at Lokwakaramoe, only three men raised their hands. One of the three teachers (Dodoth) said that there have been attempts to start up Ik literacy training; however, at this time, there is no literacy training in Ik.

### **3.4.3. Community Development**

The village leader reported that the Catholic Church and three NGOs have done some development work in the area:

#### **Catholic Mission**

According to an interview in the Catholic Mission in Kaabong, it carries out the following activities:

1. Supports education in schools, like those in the Ik area
2. Connects NGOs that are giving scholarships with students whose parents cannot pay for education
3. Has been involved in constructing a borehole in Kamion
4. Other church activities.

**OXFAM**

OXFAM has been working in Karamoja for forty years, especially providing food supplies during the 1980s famine. At the time of writing this report, OXFAM had just started working with the Ik. OXFAM helped provide finances to pay the Ik working on the road from Kalapata to Kenya (the district provided the technical support) and for planning and providing cement for constructing the clinic in Kamion. The World Food Program provided iron roofing sheets.

In general, OXFAM tries to use only local labor (Ik) as well as having local leadership “community-action committees” involved in all of the community-action plans. They helped the Ik to have a voice in local government as well.

In order to facilitate the Ik agricultural endeavors, the First Lady of Uganda, Janet Museveni, offered some farming equipment and seeds.

**The Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF)**

NUSAF started a training program for project construction (a total of 10 projects) and has a plan to establish a windmill. In Lokwakaramoe, NUSAF built houses for Local Council officials and, in Kamion, built a health unit and houses for teachers.

According to the group interview in Timu sub-parish, some projects have been planned but not executed so far, even though the Ik have done preparatory work for these projects.

The village leaders confirmed that the Ik people were strongly involved in all of these projects by providing land, stones, and local materials. They carried stones and water to build the health units and schools. They were also involved in building the road to Kenya. These projects did not continue because of lack of funds, transport, and especially security.

**3.4.4. Conclusion of Report**

The Ik are interested in reading and writing their own language. However, the educational level is very low and very few Ik have a higher education.

The Ik are industrious and willing to commit to community projects. They seem keen to take opportunities to better their situation in life. However, outside assistance seems vital in order to help the Ik to develop their language.

The Ik are subsistence farmers; they live isolated from other groups due to the geographic location and different culture.

The language is unique, vital, and has high prestige among the Ik. Ik is the dominant and preferred language by all segments of the Ik society and the Ik are convinced that generations to come will continue to speak Ik. There are no indications of language shift to another language.

Socially, the Ik have relationships mainly with the Dodoth and the Turkana, all of whom belong to the Karamojong language cluster and are cattle herders. The strongest relationships are between the

Ik and the Dodoth because they live in the same sub-county. These relationships are based on business and intermarriage.

Karamojong is the language of wider communication between all these ethnic groups. There are still questions about the number of Ik who are bilingual in Karamonjong.

There is a strong vision in the entire Ik area for a language development project in Ik. The parents see education as very important but the education level among the Ik is still very low. The low school enrollments are attributed to lack of food, poverty, insecurity, long distance to schools, and too few teachers. A few Ik have attended and finished secondary school.

The Ik are very open to community development and willing to volunteer for projects to improve their living situation. However, due to the remoteness of the villages and the insecurity in the area, progress has been slow.

## Appendixes

### A. Group Interview Schedule

#### 1. Introduction/Group Composition

- 1.1. Where did your grandfathers come from? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.2. What ethnic groups are present in the parish nowadays?  
Ik \_\_\_\_\_, Dodoth \_\_\_\_\_, Mening \_\_\_\_\_, Turkana \_\_\_\_\_, Nyang'I \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.3. What ethnic groups are present here during the meeting?  
Ik \_\_\_\_\_, Dodoth \_\_\_\_\_, Mening \_\_\_\_\_, Turkana \_\_\_\_\_, Nyang'I \_\_\_\_\_.

#### 2. Language Relationships

- 2.1. Where is Ik used (in what Districts/Counties/Sub-Counties/Countries)? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.2. Who borders with the Ik to the north? \_\_\_\_\_. What is the last Ik Parish to the:  
North \_\_\_\_\_?, West \_\_\_\_\_?, East \_\_\_\_\_?, South \_\_\_\_\_?
- 2.3. a. If you heard someone speaking Ik, would you be able to tell where he came from by the way he speaks? \_\_\_\_\_.  
b. Would you be able to tell which village he was from? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.4. a. If I want to learn good Ik which is correct, where should I go? \_\_\_\_\_.  
b. Why? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.5. a. What is the relationship between the Ik and the Dodoth (D) \_\_\_\_\_, Mening (M) \_\_\_\_\_,  
Turkana (T) \_\_\_\_\_, Soo (Soo/Tepeth) \_\_\_\_\_,  
Nyang'I (N) \_\_\_\_\_.



**Multilingualism** (related and unrelated speech varieties; inter-comprehension; see the following chart):

Language group:	2.5.b. Is the _____ language similar to Ik?	2.5.c. Are the differences in words or only in pronunciation (accent)?		2.5.d. Which language do you speak when you meet with _____ people?	2.5.e. Can children of age six <b>understand</b> _____?  2.5.f. ( <i>If No</i> ) They start to understand when they reach which age?	2.5.g. Are there Ik who know how to <b>speak</b> ? _____		2.5.i. Where do they live? _____
		Words	Accent			2.5.h. ( <i>If Yes</i> ) Well ( <b>W</b> ) or only little ( <b>L</b> )? <b>W/L</b>		
Dodoth	Y / N				Y / N	Y / N		
Turkana	Y / N				Y / N	Y / N		
Soo/Tepeth	Y / N				Y / N	Y / N		
Nyang'I	Y / N				Y / N	Y / N		
Mening	Y / N				Y / N	Y / N		

### 3. Language Use & Attitudes

- 3.1. What language do the younger children who haven't entered school use when playing together? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.2. a. What language do the school-aged children use when playing? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. Young people, which language do you really prefer to speak? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Why? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 c. Women, which language do you really prefer to speak? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Why? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 d. Men, which language do you really prefer to speak? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Why? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.4. What language do you speak when you are working together? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.5. If you meet other Ik in Kabong, which language do you use to speak? \_\_\_\_\_.

### 4. Language Shift

- 4.1. a. Do the children here speak Ik correctly, as it should be spoken? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. Do the young people here speak Ik correctly, as it should be spoken? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 4.2. When the children of this village become adults and have children, what language do you think those children will speak? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 4.3. a. Is it important to continue speaking Ik? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. Why? \_\_\_\_\_.

	English	Karamojong	Kiswahili
4.4.a. When you are the only Ik, do you ever speak _____ with each other? _____ b. When / In what situations? _____	Y____, N____	Y____, N____	Y____, N____
c. Do the children speak _____?			
d. When do children learn _____?			

### 5. Socioeconomic Environment

- 5.1. a. Where do the people from this parish go to buy/sell goods? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. Which languages do you use there? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 5.2. a. Do the Ik of this village marry people from other ethnic groups? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.  
 b. (*If Yes*) From which ethnic group? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 c. Often or seldom? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 d. Is it a good thing or bad? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 e. What languages do their children speak at home? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 5.3. What customs do you have that differentiate the Ik from other ethnic groups? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 5.4. a. Are there Ik from this village who have moved outside the Ik area? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.  
 b. Many or a few? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 c. Why do they leave? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 5.5. a. Is there cooperation between Ik villages? \_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. (*If yes*) what things do people do together? \_\_\_\_\_.

### 6. Language Development

- 6.1. Can the Ik read Ik? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- 6.2. In which language is the Bible you use? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 6.3. Do you sing Christian songs in Ik? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- 6.4. Have you ever seen anything written in Ik? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- 6.5. Is it important to read and write in Ik? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 6.6. What types of books would you like to read in Ik? \_\_\_\_\_.

## B. Village Leader Interview Schedule

### 1. Demographics:

- 1.1. a. How many Sub-County/Parishes are in this County/Subcounty? \_\_\_\_\_, b. What are their names? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.2. a. What is the population of this parish/Subcty/Cty? \_\_\_\_\_, b. And of these villages? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.3. In this Sub-County, there are people from which ethnic groups? \_\_\_\_\_ (*Example: Ik/I; Dodoth/D; etc.*)
- 1.4. What percentage of people belongs to each ethnic group? \_\_\_\_\_.

### 2. History:

- 2.1. When was the village/parish started? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.2. Did this village have another name in the past? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.3. What is the origin of the parish (what group)? \_\_\_\_\_.

### 3. Development:

- 3.1. What do the Ik do to provide for themselves? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.2. Have there been any mission/NGO development projects here? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.3. What kinds of projects have been initiated by villagers? \_\_\_\_\_ How is it/was it going? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.4. Do people ever volunteer for projects? \_\_\_\_\_.

### 4. Religious composition:

- 4.1. What denominations are present in the Sub-County/County? \_\_\_\_\_ Which denomination is in the majority? \_\_\_\_\_ Which one follows next? \_\_\_\_\_. Can you estimate what percentage of the villagers belong to each of these denominations? \_\_\_\_\_.

### 5. Education:

- 5.1. How many primary schools are in this Sub-County/Parish? Government: \_\_\_\_\_, Private: \_\_\_\_\_.
- 5.2. How many secondary schools are here? \_\_\_\_\_ (*If there isn't one, where is the nearest? \_\_\_\_\_.*)
- 5.3. a. Out of all the school-aged children, approximately how many children attend school?  
 All \_\_\_\_\_, Most \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. What portion of children leaves school or don't study? \_\_\_\_\_  
 c. (*If in a Sub-County office*): Number of children who attend in this Sub-County \_\_\_\_\_.  
 d. Number (estimate) of Ik school children in this Sub-County \_\_\_\_\_.  
 e. Number of teachers in this Sub-County \_\_\_\_\_.

**6. Language Relationships:**

- 6.1. Where is your language used? \_\_\_\_\_ In what Districts/Counties/Countries? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 6.2. If I want to learn good Ik (i.e. which is correct), where should I go? \_\_\_\_\_. Why? \_\_\_\_\_.

	a. Nyang'I	b. Mening	c. Dodoth	d. Turkana	e. Soo
6.3. What kind of relationship is there between the Ik and the ...?					
6.4. Are the languages similar?					
6.5. What are the differences?					

- 6.6. Other than Ik, which language do the Ik understand best? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 6.7. With which ethnic groups do the Ik have the closest relationship? \_\_\_\_\_.

**C. Teacher Interview Schedule**

**NOTE: If at a secondary school, ask 1.1, 1.5, 1.6, 1.11, 2.5, 2.6, and 3.**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_, Mother tongue: \_\_\_\_\_, Position: \_\_\_\_\_, Yrs. at school: \_\_\_\_\_.

District: \_\_\_\_\_, County: \_\_\_\_\_, Sub-County: \_\_\_\_\_, Parish: \_\_\_\_\_.

Mailing address: \_\_\_\_\_, School founded: \_\_\_\_\_, Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_, Date: \_\_\_\_\_.

Names/positions/ethnic groups of other teachers, if participating in the interview: \_\_\_\_\_.

**1. School Demographics**

- 1.1. a. How many students are enrolled in (this) school? \_\_\_\_\_. b. How many are Ik? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.2. a. How many students actually attend? \_\_\_\_\_. b. How many Ik students actually attend? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.3. What distance do the children have to travel to attend school? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.4. What is the average age of those entering Primary 1? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.5. a. How many teachers teach at this school? \_\_\_\_\_. b. From which ethnic groups are they? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.6. a. How many students are there now in Primary 1? \_\_\_\_\_. b. In Primary 4? \_\_\_\_\_. c. In Primary 7? \_\_\_\_\_.  
d. How was it last year? In Primary 1? \_\_\_\_\_, In Primary 4? \_\_\_\_\_, In Primary 7? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.7. a. How many stay at home and do not study? None \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.7. b. (*If mixed:*) How many Ik don't study? None \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.8. What are some reasons why the children don't attend school? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.9. a. Normally, among the students who start Primary 1, how many of these leave school before finishing Primary 4?  
None \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, Most \_\_\_\_\_, All \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. Among the students who start Primary 1, how many Ik leave school before finishing P 4? None? \_\_\_\_\_,  
A few? \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, Most \_\_\_\_\_, All \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.10. a. How many complete Primary 7? None \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, Most \_\_\_\_\_, All \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. How many Ik complete primary 7? None \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, Most \_\_\_\_\_, All \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.11. a. How many continue after Primary 7? None \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, Most \_\_\_\_\_, All \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. How many Ik continue after Primary 7? None \_\_\_\_\_, A few \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, Most \_\_\_\_\_, All \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. How many go on to secondary school? In 2003? \_\_\_\_\_, In 2004? \_\_\_\_\_.
- (**At Secondary School**): How many go on to other higher education? \_\_\_\_\_.
- d. Of those that go to university, do they return to live in the village? \_\_\_\_\_.

## 2. Bilingualism

- 2.1. Which language is the language of instruction for the first years? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.2. When does English become the main language of instruction? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.3. a. In general, at what level do children know English well? \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. At what level do the Ik know English well? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.4. What language do the Ik teachers use to speak with students outside the classroom? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.5. What language do the children use with each other during recess? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.6. In general, what is your impression of the use of English in the village? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.7. What is your impression of the use of Karane'ung among the Ik in this parish? \_\_\_\_\_.

## 3. Development

- 3.1. Do you think it is important for the students to learn to read and write their mother tongue? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.2. a. Are the students taught to read and write in Ik? \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. Have there been projects to teach Ik in the past? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- c. Is it still in progress? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.3. a. Are there teaching materials in Ik? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. (*If No*): Would you be interested in having or developing teaching materials in Ik? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. (*If Yes*): Are they used? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.4. How important is education to Ik parents? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.5. a. In which language(s) would they benefit hearing the Bible? \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. (*If No*) Would they benefit from having the scriptures in Ik? \_\_\_\_\_ How? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. Why? \_\_\_\_\_.

## D. Regional Religious Leader Interview Schedule

### 1. General Statistics on Denomination

- 1.1. When did this denomination come to northeast Uganda? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.2. What is the leadership system of your denomination? \_\_\_\_\_; (*If unknown*): \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.3. How many diocese of your denomination are there in the District? \_\_\_\_\_.
- Diocese Area: \_\_\_\_\_, Districts/Counties \_\_\_\_\_, Headquarters \_\_\_\_\_, Bishops \_\_\_\_\_.
- Within the diocese of \_\_\_\_\_, how many Parishes are there? \_\_\_\_\_.

#### *Cover for each diocese and get the following data:*

Deanery \_\_\_\_\_, Covers which area? \_\_\_\_\_, Outstations/Subparish \_\_\_\_\_,  
 Number of Pastors \_\_\_\_\_, Number of Lay-leaders \_\_\_\_\_, Archdeaconary (Parish) \_\_\_\_\_,  
 Number of congregations \_\_\_\_\_, Priests \_\_\_\_\_, Catechists \_\_\_\_\_, Number of members \_\_\_\_\_,  
 Number of Ik \_\_\_\_\_.

### 2. Community Religion

#### **NOTE: Use these answers for the following questions:**

All (A), Most (M), Three-quarters ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ), One-half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), One-quarter ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ), Few (F), or None (N)

- 2.1. How many people in this area are Christians? A \_\_\_\_\_, M \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, F \_\_\_\_\_, N \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.2. How many people in this area are Muslims? A \_\_\_\_\_, M \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, F \_\_\_\_\_, N \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.3. How many people in this area follow the traditional religion? A \_\_\_\_\_, M \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$  \_\_\_\_\_, F \_\_\_\_\_, N \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.4. How many Ik in this area are Christians? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.5. How many Ik in this area are Muslims? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.6. How many Ik in this area follow the traditional religion? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2.7. a. Do you have any groups in your area who have not heard the gospel? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. Why do you think they haven't heard the gospel? \_\_\_\_\_.
- d. Do you have any plans for sharing the gospel with these groups? \_\_\_\_\_, (*If Yes*) What are they? \_\_\_\_\_.

### 3. Language and Scripture Use

- 3.1. a. Are there any vernacular Scriptures available in your area? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. In which languages? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. Is it the full Bible, the NT, or other books? \_\_\_\_\_.

- d. Who translated and published it? \_\_\_\_\_.
- e. Are the translations still around? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- 3.2. a. Are these Scriptures being used? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. (*If Yes*): By what type of people? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. What impact do they have? \_\_\_\_\_.
- d. (*If No*): If they aren't used, why? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.3. Have you seen any benefit or loss from the use of vernacular Scriptures?
- a. What benefits? \_\_\_\_\_ (What losses? \_\_\_\_\_).
- b. How important is it for Ik to have the Bible in their mother tongue? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. Is the Karamojong NT available in your Diocese? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- d. How many people in your congregation own a copy? \_\_\_\_\_.
- e. Are they used in churches? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- f. (*If Not*): Why not? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.4. Which language(s) do you use in your ministry? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.5. a. Are there Ik who do not completely understand when Karamojong is used in church? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. What type of people are they? (Age, gender, education, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3.6. a. Do the Ik understand deep Biblical matters in Karamojong? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. In Swahili? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- 3.7. If the Scriptures were available in Ik, do you think the Ik would use it? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- 3.8. Would the Ik Scriptures be used in your denomination's services or other ministries? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- 3.9. a. Does the use of local languages have a benefit? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. (*If Yes*): How? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. Is the use of local languages helping people to mature? \_\_\_\_\_, or is it dividing people? \_\_\_\_\_.

#### 4. Church Needs/Vision

- 4.1. How long will your term of service be? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 4.2. a. Do you have any specific goals that you would like to accomplish during this term of service? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. What are they? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. How do you plan to accomplish these goals? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 4.3. What is the most difficult aspect of your job? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 4.4. If the work of translating Ik Scripture begins, are you and the other leaders of your denomination ready to lend a hand? \_\_\_\_\_.

### E. Local Religious Leaders Interview Schedule

#### 1. Statistics on Denominations in the parish

- 1.1. a. When did your denomination come into this parish? \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. Is there a pastor/priest in this church? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- c. (*If Yes*): How many? \_\_\_\_\_.
- d. (*If No*): Where is he? \_\_\_\_\_.
- e. How many churches is he responsible for? \_\_\_\_\_.
- f. Where are these churches? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.2. a. How many lay leaders/catechists are there (in each of these churches)? \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. Are you able to do evangelism at this time? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- c. How are you doing this evangelism? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.3. What is your most effective tool for evangelism? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.4. a. Do you ever go and tell people about God by telling Bible stories? \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. Have you had training in how to recall and tell Bible stories? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. (*If Yes*): who taught you? \_\_\_\_\_.
- d. What is the response of non-Christians to Bible storying? \_\_\_\_\_.
- 1.5. a. Do you have any people groups in your area who have never heard the gospel? Y\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. Why do you think they haven't heard the gospel? \_\_\_\_\_.
- d. Do you have any plans for sharing the gospel with these groups? \_\_\_\_\_.
- (*If Yes*): what are they? \_\_\_\_\_.

#### 2. Community religion

NOTE: Use these answers for the following questions:

All (A), Most (M), Three-quarters ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ), One-half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), One-quarter ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ), Few (F), or None (N)

- 2.1. a. How many Ik villagers are Christians? A\_\_\_\_, M\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$ \_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$ \_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$ \_\_\_\_, F\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- b. How many are Muslims? A\_\_\_\_, M\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$ \_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$ \_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$ \_\_\_\_, F\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- c. How many follow the traditional religion? A\_\_\_\_, M\_\_\_\_,  $\frac{3}{4}$ \_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{2}$ \_\_\_\_,  $\frac{1}{4}$ \_\_\_\_, F\_\_\_\_, N\_\_\_\_.
- (In some cases, ask what the reaction of church leaders/Christians is to such practices and do they participate in them? \_\_\_\_\_)

- 2.2. a. Are there villagers who perform traditional religious practices when they are in some difficult situations?  
 Y\_\_\_\_\_N\_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. Many or only a few?\_\_\_\_\_.  
 c. Are there any Christians who perform traditional religious practices?\_\_\_\_\_.

### F. Ik Wordlist (219 Items):

English Gloss	Ik – Heine	Ik – New	Comments
1. eye	ēk'w	ek <sup>hw</sup>	ekwītín
2. ear	bòs	bos	bošītín
3. mouth/lip	āk	ak <sup>h</sup>	ak <sup>h</sup> ītín
4. nose	āk'āt	aǵat	aǵátík
5. tooth	Kwā	kwai	kwaítín
6. tongue	nākáf	nāǵáf	naǵáfík
7. head	īk	ik <sup>h</sup>	ik <sup>h</sup> ītín
8. human hair	síts'	síts'	collective noun
9. neck	ǵok'ōm	jōǵūm	
10. belly	būbú; gwàǵ; gwàǵ	būbú	āré (intestines); gwàǵ (lower belly)
11. back	kān; jētsīr	kān	2nd is lower back
12. knee	kútúǵ; bǹrùkùts'	kútúǵ	2nd is kneecap kutuyik
13. leg	gūbēs; dē	dē;	
14. foot (if unclear; sole)	dē; āǵík; ák'w	dēák <sup>w</sup>	2nd and 3rd are sole
15. arm	jēpīsīkít; jērótónit	kwēt	lower arm or lower leg/ upper arm
16. hand (if unclear; palm)	kwèt; ák'w	kwēt <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>hw</sup>	2nd is palm
17. fingernail	tíbòlòkòǵ	tíbolokoǵ	just nail, not fingernail
18. finger	kōrōk	k <sup>h</sup> órók <sup>h</sup>	
19. skin (human)	oine (S)	ts'ē	
20. skin (of an animal)	-----	dǵēdǵé	check if diff. words for dead or alive
21. bone	òk	ōk <sup>h</sup>	
22. blood	sè	sè	

23. heart	gúr	gúr	
24. liver	sākám	sākám	
25. horn	kamaran (S)	eb <sup>h</sup>	of an animal (éb)-gun
26. wing (of a bird)	tābān	tābān	
27. tail	tīmōē	tīmōe	
28. egg	bíḡ	ḡiḡ <sup>ṽ</sup>	collective
29. milk (of a cow)	îd(w)	ít <sup>hw</sup>	
30. meat/flesh	ēm	ēm	
31. person/human	ám	ám	
32. man	ḡímókóká-ám	èàk <sup>w</sup>	
33. husband	(níḡi)yàkw	<sup>n</sup> tseāk <sup>hw</sup>	
34. woman	çēk; çēk <sup>i</sup>	cçēk	
35. wife	çēk; çēk <sup>i</sup>	cçēk	
36. father	bábò	bābàt	
37. mother	ḡwàát	ḡ <sup>w</sup> à:t	
38. brother (older, same sex)	ḡát	lèāt	léat (his brother)
39. mother's brother	(níḡi)mōmó(t)	mōmōt <sup>h</sup>	mómót (his uncle)
40. child	īm	īm	
41. son	īm	īm	
42. daughter	īm	īm	
43. chief/king	ḡnērúósīt; ḡírósijò; ḡírōsúò; ámá (ná) zè; ámá zēá-ám	ámázê	
44. God	ḡàkùḡ	ḡàkùc <sup>ṽ</sup>	Possibly ask for plural to get information on traditional religion.
45. sickness	mà-; mó-òn	mō:n	
46. body (human)	nēb	néb <sup>h</sup>	
47. name	êd	ēd	
48. animal	īnw	ín <sup>w</sup>	

49. dog	ɲók	ɲók <sup>h</sup>	
50. elephant	ōɲōr	ōɲōr	
51. goat	rī	rī	
52. cow	ɬɔ̀	fìè̀	
53. bull (male cow)	çúruk	cçúruk	
54. chicken	ɲékɔ̀kɔ̀r; ɲɔ̀kɔ̀kɔ̀r	ɲɔ̀kɔ̀kɔ̀r	collective
55. cock	-----	ɲɔ̀kɔ̀kɔ̀rocçik <sup>hw</sup>	
56. bird	gwà	g <sup>w</sup> à	collective
57. snake	ídèm	ídèm	
58. fish	nīkólíá; ɲkólíá	ɲkólíá	collective
59. insect (biting)	kímúr	kémúr	mosquito
60. head louse	ts'ān	ts'ān	
61. ant (biting/ safari ant)	k'údūk'úd(white)	jórór	black
62. tree	dāk <sup>w</sup>	dāk <sup>hw</sup>	
63. bark (of a tree)	bōdɔ̀k	bōdɔ̀k	
64. leaf	kāk	k <sup>h</sup> ák <sup>h</sup>	
65. shade	kūr	kūr	shadow
66. walking stick	-----	sew	
67. root (of a tree)	dākū-sɔ̀k; sɔ̀k; sɔ̀k-è̀d	dākū-sɔ̀k	
68. seed	ḕd; kīɲōm; ék <sup>w</sup> -ḕd; é̀d-ḕd	è̀kwè̀d <sup>ɿ</sup>	
69. grass	kù	kù	collective
70. flower	ɲátùr	éók <sup>h</sup>	
71. thorn	kàf	k <sup>h</sup> áf	
72. field	rīf; sḕd	sḕd	
73. hut	fīō	fīō	
74. path	mūçē; ɲḕ(ḕ)rukúfē	mūçē	



75. thing—object	kóróbá	korobát <sup>h</sup>	
76. rope	ḡún; sīm	sīm	
77. thread	ḡáús	ḡāusi	
78. chair	kárâts; káráts	káráts	
79. salt	ḡémífi; ḡétsūmbí	ḡīḡigwārí	
80. rice (uncooked)	-----	ḡāmūcçālí	
81. cooking pot (clay)	dóm	dóm	Not necessarily clay
82. iron/metal	tsérēm/ tsērīm	tsērīm	
83. hoe	ḡémēlēkú; ḡákākúrà	ḡémēlēkú	
84. knife	ḡáù	ḡáù	
85. big knife	-----	ḡāwānālít; ḡaḡaḡka	
86. dull (knife)	-----	ḡāuwalauit'; ḡāwālít	
87. sharp (knife)	ts'íts'-ón	ḡāwānats'íts'	
88. axe	dzībér	dzībér	
89. spear	ḡīs	ḡīs	
90. arrow	ḡémàl; ḡámàl	ḡécçīpētá	
91. hole	wats'oe (S); rīp; ḡáḡúí; pùl- és	rīp'	Generic; in the ground; deep large; pierced
92. trap	ḡáwájà; lōwīd; ḡátāts	ḡátāts	Generic; for rats, squirrels etc.; spike
93. enemy	lōḡótóm; ḡimae(S)	lōḡótóm	
94. war	çēm	cçēm	
95. fire	ts'ād'	ts'ad'	
96. firewood	ḡéréts; ḡèrèts; ḡākw; ḡūrōm	ḡāk <sup>w</sup>	3rd is big piece; 4th is little pieces
97. smoke	ts'úd	ts'úd'	
98. ash (es)	káú	k <sup>h</sup> áú	
99. night (time)	mūkú	mūkú	
100. darkness	búḡám; ḡákámùs	būḡám	2nd is complete

101. moon	ārágwān	arágwān	
102. star	dóḥéát	doziát	
103. sun	fēt	fēt	
104. daytime	ódò	ódò	
105. today	nó-ódōá	nó-ódoá	
106. yesterday	násàm; sáátsò; sáásò(sǐn); (ná)sàm(ù)	sá:sòsǐn	
107. tomorrow	bàràts <sup>u</sup>	bàràts <sup>u</sup>	
108. sky	đđi-đwārí (heaven)	gīdók (sky)	
109. clouds (passing, not rain)	gǐd	gǐd	
110. wind (normal)	sūgūr	sūgūr	
111. rain	đđi	đđí;	
112. water	çùè	cçùè	
113. river	sàbà	sàbà	
114. lake	ɲáɲàm	ɲánàm	
115. dew	sīk'	sīk';	
116. mountain	kwār	kwàr	
117. rock (fist- size)	tāb	gwās	
118. earth (soil)	fūm	fūm	
119. sand	-----	fūmʔūmās	
120. dust	bú	bú	
121. year	káén	káén	
122. one	kòn	kòn	
123. two	lèbèts(°)	lèbèts	to be
124. three	àd°	ʔad';	
125. four	ts'agùs; ts'agús-ón	ts'agūs	to be
126. five	tùd°; tùd-òn	t <sup>h</sup> úd'	to be

127. six	ńdà-kèđí-kòn	tud <sup>ɿ</sup> ńdà-kèđí-kòn	
128. seven	ńdā-kīđí-lébèts <sup>e</sup>	tud <sup>ɿ</sup> ńdā-kīđí-lebets	
129. eight	-----	tud <sup>ɿ</sup> nda-kidíaf <sup>ɿ</sup>	
130. nine	-----	tud <sup>ɿ</sup> ńdā-kīđí-t̄sagús	
131. ten	tōmín	tōmín	
132. hot (weather)	háb-òn	háb <sup>ɿ</sup> on	to be háb-òn (too hot)
133. cold (weather)	jáb-ón; ɪáb-ón; ɪáb	ejab <sup>eɿ</sup> on	to be
134. long (thing)	zíkíb(-òn)	zíkíb	to be
135. short (thing)	kúđ-ón	kúđ	to be
136. big	zè-; zò-òn; zēí-s; lojorom-on (S)	zē	1st 3 can also mean old
137. wide	-----	zón	
138. small	kwáts-ón	k <sup>h</sup> wáts	Man, tree, stone, thing, dog
139. narrow (path)	ɪđíŋ-és	ɪđíŋ	
140. heavy	ʔis-òn; ɪnù-ès	ʔisòn	
141. light (weight)	fōkód(-òn)	ōfód	
142. difficult	itio-on (S)	itio-on	
143. easy	-----	bā <sup>h</sup> án	
144. good	māráj	māráj	
145. bad	gààd; gāād-ón	gààn	
146. left (side)	bētsín	bētsín	
147. right (side)	nk'ák'á ày; nǵáǵá ày	ŋk'ák'k <sup>w</sup> ēd <sup>ɿ</sup>	
148. new	ērúts	ērúts	
149. all	mùŋ <sup>n</sup> ; fík <sup>e</sup> ; ts'íd, tsìđ	mùŋ	
150. many/much	kòm; kóm-ón	kòm-òn, zēis	
151. few	k'wáđ-òn	k'wàđat	
152. red	đíjù	đíjù	

153. black	būdám	būdám	
154. white	ḃèts'	ḃèts'	
155. dirty	ts'âg; ts'âg-òṅ pōmóròm-òṅ; pōṅóróm-òṅ	tsék <sup>h</sup> ḃ	
156. rotten (fruit)	māsán-ón	māsán	
157. he sits sit	gók'-; zèk'w, zèk'w-ét-ón	zèk <sup>w</sup> aṅnts zék <sup>w</sup> ēt	
158. he stands up stand up	ṅkà-; ṅkó-on	ṅkáiaṅnts ṅkái	
159. he lies down lie down	èp-òṅ; èp-òṅ-ùk'òt	ēpáṅnts epuk'ot	
160. he awakens awaken	gōnés(-ón); gōnés-ét-òṅ	ṅkáidètès	to be awake
161. he takes take	d-ùk'òt; d-ùḡòt; ḃḃ-ēt-és; tōs-ēt-és	ḡānúkòt <sup>ṽ</sup>	
162. he carries carry	tābāk-és; tsíd-z-ès; tídz-ès	tṣits	
163. he holds hold	tír-és; tḃkḃḃ-ès	kóú	
164. he fears fear	mòr-òṅ; ḃḃḃḃ; ḃḃ-òṅ; ḃḃ-òṅ; ḃḃ-òṅ	tṣiēp	
165. he gives him give him	māj-, mè-ès	māi:nts'ík	just give
166. he bites bite	k'íd-z-ès	ḡits	
167. he eats eat	dāḃḃit-ès	ṅk <sup>ṽ</sup>	
168. he drinks drink	ābūfī-és; wēt-és	wēt	
169. he pours pour	k'úd-ēt-és; òt-és; òt-ēt-és	òtét	

170. he vomits vomit	hèn-òn; ìlṣḅótēt-és	hèn	
171. he coughs cough	òf; òf-òn	òf	
172. he breathes breathe (norm.)	súp-ón	sòp	
173. he sucks suck	nāk'w-és; k'ūd-és	nāk <sup>w</sup>	
174. he spits spit	tàt; tàt-òn	tàt	
175. wind blows blow	fút-és	fút	
176. he sings sing	īrúk-ón	īrúk	
177. he plays play	wáák	wáák	
178. he dances dance	ďīkw	ďīk <sup>hw</sup>	
179. he laughs laugh	fèk; fèk-òn	fèk	
180. he weeps weep	k'òd; k'òd-òn	kòd <sup>ʼ</sup>	
181. he barks bark	íg(w)òm-òn;	īgúm	of dog or baboon
182. he says say	kūt-ón; tód-èt-on; tód-ēt-és	kūt	
183. he asks ask	ésēt-és	ésēt	
184. he sees see	ēn-és(-úk'ot)	ītél	
185. he shows show	ďód-és	ďód	

186. he hears hear	nēs-és; nēsíb-ès; ĩdĩdĩw-és	nēsíb	
187. he dies	bàd-òn; ĩrĩdét-òn	bātogūtánts	
188. he knows	ĩjĵē-és; ĩjē-és	ĩjántš	
189. he counts count	ĩmāār-és	ĩmā:r	
190. he helps help	ĩŋārés; ĩŋāārés	ŋā:rés	
191. he walks walk	ḅĕk'és; ḅĕés; ḅĕēs-ón; ḅĕǵés	ḅĕǵés	
192. he runs run	ĩpĩrí-òn; ŋàt-òn; tsùwà	ŋāt, tsù:wà	
193. he pulls pull	bébēr-és; ěmĩn-és	ěmĩn	
194. he comes come	àts-òn	àts	
195. he leaves leave	bót-òn; bòt; ógw-és	ógwé <sup>i</sup>	
196. he falls fall	rúb-ét-òn; rùḅ-òn; ĩbũts-és	rũmán	
197. he turns turn	ĩrĩŋ-ón; ĩrĩŋ-ít-és-ùk'òt; muluraŋ (S)	ĩrĩŋ	
198. he burns (sth.) burn	kũp-és	ĕtsúŋ	(to burn)
199. he burys (people) bury	búd-ès	búd <sup>ʿ</sup>	(to bury)
200. he digs dig	tókòḅ; tòkòḅ	tòkób	
201. he weeds weed	dōā(ā)n-és	dōa:n	
202. he plants plant	ĩbīt-és; natukua, itukan-on (S)	ĩbīt	

203. he hunts hunt	írík; ìrìk-ès; k'àk'; ságw	k'ak'	3rd with spear, 4th with nets
204. he cultivates cultivate	tókòb; tòkòb	tókòb	
205. he works work	ṅàkàs; térég(-ès)	térég	
206. he touches touch	táb-ès	tàb'	
207. he pushes push	īfúk-és	ɛfúk'	push around
208. he makes make	bēr-és; ítíj-és; īdīm-és	idīm	
209. she sews sew	tūf-és	tòf	
210. he throws throw	góóz-és-ùk'òt; íbāt-és; tōb-és	gò:s	throw away; throw down; throw spear
211. he hits hit	zéb-ès	ìù	zéb-ès(throw something)
212. he slaughters slaughter	tòṅḍl-ès	tòṅḍl	tòṅḍl-ès (to slaughter)
213. he cuts cut	kà-ùk'òt-; ṅūr-és; īṅēléṅél-és	ṅūr	
214. he washes wash	fít-ès	fít	
215. he hides hide	búd-ès	búd	
216. she gives birth	īmák-ón	gwà:tá?h̄nts	(labouring)
217. he steals steal	dzù; dzūēs-és	dzù	
218. he kills kill	cē-és	cçɛ	

219. he stabs			
stab	gèfèr-ès	gèfèr-ès, ìtsùm	

**Any item in the Heine column marked with an (S) is from the Heine dictionary, but taken originally from Serzisko. As a result, there are no tone markings and the orthography used is not IPA.**

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