



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

Smits, H.J.; Smits H.J.

Citation

Smits, H. J. (2017, September 21). *A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan*. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/57165>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/57165>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/57165> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Smits, H.J.

Title: A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

Issue Date: 2017-09-21

A grammar of Lumun
a Kordofanian language of Sudan

VOLUME 1

Published by

LOT

phone: +31 30 253 6111

Trans 10

3512 JK Utrecht

e-mail: lot@uu.nl

The Netherlands

<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: Storage tree at the house of the author's guest family in Təṛəmaṭṭn (Nuba Mountains), February 2009. Picture taken by the author.

ISBN: 978-94-6093-248-9

NUR 616

Copyright © 2017: Heleen Smits. All rights reserved.

A grammar of Lumun
a Kordofanian language of Sudan

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 21 september 2017
klokke 13.45 uur

door

Helena Johanna Smits
geboren te Den Helder
in 1963

Promotores: Prof. dr. Maarten Kossmann
Prof. dr. Maarten Mous

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. Birgit Hellwig (University of Cologne)
Prof. dr. Alexander Lubotsky
Prof. dr. Sharon Rose (University of California,
San Diego)
Prof. dr. Thilo Schadeberg

The research for this dissertation was funded by Leiden University
Centre for Linguistics (LUCL).

Table of Contents

VOLUME 1

List of tables	XVII
Acknowledgements	XXI
Abbreviations and symbols.....	XXV
Maps	XXIX
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. The Lumun people	1
1.2. Lumun and Tira Lumun.....	2
1.3. Settlements on and around Mount Lumun, and neighbouring peoples	2
1.4. Livelihood	4
1.5. Language situation	5
1.6. Sources on Lumun.....	6
1.7. Classification.....	7
1.8. Published sources on other Talodi languages	9
1.9. Some sources on Heiban, Rashad and Katla languages.....	9
1.10. The research for this study	10
1.11. Language examples in this study	12
1.12. Orthography.....	14
1.13. Glossing	15
1.14. Organization of the book and descriptive approach	16
2. Phonology.....	19
2.1. Consonants.....	20
2.1.1. The phonemes p , t̪ , t , c , k and k^w	22
2.1.2. Remarks on k^w	35
2.1.3. The phonemes m , n , ɲ and ŋ	38

VI

2.1.4.	The lateral phoneme l	46
2.1.5.	The rhotics phonemes r and ɾ	49
2.1.6.	The phoneme w	54
2.1.7.	The palatal glide [j]	59
2.1.8.	Rare sounds.....	59
2.1.9.	Consonant clusters	60
2.2.	Vowels	63
2.2.1.	Contrastive series	63
2.2.2.	ATR (Advanced tongue root).....	66
2.2.3.	Phonetic realizations of ə	67
2.2.4.	Distribution of ə	69
2.2.5.	Co-occurrence restrictions of vowels in roots	70
2.2.6.	Harmony effects across morpheme boundaries	71
2.2.7.	Vowel sequences	73
2.2.8.	Vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries	76
2.2.9.	Nasalization	79
3.	Tone	81
3.1.	General facts	81
3.1.1.	Four tonemes	81
3.1.2.	Tones on vowel sequences: counting morae	82
3.1.3.	Tone on nasals	86
3.1.4.	Distribution in other than prepausal position.....	87
3.2.	The phonetic realization of the tones	89
3.2.1.	Prepausal low tone.....	89
3.2.2.	Rising tone on short (prepausal) vowels.....	90
3.2.3.	High and falling tones.....	92
3.2.4.	Downdrift and downstep.....	92
3.2.5.	Graphs of phonetic realisations	93
3.3.	Tone rules	95

3.3.1.	Tone shift.....	95
3.3.2.	Simplification of a falling (HL) contour.....	96
3.3.3.	More details on Tone Shift: Tone Reappearance sub-Rules.....	98
3.4.	Deviations from the tone rules	102
3.4.1.	Deviation from Contour Simplification: lowering of a final falling tone	103
3.5.	Tone bridge.....	105
3.6.	Clause-final boundary tone with pragmatic function.....	114
3.7.	Intonation effects in isolated nouns.....	117
3.8.	Tonal properties and representation of affixes, clitics, conjunctions and crk	117
4.	Nouns	121
4.1.	Phonological shape	121
4.2.	Tone patterns	121
4.3.	Noun classes.....	124
4.3.1.	Classes consisting of two subclasses	125
4.3.2.	Noun class pairs	130
4.3.3.	Unpaired nouns.....	133
4.3.4.	Nouns and number.....	134
4.3.5.	Noun class pairs and semantics	139
4.3.6.	Class prefixes as derivational tools.....	149
4.4.	Contracted forms with gemination.....	155
4.5.	Complex nouns.....	157
4.5.1.	Diminutive nouns.....	157
4.5.2.	Complex nouns in the t̥ -class.....	159
4.5.3.	Complex nouns: reduplication.....	159
4.6.	Nouns derived from other word categories.	161
4.6.1.	Verb-to-noun derivation.....	161

VIII

4.6.2.	Other nouns and verbs sharing the same root or stem	162
4.6.3.	Nouns derived from adjectives.....	163
4.6.4.	Adverbs functioning as nouns	164
4.7.	Place names and other locative nouns.....	164
4.8.	Descriptive constructions expressing nominal concepts ..	167
4.8.1.	Agent nouns	167
4.8.2.	Other examples of descriptive constructions	168
4.9.	Loans.....	171
4.10.	Kinship terms and personal names	175
4.10.1.	The persona prefix	175
4.10.2.	Kinship terms	178
4.10.3.	The plural suffix - ŋân	185
5.	Concords.....	189
5.1.	Use of the concords.....	190
5.2.	Concords of singular nouns with the persona prefix.....	192
5.3.	Concords of plural nouns with the persona prefix.....	194
5.4.	Agreement with coordinated nouns	194
6.	Pronouns.....	197
6.1.	Free personal pronouns: the full forms.....	197
6.1.1.	Formatives of the free personal pronouns in their full form.....	198
6.1.2.	Use of the free pronouns in their full form: subjects	199
6.1.3.	Use of the free pronouns in their full form: objects..	201
6.1.4.	Free pronouns as complements of a preposition.....	202
6.1.5.	ɔkkwêŋ ‘who’ and ɔkkwí í ‘(the one) who’.....	203
6.2.	Bound personal subject pronouns.....	204
6.2.1.	Combinations of bound subject pronominal and concord	206

6.2.2.	Use of the subject pronominals without concord.....	209
6.3.	Common noun subject pronominal clitics	211
6.3.1.	Subject referencing common nouns denoting people	213
6.4.	Object pronouns.....	214
6.5.	Pronouns as addressees in commands	226
6.5.1.	Imperatives	226
6.5.2.	Commands to a plural addressee.....	226
6.6.	Hortative pronouns	227
6.7.	Pronominals in comitative constructions.....	228
6.8.	Constructions with the associative marker attot , áttót ...	230
6.9.	Reflexivity: ‘oneself’	233
7.	Connexive and possessor pronouns.....	235
7.1.	The connexive	235
7.1.1.	Tone and morpho-phonology	235
7.1.2.	Semantics.....	237
7.1.3.	Attributive and predicative use	241
7.1.4.	Independent use of a connexive construction.....	241
7.2.	The absolute connexive.....	242
7.3.	Possessor pronouns	243
7.3.1.	Tone.....	244
7.3.2.	Morpho-phonology.....	246
7.3.3.	Possessor pronouns as predicates	246
7.3.4.	Reference	247
7.3.5.	Semantics.....	247
7.3.6.	Unexpressed possessors	248
7.3.7.	Independent possessor pronouns.....	250
7.3.8.	‘My home’, ‘our home’, etc.: irregular forms	251
7.3.9.	Position in the noun phrase.....	252
8.	Demonstratives	255

8.1.	The spatial demonstratives.....	255
8.1.1.	Phonological realizations and tone	257
8.1.2.	Morpho-phonological aspects.....	258
8.1.3.	Use of the spatial demonstrative modifiers	258
8.1.4.	The spatial demonstratives as independent forms	260
8.2.	The anaphoric demonstrative c-ɛn	264
8.2.1.	Tonal properties.....	264
8.2.2.	c-ɛn as attributive modifier.....	264
8.2.3.	c-ɛn used independently	265
8.2.4.	c-ɛn preceded by the restrictor í-	266
8.2.5.	The manner-deictic adjective c-ɛɛná ‘such, like this/that’	267
9.	The restrictor	269
10.	Adjectives	273
10.1.	Adjectives as predicates, attributes and independent forms	273
10.2.	Adjectives as a word class	275
10.2.1.	Semantic grouping	279
10.2.2.	Origins of adjectives.....	282
10.2.3.	Verbal origins.....	282
10.2.4.	Nominal origins	285
10.2.5.	Adverbial origins.....	287
10.2.6.	Singular and plural forms.....	288
10.2.7.	Intensified forms	291
10.3.	Other ways of expressing spiritual property	292
10.4.	Numerals and quantifiers	294
10.4.1.	Numerals.....	294
10.4.2.	at-c-út , át-c-út and numeral	299
10.4.3.	Ordinal numbers	302

10.4.4. Quantifiers	303
10.5. The adjective C- ərĕk ‘some, other’	305
10.6. Some remarks on syntax	308
11. Relative clauses	311
11.1. Subject relative clauses	311
11.1.1. Restrictive subject relative clauses	312
11.1.2. Non-restrictive subject relative clauses	314
11.2. Non-subject relative clauses	315
11.2.1. Morpho-phonology and constructions with personal pronouns	315
11.2.2. Restrictive non-subject relative clauses	317
11.2.3. Non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses	319
11.2.4. Cleft constructions: topicalization of a patient, instrument or comitative constituent	321
11.3. The locative relative ná ‘where’	323
12. Verbs	327
12.1. TAMs and TAM-stems	327
12.2. Citing the verb as lexeme	330
12.3. Morphological structure of verbal words	331
12.4. Segmental and tonal shape of verbs	333
12.4.1. Segmental shape	333
12.4.2. Tone patterns	334
12.4.3. Correlation between initial vowels and tone patterns	336
12.4.4. Overview of segmental and tonal properties relevant for TAM-inflection	337
12.5. The basic TAMs	337
12.5.1. Non-dependency versus dependency	338
12.5.2. The Imperative	339

XII

12.5.3.	The Incompletive	343
12.5.4.	The Dependent Incompletive	348
12.5.5.	The Past	355
12.5.6.	The Dependent Perfective	360
12.5.7.	The Completive	366
12.6.	Auxiliaries and other special verbs – defective inflection	375
12.7.	ɔkâ ‘be’	376
12.7.1.	The copula and the Present	377
12.7.2.	‘Be’ as copular verb	379
12.7.3.	‘Be’ in adjectival constructions	380
12.7.4.	‘Be’ as a locative or existential verb	380
12.7.5.	‘Be’ as auxiliary verb	381
12.8.	Deictic verbs	392
12.9.	ikkɔ cɪk ‘sit, stay’	394
12.10.	C- ikkɔ ‘may’	396
12.11.	C- arəʃtɔk + H ‘be still’	398
12.12.	C- icca ‘be still’	401
12.13.	C- úrənn + H ‘just now’	404
12.14.	* arəka ‘as always’	405
12.15.	* anta ‘can (possibility)’	411
12.16.	* appa ‘again’	418
12.17.	Negation auxiliary	423
12.18.	Irrealis	431
12.18.1.	Combinations of irrealis with some other auxiliaries	436
12.19.	C- ira ‘should’	437
12.20.	Itive and ventive	439
12.20.1.	The completive itive/ventive auxiliary C- ätt	447
12.20.2.	Itive and ventive as markers of possibility/probability	452
12.21.	Defective verbs with complementizer element tĩ	454

12.22. C-ɲŋŋ ‘have, must’	455
12.23. Combinations of auxiliaries	457
12.23.1. Constructions with an auxiliary of ‘be’	458

VOLUME 2

13. Pluractionals	461
13.1. Form	461
13.1.1. Further Pluractionals: Pluractionals based on Pluractional stems	468
13.2. Meaning	472
14. Verbal derivation	485
14.1. The Benefactive	496
14.2. The Locative-applicative	502
14.3. The Causatives	516
14.4. The Passives	529
14.5. The Reciprocals	550
14.6. Combinations of derivational suffixes	560
15. cĭk ‘place(s)’: noun and grammaticalizations	565
15.1. The noun cĭk ‘place(s)’	565
15.2. The vague-reference particle cĭk	567
15.2.1. cĭk as part of the verbal lexeme	570
15.2.2. cĭk marking the absence of an expected object	572
15.2.3. cĭk marking the absence of an expected locative constituent	575
15.2.4. cĭk modifying adjectives	578
15.3. Locative proclitic cĭk - ‘just, precisely’	579
15.4. The lexical item ɲcĭk	583
16. Prepositional proclitics	585

XIV

16.1. Tone.....	585
16.2. Morpho-phonology and morphology.....	588
16.3. Semantics and use of ɪ- , nɔ- , tɔ- and tɔ-	592
16.3.1. ɪ- ‘in’	592
16.3.2. nɔ- ‘on, at’	594
16.3.3. tɔ- ‘up on, up at’.....	597
16.3.4. tɔ- ‘at’.....	599
16.3.5. Place names	601
16.4. Complex prepositions.....	603
16.5. ń- ‘with, by, (away) from’	605
16.6. Absolute prepositions.....	608
16.6.1. Syntactic constructions involving the absolute prepositions	609
16.6.2. Absolute prepositions preceded by ń-	617
16.7. Attachment of ń- to an argument that is not its complement	619
17. Adverbs, discourse markers and interjections	621
17.1. Adverbs.....	621
17.1.1. Adverbs and adverbial expressions of time	623
17.1.2. Adverbs and adverbial expressions of place	625
17.1.3. Manner adverbs	629
17.1.4. Some adverbs with miscellaneous semantics.....	631
17.2. Discourse particles	635
17.2.1. The particle -a	636
17.2.2. The particle -na	637
17.2.3. The particle -ti	638
17.2.4. The particle -mé	639
17.2.5. The particle -me	640
17.3. Interjections	640

18.	Conjunctions.....	643
18.1.	ana + H ‘and’	643
18.2.	Conjunctive á - and subjunctive â -.....	647
18.2.1.	The conjunctive particle á - ‘and, while’	648
18.2.2.	The subjunctive particle â - ‘so that, in order to’	653
18.3.	ámma + H ‘if, when’	656
18.4.	akka + H ‘that’	660
18.4.1.	akka + H as complementizer	660
18.4.2.	akka + H with temporal or causal reading	661
18.4.3.	akka + H introducing a noun phrase	664
18.4.4.	anakka + H ‘and when, and after’ and mənnakka + H ‘and when, and after’	664
18.4.5.	akka + H + á - introducing a negative purpose clause	666
18.4.6.	akka + H ‘or’ linking noun phrases.....	668
18.5.	ámma , ámmakka + H and ere + H ‘(just) like, as if’	668
18.6.	məna ‘until’, məna ‘until’	670
18.7.	The complementizer ittī ‘that’	672
19.	Focus	679
19.1.	Subject focus marking	679
19.2.	Non-subject focus marking	681
20.	Question words and particles.....	683
20.1.	Content question words.....	683
20.1.1.	‘who’ and ‘whose’	687
20.1.2.	‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘what kind of’	692
20.1.3.	‘where’	698
20.1.4.	‘how’	701
20.1.5.	‘what time’	704
20.1.6.	‘when’	705

XVI

20.1.7. 'for what purpose' and 'why'	707
20.1.8. 'how many'	709
20.1.9. 'which'	710
20.2. Question particles	711
20.2.1. The question particle -i	711
20.2.2. The tag question word pái 'is it?'	714
20.2.3. The particle for information recovery -a	714
20.2.4. The particle for informal information recovery -ε	715
20.2.5. Absence of question marking	716
Appendices.....	717
Texts	717
Lumun word list	751
References.....	759
Nederlandse samenvatting	769
Curriculum vitae	777

List of tables

Table 1 Basic vocabulary	8
Table 2 Orthography: consonants	14
Table 3 Orthography: vowels.....	14
Table 4 Consonant phonemes	21
Table 5 Phonetic consonants.....	21
Table 6 Allophones and distribution of p , t̪ , t , c , k and kʷ in isolated words	22
Table 7 Realization of p , t̪ , t , c , k and kʷ in additional environments in connected speech across word boundaries	22
Table 8 Distribution of nasal phonemes in words	38
Table 9 Distribution of l in isolated words	47
Table 10 Rhotics: distribution and realization in isolated words	49
Table 11 Rhotics: realization across a morpheme or word boundary	50
Table 12 Pronunciation of intervocalic rhotics.....	51
Table 13 Distribution of w and occurrence after a vowel-final prefix or clitic	54
Table 14 Vowel combinations in lexical roots	70
Table 15 Diphthongs in nominal roots	75
Table 16 Singular noun classes	125
Table 17 Plural noun classes.....	125
Table 18 Combinations of singular k and kʷ with initial stem vowels	126
Table 19 Noun class pairs with 6 or more members	130
Table 20 Noun class pairs with less than 6 members	130
Table 21 (Partly) suppletive pairs.....	132
Table 22 Unpaired nouns	133
Table 23 Birth names	179
Table 24 Kinship and relational terms.....	180
Table 25 Concords of common nouns.....	189
Table 26 Concords of nouns with the persona prefix	190
Table 27 Concords of personal pronouns and pronominal clitics	190

XVIII

Table 28 Modifiers with concord	191
Table 29 Free personal pronouns.....	197
Table 30 Bound personal subject pronouns	205
Table 31 Clitic and free pronouns with Incompletive C- ímma (< imma ‘see’)	207
Table 32 Clitic and free pronouns with Incompletive C- arékə (< arékə ‘work’)	207
Table 33 Clitic and free pronouns with Incompletive C- arəkə (< arəkə ‘eat’)	207
Table 34 Clitic and free pronouns with Completive C- immât (< imma ‘see’)	208
Table 35 Clitic and free pronouns with Completive C- arəkət (< arékə ‘work’)	208
Table 36 Clitic and free pronouns with Completive C- arəkət (< arəkə ‘eat’)	208
Table 37 Clitic and free pronouns with Dependent Incompletive irə ‘say’. 209	
Table 38 Clitic and free pronouns with Dependent Perfective irəkət (< irə ‘say’)	210
Table 39 Pronoun clitics and concords combined	212
Table 40 Object pronouns and clitics	216
Table 41 Hortative pronouns and clitics.....	227
Table 42 Deictic suffixes	256
Table 43 Nouns and demonstratives.....	257
Table 44 Numerals.....	294
Table 45 Restrictive non-subject relative clauses with personal pronoun and Dependent Incompletive	316
Table 46 TAMs of arəkə ‘push’ and arəkət ‘send’	338
Table 47 Imperatives	340
Table 48 Imperatives of arəkə ‘go’ and arəkət ‘come’	342
Table 49 Imperatives with omission of initial ar	342
Table 50 Incompletives	344
Table 51 Irregular Incompletives.....	346
Table 52 Tone patterns of Dependent Incompletives	348

Table 53 Pasts	356
Table 54 Pasts of Benefactive derivations	357
Table 55 Irregular Pasts	358
Table 56 Dependent Perfectives.....	360
Table 57 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts contrasted.....	361
Table 58 Irregular Pasts and Dependent Perfectives contrasted	361
Table 59 Dependent Perfectives of Benefactive derivations	362
Table 60 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts of Benefactive derivations.....	362
Table 61 Completives.....	367
Table 62 Completives of Benefactive verbs	369
Table 63 Irregular Completives	369
Table 64 Deictic verbs.....	392
Table 65 c- arə́tək + H and Dependent Incompletive	400
Table 66 c- urənn + H and dependent incomplete TAM-stem	404
Table 67 TAM-stems and TAMs of * arəka	405
Table 68 arək + H and c- árək + H and dep. incomplete TAM-stem.....	406
Table 69 Completive c- arəkât with Completive and with Past	407
Table 70 Completive c- arəkât /c- arək and dependent TAM-stem	407
Table 71 TAM-stems and TAMs of * anta	411
Table 72 ant + H and c- ánt + H and dep. incomplete TAM-stem.....	412
Table 73 c- ántər / c- ánt and dep. incomplete TAM-stem	413
Table 74 Forms of * anta with dependent perfective TAM-stem	414
Table 75 Commands with ant + H	416
Table 76 TAM-stems and TAMs of * appa	418
Table 77 app + H and c- ápp + H and dep. incomplete TAM-stem.....	419
Table 78 c- áppər /c- ápp and dep. incomplete TAM-stem	420
Table 79 Forms of * appa with dependent perfective TAM-stem	420
Table 80 Commands with app + H	421
Table 81 Dependent Negative Incompletive and Negative Incompletive...	424
Table 82 Dependent Negative Completive and Completive	425
Table 83 Dependent Negative Perfective and Negative Perfective.....	425
Table 84 Dependent Irrealis Completive and Irrealis Completive.....	432
Table 85 Dependent Irrealis Past and Irrealis Past	433

XX

Table 86 Itive and ventive TAM-stems	439
Table 87 Dependent Itive Incompletive and Itive Incompletive.....	440
Table 88 Dependent Itive Perfective and Itive Perfective	440
Table 89 Dependent Ventive Incompletive and Ventive Incompletive	440
Table 90 Dependent Ventive Perfective and Ventive Perfective	441
Table 91 Itive/Ventive Completive and Itive/Ventive Past Perfective.....	448
Table 92 Form features of Pluractionals	462
Table 93 Pluractionals and Further Pluractionals	469
Table 94 Derivations with PASS1 also having middle semantics.....	543
Table 95 Derivations with PASS1 only having middle semantics.....	545
Table 96 Verbs derived with (V)kɔ having middle semantics.....	545
Table 97 Verbs of ‘break’ and ‘tear’	547
Table 98 Derivations of ‘wake up (tr.)’ and ‘pour’.....	549
Table 99 Combination of PASS3 and PASS1	549
Table 100 Tonal effects of the PPCs on low-toned nouns.....	586
Table 101 Tonal effects of the PPCs on nouns containing a H-tone	587
Table 102 Body parts collocated with tɔ- and/or tɔ-	600
Table 103 Seasons.....	624
Table 104 Deictic adverbs.....	625
Table 105 Content question words	683
Table 106 Modifying content question words	684

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful for having had the opportunity to study the Lumun language and write a book about it. I vividly remember the joy I felt upon receiving the news that my proposal had been granted by LUCL – it felt like finally having come on the right track. This feeling of gratitude has never faded, and I like to express my thanks to the many people who have supported me and contributed, in one way or another, to this study. Thanks also to Leiden University Fund (LUF)/Van Walsum for co-financing my field work in 2008-2009.

The support and confidence of Thilo Schadeberg have been very important to me, and his classes a continuing source of inspiration.

Maarten Kossmann was my supervisor from an early stage onwards. His thorough and utterly useful comments arrived in my e-mail with unbelievable swiftness, or were offered on the spot when we met. Maarten, thanks very much for your unwavering dedication, enthusiasm and patience! More than once, I felt you just ‘saved’ me.

Thanks to Maarten Mous and Thilo Schadeberg for their valuable comments, and to “fellow-Talodians” John Vanderelst and Russell Norton for helpful discussions. Thanks in particular to Sharon Rose for detailed comments and clarifying suggestions. Victoria Nyst was my roommate and coffee-break companion. For all our discussions and good times together, herzlichen Dank!

Many other colleagues at LUCL made me feel at home there: Anne-Christie, Ongaye, Rebecca, Khalid, Stanly, Mulugeta, Felix, Azeb, Connie, Maggy, Daniela, Kofi, Mercy, Josh, Sandra, Martine, Allison, Jessie, Gea, Esrih, Merel, Alice, Daan, Zohreh, Sara, Angela, Jean, Christian, Ramada, Suzanne, Hamine, Sima, Maud, Jenny, Sander, Jos, Jenneke, Gertie, Amanda, Sika, Tano, Ndokobai, and surely still others.

I thank Constance (Connie) Kutsch Lojenga for inviting me to join her to Khartoum in 2004 for a linguistic conference and workshops. This brought me into contact with the Lumun language team, which

XXII

turned out to be of crucial importance for this research. Moreover, I benefitted greatly from her fieldwork experience and initial findings, especially in the field of tone.

The Linguistic Department of the University of Khartoum greatly facilitated my project. Abeer Bashir, Suzan Alamin and Abdelrahim Mugaddam helped me obtain the necessary documents for residing in Sudan and travelling to the Nuba Mountains and offered me a welcoming environment where I could always find a quiet place to work. Thank you so much for your help and friendship! Thanks also to Maha, Helene Fatima, Nada, Ali, Ikhlas, Ahlam and all the others for making the Linguistics Department such a good place to be.

When I was in the capital, I spent most of my working time in the Lumun office at the Translation Department of the Episcopal Church of Sudan in Omdurman. John Shakir, Lukka Kamsur, Lotti Tager and Markos Lalu made me feel part of the Lumun team and made my heart go out to the Lumun people. Apart from working with me, you and your families offered me friendship and hospitality, in Khartoum/Omdurman as well as in the Nuba Mountains. Thanks to Nimeri Alamin and Nafisa Abdullai, who worked with me as language consultants in Khartoum/Omdurman, and to Thomas Kuku for always being willing to address my questions. I thank Fajak, Nabil, Kamal, May, Audrey and Vinton, Tim, Amy, Russell, and in an earlier stage Leoma and Sarah, for their assistance, and all the others in the Omdurman office for their hospitality and support. Thanks also to Osman Alope, Hassan Ramla and Abdu Kwoccana in Omdurman.

Gertrud Schneider-Blum (Trudel) and I shared a room whenever our visits to Khartoum overlapped. After your morning tea we set out to our working places, in the evening we cooked and shared the experiences of the day. It was such a good time!

In the Lumun area and Kadugli I got the support of many people. Apart from the Lumun team members and their families, I mention: Osman Aleji, Osman Sabun, Santo Kulubade, Philip Mandari, Bolus Allia, Gabriel Alemin, Appanco, John's mother Okumang Ando, Appanco's sister Nasra, Risala and Nafisa Abdullai, Nimeri Alemin

and Markos Kamsur and family members. A special thanks to Risala and Nafisa: you offered me such a pleasant home at your house for the longer part of my stay in the Lumun area. Thanks also to those who made recordings with me, some of which have been included in this book. Still others guided me through the mountains, helped me with my luggage, welcomed me in their homes, shared food with me, showed me interesting places, received me in their schools and churches, shared their language with me. I am grateful to all of you.

At home, I thank many people for their enthusiasm, encouragement and patience, as well as for their interest in the Lumun people and the situation in the Nuba Mountains. Thanks to Khalid and to Rebecca and Josh for their hospitality, providing a very good place to stay for John Shakir when he was in the Netherlands. Thanks to my colleagues, since 2013, at the African Studies Centre, and especially my colleagues at the library, for their concern and support. Dank ook aan mijn familie en vrienden voor hun steun en interesse, elk op haar of zijn eigen manier. John was altijd welkom bij mijn moeder en bij Anneke en Johan; ook tijdens vakanties met Xenia was er soms nog skype met Sudan; gesprekken onder het hardlopen met Amaranth gingen met regelmaat over het proefschrift. Hans' hulp, in de laatste fase, was onontbeerlijk.

To John Shakir, finally, I owe my most special thanks. You never got tired of my endless questions. Your commitment to the Lumun people and the Lumun language remained my strongest inspiration.

Abbreviations and symbols

NB: Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses are in small capitals.

1	first person singular
12	first and second person singular
1A	first person plural exclusive
12A	first person plural inclusive
2	second person singular
2A	second person plural
3	third person singular
3A	third person plural
a.o.	amongst others
ABS	absolute form
adj.	adjective
ASS	associative element
ALLOW	particle expressing allowance (-na)
app.	appendix
ATT	particle claiming the attention of the hearer (-a)
BEN	benefactive suffix
C	concord
C	consonant
CAUS1	causative suffix -ε
CAUS2	causative suffix -ie
cf.	compare with (confer)
COMPL	completive TAM-stem
CONJ	conjunctive particle (á-)
COP	copula (c-á)
DEP	dependent verb form
DEPCOMPL	dependent completive TAM-stem
DEPINCOMPL	dependent incompletive TAM-stem
DEPPRFV	dependent perfective TAM-stem
DIM	diminutive prefix (ŋa-)
DIST	distal
e.g.	for example (Latin: <i>exempli gratia</i>)
e.o.	each other
excl	exclusive
fr.	from

XXVI

g.	gemination
HRT12	hortative pronoun, first and second person singular
HRT12A	hortative pronoun, first person plural inclusive
i.e.	that is (Latin: id est)
IMP	imperative TAM-stem
incl	inclusive
INCOMPL	incompletive TAM-stem
intr.	intransitive
INTS	intensifying
IRR	irrealis
IT	itive
ITVEN	itive or ventive (depending on context)
k.o.	kind of
lit.	literally
LOC	pragmatic locative proclitic (cí k-)
LOCAPP	locative applicative suffix
n.	noun
N	nasal consonant
NEARSP	near speaker
NEARADDR	near addressee
NEG	negation marker
NOM	nominalization
NP	noun phrase
num	numeral
o1	first person singular object
o12 (etc.)	first and second person singular object
o ₂ 2 (etc.)	second person singular as second object
obj.	object
PASS1	passive suffix -(a)kɔ
PASS2	passive suffix -(V)tta
PASS3	passive suffix -(u)ra
PCL	pronoun clitic
PERS	persona prefix (ɔ -)
pl.	plural
PL	plural suffix (-ŋɔn)
PLC	plural noun class prefix
PLR	plural agreement marked through reduplication
PLUR	pluractional

POSS1	first person possessor
POSS12 (etc.)	first and second person singular possessor
PPC	prepositional proclitic
PR	present TAM-stem
p.redup	partial reduplication
PRO	common noun subject pronominal clitic
PROBS	pronominal base
PROP	particle expressing proposal (- mé)
PST	past TAM-stem
Q	polar question particle (- ɪ)
QW	question word marker (- ṭa)
REC1	reciprocal suffix -(a) rɔ
REC2	reciprocal suffix - ttɔ
RECOV	information recovery particle (- a)
RECOVIN	informal information recovery particle (- ɛ)
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relative word
RES	restrictor (í -)
sg.	singular
SGC	singular noun class prefix
sp.	species
SUBJ	subjunctive particle (â -)
subj.	subject
Sud. Ar.	Sudanese Arabic
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
tr.	transitive
UNCERT	interjection expressing uncertainty (cɔŋ)
URG	particle expressing urgency (- mɛ)
v.	verb
V	vowel
VEN	ventive
VREF	vague reference particle cɪk
vs.	versus
/ /	phonemic presentation
[]	phonetic presentation
< >	orthographic presentation
*	ungrammatical; unattested item; item in protolanguage

XXVIII

Some further explanation about glossing conventions is provided in chapter 1.13.

Maps

Fig. 1 Map of Sudan. Source: Google Maps (accessed 7 June 2017).



XXX

Fig. 2 Southern Nuba Mountains. Source: <http://elevationmap.net> (accessed 7 June 2017).

