# A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan
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**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

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**Title**: A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan
**Issue Date**: 2017-09-21

# 4. Nouns

This chapter presents the segmental shape and tone patterns of nouns and their morphological make-up. It describes the noun class system and discusses issues of number and meaning relating to the noun classes and noun class pairs. It deals with nominal derivation, complex nouns, descriptive constructions expressing nominal concepts, and nouns with the so-called 'persona prefix' and their plural formation.

## 4.1.   Phonological shape

Nouns can start with all consonants that occur word-initially (i.e. all except the rhotics) and with any of the vowels. They can end with all consonants that can occur word-finally (i.e. **t**, **k**, **n** and **ŋ**) and with any of the vowels that can occur in that position (all except **ə**). In nouns borrowed from Arabic some further consonants are found word-finally (i.e. **p**, **ṭ** and **m**).

Out of the 921 nouns in my database, 51 are monomoraic, more than half (490) bimoraic, 285 trimoraic, 85 have four morae and 10 five. Virtually all those with five morae either involve reduplication or are loans from Arabic. Vowels are commonly short (involving one mora), but there are also diphthongs and in a few cases long vowels (involving two morae). Nouns with a diphthong or long vowel are often monosyllabic. Disyllabic words with a diphthong mostly have the diphthong in the second syllable. Long vowels are not attested as second syllables, but there is one case with a long vowel in the first syllable (**ṭʊʊlí** 'hyena'). Longer nouns do not have diphthongs or long vowels, unless across a morpheme boundary due to reduplication. The shortest nouns consist of two segments, either CV or VC.

## 4.2.   Tone patterns

For nouns in isolation, there is a strong tendency to have tonal contrasts only on the last vowel. All other vowels are low. In the tone pattern formulas, L* represents the low vowels preceding the last one

that carries the tonal contrast (and * can be zero). These patterns are the four main tone patterns:

Final low tone (L*.L, also called all-low)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ka** | 'body' | L |
| **ʊkʊl** | 'child' | L.L |
| **cʊmɪan** | 'bone' | L.L.L |
| **kəɽəmɛkkʊ** | 'bat (sp.)' | L.L.L.L |

Final high tone (L*.H)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **cá** | 'head' | H |
| **capʊ́** | 'ground' | L.H |
| **kappəɽí** | 'spoon' | L.L.H |
| **təɽɪkɪáŋ** | 'caterpillar larva' | L.L.L.H |

Final rising tone (L*.LH)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ʈ̪ŏk** | 'dog' | LH |
| **cɔɽ̌ŋ** | 'hill' | L.LH |
| **tʊkɪ̌a** | 'head pad' | L.L.LH |
| **ʈ̪ɛnnɛkkɛttǎ** | 'to be tested' | L.L.L.LH |

Final falling tone (L*.HL)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ʈ̪ûn** | 'onion' | HL |
| **cʊân** | 'rat (sp.)' | L.HL |
| **cɔɽɪ̂ɔ** | 'shell' | L.L.HL |
| **pɔɽɪɔmpɔ̂ŋ** | 'plant (sp.)' | L.L.L.HL |

Some words have a high tone on the pre-final vowel. This pattern can be represented as L*.L.H.L (where, as in the other patterns, * can be zero). Some examples:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **cɔrə́ʈ̪ɪ** | 'goatskin bracelet' | L.H.L |
| **ŋalə́nʈ̪ʊŋ** | 'k.o. basket (small size)' | L.H.L |
| **tappəránʊ** | 'worm (sp.)' | L.L.H.L |
| **ʈ̪aləkíkkɪk** | 'dodging behaviour' | L.L.H.L |
| **ŋɛɪɽía** | 'k.o. watery root' | L.L.H.L |

Two more patterns are found on simple nouns of (presumably) Lumun origin: L.H.H and L.H.L.H. These patterns have only few attestations, respectively 11 and 5 (in my database).

L.H.H
**cakkə́lɔ́k**       'gourd (k.o.)'
**cʊmpʊ́ráŋ**     'monkey (sp.)'
**kapíét**          'jaw'

L.H.L.H
**cakkʊ́ɽʊpíl**     'bird (sp.)'
**kapə́ɽɛnʈʊ́ŋ**    'lizard (sp.)'
**kwɔɽə́ʈɔʈʈɔ́l**    'plant (edible sp.)'

One loan word from Arabic has this pattern as well:

**aləpɪrít̪**       'prayer mat'        (< Sud. Ar. *al-birish*)

Originally Lumun nouns with more than one vowel do not have a high tone on the first vowel. The following noun may (or may not) be borrowed from Tira:

H.L
**ŋáppɔ**       'hunt'[23]

An initial high tone on a simple noun with more than one vowel is found in several Arabic loans. The tone mimics the stress placement in the Arabic item. Some examples:

**páka**          'jerrycan'   (< Sudanese Arabic *baagha*)
**múccʊt̪**      'comb'      (< Sudanese Arabic *mushut̪*)
**cérəʈɛl**      'bucket'    (< Sudanese Arabic *jerdal*)

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[23] Tira has a verb **apɔ** 'take' and abstract nouns in its **ŋ**-class. (Schadeberg 2009, p. 21, 112).

## 4.3.   Noun classes

Lumun has a fully functioning noun class system. Common nouns consist of a consonantal or ∅ noun class prefix and a stem, and always belong to a noun class. Nouns with the so-called persona prefix are a special case (see section 4.10). Nouns most often occur in pairs, differing from each other only as to the noun class. Paired nouns typically signal singular versus plural reference, for example:

**ṯ-ŏk/l-ŏk** 'dog/-s'

Adjectives, including some numerals, demonstratives, possessor pronouns and the connexive agree with the noun class of the noun that they modify. There is also agreement between the subject noun and some but not all TAM-forms of verbs. The agreement markers on modifiers and verbs will be called concords. Concords are typically alliterative in Lumun; in most cases the concord is identical to the class prefix. The exception are the concords of vowel-initial nouns (with ∅ prefix) and nouns with the class prefix **kw**-. These nouns have **w**- and **k**-concord, respectively.

An example to illustrate agreement between a noun (**lɔn** 'words') and its modifiers, and the subject marking on the verb follows here. Instances of the concord (**l**-) are underlined.

| **lɔn** | **l̲-aŋ** | **él-l̲-í** | **l̲-á.kúrrakɔt** | **ɪ-aṱám** |
|---------|----------|-------------|-------------------|------------|
| words | C-POSS2 | DEM-C-NEARSP | C-be_written_at:INCOMPL | in-book |

these words of yours will be written in a book

I define Lumun noun classes in the first place on the basis of the concord they induce. In a few cases, basically singular or plural reference is used as an additional criterion to distinguish between noun classes. Occasional deviations of number reference (a noun of a singular class that functions on the plural side in an irregular class pair, or a noun of a plural class that functions on the singular side in an irregular class pair) are not interpreted as different noun classes.

A third criterion, which is used in some cases, is the prefix itself. It distinguishes between differently shaped prefixes which have the same concord and the same type of number reference (singular or plural). Such cases are considered subclasses of one and the same noun class. The singular noun classes are presented in table 16, the plural noun classes in table 17.

Table 16 Singular noun classes

| noun class | concord | prefix | example |
|---|---|---|---|
| **p** | **p-** | **p-** | **p-ɪra** 'tree' |
| **ṭ** | **ṭ-** | **ṭ-** | **ṭ-ɔɽə́k** 'rope' |
| **t** | **t-** | **t-** | **t-əŋək** 'worm' |
| **c** | **c-** | **c-** | **c-á** 'head' |
| **k, kw** subclass **k** subclass **kw** | **k-** **k-** | **k-** **kw-** | **k-əɽɔ́l** 'tortoise' **kw-ɔɽɔl** 'cheek' |
| **ŋ** | **ŋ-** | **ŋ-** | **ŋ-aṭṭɔkkɔ́l** 'calabash (k.o.)' |
| ∅, **w** subclass ∅ subclass **w** | **w-** **w-** | ∅ **w-** | **aṭám** 'book' **w-aɪ̆** 'cow' |

Table 17 Plural noun classes

| noun class | concord | prefix | example |
|---|---|---|---|
| **k** | **k-** | **k-** | **k-ɪra** 'trees' |
| **m** | **m-** | **m-** | **m-á** 'heads' |
| **n** | **n-** | **n-** | **n-əŋək** 'worms' |
| **ɲ** | **ɲ-** | **ɲ-** | **ɲ-aṭṭɔkkɔ́l** 'calabashes (k.o.)' |
| **l** | **l-** | **l-** | **l-ɔɽə́k** 'ropes' |
| ∅, **w** subclass ∅ subclass **w** | **w-** **w-** | ∅ **w-** | **əɽɔ̂l** 'tortoises' **wɔk** 'shoes' |

### 4.3.1.  Classes consisting of two subclasses

*The singular **k**, **kw** class*

The examples below illustrate that nouns with initial **k** and nouns with initial **kw** (/kʷ/, pronounced [kʷ] in the isolated word) have the same concord. Both nouns have singular reference. On the basis of the first two criteria (concord and singular/plural reference) they belong to the same noun class:

**kapə́ɽɛnʈʊŋ k-aát**     'the lizard (sp.) has come'
**kwalílɪn k-aát**        'the centipede has come'

The labialization in the second case is part of the class prefix, as can be seen when the noun is put in another noun class in order to express the plural. The plural forms shows that the labialization of **k** is not part of the stem, but belongs to the class prefix:

**k-apə́ɽɛnʈóŋ/apə́ɽɛnʈóŋ**     *'lizard (sp.)/-s'*
**kw-alílín/alílín**              *'centipede/-s'*

My database has 24 singular or unpaired nouns with **kw** and ca. 175 with **k**. Both forms occur before a vowel ɪ, ɛ and a. **kw** is not attested before ị, but this is probably a coincidence because cases of singular **k** before an ị-initial root are also only few (just three). Otherwise, however, there are significant differences in the distribution of the subclasses. Unlike **k**, **kw** is not attested before ə and at least for some speakers (including JS) there is a phonological restriction against **kw** before **u** or **ʊ**. A variant **kwucúl of kucúl** 'back' is nevertheless attested (see also chapter 2.1.2). There is no phonological restriction against **k** preceding ɔ —there are, for example, nouns with initial stem vowel ɔ in the plural **k**-class—, but no cases of the singular subclass **k** before ɔ are attested in pairs, while there are seven cases of the subclass **kw** before an ɔ in pairs. Combinations attested in pairs of the subclasses **k** and **kw** and stem-initial vowels are listed here:

Table 18 Combinations of singular **k** and **kw** with initial stem vowels

| *stem-initial vowel* | *subclass k* | *translation* | *subclass kw* | *translation* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ị | **k-ịcịt** | fruit of *picit*-tree | | |

| ɪ | k-ɪɲcɛ | nose | kw-ɪra | small piece of wood or grass |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| u | k-unú | ear | (kwucúl) | back |
| ʊ | k-ʊɽǐ | branch | | |
| ɛ | k-ɛɽʊ | black spot from burning | kw-ɛɽé | pointed stick |
| ɔ | | | kw-ɔk | shoe |
| ə | k-ərét | cloth | | |
| a | k-aɽʊk | goatskin bag | kw-aɽɛ | marking line on the ground |

In unpaired nouns there is just one case of **k** before **ɔ** (**kɔrəkkɔ̂r** 'prison') against two cases of **kw** before **ɔ** (**kwɔɲí** 'residue of beer' and **kwɔrɔk** 'guarding a field against animals'.

It is unclear how the lack of singular nouns with initial **kɔ** can be explained. Perhaps, in a historical \***k**/\***w**-pair[24], the plural class prefix \***w** was reanalysed before stem-initial **ɔ** as part of the stem, resulting in singular nouns with an initial sequence **k-wɔ** instead of **k-ɔ**, which was later on reanalysed as **kw-ɔ**. Subsequent loss of initial **w** in some of the plural nouns may have led to the current pairs which have **kw**/∅. The process may have happened also in plural \***w** class nouns with stem-initial **a, ɪ** and **ɛ**, but more incidentally so, especially in case of stem-initial **ɪ** and **ɛ**.[25]

*The singular ∅, w class*

The next examples illustrate that nouns with initial **w** and vowel-initial nouns have the same concord. Both have singular reference. On the basis of the first two criteria (concord and singular/plural reference) they belong to the same noun class:

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[24] A proto-Talodi pair \***g**-/**w**- was proposed by Schadeberg (1981b, 113).

[25] There are just two nouns with **kw** before **ɪ** and three with **kw** before **ɛ**. There are ten nouns of **kw** before **a**, however, two of these are unpaired.

**waį̃ w-aát**          'the cow has come'
**ɪlí w-aát**          'the leader has come'

I consider nouns such as **ɪlí** as having a ∅ prefix, because a ∅ prefix paradigmatically relates to class prefixes (always consonants) of other nouns. The singular ∅ subclass contains several loans (see 4.3.5). The nouns that are not (or not clearly) loans have plurals in different classes and some of the plurals are (partially) suppletive (see 4.3.5). The singular **w**-subclass has only two members, both have suppletive plurals:

**waǐ/kį̃ɛ́**          'cow/-s'
**wɛ́k/tacɔ́k**          'leg, foot/legs, feet'

In the case of **waǐ** and **wɛ́k**, it is not clear from the singular/plural opposition, nor from the concord (**w-**) what constitutes the class prefix and what the stem. However, because other initial consonants are always class prefixes, while nominal stems are always vowel-initial, I consider **w** as a class prefix. Notably, **wɛ́k** can alternatively be pronounced with an initial vowel: **ʊɛ́k**. It is then assigned to the singular ∅ subclass.

*The plural ∅, **w** class*

Concords of the plural ∅, **w** class are illustrated here. **wǎn** 'hair of a human' is a plural noun with collective meaning. It occurs next to a singular noun denoting 'a strand of hair'.

**wan w-ɪpʊ́k**          'the hair is white, blond'
**ərɛt w-ɪpʊ́k**          'the cloths are white'

Plural nouns in the ∅ subclass are considerably more numerous than plural nouns in the **w**-subclass.

Plurals with ∅, **w** pair up regularly with singulars in the **k**, **kw** class. As in both cases there is variation between a prefix with a labial element and a prefix without, it is interesting to see the distribution of the variants in the class pairs.

In the first place, singular **k** pairs up with plural ∅ (numbers of attestations are given for all pairs in tables 19 and 20):

**k/∅**          **k-apə́ɽenṱóŋ/apə́ɽenṱóŋ**      'lizard (sp.)/-s'

**kw** corresponds both to **w** and to ∅ in the plural:

**kw/∅**      **kw-alílín/alílín**          'centipede/-s'
**kw/w**      **kw-ăn/w-ăn**              'strand of human hair/human hair'

In addition, in some cases the plural noun fluctuates between being **w**-initial and vowel-initial:

**kw/w ~ ∅**      **kw-anɔ̂k/w-anɔ̂k, anɔ̂k**   'moon/-s'

It is lexically determined whether a plural comes in the ∅ or **w**-subclass or in both. Nevertheless, the list below suggests that monomoraic nouns tend to come in the **w**-subclass (but there is **ɔk** as a variant of **wɔk** 'shoes').

**kw-ɛn/w-ɛn**                 'line of stones marking the boundary of a field'
**kw-ét/w-ét**                 'circle of roof skeleton'
**kw-ăn/w-ăn**                 'strand of human hair/hair (of human)
**kw-ɪra/w-ɪra, ɪra**          'small piece of wood or grass'
**kw-ɔk/w-ɔk**                 'shoe'
**kw-ɔɽə́ṱɔṱṱɔ́l/w-ɔɽə́ṱɔṱṱɔ́l, ɔɽə́ṱɔṱṱɔ́l**   'k.o. vegetable'
**kw-anɔ̂k/w-anɔ̂k, anɔ̂k**       'moon, month'
**kw-ɛɽé/ɛɽé**                 'pointed stick'
**kw-ɔɽék/ɔɽék**               'black ant'
**kw-ɔɽen/ɔɽen**               'piece of firewood/firewood'
**kw-ɔɽíkwɔ́ɽî/ɔɽíɔ́ɽî**        'plant (sp., edible)'
**kw-ɔɽɔl/ɔɽɔl**               'cheek'
**kw-alílín/alílín**           'centipede'
**kw-amɛ/amɛ**                 'tendon'
**kw-aɽɛ/aɽɛ**                 'marking line on the ground'
**kw-aṱṱára/aṱṱára**           'k.o. dance'

4.3.2. Noun class pairs[26]

A singular noun class may form a pair with more than one plural noun class, and vice versa. A table of pairs with many members is given first, then a table of pairs with less than six members. The last column gives the number of pairs in my database. Pairs with (partially) suppletive stems have not been included, nor have cases in which there was doubt about the acceptability of a number-related counterpart.

Table 19 Noun class pairs with 6 or more members

| (sub)class pair | example | translation | # |
|---|---|---|---|
| p/∅ | p-ʊl/ʊl | person/-s | 64 |
| p/k | p-ɪra/k-ɪra | tree/-s | 45 |
| c/k | c-ít/k-ít | eye/-s | 11 |
| c/m | c-á/m-á | head/-s | 163 |
| ṭ/l | ṭ-ɔɽə́k/l-ɔɽə́k | rope/-s | 85 |
| t/n | t-əŋək/n-əŋək | worm/-s | 70 |
| ∅/n | aṭám/n-aṭám | book/-s | 18 |
| k/∅ | k-əɽɔ̂l/əɽɔ̂l | tortoise/-s | 143 |
| kw/∅ | kw-anɔ̂k/anɔ̂k | moon/-s | 12 |
| kw/w | kw-anɔ̂k/w-anɔ̂k | moon/-s | 6 |
| ŋ/ɲ | ŋ-aṭṭɔkkɔ̂l/ɲ-aṭṭɔkkɔ̂l | k.o. calabash/-es | 83 |
| | | | 700 |

Rarely occurring noun class pairs, with less than six attested cases, follow here. In a few cases a noun class that is associated with singular reference functions on the plural side in a pair, notably **p**, **ṭ**, and **t**, and in one case a noun class that is associated with plural reference functions on the singular side (**l**).

Table 20 Noun class pairs with less than 6 members

| (sub) class pair | pair of nouns | translation | # |
|---|---|---|---|
| p/ṭ | p-ɛrŭ/ṭ-ɛrŭ | tree (sp.)/-s | 2 |

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[26] The class pairs are also listed in Smits (2011).

| | (PL also **k-ɛrŭ**) **p-əkí**/**t̪-əkí** | ancestor, descendant/-s | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **p/m** | **p-ət̪ɔk**/**m-ət̪ɔk** **p-əɽá**/**m-əɽá** | stone/-s Tira person/-s | 2 |
| **p/ɲ** | **p-akkí**/**ɲ-akkí** | Nuba person from areas south-west of Lumun, across the plains (incl. Dagik, Katcha, Krongo)/-s | 1 |
| **p/l** | **p-əmpərən**/ **l-əmpərən** | Moro person/-s | 1 |
| **kw/p** | **kw-ɪan**/**p-ɪan** | small piece of firewood/small firewood | 1 |
| **k/t̪** **kw/t̪** | **k-upú**/**t̪-upú** **k-amʊr**/**t̪-amʊr** **k-ʊllĭn**/**t̪-ʊllĭn** **kw-ɔcán**/**t̪-ɔcán** | piece, pole of bamboo /bamboo (grain of) sand/sand blade of grass (sp.)/grass (sp.) leaf of edible plant (sp.) /edible plant (sp.) | 3   1 |
| **k/t** **kw/t** | **k-ua**/**t-ua** **kw-acɔ**/**t-acɔ** | strand of hair/hair blade of grass/grass (generic) | 1 1 |
| **k/ɲ** | **k-ʊkkʊ́**/**ɲ-ʊkkʊ́** | unripe groundnut/-s | 1 |
| **ŋ/t̪** | **ŋ-ʊmăr**/**t̪-ʊmăr** | relative of father's side, enemy, murder[27]/-s | 1 |
| **l/ɲ** | **l-ɔpăr**/**ɲ-ɔpăr** | partridge/-s | 1 |
| **∅/k** **w/k** | **ɪkɛ**/**k-ɪkɛ** **wallĭr**[28]/**kallĭr** | giraffe/-s gazelle/-s | 1 1 |
| **∅/l** | **ut̪t̪uɽu**/**l-ut̪t̪uɽu** | Otoro person/-s | 1 |
| **∅/ɲ** | **ʊkʊl**/**ɲ-ʊkʊl** | child/children | 1 |
| | | | 20 |

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[27] The term refers to those relative(s) to whom a man owes revenge, i.e. for which one must kill and for which one must risk to be killed: this is the group of family members on the father's side. The term can also refer to the people on whom revenge must be carried out (the enemy). It can also denote 'revenge killing'.

[28] Also **allĭr**.

There are a few pairs in which the stems of the singular and plural nouns are not the same. In some cases the difference is very small, in others the stems are completely suppletive.

Table 21 (Partly) suppletive pairs

| (partly) suppletive pair | (sub)class pair | translation |
|---|---|---|
| **p-apʊ/aɽəpʊ** | **p/∅** | thing/-s |
| **c-arə́k/k-ərə́k** | **c/k** | belly, stomach, /bellies, -s |
| **c-i̧kí̧t/m-əkí̧t** | **c/m** | heart/-s |
| **c-əpʊ́/m-ʊpʊ́** | | hole in the ground |
| **k-ʊpír/t̪-əpír** | **k/t̪** | sorghum stock/-s |
| **ɔpá/k-əpá** | **∅/k** | piece of meat/meat[29] |
| **w-aǐ̧/k-i̧é** | **w/k** | cow/-s |
| **i̧mí̧t/l-i̧cɔ́k** | **∅/l** | goat/-s |
| **w-ék/t-acɔ́k** | **w/t** | leg, foot/-s, feet |
| **ʊkʊ́n/ɲ-aʊ́n** | **∅/ɲ** | hand/-s, forearm/-s |
| **ɪɽé/ɲ-ɪré** (also regular: **ɲ-ɪɽé**) | **∅/ɲ** | adolescent girl/-s |

Two more irregular pairs follow here:

**cəmaɪt/maɪt**          'bean/-s'
**mǎn/kəmə́n**          'room/house, house/-s'

One possibility is that these are **m**-initial stems with have, respectively, a **cə** and a ∅ prefix, and a ∅ and a **kə**-prefix. However, the **m**-initial forms take **m**-concord, which means that **m** functions as a noun class prefix. Moreover, the semantics of 'beans' is typically associated with the (plural) noun class prefix **m**-, namely numerous roundish items. It seems much more likely that **cəmaɪt**, denoting a single bean, is a case of a double prefix (**cə-m-aɪt**). Also **kəmə́n** may have a double prefix (**kə-m-ə́n**) rather than a stem that vacillates between an **m**-initial and a vowel-initial form. **k**- is not only a singular prefix, but also a plural prefix in the **c**-/**k**- class, a class in

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[29] **ɔpá/kəpá** can refer to the meat of both domestic and wild animals, but also to 'game': larger wild animals that are hunted for meat.

which some paired body parts are found. The notion of a unit consisting of composing parts may have played a role in the pair **măn/kəmə́n**. **kəmə́n** can refer to plural houses, but also to the constellation of buildings or rooms that together form the typical Lumun homestead.

## 4.3.3.  Unpaired nouns

All prefixes, with the exception of **ɲ**, are found on unpaired nouns nouns as well, and no other class prefixes than those found in the pairs are attested on unpaired nouns.

Some examples of unpaired nouns follow here. The number of attestations of unpaired nouns with a certain prefix is given in the last column. Locative nouns (with various prefixes) and unpaired nouns with the **ṭ**-prefix that are derived from verbs and adjectives have not been counted. Denominal derivations in the **ṭ**- and **k**-classes (abstractions and languages) have been included, as well as loans. Cases in which there was doubt or difference of opinion about the noun being unpaired have not been included.

Table 22 Unpaired nouns

| (sub)class | unpaired noun | translation | # |
|---|---|---|---|
| p | pʊrʊcɛ̂ | fog | 14 |
| ṭ | ṭɪak | suffering | 18 |
| t | tî | (period(s) of) hunger | 2 |
| c | capʊ́ | ground | 7 |
| k | ka | body, bodies | 15 |
| kw | kwa | chaff | 5 |
| m | mɪɽʊ̆k | bush, uncultivated land | 10 |
| n | nunṭú | fine-grained soil | 6 |
| ŋ | ŋɪlî | leadership | 1 |
| l | lɪccɪt | threshing floor(s) | 3 |
| w | wɛ̂ | calabash(es) or pot(s) for fermenting flour and water | 1 |
| Ø | accáɪ | tea | 7 |
| | | | 89 |

For several unpaired nouns a singular/plural opposition is not particularly relevant in view of their semantics; an example of such a case is **pʊrʊcê** 'fog'. Some other cases are loans which have resisted singular or plural formation in another class (see section 4.9). In the case of **ka** 'body' absence of a noun *\***a** 'bodies' could be explained from a phonological restriction: there are no nouns consisting of just a single vowel. In an incidental case, the noun is easily countable but lacks a singular/plural opposition. An example is **lʊmʊ́ttʊ** 'bull(s) with very short horns'. A possible explanation is that this word with noun class prefix **l**, a prefix that is associated with plural reference, is a loan from an unidentified language that has resisted singular formation in the **ṭ**-class (the pair **ṭ-/l-** being associated with long shape).

There is no particular reason to regard the classes of unpaired nouns as different from those figuring in the pairs. In general, noun classes are able to host nouns with deviating number-related semantics, as will be exemplified in section 4.3.4.

In some cases there was doubt whether or not a number-related counterpart could be formed according to a certain class pair, and sometimes there was difference of opinion about this between speakers. In some cases a consultant said that it would in principle be possible to make a plural but that people did not use that form. Some examples follow here:

**kənáŋ/?ənáŋ**    'wind'
**ŋəmɛ/?ɲəmɛ**    'sound of crying, tear(s)'
**ṭʊɽît/?lʊɽît**    'food'

4.3.4.  Nouns and number[30]

Nouns in class pairs basically signal singular versus plural reference of the noun. In some cases the singular has an additional meaning that refers to an entity that contains plural units of the item:

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[30] Nouns and number are more extensively discussed in Smits (2011).

**cuccû/muccû**     'bead, necklace/beads, necklaces'
**pə̂ṭɔk/mə̂ṭɔk**     'stone, country/stones, countries'

In the next case, it is the plural that also denotes an object that contains plural units of the item:

**kərɪŋkərĭn/ərɪnərĭn**     'bell/bells, musical instrument made of bells (row of bells on a bow)'

For some foodstuffs that consist of discrete items the plural is used to denote the foodstuff as a semantic collective, for others the singular. Some examples:

SG/PL, COLL

**cî̧l/mî̧l**                   'grain of sorghum/sorghum'
**kaləppaṭúra/aləppaṭúra** 'tomato/tomatoes'
                          (< Sud. Ar. *al-banaḍoora*)
**ɔpá/kəpá**               'piece of meat/meat'
                          (also: 'animal hunted for meat/game')

The case of 'beans' is recalled here (mentioned in 4.3.2), in which the singular noun class prefix **c** is attached before the plural prefix **m**-, with inserted **ə** to solve the disallowed consonant cluster:

**cəmaɪt/maɪt**              'bean/beans'

SG, COLL/PL

**ṭûn/lûn**   'onion(s) (unit or collective)/onions (units or amounts)'
**cʊkʊṛí/mʊkʊṛí**   'edible plant (sp., unit or collective)/edible plant (sp., units or amounts)
**kɛpɪn/ɛpɪn**     'edible plant (generic, unit or collective)/ edible plants (units or amounts)

The sentence below illustrates that some food items are referred to by the singular in a pair, others by the plural. In the following

examples, the class prefixes of these food items have been explicitly glossed as singular noun class (SGC) or plural noun class (PLC):

**kɛccʊ́k**      **k-ɔ́nʊ́**      **aɽəpʊ**      **w-ɔppɔ́t**      **ámm.akka**
market         C-have         things         C-many          like

**ṭ-ún**   **ana**   **l-umú**      **ana**   **k-əpá**
SGC-onion  and     PLC-*lumu*-roots  and     PLC-meat

the market has many things such as onions, *lumu*-roots and meat

In cases in which the singular not only refers to a single unit but also to the items as a group, the plural can denote not only a number of separate units, but also a number of amounts, and it can be used in order to refer to different kinds of the foodstuff.

In the following examples, the plural of 'onion' (**lûn**) is preferred:

**lún**      **m-mʊál**   **m-ɛɽá**
onions     with-sacks   C-two

two sacks of onions

**mʊál**   **m-ɛɽa**   **m-ɔ́-lûn**
sacks     C-two      C-of-onions

two sacks of onions

**lún**      **l-ɛɽa**   **tít**
onions     C-two      in:ABS

the onions are of two kinds (or: there are two kinds of onions)

In the case of 'sand' both the singular and the plural can refer to 'sand' as a collective entity. The plural can also denote amounts of sand.

**kamʊ́r/ṭamʊ́r** 'grain of sand, sand/sand, amounts or kinds of sand'

Nouns referring to cohesive substances (liquid, semi-liquid and mashed substances) are typically denoted by singulars. Some examples from different noun classes follow here. In the translations,

the mass noun-meanings are underlined. The plurals can refer to amounts of the mass, or different kinds of the mass.

**cəkal** 'grain of sesame, sesame plant, sesame paste'
**məkal** 'sesame (seeds or plants), amounts or kinds of sesame paste'

**kappɛnṭína** 'groundnut, groundnut tree, groundnut paste /
**appɛnṭína** 'groundnuts, groundnut trees, amounts or kinds of groundnut paste'

(Semi-)liquid substances very often come in the class pair **ŋ/ɲ**. A plural can virtually always be formed and refers to amounts (portions) or different kinds of the substance.

**ŋəṛǐ/ŋəṛǐ**          'water/amounts, kinds of water'
**ŋʊcʊl/ŋʊcʊl**      'sauce/amounts, kinds of sauce'
**ŋəpak/ŋəpak**    'beer/amounts, kinds of beer'
**ŋʊccôk, ŋɪccôk/ŋʊccôk, ŋɪccôk** 'blood/amounts, kinds of blood'
**ŋuṛû/ɲuṛû**        'asida/amounts, kinds of asida'

Nouns referring to non-cohesive substances with discrete small and roundish particles tend to come in the class pair **c/m**. The noun in the **c**-class refers to a single unit, the noun in the **m**-class to a larger amount (a non-cohesive mass).

**cîl/mîl** 'sorghum seed, sorghum plant/sorghum (seeds or plants)'
**cɔrɛ/mɔrɛ**          'seed/-s'

Unit/collective pairs are also found in the **k/∅** and in the **kw/∅** pairs, for example:

**kakúccị/akúccị**    'coin/money'
**kwɔṛɛn/ɔṛɛn**        'piece of firewood/firewood'

In some of the class pairs with less than six members (table 20) the basically singular classes **p**, **ṭ**, and **t** refer to non-cohesive masses or collectives with discrete particles, while a single unit comes in one of the subclasses **k** or **kw.** It seems that the singular subclasses **k** and

**kw**, more than other singular classes, have the ability to denote a single unit from a collective outside the context of the class pairs in which they normally occur (**k**/∅ and **kw**/∅). Formation of a unit noun in these cases gave rise to the irregular pairs. Examples include:

**kwɪan/pɪan**     'small piece of firewood/small firewood'
**kamúr/ṭamúr**     'grain of sand/sand'
**kwacɔ/tacɔ**     'blade of grass/grass'

The language does not usually apply a specific word for a typical grouping of certain items. Mostly, just the plural (or in some cases the singular) is used and the grouping is inferred from the context or understood from what is usually the case.

| *English expression* | *Lumun* | *class pair* |
|---|---|---|
| a bundle of firewood | **ɔɽɛn** | **kwɔɽɛn/ɔɽɛn** 'piece of firewood/firewood' |
| a flock of goats | **lịcɔ́k** | **ịmít/lịcɔ́k** 'goat/-s' |
| a swarm of bees | **aʊn** | **kaʊn/aʊn** 'bee/-s' |

Typical groups can nevertheless be stated, at least in some cases. Some examples:

**cuŋkut     c-ɔ-ʊl**
crowd       C-of-people

a crowd of people

**kʊṭʊk                    k-ɔ-kịé**
fenced_place_for_livestock       C-of-cows

a herd of cows (not necessarily within the fence)

**ca       c-ɔ́ɽɛn**
head       C-of.firewood

a bundle of firewood (lit.: a head of firewood)

Abstract nouns in the **ṭ**-class (most often but not always derived from verbs) are typically unpaired, but abstract nouns in other classes tend to have a singular/plural opposition. In the case of **ŋɔrɛ**, 'laziness',

the singular noun is used when the abstraction is associated with just one person, the plural when it is associated with plural persons:

| **ŋ-ɔrɛ** | **ŋ-ulluk** | **éŋ-ŋ-í** | **ŋ-á-kk-w-ɔ́nʊ** |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| SGC-laziness | C-only | DEM-C-NEARSP | C-COP-3-C-have |

this is just laziness of his, hers (lit.: laziness only this is (which) s/he has)

| **ɲ-ɔrɛ** | **ɲ-ulluk** | **éɲ-ɲ-í** | **ɲ-á-ń-ṭ-ɔ́nʊ** |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| PLC-laziness | C-only | DEM-C-NEARSP | C-COP-3A-C-have |

this is just laziness of theirs (lit.: laziness only this is (which) they have)

In the case of **tɔr**, 'appetite', the singular and the plural noun are both possible when the abstraction is associated with just one person:

| **t-ɔr** | **t-ɔkkwɔṭ-ín** | **éré** | **m-p-á.ɽɔ́kɔ́** | **kɘ́pá** |
|----------|------------------|---------|-------------------|-----------|
| SGC-appetite | C-kill:COMPL-O1 | like | 1-C-eat:INCOMPL | meat |

I am craving for meat (lit.: appetite has killed me as if I will eat meat)

| **n-ɔr** | **n-ɔkkwɔṭ-ín** | **éré** | **m-p-á.ɽɔ́kɔ́** | **kɘ́pá** |
|----------|------------------|---------|-------------------|-----------|
| PLC-appetite | C-kill:COMPL-O1 | like | 1-C-eat:INCOMPL | meat |

I am craving for meat (lit.: appetite has killed me as if I will eat meat)

However, when the appetite is associated with more than one person, only the plural of 'appetite' can be used:

| **kɘpa** | **k-ípɪɛ** | **ól** | **n-ɔr** |
|----------|-------------|--------|----------|
| meat | C-make_obtain:INCOMPL | people | PLC-appetite |

meat makes people have appetite (for it) (i.e. makes people want to eat it)

## 4.3.5.  Noun class pairs and semantics

Certain semantic notions tend to be concentrated in specific class pairs. This section gives an overview of clusters of semantic content found in the frequently occurring class pairs. These semantic notions will be mentioned in italics and exemplified. All pairs except the strongly semantically specialized **p/k** class pair (trees and shrubs) contain items with miscellaneous semantics as well - examples of such items are provided also. Some special attention is given to nouns denoting people (including ethnonyms), animals, body parts,

and abstract nouns. The ∅/**n** class pair lacks semantic clustering. Most of its members are loans, assigned to this pair on phonological grounds. The semantic clusters found in the Lumun pairs have clear similarities with those observed in Acheron (Norton 2000).

**p**/∅
*people*, miscellaneous

The pair contains several nouns denoting people, including generic **pʊl/ʊl** 'person' and the ethnonyms for the Lumun (**parrô/arrô**) and some neighbouring Nuba peoples (**pappɔ́/appɔ́** 'Tocho', **pəʈɛmê/əʈɛmê** 'Acheron'). Other words for people in this class pair include: **pʊʈît/ʊʈît** 'young man', **pʊcŭŋ/ʊcŭŋ** 'barren woman', **pənân/ənân** 'adult woman without children', **pɪak/ɪak** 'orphan, poor person', **pəʈan/əʈan** 'name sharer', **paʈəʈan/aʈəʈan** 'wealthy person', **pamít/amít** 'traditional healer', **pɪɲɲît/ɪɲɲît** 'singer/composer', **pʊrʊkɔ̂/ʊrʊkɔ̂** 'friend', **pəʈɛ/əʈɛ** 'husband', **parí/arí** 'wife', **pʊʈʊkôn/ʊʈʊkôn** 'co-wife'. Kinship terms have the persona prefix **ɔ́**- and form plurals through a process of suffixation: they are not members of a class pair, see section 4.10. The vocatives of these nouns, however, lack the **ɔ́**-prefix and are in most cases **p**-initial.

The pair includes the general word for 'thing' **papʊ/apʊ**, which denotes objects but can also be used for animals, plants and fruits. It further contains several words for animals, including some generic animal terms: **papê/apê** 'fish', **pʊʈʊpê/ʊʈʊpê** 'bird', **paʊn/aʊn** 'rat' and **pɪɲɪl/ɪɲɪl** 'snake'. Other animals include **pəʈəpêl/əʈəpêl** 'ape (gorilla?)', **pəlla/əlla** 'cat', **pịmɔn/ịmɔn** 'porcupine', **pərút/ərút** 'ostrich', **pɔcáŋ/ɔcáŋ** 'lizard (sp.)', **pɪʈɪmampíʈɪman/ɪʈɪmaníʈɪman** 'spider', **paʈák/aʈák** 'fly', some further insects and also some species of birds.

The class pair **p**/∅ contains the (central) body parts **pɛrɛ́/ɛrɛ́** 'chest' and **pəʈút/əʈút** 'waist'. It also contains **pʊrəʈ̥ôt/ʊrəʈ̥ôt** 'area between the buttocks'. It further has some miscellaneous items such as **pərɪt/ərɪt** 'granary', **pərrɔk/ərrɔk** 'chair', **pakkuk/akkuk** 'hiccup', **pərrən/ərrən** 'stick (of shovel)', **pŭŋ/ŭŋ** 'storage rack', **pɔʈ̥ə́n/ɔʈ̥ə́n**

'k.o. basket', **parantáŋ/arantáŋ** 'k.o. calabash', **paṭəkkara/aṭəkkara** 'k.o. pumpkin', **pərémpə́rên/ərénə́rên** 'lyre' and **pɔkkə́rɪ/ɔkkə́rɪ** 'sorghum (sp.)'.

**p/k**
*trees and shrubs*

The class pair **p/k** is semantically strongly specialized. All words but one refer to species of woody plants (trees, shrubs) and it has the generic word for 'tree' **pɪra/kɪra**. Some examples of species of trees and bushes are: **pɔrɔ/kɔrɔ** 'tree (sp.), **pəṛɔmɔ́/kəṛɔmɔ́** 'tree (sp.)', **pakɛk/kakɛk** 'bush (sp., poisonous, with bright pink flowers)'. Some more examples are given in 4.3.6. The only word in this pair with a somewhat different meaning is **pʊá/kʊá** 'stick, cane (used for beating)', denoting an item cut from a shrub. Virtually all attested trees and shrubs come in this class. One tree, **p-ɛrŏ**, can have its plural not only in the **k**-class but also in the **ṭ**-class (**k-ɛrŏ** or **ṭ-ɛrŏ**).

**c/k**
*body parts*

This class pair has only eleven members. Six denote body parts: **carə́k/kərə́k** 'belly, stomach', **cị̣mmị̣k/kị̣mmị̣k** 'breast', **cəmən/kəmən** 'arm', **cələk/kələk** 'neck', **cịɲị́t/kịɲị́t** 'tooth', **cị́t/kị́t** 'eye'. The pair also contains **cəna/kəna** 'grinding table', **cɛ́/kɛ́** 'stone for grinding', and **cərúk/kərúk** (sometimes **cərʊ́k/kərʊ́k**) 'opening, hole'. Similar to Acheron (Norton 2000), the word 'opening, hole' concerns openings or holes in structures such as a wall or a cloth, or in the ear, nose or lip, but not holes in the ground. The variant **cərʊk** is used in the expression that refers to the anus: **cərʊk cɔ́-pʊrəṭôt**, lit. 'hole of the area between the buttocks'). The pair furthermore has **cɪnṭâŋ/ kɪnṭâŋ** 'bird(sp.)' and **cʊlú/kʊlú** 'part of sorghum stock (without top) with sweet taste (like sugar cane)'.

**c/m**
*round or roundish items, sometimes in combination with being numerous,* miscellaneous

Round or roundish items include **cîn/mîn** 'egg', **callɛ/mallɛ** 'ball', **cırıâ/mırıâ** 'bracelet', **cumpúraŋ/mumpúraŋ** 'ring in the top of the roof', **cuɽukul/muɽukul** 'gathering of people in a circle', **ciŋki/miŋki** 'sun', **cəllakkér/məllakkér** 'skeleton of the roof', **cuɽɔl/muɽɔl** 'big stone, rock', **cattak/mattak** 'middle size stone'. The general term 'stone' has its plural in the **m**-class, but the singular comes in the **p**-class (**pəṭɔk/məṭɔk**). Some round(ish) calabashes are found in this pair (**cakkəlɔ́k/makkəlɔ́k, cakkɔ̂ŋ/makkɔ̂ŋ, caṭṭak/maṭṭak**), but also a type of calabash with a long neck: **cuɽu/muɽu**. This word is also used for 'bottle'. The pair includes (roundish) fruits and seeds, and food stuffs that consist of numerous roundish items such as **cîl/mîl** 'grain of sorghum', **cəmaıt/maıt** 'bean' (irregular pair, see 4.3.2, 4.3.4), **cəkal/məkal** 'sesame', **cɔrɛ/mɔrɛ** 'seed as stored for the next season'. It also has some edible plants and some kinds of roots. A non-food item which shares the notion of being roundish and numerous is **cəṭɔt/məṭɔt** 'star, hail stone'.

Several body parts occur in this class pair, not all of them (clearly) sharing the property of roundness. They include **cá/má** 'head', **cikít/məkít** 'heart', **cəkɛn/məkɛn** 'lower back', **cuɽê/muɽê** 'buttock', **carrú/marrú** 'kidney', **cumɔ́n/mumɔ́n** 'womb', **ciɽí/miɽí** 'vagina', **cuɽuk/muɽuk** 'penis', **cumıan/mumıan** 'bone (generic)', **cɛɽĕŋ /mɛɽĕŋ** 'chest bone', **ciɲɲâ/miɲɲâ** 'shoulder blade', **cəṭıṭı/məṭıṭı** 'pelvic joint', **capərŭt/mapərŭt** 'knee cap', **caɽellé/maɽellé** 'hip', **cîn/mîn** 'thigh', **cəɽollăn/məɽollăn** 'calf', **caún/maún** 'finger'.

This class pair contains some ethnonyms and nouns for people: **cuṭṭô/muṭṭô** 'Arab', **cɛŋké/mɛŋké** 'Dinka', **curumâ/murumâ** 'person without a spouse', **cɔkəntă/mɔkəntă** 'supporting girl (in initiation ceremonies)'. It also has some animals: some birds, some rat species, some insects, **cumpúráŋ/mumpúráŋ** 'monkey (sp.)', **cıpâ/mıpâ** 'feline (sp., lynx?)' and **ciməntɛrí/miməntɛrí** 'hedgehog'. It also has the word for the needles of the hedgehog: **cɔrrâ/mɔrrâ**.

Miscellaneous items include: **cɔɽɔ̆ŋ/mɔɽɔ̆ŋ** 'mountain', **caɽĭ/maɽĭ** 'day, time', **cəɽɔntɔ̂ŋ/məɽɔntɔ̂ŋ** 'vertical pole in the roof', and **cɔpɔ̂k/mɔpɔ̂k** 'arrow'.

**ṭ/l**
*elongated objects,* miscellaneous

Single **ṭ**-class: *disgusting things* (in some cases **ṭ/l** pair)*, abstractions (relations between people, behaviour)*

The pair contains several words for elongated objects or items such as **ṭɔɽə́k/lɔɽə́k** 'rope', **ṭʊpəɽʊ̆/lʊpəɽʊ̆** 'valley', **ṭʊmpîl/lʊmpîl** 'rainbow', **ṭəka/ləka** 'root (generic term), muscle', **ṭɔntərɔ/lɔntərɔ** 'type of calabash with a long neck', **ṭɪpíl/lɪpíl** 'horn (body part of animal), **ṭ̣ɪpíl/lɪ̣píl** 'horn (musical instrument)'.

Body parts found here include **ṭʊllɔ̂ŋ/lʊllɔ̂ŋ** 'throat', **ṭʊɽɛ/lʊɽɛ** 'tongue', **ṭəŋkɛt/ləŋkɛt** 'erected penis', **ṭʊṭṭ̣ê/lʊṭṭ̣ê** 'navel, umbilical cord', **ṭaɽʊmɔ́n/laɽʊmɔ́n** 'chin', **ṭʊŋkwɛ/lʊŋkwɛ** 'liver', and **ṭɔn/lɔn** 'mouth, word'. An elongated shape is not evident in all of them.

Animals include some with an elongated shape such as **ṭʊllɔ̆r/lʊllɔ̆r** 'mudfish (sp.)' (dangerous, potentially lethal animal, can be eaten) and **ṭʊllɛɽák/lʊllɛɽák** 'lizard (sp., with stripes)', but lizard species are also found in other class pairs. The pair contains several animals where elongated shape does not seem to play a role, including: **ṭʊŋkwat/lʊŋkwat** 'sheep', **ṭərɔ́ma/lərɔ́ma** 'ram', **ṭɛpa/lɛpa** 'lion' **ṭakkəɽʊṭṭ̣ákkəɽʊk/lakkəɽʊllákkəɽʊk** 'butterfly', **ṭamʊ́ṭṭɛ/ṭamʊ́ṭṭɛ** 'bat (sp.)'**, **ṭakəɽʊ́k/lakəɽʊ́k** 'chicken', **ṭəkkɔṭak/ləkkɔṭak** 'rooster', **ṭʊ̆k/lʊ̆k** 'dog', **ṭʊʊlí/lʊʊlí** 'hyena (?, sp.)'[31].

The class pair has some nouns for people: **ṭɔmɔccɔ/lɔmɔccɔ** 'old man', **ṭɔmɔɽɛ́/lɔmɔɽɛ́** 'transvestite' and **ṭarɔ/larɔ** 'one person of twins/twins'**.**

Miscellaneous items include **ṭɪ̆k/lɪ̆k** 'fire', **ṭɪpa/lɪpa** 'marriage', **ṭʊpʊt/lʊpʊt** 'year', **ṭɔrák/lɔrák** 'war', **ṭʊrʊpă /lʊrʊpă** 'mixture of flour and water left to ferment (for the preparation of beer)',

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[31] Possibly a hyena species, but less clearly so than **ŋaŋkôr**, which was described as a dog-like scavenger, spotted and with short hind legs.

ṭapəɽɪttínak/lapəɽɪttínak 'mixture of water and ground groundnuts, resulting from cleaning the grinding table', ṭɪran/lɪran 'flour (k.o.)'.

Some words in the ṭ-class refer to 'slimy, disgusting things'. At least some of them have sound symbolic value. ṭəllɛr 'egg yolk, chicken shit' and ṭəllâ 'slime from the lungs, lung disease' (words lacking a singular/plural opposition) were described as ṭəll 'yuck!, ich!', an ideophonic word combined with a facial expression expressing a feeling of disgust. Other words referring to 'slimy, disgusting things' and involving long l are ṭʊllâ 'messed-up food, food eaten in a dirty way' and the earlier mentioned mudfish ṭʊllɔ̆r/lʊllɔ̆r. Though eaten and appreciated as a delicacy by some, many regard it as disgusting. Some slimy, disgusting things involve a rhotic sound: ṭʊrrɔ̂t 'rotten smell', ṭɪrɔ̆t 'mould', ṭʊṭʊ́r/lʊṭʊ́r 'stomach content'.

Apart from the 'disgusting items', there are some further (non-derived) unpaired nouns in the ṭ-class. Some of these refer to behaviour and emotions. Examples: ṭʊkkɪ̆ 'hiding in ambush', ṭaɽə́r 'behaviour and occupations associated with men', ṭəɽɪ̂t 'joy', ṭʊkʊŋkôn 'trouble making', ṭaləkíkkɪk 'dodging behaviour', ṭaɽɔ́k 'working party of grown up people', ṭaṭʊ́ma 'ritual, traditional procedure', ṭʊkʊkkʊr 'dirt on top of water'.

The ṭ-class also contains some nouns that bear a relationship to kinship terms with the persona prefix (see 4.10). These nouns refer to the type of relationship or to people standing in a type of relationship, not to specific individuals. An example is ṭəkí 'grandparent and grandchild (i.e. kind of relationship), ancestry, descendance'. Further examples are given in 4.3.6. These nouns are basically unpaired, but may allow for the formation of a singular(!) in the p-class. [32]

Verbs allow for the derivation of a verbal noun in the ṭ-class, as do several adjectives (see 4.6.1 and 4.6.3). Such nouns are unpaired.

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[32] See also Smits (2012).

**t/n**
*grasses and wiry materials,* miscellaneous

The pair contains the generic term **taṭa/naṭa** 'leaf' and a few grass species. It also has some words that relate to (wiry) plant materials: **təmmə̂k/nəmmə̂k** 'bark', **tʊŋkwaŋ/nʊŋkwaŋ** 'dress made of bark', **tarətta/narətta** 'remaining fibres of sorghum (traditionally used for cleaning calabashes)', **tɪccît/nɪccît** 'husk of sesame', **tị̣ca/nị̣ca** '(heap of) plant waste', **təŋə́k/nəŋə́k** 'fibres for chewing (of sugarcane or tobacco), also: 'honeycomb', **tʊnê/nʊnê** 'bird's nest', **tuttû/nuttû** 'dung', **təmama/nəmama** 'material inside of a pumpkin'.

Some items seem to share a notion of hollow space: **tʊpú/nʊpú** 'hole in the ground, grave', **tŏŋ/nŏŋ** 'space under the granary'.

Body parts include **təṭṭə́k/nəṭṭə́k** 'placenta', **tɛɽɪmak/nɛɽɪmak** 'tooth gum', **təmaṭé/nəmaṭé** 'upper part of the foot'.

Terms for people are not attested in this pair. Animals found here include **tuṭṭəruk/nuṭṭəruk** 'pig', **təŋək/nəŋək** 'worm (generic)', **təllɔ́ún/nəllɔ́ún** 'caterpillar (sp.)', **təllapɔ̂k/nəllapɔ̂k** 'frog (generic)', **taŋkɛɽɔŋ/naŋkɛɽɔŋ** frog (sp.), **tɛŋkɪ/nɛŋkɪ** 'eagle', **tɔɽị̣/nɔɽị̣** 'cobra', **tɔrɔpǎ/nɔrɔpǎ** 'lizard (sp.)', **tamʊt/namʊt** 'rat (sp.)' and **takkʊntákkʊŋ/nakkʊnnákkʊŋ** 'mosquito'.

Abstract nouns include **təɽê/nəɽê** 'fear', **tɔr/nɔr** 'appetite', **tɔɽě/nɔɽě** stinginess, **tamə́t/namə́t** 'sexual desire'. **tị̣** 'hunger, period(s) of hunger' is an unpaired noun in the **t**-class.

Other words include **tʊɽɔt/nʊɽɔt** 'upright edge of the grinding table', **tʊṭṭɛ/nʊṭṭɛ** 'cloud', **tʊɛ́/nʊɛ́** 'stream, river', **tɔ́k/nɔ́k** 'waterplace', **tʊpɛt/nʊpɛt** 'terrace (in agriculture)', **tərənék/nərənék** 'shade', **tɛmɛ/nɛmɛ** 'hook', **tʊkɪǎ/nʊkɪǎ** 'head pad (for carrying heavy loads on the head)'.

∅/**n**
*loans*

This class pair contains mainly loans from Arabic that have been borrowed together with the definite article **al-** (see section 4.9).

Two items are probably loans from Tira: **ɪlî/nɪlî** 'leader' and **ʊrɪl/nʊrɪl** 'deaf person'. Tira has **eli/neli** 'chief' and the adjective -**urúril** 'deaf, dumb (Schadeberg 2009, p. 109). Three further items in this pair are **ɪʈɪlla/nɪʈɪlla** 'person with both legs paralysed', **ʊmaʈɔ̂n/nʊmaʈɔ̂n** 'elephant' and **ʊrɛn/nʊrɛn** 'necklace'. They may be borrowings as well.

**k**/∅
*tools and instruments, language names,* miscellaneous

Language names all come in this pair (see section 4.3.6). It has several tools and instruments including **kɪrɛ́k/ɪrɛ́k** 'hoe', **kərɛ́/ərɛ́** 'tool for the removal of sorghum stocks', **kaʈʊ́k/aʈʊ́k** 'spear', **kəʈɪ̣ttă̆ŋ /əʈɪ̣ttă̆ŋ** 'knife', **kappəʈɪ́/appəʈɪ́** 'spoon', **kʊmmʊk/ʊmmʊk** 'pot', **kapí/apí** 'cooking pot'.

Body parts include **kucúl/ucúl** 'back', **kunú/unú** 'ear', **kɪɲcɛ/ɪɲcɛ** 'nose', **kʊʈɔ̂t/ʊʈɔ̂t** 'lip', **kɪcɔ/ɪcɔ** 'pubic area', **kʊŋkʊ/ʊŋkʊ** 'knee', **kʊɲɪt/ʊɲɪt** 'rib', **kərɪkɪ/ərɪkɪ** 'upper arm'. Some animal body parts: **kʊʈəccɔ̂/ʊʈəccɔ̂** 'wing', **kuʈʈɪ́k/uʈʈɪ́k** 'tail'.

Animals tend to be lower species, including some insects for example **kara/ara** 'tick' and **kərɛ́/ərɛ́** 'bedbug'. The pair also includes **kapɛ́ʈɛnʈʊ́ŋ/apɛ́ʈɛnʈʊ́ŋ** 'lizard (sp.)', **kunû/unû** 'scorpion', **kəʈəmɛkkʊ/əʈəmɛkkʊ** 'bat (sp.)', **kəʈɔ̂l/əʈɔ̂l** 'tortoise', **kĭt/ĭt** 'wild chicken'.

Nouns for people are **kəllân/əllân** 'old woman', **kurê/urê** 'left-handed person' (also 'left side'), **kɪcɔ̂k/ɪcɔ̂k** 'person with one functioning eye', **kɪmɪcɔ̂/ɪmɪcɔ̂** 'person with one functioning leg'.

Food items include **kappɛnṭína/appɛnṭína** 'groundnut', **kɛpʊ/ɛpʊ** 'mushroom', **kɛpɪn/ɛpɪn** 'edible plant (generic)'.

Miscellaneous items include **kəɽɪmǐ/əɽɪmǐ** 'large, flat stone', **karraŋ/arraŋ** 'wall', **kərét/ərét** 'cloth', **kapɪk/apɪk** 'rain, God', **kuɲé/uɲé** 'song', **kʊɽâ/ʊɽâ** 'open space for dancing, dancing party'.

**kw/∅** and **kw/w**
*miscellaneous, some body parts, some insects*

The nouns in this pair were listed in section 4.3.1. Body parts are **kwǎn/wǎn** 'strand of human hair', **kwɔɽɔl/ɔɽɔl** 'cheek' and **kwamɛ/amɛ** 'tendon'. Two insects are found in this pair: **kwalílín/alílín** 'centipede' and **kwɔɽék/ɔɽék** 'black ant'. It also has the moon **kwanɔ̂k/(w)anɔ̂k**. No language names or nouns referring to persons are attested here.

**ŋ/ɲ**
*liquids, young or small animals, small-sized items, intangibles,* miscellaneous

Most liquids are found here: **ŋəɽǐ/ɲəɽǐ** 'water', **ŋôn/ɲôn** 'dew', **ŋacɔ́k/ɲacɔ́k** 'mud', bodily fluids such as **ŋʊccɔ̂k/ɲʊccɔ̂k** (also **ŋɪccɔ̂k/ɲɪccɔ̂k**) 'blood', **ŋʊttɛtta/ɲʊttɛtta** 'sweat', **ŋaɛ́/ɲaɛ́** 'urine', **ŋɪpərɪk/ɲɪpərɪk** 'diarrhea', **ŋŏk/ɲŏk** 'saliva', **ŋị̆mmị̆k/ɲị̆mmị̆k** 'human milk', and liquid food and beverages such as **ŋʊí/ɲʊí** 'milk', **ŋəpak/ɲəpak** 'beer', **ŋucʊl/ɲucʊl** 'sauce', **ŋəré/ɲəré** 'honey', **ŋaák/ɲaák** 'oil' and **ŋɛɪɽía/ɲɛɪɽía** 'k.o. watery root (eaten raw)'. The pair contains **ŋuɽû/ɲuɽû** 'asida', the stiff sorghum porridge that constitutes the local staple food, and also **ŋaṭəɽê/ɲaṭəɽê** 'brain'.

Several words, particularly with an initial sequence **ŋa-** (plural **ɲa-**), convey a notion of smallness. There is no doubt a connection to the diminutive morpheme **ŋa-** (see 4.5.1), but the words listed below lack a corresponding noun without **ŋa**.

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋarəkkʊk/ɲarəkkʊk³³ | 'baby, young child' |
| ŋaṭʊɽík/ɲaṭʊɽík, ŋarəṭʊɽík/ɲarəṭʊɽík | 'piglet (with stripes)' |
| ŋalɪ/ɲalɪ | 'fish (sp., small size)' |
| ŋapərɪ/ɲapərɪ | 'ant (sp., small size)' |
| ŋarəkɔttɔ̂ŋ/ɲarəkɔttɔ̂ŋ | 'ant (sp., small size)' |
| ŋaɽəkâŋ/ɲaɽəkâŋ | 'bird (sp., small size)' |
| ŋaṭṭəṭṭápɛ/ɲaṭṭəṭṭápɛ | 'bird (sp., small size)' |
| ŋacəkkîk/ɲacəkkîk | 'lizard (sp., small size)' |
| ŋaṭṭɔkkɔ̂l/ɲaṭṭɔkkɔ̂l | 'k.o. calabash (small size)' |
| ŋalə́nṭʊŋ/ɲalə́nṭʊŋ | 'k.o. basket (small size)' |
| ŋaləmpərara/ɲaləmpərara | 'k.o. axe (small size)' |
| ŋalləcácca/ɲalləcácca | 'magician's stick (short)' |

Some words for young animals do not have an initial sequence **ŋa/ɲa**:

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋʊmɔ́n/ɲʊmɔ́n | 'young goat' |
| ŋʊmpəɽʊ́ŋ/ɲʊmpəɽʊ́ŋ | 'calf at the stage of sucking' |

Other animals in the **ŋ/ɲ** class pair (not all of them small) include: **ŋʊrăŋ/ɲʊrăŋ** 'rat (sp.)', **ŋaṭərəpê/ ɲaṭərəpê** 'rabbit', **ŋʊrak/ɲʊrak** monkey (sp.), **ŋaŋkôr/ɲaŋkôr** 'hyena' (sp., spotted), **ŋɪttɪpɪt/ɲɪttɪpɪt** 'billy goat', **ŋɛɽɪŋkâ/ɲɛɽɪŋkâ** 'donkey', **ŋʊra/ɲʊra** 'bull'. Small-sized animals are also found in other class pairs.

The pair also has intangible/abstract nouns such as **ŋɔrɛ/ɲɔrɛ** 'laziness', **ŋərɛ/?ɲərɛ** 'work', **ŋʊrĕ/ɲʊrĕ** 'joking, mockery', **ŋi̧ca/ɲi̧ca** 'dance (generic term)', **ŋəmɛ/?ɲəmɛ** 'cry, tear, sound (of animal)', **ŋaramâ/ɲaramâ** 'prayer', **ŋáppɔ/ɲáppɔ** 'hunt (of one person with dog or of small party)'³⁴ and the unpaired noun **ŋɪlî** 'leadership'.

Miscellaneous items are relatively few in this pair, but include **ŋʊɽʊ/ɲʊɽʊ** 'dirt', **ŋɛntəra/ɲəntəra** 'drum', **ŋʊmat/ɲʊmat** 'thorny

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³³ According to JS not an originally Lumun word.
³⁴ **ŋáppɔ/ɲáppɔ**, with its unusual tone pattern, may be borrowed from Tira, which has abstract nouns in the **ŋ**-class and a verb **apɔ** 'take' (Schadeberg 2009, p. 21, 112).

bush', **ŋʊmʊrra/ɲʊmʊrra** 'arm shield held, for protecting arm and head'.

*Singular **w** and singular ∅*
*Edible animals*

One more semantic cluster is worth mentioning, though the nouns are few, divided over the singular **w** and ∅ classes, and have (suppletive) plurals in different classes. It concerns wild and domestic edible animals. Four of them have a plural in the **k**-class:

**i̧mɪ́t/li̧cɔ́k**          'goat/-s'
**ʊmaʈɔ́n/nʊmaʈɔ́n**   'elephant/-s'
**ɪkɛ/kɪkɛ**          'giraffe/-s'
**ɔpá/kəpá**          'piece of meat, animal hunted for meat/meat, game'
**waĭ̧/ki̧ɛ́**          'cow/-s'
**wallĭr, allĭr/kallĭr**   'gazelle/-s'

This small group is interesting in view of Schadeberg's (1981b, p. 119) reconstruction of the items 'cow', 'goat' and 'meat' in a proto-Talodi class pair *****w/*g**, and his remark that Stevenson's (1957, p. 134-135) data suggest that there were still other (edible) animals in this class pair. Norton (2000) lists some cognate (edible) animals in the class pairs **w/g** and **w/n** of Acheron.

4.3.6.   Class prefixes as derivational tools

*Trees or shrubs and their fruits*

Virtually all trees occur in the class pair **p/k**. Their fruits have the same root, but go to different noun classes. Many occur in the pair **c/m**, others in the pair **k/∅** (the plural of the tree and the singular of the fruit are thus homonyms). One fruit comes in the pair **ʈ/l** and one in **t/n**. The fruits in the class pair **c/m** are typically round or roundish, the one in the pair **ʈ/l** has a longitudinal shape. The fruits in the pair **k/∅** do not seem to share specific properties. The pair contains fruits that are small and numerous, but also bigger ones.

| tree (or shrub or woody vine)[35] | fruit |
|---|---|
| **pəʈɔt/kəʈɔt** 'baobab' | **cəʈɔt/məʈɔt** |
| **pʊpô/kʊpô** 'tree (sp.)' | **cʊpô/mʊpô** |
| **pɔʈɪɔmpôŋ/kɔʈɪɔmpôŋ** 'vine (sp.)' | **cɔʈɪɔmpôŋ/mɔʈɪɔmpôŋ** |
| **pɪt̪ɪŋkî̪l/kɪt̪ɪŋkî̪l** 'tree (sp.)' | **cɪt̪ɪŋkî̪l/mɪt̪ɪŋkî̪l** |
| **pərut/kərut** 'tree (sp.)' | **cərut/mərut** |
| **paman/kaman** 'tree (sp.)' | **caman/maman** |
| | |
| **paí/kaí** 'tamarind' | **t̪aí/laí** |
| | |
| **parət̪ên/karət̪ên** 'tree (sp.)' | **karət̪ên/arət̪ên** |
| **punnûr/kunnûr** 'tree (sp.)' | **kunnûr/unnûr** |
| **pɪcɪt/kɪcɪt** 'tree (sp.)' | **kɪcɪt/ɪcɪt** |
| **pʊá/kʊá** 'tree (sp.)' | **kʊá/ʊá** |
| | |
| **pʊʈʊpŭ/kʊʈʊpŭ** 'tree (sp.)' | **tʊʈʊpŭ/nʊʈʊpŭ** |

In the following case the word for the (edible) leaf has the same root as the word for the tree. The word for the leaf lacks a singular/plural opposition:

| tree | leaf |
|---|---|
| **pɔʈɪât/kɔʈɪât** 'tree (sp.)' | **t̪ɔʈɪât** |

Another case in which tree (and fruit) and leaf are clearly related is the following:

| **pəʈɔt/kəʈɔt** 'boabab tree' | **kʊʈɔt** |
|---|---|

**kʊʈɔt** 'leaf, leaves of baobab' suggests a development from **\*kw-əʈɔt** or **\*kw-ɔʈɔt.**[36]

Sometimes the word for the tree is used when reference is made to the whole of the fruits that are still on the tree, as in the second

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[35] Some species that are translated as 'tree (sp.)' may rather be shrubs.

[36] Sequences **kwə** are not attested. A sequence **kwɔ** can alternatively be pronounced as **kʊ**.

example below. In the first example, in which the word for the fruit is used, reference is made to a specific fruit.

**caman     c-ɔɽɛ     ána     c-íkkakɔ**
*caman*_fruit     C-red     and     C-be_drunk:INCOMPL

the caman-fruit is ripe and can be eaten

**paman     p-ɔɽɛ     ána     p-íkkakɔ**
*paman*_tree     C-red     and     C-be_drunk:INCOMPL

the fruits of the paman-tree are ripe and can be eaten

*People and abstractions in the ṭ-class*

Some nouns that refer to people (mostly but not exclusively in the **p**/∅ class pair), and abstract nouns in the **ṭ**-class share the same roots. These abstract nouns are unpaired. Whether or not there is an abstraction next to a paired noun that refers to a kind of person is lexically determined. Attested cases:

**ɪɽé/ɲɪɽé, ɲɪɽé**     'adolescent girl'
**ṭɪɽé**     **'**behaviour and occupations associated with girls'
                   (i.e. making oneself pretty, making one's room look
                   nice, etc.)

**parí/arí**     'wife'
**ṭarí**     'behaviour and occupations associated with women'
                   (i.e. keeping the house clean, cooking food, etc.)

**pamít/amít**     'traditional healer'
**ṭamít**     'traditional healing'

**paɽəṭan/aɽəṭan**     'rich person'
**ṭaɽəṭan**     'wealth'

**pʊrʊkɔ̂/ʊrʊkɔ̂**     'friend'
**ṭʊrʊkɔ̂**     'friendship'

**pɪak/ɪak**          'orphan, poor person'
**ṭɪak**          'suffering'

There are also cases of kinship and relational nouns that share their root with an abstract noun. Kinship and relational terms have the persona prefix **ɔ́-** when denoting specific persons (unless in the vocative), and form plurals through suffixation instead of through change of noun class (see 4.10). In several kinship and relational nouns the class prefix **p** can be recognized. The same roots with the **ṭ**-prefix (instead of the **p**-prefix) refer to the kind of relationship. Nouns with the **ṭ**-prefix do not have the persona prefix **ɔ́-**.

**ṭəkí** 'grandparent and grandchild (i.e. kind of relationship in which people stand to each other), ancestry, descendance'
**ɔ-pəkí** (PL **ɔ-pəkɪ-ɔ̂n**) 'grandparent, grandchild, ancestor, descendant (i.e. a specific person)'

**ṭɪṭέ** 'in-laws of different generation (kind of relationship)'
**ɔ-pɪṭέ** (PL **ɔ-pɪṭɛ-ɔ̂n**) 'in-law of different generation (specific person)'

**ṭɔrɛn**   'maternal uncle and nephew or niece of maternal uncle (kind of relationship)'[37]
**ɔrɛ̂n**   'maternal uncle, nephew or niece of maternal uncle (specific person)'

**ṭɔɽi̧n** 'in-laws of same generation (kind of relationship)'
**ɔɽî̧n** 'in-law of same generation (specific person)'

An example follows here with a kinship noun that refers to a specific person, then an example with the noun that refers to the relationship:

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[37] In this case and the next, the difference in tone between the nouns in the **ṭ**-class and the **ɔ**-initial kinship terms reveal that the persona prefix **ɔ́**, which brings a high tone, is present in the nouns denoting a specific person but absent from the noun denoting the relationship. The shared roots have an initial **ɔ** (as is apparent from the vocative forms) and low tones.

| ɔ-kín | ɔ-pəkı | p-ıŋ-ŋôn |
|---|---|---|
| PERS-3A | PERS-grandparent | C-POSS1-PL |

they are my grandparents

| ɔ-kín | ṭəkí |
|---|---|
| PERS-3A | grandparent_and_grandchild |

they are grandparent and grandchild to each other

*Peoples and languages*

Languages are productively derived in the **k**-class, irrespective of the class pair of the ethnonym. The autonym of the Lumun comes in the **p**/∅ class pair, as do the ethnonyms for the immediate and linguistically closely related neighbours Tocho, Acheron and Torona. Other peoples come in other class pairs.

| *person / people* | *language* | |
|---|---|---|
| **parrô/arrô** | **karrô** | 'Lumun, mother tongue' |
| | **karrú k-árrô** | 'mother tongue of the Lumun people' |
| **pappɔ́/appɔ́** | **kappɔ́** | 'Tocho' |
| **pəɽɛmê/əɽɛmê** | **kəɽɛmê** | 'Acheron' |
| **paɽɔnɔ/aɽɔnɔ** | **kaɽɔnɔ** | 'Torona' |
| | | |
| **pəɽá/məɽá** | **kəɽá** | 'Tira Lumun and Tira' |
| **pəmpərən/ləmpərən** | **kəmpərən** | 'Moro' |
| **uṭṭuɽu/luṭṭuɽu** | **kuṭṭuɽu** | 'Otoro' |
| **pakkí/ɲakkí** | **kakkí** | 'Nuba peoples south and south-west of the Lumun, across the plain (amongst others Dagik, Katcha, Krongo)' |
| | | |
| **cɛŋké/mɛŋké** | **kɛŋké** | 'Dinka' |
| **cʊṭṭô/mʊṭṭô** | **kʊṭṭô** | 'Arab Sudanese' |

*Other nominal roots occurring in more than one singular/plural pair, or in a singular/plural pair and as unpaired noun*

Further examples of roots that occur in noun classes that change the meaning of the word in a way that is not number-related follow here.

| | |
|---|---|
| **cịmmịk/kịmmịk** | 'breast' |
| **ŋịmmịk/ɲịmmịk** | 'human milk' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **ṭaák/laák** | 'sesame paste' (after the oil has been pressed out) |
| **ŋaák/ɲaák** | 'oil/amounts, kinds of oil' (not necessarily sesame oil) |

| | |
|---|---|
| **ɪlî/nɪlî** | 'leader' |
| **ŋɪlî** | 'leadership' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **kʊpʊ́/ʊpʊ́** | 'hole in rock where water gathers' |
| **tʊpʊ́/nʊpʊ́** | 'hole in the ground, grave' |
| **cəpʊ́/mʊpʊ́** | 'hole in the ground (not big) to keep a small child safely in place, or for a large calabash of beer to stay upright' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **capʊ́** | 'ground' |
| **kapʊ́/apʊ́** | 'small hole for planting the sorghum' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **pɪra/kɪra** | 'tree' |
| **kwɪra/ɪra, wɪra** | 'small piece of wood or grass' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **kucúk** | 'smoke' |
| **mucúk** | 'ashes' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **taṭa/naṭa** | 'leaf (generic term)' |
| **kwaṭa** | 'edible leaves of beans' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **pərɪmpərɪ̆n/kərɪŋkərɪ̆n** | 'tree (sp.)' |
| **cərɪɲcərɪ̆n/mərɪmmərɪ̆n** | 'fruit of *pərɪmpərɪn*-tree' |
| **kərɪŋkərɪ̆n/ərɪnərɪ̆n** | 'bell of seeds of the *cərɪɲcərɪn*-fruit' |

**cəmarâŋ**                                       'free fight for competition'
**kəmarâŋ/əmarâŋ**                                 'shield'

**ṭərɔ́ma/lərɔ́ma**                                'ram'
**ŋərɔ́ma/ɲərɔ́ma**                                'young ram'

Replacing the original noun class prefix of an animal term by the class prefix **ŋ-**, as in the example above, is not a regular way of diminutive formation. Instead, there are diminutive morphemes **ŋa-/ɲa-** and **ŋaɲa-/ɲaɲa-** which can be applied productively (see 4.5.1). Nevertheless, it seems that nouns denoting animals can be assigned to the **ŋ**-class in a creative way. In the sentence below, which is from a story, the animal character **kəʈɔ́l** 'tortoise' is referred to as **ŋəʈɔ́l,** which is not a regular word for 'small tortoise'. The **ŋ**-class gives a flavour to the word here that is related to the notion of smallness, but expresses something like 'nasty little tortoise'**.** The speaker in the example is a malicious creature who is after the tortoise. He asks the animals to drink all the water from the stream so that he can catch the tortoise, who is in the water.

**n-ánt-áṭ-įkkįn-ɪn**                                                          **ŋəʈɪ**
2A-can:DEPINCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-drink_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1             water

**ákka**       **ŋəʈɔl**         **ŋ-əʈɛk**       **ŋ-apɔ̣ṭ.ɛ́**       **cənɛ́**
that          little_tortoise   C-some           C-fall_at:COMPL      here

please come and drink the water for me, because some nasty little tortoise has fallen here (App. IV, 138-139)

A singular noun which has a variant in another noun class is **cakkəlɔ́k** 'calabash (k.o.)'. There is only one plural:

**cakkəlɔ́k**, **pakkəlɔ́k/makkəlɔ́k** 'calabash (k.o.)'

## 4.4.    Contracted forms with gemination

In some individual cases, nouns can occur in a changed phonological shape when preceded by one of the prepositional proclitics **ɪ-** 'in', **nɔ-** 'on', **tɔ-** 'up on, up at' or **ṭɔ-** 'at', or the connexive C-**ɔ** 'of'. In isolation these nouns have the shape $(C_1)V_1C_2V_2(C_3)$. In most cases both $C_1$ and

$C_2$ are obstruents. $V_1$ is deleted after **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-**, **ṭɔ-** and C-**ɔ-**, while $C_1$ and $C_2$ form a geminated consonant at the place of articulation of $C_2$ (recall that the intervocalic allophone of **t** is **r**). $C_2$ geminates also if $C_1$ is absent. The result is thus CLITIC-$C_2C_2V_2(C_3)$.

The examples with prepositional proclitics presented below were found in texts or obtained through elicitation. Note that in some cases which involve a low-toned noun, a rising tone results.

| | |
|---|---|
| **tʊpú** 'hole in the ground, grave' | **ɪ-ppú, nɔ-ppú, ṭɔ-ppú** |
| **tʊpan** 'room' | **nɔ-ppăn** |
| **pəṭɔk** 'stone' | **ɪ-ṭṭŏk, nɔ-ṭṭŏk** |
| **kʊṭuk** 'fenced place for livestock' | **ɪ-ṭṭŭk, tɛ-ṭṭŭk**[38] |
| **pərɪt** 'granary' | **ɪ-ttĭt, nɔ-ttĭt, tɔ-ttĭt** |
| **kərək** 'farming field' | **ɪ-ttə̂k** |
| **kucúl** 'back' | **ɪ-ccúl, nɔ-ccúl, tɔ-ccúl, ṭɔ-ccúl** |
| **kʊcú** 'shed' | **ɪ-ccú, nɔ-ccú, tɔ-ccú** |
| **ʊkʊ́n** 'hand, forearm' | **ɪ-kkʊ́n, nɔ-kkʊ́n, ṭɔ-kkʊ́n** |
| **ʊkʊl** 'child' | **ɪ-kkʊ̂l, nɔ-kkʊ̂l, tɔ-kkʊ̂l** |

However, if $C_1$ is **k** and $C_2$ is **p**, the geminate adopts the place of articulation of $C_1$ (CLITIC-$C_1C_1V_2(C_3)$). In the third example, $C_2$ **p** is reflected in the labialized articulation of the velar geminate:

| | |
|---|---|
| **kupú** 'hole in rock where water gathers' | **ɪ-kkú, nɔ-kkú, tɔ-kkú** |
| **kʊpʊ́** 'deep crack in rock' | **ɪ-kkʊ́, nɔ-kkʊ́, ṭɔ-kkʊ́** |
| **kəpɔn** 'farming field' | **ɪ-kkwɔ̂n, nɔ-kkwɔ̂n, ṭɔ-kkwɔ̂n** |

There is also a form **tɔpɔ̂n**, which probably derives from **tɔ** + **əpɔn** instead of from **tɔ** + **kəpɔn**, though —synchronically— it does not convey a notion of plurality of the fields.

If C1 is a nasal, a nasal and stop sequence results at the place of articulation of C2, but not when $C_1$ is **ŋ** and $C_2$ is **p**. In that case the place of articulation of $C_1$ is adopted, retaining the labialized articulation of **p** (third example below):

---

[38] **tɔ** is realized here as **tɛ**.

**məʈɛ́** 'sleep'            **ɪ-nʈɛ́**
**ŋʊcʊl** 'sauce'           **ɪ-ɲcŭl**

**ŋəpak** 'beer'            **ɪ-ŋkwăk**

One case has a nasal (**m**) at C2. Like C1 **ŋ** – C2 **p**, C1 **k** – C2 **m** results in **ŋkw**:

**kəmɛl** 'hunting party'    **ɪ-ŋkwêl**

Finally, there is a comparable case of gemination (+ labialization) of a CV noun: **ɪ-** 'in' + **ka** 'body' > **ɪkkwâ** 'in the body'. This change, however, only occurs with proclitic **ɪ-**, not with any other prepositional proclitic, nor with the connexive.

In most cases, regular forms of the combinations listed above are possible as well, but less commonly used. In some cases, the form with gemination and the regular form have different meanings. Examples of this are given in 16.3.1 and 16.3.2 (dealing with the PPCs **ɪ-** 'in' and **nɔ-** 'on'). In other cases there is no difference, as for example in:

**tɔ-ccúl**    'between the shoulder blades'
**tɔ-kucúl**   'between the shoulder blades'

**ɪ-kkú**      'in the hole in the rock where water gathers'
**ɪ-kupú**     'in the hole in the rock where water gathers'

## 4.5.  Complex nouns

### 4.5.1.  Diminutive nouns

Diminutives are derived by means of attachment of the SG/PL morphemes **ŋa-/ɲa-** or **ŋaŋa-/ɲaɲa-** before the singular or plural noun. The diminutive prefixes are typically used with animals to denote young animals, but are also applied for small versions of objects. The reduplicated prefix expresses a stronger notion of being young and/or small than **ŋa-/ɲa-**. Some examples:

ŋa-ṭərɔ́ma/ɲa-lərɔ́ma, ŋaŋa-ṭərɔ́ma/ɲaɲa-lərɔ́ma, 'young ram'
< ṭərɔ́ma/lərɔ́ma 'ram'

ŋa-ṭŭk/ɲa-lŭk, ŋaŋa-ṭŭk/ɲaɲa-lŭk, 'young dog, puppy'
< ṭŭk/lŭk 'dog'

ŋa-pəlla/ɲa-əlla, ŋaŋa-pəlla/ɲaɲa-əlla 'young cat, kitten'
< pəlla/əlla 'cat'

ŋa-rəṭṭəruk/ɲa-nəṭṭəruk, ŋaŋa-rəṭṭəruk/ɲaɲa-nəṭṭəruk 'young pig
(but no longer striped)'
< tuṭṭəruk/nuṭṭəruk 'pig'

ŋa-pʊṛît/ɲa-ʊṛît, ŋaŋa-pʊṛît/ɲaɲa-ʊṛît, 'little young man' (a boy
that does not yet have the age of a young man but that behaves as if
he already were)
< pʊṛît/ʊṛît 'young man'

ŋa-kwɔṛɛn/ɲa-ɔṛɛn, ŋaŋa-kwɔṛɛn/ɲaɲa-ɔṛɛn, 'small piece of
firewood'
< kwɔṛɛn/ɔṛɛn 'piece of firewood'

ŋa-kʊmmʊk/ɲa-ʊmmʊk, ŋaŋa-kʊmmʊk/ɲaɲa-ʊmmʊk 'small pot'
< kʊmmʊk/ʊmmʊk 'pot'

The following case has the long prefix in the singular (ŋaŋa +
ŋɛntəra > ŋaŋ-ɛntəra) and the short prefix in the plural:

ŋaŋ-ɛntəra/ɲa-ɲɛntəra 'k.o. drum (small size)'
< ŋɛntəra/ɲɛntəra 'k.o. drum'

When ŋa- or ŋaŋa- is prefixed to ʊkʊl 'child', k geminates:

ŋa-kkʊl/ɲa-ɲʊkʊl, ŋaŋa-kkʊl/ɲaɲa-ɲʊkʊl          'baby, small child
(up to about four years old)'
< ʊkʊl/ɲʊkʊl 'child')

The diminutive **ŋaɽəkaṭṭak/ɲaɽəkaṭṭak** 'small calabash for sauce' is derived from **caṭṭak** 'k.o. calabash' (*****kaṭṭak** does not exist on its own). Initial **ŋa/ɲa** is found in several other nouns referring to small items but those cases lack underived counterparts. Examples can be found under in section 4.3.5 under the noun class pair **ŋ-/ɲ-**.

### 4.5.2.   Complex nouns in the ṭ-class

The complex nouns in the **ṭ**-class listed below are abstractions related to nouns that refer to people. They are different from earlier mentioned cases in the **ṭ** class that relate to nouns denoting people as they contain additional formatives: **a** (first two cases), probably from the copula 'be' (C-**á**), and **ɔ** (last case), probably from the connexive element C-**ɔ** 'of'. Notably, *****kʊɽît** is not attested as a noun by itself, but shares its root with **pʊɽît/ʊɽît.**

**ṭ.a-ɪɽέ** 'style of an adolescent girl'     < **ɪɽέ** 'adolescent girl'
**ṭ.a-k.ʊɽît** 'style of a young man'       < **p.ʊɽît/ʊɽît** 'young man'
**ṭ.ɔ-p.ít** 'master and servant (kind of relationship)'  < **p.ít** 'master, servant'

The nouns **ṭaɪɽέ** and the earlier mentioned **ṭɪɽέ** do not have exactly the same meaning. The former refers to the way or style in which a girl presents herself, the latter refers to behaviours typical for girls in general.

### 4.5.3.   Complex nouns: reduplication

Several insects are denoted by fully reduplicated nouns. In most cases, the nouns are not attested in a non-reduplicated form. In the singular both parts take a singular noun class prefix, in the plural they both take a plural noun class prefix. Regular processes of assimilation take place across the reduplication boundary.

**takkʊn-tákkʊn/nakkʊn-nákkʊn**          'mosquito'
**pɪɽɪmam-pítɪman/ɪɽɪman-ítɪman**    'spider, spiderweb, spiderrag'

kʊɽʊmǝl-kkúɽʊmǝl³⁹/ʊɽʊmǝl-úɽʊmǝl          'snail'
kǝrí-kǝrî/ǝrí-ǝ́rî                          'large wasp-like insect'
ṭakkǝɽʊṭ-ṭákkǝɽʊk/lakkǝɽʊl-lákkǝɽʊk          'butterfly'
kaṭʊk-káṭʊk/aṭʊk-áṭʊk          'grasshopper (sp.)'  (< kaṭúk 'spear')
carɪŋ-carĭŋ/marɪm-marĭŋ                      'millipede'
cǝrǝmaɲ-cǝ́rǝman/mǝrǝmam-mǝ́rǝman   'maggot (sp.)'
pɪp-pɪt (no plural)                          'k.o. insect'
ṭʊra-ṭʊ́ra/lʊra-lʊ́ra                         'k.o. insect'
pɛrém-pérên/ɛrén-érên                        'k.o. insect'

Some trees and their seeds or fruits involve reduplication, as well as an edible plant:

pɪam-pɪan/kɪaŋ-kɪan          'tree (sp.)'
cɪaɲ-cɪaŋ/mɪam-mɪan          'seed of pɪampɪan-tree, necklace of seeds
                              of pɪampɪan-tree'

pʊrú-pʊ́rô/kʊrú-kʊ́rô          'tree (sp.)'
cʊrú-cʊ́rô/mʊrú-mʊ́rô          'fruit of pʊrʊpʊrʊ-tree'

pǝrɪm-pǝrĭn/kǝrɪŋ-kǝrĭn       'tree (sp.)'
cǝrɪɲ-cǝrĭn/mǝrɪm-mǝrĭn       'fruit of pǝrɪmpǝrɪn-tree'
kǝrɪŋ-kǝrĭn/ǝrɪn-ǝrĭn         'bell made of seeds of the cǝrɪɲcǝrɪn-fruit'

kwɔɽí-kwɔ́ɽî/ɔɽí-ɔ́ɽî          'plant (sp., edible)'

The words for 'lyre' and 'twilight' also involve reduplication. They suggest sound symbolic value, as does the word for 'light rain', which contains a partial reduplication.

pǝrém-pǝ́rên/ǝrén-ǝ́rên       'lyre' (traditional instrument)
kɪr-ǝkkɪr                     'twilight'
pɪcɪ-cî                       'light rain'

---

³⁹ In this word, there is no lenition of k after l, nor does there seem to be an inserted schwa. Hence the spelling with <lkk>.

The following nouns are probably related to each other through partial reduplication, though they have different tone patterns:

**ŋaɽa/ɲaɽa**                          'gum arabic'
**ŋaɽá-ɽâ/ɲaɽá-ɽâ**              'rheum (in the eye, after sleep)'

## 4.6.    Nouns derived from other word categories.

### 4.6.1.  Verb-to-noun derivation

Except for a small set of defective verbs, all verbs allow for nominalization. Deverbal nominalizations are formed in the ṯ-class. They have a L*.LH tone pattern, irrespective of the tones of the verb stem.

**ṯʊnǒ**      'to build, building'   < **ʊnɔ**     'build'
**ṯɔrɛkǒ**   'to work, working'    < **ɔrékɔ**   'work'
**ṯɔɽəkǒ**   'to eat, eating'        < **ɔɽəkɔ̂**   'eat'

Verbal nouns do not have a singular/plural opposition: they allow, if necessary, for both singular and plural reference:

**ṯɛnnɛkkɛttǎ**   'to be tested, being tested, test(s) (< **ɛnnɛkkɛtta**  'be tested')

**ṯɛnnɛkkɛtta ṯullukkû**   'one test'
**ṯɛnnɛkkɛtta ṯeɽá**        'two tests'

Verbal nouns have characteristics of both nouns and verbs. They are nouns because they can function as arguments in a clause. Their modifiers agree with them, and so do verbs to which they function as the subject. Some examples:

**ṯ-ɔŋwɔ**        **ṯ-ɔ́-píɲɲít**    **ṯ-ɔccị̈kákɔṯ.ɛ**    **ɲ-cɪṯ.ṯán**
NOM-sing          C-of-singer        C-be_heard:COMPL       with-far

the singing of the singer is heard from far

| **ṱ-ɪkkɔ** | **cɪk** | **káraṱṱúm** | **ṱ-ɔpərɔ́t** | **ana** | **ṱ-ṱ-ɔ́kɪṱak** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM-sit | VREF | Khartoum | C-good | and | PRO-C-bad |

staying in Khartoum is good and bad

Verbal nouns are verb-like because they can take a direct object:

| **ṱ-ɪɔt** | **âkúccɪ́** | **tɔ́rrɔ̂** |
|---|---|---|
| NOM-find | money | Lumun_country |

earning (lit.: finding) money in Lumun country (fr. written essay)

| **ṱ-ʊpɔ̱ṱɔ** | **ɲʊ́kʊl** |
|---|---|
| NOM-take_care_of | children |

taking care of the children

Other nouns do not take direct objects; rather they need the connexive element C-**ɔ** 'of'. Nominalized verbs allow not only for a direct object construction, but also for a modifying construction with the connexive, as in the second example below:

| **ṱ-ɔkkwɔt** | **pá-p-ərɛk** | **ṱ-akɛ́nn-ɔká** | **nʊṱʊk** |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOM-kill | thing-C-some | C-NEG-be:DEPINCOMPL | for_no_reason |

killing an animal will not be for nothing

| **ṱ-ɔkkwɔt** | **ṱ-ɔ́-pa-p-ərɛk** | **ṱ-akɛ́nn-ɔká** | **nʊṱʊk** |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOM-kill | C-of-thing-C-some | C-NEG-be:DEPINCOMPL | for_no_reason |

the killing of an animal will not be for nothing

Verbal nouns can be modified by an adverb:

| **ṱ-ʊkkwɔ** | **ɪkkíṱeṱṱak** | **ṱ-ɔpərɔ̂t** |
|---|---|---|
| NOM-dance | badly | C-good |

dancing seriously is good

## 4.6.2.   Other nouns and verbs sharing the same root or stem

There are no other productive ways to derive a noun from a verb or vice versa. Apart from the verbal nouns, instances of nouns and verbs sharing the same root or stem are few. The attested cases are listed

below. 'Swelling on the skin' is probably based on the Completive
verb form, since it has its final **t** and the Completive tone pattern.

| | |
|---|---|
| **ɔŋáɛ̃** | 'urinate' |
| **ŋaɛ́/ɲaɛ́** | 'urine' |
| | |
| **ɔpə́rɛ** | 'have diarrhea' |
| **ŋɪpərɪk/ɲɪpərɪk** | 'diarrhea' |
| | |
| **ɔrə́ṱa** | 'begin to have fruits' |
| **cɔrəṱɔ̂t/mɔrəṱɔ̂t** | 'swelling on the skin' |
| | |
| **ɪpɔ** | 'obtain, marry' |
| **ṱɪpa/lɪpa** | 'marriage' |

4.6.3.   Nouns derived from adjectives

The same process that derives verbal nouns from verbs (see 4.6.1)
derives nouns from adjectives. Examples:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ṱərĭk** | 'being big' | < C-**ərîk** 'big' |
| **ṱukwĭt** | 'length, depth' | < C-**ûkwît** 'long, deep' |
| **ṱɔpərŏt** | 'goodness' | < C-**ɔpərɔ̂t** 'good' |
| **ṱɔkɪṱăk** | 'badness' | < C-**ɔkíṱak** 'bad' |
| **ṱɔppŏt** | 'being plenty' | < C-**ɔppɔ́t** 'many' |
| **ṱɔɲĭ** | 'blackness' | < C-**ɔɲî** 'black' |
| **ṱɔɽĕ** | 'redness, ripeness' | < C-**ɔɽĕ** 'red, ripe' |
| **ṱɔṱɛrĕt** | 'being spotted' | < C-**ɔṱɛrĕt** 'spotted' |
| **ṱimmĭn** | 'heavyness' | < C-**ímmin** 'heavy' |
| **ṱɔrrŏ** | 'bluntness' | < C-**ɔrrŏ** 'blunt' |
| **ṱɪppă** | 'heat' | < C-**íppá** 'hot' |
| **ṱɪrrŏk** | 'cold, coolness' | < C-**írrók** 'cold' |
| **ṱɔparĭ** | 'being female' | < C-**ɔparí** 'female' |

The following noun has a different tone pattern:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ṱɔcʊra** | 'being male' | < C-**ɔcʊra** |

An example with a nominalized adjective:

**ṭ-ɔpərɔt**    **én-ṭ-í**    **í-ṭ-á**    **ŋ́-kw-ɔ́kkínṭ-ín**    **ṭ-íttîk**
NOM-good    DEM-C-NEARSP    RES-C-COP    2-C-do_for:COMPL-O1    C-big

this loyalty that you showed me is big (lit.: this goodness that you did for me …) (Ruth 3:10)

Adjectives which contain the copula C-**á** 'be', such as C-**acɔ́kɔccɔkɔt** 'fast' and C-**arʊrɔ̆ŋ** 'colour of snake (sp.)', do not allow for nominalization through addition of the **ṭ**- prefix and a tone pattern.

### 4.6.4. Adverbs functioning as nouns

An example of an adverb that can function as a noun is **cɔkɔccɔkɔt** 'quickly':

**cɔkɔc-cɔkɔt**    **ɛɲ-c-ɪ**    **c-ɔkíṭak**
quickly-REDUP    DEM-C-NEARSP    C-bad

this rushing is bad

### 4.7. Place names and other locative nouns

Indigenous proper place names consist of two formatives: a prepositional proclitic and a nominal element. Most often the prepositional formative is **tɔ**- 'up on, up at' or **ṭɔ**- 'at'. The nominal element is in several cases (the remnant of) a noun attested on its own. Some examples follow here, some more are listed in 16.3.5, including some examples with other prepositional formatives.

**tɔɽəmaṭ̂n**
**tɔʊmâŋ**
**tɔpɪṭɔŋ**
**ṭaɽʊ**
**ṭɔɽî**    (< **ṭɔ**- + **ŋəɽ̆ı** lit.: 'At the water')
**ṭɔttʊɛ́**    (< **ṭɔ**- + **tʊɛ́** lit. 'At the river')
**ṭɔmantît**    (< **ṭɔ**- + **manṭît** lit. 'At the *mantıt*-snakes')

The names for the homelands of the Lumun and neighbouring peoples are (historically) made up of **tɔ-** 'up on, up at' or **ṭɔ-** 'at' and the (plural or singular) name of the people. In the case of Lumun, Tocho, Acheron and Torona it is likely that the plurals have served as formative and that **ɔ** and **a**, respectively **ɔ** and **ə**, have coalesced to **ɔ**. The plural name of the people has also served as formative for the name of the Moro homeland and for places where "Arab" Sudanese are living, but for the Tira and Otoro areas the singular (the name for one person) is involved. In the case of Dagik, Katcha and Krongo it is difficult to say whether **pakkí** or **ɲakkí** has served as formative, because either way, the noun class prefix has been deleted.

| *person/people* | *homeland* |
|---|---|
| **parrɔ̂/arrɔ̂** 'Lumun' | **tɔrrɔ̂** |
| **pappɔ́/appɔ́** 'Tocho' | **ṭɔppɔ́** |
| **pəɽɛmɛ̂/əɽɛmɛ̂** 'Acheron' | **tɔɽɛmɛ̂** |
| **paɽɔnɔ/aɽɔnɔ** 'Torona' | **tɔɽɔnɔ̂** |
| | |
| **pəmpərən/ləmpərən** 'Moro' | **tɔləmpə́rən** |
| **cʊṭṭɔ̂/mʊṭṭɔ̂** 'Arab Sudanese' | **ṭɔmʊṭṭɔ̂** |
| **pəɽá/məɽá** 'Tira Lumun and Tira' | **tɔpəɽá** |
| **uṭṭuɽu/luṭṭuɽu** 'Otoro' | **tɔuṭṭúɽu** |

**pakkí/ɲakkí** 'Nuba peoples south and south-west of the Lumun, across the plain, a.o. Dagik, Katcha and Krongo'     **tɔkkí**

Place names can function as subject (or object) in a clause. The prepositional formative no longer functions as a preposition but has become part of the place name, as is shown by the concord **ṭ-** on the verb in the next example:

| **ṭɔmantít** | **ṭ-ɔnʊ** | **mantɪt** | **m-ɔppɔ́t** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ṭɔmantɪt | c-have | snake(sp.) | c-many |

Ṭɔmantɪt has many *cantɪt*-snakes

Place names, including foreign place names such as **karəṭṭɔ̂m** 'Khartoum' or **kaṭúkəlɪ** 'Kadugli', are not used in combination with one of the prepositional proclitics **tɔ-**, **ṭɔ-**, **nɔ-** or **ɪ-**. The absence of these proclitics from foreign place names also points at prepositional

formatives in indigenous place names no longer being perceived as prepositions. Instead, the whole name functions as a locative noun:

**m-p-a.ɪk**    **p-a.ɛ́**    **ṭɔmantît/ karəṭṭôm**
1-C-be:PR    C-go:INCOMPL    Ṭɔmantît /    Khartoum

I am going to Ṭɔmantît / to Khartoum

For comparison, a sentence follows here with a building, **man mɔ́kapɪk** 'church' (lit. house of God), instead of a place name. A prepositional proclitic must be used here:

**m-p-a.ɪk**    **p-a.ɛ́**    **ṭɔ-man**    **m-ɔ́-kapɪk**
1-C-be:PR    C-go:INCOMPL    at-house    C-of-God

I am going to the church

In the case of the **tɔṭɪɽɔ́t** 'sky, heaven' both **t-** and **ṭ-** concord are acceptable. **ṭɪɽɔ́t** 'sky, heaven' exists as a noun by itself. Apparently **tɔṭɪɽɔ́t** 'sky, heaven' can be interpretated as a place name (a locative noun), but also as a prepositional proclitic and noun, in which case agreement goes with the noun:

**tɔṭɪɽɔ́t**    **t-íntat**    **cɪk**    **n-ṭúllɛɽak**
sky    C-disappear:INCOMPL    VREF    with-lightening

the sky will disappear with lightening

**tɔ-ṭɪɽɔ́t**    **ṭ-íntat**    **cɪk**    **n-ṭúllɛɽak**
up_on-sky    C-disappear:INCOMPL    VREF    with-lightening

the sky will disappear with lightening

**ṭɔṭəpót** '(at the) place outside for use as toilet' (lit.: at outside) is commonly used as a locative noun:

**ṭɔṭəpʊt**    **ṭ-a-ík**    **karə-ṭa**
at_place_used_as_toilet    C-be-VREF    where-QW

where is the place for use as a toilet?

An unusual case of a prepositional proclitic (**tɔ-**) and a noun (**cá/má** 'head') is **tɔcá/tɔmá** 'face'. On the one hand, the clitic has become a

part of these nouns because their concord is **t**, on the other hand pluralization involves a change of **cá** to **má**:

**tɔma      t-ɔ́-ʊl**
faces      c-of-people

the faces of people

Another unusual case is **ŋkɔʈâ** '(in the) night'. The word can function as a noun, as in the following example:

**ŋkɔʈá      ŋ-ɪʈɪmáʈ.ɛ**
night      c-become_dark:COMP

the night is dark

**ŋkɔʈá** must have developed from the prepositional proclitic **ń-** 'with, by, (away) from' and a synchronically not attested noun *__kɔʈá__, because nasal + stop clusters in initial position are not attested in Lumun nouns.

A loan word that functions as a locative noun is **kɛccôk** 'market' (< Sudanese Arabic *suug*). It is generally used as a locative noun. However, in some contexts, proclitic **ɪ-** 'in' can be used alternatively:

**lɔn      l-ɛn      l-ɔkkəttá.ʈɛ      kɛccôk / ɪ-kɛccôk**
words      c-DEM      c-be_done:COMPL      market      in-market

those things happened in the market

## 4.8.    Descriptive constructions expressing nominal concepts

### 4.8.1.  Agent nouns

Lumun has no way to derive agentive nouns from verbs. Instead, the language makes use of descriptions: 'person' (or 'child') and a relative construction, involving the restrictor **í-**, the concord that agrees with the noun, and a verb (noun **ɪ**-C-verb). In the examples below, the concord **w** of vowel-initial nouns is deleted between vowels.

pʊl ɪ-p-âŋkɛnɛ/ʊl ɪ-âŋkɛnɛ 'teacher' (person who shows) < ɔŋkənɛ
pʊl ɪ-p-arékɔ/ʊl ɪ-arékɔ    'worker' (person who works) < ɔrékɔ
ʊkʊl ɪ-úʈɛ/ɲʊkʊl ɪ-ɲ-úʈɛ    'herds boy' (child that grazes the cows or
                            goats) < ʊʈɛ

Other agentive expressions consist of 'person' (or 'child') followed by the connexive + noun, or the connexive, a prepositional proclitic and a noun (noun C-ɔ-noun, or: noun C-ɔ-PPC-noun). Examples:

pʊl p-ɔ-ʈɔʈak/ʊl w-ɔ-ʈɔʈak    'warrior' (lit. 'person of war')
pʊl p-ɔ-ʈɪpa/ʊl w-ɔ-ʈɪpa      'negatioter of marriage' (lit. 'person of
                              marriage')
pʊl p-ɔ-ʈʊʈan/ʊl w-ɔ-ʈʊʈan    'thief' (lit. 'person of theft')
pʊl p-ɔ-kəmɛl/ʊl w-ɔ-kəmɛl    'person who calls for a hunting party,
                              performs the rituals and leads it' (lit. 'person of
                              the hunting party')
pʊl p-ɔ-rɪ-ŋkwêl/ʊl w-ɔ-rɪ-ŋkwêl[40] 'person who joins in a hunting
                              party' (lit. 'person of in the hunting party')
                              < pʊl + p-ɔ + ɪ + kəmɛl/ʊl + w-ɔ + ɪ + kəmɛl
pʊl p-ɔ-rɪ̧-i̧môn/ʊl w-ɔ-rɪ̧-i̧môn[41] 'person who is hunting porcupines'
                              (lit.: person of in porcupines)
                              < pʊl + p-ɔ + ɪ + i̧môn/ʊl + w-ɔ + ɪ + i̧môn

4.8.2.  Other examples of descriptive constructions

The same descriptive constructions (noun ɪ-C-verb, noun C-ɔ-noun and noun C-ɔ-PREP-noun), and in particular those involving the connexive, are used for a variety of other nominal concepts. A descriptive construction involving a relative construction can also contain an adjective instead of a verb (noun ɪ-C-adj). Modification of a noun through direct juxtaposition is not possible except with nominalized verbs that can take an object (see 4.6.1).

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[40] The allomorph **rɪ**- of prepositional proclitic **ɪ**- 'in' is used here (see 16.2). **kəmɛl** takes on its contracted shape after **ɪ**- 'in' (see 4.4) but not after connexive C-ɔ.

[41] In case of direct adjacency of **ɪ**- (here: **rɪ**-, see 16.2) 'in' to a +ATR vowel, the resulting vowel will be articulated as +ATR.

Some further examples of descriptive constructions follow here.

Examples of 'noun C-ɔ-noun':

Plural formation always concerns not only the class prefix of the first noun, but also the agreement marker of the connexive or the relative. If the second noun involved is not already a plural, plural formation will often also involve pluralization of the second noun, as in the first example below.

**kwɔɽɛn kɔ-wɛ́k/ɔɽɛn wɔ-tacɔ́k** 'shin bone' (lit.: piece of firewood of the leg)

In a few cases, phonological changes have taken place.

**pa-pɔ-kɪra/aɽəp-ɔ-kɪra** 'leopard' (lit.: thing of the trees)
< **papʊ + pɔ + kɪra/aɽəpʊ + wɔ + kɪra**

**pa-pɔ-rua/aɽəp-ɔ-rua** 'livestock animal' (lit.: thing of hair)
< **papʊ + pɔ + tua/aɽəpʊ + wɔ + tua**

**ŋʊcʊl-ɔ-ṯṯô/ɲʊcʊl-ɔ-ṯṯô** 'salt/amounts of salt' (lit.: sauce of the Arabs)
< **ŋʊcʊl + ŋɔ + mʊṯṯô/ɲʊcʊl + ɲɔ + mʊṯṯô**

**cįl-ɔ-ṯṯô/mįl-ɔ-ṯṯô** 'grain of maize/maize' (lit.: sorghum of the Arabs)
< **cįl + cɔ + mʊṯṯô**

Examples of noun C-ɔ-PPC-noun:

**papʊ p-ɔ-rɪ-kɪra/aɽəpʊ w-ɔ-rɪ-kɪra**[42] 'wild animal' (lit.: thing of among the trees)
< **papʊ + pɔ + ɪ + kɪra/aɽəpʊ + wɔ + ɪ + kɪra**

**caʊn c-ɔ́-ṯɔ́-kúɽôk/maʊn m-ɔ́-ṯɔ́-úɽôk** 'little finger' (lit.: finger of at the corner)

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[42] The allomorph **rɪ-** of prepositional proclitic **ɪ-** 'in' is used here (see 16.2).

**kuppəʈuŋ k-ɔ-nɔ-əʈĭ/uppəʈuŋ w-ɔ-nɔ-əʈĭ** 'boat' (lit.: bedplank of on water)

Examples of noun ɪ-C-adjective:

**ŋuʈú ɪ-ɔʈə́r/ɲuʈú ɪ-ɲ-ɔʈə́r**    'sour asida/portions of sour asida' (lit.: asida which is sour)

**caʊn ɪ-c-ə́rɪ̧k/maʊn ɪ-m-ə́rɪ̧k**    'thumb', 'middle finger' (lit.: finger which is big)

The nouns for 'woman' and 'man' have this pattern as well. The adjectives themselves consist of a connexive and a nominal element (see also 10.2.4):

**pʊl ɪ-p-ɔ́.parí/ʊl ɪ-á.arí**    'woman' (lit.: person who is female)
**pʊl ɪ-p-ɔ́.cʊra/ʊl ɪ-ɔ́.mʊra**  'man/men' (lit.: person who is male)

Example of 'noun ɪ-C-verb':

**tɔk ɪ-r-apáŋka/nɔk ɪ-n-apáŋka** 'sea' (lit.: waterplace which makes waves)

Relative constructions may also involve a passive verb, often in combination with an 'absolute preposition' (see chapter 16.6):

**kwɔk ɪ-k-allóra ŋŋɪn/wɔk ɪ-allóra ŋŋɪn** 'running shoe' (lit.: shoe which is run with)

Some comparable examples can be found in chapter 14.4 on passive derivation.

Noun complexes, though they may have fused together, do not function as single units, as could already be seen from their plural formation: not just their (initial) noun class marker varies for singular and plural, but also the concords involved, and in some cases the class marker of a noun that is part of the modifying element.

Tonally, noun complexes do not function as single units either. If they did, a complex such as **kuppəɽuŋ kɔnɔəɽǐ** 'boat' would behave as a noun with a rising tone and not receive a high tone from a prepositional proclitic (see 16.1). This, however, is not the case. Upon attachment of a prepositional proclitic, a high tone appears on **kuppəɽuŋ,** just as it would in the absence of **kɔnɔəɽǐ**:

**ɪ-kuppə́ɽuŋ kɔnɔəɽǐ**     'in the boat'

**ŋʊcʊl-ɔ-ʈʈô/ɲʊcʊl-ɔ-ʈʈô** 'salt/amounts of salt' and **cɨlɔʈʈô/mɨlɔʈʈô** 'grain of maize/maize', however, seem to function as one word, having lost the concord before the connexive, and in the case of **cɨlɔʈʈô/mɨlɔʈʈô** also the high tone on the first mora (< **cɨ̂l/mɨ̂l**).

## 4.9.    Loans

Loans are incorporated into the noun class system according to their initial sound. Arabic nouns are often borrowed together with the article **al**-; in such cases the initial sound is a vowel, and the noun with Arabic article goes into the ∅/**n** class pair. Borrowed nouns sometimes have a final consonant that is not found in final position in genuinely Lumun items (**p**, **ʈ** or **m**), and some of them have an otherwise (virtually) unattested tone pattern with an initial H-tone.

It is in general uncertain if an Arabic loan is borrowed directly from Arabic or rather through another Nuba language. Moreover, the Arabic spoken in the region, whether as first or as second language, is not of one variety. In the town of Kadugli, some 40 miles west-west-north of the Lumun area, Manfredi (2013) discerns four varieties of Arabic: the prestigious and influential urban "koiné": the variety spoken in Khartoum and other cities in northern and central Sudan; Baggara Arabic: the variety spoken by Arab cattle herders in the 'Baggara belt', an area which runs from Lake Chad through South Kordofan to the Blue Nile; Emerging Kadugli Arabic: a mother tongue variety spoken by non-Arabs born in Kadugli; and Non-native Arabic: varieties of Arabic spoken by bilingual or trilingual non-Arabs in Kadugli. When citing Arabic items, I use forms in the urban "koiné" of Sudanese Arabic. They are just presented in order to show the

relationship between the Lumun items and the Arabic items; no claim is made about the way in which an item may have entered the Lumun language, i.e. which variety of Arabic has been involved or through which other Nuba-language an Arabic item may have been borrowed.

In some cases, it is obvious that the Lumun item is not a direct loan from Sudanese Arabic, because sound changes are involved that are not expected on grounds of the Lumun phonological system. One such item is **aṭám** 'book' from Sudanese Arabic *kitaab*. A clear indication that **aṭám** is not a direct loan is the loss of initial **k.** Such a loss is not expected in Lumun, which has many **k**-initial nouns. Another indication is the change of final **b** to **m**. Lumun does not have final bilabial obstruents, but nor does it have **m** in that position. A good candidate for being the source of this item is Moro, which has **áḓámá/náḓámá** 'book/books' (Gibbard, Rohde & Rose 2009, p. 112), with variant **áḓám/náḓám**. In Moro, loss of initial **k** or **g** is common in this noun class. Moreover, Arabic **b** often converts to **m** in Moro.[43]

Another item for which it is clear that it was not directly borrowed from Sudanese Arabic is **kɛccôk** 'market', from Sudanese Arabic (*as-*)*suug*. **k(ɛ)** is not a Lumun locative marker, but must have been borrowed together with the Arabic loan from another Nuba Mountain language. Candidates include Tira, which has a general locative preposition **k-** (Schadeberg 2009, p. 52); Otoro, which has a general locative preposition **gi** (**k-** before a vowel) (Schadeberg 2009, p. 214-215); Ebang, which has a general locative preposition **gi** (optionally **k-** before a vowel) (Schadeberg 2013, p. 143); or Krongo, which has a locative particle **kí-** before non-animate nouns (Reh 1985, p. 146-147).

Loans with the Arabic article **al-** that are assigned to the singular ∅ class have plurals in the **n**-class, unless they remain unpaired. Apart from the plural ∅ class, the **n**-class seems to be the plural class with the least semantic associations, for which reason it is suitable as a

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[43] Personal communication by Sharon Rose (March 2017).

plural for a diversity of loanwords. My database contains some fifty nouns in which an Arabic word can be recognized. Some examples follow here. The Sudanese Arabic equivalents are cited from Tamis & Persson (2011), unless mentioned otherwise in a footnote. In one case (*darangal* 'bedstead') the item is Baggara Arabic. The examples show that Arabic vowel length is borrowed into Lumun as a falling tone (realized high in non-prepausal position).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **aləpaccôṯ/naləpaccôṯ** | 'jackal/-s' | < *al-baᶜshoob*[44] |
| **aləppéra/naləppéra** | 'flag/-s' | < *al-beerag* |
| **alakkîn/nalakkîn** | 'clinic, hospital/-s' | < *al-ḥakiim*[45] |
| **alawîr/nalawîr** | 'tree (sp.)/-s' | < *al-ᶜawiir* |
| **alámpa/nalámpa** | 'lamp/-s' | < *al-lamba* |
| **aləkkúppa/naləkkúppa** | 'basket/-s' | < *al-guffa* |
| **alə́pɪrɪ́ṯ/nalə́pɪrɪ́ṯ** | 'mat/-s' | < *al-birish* |
| **aɽaŋkál/naɽaŋkál** | 'rope bed/-s' | < *darangal*[46] |

Examples of unpaired nouns in the ∅ class:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **aləppún** | 'coffee' | < *al-bunn* |
| **accáɪ** | 'tea' | < *ash-shaay* |
| **appəléppəl** | 'pepper' | < *al-filfil* |

Arabic nouns with collective semantics tend to be borrowed together with the article into the plural ∅ class with a counterpart denoting a single unit in the **k**-class (the examples were given earlier):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **kaləppaṯúra/aləppaṯúra** | 'tomato/-es' | < *al-banaḍoora* |
| **kaṭṭɔpâ/aṭṭɔpâ** | 'piece of tobacco/tobacco' | < *at-tumbaak* |
| **kakúccį/akúccį** | 'coin/money' | < *al-guruush* |

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[44] Hillelson (1930) mentions *baᶜshoob*, Hillelson and Tamis & Persson (2011) both have *baᶜshoom*.

[45] The item is translated by Hillelson as 'physician', by Tamis & Persson as 'doctor's assistant'.

[46] Hillelson gives not only the Sudanese Arabic word *angareeb*, but also the Baggara Arabic item *darangal* 'bedstead (kind of matting which serves as mattress)', which is clearly much closer to the Lumun item.

Nouns with an initial consonant that coincides with a noun class prefix are sometimes borrowed without the article. If the initial consonant coincides with a singular noun class prefix, a plural is often formed that fits in with a class pair and the other way round.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **paṭṭaníɛ/aṭṭaníɛ** | 'blanket/-s' | < *baṭṭaaniyya* |
| **capôn/mapôn** | 'soap/bars of soap' | < *ṣaabuun* |
| **capára/mapára** | 'k.o. whistle/-s' | < *ṣuffaara* |
| **ṭarra/larra** | 'scarf/-s' | < *ṭarḥa* |
| **kəṭṭə̆m/əṭṭə̆m** | 'fish trap/-s' | < *kajjaama* 'steel trap' |
| **kapərît/apərît** | 'match/-es' | < *kibriit* |
| | | |
| **côṭ/môṭ** | 'banana/-s' | < *mooz* |
| **cɔ́ŋka/mɔ́ŋka** | 'mango/-s' | < *manga* |

If the initial consonant coincides with a noun class prefix (singular or plural), this sometimes results in an unpaired noun that can have both singular and plural reference:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **cɪcára** | 'cigaret(s)' | < *sijaara* |
| **ṭémʊr** | 'date(s)' | < *tamur* |
| | | |
| **múccʊṭ** | 'comb(s)' | < *mushuṭ* |
| **méɲcɛl** | 'sickle(s)' | < *munjal* |

The banana tree, mango tree and date palm cannot be denoted by changing the noun class. Instead, a description is used:

**pɪra pɔṭémʊr/kɪra kɔṭémʊr**     'date palm' ('tree of dates')

## 4.10.  Kinship terms and personal names

### 4.10.1. The persona prefix[47]

Kinship terms and personal names have the persona prefix ɔ́- (which is also found in personal pronouns). Two further nouns with the persona prefix are **ɔpaṭṭí** 'person' and **ɔpəllĭn** 'one of a group'.

*Tone*

The prefix brings about the same tonal changes to the noun to which it is attached as a preceding word with a final high, rising or floating high tone. Since the prefix cannot receive a high tone itself unless through tone bridge, it can either be represented as high or rising. As explained in chapter 3.8, I represent a case like this as high.

A few examples follow here in order to show that the tonal effects are fully in line with the rule of Tone Shift. This includes the (non-)realization of a high (or falling) tone on the following noun, which takes place in precisely the same way as described in the chapter 3 on Tone.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ɔ-ṭɔ̂n** | 'Mouth' | < | ɔ́- ṭɔn | 'mouth' |
| **ɔ-cə́kkɔrɔk** | 'Hunchback' | < | ɔ́- cəkkɔrɔk | 'hunch' |
| **ɔ-parí** | 'wife (as kinshipterm)' | < | ɔ́- parí | 'wife' |
| **ɔ-ómpərʊ́ŋ** | 'Calf' | < | ɔ́- ŋʊmpərʊ́ŋ | 'calf' |
| **ɔ-ṭakəɽʊ́k** | 'Chicken' | < | ɔ́- ṭakəɽʊ́k | 'chicken' |
| **ɔ-ʊmaṭɔ̂n** | 'Elephant' | < | ɔ́- ʊmaṭɔ̂n | 'elephant' |
| **ɔ-cɔɽɔ̌ŋ** | 'Mountain' | < | ɔ́- cɔɽɔ̌ŋ | 'mountain' |

The exceptions to Tone sub-rule 2.3 apply here as well. Thus there is a falling contour (at least at surface level) on the short initial vowel of **cɪtín** 'bird (sp.)', and **paɽák** 'fly' gets an initial high tone without contour formation.

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[47] The persona prefix is discussed in more detail in Smits (2012).

**ɔ-cîtín**          '*Cɪtɪn*-bird'          < **ɔ́- cɪtín**          'bird (sp.)'
**ɔ-páɽák**          'Fly'          < **ɔ́- paɽák**          'fly'

The vocative kinship term/personal names **lɔttí** 'second born child, which is a boy' and **lɔccɔ́** 'fifth born child, which is a boy', also get a high tone on their first vowel without contour formation. In these two cases the phenomenon cannot be observed in other contexts, since **lɔttí** and **lɔccɔ́**, without the prefix, are vocatives, and can, within a tonal domain not be preceded by other elements.

**ɔ-lɔ́ttí** 'second born child, which is a boy'     (< ɔ́- lɔttí)
**ɔ-lɔ́ccɔ́** 'fifth born child, which is a boy'          (< ɔ́- lɔccɔ́)

The vowel has itself a –ATR quality but may be realized +ATR or somewhat towards +ATR when attached to a +ATR noun.

In case of assimilation to an adjacent vowel, the vowels coalesce, i.e. the resulting (underlyingly) long vowel becomes short, and the (underlying) tone sequence is realized as high:

**ámra** 'Red' (< âmra < a-âmra < **ɔ́- amra**) (< Sud. Arabic *amra*)
**áməntácɪ** 'Aməntacɪ' (< â-məntácɪ < a-âməntácɪ < **ɔ́- aməntácɪ**)

Shortening seems to be less rigorous when there is elision of **ŋ** between assimilating vowels. In the following case an initial low-high sequence may be pronounced, but not necessarily so:

**a-áʈərəpê** / **áʈərəpê** 'Rabbit'     (< a-âʈərəpê < **ɔ́- ŋaʈərəpê**)

*Segmental effects: vowel coalescence, consonant gemination*

The segmental part of the prefix is coalesced before **ɛ** and **a**: **ɔ** + **ɛ** > **ɛ**, **ɔ** + **a** > **a**. Before **ɔ** it may be coalesced as well, but some length may also be audible. There is no coalescence before the other vowels (**i̧, ɪ, u, ʊ, ə**). Cases of attachment of the prefix to a vowel-initial noun generally concern nouns that are loans. Some examples with adjacent vowels were already given above. Two further examples:

ɛlɪmɛ́lɪk 'Elimelek'   (< ɔ́- ɛlɪmɛ́lɪk)
ɔɪlîn 'Heleen'        (< ɔ́- ɪlîn)

In a few cases, I assume that attachment of the prefix causes gemination of the initial consonant of the noun. This is the case in the word for 'my father' (ŋ would otherwise be elided between vowels). ŋ is, however, not realized long, so that I write is with single ŋ:

ɔ́- + ŋappâ > ɔŋappâ 'my father'

This also happens with borrowed names which have an initial voiceless obstruent. The following names are the names of story characters. They are not originally Lumun and have no meaning in Lumun.

ɔkkɔ́llɛ 'Kɔllɛ' (name of a story figure, < ɔ́- kɔllɛ)
ɔppɛ́nná 'Pɛnna' (name of a story figure, < ɔ́- pɛnná)

*Prepositional proclitics preceding a noun with the persona prefix ɔ́-*

The persona prefix ɔ́- becomes a- when preceded by one of the prepositions ɪ-, nɔ- or tɔ-. Compare the following examples with a common noun (ɔɽɛn 'firewood') and a noun with the persona prefix (ɔpaŋɔ̂n 'siblings'):

ɪ-ɔɽɛ̂n        'in/among the firewood'
ɪ-apaŋɔ̂n     'among his/her siblings'

In the examples below, ɔnnân '(his/her) mother', ɔ̂k 's/he', ɔpaŋɔ̂n 'siblings' and ɔlalʊ̂ 'Lalʊ' have the persona prefix ɔ́-. (For the paradigms of basic prepositions + personal pronouns, see 6.1.4).

**m-p-ɔkəttɔ́.t        ɪ-a-nnán        nɔ-kaṭə́r**
1-C-run_into:COMPL    in-PERS-mother    on-road

I ran into his/her mother on the road

**m-p-ɔkəttɔ́.t**          **ɪ-a-ák**          **nɔ-kaṭə́r**
1-C-run_into:COMPL    in-PERS-3          on-road

I ran into him/her on the road

**k-kw-á.ṭṭɛ**      **nɔ-kəmən**      **ána**      **n-a-paŋ-ɔ́n**      **ana**      **nɔ́-lị̈cɔ́k**
3-C-leave:INCOMPL    on-houses        and        on-PERS-sibling-PL    and        on-goats

s/he will leave the house and his/her siblings and the goats

**k-kw-árrɔ́ṭ.ɛ**      **t-a-lalồ**
3-C-cross:COMPL      up_on-PERS-Lalʊ

s/he has climbed on Lalʊ (picture: Lalʊ is standing or sitting and the person
has climbed onto Lalʊ's neck)

After ṭɔ- the persona prefix does not change to **a**, nor does it do so
after the connexive marker C-**ɔ** 'of'. The prepositional proclitic **ń**-
'with, by, (away) from' cannot be combined with nouns with the
persona prefix (see also chapter 16 on prepositional proclitics).

4.10.2. Kinship terms

In kinship terms, the noun class prefix of the noun to which the
prefix is attached is often **p**- but not always. Nouns with the persona
prefix do not occur in singular/plural pairs that differ from each
other only as to the noun class prefix. Instead, they form plural
through suffixation of a morpheme (-**ŋɔ̂n**) to the singular noun (see
4.10.3).

Nouns with the persona prefix have specific concords. With the
exception of possessor pronouns and connexives, the concord of
singular nouns with the persona prefix is **p**-, the concord of plural
nouns with the persona prefix is **ṭ**-[48].

**ɔ-ɪáɪá**          **p-á.ík**      **p-ânṭán**
PERS-my_mother    C-be:PR        C-come:INCOMPL

my mother is coming

---

[48] See also Smits (2012).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ɔ-ɪáɪá-n** | **ṭ-á.ík** | **ṭ-ânṭán** |
| PERS-my_mother-PL | C-be:PR | C-come:INCOMPL |

my mother and companions (also: my mother and father) are coming

Personal names also have the persona prefix **ɔ́-**. In fact, those personal names that denote whether a child is the first born, the second born, etc. (up to the fifth born) can be considered a type of kinship term. Other personal names are rather nicknames, or Arabic or English loans, but all have the personal prefix **ɔ́-**. The prefix is only absent when the name is used as a vocative, i.e. when the person is directly addressed.

All Lumun children receive a name that denotes the order in which they were born. The first born child is called **kakkâ** if it is a girl, and **kʊkkɔ̂** if it is a boy; the second born is called **nɛnnî** if it is a girl, and **lɔttí** if it is a boy, etc. The names of the first three children are more fixed than the names of the fourth and the fifth: there are alternatives here. With the sixth child the name-giving in principle starts again from the beginning, so that there may be two children called **kakkâ** or **kʊkkɔ̂**, etc. Most names are gender-specific, but some are used for both boys and girls. In the table below (after Smits 2012), both the vocative forms and the forms with the persona prefix are given.

Table 23 Birth names

| *boys* | | *girls* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *vocative* | *with ɔ́-prefix* | *vocative* | *with ɔ́-prefix* |
| 1. **kʊkkɔ̂** | **ɔkʊkkɔ̂** | 1. **kakkâ** | **ɔkakkâ** |
| 2. **lɔttí** | **ɔlɔ́ttí** | 2. **nɛnnî** | **ɔnɛnnî** |
| 3. **lalɔ̂** | **ɔlalɔ̂** | 3. **cɛccê** | **ɔcɛccê** |
| 4. **ṭʊṭṭɔ̂** | **ɔṭʊṭṭɔ̂** | 4. **ŋɔɽîn** | **ɔɽîn** (ŋ is deleted between vowels) |
| 4. **lɛṭṭɔ̂** | **ɔlɛṭṭɔ̂** | 4. **ṭʊṭṭɔ̂** | **ɔṭʊṭṭɔ̂** |
| 5. **lɔccɔ́** | **ɔlɔ́ccɔ́** | 5. **kʊmâŋ** | **ɔkʊmâŋ** |
| 5. **kʊmâŋ** | **ɔkʊmâŋ** | | |

Below, a list of kinship and relational terms with the persona prefix is provided. Except in the cases of 'father/paternal uncle (father's brother)' and 'mother/aunt (father's sister and mother's sister)', the terms are used for both people who stand in a certain relationship to each other, and in most cases male and female are not distinguished. For example, **ɔpəkí** denotes both grandparent (grandfather or grandmother) and grandchild (grandson or granddaughter). The terms for father and mother are inherently possessed by a first, second or third person, as is the term for 'mother's brother' (maternal uncle). In the forms for 'mother's brother' the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG possessor pronouns can be recognized. The other kinship terms are commonly used in combination with a possessor pronoun. This is the case even more so for their vocatives, for which reason a possessor ('my' or 'of X') is added in the table. The vocatives between parentheses are not commonly used.

Table 24 Kinship and relational terms

|  | *ɔ́-prefix noun* | *Vocative (with possessor C-m 'my', or C-ɔ-X 'of X')* |
|---|---|---|
| my father, my paternal uncle | **ɔŋappâ** | **ŋappâ** |
| my father, my paternal uncle (informal) | **ɔpáppa** | **páppa** |
| your father, your paternal uncle | **ɔṭṭé** | |
| (his, her) father, (his, her) paternal uncle | **ɔṭṭân** | **ṭan pɔ-X 'father of X'** |
| my mother, my aunt | **ɔŋáɪa** | **ŋáɪa** |
| my mother, my aunt (informal) | **ɔcáca** | **ɪáɪa** |
| your mother, your aunt | **ɔnné** | |
| (his, her) mother, (his, her) | **ɔnnân** | **nan pɔ-X** |

| aunt | | 'mother of X' |
|---|---|---|
| son, daughter | ɔpɛí | pɛı pîn |
| brother, sister, cousin | ɔpáŋ | paŋ pîn, paŋkîn |
| ancestor, descendant | ɔpəkí | pəkı pîn |
| grandparent, grandchild | ápɔpɔ̂ (< Sud. Ar. ḥabbooba 'grandmother') | apɔpɔ́ pın |
| my maternal uncle, nephew, niece of a maternal uncle | ɔréın | ɔréın |
| your maternal uncle, nephew, niece of a maternal uncle | ɔréaŋ | |
| (his, her) maternal uncle, nephew, niece of a maternal uncle | ɔrên, ɔréʋŋ, ɔrɔ̂ŋ | ɔrén pɔ-X, ɔréʋŋ pɔ-X, ɔrɔ́ŋ pɔ-X 'uncle of X' |
| husband | ɔllê | (pəʈɛ pǐn) |
| wife | ɔparí | (parı pîn) |
| co-wife | ɔpʋʈʋkôn | (pʋʈʋkón pın) |
| in-law (different generation) | ɔpıʈé | pıʈɛ pîn |
| in-law (same generation) | ɔʈ̣în | ɔʈ̣ín pın |
| master, servant | ɔpít | pıt pîn |
| friend | ɔpʋrʋkɔ̂ | pʋrʋkɔ́ pın |
| my friend | ɔkarrəkîn | karrəkîn |
| friend | ɔcâp, ɔcapí (< Sud. Ar. ṣaaḥib) | cápəcın, capí |

*Personal names*

The kinship terms conveying the order in which Lumun children are born, and which function also a personal names, were already presented in table 23. The persona prefix is further used in order to

derive (nick)names for people. Body parts and animal species such as certain birds serve as sources of name formation, but other kinds of nouns as well.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɔcɔɽɔ̌ŋ | 'the Mountain' | < cɔɽɔ̌ŋ 'mountain' |
| ɔkíɲcɛ | 'the Nose' | < kɪɲcɛ 'nose' |
| ɔkəɽîn | 'the Bold Patch' | < kəɽîn 'bold patch' |
| ɔcə́kkɔrɔk | 'the Hunchback' | < cəkkɔrɔk 'hump' |
| ɔt̪ŭk | 'the Dog' | < t̪ŭk 'dog' |
| ɔcîttín | 'the Cittin-bird' | < cɪttín 'bird (sp., making a lot of noise)' |
| ɔt̪ɔ́n t̪ɔrut̪t̪əruk | 'the Mouth of Pig' | < t̪ɔn t̪ɔrut̪t̪əruk 'mouth of pig'[49] |

A (nick)name formation process with **ɔkká** is also attested. **ɔkká** contains the persona prefix, otherwise its composition is not fully clear. It has probably developed from the personal pronoun **ɔɔ̂k** '(s)he' (which contains the persona prefix) and the copula **p-á** 'be' where **p** is the concord. **ɔɔ̂k** + **pá** has then given rise to **ɔkkâ**, though tonally this is not regular. Some examples:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɔkká-t̪ʊɽan | 'Thief' | < t̪ʊɽan 'theft'[50] |
| ɔkká-cɪpín | 'Born in the evening' | < cɪpín 'evening' |
| ɔkká-məkal | 'Born when the mother was working in the sesame field' | < məkal 'sesame' |
| ɔkká-uɽě | 'Funny person' | < ŋuɽě 'fun, joke' |

Vocatives of this type of names start with **ka**:

| | |
|---|---|
| **kát̪ʊɽan** | **ŋ-kw-aa.r-î** |
| thief | 2-C-COME:COMPL-Q |

Thief, have you come?

---

[49] The tonal representation of this item in Smits 2012 (p. 107) is not correct.

[50] There is a plural noun **at̪ʊɽan** 'thieves', but no singular noun *__katʊɽan__ 'thief'.

A comparable construction involves **ɔɔ̂k**, the connexive **p-ɔ** 'of' and a verbal noun, for example:

**ɔ̆kkwɔ̯ṭa̯ṭəntakɔ̆** (also: **ɔ̆kkwɔ̯ṭa̯ṭəntakɔ̆)**     'Dreamer'
(< **ɔɔ̆k** + **pɔ** + **ṭa̯ṭəntakɔ̆**, lit.: 's/he of dreaming')

Names that are loans from other languages have the persona prefix:

**ɔcɔ̂n**          'John'
**ɔlúkka**        'Luke'
**ɔúmar**         'Umar'

The persona prefix is sometimes used in combination with a noun that denotes a kind of person, such as **kəllân** 'old woman' and **ṭɔmɔccɔ** 'old man'. Such terms, for example **ɔkəllân** and **ɔṭɔ́mɔccɔ** function as names, denoting a specific individual.

The term **ɔpaṭṭí** 'person' is commonly used instead of somebody's name, in order to avoid the personal name. When **ɔpaṭṭí** is used, it is usually assumed that the hearer knows who is being referred to.

| **ɔ-paṭṭɪ** | **p-ɪɔ́.t** | **p-a-ṭʊk** | **ṭ-ɔkkwɔ̯ṭ.ê** |
|---|---|---|---|
| PERS-person | C-die:COMPL | C-be-dog | C-kill:COMPL |

the person died, he was killed by a dog

However, **ɔpaṭṭí** and its plural **ɔpaṭṭɔ̂n** (see further below for plurals) can also refer to specific persons who are not (yet) identified by the hearer. A person who has arrived at somebody's house may call out **ɔpaṭṭí** in order to announce himself, and **ɔpaṭṭɔ̂n** if he or she has arrived together with one or more others.

The word **ɔpəllĭn** typically refers to somebody from a group, but not somebody specific:

| **á-pəllɪn** | **ânṭán** |
|---|---|
| SUBJ.PERS-one_from_group | come:DEPINCOMPL |

let one of you come!

The word can also denote each member of a group:

| **ɔ-pəllɩn** | **p-a.nɛ́kɩttat** | **lịcɔk** | **ukulûk** |
|---|---|---|---|
| PERS-one_from_group | C-be_taken_from:INCOMPL | goats | five |

from each of you five goats will be taken

In the following example **ɔpəllĭn** is just used as 'somebody': the speaker does not know who has beaten on the ground.

| **ɔ-pəllɩn** | **p-ɔ́kkwɔ.t** | **cîk** |
|---|---|---|
| PERS-one_from_group | C-beat:COMPL | VREF |

somebody has beaten (on the ground with his stick) (i.e. a way of knocking at a place to see if somebody is there)

The plural **ɔpəllɩŋɔ̂n** denotes 'some of a group'. In a construction **ɔpəllɩŋɔ́n** … **ɔpəllɩŋɔ́n** … it expresses 'some … others …', as in the sentence below:

| **ámmá** | **á-kín** | **ɔ́pɔ́kɔ́** | **ɔ-pəllɩŋ-ɔ́n** | **t̠-á.cɔ́ɽɔ́** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| if | CONJ.PERS-3A | be_beaten:DEPINCOMPL | PERS-one_of_a_group-PL | C-stand:INCOMPL |

| **ana** | **ɔ-pəllɩŋ-ɔ́n** | **t̠-íkkɔ** | **cɩk** |
|---|---|---|---|
| and | PERS-one_from_group-PL | C-sit:INCOMPL | VREF |

and when they are beaten, some stand and others sit (fr. written description)

Unlike other nouns with the persona prefix, **ɔpəllĭn** cannot be used without it, i.e. it is not used as a vocative.

### 4.10.3. The plural suffix -ŋɔ̂n

Nouns with the persona prefix form plurals through suffixation of the plural morpheme -ŋɔ̂n to the singular noun. -ŋɔ̂n has associative meaning such as 'and companions'. The companions are typically the people who live in the same house as the mentioned person, but can also be friends or people working together. 'My mother and father' is expressed by the plural of 'my mother' or 'my father':

**ɔ-ŋappâ-n**
PERS-my_father-PL
my father and mother, my father and his family/companions

-ŋɔ̂n does not cover accidental groups, such as people that happen to be together in a bus.

As expected, **ŋ** of -ŋɔ̂n causes full assimilation of a preceding **t**, **k** or **n** to **ŋ**. The resulting geminated velar nasal is then shortened. **ŋ** is deleted after **ɨ**, **ɪ**, **u** or **ʊ** and after **l** or **r**. In addition, the **ɔ** of -ŋɔ̂n coalesces (after ŋ-deletion) with a preceding **ɔ**, **ɛ** or **a** resulting in **ɔ**, **ɛ** and **a**, respectively. The vowel of the suffix may adopt a +ATR realization, or a realization towards +ATR upon attachment to a +ATR noun. Note that there is tone bridge in **ɔlɔ́ttí-ɔ̂n** and that in **ɔkíɲcê-n** the falling contour of the elided **ɔ** of the suffix is retained.

| | |
|---|---|
| **ɔpít** | 'master, servant' |
| **ɔpɪŋɔ̂n** | 'the master/servant and his/her companions' |
| | |
| **ɔlɔ́ttí** | 'Lɔttɪ' |
| **ɔlɔ́ttí-ɔ̂n** | 'Lɔttɪ and companions' |
| | |
| **ɔkíɲcɛ** | 'Nose' (as a nick name) |
| **ɔkíɲcê-n** | 'Nose and companions' |

If a possessor pronoun is present, the plural suffix is attached after the possessor pronoun:

**ɔpɪt p-în**        'my master, my servant'
**ɔpɪt p-ɪŋ-ɔ̂n**    'my master and his/her companions, my servant and his/her companions'

In case of a demonstrative modifier, the plural suffix can come after the demonstrative (first example), but also before it (second example):

**ɔ-kakká**        **έŋ-k-í-ɔ́n**        **t̪-aá.t**
PERS-Kakka       DEM-C-NEARSP-PL     C-come:COMPL

this Kakka and her companions have come

**ɔ-kakká-n**     **ɛn-t̪-ɪ**        **t̪-aá.t**
PERS-Kakka-PL    DEM-C-NEARSP      C-come:COMPL

this Kakka and her companions have come

Vocatives of nouns which otherwise have the persona prefix also form plurals with the associative suffix:

**ɪáɪa-n**
mother-PL
mother and father!

The associative suffix allows for plural reference as 'one or more X's' if this is appropriate in the context. The second example, based on **ɔpat̪t̪í** 'person', is irregular because the **ɪ** is deleted before the suffix.

**paŋ-k-ɪŋɔ̂n**        (< **páŋ pĭn -ŋɔ̂n**)
sibling-C-POSS1.PL

my brothers!

**pat̪t̪-ɔ̂n**
person-PL

people! (way of greeting a group of people)

Relative words and question words referring to people ('who', 'the one who') are pluralized with **-ŋɔ̂n** (see 6.1.5. and 20.1.1), as can the associative marker **at̪t̪ʊt/át̪t̪út** (see 6.8).

A special case of suffixation of **-ŋɔ̂n** is the following, in which the suffix is attached to the plural of the common noun **ɲʊkʊl** 'child'. It is a way of greeting a group of children, of which the speaker knows at least a few.

**ɲʊkʊl-ɔ̂n**          'children!' (lit. children and companions)

The following example also involves a common plural noun (**ʊl** 'people'). The suffix is attached to the demonstrative modifier:

**k-kw-ânn-ítta**               **ṯɔ-ʊ́l**        **ɛ́n-n-í-ɔ̂n**
3-C-NEG-be_married:DEPINCOMPL        at-people        DEM-C-NEARSP-PL

she cannot be married into the household of these people