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A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

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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**, **t̤** 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 (**t̤oolf** ‘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
ukul	‘child’	L.L
cumian	‘bone’	L.L.L
kəɾəmekku	‘bat (sp.)’	L.L.L.L

Final high tone (L*.H)

cá	‘head’	H
capó	‘ground’	L.H
kappərí	‘spoon’	L.L.H
tərkián	‘caterpillar larva’	L.L.L.H

Final rising tone (L*.LH)

tŭk	‘dog’	LH
cərŭŋ	‘hill’	L.LH
tukră	‘head pad’	L.L.LH
tənnəkkettă	‘to be tested’	L.L.L.LH

Final falling tone (L*.HL)

tŭn	‘onion’	HL
cŭân	‘rat (sp.)’	L.HL
cərîđ	‘shell’	L.L.HL
pərîəmpôŋ	‘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:

cərəŭi	‘goatskin bracelet’	L.H.L
ŋaləŋtŭŋ	‘k.o. basket (small size)’	L.H.L
tappərānu	‘worm (sp.)’	L.L.H.L
taləkíkkík	‘dodging behaviour’	L.L.H.L
ŋeríā	‘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

cakkólók	‘gourd (k.o.)’
cumpóráŋ	‘monkey (sp.)’
kapíét	‘jaw’

L.H.L.H

cakkórupíl	‘bird (sp.)’
kapérentúŋ	‘lizard (sp.)’
kwáréttól	‘plant (edible sp.)’

One loan word from Arabic has this pattern as well:

alápirít	‘prayer mat’	(< Sud. Ar. <i>al-birish</i>)
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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

ŋáppə	‘hunt’ ²³
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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	‘jerry can’	(< Sudanese Arabic <i>baagha</i>)
múccuŋ	‘comb’	(< Sudanese Arabic <i>mushuŋ</i>)
cérəŋel	‘bucket’	(< Sudanese Arabic <i>jerdal</i>)

²³ Tira has a verb **apə** ‘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 $\emptyset$ 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:

t̪-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 $\emptyset$ 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	<u>l</u>-aŋ	é<u>l</u>-<u>l</u>-í	<u>l</u>-á.kórrakɔt	ɪ-aʔám
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

<i>noun class</i>	<i>concord</i>	<i>prefix</i>	<i>example</i>
p	p-	p-	p-ira 'tree'
t̥	t̥-	t̥-	t̥-ɔ̌ɔ́k 'rope'
t	t-	t-	t-əŋək 'worm'
c	c-	c-	c-á 'head'
k, kw subclass k subclass kw	k- k-	k- kw-	k-əɾɔ̌l 'tortoise' kw-ɔ̌ɔ́l 'cheek'
ŋ	ŋ-	ŋ-	ŋ-at̩t̩k̩k̩l 'calabash (k.o.)'
∅, w subclass ∅ subclass w	w- w-	∅ w-	aɾám 'book' w-aɪ̌ 'cow'

Table 17 Plural noun classes

<i>noun class</i>	<i>concord</i>	<i>prefix</i>	<i>example</i>
k	k-	k-	k-ira 'trees'
m	m-	m-	m-á 'heads'
n	n-	n-	n-əŋək 'worms'
ɲ	ɲ-	ɲ-	ɲ-at̩t̩k̩k̩l 'calabashes (k.o.)'
l	l-	l-	l-ɔ̌ɔ́k 'ropes'
∅, w subclass ∅ subclass w	w- w-	∅ w-	əɾɔ̌l 'tortoises' wək '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** (/k^w/, pronounced [k^w] 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:

kapórentɔŋ k-aát ‘the lizard (sp.) has come’
kwalílm 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-apórentɔŋ/apórentɔŋ ‘lizard (sp.)/-s’
kw-alílm/alílm ‘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 **ɪ**, but this is probably a coincidence because cases of singular **k** before an **ɪ**-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

<i>stem-initial vowel</i>	<i>subclass k</i>	<i>translation</i>	<i>subclass kw</i>	<i>translation</i>
ɪ	k-ɪcɪt	fruit of <i>picit</i> -tree		

ɪ	k-ɪnce	nose	kw-ira	small piece of wood or grass
u	k-unú	ear	(kwucúl)	back
ʊ	k-ʊɾĩ	branch		
ɛ	k-ɛɾʊ	black spot from burning	kw-ɛɾé	pointed stick
ɔ			kw-ɔk	shoe
ə	k-əré	cloth		
a	k-aɾʊk	goatskin bag	kw-aɾe	marking line on the ground

In unpaired nouns there is just one case of **k** before **ɔ** (**kɔrəkəkôr** ‘prison’) against two cases of **kw** before **ɔ** (**kwɔɾĩ** ‘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**-pair²⁴, 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:

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.

waḵ w-aát	‘the cow has come’
ilí w-aát	‘the leader has come’

I consider nouns such as **ilí** as having a $\emptyset$ prefix, because a $\emptyset$ prefix paradigmatically relates to class prefixes (always consonants) of other nouns. The singular $\emptyset$ 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:

waḵ/kíé	‘cow/-s’
wék/tacók	‘leg, foot/legs, feet’

In the case of **waḵ** and **wék**, 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, **wék** can alternatively be pronounced with an initial vowel: **uék**. It is then assigned to the singular $\emptyset$ subclass.

*The plural $\emptyset$, **w** class*

Concords of the plural $\emptyset$, **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-ípók	‘the hair is white, blond’
əret w-ípók	‘the cloths are white’

Plural nouns in the $\emptyset$ subclass are considerably more numerous than plural nouns in the **w**-subclass.

Plurals with $\emptyset$, **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 $\emptyset$ (numbers of attestations are given for all pairs in tables 19 and 20):

k/ $\emptyset$ **k-apérɛntúŋ/apérɛntúŋ** ‘lizard (sp.)/-s’

kw corresponds both to **w** and to $\emptyset$ in the plural:

kw/ $\emptyset$ **kw-alíln/alíln** ‘centipede/-s’
kw/**w** **kw-ǎn/w-ǎn** ‘strand of human hair/human hair’

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

kw/**w** ~ $\emptyset$ **kw-anôk/w-anôk, anôk** ‘moon/-s’

It is lexically determined whether a plural comes in the $\emptyset$ 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-en/w-en	‘line of stones marking the boundary of a field’
kw-ét/w-ét	‘circle of roof skeleton’
kw-ǎn/w-ǎn	‘strand of human hair/hair (of human)’
kw-ira/w-ira, ira	‘small piece of wood or grass’
kw-ɔk/w-ɔk	‘shoe’
kw-ɔ́ɛ́tɔ́tɔ́l/w-ɔ́ɛ́tɔ́tɔ́l, ɔ́ɛ́tɔ́tɔ́l	‘k.o. vegetable’
kw-anôk/w-anôk, anôk	‘moon, month’
kw-ɛ́ɛ́/ɛ́ɛ́	‘pointed stick’
kw-ɔ́ɛ́k/ɔ́ɛ́k	‘black ant’
kw-ɔ́ɛ́n/ɔ́ɛ́n	‘piece of firewood/firewood’
kw-ɔ́ɛ́kwɔ́ɛ́/ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́	‘plant (sp., edible)’
kw-ɔ́ɛ́l/ɔ́ɛ́l	‘cheek’
kw-alíln/alíln	‘centipede’
kw-ame/ame	‘tendon’
kw-aɛ́/aɛ́	‘marking line on the ground’
kw-attára/attára	‘k.o. dance’

4.3.2. Noun class pairs²⁶

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

<i>(sub)class pair</i>	<i>example</i>	<i>translation</i>	<i>#</i>
p/∅	p-ol/ol	person/-s	64
p/k	p-ira/k-ira	tree/-s	45
c/k	c-ít/k-ít	eye/-s	11
c/m	c-á/m-á	head/-s	163
l/l	l-ɔrɔk/l-ɔrɔk	rope/-s	85
t/n	t-əŋək/n-əŋək	worm/-s	70
∅/n	aɬám/n-aɬám	book/-s	18
k/∅	k-ərɔl/ərɔl	tortoise/-s	143
kw/∅	kw-anɔk/anɔk	moon/-s	12
kw/w	kw-anɔk/w-anɔk	moon/-s	6
ŋ/ɲ	ŋ-attɔkkɔl/ɲ-attɔkkɔl	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**, **l**, 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

<i>(sub) class pair</i>	<i>pair of nouns</i>	<i>translation</i>	<i>#</i>
p/l	p-erö/l-erö	tree (sp.)/-s	2

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

	(PL also k-erö) p-əkí/t-əkí	ancestor, descendant/-s	
p/m	p-ətək/m-ətək p-ərǎ/m-ərǎ	stone/-s Tira person/-s	2
p/n	p-akkí/n-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-ian/p-ian	small piece of firewood/small firewood	1
k/t	k-upú/t-upú	piece, pole of bamboo /bamboo	3
kw/t	k-amur/t-amur k-ullín/t-ullín kw-ɔcán/t-ɔcán	(grain of) sand/sand blade of grass (sp.)/grass (sp.) leaf of edible plant (sp.) /edible plant (sp.)	1
k/t	k-ua/t-ua	strand of hair/hair	1
kw/t	kw-acɔ/t-acɔ	blade of grass/grass (generic)	1
k/n	k-ukkú/n-ukkú	unripe groundnut/-s	1
ŋ/t	ŋ-umǎr/t-umǎr	relative of father's side, enemy, murder ²⁷ /-s	1
l/n	l-ɔpǎr/n-ɔpǎr	partridge/-s	1
Ø/k	ike/k-ike	giraffe/-s	1
w/k	wallír²⁸/kallír	gazelle/-s	1
Ø/l	utturu/l-utturu	Otoro person/-s	1
Ø/n	ukul/n-ukul	child/children	1
			20

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 **allír**.

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

<i>(partly) suppletive pair</i>	<i>(sub)class pair</i>	<i>translation</i>
p-apu/aṛəpu	p/∅	thing/-s
c-arək/k-ərək	c/k	belly, stomach, /bellies, -s
c-ikīt/m-əkīt	c/m	heart/-s
c-əpú/m-úpú		hole in the ground
k-úpír/t-əpír	k/t	sorghum stock/-s
ɔpá/k-əpá	∅/k	piece of meat/meat ²⁹
w-aĩ/k-ǰé	w/k	cow/-s
imīt/l-ǰcók	∅/l	goat/-s
w-ék/t-acók	w/t	leg, foot/-s, feet
ukón/n-aón	∅/n	hand/-s, forearm/-s
iré/n-iré (also regular: n-iré)	∅/n	adolescent girl/-s

Two more irregular pairs follow here:

cəmart/mart	‘bean/-s’
mǎn/kəmón	‘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 **cəmart**, denoting a single bean, is a case of a double prefix (**cə-m-art**). Also **kəmón** may have a double prefix (**kə-m-ón**) 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

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 **mǎn/kəmón**. **kəmón** 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 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 **t̥**-prefix that are derived from verbs and adjectives have not been counted. Denominal derivations in the **t̥**- 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

<i>(sub)class</i>	<i>unpaired noun</i>	<i>translation</i>	<i>#</i>
p	porocê	fog	14
t̥	t̥iak	suffering	18
t	t̥i	(period(s) of) hunger	2
c	capó	ground	7
k	ka	body, bodies	15
kw	kwa	chaff	5
m	m̥iɽók	bush, uncultivated land	10
n	nun̥tú	fine-grained soil	6
ŋ	ŋilí	leadership	1
l	lccit	threshing floor(s)	3
w	wê	calabash(es) or pot(s) for fermenting flour and water	1
Ø	accái	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 **porucê** ‘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 **lomúttu** ‘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**-/1- 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/ʔənáŋ ‘wind’
ŋəme/ʔŋəme ‘sound of crying, tear(s)’
ṭurīt/ʔṭurīt ‘food’

4.3.4. Nouns and number³⁰

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:

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

cuccû/muccû ‘bead, necklace/beads, necklaces’

pəṭək/məṭək ‘stone, country/stones, countries’

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

kəriṅkəriṅ/əriməriṅ ‘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

cîl/mîl ‘grain of sorghum/sorghum’

kaləppaṭúra/aləppaṭúra ‘tomato/tomatoes’

(< Sud. Ar. *al-banaḍoora*)

əpá/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:

cəmart/mart ‘bean/beans’

SG, COLL/PL

ṭûn/lûn ‘onion(s) (unit or collective)/onions (units or amounts)’

cokurí/mokurí ‘edible plant (sp., unit or collective)/edible plant (sp., units or amounts)’

kəpim/əpim ‘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):

kεccók	k-ónó	aɾəpɔ	w-əppót	ámm.akka
market	C-have	things	C-many	like
ɬ-ún	ana	l-umú	ana	k-əpá
SGC-onion	and	PLC- <i>lumu</i> -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’ (**lún**) is preferred:

lún	m-muál	m-εɾá
onions	with-sacks	C-two

two sacks of onions

muál	m-εɾa	m-ó-lún
sacks	C-two	C-of-onions

two sacks of onions

lún	l-εɾa	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.

kamór/ɬamór ‘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’

kappentína ‘groundnut, groundnut tree, groundnut paste /

appentína ‘groundnuts, groundnut trees, amounts or kinds of groundnut paste’

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

ŋətĩ/ŋətĩ ‘water/amounts, kinds of water’

ŋucul/ŋucul ‘sauce/amounts, kinds of sauce’

ŋəpak/ŋəpak ‘beer/amounts, kinds of beer’

ŋuccôk, ŋiccôk/ŋuccôk, ŋiccôk ‘blood/amounts, kinds of blood’

ŋurû/ŋurû ‘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)’

cərə/mərə ‘seed/-s’

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

kakúccij/akúccij ‘coin/money’

kwəɽen/ɽen ‘piece of firewood/firewood’

In some of the class pairs with less than six members (table 20) the basically singular classes **p**, **t̥**, 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

kwian/pian	‘small piece of firewood/small firewood’
kamór/ṭamór	‘grain of sand/sand’
kwacɔ/tacɔ	‘blade of grass/grass’

<i>English expression</i>	<i>Lumun</i>	<i>class pair</i>
a bundle of firewood	ɔɽɛn	kwɔɽɛn/ɔɽɛn ‘piece of firewood/firewood’
a flock of goats	lɪcɔk	ɪmɪt/lɪcɔk ‘goat/-s’
a swarm of bees	aun	kaun/aun ‘bee/-s’

cunkut **c-ə-ul**
crowd C-of-people
a crowd of people

kuɬuk	k-ɔ-kjɛ
fenced_place_for_livestock	C-of-cows
a herd of cows (not necessarily within the fence)	

Abstract nouns in the **t**-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 **npore**, ‘laziness’,

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

Ꭱ-ᓇᓇ	Ꭱ-ulluk	ᓇᎡ-Ꭱ-ᓇ	Ꭱ-ᓇ-kk-w-ᓇᓇ
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)

Ꭱ-ᓇᓇ	Ꭱ-ulluk	ᓇᎡ-Ꭱ-ᓇ	Ꭱ-ᓇ-ᓇ-ᓇᓇ
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 **tər**, ‘appetite’, the singular and the plural noun are both possible when the abstraction is associated with just one person:

t-ᓇᓇ	t-ᓇkkwᓇᓇ-ᓇᓇ	ᓇᓇᓇ	m-p-ᓇ.ᓇᓇᓇ	kᓇᓇ
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-ᓇᓇ	n-ᓇkkwᓇᓇ-ᓇᓇ	ᓇᓇᓇ	m-p-ᓇ.ᓇᓇᓇ	kᓇᓇ
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:

kᓇᓇ	k-ᓇᓇᓇ	ᓇᓇ	n-ᓇᓇ
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 $\emptyset$ /**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 **pul/ul** ‘person’ and the ethnonyms for the Lumun (**parrô/arrô**) and some neighbouring Nuba peoples (**pappó/appó** ‘Tocho’, **pəɾemê/əɾemê** ‘Acheron’). Other words for people in this class pair include: **puɾîṭ/uɾîṭ** ‘young man’, **puɕöŋ/uɕöŋ** ‘barren woman’, **pənân/enân** ‘adult woman without children’, **piak/iak** ‘orphan, poor person’, **pəɾan/əɾan** ‘name sharer’, **paɾəṭan/aɾəṭan** ‘wealthy person’, **pamît/amît** ‘traditional healer’, **piŋŋîṭ/iŋŋîṭ** ‘singer/composer’, **puɾokô/urukô** ‘friend’, **pəɾe/əɾe** ‘husband’, **parí/arí** ‘wife’, **puɾokôn/uɾokôn** ‘co-wife’. Kinship terms have the persona prefix **ɕ-** 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 **ɕ-**prefix and are in most cases **p-**initial.

The pair includes the general word for ‘thing’ **papu/apu**, 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’, **puɾupê/uɾupê** ‘bird’, **paun/aun** ‘rat’ and **piŋil/iŋil** ‘snake’. Other animals include **pəɾəpêl/əɾəpêl** ‘ape (gorilla?)’, **pəlla/əlla** ‘cat’, **piṃən/iṃən** ‘porcupine’, **pəɾút/əɾút** ‘ostrich’, **pəcáj/əcáj** ‘lizard (sp.)’, **piɾimampíɾiman/iɾimaníɾiman** ‘spider’, **paɾák/aɾák** ‘fly’, some further insects and also some species of birds.

The class pair **p/∅** contains the (central) body parts **pəɾé/əɾé** ‘chest’ and **pəɾút/əɾút** ‘waist’. It also contains **puɾəṭôt/urəṭôt** ‘area between the buttocks’. It further has some miscellaneous items such as **pəɾit/ərit** ‘granary’, **pərrək/ərrək** ‘chair’, **pakkuk/akkuk** ‘hiccup’, **pərrən/ərrən** ‘stick (of shovel)’, **pűŋ/űŋ** ‘storage rack’, **pəṭén/əṭén**

‘k.o. basket’, **parantán/arantán** ‘k.o. calabash’, **paṭəkkara/aṭəkkara** ‘k.o. pumpkin’, **pərémpórêṇ/əréṇórêṇ** ‘lyre’ and **pəkkári/əkkári** ‘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’ **píra/kíra**. Some examples of species of trees and bushes are: **pəɾə/kəɾə** ‘tree (sp.)’, **pəɾəmó/kəɾəmó** ‘tree (sp.)’, **pakek/kakek** ‘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 **puá/kuá** ‘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-erö**, can have its plural not only in the **k**-class but also in the **ṭ**-class (**k-erö** or **ṭ-erö**).

c/k

body parts

This class pair has only eleven members. Six denote body parts: **carək/kərək** ‘belly, stomach’, **çimmik/kimmik** ‘breast’, **cəmən/kəmən** ‘arm’, **cələk/kələk** ‘neck’, **çijit/kijit** ‘tooth’, **çit/kit** ‘eye’. The pair also contains **cəna/kəna** ‘grinding table’, **cé/ké** ‘stone for grinding’, and **cəruk/kəruk** (sometimes **cəruk/kəruk**) ‘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 **cəruk** is used in the expression that refers to the anus: **cəruk cə-porəṭöt**, lit. ‘hole of the area between the buttocks’). The pair furthermore has **cintāṇ/ kintāṇ** ‘bird(sp.)’ and **culó/kuló** ‘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’, **calle/malle** ‘ball’, **ciriâ/miriâ** ‘bracelet’, **compóranj/mompóranj** ‘ring in the top of the roof’, **coṛokul/moṛokul** ‘gathering of people in a circle’, **cijṇki/mijṇki** ‘sun’, **cəllakkér/məllakkér** ‘skeleton of the roof’, **coṛol/moṛol** ‘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 (**pəṭək/məṭək**). Some round(ish) calabashes are found in this pair (**cakkəlók/makkəlók**, **cakkôṇ/makkôṇ**, **cattak/mattak**), but also a type of calabash with a long neck: **coṛu/moṛu**. 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’, **cəmart/mart** ‘bean’ (irregular pair, see 4.3.2, 4.3.4), **cəkal/məkal** ‘sesame’, **cəre/məre** ‘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 **cəṭət/məṭət** ‘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’, **cəken/məken** ‘lower back’, **coṛê/moṛê** ‘buttock’, **carró/marró** ‘kidney’, **cómón/mómón** ‘womb’, **cijṛi/mijṛi** ‘vagina’, **coṛok/moṛok** ‘penis’, **cómian/mómian** ‘bone (generic)’, **cəṛěṇ/meṛěṇ** ‘chest bone’, **cijṇâ/mijṇâ** ‘shoulder blade’, **cəṭṭi/məṭṭi** ‘pelvic joint’, **capəröt/mapəröt** ‘knee cap’, **cəṛellé/məṛellé** ‘hip’, **cîn/mîn** ‘thigh’, **cəṛollän/məṛollän** ‘calf’, **caún/maún** ‘finger’.

This class pair contains some ethnonyms and nouns for people: **coṭṭô/muṭṭô** ‘Arab’, **cəṇké/məṇké** ‘Dinka’, **coṛumâ/moṛumâ** ‘person without a spouse’, **cəkəntă/məkəntă** ‘supporting girl (in initiation ceremonies)’. It also has some animals: some birds, some rat species, some insects, **compóranj/mompóranj** ‘monkey (sp.)’, **cipâ/mipâ** ‘feline (sp., lynx?)’ and **cimənterí/mimənterí** ‘hedgehog’. It also has the word for the needles of the hedgehog: **cərrâ/mərrâ**.

Miscellaneous items include: **cəṛṇj/məṛṇj** ‘mountain’, **caṛi/maṛi** ‘day, time’, **cəṛəntōṇj/məṛəntōṇj** ‘vertical pole in the roof’, and **cəpôk/məpôk** ‘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 **ṭərək/lərək** ‘rope’, **ṭupərǔ/lupərǔ** ‘valley’, **ṭompıl/lompıl** ‘rainbow’, **ṭəka/ləka** ‘root (generic term), muscle’, **ṭəntərə/ləntərə** ‘type of calabash with a long neck’, **ṭıpıl/lıpıl** ‘horn (body part of animal), **ṭıpıl/lıpıl** ‘horn (musical instrument)’.

Body parts found here include **ṭollōŋ/lollōŋ** ‘throat’, **ṭurɛ/lorɛ** ‘tongue’, **ṭəŋket/ləŋket** ‘erected penis’, **ṭuttê/loṭtê** ‘navel, umbilical cord’, **ṭarumón/laɾumón** ‘chin’, **ṭəŋkwe/ləŋkwe** ‘liver’, and **ṭən/lən** ‘mouth, word’. An elongated shape is not evident in all of them.

Animals include some with an elongated shape such as **ṭollōr/lollōr** ‘mudfish (sp.)’ (dangerous, potentially lethal animal, can be eaten) and **ṭollərək/lollərək** ‘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: **ṭəŋkwat/ləŋkwat** ‘sheep’, **ṭəróma/ləróma** ‘ram’, **ṭəpa/ləpa** ‘lion’ **ṭakkərutṭakkərək/lakkərullakkərək** ‘butterfly’, **ṭamóṭṭe/ṭamóṭṭe** ‘bat (sp.)’, **ṭakərúk/lakərúk** ‘chicken’, **ṭəkkəṭak/ləkkəṭak** ‘rooster’, **ṭök/lök** ‘dog’, **ṭuolí/luolí** ‘hyena (?, sp.)’³¹.

The class pair has some nouns for people: **ṭəmɔccə/ləmɔccə** ‘old man’, **ṭəmɔɾé/ləmɔɾé** ‘transvestite’ and **ṭarə/larə** ‘one person of twins/twins’.

Miscellaneous items include **ṭík/lík** ‘fire’, **ṭipa/lipa** ‘marriage’, **ṭopot/lopot** ‘year’, **ṭərək/lərək** ‘war’, **ṭorupă /lorupă** ‘mixture of flour and water left to ferment (for the preparation of beer)’,

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.

ṭapəṭṭínak/lapəṭṭínak ‘mixture of water and ground groundnuts, resulting from cleaning the grinding table’, **ṭiran/liran** ‘flour (k.o.)’.

Some words in the **ṭ**-class refer to ‘slimy, disgusting things’. At least some of them have sound symbolic value. **ṭəllər** ‘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 **ṭollâ** ‘messed-up food, food eaten in a dirty way’ and the earlier mentioned mudfish **ṭollǝr/lollǝr**. Though eaten and appreciated as a delicacy by some, many regard it as disgusting. Some slimy, disgusting things involve a rhotic sound: **ṭorrôt** ‘rotten smell’, **ṭırôt** ‘mould’, **ṭuṭór/luṭór** ‘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: **ṭokkĩ** ‘hiding in ambush’, **ṭarǝr** ‘behaviour and occupations associated with men’, **ṭarĩt** ‘joy’, **ṭukonkôn** ‘trouble making’, **ṭaləkkikkik** ‘dodging behaviour’, **ṭarók** ‘working party of grown up people’, **ṭatóma** ‘ritual, traditional procedure’, **ṭokukkur** ‘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 **ṭəkĩ** ‘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.

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: **təmmâk/nəmmâk** ‘bark’, **tuŋkwaŋ/nuŋkwaŋ** ‘dress made of bark’, **tarəṭta/narəṭta** ‘remaining fibres of sorghum (traditionally used for cleaning calabashes)’, **tiççît/nicçît** ‘husk of sesame’, **tīca/nīca** ‘(heap of) plant waste’, **təŋók/nəŋók** ‘fibres for chewing (of sugarcane or tobacco), also: ‘honeycomb’, **tuŋê/nuŋê** ‘bird’s nest’, **tuttû/nuttû** ‘dung’, **tə mama/nə mama** ‘material inside of a pumpkin’.

Some items seem to share a notion of hollow space: **tuṭú/nuṭú** ‘hole in the ground, grave’, **tŭŋ/nŭŋ** ‘space under the granary’.

Body parts include **təttók/nəttók** ‘placenta’, **təṛimak/nəṛimak** ‘tooth gum’, **təmaṭé/nəmaṭé** ‘upper part of the foot’.

Terms for people are not attested in this pair. Animals found here include **tuttəruk/nuttəruk** ‘pig’, **təŋək/nəŋək** ‘worm (generic)’, **təlləón/nəlləón** ‘caterpillar (sp.)’, **təllapók/nəllapók** ‘frog (generic)’, **təŋkeṛəŋ/naŋkeṛəŋ** frog (sp.), **təŋki/nəŋki** ‘eagle’, **təṛi/nəṛi** ‘cobra’, **təṛpă/nəṛpă** ‘lizard (sp.)’, **təmot/nəmot** ‘rat (sp.)’ and **təkkontákkəŋ/nəkkonnákkəŋ** ‘mosquito’.

Abstract nouns include **təṛê/nəṛê** ‘fear’, **təṛ/nəṛ** ‘appetite’, **təṛě/nəṛě** ‘stinginess’, **təmət/nəmət** ‘sexual desire’. **tī** ‘hunger, period(s) of hunger’ is an unpaired noun in the t-class.

Other words include **tuṛət/nuṛət** ‘upright edge of the grinding table’, **tutte/nuṭte** ‘cloud’, **tué/nué** ‘stream, river’, **tók/nók** ‘waterplace’, **tuṭet/nuṭet** ‘terrace (in agriculture)’, **təṛənék/nəṛənék** ‘shade’, **təme/nəme** ‘hook’, **tukia/nukia** ‘head pad (for carrying heavy loads on the head)’.

Ø/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: **ilî/nîlî** ‘leader’ and **urîl/norîl** ‘deaf person’. Tira has **eli/neli** ‘chief’ and the adjective **-urûril** ‘deaf, dumb (Schadeberg 2009, p. 109). Three further items in this pair are **irîlla/nirîlla** ‘person with both legs paralysed’, **umaṭṭn/nomaṭṭn** ‘elephant’ and **uren/nuren** ‘necklace’. They may be borrowings as well.

k/Ø

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 **kirék/irék** ‘hoe’, **kéré/éré** ‘tool for the removal of sorghum stocks’, **kaṭók/aṭók** ‘spear’, **kəṭṭāṭ /əṭṭāṭ** ‘knife’, **kappəṛi/appəṛi** ‘spoon’, **kummok/ummok** ‘pot’, **kapí/apí** ‘cooking pot’.

Body parts include **kucúl/ucúl** ‘back’, **kunú/unú** ‘ear’, **kɪncɛ/ɪncɛ** ‘nose’, **kuṭṭōt/utṭōt** ‘lip’, **kɪcɔ/ɪcɔ** ‘pubic area’, **kuŋku/uŋku** ‘knee’, **kuɲit/uɲit** ‘rib’, **kəɾɪkɪ/əɾɪkɪ** ‘upper arm’. Some animal body parts: **kuṛəccô/urəccô** ‘wing’, **kuṭṭɪk/utṭɪk** ‘tail’.

Animals tend to be lower species, including some insects for example **kara/ara** ‘tick’ and **kéré/éré** ‘bedbug’. The pair also includes **kapəṛɛntɔŋ/apəṛɛntɔŋ** ‘lizard (sp.)’, **kunû/unû** ‘scorpion’, **kəṛəmekku/əṛəmekku** ‘bat (sp.)’, **kəṛṣl/əṛṣl** ‘tortoise’, **kīt/īt** ‘wild chicken’.

Nouns for people are **kəllân/əllân** ‘old woman’, **kurê/urê** ‘left-handed person’ (also ‘left side’), **kɪcɔk/ɪcɔk** ‘person with one functioning eye’, **kɪmɪcɔ/ɪmɪcɔ** ‘person with one functioning leg’.

Food items include **kappentína/appentína** ‘groundnut’, **kepo/epo** ‘mushroom’, **kepin/epin** ‘edible plant (generic)’.

Miscellaneous items include **kərimī/ərimī** ‘large, flat stone’, **karran/arran** ‘wall’, **kəré/əré** ‘cloth’, **kapık/apık** ‘rain, God’, **kupé/upé** ‘song’, **kuṛâ/urâ** ‘open space for dancing, dancing party’.

kw/Ø and **kw/w**

miscellaneous, some body parts, some insects

The nouns in this pair were listed in section 4.3.1. Body parts are **kwăn/wăn** ‘strand of human hair’, **kwəṛɔl/əṛɔl** ‘cheek’ and **kwame/ame** ‘tendon’. Two insects are found in this pair: **kwalíln/alíln** ‘centipede’ and **kwəṛék/əṛék** ‘black ant’. It also has the moon **kwanôk/(w)anôk**. 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: **ŋəṛī/ɲəṛī** ‘water’, **ŋôn/ɲôn** ‘dew’, **ŋacók/ɲacók** ‘mud’, bodily fluids such as **ŋuccôk/ɲuccôk** (also **ɲiccôk/ɲiccôk**) ‘blood’, **ŋottetta/ɲottetta** ‘sweat’, **ŋaé/ɲaé** ‘urine’, **ŋipərik/ɲipərik** ‘diarrhea’, **ŋök/ɲök** ‘saliva’, **ŋimmik/ɲimmik** ‘human milk’, and liquid food and beverages such as **ŋuí/ɲuí** ‘milk’, **ŋəpak/ɲəpak** ‘beer’, **ŋucol/ɲucol** ‘sauce’, **ŋəré/ɲəré** ‘honey’, **ŋaák/ɲaák** ‘oil’ and **ŋeɹía/ɲeɹía** ‘k.o. watery root (eaten raw)’. The pair contains **ŋurû/ɲurû** ‘asida’, the stiff sorghum porridge that constitutes the local staple food, and also **ŋatəṛê/ɲatəṛê** ‘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**.

ɲarəkkuk/ɲarəkkuk ³³	‘baby, young child’
ɲaɬuɾík/ɲaɬuɾík, ɲarəɬuɾík/ɲarəɬuɾík	‘piglet (with stripes)’
ɲalı/ɲalı	‘fish (sp., small size)’
ɲapəri/ɲapəri	‘ant (sp., small size)’
ɲarəkəttŋ/ɲarəkəttŋ	‘ant (sp., small size)’
ɲaɾəkâŋ/ɲaɾəkâŋ	‘bird (sp., small size)’
ɲaɬɬəttáɸe/ɲaɬɬəttáɸe	‘bird (sp., small size)’
ɲacəkkík/ɲacəkkík	‘lizard (sp., small size)’
ɲaɬɬəkkól/ɲaɬɬəkkól	‘k.o. calabash (small size)’
ɲaləntŋ/ɲaləntŋ	‘k.o. basket (small size)’
ɲaləmpərara/ɲaləmpərara	‘k.o. axe (small size)’
ɲalləcácca/ɲalləcácca	‘magician’s stick (short)’

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

ɲumón/ɲumón	‘young goat’
ɲumpəɾŋ/ɲumpəɾŋ	‘calf at the stage of sucking’

Other animals in the **ɲ/ɲ** class pair (not all of them small) include: **ɲorǎŋ/ɲorǎŋ** ‘rat (sp.)’, **ɲaɬərəpê/ɲaɬərəpê** ‘rabbit’, **ɲorak/ɲorak** ‘monkey (sp.)’, **ɲaŋkôr/ɲaŋkôr** ‘hyena’ (sp., spotted), **ɲittipit/ɲittipit** ‘billy goat’, **ɲeɾɲkâ/ɲeɾɲkâ** ‘donkey’, **ɲura/ɲura** ‘bull’. Small-sized animals are also found in other class pairs.

The pair also has intangible/abstract nouns such as **ɲɔɾe/ɲɔɾe** ‘laziness’, **ɲəɾe/?ɲəɾe** ‘work’, **ɲorě/ɲorě** ‘joking, mockery’, **ɲica/ɲica** ‘dance (generic term)’, **ɲəme/?ɲəme** ‘cry, tear, sound (of animal)’, **ɲaramâ/ɲaramâ** ‘prayer’, **ɲáppə/ɲáppə** ‘hunt (of one person with dog or of small party)’³⁴ and the unpaired noun **ɲilí** ‘leadership’.

Miscellaneous items are relatively few in this pair, but include **ɲuɾu/ɲuɾu** ‘dirt’, **ɲentəra/ɲentəra** ‘drum’, **ɲumat/ɲumat** ‘thorny

³³ According to JS not an originally Lumun word.

³⁴ **ɲáppə/ɲáppə**, with its unusual tone pattern, may be borrowed from Tira, which has abstract nouns in the **ɲ**-class and a verb **apə** ‘take’ (Schadeberg 2009, p. 21, 112).

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

*Singular **w** and singular $\emptyset$*

Edible animals

One more semantic cluster is worth mentioning, though the nouns are few, divided over the singular **w** and $\emptyset$ 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:

ɨmɨt/ɨɨɨk 'goat/-s'

umaɨɨn/numaɨɨn 'elephant/-s'

ike/kike 'giraffe/-s'

ɔpá/kəpá 'piece of meat, animal hunted for meat/meat, game'

waɨ/kɨé 'cow/-s'

wallɨr, allɨr/kallɨr '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 **t/l** and one in **t/n**. The fruits in the class pair **c/m** are typically round or roundish, the one in the pair **t/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.

<i>tree (or shrub or woody vine)</i> ³⁵	<i>fruit</i>
pəɾɔt/kəɾɔt ‘baobab’	cəɾɔt/məɾɔt
pɔpô/kɔpô ‘tree (sp.)’	cɔpô/mɔpô
pəɾɔmpôŋ/kəɾɔmpôŋ ‘vine (sp.)’	cəɾɔmpôŋ/məɾɔmpôŋ
pɪtɪŋkɪl/kɪtɪŋkɪl ‘tree (sp.)’	cɪtɪŋkɪl/mɪtɪŋkɪl
pərut/kərut ‘tree (sp.)’	cərut/mərut
paman/kaman ‘tree (sp.)’	caman/maman
paí/kaí ‘tamarind’	ɬaí/laí
parəɬɛn/karəɬɛn ‘tree (sp.)’	karəɬɛn/arəɬɛn
punnûr/kunnûr ‘tree (sp.)’	kunnûr/unnûr
pɪçɪt/kɪçɪt ‘tree (sp.)’	kɪçɪt/ɪçɪt
puá/kuá ‘tree (sp.)’	kuá/uá
puɾɔpɔ/kuɾɔpɔ ‘tree (sp.)’	tuɾɔpɔ/nuɾɔpɔ

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:

<i>tree</i>	<i>leaf</i>
pəɾɪât/kəɾɪât ‘tree (sp.)’	ɬəɾɪât

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

pəɾɔt/kəɾɔt ‘baobab tree’	kɔɾɔt
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kɔɾɔt ‘leaf, leaves of baobab’ suggests a development from **kw-əɾɔt* or **kw-əɾɔt*.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

³⁵ Some species that are translated as ‘tree (sp.)’ may rather be shrubs.

³⁶ Sequences **kwə** are not attested. A sequence **kwə** can alternatively be pronounced as **ku**.

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

caman c-ṣṛe ána c-ṣṛkako
 caman_fruit C-red and C-be_drunk:INCOMPL

the caman-fruit is ripe and can be eaten

paman p-ṣṛe ána p-ṣṛkako
 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 ṣ-class

Some nouns that refer to people (mostly but not exclusively in the **p/Ø** class pair), and abstract nouns in the **ṣ**-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:

ṣṛé/ṣṛé, ṣṛé ‘adolescent girl’
ṣṛé ‘behaviour and occupations associated with girls’
 (i.e. making oneself pretty, making one’s room look nice, etc.)

parí/arí ‘wife’
ṣarí ‘behaviour and occupations associated with women’
 (i.e. keeping the house clean, cooking food, etc.)

pamít/amít ‘traditional healer’
ṣamít ‘traditional healing’

paṣṣan/aṣṣan ‘rich person’
ṣaṣṣan ‘wealth’

puṣukṣ/ṣukṣ ‘friend’
ṣukṣ ‘friendship’

ɸɪak/ɪak	‘orphan, poor person’
ɸɪak	‘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 **ɸ**- 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 **ɸ**-prefix (instead of the **p**-prefix) refer to the kind of relationship. Nouns with the **ɸ**-prefix do not have the persona prefix **ɸ**-.

ɸəkɪ	‘grandparent and grandchild (i.e. kind of relationship in which people stand to each other), ancestry, descendance’
ɸ-pəkɪ (PL ɸ-pəkɪ-ɸn)	‘grandparent, grandchild, ancestor, descendant (i.e. a specific person)’

ɸɪtɛ	‘in-laws of different generation (kind of relationship)’
ɸ-pɪtɛ (PL ɸ-pɪtɛ-ɸn)	‘in-law of different generation (specific person)’

ɸɔɾɛn	‘maternal uncle and nephew or niece of maternal uncle (kind of relationship)’ ³⁷
ɔɾɛn	‘maternal uncle, nephew or niece of maternal uncle (specific person)’

ɸɔɾɪn	‘in-laws of same generation (kind of relationship)’
ɔɾɪn	‘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:

³⁷ In this case and the next, the difference in tone between the nouns in the **ɸ**-class and the **ɸ**-initial kinship terms reveal that the persona prefix **ɸ**, 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 **ɸ** (as is apparent from the vocative forms) and low tones.

ɔ-kín **ɔ-pəkɪ** **p-ɪŋ-ŋón**
 PERS-3A PERS-grandparent C-POSS1-PL

they are my grandparents

ɔ-kín **təkí**
 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/Ø** 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.

<i>person / people</i>	<i>language</i>	
parrô/arrô	karrô	‘Lumun, mother tongue’
	karrú k-árrô	‘mother tongue of the Lumun people’
pappó/appó	kappó	‘Tocho’
pəɾemê/əɾemê	kəɾemê	‘Acheron’
paɾɔnɔ/aɾɔnɔ	kaɾɔnɔ	‘Torona’
pəɾá/məɾá	kəɾá	‘Tira Lumun and Tira’
pəmpərən/ləmpərən	kəmpərən	‘Moro’
uɬɬuɾu/luɬɬuɾu	kuɬɬuɾu	‘Otoro’
pakkí/pakkí	kakkí	‘Nuba peoples south and south-west of the Lumun, across the plain (amongst others Dagik, Katcha, Krongo)’
ceŋké/məŋké	keŋké	‘Dinka’
cuɬɬô/muɬɬô	kuɬɬô	‘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.

cɪmmɪk/kɪmmɪk	‘breast’
ɲɪmmɪk/ɲɪmmɪk	‘human milk’
ɬaák/laák	‘sesame paste’ (after the oil has been pressed out)
ɲaák/ɲaák	‘oil/amounts, kinds of oil’ (not necessarily sesame oil)
ɪlɪ/nɪlɪ	‘leader’
ɲɪlɪ	‘leadership’
kupú/ɔpú	‘hole in rock where water gathers’
tupú/nupú	‘hole in the ground, grave’
cəpú/mupú	‘hole in the ground (not big) to keep a small child safely in place, or for a large calabash of beer to stay upright’
capú	‘ground’
kapú/apú	‘small hole for planting the sorghum’
pɪra/kɪra	‘tree’
kwɪra/ɪra, wɪra	‘small piece of wood or grass’
kucúk	‘smoke’
mucúk	‘ashes’
taɬa/naɬa	‘leaf (generic term)’
kwɔɬa	‘edible leaves of beans’
pəɾɪmpəɾɪn/kəɾɪŋkəɾɪn	‘tree (sp.)’
cəɾɪŋcəɾɪn/məɾɪmməɾɪn	‘fruit of <i>pəɾɪmpəɾɪn</i> -tree’
kəɾɪŋkəɾɪn/əɾɪnəɾɪn	‘bell of seeds of the <i>cəɾɪŋcəɾɪn</i> -fruit’

cəmarâŋ	‘free fight for competition’
kəmarâŋ/əmarâŋ	‘shield’
ṭəróma/ləróma	‘ram’
ŋəróma/ŋəróma	‘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-/ŋa-** and **ŋaŋa-/ŋaŋa-** 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 **kərɔl** ‘tortoise’ is referred to as **ŋərɔl**, 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-át-ikkɪn-m				ŋərɪ
2A-can:DEPINCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-drink_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1				water
ákka	ŋərɔl	ŋ-ərɛk	ŋ-apɔt.é	cənɛ
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 **cakkəlɔk** ‘calabash (k.o.)’. There is only one plural:

cakkəlɔk, pakkəlɔk/makkəlɔk ‘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 **ɬɔ-** ‘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

C₂ are obstruents. V₁ is deleted after ɪ-, nɔ-, tɔ-, ʔɔ- and c-ɔ-, while C₁ and C₂ form a geminated consonant at the place of articulation of C₂ (recall that the intervocalic allophone of t is r). C₂ geminates also if C₁ is absent. The result is thus CLITIC-C₂C₂V₂(C₃).

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.

tɔpú ‘hole in the ground, grave’	ɪ-ppú, nɔ-ppú, ʔɔ-ppú
tɔpən ‘room’	nɔ-ppən
pəʔək ‘stone’	ɪ-ʔʔək, nɔ-ʔʔək
kɔʔək ‘fenced place for livestock’	ɪ-ʔʔək, tɛ-ʔʔək ³⁸
pərit ‘granary’	ɪ-ttīt, nɔ-ttīt, ʔɔ-ttīt
kəɾək ‘farming field’	ɪ-ttək
kucúl ‘back’	ɪ-ccúl, nɔ-ccúl, ʔɔ-ccúl, ʔɔ-ccúl
kucú ‘shed’	ɪ-ccú, nɔ-ccú, ʔɔ-ccú
ɔkún ‘hand, forearm’	ɪ-kkún, nɔ-kkún, ʔɔ-kkún
ɔkúl ‘child’	ɪ-kkól, nɔ-kkól, ʔɔ-kkól

However, if C₁ is k and C₂ is p, the geminate adopts the place of articulation of C₁ (CLITIC-C₁C₁V₂(C₃)). In the third example, C₂ p is reflected in the labialized articulation of the velar geminate:

kupú ‘hole in rock where water gathers’	ɪ-kkú, nɔ-kkú, ʔɔ-kkú
kupú ‘deep crack in rock’	ɪ-kkú, nɔ-kkú, ʔɔ-kkú
kəpən ‘farming field’	ɪ-kkwên, nɔ-kkwên, ʔɔ-kkwên

There is also a form tɔpên, which probably derives from tɔ + əpən instead of from tɔ + kəpən, 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 C₁ is ŋ and C₂ is p. In that case the place of articulation of C₁ is adopted, retaining the labialized articulation of p (third example below):

³⁸ tɔ is realized here as tɛ.

məṭé ‘sleep’	ɪ-nṭé
ŋucul ‘sauce’	ɪ-ɲcöl
ŋəpak ‘beer’	ɪ-ŋkwăk

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

kəməɪ ‘hunting party’	ɪ-ŋkwêɪ
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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:

ηα-τάρóμα/ηα-λάρóμα, ηαηα-τάρóμα/ηαηα-λάρóμα, ‘young ram’
 < **τάρóμα/λάρóμα** ‘ram’

ηα-τῶκ/ηα-λῶκ, ηαηα-τῶκ/ηαηα-λῶκ, ‘young dog, puppy’
 < **τῶκ/λῶκ** ‘dog’

ηα-πέλλα/ηα-έλλα, ηαηα-πέλλα/ηαηα-έλλα ‘young cat, kitten’
 < **πέλλα/έλλα** ‘cat’

ηα-ρεττῆρουκ/ηα-νεττῆρουκ, ηαηα-ρεττῆρουκ/ηαηα-νεττῆρουκ ‘young pig
 (but no longer striped)’
 < **τεττῆρουκ/νεττῆρουκ** ‘pig’

ηα-ποῦῖτ/ηα-οῦῖτ, ηαηα-ποῦῖτ/ηαηα-οῦῖτ, ‘little young man’ (a boy
 that does not yet have the age of a young man but that behaves as if
 he already were)
 < **ποῦῖτ/οῦῖτ** ‘young man’

ηα-κωῶρεν/ηα-ῶρεν, ηαηα-κωῶρεν/ηαηα-ῶρεν, ‘small piece of
 firewood’
 < **κωῶρεν/ῶρεν** ‘piece of firewood’

ηα-κωμμοκ/ηα-ωμμοκ, ηαηα-κωμμοκ/ηαηα-ωμμοκ ‘small pot’
 < **κωμμοκ/ωμμοκ** ‘pot’

The following case has the long prefix in the singular (**ηαηα + ηεντῆρα > ηαη-εντῆρα**) and the short prefix in the plural:

ηαη-εντῆρα/ηα-ηεντῆρα ‘k.o. drum (small size)’
 < **ηεντῆρα/ηεντῆρα** ‘k.o. drum’

When **ηα-** or **ηαηα-** is prefixed to **οκὺλ** ‘child’, **k** geminates:

ηα-κκὺλ/ηα-ηοκὺλ, ηαηα-κκὺλ/ηαηα-ηοκὺλ ‘baby, small child
 (up to about four years old)’
 < **οκὺλ/ηοκὺλ** ‘child’)

The diminutive **ɲaɾəkattak/ɲaɾəkattak** ‘small calabash for sauce’ is derived from **cattak** ‘k.o. calabash’ (***kattak** does not exist on its own). Initial **ɲa/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 **ɲ-/ɲ-**.

4.5.2. Complex nouns in the **ɬ**-class

The complex nouns in the **ɬ**-class listed below are abstractions related to nouns that refer to people. They are different from earlier mentioned cases in the **ɬ** 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, ***kurɪt** is not attested as a noun by itself, but shares its root with **puɾɪt/urɪt**.

ɬ.a-ɪɾé ‘style of an adolescent girl’ < **ɪɾé** ‘adolescent girl’
ɬ.a-k.urɪt ‘style of a young man’ < **p.urɪt/urɪt** ‘young man’
ɬ.ɔ-p.ít ‘master and servant (kind of relationship)’ < **p.ít** ‘master, servant’

The nouns **ɬaɪɾé** and the earlier mentioned **ɬɪɾé** 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.

takkun-tákkun/nakkun-nákkun ‘mosquito’
piɾɪmam-píɾɪman/ɪɾɪman-íɾɪman ‘spider, spiderweb, spiderrag’

kuṛuməl-kkúṛuməl ³⁹ / uṛuməl-úṛuməl	‘snail’
kərí-kərí/ərí-ərí	‘large wasp-like insect’
ṭakkəṛuṭ-ṭákkəṛuṭ/lakkəṛuṭ-lákkəṛuṭ	‘butterfly’
kaṭuk-káṭuk/aṭuk-áṭuk	‘grasshopper (sp.)’ (< kaṭók ‘spear’)
carīṇ-carīṇ/marīm-marīṇ	‘millipede’
cəṛəmaṇ-cəṛəman/məṛəmam-məṛəman	‘maggot (sp.)’
pīp-pīt (no plural)	‘k.o. insect’
ṭura-ṭúra/lura-lúra	‘k.o. insect’
pérém-pérên/érên-érên	‘k.o. insect’

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

pīam-pīan/kīaṇ-kīan	‘tree (sp.)’
ciāṇ-ciāṇ/mīam-mīan	‘seed of <i>pīampīan</i> -tree, necklace of seeds of <i>pīampīan</i> -tree’
pūró-pūrô/kūrô-kūrô	‘tree (sp.)’
cūrô-cūrô/mūrô-mūrô	‘fruit of <i>pūrupuru</i> -tree’
pərim-pərīn/kəriṇ-kərīn	‘tree (sp.)’
cəriṇ-cərīn/mərim-mərīn	‘fruit of <i>pərimpərim</i> -tree’
kəriṇ-kərīn/ərim-ərīn	‘bell made of seeds of the <i>cəriṇcərim</i> -fruit’
kwəṛí-kwəṛî/əṛí-əṛî	‘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.

pəré-m-pəré-n/əré-n-əré-n	‘lyre’ (traditional instrument)
kír-əkkír	‘twilight’
píci-cí	‘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:

ḡaṛa/ḡaṛa	‘gum arabic’
ḡaṛá-ṛâ/ḡaṛá-ṛâ	‘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 **ṭ**-class. They have a L*.LH tone pattern, irrespective of the tones of the verb stem.

ṭunṣ	‘to build, building’	< unṵ	‘build’
ṭɔrɛkṣ	‘to work, working’	< ɔrɛkṵ	‘work’
ṭɔṛəkṣ	‘to eat, eating’	< ɔṛəkṵ	‘eat’

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

ṭennɛkkɛttǎ ‘to be tested, being tested, test(s) (< **ennɛkkɛtta** ‘be tested’)

ṭennɛkkɛtta ṭullukkû ‘one test’
ṭennɛkkɛtta ṭɛṛá ‘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:

ṭ-ṵḡwṵ	ṭ-ṣ-píḡḡít	ṭ-ṵccɪkákɔṭ.ɛ	ḡ-cɪṭ.ṭán
NOM-sing	C-of-singer	C-be_heard:COMPL	with-far

the singing of the singer is heard from far

ṭ-ikkə **cik** **kárəṭṭóm** **ṭ-əpərət** **ana** **ṭ-ṭ-əḱitak**
 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:

ṭ-ɾət **âkúccí** **tórrô**
 NOM-find money Lumun_country

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

ṭ-əpəṭə **ɲókul**
 NOM-take_care_of children

taking care of the children

Other nouns do not take direct objects; rather they need the connexive element C-ə ‘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:

ṭ-əkkwət **pá-p-əṛək** **ṭ-akənn-əká** **nuṭuk**
 NOM-kill thing-C-some C-NEG-be:DEPINCOMPL for_no_reason

killing an animal will not be for nothing

ṭ-əkkwət **ṭ-ə-pa-p-əṛək** **ṭ-akənn-əká** **nuṭuk**
 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:

ṭ-əkkwə **ikkítəṭṭak** **ṭ-əpərət**
 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

ᵛᶦᶞḁṽ	‘urinate’
ᶞḁṽ/ᶞḁṽ	‘urine’
ᵛᶖᶞᶙᵉ	‘have diarrhea’
ᶞᶖᶞᶙᵐ/ᶞᶖᶞᶙᵐ	‘diarrhea’
ᵛᶙᶞᶗᵃ	‘begin to have fruits’
cᵛᶙᶞᶗᶜᵀ/mᵛᶙᶞᶗᶜᵀ	‘swelling on the skin’
ᶖᶖᵛ	‘obtain, marry’
tᶖᵛ/lᶖᵛᵃ	‘marriage’

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

The following noun has a different tone pattern:

tɔcɔra	‘being male’	< C-ɔcɔra
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An example with a nominalized adjective:

ṭ-ṭpəṛət éṇ-ṭ-í í-ṭ-á ṇ-kw-ṭkkínṭ-ín ṭ-ittík
 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-**acṣkəccəkət** ‘fast’ and C-**arurṣṇ** ‘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 **cəkəccəkət** ‘quickly’:

cəkəc-cəkət éṇ-c-í c-ṭkítak
 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 **ṭə-** ‘up on, up at’ or **ṭə-** ‘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.

ṭəṛəmaṭṣṇ

ṭəumân

ṭəpṭṭəṇ

ṭəṛə

ṭəṛí (< **ṭə-** + **ṇəṛí** lit.: ‘At the water’)

ṭəttuṣé (< **ṭə-** + **tuṣé** lit. ‘At the river’)

ṭəmantít (< **ṭə-** + **mantít** lit. ‘At the *mantit*-snakes’)

The names for the homelands of the Lumun and neighbouring peoples are (historically) made up of **tɔ-** ‘up on, up at’ or **ʔɔ-** ‘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.

<i>person/people</i>	<i>homeland</i>
parrô/arrô ‘Lumun’	tarrô
pappó/appó ‘Tocho’	ʔappó
pəɽemê/əɽemê ‘Acheron’	təɽemê
paɽɔnɔ/aɽɔnɔ ‘Torona’	təɽɔnɔ
pəmpərən/ləmpərən ‘Moro’	tələmpərən
cuɽtɔ̃/muɽtɔ̃ ‘Arab Sudanese’	ʔamuɽtɔ̃
pəɽá/məɽá ‘Tira Lumun and Tira’	təpəɽá
uɽtuɽu/luɽtuɽu ‘Otoro’	təuɽtuɽu
pakkí/ɲakkí ‘Nuba peoples south and south-west of the Lumun, across the plain, a.o. Dagik, Katcha and Krongo’	takkí

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 **ʔ-** on the verb in the next example:

ʔɔmantít	ʔ-ɔnɔ	mantít	m-ɔppót
ʔɔmantít	c-have	snake(sp.)	c-many

ʔɔmantít has many *cantít*-snakes

Place names, including foreign place names such as **karəɽtɔ̃m** ‘Khartoum’ or **kaɽókəli** ‘Kadugli’, are not used in combination with one of the prepositional proclitics **tɔ-**, **ʔɔ-**, **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 **ṭɔṭɪṭ** ‘sky, heaven’ both **t-** and **ṭ-** concord are acceptable. **ṭɪṭ** ‘sky, heaven’ exists as a noun by itself. Apparently **ṭɔṭɪṭ** ‘sky, heaven’ can be interpreted as a place name (a locative noun), but also as a prepositional proclitic and noun, in which case agreement goes with the noun:

ṭɔṭɪṭ	t-ɪntat	cɪk	n-ṭóllɛɾak
sky	C-disappear:INCOMPL	VREF	with-lightening

the sky will disappear with lightening

ṭɔ-ṭɪṭ	ṭ-ɪntat	cɪk	n-ṭóllɛɾak
up_on-sky	C-disappear:INCOMPL	VREF	with-lightening

the sky will disappear with lightening

ṭɔṭəpút ‘(at the) place outside for use as toilet’ (lit.: at outside) is commonly used as a locative noun:

ṭɔṭəput	ṭ-a-ɪk	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 (**ṭɔ-**) and a noun (**cá/má** ‘head’) is **ṭɔcá/ṭómá** ‘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-ɔ-ɔl**
 faces c-of-people
 the faces of people

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

ɲkɔɾá **ɲ-ɪɪmáɬ.e**
 night c-become_dark:COMP
 the night is dark

ɲkɔɾá must have developed from the prepositional proclitic **ɲ-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ and a synchronically not attested noun ***kɔɾá**, 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-en** **l-ɔkkəttá.ɬe** **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.

pul ɪ-p-âŋkəne/ul ɪ-âŋkəne ‘teacher’ (person who shows) < **âŋkəne**
pul ɪ-p-arékə/ul ɪ-arékə ‘worker’ (person who works) < **arékə**
ʊkʊl ɪ-úrɛ/ɲokʊl ɪ-ɲ-úrɛ ‘herds boy’ (child that grazes the cows or goats) < **úrɛ**

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:

pul p-ɔ-tɔɾak/ul w-ɔ-tɔɾak ‘warrior’ (lit. ‘person of war’)
pul p-ɔ-tɪpa/ul w-ɔ-tɪpa ‘negotiater of marriage’ (lit. ‘person of marriage’)
pul p-ɔ-tɔɾan/ul w-ɔ-tɔɾan ‘thief’ (lit. ‘person of theft’)
pul p-ɔ-kəməɪ/ul w-ɔ-kəməɪ ‘person who calls for a hunting party, performs the rituals and leads it’ (lit. ‘person of the hunting party’)
pul p-ɔ-rɪ-ŋkwêl/ul w-ɔ-rɪ-ŋkwêl⁴⁰ ‘person who joins in a hunting party’ (lit. ‘person of in the hunting party’)
 < **pul + p-ɔ + ɪ + kəməɪ/ul + w-ɔ + ɪ + kəməɪ**
pul p-ɔ-rɪ-ɪmôn/ul w-ɔ-rɪ-ɪmôn⁴¹ ‘person who is hunting porcupines’ (lit.: person of in porcupines)
 < **pul + p-ɔ + ɪ + ɪmôn/ul + w-ɔ + ɪ + ɪmôn**

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).

⁴⁰ The allomorph **rɪ-** of prepositional proclitic **ɪ-** ‘in’ is used here (see 16.2). **kəməɪ** 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-ᵛ-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-wék/ɔɽɛn wɔ-tacók ‘shin bone’ (lit.: piece of firewood of the leg)

In a few cases, phonological changes have taken place.

pa-pɔ-kira/aɽɛp-ɔ-kira ‘leopard’ (lit.: thing of the trees)

< **papɔ + pɔ + kira/aɽɛpɔ + wɔ + kira**

pa-pɔ-rua/aɽɛp-ɔ-rua ‘livestock animal’ (lit.: thing of hair)

< **papɔ + pɔ + tua/aɽɛpɔ + wɔ + tua**

ɲɔcɔl-ɔ-ttô/ɲɔcɔl-ɔ-ttô ‘salt/amounts of salt’ (lit.: sauce of the Arabs)

< **ɲɔcɔl + ɲɔ + mɔttô/ɲɔcɔl + ɲɔ + mɔttô**

cɪl-ɔ-ttô/mɪl-ɔ-ttô ‘grain of maize/maize’ (lit.: sorghum of the Arabs)

< **cɪl + cɔ + mɔttô**

Examples of noun C-ᵛ-PPC-noun:

papɔ p-ɔ-rɪ-kira/aɽɛpɔ w-ɔ-rɪ-kira⁴² ‘wild animal’ (lit.: thing of among the trees)

< **papɔ + pɔ + ɪ + kira/aɽɛpɔ + wɔ + ɪ + kira**

caun c-ɔ-tɔ-kúrôk/maun m-ɔ-tɔ-úrôk ‘little finger’ (lit.: finger of at the corner)

⁴² The allomorph **rɪ-** of prepositional proclitic **ɪ-** ‘in’ is used here (see 16.2).

kuppəɾuŋ k-ɔ-nɔ-əɽĩ/uppəɾuŋ w-ɔ-nɔ-əɽĩ ‘boat’ (lit.: bedplank of on water)

Examples of noun 1-C-adjective:

ŋuɽú 1-ɔɽəɽ/ɲuɽú 1-ɲ-ɔɽəɽ ‘sour asida/portions of sour asida’ (lit.: asida which is sour)

cauŋ 1-c-əɽĩk/mauŋ 1-m-əɽĩk ‘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):

pul 1-p-ɔ.parı́/ul 1-á.arí ‘woman’ (lit.: person who is female)

pul 1-p-ɔ.cura/ul 1-ɔ.mura ‘man/men’ (lit.: person who is male)

Example of ‘noun 1-C-verb’:

tɔk 1-r-apáŋka/nɔk 1-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 1-k-allóra ŋɲm/wɔk 1-allóra ŋɲm ‘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 kənɔɽɿ** ‘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 **kənɔɽɿ**:

ɪ-kuppəɽuŋ kənɔɽɿ ‘in the boat’

ɲucul-ɔ-ttô/ɲucul-ɔ-ttô ‘salt/amounts of salt’ and **cɪlɔttô/mɪlɔttô** ‘grain of maize/maize’, however, seem to function as one word, having lost the concord before the connexive, and in the case of **cɪlɔttô/mɪlɔttô** also the high tone on the first mora (< **cɪl/mɪl**).

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 $\emptyset/\mathbf{n}$ class pair. Borrowed nouns sometimes have a final consonant that is not found in final position in genuinely Lumun items (**p**, **t** 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 **áḍámá/náḍámá** ‘book/books’ (Gibbard, Rohde & Rose 2009, p. 112), with variant **áḍám/náḍám**. 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 **keccôk** ‘market’, from Sudanese Arabic (*as*-)*suug*. **k(ε)** 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 $\emptyset$ class have plurals in the **n**-class, unless they remain unpaired. Apart from the plural $\emptyset$ class, the **n**-class seems to be the plural class with the least semantic associations, for which reason it is suitable as a

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).

aləpaccôṭ̣/naləpaccôṭ̣	‘jackal/-s’	< <i>al-baʿshoob</i> ⁴⁴
aləppéra/naləppéra	‘flag/-s’	< <i>al-beerag</i>
alakkîn/nalakkîn	‘clinic, hospital/-s’	< <i>al-ḥakiim</i> ⁴⁵
alawîr/nalawîr	‘tree (sp.)/-s’	< <i>al-ʿawiir</i>
alámpa/nalámpa	‘lamp/-s’	< <i>al-lamba</i>
aləkkúppa/naləkkúppa	‘basket/-s’	< <i>al-guffa</i>
alópiríṭ/nalópiríṭ	‘mat/-s’	< <i>al-birish</i>
aɾaŋkál/naɾaŋkál	‘rope bed/-s’	< <i>darangal</i> ⁴⁶

Examples of unpaired nouns in the $\emptyset$ class:

aləppón	‘coffee’	< <i>al-bunn</i>
accái	‘tea’	< <i>ash-shaay</i>
appələppəl	‘pepper’	< <i>al-filfil</i>

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

kaləppaṭúra/aləppaṭúra	‘tomato/-es’	< <i>al-banaḍoora</i>
kaṭṭəpâ/atṭəpâ	‘piece of tobacco/tobacco’	< <i>at-tumbaak</i>
kakúccɨ/akúccɨ	‘coin/money’	< <i>al-guruush</i>

⁴⁴ Hillelson (1930) mentions *baʿshoob*, Hillelson and Tamis & Persson (2011) both have *baʿshoom*.

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.

paṭṭanīe/aṭṭanīe	‘blanket/-s’	< <i>baṭṭaaniyya</i>
capûn/mapûn	‘soap/bars of soap’	< <i>ṣaabuun</i>
capára/mapára	‘k.o. whistle/-s’	< <i>ṣuffaara</i>
ṭarra/larra	‘scarf/-s’	< <i>ṭarḥa</i>
kəṭṭəm/əṭṭəm	‘fish trap/-s’	< <i>kajjaama</i> ‘steel trap’
kapərît/apərît	‘match/-es’	< <i>kibriit</i>
côṭ/môṭ	‘banana/-s’	< <i>mooz</i>
cóŋka/móŋka	‘mango/-s’	< <i>manga</i>

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:

cicára	‘cigaret(s)’	< <i>sijaara</i>
ṭémur	‘date(s)’	< <i>tamur</i>
múccuṭ	‘comb(s)’	< <i>mushuṭ</i>
méŋcəl	‘sickel(s)’	< <i>munjal</i>

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

píra pəṭémur/kíra kəṭémur ‘date palm’ (‘tree of dates’)

4.10. Kinship terms and personal names

4.10.1. The persona prefix⁴⁷

Kinship terms and personal names have the persona prefix **ǵ-** (which is also found in personal pronouns). Two further nouns with the persona prefix are **ǵpaṭṭí** ‘person’ and **ǵpaḷḷín** ‘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.

ǵ-tṣṇ	‘Mouth’	< ǵ- tṣṇ	‘mouth’
ǵ-cǎkkərǎk	‘Hunchback’	< ǵ- cǎkkərǎk	‘hunch’
ǵ-parí	‘wife (as kinship term)’	< ǵ- parí	‘wife’
ǵ-ǔmpərúŋ	‘Calf’	< ǵ- ŋǔmpərúŋ	‘calf’
ǵ-tǎkərúk	‘Chicken’	< ǵ- tǎkərúk	‘chicken’
ǵ-umaṭṣṇ	‘Elephant’	< ǵ- umaṭṣṇ	‘elephant’
ǵ-cǎṛǎŋ	‘Mountain’	< ǵ- cǎṛǎŋ	‘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 **cítín** ‘bird (sp.)’, and **paṛák** ‘fly’ gets an initial high tone without contour formation.

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

ɔ-cítín	‘Cítín-bird’	< ś- cítín	‘bird (sp.)’
ɔ-páɾák	‘Fly’	< ś- paɾák	‘fly’

The vocative kinship term/personal names **lɔttí** ‘second born child, which is a boy’ and **lɔccó** ‘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 **lɔccó**, without the prefix, are vocatives, and can, within a tonal domain not be preceded by other elements.

ɔ-lɔttí	‘second born child, which is a boy’	(< ś- lɔttí)
ɔ-lɔccó	‘fifth born child, which is a boy’	(< ś- lɔccó)

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 < ś- amra)	(< Sud. Arabic <i>amra</i>)
áməntáci	‘Aməntáci’	(< â-məntáci < a-áməntáci < ś- aməntáci)	

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-átɛrəpê / átɛrəpê	‘Rabbit’	(< a-âtɛrəpê < ś- ɳatɛrəpê)
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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 (**i, 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:

elimélík ‘Elimelek’ (< **ś-** **elimélík**)

ılîn ‘Heleen’ (< **ś-** **ılîn**)

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 it with single **ŋ**:

ś- + **ŋappâ** > **ŋappâ** ‘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.

akkólle ‘Kolle’ (name of a story figure, < **ś-** **kólle**)

appénná ‘Penna’ (name of a story figure, < **ś-** **pénná**)

Prepositional proclitics preceding a noun with the persona prefix ś-

The persona prefix **ś-** becomes **a-** when preceded by one of the prepositions **ı-**, **nɔ-** or **tɔ-**. Compare the following examples with a common noun (**ɔɽɛn** ‘firewood’) and a noun with the persona prefix (**ɔpaŋôn** ‘siblings’):

ı-ɔɽɛn ‘in/among the firewood’

ı-apəŋôn ‘among his/her siblings’

In the examples below, **ɔnnân** ‘(his/her) mother’, **ɔɔk** ‘s/he’, **ɔpaŋôn** ‘siblings’ and **ɔlalû** ‘Lalu’ have the persona prefix **ś-**. (For the paradigms of basic prepositions + personal pronouns, see 6.1.4).

m-p-ɔkəttɔ.t **ı-a-nnân** **nɔ-kaɽɛr**

1-C-run_into:COMPL

in-PERS-mother

on-road

I ran into his/her mother on the road

m-p-əkəttó.t **ɪ-a-ák** **nə-kaṭór**
 1-C-run_into:COMPL in-PERS-3 on-road

I ran into him/her on the road

k-kw-á.tṭe **nə-kəmən** **ána** **n-a-paŋ-ón** **ana** **nó-lícók**
 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-árrót.ε **t-a-lalô**
 3-C-cross:COMPL up_on-PERS-Lalo

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

After **tə-** the persona prefix does not change to **a**, nor does it do so after the connexive marker **C-ə** '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 (**-ŋón**) 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 **t-**⁴⁸.

ə-íáíá **p-á.ík** **p-ântán**
 PERS-my_mother C-be:PR C-come:INCOMPL

my mother is coming

⁴⁸ See also Smits (2012).

ɔ-ɪáɪá-n

PERS-my_mother-PL

t-á.ík

C-be:PR

t-ântán

C-come:INCOMPL

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

Personal names also have the persona prefix **ɔ-**. 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 **ɔ-**. 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 **kukkô** if it is a boy; the second born is called **nennî** if it is a girl, and **lottî** 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 **kukkô**, 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

<i>boys</i>		<i>girls</i>	
<i>vocative</i>	<i>with ɔ-prefix</i>	<i>vocative</i>	<i>with ɔ-prefix</i>
1. kukkô	ɔkukkô	1. kakkâ	ɔkakkâ
2. lottî	ɔlottî	2. nennî	ɔnennî
3. lalô	ɔlalô	3. cɛccê	ɔcɛccê
4. tuttô	ɔtuttô	4. ɲɔɾîŋ	ɔɾîŋ (ɲ is deleted between vowels)
4. lettô	ɔlettô	4. tuttô	ɔtuttô
5. lɛccɔ	ɔlɛccɔ	5. kumân	ɔkumân
5. kumân	ɔkumân		

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, **ɔpəki** 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

	<i>ɔ-prefix noun</i>	<i>Vocative (with possessor C- m ‘my’, or C-ɔ-X ‘of X’)</i>
my father, my paternal uncle	ɔŋappâ	ŋappâ
my father, my paternal uncle (informal)	ɔpâppa	pâppa
your father, your paternal uncle	ɔt̪t̪é	
(his, her) father, (his, her) paternal uncle	ɔt̪t̪ân	t̪an pɔ-X ‘father of X’
my mother, my aunt	ɔŋáia	ŋáia
my mother, my aunt (informal)	ɔcáca	íáia
your mother, your aunt	ɔnné	
(his, her) mother, (his, her)	ɔnnân	nan pɔ-X

aunt		‘mother of X’
son, daughter	ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ
brother, sister, cousin	ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ, ᄒᄒᄒᄒ
ancestor, descendant	ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ
grandparent, grandchild	ᄒᄒᄒ (< Sud. Ar. <i>ᄒᄒᄒᄒ</i> ‘grandmother’)	ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ
my maternal uncle, nephew, niece of a maternal uncle	ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒᄒ
your maternal uncle, nephew, niece of a maternal uncle	ᄒᄒᄒ	
(his, her) maternal uncle, nephew, niece of a maternal uncle	ᄒᄒᄒ, ᄒᄒᄒ, ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ-X, ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ-X, ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ-X ‘uncle of X’
husband	ᄒᄒᄒ	(ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ)
wife	ᄒᄒᄒ	(ᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ)
co-wife	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ	(ᄒᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ)
in-law (different generation)	ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ
in-law (same generation)	ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ
master, servant	ᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ
friend	ᄒᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒᄒᄒ ᄒᄒ
my friend	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ
friend	ᄒᄒᄒ, ᄒᄒᄒᄒ (< Sud. Ar. <i>ᄒᄒᄒᄒ</i>)	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ, ᄒᄒᄒᄒ

Personal names

The kinship terms conveying the order in which Lumun children are born, and which function also as 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.

ᄇᄇᄃᄃᄃ	‘the Mountain’	< ᄇᄃᄃᄃ ‘mountain’
ᄇᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the Nose’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘nose’
ᄇᄃᄃᄃ	‘the Bold Patch’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘bold patch’
ᄇᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the Hunchback’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘hump’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the Dog’	< ᄃᄃᄃ ‘dog’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the Cittin-bird’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘bird (sp., making a lot of noise)’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the Mouth of Pig’	< ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘mouth of pig’ ⁴⁹

A (nick)name formation process with ᄃᄃᄃᄃ is also attested. ᄃᄃᄃᄃ contains the persona prefix, otherwise its composition is not fully clear. It has probably developed from the personal pronoun ᄃᄃᄃ ‘(s)he’ (which contains the persona prefix) and the copula ᄃ-ᄃ ‘be’ where ᄃ is the concord. ᄃᄃᄃ + ᄃᄃ has then given rise to ᄃᄃᄃᄃ, though tonally this is not regular. Some examples:

ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘Thief’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘theft’ ⁵⁰
ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘Born in the evening’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘evening’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘Born when the mother was working in the sesame field’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘sesame’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃ	‘Funny person’	< ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘fun, joke’

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

ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ
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 ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘thieves’, but no singular noun *ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘thief’.

A comparable construction involves **ႁႃႅ**, the connexive **p-ႁ** ‘of’ and a verbal noun, for example:

ႁႃႅႃႅႃႅႃႅႃႅ (also: **ႁႃႅႃႅႃႅႃႅႃႅ**) ‘Dreamer’
(< **ႁႃႅ** + **pႃ** + **ႃႅႃႅႃႅႃႅ**, lit.: ‘s/he of dreaming’)

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

ႁႃႅ	‘John’
ႁႃႅႃႅ	‘Luke’
ႁႃႅႃႅ	‘Umar’

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

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

ႃႅႃႅ	p-ႃႃႅ	p-a-ႃႅ	ႃႅႃႅႃႅႃႅ
PERS-person	c-die:COMPL	c-be-dog	c-kill:COMPL

the person died, he was killed by a dog

However, **ႃႅႃႅ** and its plural **ႃႅႃႅႃႅ** (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 **ႃႅႃႅ** in order to announce himself, and **ႃႅႃႅႃႅ** if he or she has arrived together with one or more others.

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

ႃႅႃႅ	ႃႅႃႅ
SUBJ.PERS-one_from_group	come:DEPINCOMPL

let one of you come!

The word can also denote each member of a group:

ɔ-pəllɪn **p-a.nékittat** **lɪcək** **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 **ɔpəllɪn** is just used as ‘somebody’: the speaker does not know who has beaten on the ground.

ɔ-pəllɪn **p-ɔkkwɔ.t cɪk**
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 **ɔpəllɪŋɔn** denotes ‘some of a group’. In a construction **ɔpəllɪŋɔn ... ɔpəllɪŋɔn ...** it expresses ‘some ... others ...’, as in the sentence below:

ámmá á-kín ɔpɔkɔ ɔ-pəllɪŋ-ɔn t̥-á.cɔɾɔ
if CONJ.PERS-3A be_beaten:DEPINCOMPL PERS-one_of_a_group-PL C-stand:INCOMPL

ana ɔ-pəllɪŋ-ɔn t̥-íkkɔ cɪk
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, **ɔpəllɪn** cannot be used without it, i.e. it is not used as a vocative.

4.10.3. The plural suffix **-ŋŋn**

Nouns with the persona prefix form plurals through suffixation of the plural morpheme **-ŋŋn** to the singular noun. **-ŋŋn** 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

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

As expected, **ŋ** of **-ŋŋn** 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 **-ŋŋn** 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 **ɔlótɰí-ŋn** and that in **ɔkíŋcê-n** the falling contour of the elided **ɔ** of the suffix is retained.

ɔpít	‘master, servant’
ɔpɪŋŋn	‘the master/servant and his/her companions’
ɔlótɰí	‘Lottɪ’
ɔlótɰí-ŋn	‘Lottɪ and companions’
ɔkíŋcɛ	‘Nose’ (as a nick name)
ɔkíŋcê-n	‘Nose and companions’

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

ɔpɪt p-ɪn ‘my master, my servant’

ɔpɪt p-ɪŋ-ɔ̃n ‘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	éŋ-k-í-ɔ̃n	ɬ-aá.t
PERS-Kakka	DEM-C-NEARSP-PL	C-come:COMPL

this Kakka and her companions have come

ɔ-kakká-n	en-ɬ-ɪ	ɬ-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:

íáíá-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 **ɔpattí** ‘person’, is irregular because the **ɪ** is deleted before the suffix.

paŋ-k-ɪŋɔ̃n (< **páj pǐn -ɪŋɔ̃n**)
sibling-C-POSS1.PL

my brothers!

paɬɬ-ɔ̃n

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 **-ɪŋɔ̃n** (see 6.1.5. and 20.1.1), as can the associative marker **attut/áttút** (see 6.8).

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

ɲokul-ŋân ‘children!’ (lit. children and companions)

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

k-kw-ânn-ítta

3-C-NEG-be_married:DEPINCOMPL

ɬɔ-ul

at-people

én-n-í-ŋân

DEM-C-NEARSP-PL

she cannot be married into the household of these people

