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6. Pronouns

Lumun has free pronouns and bound pronouns (or pronominal clitics). There are different sets of pronouns according to their syntactic function (subject, first object, second object, addressee of a command, hortative addressee, complement of a preposition) and their type of reference: “persons” versus “things”.

The free personal pronouns in their full form will be discussed first, including their realization as complements of prepositions, then the personal subject pronominal clitics and the non-person (common noun) subject pronominal clitics. This is followed by a discussion of object pronominals, and addressive and hortative pronominals.

Within a sentence, the pronoun is generally used at a later stage than the noun with which it is co-referent, but not necessarily so. An example of cataphoric use of a (bound) pronoun is the following:

akka k-kw-ókuɾɿ.é n-tán a-kəɾɿl óɿ-íat
 that 3-C-move_up:COMPL with-up_on:ABS CONJ-tortoise IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV

ittt mén m-ellá
 that palm_fruits c-be_absent:INCOMPL

when he_i had climbed up, the tortoise_i found there were no palm fruits (left)
 (App. IV, 118-119)

6.1. Free personal pronouns: the full forms

Lumun has eight person/number distinctions in the personal pronouns. I gloss them as 1, 12, 2, 3, 1A, 12A, 2A and 3A, where ‘A’ stands for ‘et alii’ (and others). In the text, I refer to 1A pronouns as ‘we EXCL’, and to 12A pronouns as ‘we INCL’. These are the free personal pronouns in their full form:

Table 29 Free personal pronouns

1	ɿn	I
12	ɿɿt	I + you SG
2	ɿɿŋ	you SG
3	ɿk	s/he

1A	ɔnɨ́n	we EXCL (I and other(s))
12A	ɔrúɨ́n/ɔrɨ́n	we INCL (I and you SG and other(s))
2A	ɔnɨ́n	you PL (you SG and other(s))
3A	ɔkɨ́n	they (s/he and other(s))

The Talodi language Dagik has the same person/number distinctions (Vanderelst, 2013).

6.1.1. Formatives of the free personal pronouns in their full form

The free pronouns in their full form contain the following formatives:

- the persona prefix **ɔ-**, which is the initial **ɔ** that is present in all full pronouns. This is the same marker that is found on kinship terms and personal names when used referentially (chapter 4.10).

- a person-marking element. This element contains **n** + a high tone for the 1 and 1A pronouns (**ɔnɨ́n** and **ɔnɨ́n**), and **k** + a low tone for the 3 and 3A pronouns (**ɔkɨ́n** and **ɔkɨ́n**). In the 3 and 3A pronouns, the falling tone is due to shift of the high tone of the persona prefix. The 12 and 12A pronouns share a person marking element **t**, realized as **r** between vowels, but are, unlike the other pairs, tonally different from each other (**ɔrɨ́t** and **ɔrúɨ́n/ɔrɨ́n**). The 2 and 2A pronouns (**ɔnɨ́n** and **ɔnɨ́n**) share a high tone belonging to the person-marking element, but lack a shared person-marking segment.

- a final element **n** marks the notion ‘et alii’ (‘and others’) as compared to the 1, 12, 2 and 3 pronouns. This element is undoubtedly related to the plural marker **-ɨ́n** of nouns which have the persona prefix, even though as a formative of the pronouns it lacks a falling contour. In the pronouns, it is glossed as A, from ‘et alii’.

A fourth formative

There is good reason to posit in addition a pronominal formative **ɨ(ɔ)** in the free pronouns, which is deleted between vowels at the surface. Evidence for this formative is found in certain free pronouns that

lack the persona prefix **ɔ-**, notably the object pronouns (occurring as second object) **ŋóŋ** ‘you (SG)’ and **ŋɔk** ‘him/her’ (see section 6.4) and the 2A addressive pronoun **ŋɔnón** ‘you (PL)’ (see section 6.5). The same pronominal element (**ŋ**) is present in all independent pronouns of Dagik (Vanderelst 2013), and, as **ɔŋ** or **ŋɔ**, in all independent pronouns of Ngile, Dengebu and Jomang (Schadeberg 1981b, p. 155-156). The free pronouns and their assumed underlying forms with the pronominal formative **ŋ(ɔ)** after the persona prefix follow here:

1	ɔ-ón	< ɔ-ŋ-ón
12	ɔ-rít	< ɔ-ŋɔ-rít
2	ɔ-óŋ	< ɔ-ŋ-óŋ
3	ɔ-ɔ́k	< ɔ-ŋ-ɔ́k
1A	ɔ-nín	< ɔ-ŋɔ-nín
12A	ɔ-rón/ɔ-rón	< ɔ-ŋɔ-rón/ɔ-ŋɔ-rón
2A	ɔ-nón	< ɔ-ŋɔ-nón
3A	ɔ-kín	< ɔ-ŋɔ-kín

6.1.2. Use of the free pronouns in their full form: subjects

Non-singular free pronouns in their full form are commonly used as subject pronouns. In the first example below the free pronoun precedes a verb, in the second a predicative adjective:

ɔ-kín	ɬ-á.ík	ɬ-ínakɔ	ŋ-ŋóre
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-be_known:INCOMPL	with-laziness

they are known for laziness

ɔ-nín	ɬ-ɔpərɔ́t
PERS-1A	C-good

we are fine

In the next examples, the subjunctive clitic **â** has coalesced with the initial vowel of **ɔrít** ‘I and you (SG)’ and **ɔrón** ‘we (INCL)’:

âŋtan	á-rít	ɔráne	álepaccôɬ
SUBJ.(2-)come:DEPINCOMPL	SUBJ.PERS-12	cultivate_for:DEPINCOMPL	jackal

come so that we cultivate for the jackal (‘The story of the jackal’)

ámá ǵ-rún ʦ-átt-rət á-røn ína ittí ...
 if PERS-12A C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL SUBJ.PERS-12A know:DEPINCOMPL that
 when we find it, we will know that ...

ǵkîn ‘they’ is commonly used with a plural antecedent. However, in the next example, from ‘A boy and a goat’, it has a singular antecedent (Lǵtti). Its underlying meaning ‘s/he and others’ (translating here into ‘(he and) his family’) can be clearly recognized:

ǵkol w-ǵrək w-ǵkát cík w-ǵccǵ.t kǵran itti ǵ-lǵtti
 child C-some C-be:COMPL VREF C-receive:COMPL name that PERS-Lǵtti
ana ǵ-kín ʦ-ǵná.t kǵtǵk k-én nǵ-kǵrǵn
 and PERS-3A C-bring:COMPL grazing_ground C-POSS3A on-place
í-k-ǵccǵ.t kǵran itti ʦǵcǵn
 RES-C-receive:COMPL name that ʦǵcǵn

there was a boy called Lǵtti, and his family (lit.: they) had their grazing ground in a place called ʦǵcǵn (‘A boy and a goat’)

Singular subjects, when immediately preceding a verb or predicative adjective, are far more commonly expressed by a bound pronominal form. Use of the free pronoun, as in the examples below, is nevertheless possible:

ǵ-ǵn p-ǵ.kǵt-ǵk ǵǵpák á-kw-ǵkkǵ
 PERS-1 C-give:PST-O3 beer SUBJ-3-drink:DEPINCOMPL

I gave him beer to drink

ǵ-ǵǵ p-ǵpǵrǵt
 PERS-2 C-good
 you are fine

A free pronoun is used when the pronoun functions as subject but does not directly precede the verb (or adjective). Here the subject pronoun is modified by an adverb that separates it from the verb:

ǵ-ǵn cǵnǵ p-a.kkǵt ǵǵǵ
 PERS-1 here C-do:INCOMPL work

I do the work here

In the following two examples, the predicative adjective and the verb are omitted because they are understood from the preceding clause:

m-p-əpərət ana ɔ-ún
 1-C-good and PERS-2

I am fine, and you?

ɔkkw.ɪ ámm.akka ɔ-ún
 dance:IMP like PERS-1

dance like me! (dance like I dance!)

Free pronouns are further used in contrastive focus constructions with the focus marker **akk-** (first example), and in contrastive focus-constructions with a postposed free pronoun that is co-referent with a clitic pronoun before the verb (second example):

ɔ-ók akk-a.káko mɪl
 PERS-3 FOC-grind:INCOMPL sorghum

s/he grinds the sorghum

kərənn.ɪ a-n-ɔt-úmmɔ tɪk ɔ-ún
 let:IMP CONJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL fire PERS-1

leave it! I will go and get the fire myself

6.1.3. Use of the free pronouns in their full form: objects

Pronominalized objects that follow the verb immediately are mostly expressed by enclitic pronouns. In this position, free pronouns are uncommon, though not altogether impossible in a word-for-word way of speaking. The example below is somewhat unnatural, hence the question mark, but was not considered “wrong” by my consultant (JS). Normally a clitic object pronoun would be used.

? **ana pɔl p-ɪmma.káte ɔ-ók**
 and person C-see:PST PERS-3

and the man saw him/her (only in word-for-word speech)

Free pronouns can function as syntactic objects when the verb is understood from the context (first example below), or when the

object is contrastively focused in a construction with **akkă** ‘that’ (second example below):

m-p-immát-úŋ **kéccôk** | **ɔ-ɔn-â** | **ijj**
 1-C-see_at:COMPL-O2 market PERS-1-Q yes

I saw you in the market. me? yes

ɔ-ɔk **akka** **ɔn-ɔnáne** **mîl**
 PERS-3 that 2A-bring_for:DEPINCOMPL sorghum

it is to him/her that you (PL) will bring the sorghum

A free pronoun can also be used as an addressive, as in the following example:

éé **ɔ-ɔŋ** **êm-p-ərík**
 hey PERS-2 DEM-C-NEARADDR

hey you there!

Normally, Imperatives and Hortatives are not combined with free subject pronouns. However, it is possible to have Imperatives with a postposed 2nd person free pronoun, expressing contrastive focus:

ɔɾɔk.ɔ | **ɔɾɔk.ɔ** **ɔ-úŋ**
 eat:IMP eat:IMP PERS-2

eat it! eat it yourself!

6.1.4. Free pronouns as complements of a preposition

Pronominal complements of prepositions have the free pronoun in its full form. Like in kinship terms and personal names, the persona prefix of the free pronoun changes to **a** after a preposition. The free pronouns can be complements of the prepositions **ɪ-** ‘in’, **nɔ-** ‘on, at’ and **tɔ-** ‘(up) on, (up) at’, as well as of the combined prepositions **ntɪ** **ɪ-** ‘from, out of’, **nnɔ-** ‘from on, from at’ and **ntɔ-** ‘from (up) on, (up) at’. The paradigms with **ɪ-**, **nɔ-** and **tɔ-** are given below.

Note that the tonal make-up of the free pronouns plays no role here: all combinations have the same low-falling (L.HL) tone pattern.

	ɪ ‘in’	nə ‘on, at’	tə ‘(up) on, (up) at’
1	ɪ-aŋ	n-aŋ	t-aŋ
2	ɪ-aŋŋ	n-aŋŋ	t-aŋŋ
12	ɪ-arɪt	n-arɪt	t-arɪt
3	ɪ-aāk	n-aāk	t-aāk
1A	ɪ-anɪn	n-anɪn	t-anɪn
12A	ɪ-arŋn/ɪ-arŋn	n-arŋn/n-arŋn	t-arŋn/t-arŋn
2A	ɪ-anŋn	n-anŋn	t-anŋn
3A	ɪ-akɪn	n-akɪn	t-akɪn

Some examples of pronominal substitution follow here.

k-kw-ɔ̄curɔ̄t̄.ɛ

3-C-pass_coming_from_opposite_direction:COMPL

ɪ-kəllān

in-old_woman

s/he passed the old woman coming from the opposite direction

k-kw-ɔ̄curɔ̄t̄.ɛ

3-C-pass_coming_from_opposite_direction:COMPL

ɪ-a-āk

in-PERS-3

s/he passed her coming from the opposite direction

k-kw-á.t̄t̄é

3-C-leave:inCOMPL

nɔ̄-ól

on-persons

én-n-í

DEM-C-NEARSP

s/he will leave these people

k-kw-á.t̄t̄é

3-C-leave:INCOMPL

n-á-kɪn

on-PERS-3A

s/he will leave them

By contrast, complements of the preposition **tə** ‘(down) at’ cannot be replaced by a personal pronoun.

6.1.5. **ɔ̄kkwêñ** ‘who’ and **ɔ̄kkwí í** ‘(the one) who’

ɔ̄kkwêñ ‘who’ functions as a relative question word in embedded clauses. It contains a formative based on the 3SG pronoun **ɔ̄k** ‘s/he’ and the anaphoric demonstrative **p-ɛn** ‘this, that’, with **p** agreeing with **ɔ̄k**. **ɔ̄kkwêñ** is discussed in chapter 20.1.1, the anaphoric demonstrative in 8.2.

A formative based on the 3SG pronoun **ᵛᵛk** ‘s/he’ is also part of **ᵛᵛkwí** ‘the one’. **ᵛᵛkwí** further contains **p-í**, with the concord **p** agreeing with the 3SG pronominal element. **p-í** is derived from the deictic verb **C-éi** ‘be here (near speaker)’, which is also present in the near-speaker demonstrative **en-C-í**. **ᵛᵛkwí** is always used in combination with the restrictor **í-**, together expressing ‘(the one) who’ (literally ‘s/he is here who’). Its plural is formed through attachment of the plural of nouns with the persona prefix **-ᵛᵛn**: **ᵛᵛkwíᵛn**. Two examples follow here.

aᵗik	ír-ᵛᵗ-óllattarəne			ana
come:IMP	(SUBJ-)12-IT:DEPINCOMPL-run_against_each_other:DEPINCOMPL			and
ᵛᵛk.kw.í	í-p-úrrə.t	ᵛ-páj	á-kw-ᵛnókə	kəpa áppik
the_one	RES-C-leave_behind:COMPL	PERS-sibling	SUBJ-3-take:DEPINCOMPL	meat all

Come so that we run against each other and the one who wins let him take all the meat (fr. written story)

ana	ᵛᵛk.kw.í-ᵛn	í-ᵗ-ílle	ᵗ-a.pəre	ᵛuccôk
and	the_one-PL	RES-C-die.PLUR:INCOMPL	C-excrete:INCOMPL	blood

and the ones who die excrete blood (fr. written essay)

6.2. Bound personal subject pronouns

The bound personal subject pronouns precede a (concord +) verb or concord + modifier. Some of the bound pronouns surface in a different way before a concord than directly before a verbal stem. Most of these differences, however, can be explained from phonological effects (see 6.2.1 and 6.2.2). The bound second person plural pronoun (2A) has different shapes directly before a (vowel-initial) verbal stem, namely **nń-**, and before its concord (**ᵗ**), namely **ń-** or **ᵛn-**. Assuming that the underlying form has the long nasal, the obligatory retention of nasal length before a verb stem can be explained from avoidance of ambiguity with the first person singular bound pronoun in the same environment (examples are given in tables 37 and 38). Before the concord **ᵗ**, on the other hand, nasal length cannot be realized. Noteworthy is also that the bound 3A pronoun is used only before a concord, not directly before a verbal stem. In the latter environment, the full pronoun is used. This, too,

may be motivated by avoidance of ambiguity with the bound first person singular pronoun (see tables 37 and 38). Further details of assimilation of the bound subject pronouns before a concord as well as paradigms with bound subject pronouns before a concord + verb and before a verbal stem are provided in 6.1.1 and 6.2.2.

The table below presents the bound personal subject pronouns (also called personal subject pronoun clitics). The free pronouns are given for comparison. Most bound subject pronouns are shortened forms of the free pronouns and induce the same tonal effects on the element that they precede as the corresponding free pronoun.

Table 30 Bound personal subject pronouns

	<i>bound personal subject pronouns</i>	<i>free pronouns</i>
1	ń-	ɔ́n
2	ń- / ń-	ɔ́n
3	kw- + tone pattern	ɔ́k
12	ĩ-	ɔ́ĩt
1A	ín-	ɔ́nĩn
12A	ón-	ɔ́rón/ɔ́rón
2A	nń-/ń-/ń-	ɔ́nń
3A	ń- + tone pattern	ɔ́kń

The 3rd person bound pronoun (**kw-**) is not just a shortened form of the free pronoun (**ɔ́k**). Moreover, the 3 and 3A bound subject pronouns have tonal effects that are different from those of the 3 and 3A free pronouns. They add a high tone to the initial mora of the predicate to which they are attached. When the predicate is a verb in Past or Completive TAM this initial high tone comes in addition to the tone belonging to verb itself. When the verb is in (Dependent) Incompletive or Dependent Perfective TAM, the initial high tone lowers a high or falling tone present later in the verb. Some examples of this —irregular— tonal effect are given in the tables 32-36. Apart from this tonal effect, the 3A bound pronoun (a moraic nasal) has retained the falling tone of the free pronoun: it remains high itself upon attachment to a predicate.

6.2.1. Combinations of bound subject pronominal and concord

Before non-dependent verbs and other predicates such as adjectival predicates, the subject, whether a noun (phrase), a free pronoun or a bound pronoun, is always followed by a concord. The combination of the subject proclitics with their concords gives the following results (the tones are omitted in the list below, since for the 3 and 3A forms they cannot be adequately represented). Note in the 2A form that the nasal is short before the concord:

1 'I'	n + p	> m-p
2 'you'	(ɔ)ŋ + p	> (ɔ)ŋ-kw
3 's/he'	kw + p	> k-kw (< kw-kw)
12 'I and you (SG)'	ɪt + t̥	> ɪt̥-t̥
1A 'we (EXCL)'	ɪn + t̥	> ɪn-t̥
12A 'we (INCL)'	ɔn + t̥	> ɔn-t̥
2A 'you (PL)'	(ɔ)n + t̥	> (ɔ)n-t̥
3A 'they'	n + t̥	> n-t̥

These assimilations are regular except the assimilation between the 2SG subject clitic and concord, and between the 3SG subject clitic and concord. Though in a few other cases a first velar consonant determines the place of articulation of the second consonant in the sequence⁵¹, the general rule is that the place of articulation of the second consonant is dominant, whether within the word or across the word boundary.

Example paradigms with Incompletives of verbs of different tone classes and a bound pronominal + concord, showing the tonal and assimilatory effects, follow here. For comparison the forms are given with the free pronoun as well. Recall that the bound pronoun is commonly used for 1, 2 and 3 subjects, while the free pronoun is commonly used for 12, 1A, 12A, 2A and 3A subjects. There is tone

⁵¹ Notably **ɔpaŋ + p̄ɪn > ɔpaŋk̄ɪn** 'my sibling' (not ***ɔpamp̄ɪn**), and **ɪccɪk + cɔ > ɪccɪk kɔ** 'near' (not ***ɪ-ccɪc-cɔ**). The place of articulation of the first consonant is also dominant upon suffixation of the discourse particles **-t̄**, **-na** and **-mé** (see 17.2.2 to 17.2.4).

bridge on the Incompletives of tone class IIA and IIB when preceded by 3 and 3A free pronouns.

Table 31 Clitic and free pronouns with Incompletive C-*ímma* (< *ímma* ‘see’)

	<i>subject clitic</i>	<i>free pronoun</i>	
1	m-p-ímma	၁၀၀ p-ímma	‘I will see’
2	η-kw-ímma	၁၀၅ p-ímma	‘you will see’
3	k-kw-ímma	၁၁၀ p-ímma	‘s/he will see’
12	it-t-ímma	၁၁၅ t-ímma	‘I and you (SG) will see’
1A	in-t-ímma	၁၂၀ t-ímma	‘we (EXCL) will see’
12A	on-t-ímma	၁၂၅ t-ímma	‘we (INCL) will see’
2A	n-t-ímma	၁၃၀ t-ímma	‘you (PL) will see’
3A	n-t-ímma	၁၃၅ t-ímma	‘they will see’

Table 32 Clitic and free pronouns with Incompletive C-*aréko* (< *aréko* ‘work’)

	<i>subject clitic</i>	<i>free pronoun</i>	
1	m-p-aréko	၁၀၀ p-aréko	‘I will work’
2	η-kw-aréko	၁၀၅ p-aréko	‘you will work’
3	k-kw-aréko	၁၁၀ p-aréko	‘s/he will work’
12	it-t-aréko	၁၁၅ t-aréko	‘I and you (SG) will work’
1A	in-t-aréko	၁၂၀ t-aréko	‘we (EXCL) will work’
12A	on-t-aréko	၁၂၅ t-aréko	‘we (INCL) will work’
2A	n-t-aréko	၁၃၀ t-aréko	‘you (PL) will work’
3A	n-t-aréko	၁၃၅ t-aréko	‘they will work’

Table 33 Clitic and free pronouns with Incompletive C-*arəkō* (< *arəkō* ‘eat’)

	<i>subject clitic</i>	<i>free pronoun</i>	
1	m-p-arəkō	၁၀၀ p-arəkō	‘I will eat’
2	η-kw-arəkō	၁၀၅ p-arəkō	‘you will eat’
3	k-kw-arəkō	၁၁၀ p-arəkō	‘s/he will eat’
12	it-t-arəkō	၁၁၅ t-arəkō	‘I and you (SG) will eat’
1A	in-t-arəkō	၁၂၀ t-arəkō	‘we (EXCL) will eat’
12A	on-t-arəkō	၁၂၅ t-arəkō	‘we (INCL) will eat’
2A	n-t-arəkō	၁၃၀ t-arəkō	‘you (PL) will eat’
3A	n-t-arəkō	၁၃၅ t-arəkō	‘they will eat’

Paradigms with Completives of the same verbs follow here. In the Completives there is no tone bridge.

Table 34 Clitic and free pronouns with Completive c-**immât** (< **imma** ‘see’)

	<i>subject clitic</i>	<i>free pronoun</i>	
1	m-p-immât	၁၀၇ p-immât	‘I saw’
2	၇-kw-immât	၁၀၇ p-immât	‘you saw’
3	k-kw-immât	၁၁၀ p-immât	‘s/he saw’
12	၇-၇-immât	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-immât	‘I and you (SG) saw’
1A	၇-၇-immât	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-immât	‘we (EXCL) saw’
12A	၀၇-၇-immât	၁၀၇၀ ṭ-immât	‘we (INCL) saw’
2A	n-ṭ-immât	၁၀၇၀ ṭ-immât	‘you (PL) saw’
3A	၇-၇-immât	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-immât	‘they saw’

Table 35 Clitic and free pronouns with Completive c-**ṛekôt** (< **ṛéka** ‘work’)

	<i>subject clitic</i>	<i>free pronoun</i>	
1	m-p-ṛekôt	၁၀၇ p-ṛekôt	‘I have worked’
2	၇-kw-ṛekôt	၁၀၇ p-ṛekôt	‘you have worked’
3	k-kw-ṛekôt	၁၁၀ p-ṛekôt	‘s/he has worked’
12	၇-၇-ṛekôt	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-ṛekôt	‘I and you (SG) have worked’
1A	၇-၇-ṛekôt	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-ṛekôt	‘we (EXCL) have worked’
12A	၀၇-၇-ṛekôt	၁၀၇၀ ṭ-ṛekôt	‘we (INCL) have worked’
2A	n-ṭ-ṛekôt	၁၀၇၀ ṭ-ṛekôt	‘you (PL) have worked’
3A	၇-၇-ṛekôt	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-ṛekôt	‘they have worked’

Table 36 Clitic and free pronouns with Completive c-**ṛəkót** (< **ṛəkô** ‘eat’)

	<i>subject clitics</i>	<i>free pronoun</i>	
1	m-p-ṛəkót	၁၀၇ p-ṛəkót	‘I have eaten’
2	၇-kw-ṛəkót	၁၀၇ p-ṛəkót	‘you have eaten’
3	k-kw-ṛəkót	၁၁၀ p-ṛəkót	‘s/he has eaten’
12	၇-၇-ṛəkót	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-ṛəkót	‘I and you (SG) have eaten’
1A	၇-၇-ṛəkót	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-ṛəkót	‘we (EXCL) have eaten’
12A	၀၇-၇-ṛəkót	၁၀၇၀ ṭ-ṛəkót	‘we (INCL) have eaten’
2A	n-ṭ-ṛəkót	၁၀၇၀ ṭ-ṛəkót	‘you (PL) have eaten’
3A	၇-၇-ṛəkót	၁၀၇၇ ṭ-ṛəkót	‘they have eaten’

6.2.2. Use of the subject pronominals without concord

Before the dependent TAMs of verbs (the Dependent Incompletive and the Dependent Perfective) the bound subject pronominals occur without concord. Here too singular subjects are usually expressed by the bound pronominal, the ones with plural reference by free pronouns.

The table below gives paradigms with Dependent Incompletives and Dependent Perfectives. The Dependent Incompletives in table 37 and the Dependent Perfectives in table 38 are introduced by the proclitic conjunctive particle **á** ‘and, while’ and the proclitic subjunctive particle **â** ‘so that’. The verb in the table is **írɛ** ‘say’ (tone class I); its Dependent Incompletive and Dependent Perfective stems are, respectively, **írɛ** and **írɛkat**. The 12A bound form is rarely used, hence the parentheses. The form was given in elicitation with some hesitation. The full form is much preferred here, probably also to avoid ambiguity with the first person singular free pronoun. The 3A clitic is not used in this context at all and the 2A clitic has a long nasal in this environment (as noted also in 6.2). In both cases this avoids ambiguity with the first person singular clitic.

Note further that **a** and **ɔ** do not assimilate in the 3 free pronouns. Note also that the falling tone of the 3 and 3A free pronouns (**ɔŋk** and **ɔkɪn**) is realized as low after the subjunctive particle **â**, and that, in the same environment, the bound 3 pronoun brings no high tone to the initial mora of the verb. In the other cases, the tones are expected from the tone rules.

Table 37 Clitic and free pronouns with Dependent Incompletive **írɛ** ‘say’

		á or â + pronoun clitic + Dep. Incompletive	á or â + free pronoun + Dep. Incompletive
1 ‘I’	á	a-n-írɛ	a-ɔn íɛ
	â	á-n-írɛ	á-ɔn íɛ
2 ‘you’	á	a-írɛ (< a-ŋ-írɛ)	a-ɔŋ íɛ
	â	á-írɛ (< á-ŋ-írɛ)	á-ɔŋ íɛ
3 ‘s/he’	á	a-kw-írɛ	a-ɔk íɛ

	â	á-kw-ířε	á-ɔk ířε
12 'I and you (SG)'	á	a-ir-ířε	a-rit ířε
	â	á-ir-ířε	á-rit ířε
1A 'we (EXCL)'	á	a-ɨn-ířε	a-nɨn ířε
	â	á-ɨn-ířε	á-nɨn ířε
12A 'we (INCL)'	á	? a-on-ířε	a-ron/arɔn ířε
	â	? á-on-ířε	á-ron/árɔn ířε
2A 'you (PL)'	á	a-nn-ířε	a-nɔn ířε
	â	á-nn-ířε	á-nɔn ířε
3A 'they'	á	-	a-kín ířε
	â	-	á-kɨn ířε

Table 38 Clitic and free pronouns with Dependent Perfective ířεkat (< ířε 'say')

		á + subject clitic + Dep. Perfective	á + free pronoun + Dep. Perfective
1 'I'	á	a-n-ířεkat	aon ířεkat
	â	á-n-ířεkat	áon ířεkat
2 'you'	á	a-ířεkat (< a-ŋ-ířεkat)	aon ířεkat
	â	á-ířεkat	áon ířεkat
3 's/he'	á	a-kw-ířεkat	aɔk ířεkat
	â	á-kw-ířεkat	áɔk ířεkat
12 'I and you (SG)'	á	a-ir-ířεkat	arit ířεkat
	â	á-ir-ířεkat	árit ířεkat
1A 'we (EXCL)'	á	a-ɨn-ířεkat	anɨn ířεkat
	â	á-ɨn-ířεkat	ánɨn ířεkat
12A 'we (INCL)'	á	(a-on-ířεkat)	aron/arɔn ířεkat
	â	(á-on-ířεkat)	áron/árɔn ířεkat
2A 'you (PL)'	á	a-nn-ířεkat	anɔn ířεkat
	â	á-nn-ířεkat	ánɔn ířεkat
3A 'they'	á	-	akín ířεkat
	â	-	ákɨn ířεkat

Examples with the 3 subject pronominal follow here. C-arɔ́tɔk in the example below patterns with the non-dependent verbs: it always occurs with a concord.

ɔ-ttɛ **p-ířé.t** **lón** **él-l-í** **méncén**
 PERS-your_father C-say:COMPL words DEM-C-NEARSP some_time_ago

á-k-kw-árə̀tək **íɔ** **a-kw-íře.kat** **ittĩ ...**
 CONJ-3-C-still die:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that

your father said these things some time ago before he died, he said ... (lit.: when he was still to die) (Genesis 50:16)

k-kw-átt-ɔt **ɔ-nenni** **a-kw-óřəkə** **kəpá**
 3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMP PERS-Nenni CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL meat

s/he found Nenni eating meat

6.3. Common noun subject pronominal clitics

There is a set of common noun subject pronominal clitics that pronominalizes common nouns. Like the bound person subject pronominals, the bound common noun subject pronominals are proclitic to the predicate. They are segmentally the same as the concords, but pattern tonally with the 3 (and 3A) pronominal subject clitics with person reference: they add a high tone to the first mora of the predicate to which they are attached. This high tone lowers the high or falling tone of (Dependent) Incompletives of tone classes IIA and IIB, which have a high or falling tone on the second or third mora (see chapter 12.4.2 for the tone classes). In other TAMs the high tone comes in addition to the high or falling tone of the verb.

The subject pronominal clitics are represented in the table below. The last column gives the combinations of pronominal clitic and concord. The obstruent pronoun clitic and concord combinations are all voiceless, and remain voiceless when preceded by a word with a final vowel. They are therefore represented with a double consonant. The nasal combinations as well as **l-l** and **w-w** are underlyingly geminated but realized without length. For this reason they are represented as a single consonant. Note that underlyingly geminated (PRO-C) **ŋ** and **w** are not deleted in case of a vowel-final preceding word.

Table 39 Pronoun clitics and concords combined

<i>noun class</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>common noun subj. pronominal clitic</i>	<i>pronominal clitic + concord</i>
p	p-	p- + tone pattern	p-p- + tone pattern
t̥	t̥-	t̥- + tone pattern	t̥-t̥- + tone pattern
t	t-	t- + tone pattern	t-t- + tone pattern
c	c-	c- + tone pattern	c-c- + tone pattern
k, kw subcl. k subcl. kw	k- k-	k- + tone pattern kw- + tone pattern	k-k- + tone pattern k-k- + tone pattern
m	m-	m- + tone pattern	m + tone pattern (< m-m)
n	n-	n- + tone pattern	n + tone pattern (< n-n)
ɲ	ɲ-	ɲ- + tone pattern	ɲ + tone pattern (< ɲ-ɲ)
l	l-	l- + tone pattern	l + tone pattern (< l-l)
∅, w subcl. ∅ subcl. w	w- w-	w- + tone pattern w- + tone pattern	w + tone pattern (< w-w) w + tone pattern (< w-w)

An example with a nominal common noun subject and one with pronominal substitution follow here:

ana **pálla** **p-ɔ́ɾəkɔ́.t**
and cat C-eat:COMPL

and the cat has eaten it

ana **p-p-ɔ́ɾəkɔ́.t**
and PRO-C-eat:COMPL

and it (the cat) has eaten it

Two further examples follow here. In the first, the subject is taken up by a pronoun after **ana** ‘and’. In the second, the subject pronoun is co-referent with the object noun of the preceding clause:

t̥-ikkə **cik** **kárəttóm** **t̥-ɔ́pəɾót** **ana** **t̥-t̥-ɔ́kɪtak**
NOM-sit VREF Khartoum c-good and PRO-C-bad

staying in Khartoum is good and bad (lit.: staying in Khartoum is good and it is bad)

ᵛ-kumāṅ **ᵑ-ᵛnó** **cúccû** **ana** **c-c-ᵛpərōt**
 PERS-Kumāṅ C-have bead and PRO-C-good

Kumāṅ has a necklace and it is beautiful

6.3.1. Subject referencing common nouns denoting people

Some common nouns refer to people. In a subordinated clause with a subject that is co-referent with a common noun in the main clause that denotes a person, preferably, a common noun pronoun is used:

kəllán **k-á.rǎkó** **túrit** **ámmá** **k-k-íamâ.t**
 old_woman C-eat:INCOMPL food if PRO-C-become_hungry:COMPL

the old woman eats food when she is hungry

təmɔccɔ **t-ᵛṅɔt.é** **itti** **t-t-ântán**
 old_woman C-like:COMPL that PRO-C-come:INCOMPL

the old man wanted to come

It is, however, not impossible to switch to the 3 personal pronoun in the subordinated clause. In the example below, co-reference of the subject of the main clause and the subordinate clause is possible, but not assumed on the basis of the utterance alone. The context must make clear to whom the 3 personal pronoun refers.

təmɔccɔ **t-ᵛṅɔt.é** **itti** **k-kw-ântán**
 old_woman C-like:COMPL that 3-C-come:INCOMPL

the old man wanted him/her to come / the old man wanted to come

In stories, however, it is not uncommon to find 3 personal pronouns instead of common noun pronouns in subordinate clauses. In the next sentence, from an animal story, the jackal (**aləpaccōt**) is pronominalized by the 3 personal pronoun clitic **kw-** after **itti** and then again after the subjunctive particle **â**. The squirrel (**ṅərrōṅ**), which is nominal object in the clause introduced by **itti**, is pronominalized by the (elided) common noun subject pronominal **ṅ** (**á-ṅ-ᵛrrəpó** > **á-rrəpó**). In the third clause, both the jackal (as the subject of ‘eat’) and the squirrel (as the object of ‘eat’) are pronominalized by personal pronouns:

áləpaccôṭ **w-ɪɛ.káṭe** **nə-cɪkɪt** **c-ɔŋ** **ittɪ**
 jackal C-say:PST on-heart C-POSS3 that
k-kw-ámikkəṭ **ŋərróŋ** **á-rrópó** **ń-tó-pírá**
 3-C-deceive:INCOMPL squirrel SUBJ-(PRO-)move_down:DEPINCOMPL with-up_on-tree

á-kw-ṣṛəkṵ-kṵk
 SUBJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL-O3

the jackal said by himself that he would trick the squirrel so that he (the squirrel) would come down from the tree so that he (the jackal) would eat him

In the next sentence, the cat is first pronominalized by a common noun pronoun (on the verb ‘call’) then by a personal pronoun (on the verb ‘say to’). In the last clause, the jackal is pronominalized by a personal pronoun as object of ‘say to’:

a-pə́lla **akkakat** **a-p-ákkar.at** **áləpaccôṭ**
 CONJ-cat come:DEPPRFV CONJ-PRO-call:DEPPRFV jackal
a-kw-ṣme.kat-ṵk **ittɪ ...**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that

and the cat came and called the jackal and he said to him: “how are you, I hope you are fine?” (“The story of the jackal”)

6.4. Object pronouns

Object pronouns come after the verb. Object pronouns refer only to humans (including animals that act like humans, as found in stories). Non-human objects are not pronominally expressed. Compare the two sentences below. In the first sentence it is also possible, though not preferred, to omit the object pronoun. In the second it cannot be present.

m-p-əṇó **pəɽe** **ana** **m-p-əŋəṭ-ṵk**
 1-C-have husband and 1-C-like:COMPL-O3

I have a husband and I love him

m-p-əṇó **cúccú** **ana** **m-p-əŋəṭ.ê**
 1-C-have necklace and 1-C-like:COMPL

I have a necklace and I like it

The object pronominals with singular reference (1, 2 and 3) come in four paradigms. The choice between the first three of these paradigms is conditioned by the morphology of the verbal TAM and the tone class of the verb involved (see chapter 12.4.2); I call these paradigms group I, group II and group III. The forms of group I and group III in some cases interact with the preceding verb in ways that do not necessarily follow from phonological rules, and the initial *k* of the group II forms is epenthetic. The singular object pronouns of the first three paradigms are clitic.

The singular forms in the fourth paradigm mark a second object; they are free pronouns. This paradigm lacks first person forms (1, 12 and 1A) since in case of presence of both a first person object and a second or third person object, the first person object always comes first, due to the person hierarchy between objects (see further down in this section).

The object pronouns with plural reference (12, 1A, 12A, 2A and 3A) each have one form. Because the 2A and 3A pronouns also function as second objects and are thus free pronouns, not clitics, I regard the whole set as free pronouns. The plurals of group I, II and III might also be regarded as bound pronouns, but there is no compelling reason to do so: assimilation processes occur in just the same way as expected between two separate words.

Whereas the bound subject pronouns have a tonal trace of the persona prefix *ǂ-*, the object pronouns lack this, as can be seen from the 3 and 3A object pronouns, which are low-toned. The 1 and 2 object pronouns of group I and II are represented as nasals with a high tone. In prepausal position this high tone is realized on the final vowel of the verb to which the pronoun is attached. In non-prepausal position the high tone will lower and may be realized on the next word (analogous to the Tone Shift Rule and the Tone Reappearance sub-Rules).

For comparison, the full pronouns are given in the first column of the table below.

Table 40 Object pronouns and clitics

Full pronouns	Object clitics (realizations)			Second object pronouns
	group I	group II	group III	
1 ɔ́n	- ń	- kín	- ín	–
2 ɔ́ŋ	- ń	- kóŋ	- úŋ	ŋúŋ
3 ɔ́k	- k	- kɔ́k	- ɔ́k	ŋɔ́k
12 ɔ́řt	třt			–
1A ɔ́nń	nń			–
12A ɔ́rón/ ɔ́rón	tón/tón			–
2A ɔ́nón	nón			–
3A ɔ́kín	kín			–

The next part mentions the tone classes and TAM-stems of verbs. Verbs of tone class I have an all-low tone pattern. Verbs of tone class IIA have at least three morae and have a high tone on their second mora while the other morae are low. Verbs of tone class IIB consist of two or three morae and have a falling tone on their final mora while the preceding mora(e) is/are low. For TAMs and TAM-stems see chapter 12. Lumun verbs are either vowel-final or t-final.

Group I object pronouns

Group I object pronouns (-**ń**, -**ń**, -**k**, **třt**, **nń**, **tón/tón**, **nón**, **kín**) are used after:

- incomplete, dependent incomplete and dependent complete TAM-stems of vowel-final verbs of tone classes I and IIA (these forms end in **ɔ**, **ɛ** or **a**);
- Imperatives of vowel-final verbs of tone classes I and IIA (these forms end in **í**, **ɛ** (not **é**) or **a**, and occasionally in **ɔ**).

Pronouns of this paradigm are not used with verbs ending in the benefactive suffix (**ɪ**)**ne**.

An example paradigm with the Imperative of the verb **ɔ́kɔ́taccɛ** ‘watch’ (tone class IIA) follows here. The Imperative is **ɔ́kɔ́taccɛ**.

ɔkəʔaccé-n	‘watch me!’
ɔkəʔaccɛ-k	‘watch him/her!’
ɔkəʔaccɛ níŋ	‘watch us (EXCL)!’
ɔkəʔaccɛ kɪn	‘watch them!’

An example paradigm with the Incomplete of the verb **ɪmma** ‘see’ (tone class I) follows here. The incomplete TAM-stem of this verb is **ímma** + H. The tonal effects are in accordance with the tone rules specified in chapter 3.3. The final falling tone in the example with the 3SG object pronoun is the realization of the high tone that comes with the incomplete TAM-stem of **ɪmma** (probably on underlying **-ɔk**, of which the vowel is deleted after **a**, 3rd example in the paradigm); the same is true for the falling tone on the 3PL object pronoun (last example). The initial obstruents of the plural pronominals are pronounced with lenition (as between vowels).

ɔl ímmá-n	‘the people will see me’
ɔl ímmá-ŋ	‘the people will see you’
ɔl ímmâ-k	‘the people will see him/her’
ɔl ímma tíŋ	‘the people will see us (you and me)’
ɔl ímma níŋ	‘the people will see us (EXCL)’
ɔl ímma tón	‘the people will see us (INCL)’
ɔl ímma nón	‘the people will see you (PL)’
ɔl ímma kîn	‘the people will see them’

Imperatives based on **ɔ**-final verbs of tone classes I and IIA end in **í** and in some rare cases in **ɔ** (see table 47). Such Imperatives take object pronouns from group I, though the forms with a singular object pronominal do not result from a regular process of attachment. The final vowel of the Imperative (**í** or **ɔ**) changes into **ɔ**, and the high tone of the final **ɪ** is lost, as can be seen upon attachment of the 3 object pronoun. Both the vowel change and the loss of high tone are not expected from general morpho-phonological and morpho-tonological processes. The combination with object pronouns with plural reference is morpho-phonologically and morpho-tonologically regular.

Examples with the Imperative **᠗ᠮᠢᠴᠴᠢ** ‘greet!’ (< **᠗ᠮᠢᠴᠴ᠗** ‘greet’, tone class IIA) follow here.

᠗ᠮᠢᠴᠴ᠗-ᠨ	‘greet me!’
᠗ᠮᠢᠴᠴ᠗-ᠬ	‘greet him/her!’
᠗ᠮᠢᠴᠴᠢ ᠨᠢᠨ	‘greet us (EXCL)!’
᠗ᠮᠢᠴᠴᠢ ᠬᠢᠨ	‘greet them!’

Examples with the Imperative **᠗ᠷᠦ** (< **᠗ᠷ᠗** ‘throw at’, tone class I) follow here. Note, however, that only in a few cases the Imperative of a verb of tone class I ends in **ᠦ**. By contrast, Imperatives of **᠗**-final verbs of tone class IIB all take final **ᠦ**. In the paradigm below, the use of (singular) object pronouns of group II was rejected.

᠗ᠷ᠗-ᠨ	‘throw at me!’
᠗ᠷ᠗-ᠬ	‘throw at him/her!’
᠗ᠷᠦ ᠨᠢᠨ	‘throw at us (EXCL)!’
᠗ᠷᠦ ᠬᠢᠨ	‘throw at them!’

Group II object pronominals

Object pronouns of group II (**-ᠬᠢᠨ**, **-ᠬᠣᠨ**, **-ᠬᠠᠨ**, **ᠲᠢᠲ**, **ᠨᠢᠨ**, **ᠲᠣᠨ**, **ᠨᠣᠨ**, **ᠬᠢᠨ**) are used after:

- incomplete, dependent incomplete and dependent complete TAM-stems of vowel-final verbs of tone class IIB (these forms end in **᠗**, **ᠢ** or **ᠠ**);
- Imperatives of vowel-final verbs of tone class IIB (these forms end in **ᠦ**, **ᠢ** or **ᠠ**).

The morpho-tonological effects conform to the tone rules specified in chapter 3.3, except in some cases of attachment of the 3 object pronominal **-ᠬᠠᠨ**. A case is presented below in which **-ᠬᠠᠨ** is unexpectedly realized with a falling tone, though there is no preceding high tone that can shift.

An example paradigm with the Incomplete of the verb **᠗ᠬᠡ** ‘shave’ follows here. The incomplete TAM-stem of this verb is **ᠠᠬᠡ**. **ᠴ-ᠠᠬᠡ**

+ **-kək** would be expected to result in C-**akékək**, but gives C-**akekək** instead. The other forms conform to expectation, including, for example, the lowering of the verbal contour before a pronominal with a high tone (see 3.4.1). The initial **k** of the singular pronominals is epenthetic; it is not part of the full free pronouns of which all object pronominals (like all subject pronominals) are shortened forms.

pul pake-kín	‘the person will shave me’
pul pake-kún	‘the person will shave you’
pul pake-kək (expected: pakê + -kək > * pakékək)	‘the person will shave him/her’
pul paké tit	‘the person will shave us (you and me)’
pul pake nín	‘the person will shave us (EXCL)’
pul pake tón	‘the person will shave us (INCL)’
pul pake nón	‘the person will shave you (PL)’
pul paké km	‘the person will shave them’

An example paradigm with the Imperative of the verb **εê** ‘stab, blow’ follows here. The Imperative is **εε**. Note that the 3 pronominal has a low tone here (which is expected from the tone rules: there is no high tone involved at all).

εε-kín	‘stab me!’
εε-kək	‘stab him/her!’
εε nín	‘stab us!’
εε km	‘stab them!’

Imperatives based on **ɔ**-final verbs from tone class IIB end in **ɔ**. This **ɔ** is lowered to **ɔ̄** upon attachment of **-kín** ‘me’ or **-kək** ‘him, her’. Before a plural pronoun clitic, **ɔ** remains unchanged.

Imperative: ɔccɔ (< ɔccɔ̄ ‘receive, take’)		
ɔccɔ-kín	‘take me’	(* ɔccɔ-kín)
ɔccɔ-kək	‘take him!’	
ɔccɔ nín	‘take us!’	
ɔccɔ km	‘take them!’	(* ɔccɔ km)

Imperative: **ɔkkwɔ** (< **ɔkkwɔ̃** ‘hit’)

ɔkkwɔ-kín ‘hit me!’ (***ɔkkwɔ-kín**)

ɔkkwɔ kɪn ‘hit them!’ (***ɔkkwɔ kɪn**)

For comparison, before a common noun as object the vowel of the Imperative remains **ɔ**:

ɔccɔ kīt ‘take the wild chicken!’

ɔccɔ pók ‘take the foam!’

ɔccɔ kat ‘take the grasshopper!’

An exception is the verb **ɔmmâ** ‘not know’. This verb takes group I object pronouns, for example:

pɔl pɔmmâ-k the person does not know him/her

Group III object pronominals

Group III object pronouns (**-ín, -úŋ, -ɔk, tīt, nín, tón, nón, kɪn**) are used after:

- **t**-final verb forms (i.e. (dependent) incomplete and dependent completive TAM-stems of **t**-final verbs; completive TAM-stems of vowel-final verbs; dependent perfective TAM-stems of all verbs);
- verb forms ending in **ɛ** or **é** (i.e. completive TAM-stems of **t**-final verbs; Imperatives of **t**-final verbs; pasts TAM-stems of all verbs);
- Benefactive verb forms, whether ending in **-(ɪ)nɛ, -(ɪ)nɛt, -kanɛt** or **-(ɪ)nɛt**, and forms of the verb **ɛt̩t̩** ‘give’.

Notably, all TAM-forms based on **t**-final verbs take object pronouns of group III.

Upon attachment to verb forms ending in **ɛ, é, -(ɪ)nɛ, -(ɪ)nɛt, -kanɛt** or **-(ɪ)nɛt** the vowel-initial pronoun clitics replace the final segments **ɛ** or **ɛt**. The consonant initial object pronouns come after the full verb form.

Example paradigms with the Incomplete of the verb **ᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ** ‘hear, listen’ and with the Dependent Perfective of **ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠ** ‘greet’ follow here. The Incomplete of **ᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ** ‘hear, listen’ is C-**ᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ** + H, the Dependent Perfective of **ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠ** is **ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ**. The final **t** in these verbs changes to **ᠲ** [ᠳ] before the vowel-initial pronominals. In the other cases, final **t** assimilates to the initial consonant of the object pronoun. In the second paradigm, the subject **ᠫᠤᠯ** ‘person’ is preceded by the conjunctive marker **ᠠ** ‘and’.

ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ-ᠶᠢᠨ	‘the person will listen to me’
ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ-ᠤᠨ	‘the person will listen to you’
ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ-ᠬᠢᠭ	‘the person will listen to him/her’
ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ ᠲᠢᠲ/ᠲᠢᠲ	‘the person will listen to us (you and me)’
ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ ᠨᠶᠢᠨ	‘the person will listen to us (EXCL)’
ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ ᠲᠤᠨ	‘the person will listen to us (INCL)’
ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ ᠨᠣᠨ	‘the person will listen to you (PL)’
ᠫᠤᠯ ᠫᠠᠴᠴᠢᠭᠠᠲ ᠬᠢᠨ	‘the person will listen to them’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ-ᠶᠢᠨ	‘and the person greeted me’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ-ᠤᠨ	‘and the person greeted you’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ-ᠬᠢᠭ	‘and the person greeted him/her’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠲᠢᠲ/ᠲᠢᠲ	‘and the person greeted us (you and me)’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠨᠶᠢᠨ	‘and the person greeted us (EXCL)’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠲᠤᠨ	‘and the person greeted us (INCL)’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠨᠣᠨ	‘and the person greeted you (PL)’
ᠠᠫᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠬᠢᠨ	‘and the person greeted them’

The following paradigm show the forms with the Completive of **ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠ** ‘greet’, C-**ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ**. Before a vowel-initial object pronominal the completive morpheme **t** changes to **r**. Before a consonant-initial object pronoun, completive **t** assimilates to the following consonant.

ᠤᠬᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ-ᠶᠢᠨ	‘the child has greeted me’
ᠤᠬᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ-ᠤᠨ	‘the child has greeted you’
ᠤᠬᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ-ᠬᠢᠭ	‘the child has greeted him/her’
ᠤᠬᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠲᠢᠲ	‘the child has greeted us (you and me)’
ᠤᠬᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠨᠶᠢᠨ	‘the child has greeted us (EXCL)’
ᠤᠬᠤᠯ ᠠᠮᠢᠴᠴᠠᠲ ᠲᠤᠨ	‘the child has greeted us (INCL)’

ʊkʊl w-ɔmɪccɔt nɔn ‘the child has greeted you (PL)’

ʊkʊl w-ɔmɪccɔt kɪn ‘the child has greeted them’

Tonal realizations of the 1 and 2 object pronouns (**-ɪn**, **-úŋ**) are not always as expected, as in the following sentence with the Completive verb **C-ɔkkwɔt** (< **ɔkkwɔ** ‘hit’):

pəɬɔk **p-ɔkkwɔ.r-ɪn**
stone C-hit:COMPL-O1

the stone has hit me

A paradigm with a verb form ending in **-ɬɛ** follows here. It is the Completive verb **C-ɔccɪkɔtɛ** (< **ɔccɪkɔt** ‘hear, listen’).

pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔt-ɪn	‘the person has listened to me’
pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔt-úŋ	‘the person has listened to you’
pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔt-ɔk	‘the person has listened to him/her’
pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔtɛ tɪt/tɪt	‘the person has listened to us (you and me)’
pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔtɛ nɪn	‘the person has listened to us (EXCL)’
pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔtɛ tún	‘the person has listened to us (INCL)’
pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔtɛ nɔn	‘the person has listened to you (PL)’
pʊl p-ɔccɪkɔtɛ kɪn	‘the person has listened to them’

Some examples with the Imperative **ɔccɪkɔtɛ** ‘listen!’ (< **ɔccɪkɔt** ‘hear, listen’) follow here:

ɔccɪkɔt-ɪn	‘listen to me!’
ɔccɪkɔt-ɔk	‘listen to him/her!’
ɔccɪkɔtɛ nɪn	‘listen to us (EXCL)!’
ɔccɪkɔtɛ kɪn	‘listen to them!’

Some examples with forms of the Benefactive verbs **ɔɔɹɪnɛ** ‘stand for sb., wait for sb.’, **ɛrɛnɛ** ‘talk to sb.’ and **ɛrɛnɬɛt** ‘talk to sb. at/about’, and some examples with forms of **ɛɬɛt** ‘give’ are the following:

With Imperative **ɔɔɹɪnɛt** (< **ɔɔɹɪnɛ** ‘stand for sb., wait for sb.’):

ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃ	‘wait for me!’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃ	‘wait for him/her!’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ	‘wait for us (EXCL)!’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ	‘wait for them!’

With Incompletive C-**ᄃᄃᄃᄃ** + H (< **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘talk to sb.’)

ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to you’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to him/her’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ/ᄃᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to us (you and me)’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to you (PL)’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to them’

With Past C-**ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** (< **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘talk to sb. at/about’)

ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to you about it’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to him/her about it’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ/ᄃᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to us (you and me) about it’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to you (PL) about it’
ᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃ	‘the people will talk to them about it’

With Completive C-**ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** (< **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘give’)

ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the person has given it to me’
ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the person has given it to him/her’
ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the person has given it to us (you and me)’
ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the person has given it to us (EXCL)’
ᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ	‘the person has given it to them’

Second object pronominals and person hierarchy

The forms **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘you (SG)’ and **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘him/her’ (see also table 40) are used as the second in sequences of two object pronouns. A verb which can have a double object is **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘give’. In case of two equivalent nominal objects, the recipient object comes first, then the patient object.

k-kw-ét̩et **ɔ-kakká** **ɔ-cɛccɛ̃**
 3-c-give:COMPL PERS-Kakka PERS-Cɛccɛ
 s/he gave Cɛccɛ to Kakka

In sequences of object pronominals there is a person hierarchy (or person scale): first persons come before second and third persons, and second persons come before third persons. Third persons come before nouns referring to humans, whether with or without persona prefix, and these precede nouns with non-human reference. This means that there are no second-object forms of the first person pronouns (1, 12, 1A and 12A), and that expressions with double objects can be ambiguous. Some further examples with **ét̩et** ‘give’ follow here.

k-kw-ét̩-ín **ɲóɲ**
 3-c-give-01 o₂2
 s/he gave you to me ; s/he gave me to you

k-kw-ét̩-ín **ɲɔ̃k**
 3-c-give-01 o₂3
 s/he gave him/her to me ; s/he gave me to him/her

k-kw-ét̩et **tɪt** **ɲɔ̃k**
 3-c-give:COMPL o12 o₂3
 s/he gave him/her to us ; s/he gave us to him/her

k-kw-ét̩ét **tón** **ɲɔ̃k**
 3-c-give:COMPL o12A o₂3
 s/he gave him/her to us ; s/he gave us to him/her

Violation of the person hierarchy leads to ungrammaticality:

***k-kw-ét̩-ɔk** **ɲóɲ**
 3-c-give:COMPL-O3 o₂2
***k-kw-ét̩et** **kɪn** **nón**
 3-c-give:COMPL o3A o2A

The second-object pronouns **ɲóɲ** ‘you (SG)’ and **ɲɔ̃k** ‘him/her’ cannot come after a full noun:

***k-kw-étet** **ɔ-kukkó** **ŋɔk**
 3-C-give:COMPL PERS-Kukku O₂3

In such a case the pronoun (of group III) comes first, and the interpretation is ambiguous:

k-kw-ét-ɔk **ɔ-kukkó**
 3-C-give:COMPL-O3 PERS-Kukku

s/he gave Kukku to him/her ; s/he gave him/her to Kukku

The third person singular object clitic substitutes not only nouns with the persona prefix, but also common nouns denoting people and animals in stories acting as people. An example of the latter was given in 6.3.1.

It is sometimes possible to omit this clitic where it would normally be expected, as in the example below. The final part of a Lumun story is typically narrated in an accelerated fashion. In the sentence below, which is the last sentence of the story of the tortoise and the *ŋattəttape*-bird, omission of the pronominal object is part of this narrative acceleration:

... **a-kw-ɔt-iat** **pól** **p-ɔ-nóppət**
 CONJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPFTV person C-of-Nəppət

a-kw-ɔcukkwar.at **cik**
 CONJ-3-step_on.PLUR:DEPPRFV VREF

mónó **a-pól** **p-ɔ-nóppət** **í.ât**
 until CONJ-person C-of-Nəppət die:DEPPRFV

and he found the person of Nəppət and he stepped (on him) repeatedly until the person of Nəppət died (App. IV, 162-163)

6.5. Pronouns as addressees in commands

6.5.1. Imperatives

Commands to a singular addressee are specialized Imperative forms (see chapter 12.5.2). In Imperatives, the addressee is not expressed pronominally. For example:

ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ.ᵛ

eat:IMP

eat it!

ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ.ᵛ

put_down:IMP

ᵛᵛᵛ

VREF

put it down!

An exception is the irregular Imperative **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** ‘go!’ (< **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** ‘go’). It is likely that the initial **ᵛ** is historically the second person singular pronominal marker.

6.5.2. Commands to a plural addressee

Commands to a plural addressee consist of a pronominal form followed by the verb stem (the Dependent Incompletive TAM). The free 2A pronoun **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** is not used in this context. The 2A addressee has three variants, which can be used interchangeably:

ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ/ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-/ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-

ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ is the free pronoun, but without the persona prefix **ᵛ-**, so that **ᵛ** is retained instead of elided between vowels. Like in vocatives of kinship terms and personal names, the persona prefix is absent from the addressive form of the pronoun. **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-** and **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-** are clitic forms of the addressive pronoun. Examples:

ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ ᵛᵛᵛ

2A

go:DEPINCOMPL

/ **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**

2A-go:DEPINCOMPL

/ **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**

2A-go:DEPINCOMPL

go! (to plural addressee)

ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ / **ḡḡ-ḡḡḡḡḡ** / **n-ḡḡḡḡḡ** **lón pápēnnaḡ**
 2A hear:DEPINCOMPL 2A-hear:DEPINCOMPL 2A-hear:DEPINCOMPL words properly
 listen to my words carefully! (to plural addressee)

6.6. Hortative pronouns

Lumun hortatives are restricted to 12 and 12A persons. Some different forms are distinguished, which can be used interchangeably. The hortative pronominals precede the Dependent Incompletive TAM stem. The bimoraic forms are free pronouns, the others, which are shortened forms of the free ones, clitics. Initially, yet a few other forms were provided, which, however, I did not come across in speech nor in written text. They were later judged as not-acceptable or even non-existent. Since some confusion about these forms nevertheless remained, I provide them with a question mark and between parentheses. The free subject pronouns are given in the last column for comparison.

Table 41 Hortative pronouns and clitics

	<i>hortative pronoun clitic</i>	<i>full hortative pronoun</i>	<i>free subj. pronoun</i>
12	cîr- , tîr- , ntîr-	cîrit , (? tîrit), cáttit , (? ḡáttit)	ḡrit
12A	(? cun-), tôn- , tân- , ntôn- , ntân-	cúrón , córón , (? túrón), (? tórón), cáttón , (? ḡáttón)	ḡrón , ḡrón

Some examples follow here. Any of the other hortative pronominals with the same person reference could be used as well. The verbs are **ḡḡḡḡ** ‘rest’, **ḡḡḡḡ** ‘work’, **ḡḡḡḡ** ‘do, make’ and **ḡḡḡḡ** ‘eat’.

cîrit **ḡḡḡḡ**
 HRT12 rest:DEPINCOMPL
 let us rest

túrón **ḡḡḡḡ**
 HRT12A work:DEPINCOMPL
 let us do some work

cáttít **śrśkś** **ḡóṛó**
 HRT12 eat:DEPINCOMPL asida

let us eat the asida

tír-śréko
 HRT12-work:DEPINCOMPL

let us do some work

tún-śkkśt **ṛ.ṭṣn**
 HRT12A-do:DEPINCOMPL together

let us do it together

In the following sentence, only the first verb ('go') is preceded by a hortative pronoun. The second verb, which can still be understood as part of the hortatory expression, is preceded by a bound subject pronoun.

paṭṭí cáttít éś **ír-ṣṭ-śkwáncət** **áṛəpu w-əṛək**
 person HRT12 go:DEPINCOMPL 12-IT:DEPINCOMPL-search:DEPINCOMPL things c-some

Mister, let us go and find some animals (fr. written story)

6.7. Pronominals in comitative constructions

Comitative constructions have the following structure:

X (...) free pronoun PERS-Y or:
 X (...) bound pronoun-PERS-Y

In these constructions, the free pronouns and the plural person pronominal subject clitics are used. The noun that refers to the added person(s) ('Y') must have the persona prefix ś-. In kinship terms and personal names, the persona prefix is already present, to common nouns it must be added. The whole sentence is constructed as a plural, in the sense that only the plural pronouns can be used as comitatives, and that, for example, in imperatives the plural addressee form is chosen.

In the first example below, though only Ləttṛ is directly addressed, the plural pronominal is used on the command. The 2A pronoun

and he returned and they started to cultivate, he and the jackal ('The story of the jackal')

Compare also:

k-kw-áa.t **ɔ-kín** **ɔ-nenni**
 3-C-come:COMPL PERS-3A PERS-Nenni

s/he has come with Nenni

ɔ-kín **ɬ-aá.t** **ɔ-kín** **ɔ-nenni**
 PERS-3A C-come:COMPL PERS-3A PERS-Nenni

s/he has come with Nenni, *also*: they have come with Nenni

If the preceding pronoun has the conjunctive particle **á**, it is alternatively possible to use the conjunctive particle also on the comitative pronoun:

... a-kín **śrá** **a-kín** **áləpaccôɬ**
 CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL CONJ.PERS-3A PERS.jackal

and they started to cultivate, he and the jackal ('The story of the jackal')

6.8. Constructions with the associative marker **attut**, **áttút**

The free plural pronouns and the bound subject pronouns **ýt-** (I and you), **ín-** (I and others), **ón-** (I and you and others) and **ón-** (you PL) can be followed by the associative marker **attut** (or **áttút**) or its plural **attutəŋón** (**áttútəŋón**). **attut** is probably the realization of underlying **at-C-ut**, with **ɬ-**, agreeing with the preceding plural pronoun, as concord. An underlying structure **a-C-C-ut** is perhaps possible as well, though double concord is not common in the language. Double concord seems to occur in the subject focus marker used in **Təɾəmaɬón** (**a-C-C-**), but there it may rather be a development of **ak-C-** (see chapter 19.1).

attut is further discussed in 10.4.2 (on numerals), since, instead of the plural marker **-əŋón**, it also allows for the suffixation of a numeral.

The plural pronoun immediately preceding **attot** or **attunân** refers to the group as a whole. In order to compose this group, **attot** adds one person to it; **attunân** more than one person. ‘I and you (SG)’ can only be followed by **attot**, not by **attunân**, because, either way (whether the first person or the second person is added) only one person can be added in order to get ‘I and you (SG)’. The other pronouns can be followed by **attot** or **attunân**. The choice depends on how the composition of the group is conceptualized, as the examples will show.

attot and **attunân** (or their high-toned variants) are used in one of the following constructions:

sg. pronoun + verb + pl. pronoun (clitic)- **attot/attunân**
 pl. pronoun + verb + pl. pronoun (clitic)- **attot/attunân**

These constructions can have a comitative interpretation, but not necessarily so. They are used when the same action was performed or undergone at (around) the same time by somebody in relation to other(s), but not necessarily together with the other(s). Still there is a kind of ‘group-conceptualization’ about these constructions:

ɔ-rit t-aa.t ir-át-t-út
 PERS-12 C-come:COMPL 12-ASS-C-ASS

I came with you (SG), also: we came at the same time (i.e. one person (**áttút**) was added so that the group finally consisted of me and you (SG). The opening of the clause with ‘I and you (SG)’ (which is also the final make-up of the group) induces the interpretation that ‘I’ was added, thus: I came with you (SG).

‘I came with you (SG)’ is commonly expressed as above, though the following is in principle possible as well:

m-p-aat ir-át-t-út
 1-C-come:COMPL 12-ASS-C-ASS

‘I came with you (SG), I came at the same time as you did

Some further examples:

k-kw-áa.t ìn-át-t-út
 3-C-come:COMPL 1A-ASS-C-ASS

s/he came with me/us, he came at the same time as I/we did (i.e. one person (**átút**) was added so that the group finally consisted of me and other(s). The opening of the clause with the third person singular excludes that **átút** refers to the first person singular, thus the clause cannot be interpreted as ‘I came with him/her/them’.)

ìn-t-aa.t ìn-át-t-út
 1A-C-come:COMPL 1A-ASS-C-ASS

I came with him/her/them, we came at the same time (i.e. one person (**átút**) was added so that the group finally consisted of me and other(s). The opening of the clause with ‘I and others’ (which is also the final make-up of the group) gives the interpretation that ‘I’ was added, thus: I came with him/her/them)

ɔ-kín t-aa.t ìn-át-t-úŋ-ŋŋn
 PERS-3A C-come:COMPL 1A-ASS-C-ASS-PL

they came with me/us, they came at the same time as I/we did (i.e. two or more persons (**átúŋŋn**) were added so that the group finally consisted of me and other(s). The opening of the clause with the third person plural excludes that **átúŋŋn** refers to the first person plural, thus the clause cannot be interpreted as ‘we came with him/her/them’.)

ìn-t-aa.t ìn-át-t-úŋ-ŋŋn
 1A-C-come:COMPL 1A-ASS-C-ASS-PL

I/we came with them (i.e. two or more persons (**átúŋŋn**) were added so that the group finally consisted of me and other(s). The opening of the clause with ‘I and others’ (which is also the final make-up of the group) gives the interpretation that ‘I’ was added, thus: I came with him/her/them)

A textual example follows here. In the first, the participants of the event, ‘they’, are conceptualized as ‘she added to **ɔpattŋn** (‘the people’)’. The context of the sentence is that a girl has become pregnant without having undergone the rite of passage of being beaten while running together with the girls of her age group. This will cause mockery by her age mates.

ana **ɔ-patt-ón** **í-t-á** **k-kw-óká.t** **p-ónó** **ittı**
 and PERS-person-PL RES-C-COP 3-C-be:COMPL C-have that
k-kw-ápəṛəṭta **ɔ-kín** **át-t-út** **t-á.ccıró-k** **η.ηın**
 3-C-be_beaten_while_running:INCOMPL PERS-3A ASS-C-ASS C-laugh:INCOMPL-O3 with:ABS
 and the people together with whom she should have been beaten while
 running will laugh at her because of it (because she is pregnant without
 having undergone the proper rite of passage) (fr. written description)

In the next, **ɔrón** ‘we (INCL)’ is conceptualized as ‘I added to you (PL)’.
ɔrón tarótuk ɔrón áttút ‘we were still we with one (I) added’ would
 be possible here as well.

el-l-ı **ı-l-a** **m-p-eré.t** **appık**
 DEM-C-NEARSP RES-C-COP 1-C-speak:COMPL all
akka **m-p-arótuk** **ɔ-rón** **át-t-út**
 that 1-C-still PERS-12A ASS-C-ASS
 all this I have said when I was still with you (PL) (John 14:25)

An example with **attıη ηın** follows here. The husbands of the
 addressees are added to the speaker (‘I’), together forming **ın-** ‘I and
 others’. The addressees (the wives) are not involved in the event of
 doing something:

ámmá **ó-llé** **p-aη-ón** **t-aá.t** **ana**
 if PERS-husband C-POSS2-PL C-come:COMPL and
n-t-íná **ákka** **ın-ɔkkɔt** **ın-át-t-ú-ηın**
 2A-C-know:INCOMPL that 1A-do:DEPINCOMPL 1A-ASS-C-ASS-PL
 when your(PL) husbands come you will know what I will do with them

6.9. Reflexivity: ‘oneself’

Lumun does not have a reflexive pronoun. Reflexivity is expressed by
ka ‘body’ + possessive pronoun. Some examples follow here:

m-p-əηɔt.é **ittı** **m-p-ımmat** **ká** **k-ın** **ı-mıráı**
 1-C-like:COMPL that 1-C-see_at:INCOMPL body C-POSS1 in-mirror
 I want to see myself in the mirror

lɔn ɪ-l-a pól p-ɔlləkké.n̄t̄ét ká k-óŋ
 words RES-C-COP person C-put_down_for:COMPL body C-POSS3
 things which the man promised himself

pól p-ɔrək.áɛ ana p-p-átt̄-ɪ.at ká k-óŋ
 person C-get_up:DEPPRFV and PRO-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPPRFV body C-POSS3
cí-nɔ-kút̄út k-ɔ-rúé
 LOC-on-lip C-of-river
 the man woke up and found himself at the side of the river