A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan
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7. Connexive and possessor pronouns

In this chapter I present the connexive and the possessor pronouns. The core function of the connexive is to establish a possessee-possessor relationship between two nouns. I gloss it as 'of'.

7.1.   The connexive

The connexive proclitic (C-**ɔ**-) consists of the vowel **ɔ** preceded by a concord. The concord agrees with a preceding (pro)noun (X) that is modified by the connexive construction. The connexive proclitic is attached to a noun (Y) or a prepositional proclitic (PPC) and noun:

X C$_x$-**ɔ**-(PPC-)Y

Y cannot be a pronoun in this construction. For pronominal possessors there is a different set of forms.

7.1.1.   Tone and morpho-phonology

Low tone

The connexive proclitic has a low tone. If preceded by a high or rising tone, it is realized with a high tone, following the rules of Tone Shift and Contour Simplification (see 3.3.1 and 3.3.2):

tʊk t̪ɔ́-pʊl (< tʊk t̪ɔ̂-pʊl < **t̪ʊ̆k t̪ɔ- pʊl**) 'the dog of the person'

When cliticized to a noun that starts with a vowel or with the velar nasal (which is then deleted between vowels), the two adjacent vowels:

- assimilate and shorten: **ɔ** + **ɛ** > **ɛ**; **ɔ** + **a** > **a**
- shorten: **ɔ** + **ɔ** > **ɔ**
- form a diphthong: **ɔ** + **i̠** > **ɔi̠**; **ɔ** + **u** > **ɔu**; **ɔ** + **ɪ** > **ɔɪ**; **ɔ** + **ʊ** > **ɔʊ**; **ɔ** + **ə** > **ɔə**

In case of assimilation of two vowels or two adjacent **ɔ**'s, the resulting vowel is generally realized short, but also allows for a realization with a little length (as is the general rule, stated in chapter 2.2.8). Thus, in the next example, the fusion of the Connexive and the initial vowel (the persona prefix) of *ɔkakkâ* (Kakka) is generally realized short, but can also have a little length:

pəlla   p-ɔ-kakkâ   (< **pəlla** + **pɔ-** + **ɔkakkâ**)
cat   C-of.PERS-Kakka

the cat of Kakka

However, if a high tone is involved, the resulting vowel is realized short and with a high tone, unless in slow or carefully articulated speech. In case of underlying high + low tones, which, on a shortened vowel would be a falling tone on a non-final single mora, this complies with the Contour Simplification Rule. Likewise, in case of underlying low + high tones, which on a shortened vowel would be a rising tone on a non-final single mora, simplification to a high tone is expected, since, as stated in the chapter on Tone, rising tones occur only on word-final (prepausal) morae. Cf.:

ṭʊk   ṭ-ɔ́-kʊkkɔ̂
dog   C-of.PERS-Kʊkkʊ

the dog of Kʊkkʊ
(< ṭʊk ṭɔ̂kʊkkɔ̂ < ṭʊk ṭɔ̂ ɔkʊkkɔ̂ < **ṭŭk ṭɔ- ɔkʊkkɔ̂**)

ʊkʊl   w-ɔ́ṭṭa
child   C-of.who

whose child (is s/he)? (lit.: the child of whom?)
(< ʊkʊl wɔ̌ṭṭa < ʊkʊl wɔɔ́ṭṭa < **ʊkʊl wɔ- ɔ́ṭṭa**)

Changed shape of certain nouns after the connexive

Certain nouns occur (or can occur) in a changed phonological shape when preceded by the connexive, e.g., C-**ɔ** + **ʊkʊl** > C-**ɔkkʊl**:

ɔ-ṭṭán   p-ɔ-kkʊl
PERS-father   C-of-child

the father of the child

In these nouns, the non-geminated consonant following the first vowel becomes geminated, while the first vowel and the initial consonant of the noun (if present) are deleted. The tone pattern of the resulting word can be different from what is expected on the basis of the composing parts. A list of these nouns, which can also occur in changed form after the prepositional proclitics ɪ-, **nɔ**-, **tɔ**- an ṭɔ-, is provided in chapter 4.4.

7.1.2. Semantics

The connexive expresses a possessor-possessee relationship between two nouns. The first element (X in the formula X C-ɔ-Y) is the possessee, the proclitic connexive is attached to the possessor (Y):

campal   c-ɔ́-pʊ́l   í-p-ɔ́parí
stick(k.o.)   C-of-person   RES-C-female

the *campal*-stick of the woman

kəṛḭttaŋ   k-ɔ́-kʊkkɔ̂
knife   C-of.PERS-Kʊkkʊ

the knife of Kʊkkʊ

The connexive construction can also express other than possessor relationships between nouns. Some examples follow here.

part of whole:

tacɔk   t-ɔ́-pərrɔk
legs   C-of-chair

legs of a chair

made of, consisting of:

cəṭə́na   c-ɔ-ṭərɔ́ma
tassel   C-of-ram

tassel of ram's hair (lit.: tassel of ram)

for the purpose of:

kɪrɛk   k-ɔ́-ṭ-ɔra   ɪ-ttə́k   nɔ-ṭampâŋ
hoe   C-of-NOM-cultivate   in-farming_field   on-flat_open_space

hoe for cultivating in a field on the plains (the ground there is less stony
than on the slope of the mountain and requires a different type of hoe)

laɪ   l-ɔ́-kéccôk
tamarind   C-of-market

tamarind for the market (i.e. for selling at the market)

occupations:

pʊl   p-ɔ-ṭɔɽák
person   C-of-war

warrior, soldier

pʊl   p-ɔ-kəmɛl
person   C-of-hunting_party

hunter

ownership, association:

ʊl   w-ɔ-lịcɔ́k
people   C-of-goats

the owners of the goats

place where somebody lives:

pʊl   p-ɔ-karəṭṭôm
person   C-of-Khartoum

person from Khartoum

'child of' in personal names:

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ   l-ɔ́-maṭarɪ
PERS-Lɔttɪ   C-of.PERS-Maṭarɪ

Lɔttɪ (son) of Maṭarɪ

In these cases the concord **p**- (the general concord of singular nouns with the persona prefix) is not used. Instead, the name without persona prefix is interpreted as containing a noun class prefix, and agreement is with this noun class prefix (**l**- in the example above).

Foreign names with an initial sound that is not part of the Lumun inventory of sounds occurring word-initially are not reanalysed as containing a noun class prefix. In such cases the concord **ŋ**- is used:

ɔ-rúmɪa ŋ-aṭərɪ́ṭ   '<u>R</u>umia (daughter) of Aṭərɪ́ṭ'
ɔ-ɪ́únɪc ŋ-alɛmîn   '<u>Y</u>ounis (son) of Alemin'
ɛrəmía⁵² ŋɔ-úmar   '<u>J</u>eremiah (son) of Umar'

ŋ- possibly comes from agreement with the noun class prefix **ŋ**- of a historical noun *ŋʊkʊl* 'child' (today **ʊkʊl** 'child'). A historical noun *ŋʊkʊl* is conceivable, since it would give a regular singular-plural pair (*ŋʊkʊl/ɲʊkʊl*). Moreover, words for the young of animals also typically come in this class pair (see chapter 4.3.5).

agent of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ṭ-ɔŋwɔ   ṭ-ɔ́-píɲɲít
NOM-sing   C-of-singer

the singing of the singer

undergoer of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ṭ-ɪɔ   ṭ-áɽəpʊ   w-əɽɛk (< **ṭ-ɔ́ + aɽəpʊ**)
NOM-die   C-of.things   C-some

the dying of some animals

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⁵² The persona prefix **ɔ́**- is regularly elided before **ɛ**, see chapter 4.10.1.

patient of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ṭ-ɔkkwɔt ṭ-áʈəpʊ w-əʈɛk (< **ṭ-ɔ́ + aʈəpʊ**)
NOM-kill · · · C-of.things · C-some

the killing of some animals

Leaving out the connexive in the example above (with a patient of the action) above gives a result that is still grammatical (see also chapter 4.6.1).

Readings of connexive constructions of the type X C$_x$-**ɔ**-PREP-Y follow here:

place where somebody lives:

ʊl w-ɔ-nɔ-ṭṭɔk p-árrô
people · C-of-on-stone · C-of.Lumun_people

the people of Lumun country (lit.: people of on stone of Lumun people)
(**ʊl + w-ɔ- + nɔ- + pəṭɔk + p-ɔ- + arrô**)

occupation:

pʊl p-ɔ-rɪ-ŋkwêl (< **pʊl + pɔ- + ɪ- + kəmɛl**)
person · C-of-in-hunting_party

person who joins in a hunting party (lit. person of in the hunting party)

ʊl w-ɔ-rɪ̧-i̧môn
people · C-of-in-porcupines

people hunting porcupines (lit.: people of in porcupines)

for use in a certain environment:

kuppəʈuŋ k-ɔ-nɔ-əʈĭ
bed_plank · C-of-on-water

boat

7.1.3. Attributive and predicative use

Connexive constructions often function attributively but can also be used as predicates. The first example below illustrates attributive use, the second predicative use:

kərɛt   k-ɔ́-kkʊl   k-ɪɛ́
cloth   c-of-child   c-new

the shirt of the child is new

k-kw-ɔ́ká.t   p-ɔ-mɔkənta   m-în
3-c-be:COMPL   c-of-supporting_girls   c-POSS1

she was (one) of my supporting girls
(i.e. girls that support a man during certain initiation rites: they fetch water, prepare food for guests, accompany the man on his visits, sing and dance)

In a predicative construction, a subject clitic can be attached to the connexive:

ɔ-ɔ́k p-ɔ-mɔkənta   m-în   /   k-kw-ɔ́-mɔkənta   m-în
PERS-3 c-of-supporting_girls   c-POSS1   3-c-of-supporting_girls   c-POSS1

she is (one) of my supporting girls

ɔ-ɔ́k   p-ɔ-karəṭṭ ̂ɔm   /   k-kw-ɔ́-karəṭṭ ̂ɔm
PERS-3   c-of-Khartoum   3-c-of-Khartoum

s/he is from Khartoum

7.1.4. Independent use of a connexive construction

A connexive + noun can be used independently. In the first example, the concord **ŋ-** in **ŋ-ɔ́-ṭʊʊlɪ** agrees with **ŋəṭɪ̌** 'water'; in the second example, the concord **k-** in **k-ɔ́-cɛccɛ́** agrees with **kálam** 'pen'.

a-əʈɪ[53]	**ŋ-ʊŋ**	**ŋ-ɔká.t**	**ŋ-ɛʈɪâ.t**	**ana**
CONJ-water	C-POSS3	C-be:COMPL	C-become_cool:COMPL	and

ŋ-ɔ́-ʈʊʊlɪ	**ŋ-ɔká.t**	**ŋ-árə́ʈʊk**	**ŋ-áŋkɔ**	**ɪppa**
C-of-hyena	C-be:COMPL	C-still	C-be_hot:INCOMPL	hotly

and his water (i.e. of the cat) had become cold, but hyena's (water) was still very hot (fr. written story)

kálam	**k-aŋ**	**k-a.ɪk**	**p-əllɛ́k**
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone

ana	**k-ɔ́-cɛccɛ́**	**k-á.ík**	**p-ɔ́llêk**
and	C-of.PERS-Cɛccɛ	C-be:PR	C-alone

your pen is different from Cɛccɛ's (pen) (lit.: your pen is alone and Cɛccɛ's (pen) is alone)

The following phrase allows for two interpretations. It can refer to the marriage of Kʊkkʊ and the marriage of Kakka (two different marriages), but also to their marriage to each other, because in case of coordinated "possessors" the connexive is used on both:

ʈɪpa	**ʈ-ɔ-kʊkkʊ́**	**ana**	**ʈ-ɔ́-kakkâ**
marriage	C-of-Kʊkkʊ	and	C-of-Kakka

the marriage of Kʊkkʊ and the one of Kakka (the marriage of Kʊkkʊ and Kakka)

7.2.   The absolute connexive

There is also an absolute form of the connexive: C-**ɛn**. The absolute connexive is homonymous with the demonstrative with anaphoric reference C-**ɛn** 'that'. It seems likely that both contain the pronominal base **ɛn** (for **ɛn** and C-**ɛn** 'that', see chapter 8). Possibly, the absolute connexive C-**ɛn** historically derives from the Connexive C-**ɔ** + **ɛn** 'of that'**.**

The absolute connexive is used in relativized possessor phrases:

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[53] < **á-** + **ŋəʈǐ**

ṭakəɽʋk	ɪ-ṭ-a	m-p-ɔɽəkɔ.t	ṭúŋkɛ	ṭ-ɛn
chicken	RES-C-COP	1-C-eat:COMPL	liver	C-of:ABS

the chicken of which I ate the liver

It is also used for pronominal reference to non-humans in possessor role, irrespective of whether they are singular or plural. In such cases it translates as 'its' (or 'their'):

ŋ-kw-íɔt	kəmən	na	ɲúkúl	í-ɲ-ârran	ɔkʋrrɔ
2-C-find:INCOMPL	rooms	where:REL	children	RES-C-young	engrave:DEPINCOMPL

kəṭət	k-ɛ́n	k-á.ɲɔt	ɔpákkɔt
door	C-of:ABS	C-open:INCOMPL	return:DEPINCOMPL

na	cíŋkị̈	ʋmmɔt	ŋ.ŋɪn
where:REL	sun	come_up:DEPINCOMPL	with:ABS

you will find a house where little children are writing (a school). Its door opens to where the sun comes up (the east)

ana	tʋɛ	t-á.kkʋnakɔ	ana
and	river	C-smell:INCOMPL	and

mʋccɪrɪn	mənna	m-akə́nn-íkkɔ	ŋəɽɪ	ŋ-ên
Egyptians	even	C-NEG-drink:DEPINCOMPL	water	C-of:ABS

and the river will stink and even the Egyptians will not drink its water (Exodus 7:18)

ɔɽək.ʋ	appɛnṭína	n-áɽɔl	w-ên
eat:IMP	groundnuts	with-shells	C-of:ABS

eat the groundnuts with their shells!

7.3. Possessor pronouns

There are eight possessor pronouns corresponding to the eight personal pronouns. The possessor pronouns start with a concord that agrees with the noun that they modify. In the list below, the full subject personal pronouns are given between parentheses for comparison. How the 1 and 2 possessor pronouns should tonally be (best) represented is not clear.

1	C-**ĭn**, C-**ɪn**, C-**ín**	'my'	(ɔʊ́n)
12	C-**ɔrɪt** +H	'our (of you (SG) and me)'	(ɔrĭt)
2	C-**ăŋ**, C-**aŋ**, C-**áŋ**	'your (SG)'	(ɔʊ́ŋ)
3	C-**úŋ**	'his/her'	(ɔ̂k)
1A	C-**ín̩**	'our (EXCL)'	(ɔnín̩)
12A	C-**ɔnnɔ́n**	'our (INCL)'	(ɔrún/ɔrɔ́n)
2A	C-**ɔ́n**	'your (PL)'	(ɔnɔ́n)
3A	C-**έn**	'their'	(ɔkîn)

There is little indication that the connexive is a formative of the personal pronouns.

7.3.1. Tone

The possessor pronouns are largely tonally regular, but the tonal behaviour of 'my' and 'your (SG)', as well as of 'our (of you (SG) and me)' is not fully compatible with any of the tones. In prepausal position modifying an all-low noun or a noun with a final falling tone, 'my' and 'your (SG)' can be realized with a rising tone or with a low tone, apparently in free variation, which is compatible with a rising tone. For example: **pəlla pǐn** 'my cat' and **pəlla pɪn** 'my cat' (**pəlla** 'cat' is all-low). After a high or rising tone, 'my' and 'your (SG)' are realized with a falling tone, which could point at a low tone, for example: **ṭʊk ṭîn** 'my dog' (**ṭʊ̌k** 'dog' has a rising tone). There are, furthermore, instances of 'my' and 'your (SG)' that have a high tone in prepausal position, which is not compatible with a low tone, nor with a rising tone, only with a high tone. An example is provided in 7.3.3. The possessor pronoun functions predicatively there. Throughout the book some other examples can be found of prepausal predicative 1 and 2SG possessor pronouns with a high tone, however, cases with low tone are attested as well.

The 12 possessor pronoun is realized with a (final) low tone in prepausal position. In context, however, it receives a high tone from a preceding item on its first mora and brings a high tone to the next item, which points to an underlying L pattern with floating high tone:

ṭʊk	ṭ-ɔ́rɪt	ána	pə́llá	p-ʊ́ŋ
dog	C-POSS12	and	cat	C-POSS3

our dog (of you and me) and his/her cat

Examples of the possessor pronouns preceded by possessee nouns with various tones follow here.

Possessor pronouns preceded by low and falling tones: **ŋərɛ** 'work' and **kʊṭôt** 'lip, side'

1	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ǐn/ŋ-ɪn**	'my work'	**kʊṭót k-ǐn/k-ɪn**	'my lip'
12	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ɔrɪt**	'our work'	**kʊṭót k-ɔrɪt**	'our lip'
2	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ăŋ/p-aŋ**	'your work'	**kʊṭót k-ăŋ/k-aŋ**	'your lip'
3	**ŋərɛ ŋʊ́ŋ**	'his/her work'	**kʊṭót k-ʊ́ŋ**	'his/her lip'
1A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ín**	'our work'	**kʊṭót k-ín**	'our lip'
12A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ɔnnɔ́n**	'our work'	**kʊṭót k-ɔnnɔ́n**	'our lip'
2A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ɔ́n**	'your work'	**kʊṭót k-ɔ́n**	'your lip'
3A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-έn**	'their work'	**kʊṭót k-έn**	'their lip'

Possessor pronouns preceded by high and rising tones: **ṭɔɽək** 'rope' and **ŋəɽǐ** 'water':

1	**ṭɔɽək ṭ-în**	'my rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-în**	'my water'
12	**ṭɔɽək ṭ-ɔ́rɪt**	'our rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-ɔ́rɪt**	'our water'
2	**ṭɔɽək ṭ-âŋ**	'your rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-âŋ**	'your water'
3	**ṭɔɽək ṭʊ́ŋ**	'his/her rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-ʊ́ŋ**	'his/her water'
1A	**ṭɔɽək ṭ-ín**	'our rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-ín**	'our water'
12A	**ṭɔɽək ṭ-ônnɔ́n**	'our rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-ônnɔ́n**	'our water'
2A	**ṭɔɽək ṭ-ɔ́n**	'your rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-ɔ́n**	'your water'
3A	**ṭɔɽək ṭ-έn**	'their rope'	**ŋəɽɪ ŋ-έn**	'their water'

Recall that for non-human possessors the absolute connexive C-**ɛn** is used (see 7.2.), which contrasts tonally with the 3A possessor C-**έn**.

ŋərɛ ŋ-ɛn	'its work'
kʊṭót k-ɛn	'its side'
ṭɔɽək ṭ-ên	'its rope'
ŋəɽɪ ŋ-ên	'its water'

7.3.2. Morpho-phonology

Phonological effects at the boundary of noun and possessor are regular. This means that in the examples above with **ŋərɛ** the concord **ŋ** of the possessor is deleted, and in the examples with **ṭɔɽə́k** final **k** fully assimilates to the concord **ṭ** of the possessor. Incidentally, however, the process of assimilation deviates from what is expected. This is the case with the items **páŋ** 'item of the same kind' and **ɔpáŋ** 'sibling'. Compare the first (irregular) example with **ɔpáŋ** 'sibling' with the second (regular) example with **parantáŋ** 'gourd'. After **ɔpáŋ** (and **páŋ**) the concord **p** changes to **k**:

ɔpaŋkîn   'my sibling'
parantaŋ pîn   'my gourd'   [parandam bîn]

7.3.3. Possessor pronouns as predicates

Like the connexive construction, possessor pronouns can function as predicates. In the example below, the predicative 1SG possessor pronoun in prepausal position is represented with a high tone. It is, however, also possible to realize it with a low tone (without tonal changes in the sentence otherwise).

ṭʊk   én-ṭ-í   ṭ-á.ká   ṭ-ín
dog   DEM-C-NEARSP   C-be:INCOMPL   C-POSS1

this dog will be mine

Compare also the following two examples. The last element functions as the predicate:

pəṭɔk   p-ɪn   ém-p-í
stone   C-POSS1   DEM-C-NEARSP

my country is this one (for example while pointing at a country on a map)

pəṭɔk   ɛm-p-ɪ   p-ín
stone   DEM-C-NEARSP   C-POSS1

this country is mine

7.3.4. Reference

The personal possessor pronouns refer to humans: speech participants and third persons. With respect to third persons there is no difference between reference to nouns with the persona prefix and common nouns referring to humans. In the following example, **kɛ́n** 'their' refers to two human beings denoted by common nouns: **ʊkul** 'child' and **parɪ pɔ́kkʊl** 'the wife of the child'. The sentences come from a description of main events in the life of a boy/man.

ɔ-ṭṭán	**p-ɔ-kkʊl**	**ana**	**ʊ́kʊ́l**
PERS-father	C-of-child	and	child

ṭ-ʊ́nɪnɛ	**parɪ**	**p-ɔ́-kkʊl**	**kəmən**	**k-ɛ́n**
C-build_for:INCOMPL	wife	C-of-child	rooms	C-POSS3A

the father of the boy and the boy will build for the boy's (future) wife their (the boy and his wife's) house (fr. written description)

Animal characters in stories are referred to by personal possessor pronouns. An example from a story called **ṭʊʊlɪ ana pɔ́lla** 'the hyena and the cat':

… a-ṭʊ́ʊlɪ	**ɔccíkat**	**lɔ́n**	**l-ʊ́ŋ**
CONJ-hyena	hear:DEPPRFV	words	C-POSS3

and the hyena listened to his (the cat's) words (fr. written story)

7.3.5. Semantics

The personal possessor pronouns typically express possession, including of body parts. Kinship and relational terms are also typically used in combination with a possessor pronoun. For an overview of these terms, see chapter 4, and also Smits (2012). It is recalled here that the terms for father and mother (as well as for maternal uncle) have different forms for (kinship) relations with a first person, a second person and a third person. The terms indicating a kinship relation with a third person, for example **ɔṭṭân** '(his, her) father', can be modified by a connexive construction which states the related person:

ɔ-ṭṭán   **p-ɔ-nɛnnî**
PERS-father   C-of-Nɛnnɪ

the father of Nɛnnɪ

It is possible to add a plural possessor pronoun to a kinship term that
is inherently possessed:

ɔ-ŋappá   **p-ɔnnɔ́n**
PERS-my_father   C-POSS12A

our(INCL) father (i.e. father of me and other people who are not my siblings
(typically said about God))

Occasionally the personal possessor pronouns also express other
semantic relations, as in the following example:

ámmá   **ŋ́-kw-ɔ́nú**   **nə́ɾé**   **n-ʊ́ŋ**
if   2-C-have   fear   C-POSS3

á-ɛɔ̃   **ɪ-cʊɾé**   **c-ɔ́-pírá**   **ém-p-ə́ɾê**
SUBJ-(2-)go:DEPINCOMPL   in-buttock   C-of-tree   DEM-C-DIST

If you are afraid of him (lit. if you have his fear), you go under that tree
over there ('The story of the jackal')

The non-human possessor pronoun often expresses a part-whole
relationship, as in the examples above ('the door of the house', 'the
water of the river').

7.3.6. Unexpressed possessors

Possessors of body parts can be unexpressed when they can be easily
understood from the context:

m-p-a.ɪk   **p-íllakkɔ**   **tacɔ́k**
1-C-be:PR   C-wash:INCOMPL   feet

I am washing my feet

ɔṭɪɛ   **ʊkʊ́n**
make_pull:IMP   hand

stretch out your hand!

A person's stick is typically an item which is not shared with other people. Therefore there is no problem in identifying its possessor in the next example:

ant-ɔkwárɪkɔt   **na**   **ŋ-kw-ɔnəkkéṭ.ɛ́ kúrrɔ̂ŋ**
can:DEPINCOMPL-remember:DEPINCOMPL   where:REL   2-C-put_down:COMPL   stick

please try to remember where you have put your stick

It is possible, though not very common, to explicitly mention the possessor of a body part, even though the possessor is perfectly clear:

lɔn   **ɛl-l-ɪ**   **a-kəllán**   **k-ɔká.t**   **á-k-ɛ́rɛt**
words   DEM-C-NEARSP   CONJ-old_woman   C-be:COMPL   CONJ-PRO-speak_at:DEPINCOMPL

nɔ-cị̇kị̇t   **c-ʋ́ŋ**
on-heart   C-POSS3

these words, the old woman was saying them in her heart (fr. written story)

A construction with **ka** 'body' and a co-referent possessor pronoun is automatically interpreted as a reflexive (see 6.9); when the possessor pronoun is absent, **ka** more specifically refers to the body. The body in the second example below is the own body. Compare:

a-kw-ɔ́ṭʋp.at   **ká**   **k-ʋ́ŋ**   **Í-láí**   **í-l-ɔ́rrákɔ.t**
CONJ-3-smear:DEPPRFV   body   C-POSS3   with-tamarind   RES-C-be_pushed:COMPL

and s/he painted himself/herself with pounded tamarind

a-kw-ɔ́ṭʋp.at   **ká**   **l-laɪ**   **ɪ-l-ɔ́rrákɔ.t**
CONJ-3-smear:DEPPRFV   body   with-tamarind   RES-C-be_pushed:COMPL

and s/he$_i$ painted his/her$_i$ body with pounded tamarind

When the person who does the painting and the owner of the body are not co-referential, the owner is expressed as object of the verb, followed by **ka** 'body'. In this construction, there is no possessor pronoun.[54]

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[54] Constructions of this type, which can be called "possessor raising" are described in chapter 14.

a-kw-ɔ́ʈʊp.aʈ-ɔ́k   ka   l-laɪ   ɪ-l-ərrákɔ.t
CONJ-3-smear:DEPPRFV-O3   body   with-tamarind   RES-C-be_pushed:COMPL

and s/he*ᵢ* painted his/her*ⱼ* body with pounded tamarind

7.3.7. Independent possessor pronouns

The possessor pronouns have independent forms. These forms consist of a pronominal base **a**, realized with a high tone, a concord expressing agreement with the pronominalized possessed noun, and the possessor:

á-C-POSS

The forms below refer, for example, to **kálam** 'pen':

á-k-ɪn   **á-k-ɪn k-ɔpərɔ̂t** 'mine is good'
á-k-aŋ   **á-k-aŋ k-ɔpərɔ̂t** 'yours (SG) is good'
á-k-úŋ   **á-k-úŋ k-ɔ́pə́rɔ̂t** 'his/hers is good'
á-k-ɔrɪt   **á-k-ɔrɪt k-ɔpərɔ̂t** 'ours (of you SG and me) is good'
á-k-ɪ́n   **á-k-ɪ́n k-ɔ́pə́rɔ̂t** 'ours (EXCL) is good'
á-k-ɔnnɔ́n   **á-k-ɔnnɔn k-ɔpərɔ̂t** 'ours (INCL) is good'
á-k-ɔ́n   **á-k-ɔ́n k-ɔ́pə́rɔ̂t** 'yours (PL) is good'
á-k-ɛ́n   **á-k-ɛ́n k-ɔ́pə́rɔ̂t** 'theirs is good'

In the first example below, the concord of the independent possessor pronoun agrees with **kálam** 'pen'. In the next two, the concord **ɲ** agrees with (earlier mentioned) **ɲʊkʊl** 'children'.

kálam   k-aŋ   k-a.ɪk   p-əllɛ́k
pen   C-POSS2   C-be:PR   C-alone

ana   á-k-ɪn   k-a.ɪk   p-əllɛ̂k
and   PROB-C-POSS1   C-be:PR   C-alone

your pen is different from mine (lit.: your pen is alone and mine is alone)

ana   á-ɲ-aŋ   ɲ-a.ík   kərɛn
and   PROB-C-POSS2   C-be:PR   where

and where are yours?!

á-ɲ-ɪn   **ɲ-ɛllâ**
PROB-C-POSS1   C-be_absent:INCOMPL

mine are lacking (i.e. I do not have children)

A last example has **á-ʊ́ŋ** (< **á-w-ʊ́ŋ**), which agrees with the earlier mentioned **apɛ̂** 'fish (PL)' (tonally realized here as **ápɛ**[55]).

ɔ́k.kw.í **í-p-á.nɔ́kɔ** **lɔɾək** **l-ín** **ɔ-ɔ́k** **p-á.ŋwɔ́**   **ápɛ**
the_one RES-C-take:INCOMPL ropes C-POSS1 PERS-3 C-kill.PLUR:INCOMPL fish(PL)

ana **k-kw-á.nán-ɪn** **cɪt.tɔ́.kį́t**
and 3-C-bring_for:INCOMPL-O1 firstly

áná **ánt-ʊ́mmɪn-ɔ́k**   **á-ʊ́ŋ**
and can:DEPINCOMPL-take_for:DEPINCOMPL-O3 PROBS-(C-)POSS3

who takes my ropes will catch fish, and he must bring them to me first (lit. up at eyes) and then he can take his (i.e. the fish that remain after the owner of the rope has been given his share of the fish) (fr. written story)

Independent possessor pronouns can be preceded by a prepositional proclitic. The independent demonstrative in the example below refers to a **kaɾʊk** 'goatskin bag'.

maɪt **m-a.ɪk** **ɪ-á-k-ɪn-ɪ**
beans C-be:PR   in-PROB-C-POSS1-Q

are the beans in mine?

However, C-POSS allows for independent use as well:

ant-ɔkɛ́ṭa   **tacɔk** **t-ín** **ana** **t-ăŋ**
can:DEPINCOMPL-look:INCOMPL legs C-POSS1 and C-POSS2

please look at my feet and yours (fr. written dialogue)

7.3.8. 'My home', 'our home', etc.: irregular forms

'My home', 'your home', etc. are expressed through fixed collocations of the locative noun **tʊ̆ăn** '(at, to) home' followed by a word that

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[55] The realization **ápɛ** (its own tones are **apɛ̂**) deviates from the tone rules. I have no explanation for this.

contains the prepositional proclitic **ʈɔ-** '(down) at' and a pronominal possessor, as well as a formative **an**. **an** is most likely a remnant of a noun, perhaps of **kaʈən** 'place'. Specific forms collocating with **tʊăn** are attested for all personal possessors pronoun, except C-**ɔrɪt**: 'our home' (i.e. of you and me) is just **tʊan t-ɔ́rɪt**.

The list with the other possessors follows here, together with alternative expressions using the noun **kaʈən** 'place'. The forms with **kaʈən** 'place' are not commonly used.

tʊan ʈ-an-ĭn	'my home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaʈə́n kɪn	'the home at my place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ăŋ	'your home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaʈə́n kaŋ	'the home at your place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ʊ́ŋ	'his/her home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaʈə́n kʊ́ŋ	'the home at his/her place'
tʊan ʈ-ɛn-ị́n	'our (1A) home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaʈə́n kị́n	'the home at our (1A) place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ɔ̂nnɔ́n	'our (12A) home'
tʊan ʈɔ kaʈə́n k-ɔnnɔ́n	'the home at our (12A) place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ɔ́n	'your (PL) home'
tʊan ʈɔ kaʈə́n k-ɔ́n	'the home at your place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ɛ́n	'their home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaʈə́n k-ɛ́n	'the home at their place'

7.3.9. Position in the noun phrase

Attributive possessor pronouns generally precede other modifiers:

pə̰ʈɔk **p-ɪn**   **p-ɔ́-maʈɔ̂t**
stone   C-POSS1   C-of-long_ago

my country of long ago

papʊ	**p-ɪn**	**ém-p-í**	**í-p-á**	**n-ɔ̂kʊrrɔ**	**n.tít**
thing	C-POSS1	DEM-C-NEARSP	RES-C-COP	1-engrave:DEPINCOMPL	from:ABS

tʊan	**ṭ.an-ĭn**
home	at_place-POSS1

this thing of mine from which I write in my house (refers to the laptop of the speaker, 'writing from' refers in this context to the sending of messages, for example through e-mail)

C-**ulluk** 'only' is a modifier that can follow but also precede the possessor pronoun:

ɔ-parɪ	**p-ín**	**p-ulluk**	**á-p-p-ɪna**	**lɔ́n**	**él-l-í**
PERS-wife	C-POSS1	C-only	FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL	words	DEM-C-NEARSP

only my wife knows these things

ɔ-parɪ	**p-ulluk**	**p-ín**	**a-p-p-ɪna**	**lɔ́n**	**él-l-í**
PERS-wife	C-only	C-POSS1	FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL	words	DEM-C-NEARSP

only my wife knows these things