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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):

ɬok ɬɔ-pol (< ɬok ɬɔ-pol < ɬök ɬɔ- pol) ‘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 + i > ɔi; 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.:

t̪ok t̪-ɔ-kukkô

dog C-of.PERS-Kukku

the dog of Kukku

(< **t̪ok t̪ɔkukkô** < **t̪ok t̪ ɔkukkô** < **t̪ök t̪ɔ- ɔkukkô**)

ukul w-ɔtta

child C-of.who

whose child (is s/he)? (lit.: the child of whom?)

(< **ukul wɔtta** < **ukul wɔtta** < **ukul wɔ- ɔtta**)

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** + **ukul** > **C-ɔkkul**:

ɔ-ttán **p-ɔ-kkɔl**
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-** and **tɔ-**, 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-ɔ-púl** **í-p-ɔ-parí**
stick(k.o.) C-of-person RES-C-female

the *campal*-stick of the woman

kəɽittan **k-ɔ-kukkû**
knife C-of.PERS-Kukku

the knife of Kukku

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

part of whole:

tacɔk **t-ɔ-pərrək**
legs C-of-chair

legs of a chair

made of, consisting of:

cə́tə́na c-ɔ́-təróma

tassel C-of-ram

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

for the purpose of:

kírek k-ɔ́-t-ɔ́ra ɪ-ttók nɔ́-tampân

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 ɪ-ɔ́-kéccók

tamarind C-of-market

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

occupations:

pul p-ɔ́-tɔ́rák

person C-of-war

warrior, soldier

pul p-ɔ́-kəməɪ

person C-of-hunting_party

hunter

ownership, association:

ul w-ɔ́-lɪcók

people C-of-goats

the owners of the goats

place where somebody lives:

pul p-ɔ́-karəttóm

person C-of-Khartoum

person from Khartoum

‘child of’ in personal names:

ɔ-lɔtti l-ɔ-maɬari
PERS-Lɔtti C-of.PERS-Maɬari

Lɔtti (son) of Maɬari

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-rómia ŋ-aɬərít ‘Rumia (daughter) of Aɬərít’
ɔ-ióɲic ŋ-alemin ‘Younis (son) of Alemin’
érəmía⁵² ŋɔ-ómar ‘Jeremiah (son) of Umar’

ŋ- possibly comes from agreement with the noun class prefix **ŋ-** of a historical noun ***ŋokul** ‘child’ (today **okul** ‘child’). A historical noun ***ŋokul** is conceivable, since it would give a regular singular-plural pair (***ŋokul/ɲokul**). 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:

ɬ-ɔŋwɔ **ɬ-ɔ-píŋɲít**
NOM-sing C-of-singer

the singing of the singer

undergoer of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ɬ-ɔ **ɬ-áɬəpu** **w-əɬek** (< **ɬ-ɔ** + **əɬəpu**)
NOM-die C-of.things C-some

the dying of some animals

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

patient of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ṭ-ṭkkwət ṭ-áṭəpʊ w-əṭək (< **ṭ-ṭ** + **áṭəpʊ**)

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-ṭ-PREP-Y follow here:

place where somebody lives:

ʊl w-ṭ-nṭ-ṭṭək 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-ṭ** + **nṭ** + **ṭṭək** + **p-ṭ** + **árrô**)

occupation:

pʊl p-ṭ-rɪ-ṭkwêl (< **pʊl** + **p-ṭ** + **rɪ** + **kəmɛl**)

person C-of-in-hunting_party

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

ʊl w-ṭ-rɪ-ṭmôn

people C-of-in-porcupines

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

for use in a certain environment:

kuppəɾʊṅ k-ṭ-nṭ-əṭɪ

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:

kəɾɛt k-ɔ-kkɔl k-ɪɛ
 cloth C-of-child C-new
 the shirt of the child is new

k-kw-ɔká.t p-ɔ-məkənta m-ɪn
 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-ɔk p-ɔ-məkənta m-ɪn / k-kw-ɔ-məkənta m-ɪn
 PERS-3 C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1 3-C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1
 she is (one) of my supporting girls

ɔ-ɔk p-ɔ-karəttôm / k-kw-ɔ-karəttôm
 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 **ɪ-** in **ɪ-ɔ-tuulɪ** agrees with **ɪɾɪ** ‘water’; in the second example, the concord **k-** in **k-ɔ-cɛccé** agrees with **kálam** ‘pen’.

a-əŋi ⁵³	ŋ-uŋ	ŋ-ɔká.t	ŋ-ɛtɪá.t	ana
CONJ-water	C-POSS3	C-be:COMPL	C-become_cool:COMPL	and
ŋ-ɔ-tuuli	ŋ-ɔká.t	ŋ-árɔ́tɔk	ŋ-áŋko	ippa
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-əllék
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone
ana	k-ɔ-cɛccé	k-á.ɪk	p-əllék
and	C-of.PERS-Cɛccé	C-be:PR	C-alone

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

The following phrase allows for two interpretations. It can refer to the marriage of Kukku 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:

ɪpa	ɪ-ɔ-kukú	ana	ɪ-ɔ-kakkâ
marriage	C-of-Kukku	and	C-of-Kakka

the marriage of Kukku and the one of Kakka (the marriage of Kukku 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:

⁵³ < á- + ŋəŋi

takəɾuk **ɪ-t-a** **m-p-ɔɾəkɔ.t** **túnke** **t-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’):

η-kw-íɔt **kəmən** **na** **jókól** **í-p-ârran** **ɔkurro**
 2-C-find:INCOMPL rooms where:REL children RES-C-young engrave:DEPINCOMPL

kətət **k-én** **k-á.ɲɔt** **ɔpákkɔt**
 door C-of:ABS C-open:INCOMPL return:DEPINCOMPL

na **cíŋki** **ɔmmɔt** **η.ηm**
 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 **tɔɛ** **t-á.kkunakɔ** **ana**
 and river C-smell:INCOMPL and

muccirɪn **mænna** **m-akénn-íkkɔ** **ηəɾɪ** **η-én**
 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)

ɔɾək.ɔ **appənɰína** **n-áɾɔl** **w-én**
 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- řn , C- in , C- ín	‘my’	(ɔón)
12	C- ɔrit + H	‘our (of you (SG) and me)’	(ɔřit)
2	C- ǎŋ , C- aŋ , C- áŋ	‘your (SG)’	(ɔóŋ)
3	C- úŋ	‘his/her’	(ɔók)
1A	C- ín	‘our (EXCL)’	(ɔnín)
12A	C- ɔnnón	‘our (INCL)’	(ɔrón/ɔrón)
2A	C- ón	‘your (PL)’	(ɔón)
3A	C- én	‘their’	(ɔkín)

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 pín** ‘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: **tók řín** ‘my dog’ (**tók** ‘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:

tuk t-órit ána pállá p-úŋ
 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: **ŋərə** ‘work’ and **kuʔút** ‘lip, side’

1	ŋərə ŋ-ín/ŋ-in	‘my work’	kuʔút k-ín/k-in	‘my lip’
12	ŋərə ŋ-ɔrit	‘our work’	kuʔút k-ɔrit	‘our lip’
2	ŋərə ŋ-ǎŋ/p-aŋ	‘your work’	kuʔút k-ǎŋ/k-aŋ	‘your lip’
3	ŋərə ŋ-úŋ	‘his/her work’	kuʔút k-úŋ	‘his/her lip’
1A	ŋərə ŋ-ín	‘our work’	kuʔút k-ín	‘our lip’
12A	ŋərə ŋ-ɔnnón	‘our work’	kuʔút k-ɔnnón	‘our lip’
2A	ŋərə ŋ-ón	‘your work’	kuʔút k-ón	‘your lip’
3A	ŋərə ŋ-én	‘their work’	kuʔút k-én	‘their lip’

Possessor pronouns preceded by high and rising tones: **tɔɾək** ‘rope’ and **ŋəɾɪ** ‘water’:

1	tɔɾək t-ín	‘my rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-ín	‘my water’
12	tɔɾək t-órit	‘our rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-órit	‘our water’
2	tɔɾək t-ǎŋ	‘your rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-ǎŋ	‘your water’
3	tɔɾək t-úŋ	‘his/her rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-úŋ	‘his/her water’
1A	tɔɾək t-ín	‘our rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-ín	‘our water’
12A	tɔɾək t-ɔnnón	‘our rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-ɔnnón	‘our water’
2A	tɔɾək t-ón	‘your rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-ón	‘your water’
3A	tɔɾək t-én	‘their rope’	ŋəɾɪ ŋ-én	‘their water’

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

ŋərə ŋ-en ‘its work’
kuʔút k-en ‘its side’
tɔɾək t-én ‘its rope’
ŋəɾɪ ŋ-én ‘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 **ɲəre** the concord **ɲ** of the possessor is deleted, and in the examples with **ɬɔ́ɔ́k** final **k** fully assimilates to the concord **ɬ** of the possessor. Incidentally, however, the process of assimilation deviates from what is expected. This is the case with the items **páj** ‘item of the same kind’ and **ɔ́páj** ‘sibling’. Compare the first (irregular) example with **ɔ́páj** ‘sibling’ with the second (regular) example with **parantáj** ‘gourd’. After **ɔ́páj** (and **páj**) the concord **p** changes to **k**:

ɔ́pájkín ‘my sibling’
parantáj pín ‘my gourd’ [parandam bín]

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).

ɬok **én-t-í** **ɬ-á.ká** **ɬ-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:

pə́ɬk **p-in** **ém-p-í**
 stone C-POSS1 DEM-C-NEARSP
 my country is this one (for example while pointing at a country on a map)

pə́ɬk **em-p-i** **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, **kén** ‘their’ refers to two human beings denoted by common nouns: **ókul** ‘child’ and **pari pókul** ‘the wife of the child’. The sentences come from a description of main events in the life of a boy/man.

ɔ-ttán	p-ɔ-kkul	ana	ókúl		
PERS-father	C-of-child	and	child		
ɬ-ónne	pari	p-ɔ-kkul	kəmən	k-én	
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 **tuuli ana pálla** ‘the hyena and the cat’:

... a-tuuli	ɔccíkat	lón	l-ón
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 **ɔttán** ‘(his, her) father’, can be modified by a connexive construction which states the related person:

ᵛ-ttán **p-ᵛ-nenni**
 PERS-father C-of-Nenni

the father of Nenni

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

ᵛ-ḡappá **p-ᵛnnón**
 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:

ámma	ḡ-kw-ónó	nḡṛé	n-ón
if	2-C-have	fear	C-POSS3

á-ẽ	ᵛ-cuṛé	c-ᵛ-pírá	ém-p-ḡṛé
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.ík **p-íllakkᵛ** **tacók**
 1-C-be:PR C-wash:INCOMPL feet

I am washing my feet

ᵛṛie **okón**
 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-əkwarikət na ŋ-kw-ənəkkét.é kúrrŋ
 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:

lən el-l-ɪ a-kəllán k-əká.t á-k-éret
 words DEM-C-NEARSP CONJ-old_woman C-be:COMPL CONJ-PRO-speak_at:DEPINCOMPL
nə-čikjɪt c-úŋ
 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-ɔ́tup.at ká k-úŋ í-láí í-l-ərrákɔ.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-ɔ́tup.at ká l-lai ɪ-l-ərrákɔ.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

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

a-kw-ṣṭup.aṭ-ṣk **ka** **l-lai** **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-m	á-k-m k-ṣpərôt ‘mine is good’
á-k-aŋ	á-k-aŋ k-ṣpərôt ‘yours (SG) is good’
á-k-úŋ	á-k-úŋ k-ṣpərôt ‘his/hers is good’
á-k-ɔrit	á-k-ɔrit k-ṣpərôt ‘ours (of you SG and me) is good’
á-k-ín	á-k-ín k-ṣpərôt ‘ours (EXCL) is good’
á-k-ɔnnɔn	á-k-ɔnnɔn k-ṣpərôt ‘ours (INCL) is good’
á-k-ón	á-k-ón k-ṣpərôt ‘yours (PL) is good’
á-k-én	á-k-én k-ṣpərôt ‘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) **ɲukul** ‘children’.

kálam	k-aŋ	k-a.ɪk	p-əllék
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone
ana	á-k-m	k-a.ɪk	p-əllék
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.ɪk	kəren
and	PROB-C-POSS2	C-be:PR	where

and where are yours?!

á-p-m **p-ellâ**
 PROB-C-POSS1 C-be_absent:INCOMPL

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

A last example has **á-úŋ** (< **á-w-úŋ**), which agrees with the earlier mentioned **ápê** ‘fish (PL)’ (tonally realized here as **ápê**⁵⁵).

ók.kw.í **í-p-á.nókə** **lɔɾək** **l-ín** **ɔ-ók** **p-á.ŋwó** **ápê**
 the_one RES-C-take:INCOMPL ropes C-POSS1 PERS-3 C-kill.PLUR:INCOMPL fish(PL)

ana **k-kw-á.nán-m** **cɪt.tó.kít**
 and 3-C-bring_for:INCOMPL-O1 firstly

áná **ánt-úmmín-ók** **á-úŋ**
 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 **kaɾok** ‘goatskin bag’.

maɪt **m-a.ɪk** **ɪ-á-k-m-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-ɔkəta **tacək** **t-ín** **ana** **t-ǎŋ**
 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 **tuǎn** ‘(at, to) home’ followed by a word that

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

contains the prepositional proclitic **ṭə-** ‘(down) at’ and a pronominal possessor, as well as a formative **an**. **an** is most likely a remnant of a noun, perhaps of **kaṛən** ‘place’. Specific forms collocating with **tuǎn** are attested for all personal possessors pronoun, except **C-ṛrit**: ‘our home’ (i.e. of you and me) is just **tuān t-ṛrit**.

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

tuān ṭ-an-ǎn	‘my home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kɪn	‘the home at my place’
tuān ṭ-an-ǎṇ	‘your home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kaṇ	‘the home at your place’
tuān ṭ-an-óṇ	‘his/her home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kúṇ	‘the home at his/her place’
tuān ṭ-en-ṭin	‘our (1A) home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kṭin	‘the home at our (1A) place’
tuān ṭ-an-ṭinnón	‘our (12A) home’
tuān ṭə kaṛən k-ṭinnón	‘the home at our (12A) place’
tuān ṭ-an-ón	‘your (PL) home’
tuān ṭə kaṛən k-ón	‘the home at your place’
tuān ṭ-an-én	‘their home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən k-én	‘the home at their place’

7.3.9. Position in the noun phrase

Attributive possessor pronouns generally precede other modifiers:

pəṭək	p-in	p-ṭ-maṛṭt
stone	C-POSS1	C-of-long ago
my country of long ago		

papu	p-in	ém-p-í	í-p-á	n-ḡkorro	n.tít
thing	C-POSS1	DEM-C-NEARSP	RES-C-COP	1-engrave:DEPINCOMPL	from:ABS
tuon	ṭ.an-ín				
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:

ṭ-pari	p-ín	p-ulluk	á-p-p-ma	lón	él-l-í
PERS-wife	C-POSS1	C-only	FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL	words	DEM-C-NEARSP
only my wife knows these things					

ṭ-pari	p-ulluk	p-ín	a-p-p-ma	lón	él-l-í
PERS-wife	C-only	C-POSS1	FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL	words	DEM-C-NEARSP
only my wife knows these things					

