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8. Demonstratives

In this chapter I present the three spatial demonstratives of Lumun, as well as demonstrative C-**en** and the manner adjective C-**ená** ‘such, like this/that’. They all share the pronominal base **en** as a formative.

The spatial demonstratives consist of the pronominal base **en** (or C-**en**) and a space-deictic suffixal element that agrees with the head noun. They can be used gesturally, but also anaphorically. Also in the latter case a deictic notion is involved. Demonstrative C-**en**, without space-deictic element, functions anaphorically; it does not allow for a deictic interpretation. For this reason I call it an anaphoric demonstrative. The pronominal base **en**, however, is not intrinsically anaphoric, since it is also part of the spatial demonstratives, which can be used gesturally. I gloss the formative **en** in the demonstratives as DEM (demonstrative).

en (or C-**en**) is (most probably) also a formative of the manner-deictic adjective C-**ená** ‘such, like this/that’ (see 8.2.5). C-**en** is furthermore part of **ɔkwên** ‘who’ (< **ɔk** ‘s/he’ + **p-en**) and **ɲimpên** ‘what’ (< **ɲm** ‘what’ + **p-en**), which are discussed in 20.1.1 and 20.1.2.

All demonstratives and also C-**ená** can function as nominal modifiers but also independently.

8.1. The spatial demonstratives

The spatial demonstratives consist of the demonstrative pronominal base **en**, a concord and a deictic suffix. These are the spatial demonstratives:

en-C-í	‘this, these’: near the speaker
en-C-ərík	‘this, that, these, those’: near the addressee
en-C-ərê	‘that, those’: away from the speaker and the addressee

The spatial demonstratives can have two concords:

- C-**en**-C-**í** ‘this, these’: near the speaker
 C-**en**-C-**ərík** ‘this, that, these, those’: near the addressee
 C-**en**-C-**ərê** ‘that, those’: away from the speaker and the addressee

As modifiers, the spatial demonstratives with both an initial and a word-medial concord seem to be rarely used. According to my consultant (JS), especially elderly people may (still) employ them this way. He gave the following sentence as a case in which they might use **pempí** instead of **empí**:

pul **p-em-p-i** **p-ś-káré-ṭâ**
 person C-DEM-C-NEARSP C-of-where-QW

where does this person come from?

The forms with two concords are more commonly used as independent demonstrative pronouns. Whereas the form with one concord functioning independently tends to imply a contrast with another entity of the same type, the independent demonstrative with two concords signals the absence of such a contrast (this will be exemplified below). In the example with **pempí** given above, there is no contrast with another man. For many speakers, the modifying spatial demonstratives have lost this opposition, and it seems that, as modifiers, the forms with two concords are on their way to disappear.

The three deictic suffixes are related to the deictic verbs (chapter 12.8), as shown in table 42:

Table 42 Deictic suffixes

<i>deictic suffix</i>	<i>deictic verb</i>
- í ‘near-speaker’	C- éí ‘be here (near speaker)’
- ərík ‘near-addressee’	C- êrík ‘be here, be there (near addressee)’
- ərê ‘distal’	C- érê ‘be there (away from both speaker and addressee)’

8.1.1. Phonological realizations and tone

In table 43 I give examples of the three spatial demonstratives preceded by nouns from different noun classes and with different tone patterns. The **n** before the concord assimilates to the concord for place of articulation; it fully assimilates when the concord is **l**. The concord **w**, on the other hand, assimilates to the preceding nasal. Resulting geminated nasals and geminated **l** can be pronounced with some length.

Tonally, the spatial demonstratives display specific behaviour which does not go against the tone rules, but is also not in full detail predicted by them (recall that neither the occurrence of a high tone on a first mora due to high tone shift, nor the occurrence of tone bridge is phonologically predictable). All spatial demonstratives get a high tone on their first mora in case of a preceding high or rising tone. This includes **en-C-í**, which itself has a high tone on its second mora. Furthermore, there is tone bridge between a noun which, in isolation, has a final falling tone and **en-C-í** or **en-C-ər̥é**, but not between a noun with a final falling tone and **en-C-ər̥ík**.

Table 43 Nouns and demonstratives

<i>noun</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>en-C-í</i> <i>near speaker</i>	<i>en-C-ər̥ík</i> <i>near addressee</i>	<i>en-C-ər̥é</i> <i>distal</i>
pərrək ‘chair’	p	pərrək empí	pərrək empərík	pərrək empər̥é
t̥ök ‘dog’	t̥	t̥ök éntí	t̥ök éntərík	t̥ök éntər̥é
toppóŋ ‘mushroom (k.o.)’	t	toppóŋ éntí	toppóŋ éntərík	toppóŋ éntər̥é
cəpók ‘arrow’	c	cəpók éncí	cəpók encərík	cəpók éncər̥é
ka ‘body, corpse’	k	ka ɛŋkí	ka ɛŋkərík	ka ɛŋkər̥é
maṭṭak ‘calabashes (k.o.)’	m	maṭṭak emmí	maṭṭak emmərík	maṭṭak emmər̥é

naṭám ‘books’	n	naṭam énní	naṭam énnərík	naṭam énnə́rê
ṇəṭṭarí ‘monkeys (sp.)’	ṇ	ṇəṭṭarí eṇṇí	ṇəṭṭarí eṇṇərík	ṇəṭṭarí eṇṇə́rê
ṇaṭṭəkkól ‘calabash (k.o.)’	ṇ	ṇaṭṭəkkól éṇṇí	ṇaṭṭəkkól eṇṇərík	ṇaṭṭəkkól éṇṇə́rê
lök ‘dogs’	l	lök éllí	lök éllərík	lök éllə́rê
ʊkul ‘child’	w	ʊkul enní	ʊkul ennərík	ʊkul ennə́rê

8.1.2. Morpho-phonological aspects

In connected speech, the final vowel of a preceding noun is deleted before the initial *ɛ* of the demonstrative, except when the noun is monomoraic (last example below):

ṇəṭṭar.eṇṇí (< ṇəṭṭarí eṇṇí) ‘these monkeys (sp.)’
 pap.empí (< papu empí) ‘this thing’
 pɪr.empí (< pɪra empí) ‘this tree’
 ka eṇkí ‘this body’

8.1.3. Use of the spatial demonstrative modifiers

Deictic use of the spatial demonstrative modifiers may be accompanied by a pointing gesture, but not necessarily so. They can also be used anaphorically or cataphorically, in which case some deictic notion will also be present (otherwise, for anaphoric reference, *c-en* is used). A storyteller can “play” with the deictic centre to make his story become more alive: he can change it from one participant to another, but he can also sometimes put it with himself or with the audience. Spatial demonstratives can also modify independent personal pronouns. Some examples of use of the spatial demonstratives as nominal modifiers follow here.

en-c-í ‘near the speaker’:

tuk **en-t-i** **t-əpərət**
 dog DEM-C-NEARSP C-good

this dog is good (a dog is sitting next to the speaker, the speaker strokes it)

k-kw-éréné.t **kín** **lón** **él-l-í**
 3-C-speak_to:COMPL O3A words DEM-C-NEARSP

s/he told them these things (reference to a preceding or following stretch of discourse)

In the next example, the spatial demonstrative modifies the second person singular pronoun:

ant-əpəri **ŋ-kw-a.kkət** **ŋín-ṭa**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-say:DEPINCOMPL 2-C-do:INCOMPL what-QW

ə-uŋ **ém-p-í** **p-óttê** **cík**
 PERS-2 DEM-C-NEARSP C-little VREF

please say what you will do, you (here) who are small (lit.: this you who is small. Implying: you cannot do anything)

en-C-ərík ‘near the addressee’:

ikkét-ín **áṭəpυ** **en-n-ərík** **áppík**
 give.PLUR:IMP-O1 things DEM-C-NEARADDR all

give me all those things! (the addressee has things with him/her, the speaker points at them)

The next example is from ‘The story of the jackal’. The leopard and the lion are fighting, and the jackal is trying to direct them towards a trap (a hole in the ground) that he has dug for them. The ‘near addressee’ demonstrative draws the audience into the story: it makes them feel as if they are near that trap.

a-káṛən **en-k-ərík** **ɪ-k-a** **áləpaccút** **w-əŋəṭ.é** **ittɪ**
 CONJ-place DEM-C-NEARADDR RES-C-COP jackal C-like:COMPL that

w-á.ṭəkkarət **kín** **nán ...**
 C-make_move_aside:INCOMPL O3A on:ABS

and that place, to which the jackal wants to make them move, ...

en-C-əɾɛ ‘away from both speaker and addressee’ (distal):

ámmá	ŋ-kw-ónó	nəɾɛ	n-a-ák	
if	2-C-have	fear	on-PERS-3	

á-ε̃	ɪ-cuɾɛ	c-ɔ-pírá	ém-p-əɾɛ	cənéket
SUBJ-(2-)go:DEPINCOMPL	in-buttock	C-of-tree	DEM-C-DIST	there_not_far

if you are afraid of him, go under that tree over there (situation: there is a tree in the distance, the speaker points at it)

The next example is from ‘The story of the tortoise’. The distal demonstrative is used here cataphorically:

akka ɔpa	én-n-əɾɛ	w-ɔ-rɪ-pírá	w-aa.t	ɪ-əɾɪk	ɪkê ...
when piece_of_meat	DEM-C-DISTAL	C-of-in-tree	C-come:COMPL	RES-(C-)big	giraffe

when that big wild animal of the forest, the giraffe, came ... (App. IV, 155)

8.1.4. The spatial demonstratives as independent forms

The spatial demonstratives can be used as independent forms. Their reference—and thus the choice of concord—must be clear from the context, whether textual or extra-textual. Reference can also be made to a stretch of speech or a situation that was just described or that appears from the extra-textual context. In such cases **l**-concord is used, agreeing with implicit **lən** ‘words, matters’. For reference to a situation also **p**-concord can be used, agreeing with implicit **papu** ‘thing’. Examples are given below.

Independent demonstratives with one concord can imply a contrast between two entities of the same kind. Demonstratives with two concords cannot be used that way. In the second example below the demonstratives necessarily refer to entities of a different kind.

ém-p-ɪ	p-în	ana	ém-p-í	p-áj
DEM-C-NEARSP	C-POSS1	and	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-POSS2

this one is mine and that one is yours (both demonstratives can refer to the same kind of thing, for example **pərrək** ‘chair’)

p-ɛm-p-i **p-ín** **ana** **p-ém-p-í** **p-áj**
 C-DEM-C-NEARSP C-POSS1 and C-DEM-C-NEARSP C-POSS2

this one is mine and that one is yours (both demonstratives cannot refer to the same kind of thing. Instead, the first refers, for example, to **pərrək** ‘chair’, the second, for example, to **pərrət** ‘picture’).

Some further examples with independent demonstratives with one concord follow here. They cannot be replaced by demonstratives with two concords.

kūrret **éŋ-k-í** **k-ánn-ɔŋkə** **éŋ-k-í**
 line DEM-C-NEARSP C-NEG-resemble:DEPCOMPL DEM-C-NEARSP

this stripe does not look like this one (referring here to the different colours of the stripes of a cloth)

a-kw-ápp-ɔmé.kat-ók **ittɪ** **á-a** **ɛŋ-k-əŋê**
 CONJ-3-again:DEPINCOMPL-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that no-REDUP DEM-C-DIST

ittɪn-in **éŋ-k-əŋê** **í-k-óŋe**
 pick_for:IMP-O1 DEM-C-DIST RES-C-red

and he said to her again: no, that one! pick that ripe one for me! (the demonstratives refer to a *kice*-fruit that is at some distance from the addressee, who is in the tree, picking fruits; the speaker is under the tree. The addressee wanted to pick a fruit nearby, but is told to pick one for which she must reach further)

In the next example, **enní** ‘this one’ agrees with **ɔkul** ‘child’:

en-n-i **ákk-ɔkwəntá.t** **tó.kít**
 DEM-C-NEARSP FOC-be_produced:COMPL firstly

this one is the one who was born first (implying that there is another one who came second) (Genesis 38:28)

An element of contrast is also present in the following example. It is an answer to the question “did you [...] sell the land for this price?” The concord **c-** agrees with **ɛkerek** ‘price’. The price is indeed that price, not a different one:

ij **i-c-én** **én-c-í**
 yes RES-C-DEM DEM-C-NEARSP

yes, the one (the price) is this (Acts 5:8)

Demonstratives with one concord do not need to express contrast:

ót-ta **em-p-ərík** **nə-pirâ**
 PERS.3-QW DEM-C-NEARADDR on-tree

who is that in the tree? (two persons are involved: the speaker and the addressee who is in the tree)

Some examples with two concords follow here. In the first, **p**-concord of **pempí** implicitly agrees with the **papu** ‘thing’, which refers to the situation that was just described:

ə-llé **p-m** **p-ət̪ət̪-ín** **təpút** **ana**
 PERS-husband C-POSS1 C-send:COMPL-O1 outside and

ŋ-kw-a.t̪-əkkət **ŋm** **ákka**⁵⁶ **p-ém-p-í** **í-p-ók̪it̪ak**
 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL what that C-DEM-C-NEARSP RES-C-bad

my husband has sent me away and what are you going to do, (because) this (thing, situation) is one which is bad

The concord **l-** in the example below is understood to agree with implicit **lən** ‘words, matters’:

l-el-l-i **ámm.akka** **l-érét̪-ók** **l-ók̪it̪ak**
 C-DEM-C-NEARSP like C-speak_about-o3 C-bad

these things that were said about him/her were bad (lit.: these words, like they spoke about him/her, were bad)

In the following example from ‘The story of the tortoise’, **pempərê** refers to **pul pənəppət** ‘the person of Nəppət’, who is under the tree. The bird and the tortoise are together up in a tree, where they are collecting honey. The person of Nəppət has just asked to throw down some honey for him, but the tortoise is unwilling:

⁵⁶ It is unclear where the high tone on **akka** comes from.

ŋ-kw-a.rréne **p-ém-p-ǎré** **áón** **w-ǎ-ín**
 2-C-throw_for:INCOMPL C-DEM-C-DIST bees C-of-what

for what will you throw (down) honeycombs for that (person)? (App. IV, 89)

In the next example, **p-** agrees with the implicit noun **papu** ‘thing’. ‘This (thing) from which I write’ refers to a laptop from which the speaker sends e-mails or other messages:

m-p-ǎná.t **p-ém-p-í** **í-p-á** **n-ǎkorrǎ** **n.tít**
 1-C-bring:COMPL C-DEM-C-NEARSP RES-C-COP 1-engrave:DEPINCOMPL from:ABS

I brought this thing from which I write (a laptop)

Independent demonstratives can be preceded by a prepositional proclitic. The independent demonstrative in the example below refers to a **kaɽok** ‘goatskin bag’.

mart **m-a.ík** **í-éŋ-k-í-í**
 beans C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARSP-Q

are the beans in this one?

The following examples have two tonal realizations of the (prepausal) demonstrative. The final high or falling tone of the demonstrative can be realized (with tone bridge spanning over the whole demonstrative), or the own final high or falling tone of the demonstrative can become low:

appentíná **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-í** / **appentíná** **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-í**
 groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARSP groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARSP

the groundnuts are in this one

appentíná **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎrík** / **appentíná** **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎrík**
 groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARADDR groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARADDR

the groundnuts are in that one (near you)

appentíná **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎré** / **appentíná** **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎré**
 groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-DIST groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-DIST

the groundnuts are in that one (away from us)

8.2. The anaphoric demonstrative C-**en**

8.2.1. Tonal properties

When the demonstrative pronominal base **en** is only preceded by the concord, and no deictic element is attached to it, it takes on an anaphoric interpretation. I will call this element (C-**en**) an anaphoric demonstrative, though the demonstrative base **en** is not intrinsically anaphoric. C-**en** has a low tone and is tonally regular in prepausal position:

pul	‘person’	pul pen	‘that person’
ṭök	‘dog’	ṭok t̃en	‘that dog’
toppóŋ	‘mushroom (k.o.)’	toppoŋ t̃en	‘that mushroom (k.o.)’
cəpók	‘arrow’	cəpók c̃en	‘that arrow’

However, in non-prepausal position before an element with a low tone, the Contour Simplification Rule tends not to apply when C-**en** is preceded by the restrictor **í**:-

kálám	k-ókíṭak	ana	í-k-ēn	k-in
pen	c-bad	and	RES-C-DEM	C-POSS1

the pen is bad, but it is mine

This may point towards a historically long vowel that has become short, or perhaps the historical loss of a tone bearing unit. A long vowel is actually attested in C-**ēnā** ‘such, like this/that’.

8.2.2. C-**en** as attributive modifier

C-**en** as attributive modifier is part of a noun phrase which also contains its nominal head; the head precedes C-**en**. C-**en** functions as anaphoric demonstrative, referring to a preceding noun phrase or to a clause or stretch of clauses. ‘The story of Amuṭa’ opens with the following clauses: ‘One day, Amuṭa left from home to go stealing in Ṭṛəmu and he saw the goats of Aləlen grazing in the field. Amuṭa jumped quickly to catch the goats’. Then follows the sentence with C-**en**:

caɾɪ c-én a-kəllán k-əɾɛk k-əká.t cɪk
 day C-DEM CONJ-old_woman C-some C-be:COMPL VREF

a-k-ɔ́kəɾaccé-k n.tɪ ɪ-ɔ́ɾɛn
 CONJ-PRO-watch:DEPINCOMPL-O3 from in-firewood

that (same) moment, some old woman was watching him while she was collecting firewood (fr. written story)

The next example is from Luke 2:19. **lən lən appɪk** ‘all those words’ refers to what the shepherds have heard from the angels and have come to tell:

ana.rrúk ɔ-mériɔm p-ɔccɔ.káɾɛ lən ɪ-ɛn appɪk nɔ-cɪkɪt c-úŋ
 but PERS-Mary C-catch:PST words C-DEM all on-heart C-POSS3

but Mary kept all those words in her heart (Luke 2:19)

8.2.3. C-**en** used independently

C-**en** can be used independently, i.e. without head in the same noun phrase. The absence of a high (or falling) tone on independently used C-**en** shows that the initial consonant of independent C-**en** is a concord, not a pronominal proclitic.

In the following fixed expression, the **p**-concord of **pɛn** implicitly agrees with the noun **papu** ‘thing’.

ŋín-ɬa p-ɛn
 what-QW C-DEM

what you are talking about? (more lit.: what that (thing)?)

By analogy, the concord of the independent demonstrative in the following example implicitly agrees with **pul** ‘person’, agreement is not with **ɔ́ttɔ** ‘who’:

ɔ́ɬ-ɬa p-ɛn
 PERS.3-QW C-DEM

who is it? (Used in a speech environment, for example when somebody announced himself, but you did not hear his name, or in the sense of ‘whom are you talking about’).

8.2.4. **c-ên** preceded by the restrictor **í-**

c-ên can be preceded by the restrictor **í-** (which will be discussed in chapter 9). **í-c-ên** functions independently and can be translated as ‘the one(s)’. An example was already given earlier in this chapter. In the first example below, the concord **w-**, which is deleted between vowels (**í-w-ên** > **í-ên**), agrees with **aṛəpu** ‘things’; in the second, **irên** refers to a pig (**tuttəruk**) that has been causing damage before, and that has come again; in the third, **k** refers to the Holy Spirit (**kənánj í-k-ôpuṛé**).

aṛəpu	w-ə-páppá	áppík	í-ên	w-in
things	C-of.PERS-father	all	RES-(C-)DEM	C-POSS1

all the things of the Father are the ones that are mine (John 16:15)

a-púl	í-p-šcúrá	ští.at	ittu	í-r-ên	t-š-mái
CONJ-person	RES-C-male	find:DEPPRFV	that	RES-C-DEM	C-of-some_time_ago

and the man found that it was the one of before

ana	í-k-ên	í-k-a	ə-rən	t-immá.t	ménni	ana	əccíkt
ana	RES-C-DEM	RES-C-COP	PERS-12A	C-see:COMPL	today	and	hear:DEPINCOMPL

and (it is) the one which we have seen and heard today (Acts 2:33)

í-c-ên can be followed by a focus construction with **akka** ‘that’ (realized as **akk** before the initial vowel of a verb). The example below can also be stated just with **akka** or **akk-**, but the combination **í-c-ên akka** makes the focus stronger.

pəṭək	í-p-a	ól	í-ónə	w-əṛá.t
stone	RES-C-COP	people	RES-(C-)build:INCOMPL	C-refuse:COMPL

í-p-ên	akk-əṭəkká.t	cillaṇ
RES-C-DEM	FOC-become:COMPL	big_stone_as_fundament_of_wall

the stone which the builders rejected is the one that has become the fundament (Luke 20:17)

Two examples with **í-c-ên akka(a)** and a transitive verb follow here. In the first, **k** of **ikên** agrees with **kəṛan** ‘name’. Note in the second that the subject comes after the verb.

၁-၁၁၁ တ-၁၁၁ **၁-က-၁၁** **akka** **မ-ပ-၁.၁** **ပ-၁၁၁**
 PERS-2A C-not_know:INCOMPL RES-C-DEM that 1-C-be:PR C-talk_to:INCOMPL
၁၁၁ **၁၁** **၁-၁**
 O2A words C-of:ABS

you (PL) do not know that it is the one (i.e. ‘the name’) I am telling you of (Acts 17:23)

တု၁၁၁ **၁-တ-၁၁** **akk-၁၁** **ပု၁** **၁-ပ-၁၁** **၁၁၁** **၁၁-၁၁**
 food RES-C-DEM FOC-have person RES-C-black here on-ground

food is what a human being needs here on earth

၁၁၁ akka +H is a fixed expression for ‘that’s why’. The concord **၁** agrees with the implicit noun **၁၁** ‘words, matters’:

၁-၁၁ **akka** **၁-၁၁၁၁-၁၁** **၁၁၁-၁၁၁**
 RES-C-DEM that CONJ-1-speak_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL-O2 always-REDUP

that’s why I always talk to you

၁၁၁, just by itself, is a fixed expression for ‘that’s it!’ The concord **ပ** agrees with the implicit noun **၁၁** ‘thing’:

၁-ပ-၁၁
 RES-C-DEM

that’s it! (i.e. that’s what I had in mind, that’s what I wanted to say)

8.2.5. The manner-deictic adjective **C-၁၁၁** ‘such, like this/that’

It is very likely that **C-၁၁၁** ‘such, like this/that’ contains the pronominal base **၁၁** as a formative, as was mentioned earlier in this chapter. **C-၁၁၁** has anaphoric reference and can be used as a modifier (first example below), but also independently (second example below). Like most adjectives **C-၁၁၁** is preceded by the restrictor **၁**- when it functions as an attribute.

á-pól í-p-ééná ókórənn-ɔmə⁵⁷ ittĩ ...
 SUBJ-person RES-C-such NEG:DEP-say:DEPINCOMPL that

let such a person not say that ...

pól ɛm-p-ɪ p-ééná ana ɛm-p-í p-ééná
 person DEM-C-NEARSP C-such and DEM-C-NEARSP C-such

this person is like this and the other one (lit. this one) is like that

⁵⁷ The falling tone of ɔmə ‘say’ becomes low in this context.