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A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

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Appendices

The appendices present four transcribed, glossed and translated texts, as well as a word list of ca. 250 words.

Texts

Appendix I-IV contain four texts, by three different speakers. The first text, by Okabi Waleed Ibrahim Osman, is a story about a lazy person; the second and third, by Nafisa Abdullai, are instructional texts about how to make a ‘singing whip’ and to decorate a calabash; the fourth, by Kubakku Kamthan Ngappingka, is an animal story which contains dialogue. The stories (appendix I and IV) were performed before a small audience, the instructional texts in the presence of only the researcher. All texts were performed by heart. In the case of the instructional texts, the recordings were preceded by a moment of thinking on the part of the speaker about what to tell. All four texts were initially transcribed and translated with the help of Nafisa Abdullai (NaA). Tone marking and general checking was later done with the help of John Shakir (JS).

Parentheses () signify:

- in the Lumun text: recorded, but mistaken and/or not-understandable (only marked in case of a longer stretch);
- in the glosses: translation of mistaken or doubled text; morpheme that is underlyingly present, but not at the surface; semantic specification: species (sp.) or kind of (k.o.);
- in the translation: clarification, for example through (more) literal translation or through addition of information not present in the Lumun text.

Square parentheses [] signify:

- in the Lumun text: not recorded but added by JS, for example, replacing a not-understandable part;

- in the translation: translation of passage between square parentheses in the Lumun text.

Appendix I

The story of Aməntacı

(Male) speaker: Okabi Waleed Ibrahim Osman from Təmmu (Təru), born in 1985. Recorded in Təparəṭṭṭ (Təru), April 2008. Recorded time: 1 minute and 31 seconds.

1. **kəruŋ** **k-aməntáci**²⁹
 story C-of.PERS.Aməntacı
 The story of Aməntacı.
2. **áməntáci** **p-á.fk** **p-ínakə** **ŋ-ŋóre**
 PERS.Aməntacı C-be:PR C-be_known:INCOMPL with-laziness
 Aməntacı is known for his laziness.
3. **áməntáci** **p-əká.t** **p-ónó** **kapık**
 PERS.Aməntacı C-be:COMPL C-have rain
 Aməntacı was holding the rain. (i.e. Aməntacı was somebody who holds the rain)
4. **k-kw-ānn-ənekke** **məna** **ittı** **k-kw-á.kwe** **cık**
 3-C-NEG-try:DEPINCOMPL even that 3-C-dig:INCOMPL VREF
 He does not does not even try to do digging (in order to prepare a ground for building)
5. **məna** **əccəṭa** **kwóren** **k-ə-kəre**³⁰
 even polish:DEPINCOMPL piece_of_firewood C-of-agricultural_tool(k.o.)
 nor does he even polish a piece of wood for a *kəre* (k.o. agricultural tool)

²⁹ The initial high tone of **áməntáci** is unexpectedly dropped.

³⁰ **kəre** is a long pointed stick used, a.o, for removing old sorghum stocks.

6. **ittı** **k-kw-á.kwɛ** **cık** **nó-cərúk**
 that 3-C-dig:INCOMPL VREF on-opening
 in order to dig in the ground in the compound. (in order to clean it from weeds and make it flat and smooth)
7. **k-kw-íkkə** **cık** **η-kəɟittan** **k-ulluk** **ɬə-kəríkɪ**
 3-C-sit:INCOMPL VREF with-knife C-only at-elbow
 He just sits with a knife on his elbow.
8. **ɟərə** **pəɾɪn** **áɟnəɾɪŋ** **məna**
 laziness finally totally even
 The laziness is really enormous!
9. **k-kw-ánn-íɟɛ** **məna** **ittı** **k-kw-á.kkət** **man**
 3-C-NEG-say:INCOMPL even that 3-C-do:INCOMPL house
 He does not even say that he will make a house,
10. **k-k-ónə** **man**
 3-C-build:INCOMPL house
 build a house, (i.e. the intention is not even there)
11. **ana** **nə-ərə** **η-óŋ** **k-kw-ɟpərəttərə**
 and on-work C-3POSS 3-C-very_good
 and compared to his work, he is very good. (i.e. the work is not good, but he looks very handsome)
12. **k-kw-íkkə** **cık** **η-kəɟittan** **ɬə-kəríkɪ**
 3-C-sit:INCOMPL VREF with-knife at-elbow
 He sits with a knife at his elbow,
13. **k-kw-íɟnəra** **k-kw-íɟnəra** **pəɾɪn**
 3-C-very_smooth 3-C-very_smooth finally
 he looks very smooth, just very smooth!
14. **ɬ-ónə** **ɬ-əmmá**
 NOM-build C-lack:INCOMPL
 Building is not there.

15. **ámmá** **k-kw-ópari** **k-k-óno** **k-k-óno** **man**
 if 3-C-say 3-C-build:INCOMPL 3-C-build:INCOMPL house

When he decides he will build, build a house,

16. **karray** **k-ərek** **k-otté** **cik** **nótuk**
 wall C-some C-small VREF for_nothing

(he will build) just some useless small wall

17. **á-kw-akəɽ.at** **n-tómpərá**
 SUBJ-3-cut_short:DEPPRFV with-higher_place

so that he cuts it short from where the ground is high.

18. **ámmá** **á-kárik** **apo** **a-kw-íkkə** **cik**
 if CONJ-rain fall:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF
a-kw-íkkə **cik** **i-kəɽúk** **k-ən**
 CONJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF in-sheltered_spot C-of:ABS

And when the rain falls he sits, he sits in its shelter (i.e. he stays close to the wall for shelter from the rain, but there is no roof!)

19. **akka** **móná** **ámmá** **k-k-ónó.t**
 that even if 3-C-build:COMPL

because even if he has built it (the wall)

20. **móná** **á-kw-óná.kat** **ucce** **ŋ-kəren** **móna**
 even CONJ-3-bring:DEPPRFV grass with-where even

where will he even bring the grass from?

21. **lon** **el-l-ərik** **móna³¹** **l-ɔtən**
 words DEM-C-NEARSP even C-of_what

What are those things even good for?! (implied answer: for nothing!)

22. **ɣəre** **i-a** **k-kw-ónó** **ŋ-á.mét** **ɣímpən**
 laziness RES-(C-)be 3-C-have C-tell:INCOMPL what

The laziness that he has tells (us) what?! (i.e. it is beyond words!)

³¹ **móna** is realized here as **ŋəna**. **k** is not deleted before **m** (as is the general rule), but **m** has assimilated for place of articulation to **k**.

23. **ana ámmá k-kw-íamá.t k-kw-á.ccəkət kápık**
 and if 3-C-become_hungry:COMPL 3-C-catch:INCOMPL rain
 And when he is hungry, he will stop the rain (lit.: he will catch the rain)
24. **akka á-ol acəntınt-ók məna mıl**
 that SUBJ-people collect_for:DEPINCOMPL-O3 even sorghum
 so that the people will even collect sorghum for him
25. **a-ol acəntınt-ók mıl ana məkál ana áppenına**
 CONJ-people collect_for:DEPINCOMPL-O3 sorghum and sesame and groundnuts
 and the people will collect sorghum and sesame and groundnuts for him
26. **ana ırtıná k-kw-á.kkə cık**
 and so 3-C-live:INCOMPL VREF
 and like this he lives.
27. **ana ámmá ń-t-ıřét-úŋ ıttırı³² ŋ-kw-ónú ŋore**
 and if 2A-C-tell:COMPL-O2 that 2-C-have laziness
 And if they tell you (lit.: will have told you) that you have laziness
28. **ámm.akka ŋ-áməntacı**
 like C-of.PERS.Aməntacı
 like the one of Aməntacı
29. **á-kəta lón l-ókıttak**
 SUBJ-(2-)look_at:DEPINCOMPL words C-very_bad
 you must see this as something very bad.
30. **a-kw-ókka.kat ménık púccók**
 CONJ-3-become:DEPPRFV like_this continuously
 He became like this continuing for some time (i.e. Aməntacı continued to be like this for some time)
31. **mónó a-kw-ókka.kat p-makó.t ŋ-ŋóre pərin**
 CONJ-3-become:DEPPRFV C-be_known:COMPL with-laziness finally
 until he finally became known for his laziness

³² ıttırı is a variant of the complementizer ıttı ‘that’.

32. **a-kín** **ikk.at** **cík** **a-kín** **urəlle**³³ **kérou** **k-en**
 CONJ.PERS-3A sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ.PERS-3A graze.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL story C-of:ABS
 and they (the people) started telling that story.

33. **ɔ-un** **ɔ-mantéla** **m-ɔ-lótti** **l-âlmélua**³⁴
 PERS-1 PERS-Mantéla C-of.PERS-Lótti C-of.PERS.Almélua
 I am Mantéla of Lótti of Almélua.

34. **m-p-ɔká.t** **cík** **a-n-úrət**³⁵ **kérou** **ṭáru**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-graze_at:DEPINCOMPL story Ṭáru
ɪ-cuṛé **c-ɔ-pira** **c-ɔ-pəṛət**
 in-buttock C-of-tree C-of-baobab
 I was telling the story in Ṭáru under the tree, under the baobab.

Appendix II

The singing whip

(Female) speaker: Nafisa Abdullai from Icapú (Təṛəmaṭṭɪn), at the time ca. 19 years old. Recorded in Icapú (Təṛəmaṭṭɪn), on 5 February 2009. Recorded time: 1 minute and 56 seconds.

1. **kammîâ**
 singing whip
 The singing whip.³⁶

³³ The Pluractional verb **urəlle** is based on **urə**, which refers to ‘letting the cows graze’. It can also be used for ‘talking, telling’.

³⁴ Nickname of the storyteller. Almélua is from Sud. Arab. *malwa* ‘unit of weight equal to 3.145 kg’. In the Lumun area it refers to a (tin) cup that is used for measuring comestibles such as sorghum, sesame, groundnuts and dates in the market.

³⁵ The verb **urə** ‘graze’ is also used in the context of storytelling.

³⁶ **kammîâ** is the piece of bamboo, prepared in the right way, to which a rope is attached. Together they make the singing whip.

2. **m-p-a.ɪk** **p-a.ɬ-éɛ** **nó-kammíá**
 1-C-be:PR C-IT:INCOMPL-speak on-singing_whip
 I am going to talk about the singing whip
3. **ámmá** **ɲ-kw-ɔ́ɲɔ́ɬ.é** **ittɪ** **ɲ-kw-a.kkɔ́t** **kammíá**
 if 2-C-like:COMPL that 2-C-do:INCOMPL singing_whip
 If you want to make a singing whip
4. **ana** **ɲ-kw-ómmɔ**³⁷ **kupu** **a.ccɔ́ɬa** **kiccé**
 and 2-C-take:INCOMPL piece_of_bamboo CONJ-(2-)polish:DEPINCOMPL carefully
 then you take a piece of bamboo and you polish it carefully.
5. **ámmá** **ɲ-kw-ɔ́ccɔ́ɬá.t** **ɲ-kəɽɪttan** **pápénnán**
 if 2-C-polish:COMPL with-knife very_well
 When you have polished it properly with a knife
6. **á-ommɔ** **kaɽá**³⁸ **á.lúɔ** **ɲ.ɲɪn**
 SUBJ-(2-)take:DEPINCOMPL stone(k.o.) SUBJ-(2-)wriggle:DEPINCOMP with:ABS
 you take a *kaɽa*-stone and you wriggle with it.
7. **ámmá** **ɲ-kw-ɔ́lúɔ́ɬ.t** **móná** **á.kkɔ́t** **cɔ́rúk** **tít**
 if 2-C-wriggle:COMPL until CONJ-(2-)make:DEPINCOMPL opening in:ABS
 When you have wriggled (with it) until you make a hole in it (in the piece of bamboo)
8. **á-témeɽɔ** **ɬɔ́ɾək** **ɬ-ɔ́pɔ́ɬtəre** **ɬ-ɔ́ttákárrân**
 SUBJ-(2-)roll_on_thigh:DEPINCOMPL rope C-very_nice C-thin
 you must roll on your thigh a rope (making it) very nice and thin,
9. **á-ɪɾɪke** **tít** **á.ɾákket** **cɔ́ɲɪk cɪk n-ɬɔ́ɾɔ́ɬán**
 SUBJ-(2-)make_enter:DEPINCOMPL in:ABS CONJ-(2-)tie:DEPINCOMPL knot VREF with-behind
 you pass it through it (through the hole in the piece of bamboo) and
 you tie a knot at the back,
10. **á-ɾákket** **ɬɔ́ɾək** **cɪk** **ɲ-kámmíá** **tít**
 SUBJ-(2-)tie:DEPINCOMPL rope VREF with-singing_whip in:ABS

³⁷ NaA pronounces labialized **k** before **ɔ** [kʷɔ].

³⁸ **kaɽá** is a black stone with sharp edges (possibly slate).

(then) you put the rope with the singing bamboo down

11. **á-t-úmmə** **kupır** **k-úkwít**
 SUBJ-(2-)IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL sorghum_stock C-long
 and you go and pick a long sorghum stock
12. **k-énnaŋ** **k-əttəkárrán**
 C-properly_sized C-thin
 not too big, not too small, and thin
13. **á-illo** **tít** **â.rəpə**
 SUBJ-(2-)split:DEPINCOMPL in:ABS SUBJ-(2-)make_come_down:DEPINCOMPL
 and you split it, and you insert
14. **ɬəɾək** **én-t-ərik** **ɬan** **ɬ-ɔ-kammíâ**
 rope DEM-C-NEARADDR there C-of-singing_whip
 that rope with (lit. 'of') the singing bamboo there (into the split)
15. **â-pet** **nan** **kiccé**
 SUBJ-(2-)wind_at:DEPINCOMPL on:ABS properly
 and you tie it onto it properly
16. **á-əñ** **nəɾɔ** **cattak**
 SUBJ-(2-)go:DEPINCOMPL on_top-of stone(k.o)
 and you go on a stone
17. **á-εε** **kámmíâ**
 SUBJ-(2-)swing:DEPINCOMPL singing_whip
 and you swing the singing whip.
18. **ana-rrók** **ámmá** **ŋ-kw-ɔnú** **kammíâ** **cɪ-nɔ-cəruk**
 and-nevertheless if 2-C-have singing_whip LOC-on-opening
 But if you have a singing whip in the compound
19. **ana** **ámmá** **ŋ-kw-ɔɾəkkéɬ.ε** **ŋɪcɔl** **nə-ɬík**
 and if 2-C-put:COMPL sauce on-fire
 and if you have put sauce on the fire

20. **məna ána ɣurú**
 even and asida
 and even asida
21. **ɣ-kw-aɬ-úre nán akka kámmiá k-ɔpəɾót ɬaɬ-ɬak**
 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-forget:DEPINCOMPL on:ABS that singing_whip C-good very-REDUP
 you will go and forget about it because the singing whip is very good.
22. **ana ɣ-kw-aɬ-íkkə cik nóɾó cattak**
 and 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF on_top-of stone(k.o.)
 And you go and sit on top of a stone
23. **á-ore.kat nan itti**
 SUBJ-(2-)forget:DEPPERFTV on:ABS that
 so that (the next thing is that) you forget about it that
24. **m-p-ɔnó ɣcul nɔ-ɬik ána ɣurú**
 1-C-have sauce on-fire and asida
 I (you) have sauce on the fire and asida.
25. **ana k-k-ɔpəɾót ɬaɬ-ɬak**
 and PRO-C-good very-REDUP
 And it is very nice
26. **a-ɲókúl í-ɲ-âri ɲ-ɔɲɔɬ.ê**
 CONJ-children RES-C-female C-like:COMPL
 and the girls love it.
27. **ámmá ɲ-ɔccɪkɔɬ.é á-páɲón ɛɛ**
 if PRO.C-hear:COMPL CONJ-sibling.PL swing:DEPINCOMPL
 As soon as they hear (lit: have heard) their sisters swing
28. **ana ɲ-érakɔt**
 and PRO.C-come_one_by_one:INCOMPL
 then they come one by one

29. **a-kín** **ennəkke** **a-kín** **εε**
 CONJ-3A try:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-3A swing:DEPINCOMPL
 and they try to swing (the singing whip).

30. **ana** **m-p-əŋə́.é** **ittı** **m-p-éɛ** **nó-kammı́á** **ıttınâ**
 and 1-C-like:COMPL that 1-C-talk_about:INCOMPL on-singing_whip so
 And I like to talk about the singing whip like this

31. **akka** **k-k-əpə́rót** **ıttı-ıttak**
 that PRO-C-good very-REDUP
 because it is very nice.

32. **k-k-á.kə́rənnə** **jókul** **ı-j-ârı** **a-j-ıkkə** **cık** **tótun**
 C-PRO-let:INCOMPL children RES-C-female CONJ-PRO-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF together
 It allows the girls to sit together

33. **ana** **j-éɛ** **ámmı́â**
 and PRO.C-swing:INCOMPL singing_whips
 and they swing the singing whips.

Appendix III

Decorating calabashes

The (female) speaker is Nafisa Abdullai from Icapú (Tə́ɾəmaɬɔ́n), at the time ca. 19 years old. The recording was made in Icapú (Tə́ɾəmaɬɔ́n), on 5 February 2009. Recorded time: 1 minute and 30 seconds.

1. **t-ə́kurrə** **makkón**
 NOM-engrave calabashes(k.o.)
 Decorating calabashes.
2. **m-p-a.ık** **p-aɬ-éɛ** **nó-cákkón**
 1-C-be:PR C-IT:INCOMPL-speak:DEPINCOMPL on-calabash(k.o.)
 I am going to talk about the calabash,

3. **ám̃m.akka** **ól** **ɔkorrɔ** **makkóñ**
 how people engrave:DEPINCOMPL calabashes(k.o.)
 how the people decorate calabashes.
4. **cɪt.tó.kít** **pól** **p-ómmɔ** **korĩn**
 firstly person C-take:INCOMPL awl
 Firstly, the person takes an awl
5. **á-kw-ɔkorrɔ** **n-cakkóñ** **lón** **l-ópátt̃t̃t̃ərə́**
 SUBJ-3-engrave:DEPINCOMPL with-calabash(k.o.) words C-very_good
 to engrave the calabash with it very nicely.
6. **ám̃má** **k-kw-ɔkorrɔ.t** **ɛppík**
 if 3-C-engrave:COMPL all
 When she has engraved the whole (calabash)
7. **á-kw-ɔ́t-ómmɔ** **mɔ̀ñík** **á-kw-ɔ́kákɔ**
 SUBJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL charcoal SUBJ-3-grind:DEPINCOMPL
 she must go and take charcoal and grind it.
8. **ám̃má** **k-kw-ɔ́kákɔ.t** **mɔ̀ñík**
 if 3-C-grind:COMPL charcoal
 When she has ground the charcoal
9. **á-kw-ɔ́t-ómmɔ** **ɲaak**
 SUBJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL oil
 she must go and take the oil
10. **á-kw-ɔ́t̃ɔ́t** **í-órrét** **ɛ̃n-n-ə̃rɪk**
 SUBJ-3-rub_at:DEPINCOMPL in-lines DEM-C-NEARADDR
 to rub it into those grooves
11. **ɪ-a** **k-kw-ɔ́korrɔ.t** **ɲ-korĩn**
 RES-(C-)COP 3-C-engrave:COMPL with-awl
 that she has engraved with the awl
12. **á-kw-ɔ́t̃ɔ́t** **cákkóñ**
 SUBJ-3-rub_at:DEPINCOMPL calabash(k.o.)
 and she rubs the calabash

13. **á-c-ant-íkkə** **cík** **lón** **l-ópəttəre**
 SUBJ-PRO-can:DEPINCOMPL-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF words c-very_good
 and it is going to be very nice
14. **n-népílá nán**
 with-lines on:ABS
 with the drawings on it.
15. **ana ámmá ŋ-kw-ŋŋɔ́.é itti ŋ-kw-a.ɣəkket muccú nán**
 and if 2-C-like:COMPL that 2-C-put_down:INCOMPL beads on:ABS
 And if you want to put beads on it
16. **â-cə muccú m-ɔ́túkkwakə.t cakərúk**
 SUBJ-(2-)string:DEPINCOMPL beads C-be_coloured:COMPL also
 you also string beads of different colours
17. **á-ɪpət nɔ́-cákkɔ́ŋ kiccé**
 SUBJ-(2-)put_down on-calabash(k.o.) properly
 and you put them on the calabash properly.
18. **ámmá á-úl ɔ́kə́taccə cakkɔ́ŋ**
 if CONJ-people look_at.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL calabash(k.o.)
 When people look at the calabash
19. **a-c-c-ópəttəre pəɾɪn**
 CONJ-PRO-C-very_good finally
 it is just really very nice.
20. **ámmá á-íkkə ŋəpak n.tít³⁹**
 if CONJ-(2-)drink:DEPINCOMPL beer from:ABS
 When you drink beer from it,
21. **ámmá á-íkkə ŋəɾɪ n.tít⁴⁰**
 if CONJ-(2-)drink:DEPINCOMPL water from:ABS
 when you drink water from it

³⁹ In the spoken text **ntán** ‘from there’ was used. **ntít** ‘from (it), out of (it)’ was preferred by JS.

⁴⁰ In the spoken text **ntán** ‘from there’ was used. **ntít** ‘from (it), out of (it)’ was preferred by JS.

- ## Appendix IV

(Male) speaker: Kupakku Kamthan Ngappingka (Moussa Hamdaan) from Ṭṭakɪŋkɪɾɪŋ (Ṭṭarɔ), at the time in his late twenties. Recorded at Ṭṭarəṭṭɪŋ (Ṭṭarɔ), April 2008. Recorded time: 5 minutes and 2 seconds.

- ⁴¹ **taik** can also be left out.

3. **ana kəɾɔl k-ikkɔ.t cik tʊan nɔɪuk**
and tortoise C-sit:COMPL VREF at_home for_nothing
and the tortoise was staying at home, doing nothing.
4. **a-kw-ɔme.kaɬ-ɔk itti tɔma táɬ-ta**
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that friend how-QW
And he (the tortoise) said to him: “Friend, how are you?”
5. **m-p-átt-ɔccɔ tɪk ana attɪ tɪk t-a.ɪk**
1-C-ITVEN:COMP-receive:DEPINCOMPL fire and I_hope_that fire C-be:PR
I have come to get fire and I hope there is fire?”
6. **a-kw-ɔme.kaɬ-ɔk itti tɪk t-a.ɪk ana ŋ-kw-a.cɔɾɔ kəppák**
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that fire C-be:PR and 2-C-wait:INCOMPL short_time
And he (the bird) said to him: “There is fire, but you wait a little,
7. **a-parɪ p-in íta ír-ɔɾəkɔ ŋurɔ**
CONJ.PERS-wife C-1POSS cook:DEPINCOMPL (SUBJ-)12-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida
my wife is cooking so that we can eat asida”.
8. (...) [**a-kw-ɔme.kaɬ-ɔk itti lá la la**]⁴² **kɪrənnɪ lɔn l-ɔ-úrɔ**
? CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that no no no let:IMP words C-of-asida
[He (the tortoise) said to him], “No no no, leave the asida!”
9. **a-kw-ɔme.kaɬ-ɔk itti ɪkkɪ cik ír-ɔɾəkɔ ŋurɔ**
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that sit:IMP VREF (SUBJ-)12-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida
But he (the bird) told him, “Sit down so that we eat asida”.
10. **a-kw-ɔme.kaɬ-ɔk itti ɪt-t-a.ɾəkɔ ŋurɔ**
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that 12-C-eat:INCOMPL asida
Then he (the tortoise) said to him: “We will eat asida.
11. **ŋ-kw-əɾá.t-ín ŋúrɔ pɔccɔp-pɔccɔk itti ɪt-t-a.ɾəkɔ**
2-C-refuse:COMPL-O1 asida for_some_time-REDUP that 12-C-eat:INCOMPL
You continue to ignore me regarding the asida, so we will eat.

⁴² Sudanese Arabic interjection: *la* ‘no’.

12. **ɔ-parɪ p-aŋ p-a.kkóttet ŋócól ŋ-ɔ́-ín-ʔa**
 PERS-wife C-2POSS C-do.PLUR:INCOMPL sauce C-of-what-QW
 What does your wife always make the sauce of?”
13. **a-kw-óme.kat-ɔ́k itti**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that
 But he (the bird) said to him,
14. **ant-íkkɔ cɪk tulluk á-ʔəkɔ ŋurú**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF only SUBJ-(2-)eat:DEPINCOMPL asida
 “Please just sit down to eat asida”.
15. **a-kw-óna.kat ŋurú ana ŋəɾɪ ŋ-ŋócól ŋ-áôn⁴³**
 CONJ-3-bring:DEPPRFV asida and water with-sauce of-bees
 And he brought the asida and water with honey sauce (i.e. a watery honey sauce).
16. **a-kw-óme.kat-ɔ́k itti tír-ɔ́ʔəkɔ ŋurú**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that HRT1 2-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida
 And he (the bird) said to him, “Let us eat the asida”.
17. **a-kw-óme.kat-ɔ́k itti**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that
 And he (tortoise) said to him:
18. **á-a ŋ-kw-a.ʔəkɔ ŋurú ŋ-ŋəɾɪ tɪt éŋ-ŋ-í íttíná-ɪ**
 no-REDUP 2-C-eat:INCOMPL asida with-water in:ABS DEM-C-NEARSP so-Q
 “No, you eat asida with this water to it like this?”
19. **ŋ-ŋəɾɪ éŋ-ŋ-í á-n-ɔ́ʔəkɔ ŋurú akka-ín**
 with-water DEM-C-NEARSP CONJ-1-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida that-what
 with this water, why would I eat the asida?!

⁴³ **ŋáôn** instead of expected **ŋaôn**.

20. **akka** **ᵛ-pari** **p-in** **p-a.kkót**
 that PERS-wife C-1POSS C-do:INCOMPL
ḡúćól **ḡ-ᵛṅṭómát** **ámma** **pa-p-əṭek**
 sauce C-strong like thing-C-some
 because my wife makes the sauce strong like anything (i.e. very strong)
21. **ana** **m-p-a.ṛəkme** **ḡín-ṭá** **ḡúrú** **ḡ-ḡəṭĩ**
 and 1-C-eat_for:INCOMPL what-QW asida with-water
 so why would I eat asida with water?”
22. **a-kw-ᵛme.kat-ᵛk** **itti** **ant-ᵛnət**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that can:DEPINCOMPL-taste:DEPINCOMPL
 But he (the bird) told him: “Please taste it,
23. **ant-ᵛmmē**⁴⁴ **ḡúrú** **á-nət**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-move:DEPINCOMPL asida SUBJ-(2-)taste:DEPINCOMPL
 move the asida so that you taste it”. (i.e. bring a piece to your mouth)
24. **khalas**⁴⁵ **akka** **k-kw-ᵛṛəkə.t** **ḡúrú**
 that's_it that 3-C-eat:COMPL asida
 Okay, when he (the tortoise) had been eating the asida,
25. **akka** **ᵛ-kín** **ṭ-ᵛṛəkə.t** **ḡúrú** **púccók**
 that PERS-3A C-eat:COMPL asida for_some_time
 when they had been eating the asida for some time,
26. **a-kw-ᵛme.kat-ᵛk** **itti** **ant-ᵛnət**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that can:DEPINCOMPL-taste:DEPINCOMPL
 he (the bird) said to him, “Please taste it (the sauce)”.

⁴⁴ **ᵛmmē** ‘move’ collocates with asida. It can refer to moving the asida from the cooking pot onto a plate, to dipping a piece of asida in the sauce, or to bringing asida to the mouth.

⁴⁵ Sudanese Arabic interjection *khalaaṣ* ‘that’s it, so much for that, enough’.

27. **a-kw-ómmē.kat** **a-kw-óme.kat** **ittı** **ókwǿı**
 CONJ-3-move:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that goodness
 And he (the tortoise) moved it (i.e. he dipped the asida in the sauce and brought it to his mouth) and said: “Goodness,
28. **ı́sma** **ı́scol** **ı́-ı́n-ta-ppu** **éı-ı́ı** **ı́-ı́rrók** **ı́ttınâ**
 friend sauce C-of-what-QW-really DEM-C-NEARSP C-cold so
 friend, what, really, is this sauce that is so sweet made of?”
29. **a-kw-ócca.kat** **ı́ııı** **ı́-carək** **póccók**
 CONJ-3-scoop:DEPPRFV asida in-belly for_some_time
 And he scooped the asida into his stomach for some time
30. **a-kw-óı́ka.kat** **a-kw-óme.kat** **ittı** **ı́sma**
 CONJ-3-become_satisfied:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that friend
 and he got satisfied and he said: “Friend,
31. **ı́-parı** **p-áı** **p-á.kkátıet** **ı́scol** **ı́-ı́n-tá** **éı-ı́ı** **ı́ttınâ**
 PERS-wife C-2POSS C-do.PLUR:INCOMPL sauce C-of-what-QW DEM-C-NEARSP so
 what does your wife always make this sauce of like this? (i.e. what is the secret ingredient making it so sweet?)
32. **ant-ı́káné-n** **á-n-ı́kkót**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 SUBJ-1-do:DEPINCOMPL
 Please show it to me,
33. **ı́scol** **éı-ı́ı** **ı́-ı́ııı** **cákərúk**
 sauce DEM-C-NEARSP RES-(C-)sweet also
 so that I can make this sweet sauce too”.
34. **(a-kəı́ı)** **ăıııııápe** **óme.kat-ı́k** **ittı**
 CONJ-tortoise CONJ.bird tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that
 (And the tortoise) And the *ı́attıııııápe*-bird said to him:
35. **ı́kə** **áı-ı́met** **ı́-parı** **p-áı**
 go:IMP CONJ.(2.)IT:DEPINCOMPL-tell:DEPINCOMPL PERS-wife C-2POSS
 “Go and tell your wife

36. **á-kw-ann-ḡḡéet** **nó-capu** **ḡ-kín** **ḡ-per-ḡn** **tárra**⁴⁶
 SUBJ-3-NEG:DEP-urinate_at:DEPINCOMPL on-ground PERS-3A PERS-child-PL all
 that she and all her children must not urinate on the ground,
37. **á-km** **ann-ḡḡéet** **nó-capu**
 SUBJ.PERS-3A NEG:DEP-urinate_at:DEPINCOMPL on-ground
 they must not urinate on the ground
38. **a-kín** **ḡḡállēt** **ɪ-lɔntərɔ**
 CONJ.PERS-3A urinate_at.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL in-calabashes(k.o.)
 but they must urinate in calabashes.
39. **íer**⁴⁷ **pul** **á-p-ḡppét** **ḡntérɔ** **ḡ-ḡḡ**
 any person SUBJ-PRO-fill:DEPINCOMPL calabash(k.o.) C-3POSS
 Each person must fill his calabash
40. **ana** **ṣabááh**⁴⁸ **á-ɪṭa**⁴⁹
 and morning SUBJ-(2-)cook:DEPINCOMPL
 and in the morning you must cook (asida),
41. **át-ákkarɔ-n** **ír-ḡṭ-ḡṭəkɔ** **ḡurɪ**
 CONJ.(2.)VEN-call:DEPINCOMPL-1o (SUBJ-)12-IT:DEPINCOMPL-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida
 then you must come and call me, so that we go and eat asida”.
42. **ana** **a-kw-ḡmɛ.kat** **ḡ-parɪ** **ɪtɪ**
 and CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV PERS-wife that
 And he (the tortoise) said to his wife:
43. **ɲ-cɪc-cəne** **ménɲí** **pul** **p-ellá** **p-á.ḡéet** **nó-capú**
 with-LOC-here today person C-lack:INCOMPL C-urinate_at:INCOMPL on-ground
 “From here and now on, no one will urinate on the ground

⁴⁶ Not a Lumun word, according to JS probably a Tira word.

⁴⁷ From Sudanese Arabic *ayyi* ‘any’.

⁴⁸ Sudanese Arabic word *ṣabaah* ‘morning’.

⁴⁹ Implied object of *ɪṭa* is *ḡurɪ* ‘asida’.

- ⁵⁰ The word is realized tonally different from the same word in the same environment in line 48. In line 48 'this' modifying the stick is realized as before a pause, in line 49 there is high tone shift onto the next word, followed by tone bridge. In both cases, both realizations are possible.

53. **ámamá** **ŋ-kw-ířé.t** **meník**
 if 2-say:COMPL like_this
 (but) If you say so (lit.: if you have said so),
54. **ɔ-nɪn** **ɬ-a.ŋállent-ɔŋ** **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̃**
 PERS-1A C-urinate_for_at.PLUR:INCOMPL-O2 in-calabashes(k.o)
 we will urinate for you in calabashes,
55. **ant-ɔkáɬa** **lón** **í-l-á-kkót**⁵¹ **nán**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-look:DEPINCOMPL words RES-C-COP-(2-)do:DEPINCOMPL on:ABS
 just see what you do with it!
56. **ana** **ŋ-kw-ířé.t** **ɪttɪ** **ɔ-nɪn** **ɬ-a.ŋállent-ɔŋ** **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̃**
 and 2-say:COMPL that PERS-1A C-urinate_for_at.PLUR:INCOMPL-O2 in-calabashes(k.o)
 And you said that we must urinate for you in calabashes,
57. **ana** **áppín-áppín** **a-ŋ-kw-ǎnn-íře** **ɪttɪ**
 and always-REDUP CONJ-2-C-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL that
 but all the time you were not saying that
58. **ɔ-nɪn** **ɬ-a.ŋállɛt** **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̃**
 PERS-1A C-urinate_at.PLUR:INCOMPL in-calabashes(k.o)
 we must urinate in calabashes!” (i.e. you never said this before!)
59. **a-kín** **ɔŋállɛ.kat** **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̃**
 CONJ.PERS-3A urinate_at.plur:DEPPRFV in-calabashes(k.o)
 And they urinated in the calabashes.
60. **ana** **ʃabááh**⁵² **a-kw-óllɔ** **kɪttík** **a-kw-óme.kat** **ɪttɪ**
 and morning CONJ-3-run:DEPINCOMPL strongly CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that
 And in the morning he (the tortoise) ran fast and said:

⁵¹ **í-l-á-kkót** < **í-l-á-ŋ-ókkót**.

⁵² Sudanese Arabic word *ʃabaah* ‘morning’.

- ⁵³ **úr-** is a variant of **ún** (short for **ɔrún** ‘we(INCL)’) that can be used in this environment. The subjunctive particle **â-** is dropped here.
- ⁵⁴ **úr-** is a variant of **ún** (short for **ɔrún** ‘we(INCL)’) that can be used in this environment. The conjunctive particle **á-** is dropped here.

68. **yálla⁵⁵ tuṛít t-éí t-áá.t t-á.kkó í-kórâ**
 come_on food C-be_here C-come:COMPL C-reach:INCOMPL in-open_space
 “Come on, the food has arrived here, reaching in our middle
69. **ana ʊn-t-a.ɾəkô**
 and 12A-C-eat:INCOMPL
 and we will eat it.
70. **apelle ɲucul-é kirənni únɔt nán**
 pour_top:IMP sauce-PROP let:IMP pour_at:DEPINCOMPL on:ABS
 Pour some sauce, but don’t pour it on it (i.e. on the asida),
71. **ampellet.ɛ nɔ-cáttak p-əllék**
 pour_at.PLUR:IMP on-plate C-alone
 pour it in bits on a plate of its own”.
72. **a-kw-ámpelle.kat nɔ-cáttak**
 CONJ-3-pour_at.PLUR:DEPPRFV on-plate
 And he (the tortoise) poured it in bits on a plate.
73. **a-kw-óme.kat-ók itti ant-ɔ́tápe-me**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that can:DEPINCOMPL-dip:DEPINCOMPL-PROP
 And he (the bird) said to him, “Please dip it”, (i.e. dip the asida in the sauce)
74. **a-kw-óme.kat itti matta⁵⁶ ummi káppəri k-áɲ-ɛ**
 CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that please take:IMP spoon C-2POSS-PROP
 and he (the bird) said, “Please, do pick up your spoon!”
75. **a-kw-ɔ́tápe.kat a-kw-ɔ́ti.at ɲúcɔl [ɲ-ɔ́pɔn]**
 CONJ-3-dip:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-find:DEPPRFV sauce C-bitter
 And he (the tortoise) dipped (the asida in the sauce) and he found the sauce [bitter]

⁵⁵ Sudanese Arabic interjection.

⁵⁶ **matta** is probably a loan, but of unclear origin. Used before Imperatives.

76. **a-kw-óme.kat itti tóma**
 CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that friend
 and he said: “Friend,
77. **ákk-a.kónn-óká ŋocol ŋ-ɔ-mɛccɪn ɪ-írrok**
 FOC-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL sauce C-of-yesterday RES-(C-)cold
 this is not the sweet sauce of yesterday!”
78. **a-kw-óme.kat-ók itti lá la la la⁵⁷**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that no no no no
 And he (the bird) said to him: “No, no, no, no,
79. **akka ŋ-kw-ícat cɪk ɪ-racɔk t-ó-parɪ p-áŋ**
 that 2-C-lie:INCOMPL VREF in-legs C-of.PERS-wife C-2POSS
ɛppɪn ɛppɪn noʔuk
 always always for_nothing
 because you are always lying between the legs of your wife doing
 nothing,
80. **a-ŋ-kw-ɔmma⁵⁸ itti**
 CONJ-2-C-know_not:INCOMPL that
 don’t you know that
81. **ól w-á.ʔókó ŋocol n.tɪ ɪ-pírá-ɪ**
 people C-eat:INCOMPL sauce from in-tree-Q
 people eat sauce from the forest?”
82. **a-kw-óŋkat a-kw-íp.aʔ-ók a-kín éŋkat⁵⁹ ɪ-aôn**
 CONJ-3-go:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-lead:DEPPRFV-O3 CONJ.PERS-3A go:DEPPRFV in-bees
 And he went and he led him and they went to the honeycombs.

⁵⁷ Sudanese Arabic word *la* ‘no’.

⁵⁸ Here, conjunctive **á-** precedes the Incompletive verb **C-ɔmmá**, suggesting that **C-ɔmmá** functions rather like an adjective (‘ignorant (of)’) than like a verb.

⁵⁹ = **óŋkat**.

83. **ana** **၁-kín** **ṭ-áṭ-ṭ-á.móttə** **áún**
 and PERS-3A C-be:PR-C-break_off:INCOMPL bees
 And they are breaking off the honeycombs
84. **a-pól** **p-ṵ-nóppət** **ṵccík.at** **a-p-ákkakat**
 CONJ-person C-of-Nóppət hear:DEPPRFV CONJ-PRO-come:DEPPRFV
 and the person of Nóppət heard it and he came.
85. **ṭóma** **n-ṭ-a.ík** **ṭ-a.móttə** **ḡín-ṭa**
 friend 2A-C-be:PR C-break_off:INCOMPL what-QW
 “Friend, what are you(PL) breaking off?”
86. **ṭn-ṭ-a.ík** **ṭ-a.móttə** **áún**
 1A-C-be:PR C-break_off:INCOMPL bees
 “We are breaking off honeycombs”.
87. **n-ánt-ṵrrən-in** **n-tan** **k-ulukkū**
 2A-can:DEPINCOMPL-throw_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1 with-up_on:ABS C-one
 “Please throw one for me in my direction!”
88. **a-kw-ṵmε.kaṭ-ṵk** **ittı** **ím** **ṭóma**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that hmm friend
 (but) He (the tortoise) said to him (the bird): “Hmm, friend,
89. **ḡ-kw-a.rréne** **p-ém-p-ṵṛé** **áún** **w-ṵ-ín** **w-ṵ-im-p-én**
 2-C-throw_for:INCOMPL C-DEM-C-DIST bees C-of-what C-of-what-C-DEM
 for what, for what will you throw (down) honeycombs for that
 (person)?
90. **εṭ-in** **áún** **cənέ** **á-n-ṵṭṵ** **ḡəre** **n.tít**
 give:IMP-O1 bees here SUBJ-1-pull:DEPINCOMPL honey from:ABS
 Give me the honeycombs here, so that I suck the honey out of them
91. **á-n-ṵrrén-ṵk** **təḡák**
 SUBJ-1-throw_for-O3 fibre
 so that I throw (down) for him the empty comb”.
92. **a-kw-ṵmε.kaṭ-ṵk** **ittı** **εέ** **kəṭṵl**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that hey tortoise
 And he (the person of Nóppət) said to him: “Hey tortoise,

93. **η-kw-a.rrén-m** **νόηək** **akka.ín-ʈa**
 2-C-throw_for:INCOMPL-O1 fibres why-QW
 why do you throw (down) for me the empty combs?
94. **ant-εʈ-m** **kaón** **í-k-óno** **ηərə**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-give:DEPINCOMPL-O1 bee RES-C-have honey
 Please, give me a honeycomb which has honey!
95. **ηattəttápe** **ant-εʈ-m** **kaón** **í-k-óno** **ηərə**
 bird(sp) can:DEPINCOMPL-give:DEPINCOMPL-O1 bee RES-C-have honey
 ηattəttápe-bird, please give me a honeycomb which has honey!”
96. **əttəttápé** **órré.kanʈ-ók** **káón** **í-k-óno** **ηərə**
 CONJ.bird(sp) throw_for:DEPPRFV-O3 bee RES-C-have honey
 And the ηattəttápe-bird threw (down) for him a honeycomb which had honey,
97. **a-kw-ín.at** **a-kw-ómə.kat** **ittı** **kəʈʃl**
 CONJ-3-taste:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that tortoise
 and he (the person of Nəppət) tasted it and he said: “Tortoise,
98. **ménni ná** **á-kkəttene** **kené**
 today whéré:REL CONJ-(2-)pass_for.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL your_mother
 now, on your mother, where will you pass! (i.e. you will not escape!)
99. **η-kw-íkkə** **p-ínane** **kəne** **ménni** **túllúk**
 2-C-may C-know_for:INCOMPL your_mother today only
 On your mother, you may know something just today!” (i.e. it seems you will experience something just today!)
100. **a-kw-ómə.kanʈ-ók** **ittı** **ín-m**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that no-REDUP
 But he (the tortoise) said to him: “No,
101. **əppətte** **ʈ-əppətte** **ʈ-ənaʈə** **ʈ-ó-m-i**
 pass.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL NOM-pass.PLUR NOM-walk C-of-what-Q
 pass, passing, walking for what??

102. **akka.în** **a-ttómá** **p-á.ík** **p-á.nékó-n**
 why CONJ-PERS-friend C-be:PR C-take:INCOMPL-O1
 Why, my friend is carrying me,
103. **p-a.řékket-in** **ı-kıttı-kıttı**
 C-put:INCOMPL-O1 in-safe_spot_against_body-REDUP
 putting me in a safe place against his body
104. **á-ın-eđ**
 SUBJ-1A-go:DEPINCOMPL
 so that he and I can go
105. **akka** **aun** **w-əməttát.ε**
 that bees C-finish:COMPL
 because the honey is finished”.
106. **a-kw-óme.kať-ók** **ıttı** **řóma** **m-p-a.ık** **p-a.éđ** **pəřın**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that friend 1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL completely
 And he said to him, “Friend, I am leaving now”.
107. **a-kəřđl** **əmé.kat** **ıttı** **k-k-á.kəřət**
 CONJ-tortoise say:DEPPRFV that PRO-C-move_up:INCOMPL
 And the tortoise said to him that he will climb (on him)
108. **a-kw-ıttı.at** **cēn** **a-kw-óř.at** **kəřđl** **ı-cəřé** **attáp**
 CONJ-3-pick:DEPPRFV palm_fruit CONJ-3-throw_at:DEPPRFV tortoise in-buttock attap
 and he (the person of Nəppət) picked up a palm fruit and threw it at
 the tortoise *attap* against his buttocks
109. **a-k-áp.at** **cı-nó-capó**
 CONJ-PRO-fall:DEPPRFV LOC-on-ground
 and he (the tortoise) fell right on the ground.
110. **a-kw-óme.kať-ók** **ıttı** **ı-kw-á.řuncə-n** **nóřok** **cəřı⁶⁰**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that 2-C-throw_at.PLUR:INCOMPL-O1 for_nothing wait:IMP
 And he said to him: “You throw (palm fruits) at me in vain, stop it!”

⁶⁰ = **cəřı** ‘wait!’

111. **a-kw-ápp-əpákk.at** **tan** **ɲ-coŋê**
 CONJ-3-again:DEPINCOMPL-return:DEPPRFV up_on:ABS with-buttock
 And he (the tortoise) went back up again with his bottom (i.e. with his bottom first)
112. **a-k-úŋunc.at**⁶¹ **púccók**
 CONJ-3-throw_at.PLUR:DEPPRFV for_some_time
 and he (the person of Nəppət) threw (at the tortoise) for some time
113. **a-mén** **śmótta.kar-a**
 CONJ-palm_fruits become_finished:DEPPRFV-ATT
 and the palm fruits got finished.
114. **a-kw-śme.kaŋ-śk** **ittɪ**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that
 And he (the tortoise) said to him:
115. **ana** **mén** **m-êrɪk** **m-əməttáŋ.ɛ**
 and palmfruits C-be_NEARADDR C-become_finished:COMPL
 “And the palm fruits there with you are finished,
116. **ana** **ɲ-kw-ápp-əŋunc.at-in** **ɲim-p-ên**
 and 2-C-again:INCOMPL-throw_at.PLUR:DEPPRFV-O1 what-C-DEM
 and what will you throw at me again?”
117. **a-kw-śme.kaŋ-śk** **ittɪ** **app-əkúŋət** **n-tán**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that again:DEPINCOMPL-move_up:DEPINCOMPL with-up_on:ABS
 And he (the person of Nəppət) said to him (the tortoise), “You climb up again!” (if you can!)
118. **akka** **k-kw-śkuŋət.ɛ** **n-tán**⁶²
 that 3-C-move_up:COMPL with-up_on:ABS
 When he had climbed up

⁶¹ = **akwśŋuncat**.

⁶² **ntán** was explained as ‘towards the storyteller’, as if the storyteller (as deictic centre) has located himself up in the tree.

119. **a-kəɽɔl** **ɔɽi.at** **mén** **m-ellâ**
 CONJ-tortoise find:DEPPRFV palm_fruits C-be_absent:INCOMPL
 the tortoise found there were no palm fruits (left)

120. **a-kw-ɔme.kat** **itti** **ɽɔma** **ɔnek-ɔn**
 CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that friend take:IMP-O1
 and he said, “Friend, take me!”

121. **akka k-kw-ɔnekɔ.r-ɔk** **ittiná** **a-kín** **ɔŋkat**
 that 3-C-carry:COMPL-O3 so CONJ.PERS-3A go:DEPPRFV
 When he (the bird) had taken him like that, they went.

122. **akka ɔ-kín ɔkkɔ** **í-róé** **a-kw-ɔme.kat-ɔk** **itti ɽɔma**
 that PERS-3A pass:DEPINCOMPL in-river CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that friend
 When they reached the river, he (the bird) said to him: “Friend,

123. **m-p-ɔkɽɔná.t** **ɔkun** **én-n-í**
 1-C-become_tired:COMPL hand DEM-C-NEARSP
 I am tired in this arm (wing)

124. **ana** **m-p-a.ik** **p-a.nókket-ɔŋ** **kárɔ-tâ**
 and 1-C-be:PR C-put_down:INCOMPL-2O where-QW
 but where am I putting you down?”

125. **a-kw-ɔme.kat-ɔk** **itti ɔpəɽəttɔt-in** **ɽ-ɔkkón** **én-n-ɔɽê**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that turn_at:IMP-O1 at-hand DEM-C-DIST
 And he told him, “Change me to that hand!” (i.e. take me under your other wing)

126. **akka** **k-kw-ɔpəɽəttɔ.r-ɔk**⁶³
 that 3-C-turn:COMPL-O3
 When he (the bird) changed him

127. **ăccɽk.at** **a-k-kw-ɔllökkwɔ.t** **(akka)**⁶⁴
 CONJ.(2.)hear:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-C-slip:COMPL that
 you could hear he (the tortoise) had slipped (away) (because)

⁶³ The boundary tone on the third person object pronoun clitic causes tone bridge over the verb. The verb would otherwise be **kkwɔpəɽəttɔrɔk**.

⁶⁴ According to JS, **akka** is not good here.

128. **kəʁuntök** **kəʁuntök**⁶⁵ **a-kw-óme.kat** **itti**
 kəʁuntok kəʁuntok CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that

kəʁuntok, kəʁuntok, and he (the tortoise) said:

129. **ʦóma** **ʦóma** **ɔccəkət-ɪm-mê** **ʦóma** **ɔccəkət-ín**
 friend friend catch:IMP-O1-URG friend catch:IMP-O1

“Friend, friend, catch me!! Friend, catch me,

130. **á-kucuk** **ɪ-rué**
 SUBJ-plop in-river

or *plop* into the river!”

131. **a-kw-óll.át** **á-kw-írík.at** **ɪ-rué**
 CONJ-3-run:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-enter:DEPPRFV in-river

He (the tortoise) ran and he entered into the river. (i.e. the tortoise fell on the ground first and then quickly ran and jumped into the river)

132. **a-kw-óme.kat-ók** **itti** **na-ppóttene** **kené**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that where:REL-(2-)pass_for.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL your_mother

He (the person of Nəppət) said to him: “On your mother, where will you pass,

133. **ménní** **m-p-ínan-ɔŋ** **kəné**
 today 1-C-know_for-O2 your_mother

on your mother, now I know you!” (i.e. I know where you are)

134. **a-kw-óík.at** **ɪ-rək-â**
 CONJ-3-wait:DEPPRFV in-river-ATT

But he (the tortoise) waited in the river

135. **a-pattɪ** **éŋkat**⁶⁶ **a-kw-ócca.kat**
 CONJ.PERS-person go:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-scoop:DEPPRFV

and that person (the person of Nəppət) went and he scooped some water out

⁶⁵ NaA and JS were not sure how this word sounded and the transcription is only tentative.

⁶⁶ = **ɔŋkat**.

136. **a-kw-ṣṣkat a-kw-ṣkkott.at áṣəpə n-tan w-ṣ-nə-rue tárra**
 CONJ-3-go:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-collect:DEPPRFV things with-up_on:ABS C-of-on-river all
 and he went and he collected towards him all the animals at the river

137. **a-kw-ṣna.kat a-kw-ṣme.kat itti**
 CONJ-3-bring:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that
 and he brought (them) and he said:

138. **n-ánt-át-ikkjīn-m** **ṣəṣi**
 2A-can:DEPINCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-drink_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1 water
 “Please come and drink the water for me,

139. **ákka ṣəṣl ṣəṣek ṣə-pəṣṣ.é cənṣ**
 that little_tortoise C-some C-fall_at:COMPL here
 because some nasty little tortoise has fallen here”.

140. **khalas⁶⁷ ittíná k-kw-ṣme.kát-ək itti**
 that's_it so 3-C-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that
 Okay, so he told him that (unclear who is meant here by ‘him’)

141. **ṣəṣl ṣəṣ-ṣ-ṣ ṣə-pəṣṣ.é cənṣ**
 little_tortoise DEM-C-NEARSP C-fall:COMPL here
 this little tortoise has fallen here.

142. **a-kw-ṣme.kat itti ant-ṣṣṣṣ**
 CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that can:DEPINCOMPL-wait:DEPINCOMPL
 And he said (to the tortoise), “You wait,

143. **ṣ-kw-á.ppətte kəren**
 2-C-pass.PLUR:INCOMPL where
 where will you pass?!”,

144. **ámmá á-k-ṣṣ**
 if CONJ-3-descend:DEPINCOMPL
 while he (the tortoise) goes down

⁶⁷ Sudanese Arabic interjection *khalas* ‘that’s it, so much for that, enough’.

145. **á-kw-óppót** **nó-kútút** **k-ó-rók** **á-kw-arrət** **cık**
 CONJ-3-pass_at:DEPINCOMPL on-lip C-of-river SUBJ-3-cross:DEPINCOMPL VREF

and moves along the side of the river in order to cross it

146. **á-kw-ópákkət** **ɲ-cənέ** **nó-kútút** **k-ó-rók**
 CONJ-3-return:DEPINCOMPL with-here on-lip C-of-river
- and returns from here on the side of the river (i.e. the other side)

147. **á-kw-arrət** **cık**
 SUBJ-3-cross:DEPINCOMPL VREF
- in order to cross it (i.e. to cross it again).

148. **a-kw-óme.kat-ók** **ittı** **ɲ-kw-a.kkót** **lən** **el-l-ərík**
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that 2-C-do:INCOMPL words DEM-C-NEARADDR
- And he (the person of Nəppət) said to him: “You do those things,

149. **ɲ-kw-íkkə** **p-ínane** **kəne** **ménni túllúk**
 2-C-may C-know_for:INCOMPL your_mother today only
- on your mother, you may know something just today, (i.e. it seems you are going to experience something just today)

150. **ámmá** **m-p-ánn-ókıncət-ıɲ** **ca** **cık**
 if 1-C-NEG-crush_by_throwing_stones_at.PLUR:DEPCOMPL-O2 head VREF
- if I will not have crushed your head by throwing stones”.

151. **khalas**⁶⁸ **akka** **árəpu** **w-ıkkót** **ɲərı**
 that's_it that things C-drink:COMPL water
- So then, when the animals had drunk the water,

152. **a-kəɟıl** **ótəkkar.at** **ı-ar** **éɲ-ɲ-ərık** **ɲ-ətıé** **cık**
 CONJ-tortoise move_aside:DEPPRFV in-mud DEM-C-NEARADDR C-small VREF
- the tortoise moved aside into that small mud.

153. **akka** **əpa** **w-aa.r-â**
 that piece_of_meat C-come:COMPL-ATT
- When the wild animal came,

⁶⁸ Sudanese Arabic interjection *khalaas* ‘that’s it, so much for that, enough’.

154. **a-k-ú.at** **ı-kəɾál** **əŋ-k-ərık** **k-əttê**
 CONJ-PRO-descend:DEPPRFV in-small_water_spot DEM-C-NEARADDR C-small
 he moved down into that small water spot.
155. **akka ɔpa** **én-n-əɾé** **w-ɔ-rı-pırá** **w-aa.t** **ı-əɾık** **ıkê**
 that piece_of_meat DEM-C-DIST C-of-in-tree C-come:COMPL RES-(C-)big giraffe
 When that big wild animal of the forest, the giraffe, came,
156. **a-ıkk.at** **ŋəɾı** **a-kw-óllökkw.at** **ı-carək** **c-ɔ-ıke**
 CONJ-(PRO-)drink:DEPPRFV water CONJ-3-slip:DEPPRFV in-belly C-of-giraffe
 he drank water and he (the tortoise) slipped into the stomach of the giraffe
157. **a-kw-ɔɣ.at** **kəɾıttán** **ń-tɔ-kəɾıkı**
 CONJ-3-pull:DEPPRFV knife with-up_on-elbow
 and he pulled his knife from his elbow
158. **a-kw-ɔkı.at** **ıke** **lɔŋkwɛ** **appəɾɔt**
 CONJ-3-cut:DEPPRFV giraffe lungs *appəɾɔt*
 and he cut the lungs of the giraffe *appəɾɔt*
159. **a-ıke** **ap.at** **n-nórr-a**⁶⁹
 CONJ-giraffe fall:DEPPRFV with-upright_position-ATT
 and the giraffe, from standing straight up, fell over
160. **a-úl** **ɔpólle** **a-áɾəpu** **en-n-ərık**
 CONJ-people fear:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-things DEM-C-DIST
 while the people were fleeing and those animals,
161. **a-kəpa** **ɔpólle.kat** **tárıa**
 CONJ-forest_animal fear:DEPPRFV all
 all the forest animals fled
162. **mónó** **á-kw-ɔɣ.at** **pól** **p-ɔ-nóppət**
 until CONJ-3-find:DEPPRFV person C-of-Nóppət
 till he (the tortoise?) found the person of Nəppət

⁶⁹ Before the attention particle -a, r of **nər** is pronounced with length.

163. **a-kw-šcukkwat** **cik mónó á-pól** **p-š-nóppət í.at**
 CONJ-3-step_on.PLUR:DEPPRFV VREF until CONJ-person C-of-Nóppət die:DEPPRFV
 and he stepped (on him) repeatedly until the person of Nóppət died.

164. **a-kín** **šcšt.at** **kérúŋ éŋ-k-í** **íttíná pəɽɪn**
 CONJ.PERS-3A finish:DEPPRFV story DEM-C-NEARSP so finally
 And like this they finally finished the story.

Lumun word list

The list below (Appendix V) contains the ca. 200 items used in Schadeberg's overviews of Heiban and Talodi (1981a, 1981b), as well as additional words from the Leipzig-Jakarta list (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009), in all ca. 250 items.

English	Lumun
all	appík
animal	papu / aɾəpu 'thing'
ant	ɕipít / mipít
arm	cəmən / kəmən ukún / jaún 'forearm, hand'
ash(es)	mucúk
back (n.)	kucúl / ucúl
bad	C-ɔkítak
bark (n.)	təmmâk / nəmmâk
belly	carók / kərók
big	C-ittík
bird	puɾupê / uɾupê
bite (v.)	ɔkəɾɔ (also 'burn')
bitter	C-ɔpún
black	C-ɔɲî
blood	ɲɔccôk (/ ɲɔccôk), ɲiccôk (/ ɲiccôk)
blow (v.)	ɔkwɔ
blunt	C-ɔrrô
bone	cumɪan / mumɪam
branch	kuɾĩ / uɾĩ
breast	ɕimmɪk / kimmɪk
breath	cɔkwâ / mɔkwâ
brother	ɔpáɲ / ɔpaɲôn 'sibling' (also: ɔpaɲ i-p-ɔcɔra 'male sibling')
burn (tr.)	ɔkəɾɔ (also 'bite')
carry	ɔnékɔ (also 'take')
child	ukul / ɲukul
claw	kaɾĩ / aɾĩ (also 'nail, louse')

clean (<i>adj.</i>)	C-ṽṛě
clothing	kəréṭ / əréṭ
cloud	tuṭṭe / nuṭṭe
cold	C-írrúk
(multi) coloured	C-ṽṛerěṭ ‘spotted’ (pattern)
come	aṽ
cook (<i>v.</i>)	ṛṭa
count	ṽṇante
cow	waṽ / kié
crush	ṽkákkəṛəṭ
cry	ṽṽ
cut (<i>v.</i>)	ṽkíṽ
dance (<i>v.</i>)	ṽkkwə, also ṽkkə
day (counting unit)	caṛṭ / maṛṭ
die	íṽ
dig	ṛṽṽṭ
dirty	ṽṇkəṭ (<i>v.</i>) ‘become dirty’
do	ṽkkəṭ (also ‘make’)
dog	ṭṭök / lök
drink	ṽkkə
dry	C-ṽṇṭəməṭ
dust (blown by wind)	kuṛəṽpāṇ, also tuṛəṽpāṇ (unpaired nouns)
ear	kunú / unú
earth	capó
eat	ṽṛəkə
egg	cīn / mīn
empty	ṽ-cəṛúk (lit. ‘with opening’)
eye	cīṭ / kīṭ
fall (<i>v.</i>)	apə
far	cīṭṭān
fat (<i>n.</i>)	ṇaák
father	ṽṭṭān ‘his, her father’
fear (<i>v.</i>)	ṽṭṭā
feather	kuṛəccəṭ / uṛəccəṭ (also ‘wing’)
few	C-ṽṭṭē, C-ṽṭṭē
fight (<i>v.</i>)	ṽṭṭāṭṭə
field	kəṽṇ / əṽṇ
finger	caún / maún

fire (<i>n.</i>)	ṭīk / līk
fish (<i>n.</i>)	papê / apê
float	aṛəkɔ
flow	ɔúɔ
flower	pəɾɛn (unpaired noun)
fly (<i>v.</i>)	ṭirɔ
fog	pɔrɔcê
food	ṭɔɾîṭ (/ lɔɾîṭ)
foot	wék / tacók
fruit	ɔkul wəpɪra / ɲɔkul ɲəpɪra (lit. ‘child of tree’)
full	ɔppât (<i>v.</i>) ‘become full’
gazelle	wallīr, allīr / kallīr
give	ɛṭêṭ
go	ɛṣ
goat	ṭimîṭ / liçók
good	C-ɔpərôt
blade of grass/grass	kwacɔ / tacɔ
green	C-íccí
guts	kút / út
hair	kwăn / wăn
hand	ɔkón / ɲaón
hard	C-ɔntómat
he, she	ɔðk
head	cá / má
hear	ɔccíḱɔṭ
heart	cíḱîṭ / məkîṭ
heavy	C-ṭimmīn
hide	ɔrúkwɔ, also ɔrúkɔ
hit	ɔkkwô
hoe	kɪrék / ɪrék
hole	cəruk / kəruk ‘opening, hole’, tɔpú / nɔpú ‘hole in the ground, grave’
horn	ṭipíl / lipíl (part of animal), ṭipíl / lipíl (musical instrument)
house	măn / kəmən
hunt (<i>v.</i>)	ɲáppɔ (<i>n.</i>)
husband	pəɾɛ / əɾɛ
I	ɔón

in	ɪ- (+ tone-pattern on noun)
kill	ɔkkwɔ̃t
knee	kʊŋkʊ / ʊŋkʊ
knife	kəɽɿttǎŋ / ɛɽɿttǎŋ
know	ɪna
lake	tók ɪ-r-apánka / nók ɪ-n-apánka (lit. 'waterplace that waves')
laugh	ɔccíɾɔ
leaf	taɬa / naɬa
left (side)	ɬɔ-kkʊn w-ɔ-kúrê (lit. 'at hand of left side') kurê 'left side'
leg	wék / tacók
lie (down)	ɿcat cɪk
light (not heavy)	C-íppappat
live (at)	ɪkkɔ cɪk
live (be alive)	ɔkkɔ cɪk
liver	ɬʊŋkwe / lʊŋkwe, also ɬʊŋke / lʊŋke
long	C-úkwɿt
louse	kaɽɿ / aɽɿ (also 'claw, nail')
man	pul ɪ-p-ɔcʊra / ul ɪ-ɔmʊra 'person who is male'
many	C-ɔppɔ̃t
meat	ɔpá / kəpá
moon / month	kwanɔ̃k / (w)anɔ̃k
mother	ɔnnân 'his, her mother'
mountain	cəɽɔ̃ŋ / mɔ̃ɽɔ̃ŋ
mouth	ɬɔn / lɔn (lɔn also 'words, matter(s)')
nail	kaɽɿ / aɽɿ (also 'claw, louse')
name	kəɽan / ɛɽan
narrow	C-ɔkəɽɪakɔ̃tɛ (lit. 'be squeezed')
navel	ɬʊttê / lʊttê
near	ɪ-ccɪk k-ɔ- (lit. 'in place of') napəttôt, also nɔpəttôt (adverb)
neck	cələk / kələk
new	C-ɪé
night	ŋkɔ̃ɾâ
nose	kɪɾɛ / ɪɾɛ
not	ɔkəɾənnɔ (v.) 'let, allow, abstain from'
old (not new)	C-ɿpe

old (not young)	u_lkkwa , also u_lka (v.) ‘become old’
person / people	pul / ul
play	appu_lta
pull (v.)	u_ltō
push	u_ltīō
rain (n.)	kapik
red	C-u_lrě
right (correct)	īcāt ‘true!, indeed!’
right (side)	tō-kkūn w-ō-tarī ‘at hand of right side’
river	tué / nué
road	ka_ltār / a_ltār
root	tāka / lāka
rope	tārāk / lārāk
rotten (<i>adj.</i>)	u_lkūtta (v.) ‘become rotten’
rough	C-u_lrerē
round	C-u_llūkur
rub	u_ltōkō (collocates with oil, apply oil to the skin)
run	u_llō
salt	u_lu_lu_lu_lu_l / u_lu_lu_lu_lu_lu_l, u_lu_lu_lu_lu_lu_l / u_lu_lu_lu_lu_lu_l (lit. ‘sauce of Arabs’)
sand	kamūr / tamūr
say	irē
scratch	u_lllālla
see	imma
seed	cōrē / mōrē
sew	ettēt
shade	tārənēk / nārənēk
sharp	C-u_lrrē
shoot (v.)	ārō
short	C-u_lttōt
sing	u_lu_lu_lō
sibling	u_lpāu / u_lpauōn
sister	u_lpāu / u_lpauōn (also u_lpau i-p-ōparī ‘female sibling’)
sit	ikkō cik
skin	ku_ltū / u_ltū
sky	tūtōt
sleep (v.)	u_lka m_ltē (lit. ‘be in sleep’)

small	C-ṣṭṭé, C-ṣṭṭé
smell (v.)	ṣkkunakət (intr.)
smoke	kucúk
smooth	C-ṣṭṭarâ (also ‘soft, infertile (of a man)’)
snake	pṛṇṇ / ṇṇ
soil	nunṭú ‘fine-grained soil’ (unpaired noun)
speak	ere
spear	kaṭók / aṭók
spit (v.)	ṣṭṭkkwə ṇök (also ṣṭṭkkə ṇök) (lit. ‘throw saliva’)
split	illə
squeeze	ṣkáṭət
stab	ere
stand	ṣṣṭ
star	ṣṭṭət / mṭṭət (also ‘hail stone’)
stick	kurrōṇ / urrōṇ
stone	pṭṭək / mṭṭək
straight	accuṇkūr ‘straight ahead’
suck	akə
sun	ṣṇṇkṇ / mṇṇkṇ
sweet	C-ṣṭṭṭ
swell	ṣṭṭkat cik
swim	aṭəkə (of fish, also: ‘float’)
	ṣṭṭṭṭṭ
tail	kuttṭṭk / utṭṭṭk
take	ṣṇékə (also ‘carry’)
thick	C-ṭṭṭṭṭ ‘be thick’
thigh	ṣṇ / mṇ
thin	C-ṣṭṭékárân or C-ṣṭṭékálân
thing	papu / aṭəpu
think	ṣkwárəṭṭṭkət cik
this	en-C-í
thorn	ṭṭ / lṭ
throw	ṣṭṭ
tie	ṭṭṭkə
tongue	ṭṭṭ / lṭṭ
tooth	ṣṇṭ / kṇṭ
tree	pṛa / kṛa

turn	ᵛpérəttakɔ ‘turn oneself’
vomit	utte
walk	ᵛnárɔ
warm	C-íppá
wash	ɔme (also ‘rub’)
water	ᵛəɽĩ / nəɽĩ
wet	C-íán
what?	ᵛínɬa
when?	acínɬa
where?	karəɬâ (also karəɬa)
white	C-ípók
who?	ᵛɬɬa / ᵛɬɬân
wide	C-ape
wife	parí / arí
wind	kənánɣ
wing	kuɽəccô / uɽəccô (also ‘feather’)
	ukón / naón ‘hand’
wipe	ukkwôt (also ukkôt)
	ɔllâ ‘wipe something away’
woman	pul ɾ-p-ᵛparí / ul ɾ-á-arí (lit. ‘female person’)
woods	ɾ-pirâ (lit. ‘in the tree’), ɾ-kirâ (lit. ‘between the trees’)
word(s)	lon
work (n.)	ᵛəɾe (?/ nəɾe)
work (v.)	ɔrékɔ
worm	təŋək / nəŋək
wrong	C-ɔkítak ‘bad’
year	ɬuput / luput
yellow	C-ɔɬəlɔ
yesterday	mɛccín
you (singular)	ɔónɣ
one	C-ulukkû
two	C-ɛɽá
three	C-əɽapóruk
four	C-ɔcɔɽɪn
five	C-ukulúk, C-úkúlúk, ukulúk
six	C-əɽâkkuruk, C-əɽárəpuruk

seven	C-êŕe-C-əŕapóruk, C-êŕeŕapóruk, C-ócaŕa-C-əŕapóruk
eight	C-amóŕəmər, mərəmər
nine	C-úkullácəŕm, C-úkullácəŕm, ukullácəŕm
ten	C-attol, attol
twenty	arriál
hundred	arriál ukulúk