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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 (Taru), born in 1985. Recorded in Təparəḫēḫ (Taru), April 2008. Recorded time: 1 minute and 31 seconds.

1. **kəroḡ**      **k-aməntáci**<sup>29</sup>  
 story              C-of.PERS.Aməntacı  
 The story of Aməntacı.
2. **áməntáci**      **p-á.fk**      **p-ínakə**      **ḡ-ḡóre**  
 PERS.Aməntacı      C-be:PR      C-be\_known:INCOMPL      with-laziness  
 Aməntacı is known for his laziness.
3. **áməntáci**      **p-əká.t**      **p-ónó**      **kapík**  
 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-ânn-énekkə**      **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**      **əcəḡta**      **kwórén**      **k-ḡ-kəre**<sup>30</sup>  
 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)

<sup>29</sup> The initial high tone of **áməntáci** is unexpectedly dropped.

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

6. **ittı** **k-kw-á.kwe** **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-ıkkə** **cık** **η-kəɟıttəŋ** **k-ulluk** **ɬə-kəríkɨ**  
 3-C-sit:INCOMPL VREF with-knife C-only at-elbow  
 He just sits with a knife on his elbow.
8. **ηərə** **pəɟın** **áŋŋərəŋ** **məna**  
 laziness finally totally even  
 The laziness is really enormous!
9. **k-kw-ánn-ıɟe** **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-ıpərəttərə**  
 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-ıkkə** **cık** **η-kəɟıttəŋ** **ɬə-kəríkɨ**  
 3-C-sit:INCOMPL VREF with-knife at-elbow  
 He sits with a knife at his elbow,
13. **k-kw-ıŋŋərə** **k-kw-ıŋŋərə** **pəɟın**  
 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-ətté** **ɕik** **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** **apə** **a-kw-íkkə** **ɕik**  
 if CONJ-rain fall:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF
- a-kw-íkkə** **ɕik** **ɪ-kəɽúk** **k-ɛn**  
 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** **uɕe** **ŋ-kéren** **móna**  
 even CONJ-3-bring:DEPPRFV grass with-where even

where will he even bring the grass from?

21. **lən** **ɛl-l-ərik** **móna<sup>31</sup>** **l-ɔtɛn**  
 words DEM-C-NEARSP even C-of\_what

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

22. **ŋəre** **ɪ-a** **k-kw-ónó** **ŋ-á.mét** **ŋímpɛn**  
 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!)

<sup>31</sup> **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 kápik**  
 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 acəntıŋ-ók məna mıl**  
 that SUBJ-people collect\_for:DEPINCOMPL-O3 even sorghum  
 so that the people will even collect sorghum for him
25. **a-ól acəntıŋ-ók mıl ana məkál ana áppenđına**  
 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 rttıná k-kw-á.kkə cık**  
 and so 3-C-live:INCOMPL VREF  
 and like this he lives.
27. **ana ámmá ń-t-ířét-úŋ ıtıřı<sup>32</sup> ŋ-kw-ónó ŋre**  
 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-kəřa lón l-ókıřttak**  
 SUBJ-(2-)look\_at:DEPINCOMPL words C-very\_bad  
 you must see this as something very bad.
30. **a-kw-óřəkka.kat ménik 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-óřəkka.kat p-makó.t ŋ-ŋóre pəřın**  
 CONJ-3-become:DEPPRFV C-be\_known:COMPL with-laziness finally  
 until he finally became known for his laziness

<sup>32</sup> ıtıřı is a variant of the complementizer ıtı ‘that’.

32. **a-kín** **ikk.at** **cik** **a-kín** **urǝlle**<sup>33</sup> **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-ɔn** **ɔ-manṭéla** **m-ɔ-lótti** **l-âlmélua**<sup>34</sup>  
 PERS-1 PERS-Manṭela C-of.PERS-Lótti C-of.PERS.Almélua  
 I am Manṭela of Lótti of Almélua.

34. **m-p-ɔká.t** **cik** **a-n-úrɛt**<sup>35</sup> **kérou** **ṭáru**  
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-graze\_at:DEPINCOMPL story ṭáru  
**ɪ-curɛ́** **c-ɔ-pira** **c-ɔ-pəɾɔt**  
 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 (Tǝrǝmaṭṭɔn), at the time ca. 19 years old. Recorded in Icapú (Tǝrǝmaṭṭɔn), on 5 February 2009. Recorded time: 1 minute and 56 seconds.

1. **kammrâ**  
 singing\_whip  
 The singing whip.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The Pluractional verb **urǝlle** is based on **urɛ**, which refers to ‘letting the cows graze’. It can also be used for ‘talking, telling’.

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> The verb **urɛ** ‘graze’ is also used in the context of storytelling.

<sup>36</sup> **kammrâ** 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.ik**    **p-a.ɬ-ére**                      **nó-kammíá**  
 1-C-be:PR            C-IT:INCOMPL-speak                      on-singing\_whip  
 I am going to talk about the singing whip
3. **ámmá**    **ŋ-kw-óŋóɬ.é**            **ittɪ**            **ŋ-kw-a.kkót**            **kammíá**  
 if                      2-C-like:COMPL                      that                      2-C-do:INCOMPL                      singing\_whip  
 If you want to make a singing whip
4. **ana**    **ŋ-kw-ómmɔ**<sup>37</sup>            **kupu**                      **a.ccáɬa**                      **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**    **ŋ-kw-óccáɬá.t**            **ŋ-kəɾɪttan**            **pápénnán**  
 if                      2-C-polish:COMPL                      with-knife                      very\_well  
 When you have polished it properly with a knife
6. **á-ómmɔ**                      **kaɾá**<sup>38</sup>            **á.lóɔɔ**                      **ŋ.ŋɪn**  
 SUBJ-(2-)take:DEPINCOMPL                      stone(k.o.)                      SUBJ-(2-)wriggle:DEPINCOMP                      with:ABS  
 you take a *kaɾa*-stone and you wriggle with it.
7. **ámmá**    **ŋ-kw-ólóɔɔ.t**            **móná**            **á.kkót**                      **cə́rúk**            **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-témeɔ**                      **ɬəɾək**            **ɬ-ɔpóttəre**            **ɬ-ɔttəkárrân**  
 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-ɪɪke**                      **tít**    **á.ɾákket**                      **cəɲɪk cík n-ɬəɾəɬán**  
 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**                      **ɬəɾək**            **cík**                      **ŋ-kámmíá**                      **tít**  
 SUBJ-(2-)tie:DEPINCOMPL                      rope                      VREF                      with-singing\_whip                      in:ABS

<sup>37</sup> NaA pronounces labialized **k** before **ɔ** [k<sup>w</sup>ɔ].

<sup>38</sup> **kaɾá** is a black stone with sharp edges (possibly slate).

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

11. **á-ṭ-úmmə**                      **kuṙir**                      **k-úkwít**  
 SUBJ-(2-)<sub>IT</sub>:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL    sorghum\_stock                      C-long  
 and you go and pick a long sorghum stock
12. **k-ênnaṭ**                      **k-əttəkárrán**  
 C-properly\_sized                      C-thin  
 not too big, not too small, and thin
13. **á-illo**                      **tít**                      **â.rəpə**  
 SUBJ-(2-)<sub>split</sub>:DEPINCOMPL                      in:ABS                      SUBJ-(2-)<sub>make\_come\_down</sub>:DEPINCOMPL  
 and you split it, and you insert
14. **ṭṛək**                      **én-ṭ-ərik**                      **ṭan**                      **ṭ-ɔ́-kammjá**  
 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**                      **kiçcé**  
 SUBJ-(2-)<sub>wind\_at</sub>:DEPINCOMPL                      on:ABS                      properly  
 and you tie it onto it properly
16. **á-əṣ**                      **nəṭɔ́**                      **cattak**  
 SUBJ-(2-)<sub>go</sub>:DEPINCOMPL                      on\_top-of                      stone(k.o)  
 and you go on a stone
17. **á-εε**                      **kámmjá**  
 SUBJ-(2-)<sub>swing</sub>:DEPINCOMPL                      singing\_whip  
 and you swing the singing whip.
18. **ana-rrók**                      **ámmá**                      **ḡ-kw-ɔ́nú**                      **kammjá**                      **ci-nɔ́-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**                      **ḡ-kw-ɔ́kkéṭ.ε**                      **ṇiçul**                      **nə-ṭík**  
 and                      if                      2-C-put:COMPL                      sauce                      on-fire  
 and if you have put sauce on the fire

20. **məna**      **ána**      **ηυρú**  
 even          and          asida  
 and even asida
21. **η-kw-aʔ-úre**                      **nán akka kámmiá k-əpəʔót ʔraʔ-ʔrak**  
 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 η-kw-aʔ-íkkə**                      **cík nóʔó 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-əno**      **ηcul**      **nə-ʔík**      **ána**      **ηυρú**  
 1-C-have          sauce          on-fire          and          asida  
 I (you) have sauce on the fire and asida.
25. **ana**      **k-k-əpəʔót**      **ʔraʔ-ʔrak**  
 and          PRO-C-good          very-REDUP  
 And it is very nice
26. **a-ɲókúl**              **í-ɲ-âri**              **ɲ-əŋəʔ.ê**  
 CONJ-children          RES-C-female          C-like:COMPL  
 and the girls love it.
27. **ámmá**      **ɲ-əccikóʔ.é**              **á-páŋón**              **εε**  
 if          PRO.C-hear:COMPL          CONJ-sibling.PL          swing:DEPINCOMPL  
 As soon as they hear (lit: have heard) their sisters swing
28. **ana**      **ɲ-éراكə**  
 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-əŋət.é**    **itti**    **m-p-éere**      **nó-kammιά**    **ittinâ**  
 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-ópərót**    **ttat-ttak**  
 that      PRO-C-good      very-REDUP  
 because it is very nice.

32. **k-k-á.kərənnə**    **jókul**    **ɪ-ŋ-âri**    **a-ŋ-íkkə**      **cɪk**    **tótun**  
 C-PRO-let:INCOMPL    children    RES-C-female    CONJ-PRO-sit:DEPINCOMPL    VREF    together  
 It allows the girls to sit together

33. **ana**    **ŋ-éε**      **ámmiâ**  
 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 (Təɾəmaɾɔŋ), at the time ca. 19 years old. The recording was made in Icapú (Təɾəmaɾɔŋ), on 5 February 2009. Recorded time: 1 minute and 30 seconds.

1. **t-əkurrə**      **makkōŋ**  
 NOM-engrave      calabashes(k.o.)  
 Decorating calabashes.
2. **m-p-a.ɪk**      **p-aɾ-éere**      **nó-cákkōŋ**  
 1-C-be:PR      C-IT:INCOMPL-speak:DEPINCOMPL      on-calabash(k.o.)  
 I am going to talk about the calabash,

3. **ám̄m.akka** **ól** **ɔkorrɔ** **makkón̄**  
 how people engrave:DEPINCOMPL calabashes(k.o.)  
 how the people decorate calabashes.
4. **crit.tó.kít** **pul** **p-ómmɔ** **korĩn**  
 firstly person C-take:INCOMPL awl  
 Firstly, the person takes an awl
5. **á-kw-ɔkorrɔ** **ɲ-cakkón̄** **lón** **l-ópátt̄ərə́**  
 SUBJ-3-engrave:DEPINCOMPL with-calabash(k.o.) words C-very\_good  
 to engrave the calabash with it very nicely.
6. **ám̄má** **k-kw-ɔkorrɔ.t** **ɛppík**  
 if 3-C-engrave:COMPL all  
 When she has engraved the whole (calabash)
7. **á-kw-ɔ́t-ómmɔ** **mɔɲík** **á-kw-ɔkákɔ**  
 SUBJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL charcoal SUBJ-3-grind:DEPINCOMPL  
 she must go and take charcoal and grind it.
8. **ám̄má** **k-kw-ɔkákɔ.t** **mɔɲík**  
 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-ɔ́t̄ɔ́t** **í-órrét** **ɛ̄n-n-ərik**  
 SUBJ-3-rub\_at:DEPINCOMPL in-lines DEM-C-NEARADDR  
 to rub it into those grooves
11. **ɪ-a** **k-kw-ɔkorrɔ.t** **ɲ-korĩn**  
 RES-(C-)COP 3-C-engrave:COMPL with-awl  
 that she has engraved with the awl
12. **á-kw-ɔ́t̄ɔ́t** **cákkón̄**  
 SUBJ-3-rub\_at:DEPINCOMPL calabash(k.o.)  
 and she rubs the calabash

13. **á-c-ant-íkkɔ**                      **cɪk**    **lɔn**                      **l-spət̪t̪ərə**  
 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-óŋót̪.é**    **ittɪ**    **ŋ-kw-a.ʒók̪kɛt**    **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-cɔ**                                      **muccú**    **m-ɔt̪ókkwakɔ.t**    **cakərúk**  
 SUBJ-(2-)string:DEPINCOMPL    beads                      C-be\_coloured:COMPL                      also  
 you also string beads of different colours
17. **á-ɪpət**                                      **nó-cákkónɛ**                      **kɪccé**  
 SUBJ-(2-)put\_down    on-calabash(k.o.)                      properly  
 and you put them on the calabash properly.
18. **ámmá**    **á-ól**                                      **ók̪t̪acce**                                      **cakkónɛ**  
 if                      CONJ-people    look\_at.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL                      calabash(k.o.)  
 When people look at the calabash
19. **a-c-c-ópət̪t̪ərə**                      **pót̪ɪn**  
 CONJ-PRO-C-very\_good                      finally  
 it is just really very nice.
20. **ámmá**    **á-íkkɔ**                                      **ŋópak**    **n.tít<sup>39</sup>**  
 if                      CONJ-(2-)drink:DEPINCOMPL    beer                      from:ABS  
 When you drink beer from it,
21. **ámmá**    **á-íkkɔ**                                      **ŋəɾɪ**    **n.tít<sup>40</sup>**  
 if                      CONJ-(2-)drink:DEPINCOMPL    water                      from:ABS  
 when you drink water from it

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

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

22. **η-kw-αηαῖ.έ** **ittɪ** **η-kw-a.kóʔacce** **neɾilá** **n-en**  
 2-C-like:COMPL that 2-C-look\_at.PLUR:INCOMPL drawings C-of:ABS  
 you like to look at its drawings.

23. **ana** **k-kw-á.ʔ-ɪɾike** **ʔəɾək** **ʔ-əɾək** **ʔ-a.ɪk<sup>41</sup>** **tít**  
 and 3-C-IT:INCOMPL-make\_enter:DEPINCOMPL rope C-some C-be:PR in:ABS  
 And she is going to enter some rope being there into it

24. **á-kw-ant-αῖ-αῖ**  
 SUBJ-3-can:DEPINCOMPL-IT:DEPINCOMPL-wind:DEPINCOMPL  
 and she can make a winding (i.e. wind a coloured thread around the rope)

25. **a-ʔ-íkk.at** **cɪk** **a-ʔ-ʔkəʔaccəʔta** **ʔ-αῖῑῑῑῑῑῑ** **ῑῑῑῑῑ**  
 CONJ-PRO-sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ-PRO-be\_looked\_at.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL C-very\_good finally  
 and it starts to look just very nice.

## Appendix IV

### *The story of the tortoise*

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

1. **keruŋ** (**k-α-)****k-α-kəɾól** **kəɾól** **ana** **ηάῖῑῑῑῑῑῑ**  
 story C-of-C-of-tortoise tortoise and bird(sp.)  
 The story of the tortoise, the tortoise and the *ηάῖῑῑῑῑῑῑ*-bird.

2. **ηάῖῑῑῑῑῑῑ** **η-ikkó.t** **cɪk** **a-ítittɛ** **aón**  
 bird(sp.) C-sit:COMPL VREF CONJ-(PRO-)collect.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL bees  
 The *ηάῖῑῑῑῑῑῑ*-bird was always collecting honey,

<sup>41</sup> **ʔaɾk** can also be left out.

3. **ana kəɾɔl k-ɪkkɔ.t cik tɔan nɔʔuk**  
and tortoise C-sit:COMPL VREF at\_home for\_nothing  
and the tortoise was staying at home, doing nothing.
4. **a-kw-ɔmɛ.kaɬ-ɔk itti ʔɔma táɬ-ʔa**  
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that friend how-QW  
And he (the tortoise) said to him: “Friend, how are you?”
5. **m-p-áɬɬ-ɔccɔ ʔik ana attɪ ʔik ʔ-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-ɔmɛ.kaɬ-ɔk itti ʔik ʔ-a.ɪk ana ɲ-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-m ɪʔa ɪr-ɔɾəkɔ ɲurú**  
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-ɔmɛ.kaɬ-ɔk itti lá la la**<sup>42</sup> **kɪrənnɪ lɔn 1-ɔ-úrú**  
? 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-ɔmɛ.kaɬ-ɔk itti ɪkki cik ɪr-ɔɾəkɔ ɲurú**  
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-ɔmɛ.kaɬ-ɔk itti ɪɬ-ɬ-a.ɾəkɔ ɲurú**  
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that 12-C-eat:INCOMPL asida  
Then he (the tortoise) said to him: “We will eat asida.
11. **ɲ-kw-əɾá.ɬ-ín ɲurú pɔccɔp-pɔccɔk itti ɪɬ-ɬ-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.

<sup>42</sup> Sudanese Arabic interjection: *la* ‘no’.



12. **ɔ-pari p-aŋ p-a.kkóttet ŋócól ŋ-ó-ín-ɬa**  
 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-ók itti**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-03 that  
 But he (the bird) said to him,
14. **ant-íkkɔ cik tulluk á-ɬəkɔ 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 ŋəri ŋ-ŋócól ŋ-áón<sup>43</sup>**  
 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-ók itti tír-óɬəkɔ ŋurú**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-03 that HRT1 2-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida  
 And he (the bird) said to him, “Let us eat the asida”.
17. **a-kw-óme.kat-ók itti**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-03 that  
 And he (tortoise) said to him:
18. **á-a ŋ-kw-a.ɬəkɔ ŋurú ŋ-ŋəri tit 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-ŋəri éŋ-ŋ-í á-n-óɬəkɔ ŋurú akka-ín**  
 with-water DEM-C-NEARSP CONJ-1-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida that-what  
 with this water, why would I eat the asida?!

<sup>43</sup> **ŋáón** instead of expected **ŋaón**.

20. **akka** **ɔ-pari** **p-in** **p-a.kkót**  
 that PERS-wife C-1POSS C-do:INCOMPL  
**ηύκύ** **η-ώντómát** **ámma** **pa-p-ətek**  
 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.ɾəkme** **ηίν-τά** **ηύρύ** **η-ηəřĩ**  
 and 1-C-eat\_for:INCOMPL what-QW asida with-water  
 so why would I eat asida with water?”
22. **a-kw-ómε.kat-ók** **itti** **ant-ónot**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that can:DEPINCOMPL-taste:DEPINCOMPL  
 But he (the bird) told him: “Please taste it,
23. **ant-əmmε**<sup>44</sup> **ηύρύ** **á-not**  
 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**<sup>45</sup> **akka** **k-kw-óɾəkɔ.t** **ηύρύ**  
 that's\_it that 3-C-eat:COMPL asida  
 Okay, when he (the tortoise) had been eating the asida,
25. **akka** **ɔ-kín** **ɬ-əɾəkɔ.t** **ηύρύ** **póccók**  
 that PERS-3A C-eat:COMPL asida for\_some\_time  
 when they had been eating the asida for some time,
26. **a-kw-ómε.kat-ók** **itti** **ant-ónot**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that can:DEPINCOMPL-taste:DEPINCOMPL  
 he (the bird) said to him, “Please taste it (the sauce)”.

<sup>44</sup> **əmmε** ‘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.

<sup>45</sup> Sudanese Arabic interjection *khalaaş* ‘that’s it, so much for that, enough’.

27. **a-kw-ómme.kat a-kw-ómε.kat itti ókwǿí**  
 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. **ἄμα ἡσούλ ἡ-ῶ-ín-ḡa-ppu éη-η-ί ἡ-ίrrók ítínâ**  
 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 ἡυῖ ἰ-carək púccók**  
 CONJ-3-scoop:DEPPRFV asida in-belly for\_some\_time  
 And he scooped the asida into his stomach for some time
30. **a-kw-óḡaka.kat a-kw-ómε.kat itti ἄμα**  
 CONJ-3-become\_satisfied:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that friend  
 and he got satisfied and he said: “Friend,
31. **ῶ-pari p-áj p-á.kkátte ἡσούλ ἡ-ῶ-ín-ḡá éη-η-ί ítínâ**  
 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-ῶkáné-n á-n-ῶkkót**  
 can:DEPINCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 SUBJ-1-do:DEPINCOMPL  
 Please show it to me,
33. **ἡσούλ éη-η-ί ἰ-ῶḡíῶt cákarúk**  
 sauce DEM-C-NEARSP RES-(C-)sweet also  
 so that I can make this sweet sauce too”.
34. **(a-karῶl) áḡḡḡápé ómé.kat-ῶk itti**  
 CONJ-tortoise CONJ.bird tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that  
 (And the tortoise) And the ἡḡḡḡάπε-bird said to him:
35. **ἡκῶ áḡ-ῶmet ῶ-pari p-áj**  
 go:IMP CONJ.(2.)IT:DEPINCOMPL-tell:DEPINCOMPL PERS-wife C-2POSS  
 “Go and tell your wife

36. **á-kw-ann-ḡáéot**                      **nó-capo** **ḡ-kín** **ḡ-per-ón** **tárra**<sup>46</sup>  
 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-ḡáéot**                      **nó-capo**  
 SUBJ.PERS-3A NEG:DEP-urinate\_at:DEPINCOMPL on-ground  
 they must not urinate on the ground
38. **a-kín**                      **ḡḡállət**                      **ı-lontərō**  
 CONJ.PERS-3A urinate\_at.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL in-calabashes(k.o.)  
 but they must urinate in calabashes.
39. **íer**<sup>47</sup> **pul**                      **á-p-ḡppét**                      **ḡóntərō**                      **ḡ-óḡ**  
 any person SUBJ-PRO-fill:DEPINCOMPL calabash(k.o.) C-3POSS  
 Each person must fill his calabash
40. **ana** **ḡabááh**<sup>48</sup>                      **á-ıḡa**<sup>49</sup>  
 and morning SUBJ-(2-)cook:DEPINCOMPL  
 and in the morning you must cook (asida),
41. **áḡ-ákkarō-n**                      **ír-ḡḡ-ḡḡəkō**                      **ḡurū**  
 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-ḡme.kat**                      **ḡ-parı**                      **ıttı**  
 and CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV PERS-wife that  
 And he (the tortoise) said to his wife:
43. **ḡ-cic-cəne** **ménni** **pul**                      **p-ellá**                      **p-á.ḡéot**                      **nó-capó**  
 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

<sup>46</sup> Not a Lumun word, according to JS probably a Tira word.

<sup>47</sup> From Sudanese Arabic *ayyi* ‘any’.

<sup>48</sup> Sudanese Arabic word *ḡabaah* ‘morning’.

<sup>49</sup> Implied object of *ıḡa* is *ḡurū* ‘asida’.

44. **ana kwa éŋ-k-í ók.kw.í í-p-óŋáéọ̣̣́.ε nɔ-capó**  
 and sticks DEM-C-NEARSP the\_one RES-C-urinate\_at:COMPL on-ground  
 and these sticks, who will have urinated on the ground,
45. **m-p-a.kkwe-kók**  
 1-C-beat:INCOMPL-O3  
 I will beat him!”
46. **ittiná a-kw-óŋa.kat**  
 so CONJ-3-tear\_off:DEPPRFV  
 Then he tore off,
47. **a-kə̣̣̣ól óŋá.kaṇ̣̣et ɔ-parɪ-ón kwa k-ɔppót**  
 CONJ-tortoise tear\_off\_for:DEPPRFV PERS-wife-PL sticks C-many  
 the tortoise tore off many branches for his wife and children
48. **a-kw-óme.kat itti pua ém-p-í p-ɔ-pạ̣̣tti ém-p-í**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV that stick DEM-C-NEARSP C-of.PERS-person DEM-C-NEARSP  
 and he said: “This stick is for this person
49. **ana ém-p-í p-ɔ-pạ̣̣tti<sup>50</sup> ém-p-í**  
 and DEM-C-NEARSP C-of.PERS-person DEM-C-NEARSP  
 and this one is for this person.
50. **ana ámmá ók.kw.í í-p-óŋáéọ̣̣́.ε nɔ-capó**  
 and if the\_one RES-C-urinate:COMPL on-ground  
 And if there is anyone who will have urinated on the ground
51. **ana m-p-a.pọ̣̣́ṭ̣̣ṭ̣̣-ók**  
 and 1-C-beat:INCOMPL-O3  
 then I will beat him”.
52. **a-parɪ-ón ómé.kat itti ṇ̣̣ɛɛ ŋaɛ ŋ-ɔ-ín-í**  
 CONJ-wife-PL say:DEPPRFV that nonsense urine C-of-what-Q  
 His wife and children said: “Nonsense, urine for what??

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<sup>50</sup> 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-nɨn**      **ɥ-a.ŋállentɥ-ɔŋ**                      **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̂**  
 PERS-1A      C-urinate\_for\_at.PLUR:INCOMPL-O2      in-calabashes(k.o)  
 we will urinate for you in calabashes,
55. **ant-ɔkóʦa**                                      **lɔn**      **í-l-á-kkót**<sup>51</sup>                      **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** **ittɪ** **ɔ-nɨn** **ɥ-a.ŋállentɥ-ɔŋ**                      **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̂**  
 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**                      **ittɪ**  
 and      always-REDUP                      CONJ-2-C-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL                      that  
 but all the time you were not saying that
58. **ɔ-nɨn**      **ɥ-a.ŋállɛt**                                      **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̂**  
 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**      **óŋállɛ.kat**                                      **ɪ-lɔntərɔ̂**  
 CONJ.PERS-3A      urinate\_at.plur:DEPPRFV                      in-calabashes(k.o)  
 And they urinated in the calabashes.
60. **ana** **ʃabááh**<sup>52</sup> **a-kw-óllɔ**                      **kɪttɪk** **a-kw-óme.kat** **ittɪ**  
 and      morning      CONJ-3-run:DEPINCOMPL      strongly      CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV      that  
 And in the morning he (the tortoise) ran fast and said:

<sup>51</sup> **í-l-á-kkót** < **í-l-á-ŋ-ókkót**.

<sup>52</sup> Sudanese Arabic word *ʃabaah* ‘morning’.

61. **ṭóma aṛik ír-és**  
 friend come:IMP (SUBJ-)12-go:DEPINCOMPL  
**úr-ṭṭ-ṭṭəkó<sup>53</sup> ḡurú**  
 (SUBJ-)12-IT:DEPINCOMPL-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida  
 “Friend, come so that we go, so that we go eat asida”.
62. **a-kw-ṭme.kat-ṭk itti ṭ-pari p-aṇ p-ṭcṭṭṭ.ε ḡucul pəṭin-i**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that PERS-wife C-2POSS C-finish:COMPL sauce completely-Q  
 He (the bird) said to him: “Has your wife completely finished the sauce?”
63. **a-kw-ṭme.kat-ṭk itti ḡi ḡucul ḡ-ṭppəppát.ε ləntərṭ**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that yes sauce C-become\_full.PLUR:COMPL calabashes  
 He said to him: “Yes, the sauce is full (in) the calabashes (i.e. the calabashes are full with sauce),
64. **məna ṭ-rən ṭ-a.ṭəkó ḡurú úr-únte.kat<sup>54</sup> cik**  
 even PERS-12A C-eat:INCOMPL asida (CONJ-)12A-pour.PLUR:DEPPRFV VREF  
 we will eat asida and even pour it away”.
65. **akka k-kw-ákkarṭ.t ḡattṭṭápe ḡattṭṭápe**  
 that 3-C-call:COMPL bird(sp.) bird(sp.)  
 When he called, “*ḡattṭṭápe*-bird, *ḡattṭṭápe*-bird”,
66. **a-kw-ṭme.kat-ṭk itti ant-ṭna ṭurít ṭ-aṇ**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that can:DEPINCOMPL-bring:DEPINCOMPL food C-2POSS  
**ír-ṭṭəkṭ-na**  
 (SUBJ-)12-eat:DEPINCOMPL-ALLOW  
 he (the bird) said to him: “Please bring your food so that we eat it”.
67. **a-kw-ṭme.kat-ṭk itti**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that  
 And he (the bird) said to him:

<sup>53</sup> **úr-** is a variant of **ún** (short for **ṭrún** ‘we(INCL)’) that can be used in this environment. The subjunctive particle **á-** is dropped here.

<sup>54</sup> **úr-** is a variant of **ún** (short for **ṭrún** ‘we(INCL)’) that can be used in this environment. The conjunctive particle **á-** is dropped here.

68. **yálla<sup>55</sup> tuṛít t-éí t-áá.t t-á.kkó í-kóṛâ**  
 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 un-t-a.ṛəkô**  
 and 12A-C-eat:INCOMPL  
 and we will eat it.
70. **apelle ḡucul-é kirənni únət 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.ε 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-ɔṭápe-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 maṭṭa<sup>56</sup> ummi káppəri k-áḡ-ε**  
 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-óṭape.kat a-kw-óti.at ḡucul [ḡ-ɔpən]**  
 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]

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<sup>55</sup> Sudanese Arabic interjection.

<sup>56</sup> **maṭṭa** is probably a loan, but of unclear origin. Used before Imperatives.



76. **a-kw-óme.kat itti ṭóma**  
 CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that friend  
 and he said: “Friend,
77. **ákk-a.kónn-óká ηocol η-ε-mεccm i-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 la<sup>57</sup>**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that no no no no  
 And he (the bird) said to him: “No, no, no, no,
79. **akka η-kw-ícat cik i-racok t-ó-pari p-áj**  
 that 2-C-lie:INCOMPL VREF in-legs C-of.PERS-wife C-2POSS  
**εppm εppm noúk**  
 always always for\_nothing  
 because you are always lying between the legs of your wife doing  
 nothing,
80. **a-η-kw-εmma<sup>58</sup> itti**  
 CONJ-2-C-know\_not:INCOMPL that  
 don’t you know that
81. **ól w-á.řókó ηocol n.ti i-pirá-i**  
 people C-eat:INCOMPL sauce from in-tree-Q  
 people eat sauce from the forest?”
82. **a-kw-óηkat a-kw-íp.ať-ók a-kín éηkat<sup>59</sup> i-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.

<sup>57</sup> Sudanese Arabic word *la* ‘no’.

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

<sup>59</sup> = **óηkat**.

83. **ana** **ᵛ-kín** **ᵗ-áᵗ-ᵗ-á.móttᵔ** **aón**  
and PERS-3A C-be:PR-C-break\_off:INCOMPL bees  
And they are breaking off the honeycombs
84. **a-pól** **p-ᵔ-nóppət** **ᵛccíᵗk.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. **ᵗᵔma** **n-ᵗ-a.ík** **ᵗ-a.móttᵔ** **ᵗín-ᵗa**  
friend 2A-C-be:PR C-break\_off:INCOMPL what-QW  
“Friend, what are you(PL) breaking off?”
86. **ᵗn-ᵗ-a.ík** **ᵗ-a.móttᵔ** **aón**  
1A-C-be:PR C-break\_off:INCOMPL bees  
“We are breaking off honeycombs”.
87. **n-ánt-ᵛrrən-in** **n-tan** **k-ulukkû**  
2A-can:DEPINCOMPL-throw\_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1 with-up\_on:ABS C-one  
“Please throw one for me in my direction!”
88. **a-kw-ᵔme.kaᵗ-ᵔk** **ittı** **ím** **ᵗᵔma**  
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that hmm friend  
(but) He (the tortoise) said to him (the bird): “Hmm, friend,
89. **ᵗ-kw-a.rréne** **p-ém-p-ᵔᵗé** **áón** **w-ᵔ-ín** **w-ᵔ-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. **ᵗᵗ-in** **aón** **cənᵔ** **á-n-ᵔᵗᵔ** **ᵗəre** **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-ᵛrrén-ᵔk** **təᵗák**  
SUBJ-1-throw\_for-O3 fibre  
so that I throw (down) for him the empty comb”.
92. **a-kw-ᵔme.kaᵗ-ᵔk** **ittı** **é** **kəᵗᵔl**  
CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that hey tortoise  
And he (the person of Nóppət) said to him: “Hey tortoise,

93. **η-kw-a.rren-m**                      **νόηək**                      **akka.in-ʔa**  
 2-C-throw\_for:INCOMPL-O1                      fibres                      why-QW  
 why do you throw (down) for me the empty combs?
94. **ant-eʔ-m**                                      **kaón**                      **í-k-ónu**                      **ηəre**  
 can:DEPINCOMPL-give:DEPINCOMPL-O1                      bee                      RES-C-have                      honey  
 Please, give me a honeycomb which has honey!
95. **ηattəttápe** **ant-eʔ-m**                                      **kaón** **í-k-ónu** **ηəre**  
 bird(sp)                      can:DEPINCOMPL-give:DEPINCOMPL-O1                      bee                      RES-C-have                      honey  
*ηattəttápe*-bird, please give me a honeycomb which has honey!"
96. **əttəttápe** **órré.kanʔ-ók**                      **kaón** **í-k-ónu**                      **ηəre**  
 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.in.at**                      **a-kw-ómē.kat**                      **itti**                      **kəʔól**  
 CONJ-3-taste:DEPPRFV                      CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV                      that                      tortoise  
 and he (the person of Nəppət) tasted it and he said: "Tortoise,
98. **ménní 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**                      **ménní**                      **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-ómē.kanʔ-ók**                      **itti**                      **ín-m**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3                      that                      no-REDUP  
 But he (the tortoise) said to him: "No,
101. **əppətte**                                      **ʔ-əppətte**                      **ʔ-ənaʔə**                      **ʔ-ó-in-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.řákket-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**    **aon**    **w-əmättát.ε**  
 that        bees        C-finish:COMPL  
 because the honey is finished”.
106. **a-kw-óme.kat-ók**    **ıttı**    **řóma**    **m-p-a.ık**    **p-a.éđ**    **pərin**  
 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.kat-ók**    **ıttı**    **η-kw-á.řuncə-n**    **nóřok**    **cəřı<sup>60</sup>**  
 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!”

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<sup>60</sup> = **cəřı** ‘wait!’

111. **a-kw-ápp-əpákk.at**                      **tan**                      **ŋ-cəʔé**  
 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-úʔunc.at**<sup>61</sup>                      **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.kəʔ-śk**                      **ittɪ**  
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3                      that  
 And he (the tortoise) said to him:
115. **ana**                      **mén**                      **m-êrik**                      **m-əməttáʔ.ə**  
 and                      palmfruits    C-be\_NEARADDR                      C-become\_finished:COMPL  
 “And the palm fruits there with you are finished,
116. **ana**                      **ŋ-kw-ápp-əʔunc.at-m**                      **ŋim-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.kəʔ-śk**    **ittɪ**                      **app-əkúʔət**                      **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-śkuʔəʔ.é**                      **n-tán**<sup>62</sup>  
 that                      3-C-move\_up:COMPL                      with-up\_on:ABS  
 When he had climbed up

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<sup>61</sup> = **akwəʔuncat**.

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

119. **a-kəʔɔl**      **ɔʔi.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-ɔmɛ.kat**    **itti**    **ʔɔma**    **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-ɔmɛ.kat-ɔk**    **itti ʔɔma**  
 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-ɔkɪɲá.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.nókkɛʔ-ɔŋ**      **kárɔ-ʔâ**  
 and    1-C-be:PR    C-put\_down:INCOMPL-2O    where-QW  
 but where am I putting you down?”
125. **a-kw-ɔmɛ.kat-ɔk**    **itti ɔpəʔəttɔʔ-in**    **ʔ-ɔkkón**    **én-n-ɔʔé**  
 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-ɔpəʔəttɔʔ.r-ɔk**<sup>63</sup>  
 that      3-C-turn:COMPL-O3  
 When he (the bird) changed him
127. **ǎccɪk.at**      **a-k-kw-ɔllókkwɔ.t**      **(akka)**<sup>64</sup>  
 CONJ.(2.)hear:DEPPRFV    CONJ-3-C-slip:COMPL    that  
 you could hear he (the tortoise) had slipped (away) (because)

<sup>63</sup> The boundary tone on the third person object pronoun clitic causes tone bridge over the verb. The verb would otherwise be **kkwɔpəʔəttɔʔɔk**.

<sup>64</sup> According to JS, **akka** is not good here.

128. **kəʀuntök** **kəʀuntök**<sup>65</sup> **a-kw-óme.kat** **itti**  
 kəʀuntök kəʀuntök CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that

*kəʀuntök, kəʀuntök, 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-kocök** **ɪ-róé**  
 SUBJ-plop in-river

or *plop* into the river!”

131. **a-kw-óll.át** **á-kw-írík.at** **ɪ-róé**  
 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-óřík.at** **ɪ-rək-â**  
 CONJ-3-wait:DEPPRFV in-river-ATT

But he (the tortoise) waited in the river

135. **a-pařti** **éřkat**<sup>66</sup> **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

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

<sup>66</sup> = **ɔřkat**.

136. **a-kw-ḡḡkat a-kw-ḡkkott.at áṛəpə n-tan w-ḡ-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-ḡna.kat a-kw-ḡme.kat itti**  
 CONJ-3-bring:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that  
 and he brought (them) and he said:

138. **n-ánt-át-ḡkkjn-m ḡəri**  
 2A-can:DEPINCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-drink\_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1 water  
 “Please come and drink the water for me,

139. **ákka ḡ.əṛəl ḡ.əṛək ḡ-apəṭ.é cənέ**  
 that little\_tortoise C-some C-fall\_at:COMPL here  
 because some nasty little tortoise has fallen here”.

140. **khalas<sup>67</sup> ittíná k-kw-ḡme.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. **ḡ.əṛəl eḡ-ḡ-i ḡ-apəṭ.é cənέ**  
 little\_tortoise DEM-C-NEARSP C-fall:COMPL here  
 this little tortoise has fallen here.

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

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

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

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



145. **á-kw-óppət**            **nó-kútút** **k-ó-rók**    **á-kw-arrət**            **cík**  
 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-cəné**    **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**            **cík**  
 SUBJ-3-cross:DEPINCOMPL VREF  
 in order to cross it (i.e. to cross it again).
148. **a-kw-óme.kat-ók**    **ittɪ**    **ɲ-kw-a.kkót**    **lən**    **əl-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**            **inénni 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-ókínət-ɔɲ**            **ca**    **cík**  
 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**<sup>68</sup>    **akka**    **árəpu**    **w-ikkót**    **ɲərɪ**  
 that's\_it    that    things    C-drink:COMPL    water  
 So then, when the animals had drunk the water,
152. **a-kətɔl**    **ótəkkar.at**    **ɪ-ar**            **éɲ-ɲ-ərík**    **ɲ-ətəté**    **cík**  
 CONJ-tortoise move\_aside:DEPPRFV in-mud            DEM-C-NEARADDR C-small VREF  
 the tortoise moved aside into that small mud.
153. **akka**    **ɔpa**            **w-aa.r-â**  
 that            piece\_of\_meat    C-come:COMPL-ATT  
 When the wild animal came,

<sup>68</sup> Sudanese Arabic interjection *khalas* ‘that’s it, so much for that, enough’.

154. **a-k-ú.at**                    **ɪ-kəɾál**                    **ɛŋ-k-əɾɪk**                    **k-ɔttê**  
 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-rɪ-pɪrá**    **w-aa.t**                    **ɪ-əɾɪk**                    **ikê**  
 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-ɪkk.at**                    **ŋəɾɪ**    **a-kw-óllokkw.at**                    **ɪ-carək**                    **c-ɔ-ɪke**  
 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-ɔɿ.at**                    **kəɾɿttán**                    **ń-tɔ-kəɾɪkɪ**  
 CONJ-3-pull:DEPPRFV    knife                    with-up\_on-elbow  
 and he pulled his knife from his elbow
158. **a-kw-ɔki.at**                    **ɪke**                    **lɔŋkwe**                    **appəɾɔt**  
 CONJ-3-cut:DEPPRFV                    giraffe                    lungs                    *appəɾɔt*  
 and he cut the lungs of the giraffe *appəɾɔt*
159. **a-ɪke**                    **ap.at**                    **n-nórr-a**<sup>69</sup>  
 CONJ-giraffe                    fall:DEPPRFV                    with-upright\_position-ATT  
 and the giraffe, from standing straight up, fell over
160. **a-úl**                    **ɔpəlle**                    **a-áɾəpɔ**                    **ɛn-n-əɾɪk**  
 CONJ-people    fear:DEPINCOMPL    CONJ-things                    DEM-C-DIST  
 while the people were fleeing and those animals,
161. **a-kəpa**                    **ɔpəlle.kat**                    **tárɾa**  
 CONJ-forest\_animal    fear:DEPPRFV                    all  
 all the forest animals fled
162. **mónó**                    **á-kw-ɔɿ.at**                    **pól**                    **p-ɔ-nóppət**  
 until                    CONJ-3-find:DEPPRFV                    person                    C-of-Nóppət  
 till he (the tortoise?) found the person of Nəppət

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

163. **a-kw-šcukkwar.at cirk mónš á-pól p-š-nšppət í.at**  
 CONJ-3-step\_on.PLUR:DEPPRFV VREF until CONJ-person C-of-Nšppət die:DEPPRFV  
 and he stepped (on him) repeatedly until the person of Nšppət died.

164. **a-kín šcšt.at kšrúŋ éŋ-k-í ítíná pəŋin**  
 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        | <b>appík</b>  |
| animal     | <b>papu / aɾəpu</b> 'thing'   |
| ant        | <b>cipít / mipít</b>  |
| arm        | <b>cəmən / kəmən</b><br><b>ukón / jaón</b> 'forearm, hand'                  |
| ash(es)    | <b>mucúk</b>  |
| back (n.)  | <b>kucúl / ucúl</b>   |
| bad        | <b>C-əkítak</b>   |
| bark (n.)  | <b>təmmək / nəmmək</b>  |
| belly      | <b>carək / kərək</b>  |
| big        | <b>C-ittík</b>  |
| bird       | <b>puɾupê / uɾupê</b>   |
| bite (v.)  | <b>əkəɾɔ</b> (also 'burn')  |
| bitter     | <b>C-əpón</b>   |
| black      | <b>C-əɲí</b>  |
| blood      | <b>ɲuccók (/ juccók), ɲiccók (/ juccók)</b>                                 |
| blow (v.)  | <b>əkɰə</b>   |
| blunt      | <b>C-ərrô</b>   |
| bone       | <b>cumiam / momiam</b>  |
| branch     | <b>kuɾí / uɾí</b>   |
| breast     | <b>cɪmmɪk / kɪmmɪk</b>  |
| breath     | <b>cəkɰâ / məkɰâ</b>  |
| brother    | <b>əpáɲ / əpaɲɔn</b> 'sibling' (also: <b>əpaɲ i-p-ɔcɔra</b> 'male sibling') |
| burn (tr.) | <b>əkəɾɔ</b> (also 'bite')  |
| carry      | <b>ənəkə</b> (also 'take')  |
| child      | <b>ukul / jukul</b>   |
| claw       | <b>karí / arí</b> (also 'nail, louse')                                      |

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| clean ( <i>adj.</i> ) | C- <b>ṛṛě</b>                                   |
| clothing              | <b>kəréṭ / əréṭ</b>                             |
| cloud                 | <b>tutṭe / nuṭṭe</b>                            |
| cold                  | C- <b>írrúk</b>                                 |
| (multi) coloured      | C- <b>ṭṛerět</b> ‘spotted’ (pattern)            |
| come                  | <b>aṵ</b>                                       |
| cook ( <i>v.</i> )    | <b>ṛṭa</b>                                      |
| count                 | <b>ṵṇante</b>                                   |
| cow                   | <b>waṣ / kié</b>                                |
| crush                 | <b>ṵkákṅəṛṵ</b>                                 |
| cry                   | <b>ṵṵ</b>                                       |
| cut ( <i>v.</i> )     | <b>ṵkṛṵ</b>                                     |
| dance ( <i>v.</i> )   | <b>ṵkkwṵ, also ṵkkṵ</b>                         |
| day (counting unit)   | <b>caṛṣ / maṛṣ</b>                              |
| die                   | <b>ṛṵ</b>                                       |
| dig                   | <b>ṛṵṵ</b>                                      |
| dirty                 | <b>ṛṇkṵṵ (<i>v.</i>)</b> ‘become dirty’         |
| do                    | <b>ṵkkṵṵ</b> (also ‘make’)                      |
| dog                   | <b>ṭṵk / lök</b>                                |
| drink                 | <b>ṛṛkkṵ</b>                                    |
| dry                   | C- <b>ṵṇṭṵmât</b>                               |
| dust (blown by wind)  | <b>kuṛṵṵpâṇ, also tuṛṵṵpâṇ</b> (unpaired nouns) |
| ear                   | <b>kunú / unú</b>                               |
| earth                 | <b>capú</b>                                     |
| eat                   | <b>ṵṛəkṵ</b>                                    |
| egg                   | <b>cîn / mîn</b>                                |
| empty                 | <b>ṇ-cəṛúk</b> (lit. ‘with opening’)            |
| eye                   | <b>cṛṭ / kṛṭ</b>                                |
| fall ( <i>v.</i> )    | <b>apṵ</b>                                      |
| far                   | <b>cṛṭṭân</b>                                   |
| fat ( <i>n.</i> )     | <b>ṇaák</b>                                     |
| father                | <b>ṵṭṭân</b> ‘his, her father’                  |
| fear ( <i>v.</i> )    | <b>ṵṭía</b>                                     |
| feather               | <b>kuṛṵṵccô / uṛṵṵccô</b> (also ‘wing’)         |
| few                   | C- <b>ṵṭṭê, C-ṵṭṭê</b>                          |
| fight ( <i>v.</i> )   | <b>ṵṭâtṵ</b>                                    |
| field                 | <b>kəṛṵṇ / əṛṵṇ</b>                             |
| finger                | <b>caún / maún</b>                              |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| fire ( <i>n.</i> )   | <b>ṭīk / līk</b>  |
| fish ( <i>n.</i> )   | <b>papê / apê</b>   |
| float                | <b>aṛəkə</b>  |
| flow                 | <b>ɔ́úrə</b>  |
| flower               | <b>pəɾɛn</b> (unpaired noun)  |
| fly ( <i>v.</i> )    | <b>ṭirə</b>   |
| fog                  | <b>pəɾucê</b>   |
| food                 | <b>ṭuɾīt (/ luɾīt)</b>  |
| foot                 | <b>wék / tacók</b>  |
| fruit                | <b>ʊkul wəpɪra / ɲʊkul ɲəpɪra</b> (lit. ‘child of tree’)                                |
| full                 | <b>ɔppât</b> ( <i>v.</i> ) ‘become full’  |
| gazelle              | <b>wallīr, allīr / kallīr</b>   |
| give                 | <b>ɛṭɛt</b>   |
| go                   | <b>ɛḥ</b>   |
| goat                 | <b>ṭimīt / liɾók</b>  |
| good                 | <b>C-ɔpəɾət</b>   |
| blade of grass/grass | <b>kwacə / tacə</b>   |
| green                | <b>C-íccí</b>   |
| guts                 | <b>kút / út</b>   |
| hair                 | <b>kwǎn / wǎn</b>   |
| hand                 | <b>ʊkún / ɲaún</b>  |
| hard                 | <b>C-ɔntómat</b>  |
| he, she              | <b>ɔḥk</b>  |
| head                 | <b>cá / má</b>  |
| hear                 | <b>ɔccīkət</b>  |
| heart                | <b>cīkīt / məkīt</b>  |
| heavy                | <b>C-ṭimmīn</b>   |
| hide                 | <b>ɔrúkwə, also ɔrúkə</b>   |
| hit                  | <b>ɔkkwḥ</b>  |
| hoe                  | <b>kɪrék / ɪrék</b>   |
| hole                 | <b>cəɾúk / kəɾúk</b> ‘opening, hole’,<br><b>tuɾú / nuɾú</b> ‘hole in the ground, grave’ |
| horn                 | <b>ṭɪpíl / lɪpíl</b> (part of animal),<br><b>ṭɪpíl / lɪpíl</b> (musical instrument)     |
| house                | <b>mǎn / kəmən</b>  |
| hunt ( <i>v.</i> )   | <b>ɲáppə</b> ( <i>n.</i> )  |
| husband              | <b>pəɾɛ / əɾɛ</b>   |
| I                    | <b>ɔún</b>  |

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| in                | ɪ- (+ tone-pattern on noun)  |
| kill              | ɔkkwɔt   |
| knee              | kʊŋkʊ / ʊŋkʊ   |
| knife             | kəɾɿttǎŋ / ɛɾɿttǎŋ   |
| know              | ma   |
| lake              | tɔk ɪ-r-apáŋka / nɔk ɪ-n-apáŋka<br>(lit: 'waterplace that waves')    |
| laugh             | ɔccɿɾɔ   |
| leaf              | taɬa / naɬa  |
| left (side)       | ɬɔ-kkʊn w-ɔ-kúrê (lit. 'at hand of left side')<br>kúrê 'left side'   |
| leg               | wék / tacɔk  |
| lie (down)        | ɿcat cik   |
| light (not heavy) | C-íppappat   |
| live (at)         | ɪkkɔ cik   |
| live (be alive)   | ɔkkɔ cik   |
| liver             | ɬʊŋkwe / lʊŋkwe, also ɬʊŋke / lʊŋke                                  |
| long              | C-úkwɿt  |
| louse             | kaɾɿ / aɾɿ (also 'claw, nail')                                       |
| man               | pʊl ɪ-p-ɔcʊra / ʊl ɪ-ɔmʊra 'person who is male'                      |
| many              | C-ɔppɔt  |
| meat              | ɔpá / kəpá   |
| moon / month      | kwanɔk / (w)anɔk   |
| mother            | ɔnnân 'his, her mother'  |
| mountain          | cəɾɔŋ / mɔɾɔŋ  |
| mouth             | ɬɔn / lɔn (lɔn also 'words, matter(s)')                              |
| nail              | kaɾɿ / aɾɿ (also 'claw, louse')                                      |
| name              | kəɾan / ɛɾan   |
| narrow            | C-ɔkəɾɿakɔɬe (lit. 'be squeezed')                                    |
| navel             | ɬʊttê / lʊttê  |
| near              | ɪ-ccɿk k-ɔ- (lit. 'in place of')<br>napəttɔt, also nɔpəttɔt (adverb) |
| neck              | cələk / kələk  |
| new               | C-ɪé   |
| night             | ŋkɔɾâ  |
| nose              | kɿŋce / ɿŋce   |
| not               | ɔkórənnɔ (v.) 'let, allow, abstain from'                             |
| old (not new)     | C-ɿpe  |



|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| old (not young)        | <b>u<sub>kk</sub>wa</b> , also <b>u<sub>kk</sub>a</b> (v.) ‘become old’ |
| person / people        | <b>pul / ul</b>   |
| play                   | <b>appu<sub>ṭ</sub>a</b>  |
| pull (v.)              | <b>ṭṭṭ</b>  |
| push                   | <b>ṭṭṭ</b>  |
| rain (n.)              | <b>ka<sub>ṭ</sub>ik</b>   |
| red                    | C- <b>ṭṭṭ</b>   |
| right (correct)        | <b>ṭṭṭ</b> ‘true!, indeed!’   |
| right (side)           | <b>ṭṭ-k<sub>ku</sub>n w-ṭ-ṭarí</b> ‘at hand of right side’              |
| river                  | <b>tué / nué</b>  |
| road                   | <b>ka<sub>ṭ</sub>ṭ / a<sub>ṭ</sub>ṭ</b>                                 |
| root                   | <b>ṭṭka / lṭka</b>  |
| rope                   | <b>ṭṭrṭk / lṭrṭk</b>  |
| rotten ( <i>adj.</i> ) | <b>ṭṭkṭta</b> (v.) ‘become rotten’                                      |
| rough                  | C- <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b>  |
| round                  | C- <b>ṭṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| rub                    | <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b> (collocates with oil, apply oil to the skin)                |
| run                    | <b>ṭṭṭ</b>  |
| salt                   | <b>ṭṭṭṭṭṭ / ṭṭṭṭṭṭ, ṭṭṭṭṭṭ / ṭṭṭṭṭṭ</b> (lit. ‘sauce of Arabs’)         |
| sand                   | <b>ka<sub>m</sub>ṭ / ṭa<sub>m</sub>ṭ</b>                                |
| say                    | <b>ṭṭ</b>   |
| scratch                | <b>ṭṭṭṭṭ</b>  |
| see                    | <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| seed                   | <b>ṭṭṭ / mṭṭ</b>  |
| sew                    | <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| shade                  | <b>ṭṭṭṭṭ / nṭṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| sharp                  | C- <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b>  |
| shoot (v.)             | <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| short                  | C- <b>ṭṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| sing                   | <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| sibling                | <b>ṭṭṭṭ / ṭṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| sister                 | <b>ṭṭṭṭ / ṭṭṭṭṭ</b> (also <b>ṭṭṭṭ ṭ-p-ṭṭarí</b> ‘female sibling’)       |
| sit                    | <b>ṭṭṭṭ ṭṭṭ</b>   |
| skin                   | <b>ku<sub>ṭ</sub>ú / u<sub>ṭ</sub>ú</b>                                 |
| sky                    | <b>ṭṭṭṭ</b>   |
| sleep (v.)             | <b>ṭṭka ṭṭṭ</b> (lit. ‘be in sleep’)                                    |

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| small      | C- <b>ṣtté</b> , C- <b>ṣtté</b>                                    |
| smell (v.) | <b>ṣkkunakət</b> (intr.)   |
| smoke      | <b>kucúk</b>   |
| smooth     | C- <b>ṣnəṛâ</b> (also ‘soft, infertile (of a man)’)                |
| snake      | <b>ṣnɪɪ / ɪnɪ</b>  |
| soil       | <b>nunṡú</b> ‘fine-grained soil’ (unpaired noun)                   |
| speak      | <b>ere</b>   |
| spear      | <b>kaṡúk / aṡúk</b>  |
| spit (v.)  | <b>ṣṡókkwə ɲók</b> (also <b>ṣṡókkə ɲók</b> ) (lit. ‘throw saliva’) |
| split      | <b>ɪllə</b>  |
| squeeze    | <b>ṣkəṡɪət</b>   |
| stab       | <b>ɛɛ</b>  |
| stand      | <b>ṣcəṡ</b>  |
| star       | <b>cəṡət / məṡət</b> (also ‘hail stone’)                           |
| stick      | <b>kurrṡṡ / urrṡṡ</b>  |
| stone      | <b>pəṡək / məṡək</b>   |
| straight   | <b>accəṡkür</b> ‘straight ahead’                                   |
| suck       | <b>akə</b>   |
| sun        | <b>cɪṡkɪ / mɪṡkɪ</b>   |
| sweet      | C- <b>ṣtɪṡ</b>   |
| swell      | <b>ṣṡəkət cɪk</b>  |
| swim       | <b>aṡəkə</b> (of fish, also: ‘float’)                              |
|            | <b>ṣṡṡṡṡṡṡ</b>   |
| tail       | <b>kuṡṡɪk / utṡɪk</b>  |
| take       | <b>ṣnəkə</b> (also ‘carry’)  |
| thick      | C- <b>ɪttáṡe</b> ‘be thick’  |
| thigh      | <b>cɪṡ / mɪṡ</b>   |
| thin       | C- <b>ṣttəkárân</b> or C- <b>ṣttəkálân</b>                         |
| thing      | <b>papə / aṡəpə</b>  |
| think      | <b>ṣkwárəttɪkət cɪk</b>  |
| this       | <b>en-c-í</b>  |
| thorn      | <b>ṡɪ / ɪɪ</b>   |
| throw      | <b>ṣrrê</b>  |
| tie        | <b>ɪṡɪkə</b>   |
| tongue     | <b>ṡṡe / luṡe</b>  |
| tooth      | <b>cɪṡɪt / kɪṡɪt</b>   |
| tree       | <b>pɪra / kɪra</b>   |

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| turn           | <b>ɔpɔ́rɛttakɔ</b> ‘turn oneself’  |
| vomit          | <b>utte</b>  |
| walk           | <b>ɔnárɔ</b>   |
| warm           | <b>C-íppá</b>  |
| wash           | <b>ɔmɛ</b> (also ‘rub’)  |
| water          | <b>ɲɛɽĩ / ɲɛɽĩ</b>   |
| wet            | <b>C-íán</b>   |
| what?          | <b>ɲínɲa</b>   |
| when?          | <b>acínɲa</b>  |
| where?         | <b>karɛɽâ</b> (also <b>karɛɽa</b> )  |
| white          | <b>C-ɪpók</b>  |
| who?           | <b>ɔ́ɲɲa / ɔ́ɲɲán</b>  |
| wide           | <b>C-ape</b>   |
| wife           | <b>parí / arí</b>  |
| wind           | <b>kənáɲ</b>   |
| wing           | <b>kuɽɛccô / uɽɛccô</b> (also ‘feather’)                                     |
|                | <b>ɔkón / ɲaón</b> ‘hand’  |
| wipe           | <b>ɔkkwôt</b> (also <b>ɔkkôt</b> )   |
|                | <b>ɔllâ</b> ‘wipe something away’  |
| woman          | <b>pul ɪ-p-ɔparí / ul ɪ-á-arí</b> (lit. ‘female person’)                     |
| woods          | <b>ɪ-pirâ</b> (lit. ‘in the tree’), <b>ɪ-kirâ</b> (lit. ‘between the trees’) |
| word(s)        | <b>lɔn</b>   |
| work (n.)      | <b>ɲɔɛɛ</b> (?/ <b>ɲɔɛɛ</b> )  |
| work (v.)      | <b>ɔrékɔ</b>   |
| worm           | <b>təɲək / nəɲək</b>   |
| wrong          | <b>C-ɔkítak</b> ‘bad’  |
| year           | <b>ɽupɔt / lɔpɔt</b>   |
| yellow         | <b>C-ɔɽəlɔ</b>   |
| yesterday      | <b>mɛccín</b>  |
| you (singular) | <b>ɔóɲ</b>   |
| one            | <b>C-ulukkû</b>  |
| two            | <b>C-ɛɽá</b>   |
| three          | <b>C-ɛɽapóroɔ</b>  |
| four           | <b>C-ɔcɔɽɪn</b>  |
| five           | <b>C-ukulúk, C-úkúlúk, ukulúk</b>  |
| six            | <b>C-ɛɽâkkuroɔ, C-ɛɽárɛpuroɔ</b>   |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| seven   | C-êɽɽ-C-əɽapóɽuk, C-êɽɽəpóɽuk,<br>C-óɽəɽa-C-əɽapóɽuk |
| eight   | C-amóɽəmɔɽ, mɔɽəmɔɽ                                  |
| nine    | C-ɔkullácəɽɪm, C-óɽkullácəɽɪm, ɔkullácəɽɪm           |
| ten     | C-attol, attol                                       |
| twenty  | arriál   |
| hundred | arriál ukulúk  |