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4. Nouns

This chapter presents the segmental shape and tone patterns of nouns and their morphological make-up. It describes the noun class system and discusses issues of number and meaning relating to the noun classes and noun class pairs. It deals with nominal derivation, complex nouns, descriptive constructions expressing nominal concepts, and nouns with the so-called ‘persona prefix’ and their plural formation.

4.1. Phonological shape

Nouns can start with all consonants that occur word-initially (i.e. all except the rhotics) and with any of the vowels. They can end with all consonants that can occur word-finally (i.e. t, k, n and ŋ) and with any of the vowels that can occur in that position (all except ə). In nouns borrowed from Arabic some further consonants are found word-finally (i.e. p, ç and m).

Out of the 921 nouns in my database, 51 are monomoraic, more than half (490) bimoraic, 285 trimoraic, 85 have four morae and 10 five. Virtually all those with five morae either involve reduplication or are loans from Arabic. Vowels are commonly short (involving one mora), but there are also diphthongs and in a few cases long vowels (involving two morae). Nouns with a diphthong or long vowel are often monosyllabic. Disyllabic words with a diphthong mostly have the diphthong in the second syllable. Long vowels are not attested as second syllables, but there is one case with a long vowel in the first syllable (tœul ‘hyena’). Longer nouns do not have diphthongs or long vowels, unless across a morpheme boundary due to reduplication. The shortest nouns consist of two segments, either CV or VC.

4.2. Tone patterns

For nouns in isolation, there is a strong tendency to have tonal contrasts only on the last vowel. All other vowels are low. In the tone pattern formulas, L* represents the low vowels preceding the last one
that carries the tonal contrast (and * can be zero). These patterns are the four main tone patterns:

Final low tone (L*.L, also called all-low)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>'body'</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okol</td>
<td>'child'</td>
<td>L.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coman</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>L.L.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəɾamekkə</td>
<td>'bat (sp.)'</td>
<td>L.L.L.L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final high tone (L*.H)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cá</td>
<td>'head'</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capó</td>
<td>'ground'</td>
<td>L.H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kappəɾí</td>
<td>'spoon'</td>
<td>L.L.H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təɾikiŋə</td>
<td>'caterpillar larva’</td>
<td>L.L.L.H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final rising tone (L*.LH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tɔk</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td>LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɔɾŋə</td>
<td>‘hill’</td>
<td>L.L.H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔkɪá</td>
<td>'head pad'</td>
<td>L.L.LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təɾɛnɛkkɛtɔ</td>
<td>‘to be tested’</td>
<td>L.L.L.H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final falling tone (L*.HL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t̪ʊn</td>
<td>'onion’</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuán</td>
<td>'rat (sp.)’</td>
<td>L.HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɔɾtɔ</td>
<td>‘shell’</td>
<td>L.L.HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pɔɾĩɔmpɔŋə</td>
<td>'plant (sp.)’</td>
<td>L.L.L.HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words have a high tone on the pre-final vowel. This pattern can be represented as L*.L.H.L (where, as in the other patterns, * can be zero). Some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cɔɾóti</td>
<td>‘goatskin bracelet’</td>
<td>L.H.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲalάntɔnə</td>
<td>‘k.o. basket (small size)’</td>
<td>L.H.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tappəɾánu</td>
<td>‘worm (sp.)’</td>
<td>L.L.H.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔlɔkikkik</td>
<td>‘dodging behaviour’</td>
<td>L.L.H.L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲɛɾtia</td>
<td>‘k.o. watery root’</td>
<td>L.H.H.L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two more patterns are found on simple nouns of (presumably) Lumun origin: L.H.H and L.H.L.H. These patterns have only few attestations, respectively 11 and 5 (in my database).

L.H.H
cakkə́lə́k ‘gourd (k.o.)’
ʊmpə́rə́ŋ ‘monkey (sp.)’
kapə́t ‘jaw’

L.H.L.H
cakkʊ́pə́l ‘bird (sp.)’
kapə́tə́nə́ŋ ‘lizard (sp.)’
kwə́qə́tə́tə́l ‘plant (edible sp.)’

One loan word from Arabic has this pattern as well:
alə́pə́rə́t ‘prayer mat’ (< Sud. Ar. al-birish)

Originally Lumun nouns with more than one vowel do not have a high tone on the first vowel. The following noun may (or may not) be borrowed from Tira:

H.L
ŋáppə́ ‘hunt’

An initial high tone on a simple noun with more than one vowel is found in several Arabic loans. The tone mimics the stress placement in the Arabic item. Some examples:
páka ‘jerrycan’ (< Sudanese Arabic baagha)
mʊćə́t ‘comb’ (< Sudanese Arabic mushuţ)
cə́rə́tə́l ‘bucket’ (< Sudanese Arabic jerdal)

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23 Tira has a verb apə́ ‘take’ and abstract nouns in its ŋ-class. (Schadeberg 2009, p. 21, 112).
4.3. Noun classes

Lumun has a fully functioning noun class system. Common nouns consist of a consonantal or ∅ noun class prefix and a stem, and always belong to a noun class. Nouns with the so-called persona prefix are a special case (see section 4.10). Nouns most often occur in pairs, differing from each other only as to the noun class. Paired nouns typically signal singular versus plural reference, for example:

\[ t\-\text{čk}/l\-\text{čk} \text{ ‘dog/-s’} \]

Adjectives, including some numerals, demonstratives, possessor pronouns and the connexive agree with the noun class of the noun that they modify. There is also agreement between the subject noun and some but not all TAM-forms of verbs. The agreement markers on modifiers and verbs will be called concords. Concords are typically alliterative in Lumun; in most cases the concord is identical to the class prefix. The exception are the concords of vowel-initial nouns (with ∅ prefix) and nouns with the class prefix kw-. These nouns have w- and k-concord, respectively.

An example to illustrate agreement between a noun (lʊn ‘words’) and its modifiers, and the subject marking on the verb follows here. Instances of the concord (l-) are underlined.

\[
\text{lʊn \ l-\text{aq} \ ěl-\text{í} \ l\-\text{á.č̃orrakɔt} \ i\-\text{atám}} \]

words C-POSS2 DEM-C-NEARSP C-be_written_AT-INCOMPL in-book

these words of yours will be written in a book

I define Lumun noun classes in the first place on the basis of the concord they induce. In a few cases, basically singular or plural reference is used as an additional criterion to distinguish between noun classes. Occasional deviations of number reference (a noun of a singular class that functions on the plural side in an irregular class pair, or a noun of a plural class that functions on the singular side in an irregular class pair) are not interpreted as different noun classes.
A third criterion, which is used in some cases, is the prefix itself. It distinguishes between differently shaped prefixes which have the same concord and the same type of number reference (singular or plural). Such cases are considered subclasses of one and the same noun class. The singular noun classes are presented in table 16, the plural noun classes in table 17.

### Table 16 Singular noun classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun class</th>
<th>concord</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-ira ‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>t̪-</td>
<td>t̪-</td>
<td>t̪-əŋək ‘rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-əŋək ‘worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>c-</td>
<td>c-</td>
<td>c-á ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k, kw</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-əŋəl ‘tortoise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass k</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-əŋəl ‘tortoise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass kw</td>
<td>kw-</td>
<td>kw-</td>
<td>kw-əŋəl ‘cheek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̄, w</td>
<td>n̄-</td>
<td>n̄-</td>
<td>n̄-əttəkkół ‘calabash (k.o.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass ø</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø- ‘calabash (k.o.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass w</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w- ‘calabash (k.o.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 17 Plural noun classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun class</th>
<th>concord</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-ira ‘trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-á ‘heads’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-əŋək ‘worms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̄, w</td>
<td>n̄-</td>
<td>n̄-</td>
<td>n̄-əttəkkół ‘calabashes (k.o.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass ø</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø- ‘calabashes (k.o.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass w</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w- ‘calabashes (k.o.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1. Classes consisting of two subclasses

*The singular k, kw class*
The examples below illustrate that nouns with initial \( k \) and nouns with initial \( kw \) (/\( k^w \), pronounced [\( k^w \)] in the isolated word) have the same concord. Both nouns have singular reference. On the basis of the first two criteria (concord and singular/plural reference) they belong to the same noun class:

\[ \text{kapōrentonj k-aát} \quad \text{‘the lizard (sp.) has come’} \]
\[ \text{kwalín k-aát} \quad \text{‘the centipede has come’} \]

The labialization in the second case is part of the class prefix, as can be seen when the noun is put in another noun class in order to express the plural. The plural forms shows that the labialization of \( k \) is not part of the stem, but belongs to the class prefix:

\[ k\text{-apōrentonj/apōrentonj} \quad \text{‘lizard (sp.)/-s’} \]
\[ kw\text{-alín/alín} \quad \text{‘centipede/-s’} \]

My database has 24 singular or unpaired nouns with \( kw \) and ca. 175 with \( k \). Both forms occur before a vowel \( i, e \) and \( a \). \( kw \) is not attested before \( i \), but this is probably a coincidence because cases of singular \( k \) before an \( i \)-initial root are also only few (just three). Otherwise, however, there are significant differences in the distribution of the subclasses. Unlike \( k \), \( kw \) is not attested before \( ŋ \) and at least for some speakers (including JS) there is a phonological restriction against \( kw \) before \( u \) or \( ŋ \). A variant \( kwucúl \) of \( kucúl \) ‘back’ is nevertheless attested (see also chapter 2.1.2). There is no phonological restriction against \( k \) preceding \( ŋ \) —there are, for example, nouns with initial stem vowel \( ŋ \) in the plural \( k \)-class—, but no cases of the singular subclass \( k \) before \( ŋ \) are attested in pairs, while there are seven cases of the subclass \( kw \) before an \( ŋ \) in pairs. Combinations attested in pairs of the subclasses \( k \) and \( kw \) and stem-initial vowels are listed here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem-initial vowel</th>
<th>subclass ( k )</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>subclass ( kw )</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ŋ )</td>
<td>( k-ĉiĉt )</td>
<td>fruit of ( pćiť )-tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In unpaired nouns there is just one case of k before o (korakkɔr ‘prison’) against two cases of kw before o (kwɔnɪ ‘residue of beer’ and kwɔrɔk ‘guarding a field against animals’.

It is unclear how the lack of singular nouns with initial ko can be explained. Perhaps, in a historical *k/*w-pair\textsuperscript{24}, the plural class prefix *w was reanalysed before stem-initial o as part of the stem, resulting in singular nouns with an initial sequence k-wo instead of k-o, which was later on reanalysed as kw-o. Subsequent loss of initial w in some of the plural nouns may have led to the current pairs which have kw/∅. The process may have happened also in plural *w class nouns with stem-initial a, i and e, but more incidentally so, especially in case of stem-initial i and e.\textsuperscript{25}

The singular ∅, w class

The next examples illustrate that nouns with initial w and vowel-initial nouns have the same concord. Both have singular reference. On the basis of the first two criteria (concord and singular/plural reference) they belong to the same noun class:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
: & k-ɛɲɛ & nose & kw-ɪra & small piece of wood or grass \\
: & k-ʊnú & ear & (kwucúl) & back \\
: & k-ɔ̄ & branch & \\
: & k-ɛ̃u & black spot from burning & kw-ɛɛ̆ & pointed stick \\
: & k-ɛ̆ & \\
: & k-ərɛ & cloth & kw-ɔk & shoe \\
: & k-aɾuk & goatskin bag & kw-ɛɛ̆ & marking line on the ground \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{24} A proto-Talodi pair *g-/w- was proposed by Schadeberg (1981b, 113).

\textsuperscript{25} There are just two nouns with kw before i and three with kw before e. There are ten nouns of kw before a, however, two of these are unpaired.
CHAPTER 4

waį w-ańt  ‘the cow has come’
rlî w-ańt  ‘the leader has come’

I consider nouns such as rlî as having a ∅ prefix, because a ∅ prefix paradigmatically relates to class prefixes (always consonants) of other nouns. The singular ∅ subclass contains several loans (see 4.3.5). The nouns that are not (or not clearly) loans have plurals in different classes and some of the plurals are (partially) suppletive (see 4.3.5). The singular w-subclass has only two members, both have suppletive plurals:

waį/kjê  ‘cow/s’
wêk/tacók  ‘leg, foot/legs, feet’

In the case of waį and wêk, it is not clear from the singular/plural opposition, nor from the concord (w-) what constitutes the class prefix and what the stem. However, because other initial consonants are always class prefixes, while nominal stems are always vowel-initial, I consider w as a class prefix. Notably, wêk can alternatively be pronounced with an initial vowel: ŭêk. It is then assigned to the singular ∅ subclass.

The plural ∅, w class

Con cords of the plural ∅, w class are illustrated here. wán ‘hair of a human’ is a plural noun with collective meaning. It occurs next to a singular noun denoting ‘a strand of hair’.

wan w-ipók  ‘the hair is white, blond’
ɔrɛt w-ipók  ‘the cloths are white’

Plural nouns in the ∅ subclass are considerably more numerous than plural nouns in the w-subclass.

Plurals with ∅, w pair up regularly with singulars in the k, kw class. As in both cases there is variation between a prefix with a labial element and a prefix without, it is interesting to see the distribution of the variants in the class pairs.
In the first place, singular k pairs up with plural ∅ (numbers of attestations are given for all pairs in tables 19 and 20):

k/∅ k-apärə̃t̪ɔŋ/apärə̃t̪ɔŋ ‘lizard (sp.)/-s’

kw corresponds both to w and to ∅ in the plural:

kw/∅ kw-alílín/alílín ‘centipede/-s’
kw/w kw-ǎn/w-ǎn ‘strand of human hair/human hair’

In addition, in some cases the plural noun fluctuates between being w-initial and vowel-initial:

kw/w ~ ∅ kw-anšk/w-anšk, anšk ‘moon/-s’

It is lexically determined whether a plural comes in the ∅ or w-subclass or in both. Nevertheless, the list below suggests that monomoraic nouns tend to come in the w-subclass (but there is ɔk as a variant of wɔk ‘shoes’).

kw-en/w-en ‘line of stones marking the boundary of a field’
kw-ét/w-ét ‘circle of roof skeleton’
kw-ǎn/w-ǎn ‘strand of human hair/hair (of human)
kw-ira/w-ira, ира ‘small piece of wood or grass’
kw-ɔk/w-ɔk ‘shoe’
kw-ɔt̪ɔt̪ɔl/w-ɔt̪ɔt̪ɔl, ɔt̪ɔt̪ɔl ‘k.o. vegetable’
kw-anšk/w-anšk, anšk ‘moon, month’
kw-ɛʃɛ/ɛʃ ‘pointed stick’
kw-ɔʁɛk/ɔʁɛk ‘black ant’
kw-ɔʃɛn/ɔʃɛn ‘piece of firewood/firewood’
kw-ɔɾíkɔʃɛ/ɔɾíʃɛ ‘plant (sp., edible)’
kw-ɔɾɔl/ɔɾɔl ‘cheek’
kw-alílín/alílín ‘centipede’
kw-ame/ame ‘tendon’
kw-are/are ‘marking line on the ground’
kw-ət̪təra/ət̪təra ‘k.o. dance’
4.3.2. Noun class pairs

A singular noun class may form a pair with more than one plural noun class, and vice versa. A table of pairs with many members is given first, then a table of pairs with less than six members. The last column gives the number of pairs in my database. Pairs with (partially) suppletive stems have not been included, nor have cases in which there was doubt about the acceptability of a number-related counterpart.

Table 19 Noun class pairs with 6 or more members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(sub)class pair</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p/∅</td>
<td>p-ʊl/ʊl</td>
<td>person/s</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/k</td>
<td>p-ɪ-ra/k-ɪ-ra</td>
<td>tree/s</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c/k</td>
<td>c-ɪ/t/k-ɪt</td>
<td>eye/s</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c/m</td>
<td>c-ä/m-ä</td>
<td>head/s</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t/l</td>
<td>t-əʃʊk/l-əʃʊk</td>
<td>rope/s</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t/n</td>
<td>t-əŋək/n-əŋək</td>
<td>worm/s</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/n</td>
<td>aţám/n-aţám</td>
<td>book/s</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k/∅</td>
<td>k-əʃɬ/əʃɬ</td>
<td>tortoise/s</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw/∅</td>
<td>kw-əŋək/əŋək</td>
<td>moon/s</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw/w</td>
<td>kw-əŋək/w-əŋək</td>
<td>moon/s</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η/ŋ</td>
<td>η-ətəkkɔl/ŋ-ətəkkɔl</td>
<td>k.o. calabash/es</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rarely occurring noun class pairs, with less than six attested cases, follow here. In a few cases a noun class that is associated with singular reference functions on the plural side in a pair, notably p, t, and t, and in one case a noun class that is associated with plural reference functions on the singular side (I).

Table 20 Noun class pairs with less than 6 members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(sub) class pair</th>
<th>pair of nouns</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p/ʈ</td>
<td>p-ɛɾʊ/ʈ-ɛɾʊ</td>
<td>tree (sp.)/s</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 The class pairs are also listed in Smits (2011).
### Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(pl. also k-ɛrũ)</th>
<th>ancestor, descendant/-s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p/m</td>
<td>p-ətɔk/m-ətɔk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p-ərã/m-ərã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>stone/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tira person/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/n</td>
<td>p-akki/n-akki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Nuba person from areas southwest of Lumun, across the plains (incl. Dagik, Katcha, Krongo)/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/l</td>
<td>p-ɛmɔrən/l-ɛmprən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Moro person/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw/p</td>
<td>kw-ian/p-ian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>small piece of firewood/small firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k/ʄ</td>
<td>k-upú/t-upú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>piece, pole of bamboo/bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw/ʄ</td>
<td>k-amor/t-amor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>(grain of) sand/sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw/ʄ</td>
<td>k-ollĩn/t-ollĩn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>blade of grass (sp.)/grass (sp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw/ʄ</td>
<td>kw-ɔcãn/t-ɔcãn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>leaf of edible plant (sp.)/edible plant (sp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k/t</td>
<td>k-ua/t-ua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>strand of hair/hair/blade of grass/grass (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw/t</td>
<td>kw-əcɔ/t-əcɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k/ŋ</td>
<td>k-ʊkkũ/n-ʊkkũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>unripe groundnut/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η/ʄ</td>
<td>n-umãr/t-umãr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>relative of father’s side, enemy, murder(^{27})/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l/ŋ</td>
<td>l-ɔpãr/n-ɔpãr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>partridge/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/k</td>
<td>ɪkɛ/k-ɪkɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>giraffe/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w/k</td>
<td>ɰallĩr/ɰallĩr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>gazelle/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/l</td>
<td>uttũru/l-uttũru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Otoro person/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅/ŋ</td>
<td>ɔkʊl/n-ʊkʊl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>child/children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 The term refers to those relative(s) to whom a man owes revenge, i.e. for which one must kill and for which one must risk to be killed: this is the group of family members on the father’s side. The term can also refer to the people on whom revenge must be carried out (the enemy). It can also denote ‘revenge killing’.

28 Also ɰallĩr.
There are a few pairs in which the stems of the singular and plural nouns are not the same. In some cases the difference is very small, in others the stems are completely suppletive.

Table 21 (Partly) suppletive pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(partly) suppletive pair</th>
<th>(sub)class pair</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-aro/aro</td>
<td>p/∅</td>
<td>thing/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-arok/k-arok</td>
<td>c/k</td>
<td>belly, stomach, /bellies, -s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-ikit/m-ikit</td>
<td>c/m</td>
<td>heart/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-apu/m-upu</td>
<td>c/m</td>
<td>hole in the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-upir/t-apir</td>
<td>k/ŋ</td>
<td>sorghum stock/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apá/k-apá</td>
<td>∅/k</td>
<td>piece of meat/meat29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-ai/k-icé</td>
<td>w/k</td>
<td>cow/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmit/l-icók</td>
<td>∅/l</td>
<td>goat/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-ék/t-acók</td>
<td>w/t</td>
<td>leg, foot/-s, feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okón/n-aón</td>
<td>∅/ŋ</td>
<td>hand/-s, forearm/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṅířé/n-ŋířé (also regular: ṅ-ŋířé)</td>
<td>∅/ŋ</td>
<td>adolescent girl/-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two more irregular pairs follow here:

*camatt/matt*  ‘bean/-s’

*mán/kamán*  ‘room/house, house/-s’

One possibility is that these are m-initial stems with have, respectively, a ca and a ∅ prefix, and a ∅ and a ka-prefix. However, the m-initial forms take m-concord, which means that m functions as a noun class prefix. Moreover, the semantics of ‘beans’ is typically associated with the (plural) noun class prefix m, namely numerous roundish items. It seems much more likely that *camatt*, denoting a single bean, is a case of a double prefix (ca-m-at). Also *kamán* may have a double prefix (ka-m-án) rather than a stem that vacillates between an m-initial and a vowel-initial form. k- is not only a singular prefix, but also a plural prefix in the c-/k-class, a class in

---

29 apá/kapá can refer to the meat of both domestic and wild animals, but also to ‘game’: larger wild animals that are hunted for meat.
which some paired body parts are found. The notion of a unit consisting of composing parts may have played a role in the pair man/kaman. kamán can refer to plural houses, but also to the constellation of buildings or rooms that together form the typical Lumun homestead.

4.3.3. Unpaired nouns

All prefixes, with the exception of n̩, are found on unpaired nouns as well, and no other class prefixes than those found in the pairs are attested on unpaired nouns.

Some examples of unpaired nouns follow here. The number of attestations of unpaired nouns with a certain prefix is given in the last column. Locative nouns (with various prefixes) and unpaired nouns with the t̪-prefix that are derived from verbs and adjectives have not been counted. Denominal derivations in the t̪- and k-classes (abstractions and languages) have been included, as well as loans. Cases in which there was doubt or difference of opinion about the noun being unpaired have not been included.

Table 22 Unpaired nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(sub)class</th>
<th>unpaired noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>purucè</td>
<td>fog</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>t̪iak</td>
<td>suffering</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t̪i</td>
<td>(period(s) of) hunger</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>capó</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>body, bodies</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>chaff</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mirtök</td>
<td>bush, uncultivated land</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nunțú</td>
<td>fine-grained soil</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η̱</td>
<td>η̱lit̪i</td>
<td>leadership</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḻ</td>
<td>ḻeçit̪</td>
<td>threshing floor(s)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w̱</td>
<td>w̱e</td>
<td>calabash(es) or pot(s) for fermenting flour and water</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>accär</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89
For several unpaired nouns a singular/plural opposition is not particularly relevant in view of their semantics; an example of such a case is purucë ‘fog’. Some other cases are loans which have resisted singular or plural formation in another class (see section 4.9). In the case of ka ‘body’ absence of a noun *a ‘bodies’ could be explained from a phonological restriction: there are no nouns consisting of just a single vowel. In an incidental case, the noun is easily countable but lacks a singular/plural opposition. An example is lumóttu ‘bull(s) with very short horns’. A possible explanation is that this word with noun class prefix l, a prefix that is associated with plural reference, is a loan from an unidentified language that has resisted singular formation in the t̪-class (the pair t̪-l- being associated with long shape).

There is no particular reason to regard the classes of unpaired nouns as different from those figuring in the pairs. In general, noun classes are able to host nouns with deviating number-related semantics, as will be exemplified in section 4.3.4.

In some cases there was doubt whether or not a number-related counterpart could be formed according to a certain class pair, and sometimes there was difference of opinion about this between speakers. In some cases a consultant said that it would in principle be possible to make a plural but that people did not use that form. Some examples follow here:

kanáŋ/?ənáŋ ‘wind’
ŋame/?ŋame ‘sound of crying, tear(s)’
ʔurít/?ʔurít ‘food’

4.3.4. Nouns and number

Nouns in class pairs basically signal singular versus plural reference of the noun. In some cases the singular has an additional meaning that refers to an entity that contains plural units of the item:

---

30 Nouns and number are more extensively discussed in Smits (2011).
cuccù/muccù  ‘bead, necklace/beads, necklaces’
pətank/mətank  ‘stone, country/stones, countries’

In the next case, it is the plural that also denotes an object that contains plural units of the item:

kərəŋkarın/ərnarin  ‘bell/bells, musical instrument made of bells (row of bells on a bow)’

For some foodstuffs that consist of discrete items the plural is used to denote the foodstuff as a semantic collective, for others the singular. Some examples:

SG/PL, COLL
cíl/míl  ‘grain of sorghum/sorghum’
kaləppatóra/aləppatóra  ‘tomato/tomatoes’
( < Sud. Ar. al-banadoora)
ɔpá/kɔpá  ‘piece of meat/meat’
(also: ‘animal hunted for meat/game’)

The case of ‘beans’ is recalled here (mentioned in 4.3.2), in which the singular noun class prefix c is attached before the plural prefix m-, with inserted ø to solve the disallowed consonant cluster:

cəmait/mait  ‘bean/beans’

SG, COLL/PL

țun/lūn  ‘onion(s) (unit or collective)/onions (units or amounts)’
cokori/mokori  ‘edible plant (sp., unit or collective)/edible plant (sp., units or amounts)
kepn/ɛpn  ‘edible plant (generic, unit or collective)/ edible plants (units or amounts)

The sentence below illustrates that some food items are referred to by the singular in a pair, others by the plural. In the following
examples, the class prefixes of these food items have been explicitly
glossed as singular noun class (SGC) or plural noun class (PLC):

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{keccúk} & \text{k-ónó} & \text{náru} & \text{w-oppót} & \text{ám.n.a.kka} \\
\text{market} & \text{C-have} & \text{things} & \text{C-many} & \text{like} \\
\text{t-ún} & \text{ana} & \text{l-umú} & \text{ana} & \text{k-ápá} \\
\text{SGC-onion} & \text{and} & \text{PLC-lumu, roots} & \text{and} & \text{PLC-meat} \\
\end{array}
\]

the market has many things such as onions, \textit{lumu}-roots and meat

In cases in which the singular not only refers to a single unit but also
to the items as a group, the plural can denote not only a number of
separate units, but also a number of amounts, and it can be used in
order to refer to different kinds of the foodstuff.

In the following examples, the plural of ‘onion’ (lún) is preferred:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{lún} & \text{m-muál} & \text{m-érá} \\
\text{onions} & \text{with-sacks} & \text{C-two} \\
\end{array}
\]

two sacks of onions

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{muál} & \text{m-érá} & \text{m-s-lún} \\
\text{sacks} & \text{C-two} & \text{C-of-lún} \\
\end{array}
\]

two sacks of onions

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{lún} & \text{l-érá} & \text{tít} \\
\text{onions} & \text{C-two} & \text{in:ABS} \\
\end{array}
\]

the onions are of two kinds (or: there are two kinds of onions)

In the case of ‘sand’ both the singular and the plural can refer to
‘sand’ as a collective entity. The plural can also denote amounts of
sand.

\textit{kamór/tamór} ‘grain of sand, sand/sand, amounts or kinds of sand’

Nouns referring to cohesive substances (liquid, semi-liquid and
mashed substances) are typically denoted by singulars. Some
examples from different noun classes follow here. In the translations,
the mass noun-meanings are underlined. The plurals can refer to amounts of the mass, or different kinds of the mass.

cakal ‘grain of sesame, sesame plant, sesame paste’
məkəl ‘sesame (seeds or plants), amounts or kinds of sesame paste’

kappɛntɛna ‘groundnut, groundnut tree, groundnut paste /
appɛntɛna ‘groundnuts, groundnut trees, amounts or kinds of groundnut paste’

(Semi-)liquid substances very often come in the class pair ɲ/ɲ. A plural can virtually always be formed and refers to amounts (portions) or different kinds of the substance.

ɲɛrti/ɲɛrti ‘water/amounts, kinds of water’
ɲuɛcəl/ɲuɛcəl ‘sauce/amounts, kinds of sauce’
ɲəpək/ɲəpək ‘beer/amounts, kinds of beer’
ɲuɛcək, ɲɛccək/ɲuɛcək, ɲɛccək ‘blood/amounts, kinds of blood’
ɲurû/ɲurû ‘asida/amounts, kinds of asida’

Nouns referring to non-cohesive substances with discrete small and roundish particles tend to come in the class pair c/m. The noun in the c-class refers to a single unit, the noun in the m-class to a larger amount (a non-cohesive mass).

ci/ni ‘sorghum seed, sorghum plant/sorghum (seeds or plants)’
cəɛre/məɛre ‘seed/-s’

Unit/collective pairs are also found in the k/∅ and in the kw/∅ pairs, for example:

kakûccəj/akûccəj ‘coin/money’
wɔŋɛn/ɔŋɛn ‘piece of firewood/firewood’

In some of the class pairs with less than six members (table 20) the basically singular classes p, ŋ, and t refer to non-cohesive masses or collectives with discrete particles, while a single unit comes in one of the subclasses k or kw. It seems that the singular subclasses k and
**kw**, more than other singular classes, have the ability to denote a single unit from a collective outside the context of the class pairs in which they normally occur (k/∅ and kw/∅). Formation of a unit noun in these cases gave rise to the irregular pairs. Examples include:

- **kwian/piian** ‘small piece of firewood/small firewood’
- **kamór/ţamór** ‘grain of sand/sand’
- **kwacɔ/taɔc** ‘blade of grass/grass’

The language does not usually apply a specific word for a typical grouping of certain items. Mostly, just the plural (or in some cases the singular) is used and the grouping is inferred from the context or understood from what is usually the case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English expression</th>
<th>Lumun</th>
<th>class pair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a bundle of firewood</td>
<td>ɔřen</td>
<td><strong>kwɔřen/ɔřen</strong> ‘piece of firewood/firewood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a flock of goats</td>
<td>lįcɔk</td>
<td>įmįt/įcɔk ‘goat/-s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a swarm of bees</td>
<td>aon</td>
<td>kaon/aon ‘bee/-s’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Typical groups can nevertheless be stated, at least in some cases. Some examples:

- **cuŋkt** c-ɔ-oł
  crowd c-of-people
  a crowd of people

- **kuɔtok** k-ɔ-kić
  fenced_place_for_livestock c-of-cows
  a herd of cows (not necessarily within the fence)

- **ca** c-ɔ-ţen
  head c-of-firewood
  a bundle of firewood (lit.: a head of firewood)

Abstract nouns in the ţ-class (most often but not always derived from verbs) are typically unpaired, but abstract nouns in other classes tend to have a singular/plural opposition. In the case of ŋɔre, ‘laziness’,


the singular noun is used when the abstraction is associated with just
one person, the plural when it is associated with plural persons:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{n-ore} & \text{n-ulluk} & \text{ŋ-ŋ-i} & \text{ŋ-á-kk-w-ŋu} \\
\text{SGC-laziness} & \text{c-only} & \text{DEM-C-NEARSP} & \text{C-COP-3-C-have}
\end{array}
\]

this is just laziness of his, hers (lit.: laziness only this is (which) s/he has)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{n-ore} & \text{n-ulluk} & \text{ŋ-p-i} & \text{ŋ-á-ŋ-t-ŋu} \\
\text{PLC-laziness} & \text{c-only} & \text{DEM-C-NEARSP} & \text{C-COP-3A-C-have}
\end{array}
\]

this is just laziness of theirs (lit.: laziness only this is (which) they have)

In the case of tɔr, ‘appetite’, the singular and the plural noun are
both possible when the abstraction is associated with just one person:

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{t-ɔr} & \text{t-kkwɔt-ín} & \text{éré} & \text{m-p-á.ɾókó} & \text{kópá} \\
\text{SGC-appetite} & \text{c-kill:COMPL-O1} & \text{like} & \text{1-c-eat:INCOMPL} & \text{meat}
\end{array}
\]

I am craving for meat (lit.: appetite has killed me as if I will eat meat)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{n-ɔr} & \text{n-kkwɔt-ín} & \text{éré} & \text{m-p-á.ɾókó} & \text{kópá} \\
\text{PLC-appetite} & \text{c-kill:COMPL-O1} & \text{like} & \text{1-c-eat:INCOMPL} & \text{meat}
\end{array}
\]

I am craving for meat (lit.: appetite has killed me as if I will eat meat)

However, when the appetite is associated with more than one person,
only the plural of ‘appetite’ can be used:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kɔpa} & \text{k-ípie} & \text{ól} & \text{n-ɔr} \\
\text{meat} & \text{C-make_obtain:INCOMPL} & \text{people} & \text{PLC-appetite}
\end{array}
\]

meat makes people have appetite (for it) (i.e. makes people want to eat it)

4.3.5. Noun class pairs and semantics

Certain semantic notions tend to be concentrated in specific class
pairs. This section gives an overview of clusters of semantic content
found in the frequently occurring class pairs. These semantic notions
will be mentioned in italics and exemplified. All pairs except the
strongly semantically specialized p/k class pair (trees and shrubs)
contain items with miscellaneous semantics as well - examples of
such items are provided also. Some special attention is given to
nouns denoting people (including ethnonyms), animals, body parts,
and abstract nouns. The ə/n class pair lacks semantic clustering. Most of its members are loans, assigned to this pair on phonological grounds. The semantic clusters found in the Lumun pairs have clear similarities with those observed in Acheron (Norton 2000).

p/ə
people, miscellaneous

The pair contains several nouns denoting people, including generic pəəl/əl ‘person’ and the ethnonyms for the Lumun (parrə/ərrə) and some neighbouring Nuba peoples (pəəpəə/əpəə ‘Tocho’, pəəmə/əmə ‘Acheron’). Other words for people in this class pair include: pəəfət/əft ‘young man’, pəocən/əcən ‘barren woman’, pəənən/ənən ‘adult woman without children’, pəiək/tək ‘orphan, poor person’, pəənən/ənən ‘name sharer’, pəəpət/əpət ‘wealthy person’, pəamət/əmət ‘traditional healer’, pəəpət/əpət ‘singer/composer’, pəpəkə/əpəkə ‘friend’, pəəpə/əpə ‘husband’, pəəpə/əpə ‘wife’, pəpəkə/əpəkə ‘co-wife’. Kinship terms have the persona prefix ə- and form plurals through a process of suffixation: they are not members of a class pair, see section 4.10. The vocatives of these nouns, however, lack the ə-prefix and are in most cases p-initial.

The pair includes the general word for ‘thing’ pəpə/əpə, which denotes objects but can also be used for animals, plants and fruits. It further contains several words for animals, including some generic animal terms: pəpə/əpə ‘fish’, pəpəpə/əpəpə ‘bird’, pəənən/ənən ‘rat’ and pəpəl/əpəl ‘snake’. Other animals include pəəpəl/əpəl ‘ape (gorilla?)’, pəəl/əl ‘cat’, pəəpəə/əpəə ‘porcupine’, pəət/ət ‘ostrich’, pəənən/ənən ‘lizard (sp.)’, pəəməpəə/əməpəə ‘spider’, pəək/ək ‘fly’, some further insects and also some species of birds.

The class pair p/ə contains the (central) body parts pəə/ər ‘chest’ and pəət/ət ‘waist’. It also contains pəət/ət ‘area between the buttocks’. It further has some miscellaneous items such as pəət/ət ‘granary’, pəək/ək ‘chair’, pəək/ək ‘hiccups’, pəəən/əən ‘stick (of shovel)’, pəə/ə ‘storage rack’, pəət/əən
Nouns

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‘k.o. basket’, paranțan/aranțan ‘k.o. calabash’, patakkara/atakkara ‘k.o. pumpkin’, parêmporên/orênorên ‘lyre’ and pakkôri/okkôri ‘sorghum (sp.).

p/k

Trees and shrubs

The class pair p/k is semantically strongly specialized. All words but one refer to species of woody plants (trees, shrubs) and it has the generic word for ‘tree’ pira/kira. Some examples of species of trees and bushes are: poro/koro ‘tree (sp.), paromô/karomô ‘tree (sp.), pakek/kakek ‘bush (sp., poisonous, with bright pink flowers)’. Some more examples are given in 4.3.6. The only word in this pair with a somewhat different meaning is puá/kouá ‘stick, cane (used for beating)’, denoting an item cut from a shrub. Virtually all attested trees and shrubs come in this class. One tree, p-erô, can have its plural not only in the k-class but also in the t-class (k-erô or t-erô).

c/k

Body parts

This class pair has only eleven members. Six denote body parts: carôk/karôk ‘belly, stomach’, cijmîk/kijmîk ‘breast’, koman/koman ‘arm’, calok/kalok ‘neck’, cjînît/kîjînít ‘tooth’, cît/kît ‘eye’. The pair also contains canâ/kana ‘grinding table’, cê/kê ‘stone for grinding’, and carûk/karûk (sometimes cærûk/karûk) ‘opening, hole’. Similar to Acheron (Norton 2000), the word ‘opening, hole’ concerns openings or holes in structures such as a wall or a cloth, or in the ear, nose or lip, but not holes in the ground. The variant cærûk is used in the expression that refers to the anus: carûk cê-poraûtôt, lit. ‘hole of the area between the buttocks’). The pair furthermore has cîntân/ kîntân ‘bird(sp.)’ and culô/kulû ‘part of sorghum stock (without top) with sweet taste (like sugar cane)’.

c/m

Round or roundish items, sometimes in combination with being numerous, miscellaneous
Round or roundish items include cin/mín ‘egg’, calle/malle ‘ball’, círra/mírra ‘bracelet’, cumpórāŋ/mompórāŋ ‘ring in the top of the roof’, curok/murok ‘gathering of people in a circle’, cíŋki/míŋki ‘sun’, cālakkér/mollakkér ‘skeleton of the roof’, curol/murol ‘big stone, rock’, cattak/mattak ‘middle size stone’. The general term ‘stone’ has its plural in the m-class, but the singular comes in the p-class (mattak/matok). Some round(ish) calabashes are found in this pair (cakkólṣk/makkólṣk, cakkọŋ/makkọŋ, cattak/mattak), but also a type of calabash with a long neck: curo/muro. This word is also used for ‘bottle’. The pair includes (roundish) fruits and seeds, and food stuffs that consist of numerous roundish items such as cif/mil ‘grain of sorghum’, camatt/matt ‘bean’ (irregular pair, see 4.3.2, 4.3.4), cokal/makal ‘sesame’, cøre/more ‘seed as stored for the next season’. It also has some edible plants and some kinds of roots. A non-food item which shares the notion of being roundish and numerous is capt/mapt ‘star, hail stone’.


This class pair contains some ethnonyms and nouns for people: cotton/muțjō ‘Arab’, čęnké/meŋké ‘Dinka’, curumá/morumá ‘person without a spouse’, cokontá/mokontá ‘supporting girl (in initiation ceremonies)’. It also has some animals: some birds, some rat species, some insects, cumpórāŋ/mompórāŋ ‘monkey (sp.)’, cipá/mipá ‘feline (sp., lynx?)’ and cʒmanteri/mjmanteri ‘hedgehog’. It also has the word for the needles of the hedgehog: carrá/marrá.

Miscellaneous items include: cęřŋ/morŋ ‘mountain’, cāř/mari ‘day, time’, cęřontń/marontń ‘vertical pole in the roof’, and cąsk/masp ‘arrow’.
Nouns

1

*elongated objects, miscellaneous*

Single 1-class: *disgusting things* (in some cases 1/1 pair), *abstractions* (relations between people, behaviour)

The pair contains several words for elongated objects or items such as *tɔrɔk/laŋkɔk* ‘rope’, *tɔpɔrɔ/lupaŋɔ* ‘valley’, *tɔmpil/lumpil* ‘rainbow’, *tɔkə/lako* ‘root (generic term), muscle’, *tɔntɔrɔ/lɔntɔrɔ* ‘type of calabash with a long neck’, *tɔpil/lipil* ‘horn (body part of animal), *tipil/lipil* ‘horn (musical instrument)’.

Body parts found here include *tɔllɔŋ/lɔllɔŋ* ‘throat’, *tʊre/loŋe* ‘tongue’, *tɔŋket/lɔŋket* ‘erected penis’, *tɔtə/lɔtə* ‘navel, umbilical cord’, *tɔɾɔmɔŋ/larɔmɔŋ* ‘chin’, *tɔŋkwɔ/lɔŋkwɔ* ‘liver’, and *tɔn/lɔn* ‘mouth, word’. An elongated shape is not evident in all of them.

Animals include some with an elongated shape such as *tɔllɔŋ/loŋɔlɔ* ‘mudfish (sp.)’ (dangerous, potentially lethal animal, can be eaten) and *tʊlɛrɔk/lulelɔk* ‘lizard (sp., with stripes)’, but lizard species are also found in other class pairs. The pair contains several animals where elongated shape does not seem to play a role, including: *tɔŋkwɔt/lɔŋkwɔt* ‘sheep’, *tɔɾɔmɔ/larɔmɔ* ‘ram’, *tɛpə/lɛpa* ‘lion’ *tɔkkɔŋtɔlɔkkɔŋ/kɔlɔkkɔŋ* ‘butterfly’, *tɔmɔtɔ/tɔmɔtɔ* ‘bat (sp.)’, *tɔkɔŋkɔ/lɔkɔŋkɔ* ‘chicken’, *tɔkɔŋkɔ/lɔkɔŋkɔ* ‘rooster’, *tɔk/lɔk* ‘dog’, *tʊlɔl/lɔlɔl* ‘hyena (?)’.

The class pair has some nouns for people: *tɔmɔcɔcɔ/lɔmɔcɔcɔ* ‘old man’, *tɔmɔɾɛ/lɔmɔɾɛ* ‘transvestite’ and *tɔrɔ/lɔrɔ* ‘one person of twins/twins’.

Miscellaneous items include *tɔk/lɔk* ‘fire’, *tɪpə/lɪpə* ‘marriage’, *tɔpɔt/lɔpɔt* ‘year’, *tɔɾɔk/lɔɾɔk* ‘war’, *tɔɾɔpə/lɔɾɔpə* ‘mixture of flour and water left to ferment (for the preparation of beer)’.

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31 Possibly a hyena species, but less clearly so than *ŋaŋkɔr*, which was described as a dog-like scavenger, spotted and with short hind legs.
Some words in the \( \text{t-} \) class refer to ‘slimy, disgusting things’. At least some of them have sound symbolic value. \( \text{tâll} \) ‘egg yolk, chicken shit’ and \( \text{tallâ} \) ‘slime from the lungs, lung disease’ (words lacking a singular/plural opposition) were described as \( \text{tall} \) ‘yuck!, icht!’, an ideophonic word combined with a facial expression expressing a feeling of disgust. Other words referring to ‘slimy, disgusting things’ and involving long \( \text{l} \) are \( \text{tollâ} \) ‘messed-up food, food eaten in a dirty way’ and the earlier mentioned mudfish \( \text{tollâr} /\text{lollôr} \). Though eaten and appreciated as a delicacy by some, many regard it as disgusting. Some slimy, disgusting things involve a rhotic sound: \( \text{tùrrôt} \) ‘rotten smell’, \( \text{tirôt} \) ‘mould’, \( \text{tûtôr} /\text{lûtôr} \) ‘stomach content’.

Apart from the ‘disgusting items’, there are some further (non-derived) unpaired nouns in the \( \text{t-} \) class. Some of these refer to behaviour and emotions. Examples: \( \text{tûkkî} \) ‘hiding in ambush’, \( \text{târôr} \) ‘behaviour and occupations associated with men’, \( \text{tarît} \) ‘joy’, \( \text{tûkônçôn} \) ‘trouble making’, \( \text{tâlûkîkkû} \) ‘dodging behaviour’, \( \text{tâçôk} \) ‘working party of grown up people’, \( \text{tatóma} \) ‘ritual, traditional procedure’, \( \text{tôkôkkûr} \) ‘dirt on top of water’.

The \( \text{t-} \) class also contains some nouns that bear a relationship to kinship terms with the persona prefix (see 4.10). These nouns refer to the type of relationship or to people standing in a type of relationship, not to specific individuals. An example is \( \text{takî} \) ‘grandparent and grandchild (i.e. kind of relationship), ancestry, descendancy’. Further examples are given in 4.3.6. These nouns are basically unpaired, but may allow for the formation of a singular(!) in the \( \text{p-} \) class. \(^{32}\)

Verbs allow for the derivation of a verbal noun in the \( \text{t-} \) class, as do several adjectives (see 4.6.1 and 4.6.3). Such nouns are unpaired.

\(^{32}\) See also Smits (2012).
t/n

grasses and wiry materials, miscellaneous

The pair contains the generic term taṭa/naṭa ‘leaf’ and a few grass species. It also has some words that relate to (wiry) plant materials: taṃmāk/nammāk ‘bark’, tuṅkwān/nukwān ‘dress made of bark’, taratta/naratta ‘remaining fibres of sorghum (traditionally used for cleaning calabashes)’, tuccēt/niccēt ‘husk of sesame’, tīca/nīca ‘(heap of) plant waste’, taŋk/naŋk ‘fibres for chewing (of sugarcane or tobacco), also: ‘honeycomb’, tonē/nonē ‘bird’s nest’, tutū/nuttū ‘dung’, tāmama/nāmama ‘material inside of a pumpkin’.

Some items seem to share a notion of hollow space: tūpō/nupō ‘hole in the ground, grave’, tōŋ/nōŋ ‘space under the granary’.

Body parts include taṭṭāk/naṭṭāk ‘placenta’, tεrίmak/nerίmak ‘tooth gum’, tamaţε/nomaţε ‘upper part of the foot’.

Terms for people are not attested in this pair. Animals found here include tutṭaruk/nuttaruk ‘pig’, taŋk/naŋk ‘worm (generic)’, tεlļowṇ/nallowṇ ‘caterpillar (sp.)’, tallapōk/nallapōk ‘frog (generic)’, taŋkε̆rɔ̆/naŋkε̆rɔ̆ frog (sp.), tεŋk/naŋk ‘eagle’, tɔŋ/nɔŋ ‘cobra’, tɔŋpə/nɔŋpə ‘lizard (sp.)’, tamaõ/namõ ‘rat (sp.)’ and takkontąkkuŋ/nakkontąkkuŋ ‘mosquito’.

Abstract nouns include tɔŋ/nɔŋ ‘fear’, tɔp/nɔp ‘appetite’, tɔŋ/nɔŋ ‘stinginess, tamõt/namõt ‘sexual desire’.  tį ‘hunger, period(s) of hunger’ is an unpaired noun in the t-class.

This class pair contains mainly loans from Arabic that have been borrowed together with the definite article al- (see section 4.9).

Two items are probably loans from Tira: ili/nili ‘leader’ and oril/noril ‘deaf person’. Tira has eli/neli ‘chief’ and the adjective -ururil ‘deaf, dumb (Schadeberg 2009, p. 109). Three further items in this pair are irilla/nirilla ‘person with both legs paralysed’, umatön/numatön ‘elephant’ and uren/noren ‘necklace’. They may be borrowings as well.

k/∅
tools and instruments, language names, miscellaneous

Language names all come in this pair (see section 4.3.6). It has several tools and instruments including kirék/irék ‘hoe’, kərɛ/ərɛ ‘tool for the removal of sorghum stocks’, kəţök/əţök ‘spear’, kəţittän/əţittän ‘knife’, kapaři/aparji ‘spoon’, kummo̞k/əmmo̞k ‘pot’, kapí/apí ‘cooking pot’.


Animals tend to be lower species, including some insects for example kara/ara ‘tick’ and kərɛ/ərɛ ‘bedbug’. The pair also includes kapôrɛntenùn/apôrɛntenùn ‘lizard (sp.)’, kunû/unû ‘scorpion’, kærəmekko/ərəmekko ‘bat (sp.)’, kærɔl/ərɔl ‘tortoise’, kît/it ‘wild chicken’.

Nouns for people are kəllân/allân ‘old woman’, kurɛ/urɛ ‘left-handed person’ (also ‘left side’), kicək/îcək ‘person with one functioning eye’, kimicɔ/îmicɔ ‘person with one functioning leg’.
Food items include kappentína/appentína ‘groundnut’, kepo/epo ‘mushroom’, kepín/epín ‘edible plant (generic)’.

Miscellaneous items include kórimi/orîmi ‘large, flat stone’, karran/arrañ ‘wall’, kérêt/orèt ‘cloth’, kapik/apik ‘rain, God’, kùnê/ùnê ‘song’, kọrâ/ùrâ ‘open space for dancing, dancing party’.

kw/∅ and kw/w
miscellaneous, some body parts, some insects

The nouns in this pair were listed in section 4.3.1. Body parts are kwăn/wăn ‘strand of human hair’, kwarîl/orîl ‘cheek’ and kwame/ame ‘tendon’. Two insects are found in this pair: kwalîn/alîn ‘centipede’ and kwôrik/orîk ‘black ant’. It also has the moon kwanôk/(w)anôk. No language names or nouns referring to persons are attested here.

ŋ/ɲ
liquids, young or small animals, small-sized items, intangibles, miscellaneous


Several words, particularly with an initial sequence nã- (plural nã-), convey a notion of smallness. There is no doubt a connection to the diminutive morpheme nã- (see 4.5.1), but the words listed below lack a corresponding noun without nã.
Miscellaneous items are relatively few in this pair, but include ɲorù/ɲorù ‘dirt’, ɲentara/ɲantara ‘drum’, ɲumat/ɲumat ‘thorny

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33 According to JS not an originally Lumun word.
34 ɲάppa/ɲάppa, with its unusual tone pattern, may be borrowed from Tira, which has abstract nouns in the ɲ-class and a verb apɔ ‘take’ (Schadeberg 2009, p. 21, 112).
bush’, ɲomorra/ɲomorra  ‘arm shield held, for protecting arm and head’.

*Singular w and singular ∅*  
*Edible animals*

One more semantic cluster is worth mentioning, though the nouns are few, divided over the singular w and ∅ classes, and have (suppletive) plurals in different classes. It concerns wild and domestic edible animals. Four of them have a plural in the k-class:

ɲmít/ŀjíc̩k  ‘goat/-s’  
ʊmɑ̃t̪̪n/ʊmɑ̃t̪̪n  ‘elephant/-s’  
ɪke/ɪkɛ  ‘giraffe/-s’  
ʊpá/kʊpá  ‘piece of meat, animal hunted for meat/meat, game’  
wãj/ɻi̍ɻ  ‘cow/-s’  
wallîr, allîr/kallîr  ‘gazelle/-s’

This small group is interesting in view of Schadeberg’s (1981b, p. 119) reconstruction of the items ‘cow’, ‘goat’ and ‘meat’ in a proto-Talodi class pair *w/*g, and his remark that Stevenson’s (1957, p. 134-135) data suggest that there were still other (edible) animals in this class pair. Norton (2000) lists some cognate (edible) animals in the class pairs w/g and w/n of Acheron.

4.3.6. Class prefixes as derivational tools

*Trees or shrubs and their fruits*

Virtually all trees occur in the class pair p/k. Their fruits have the same root, but go to different noun classes. Many occur in the pair c/m, others in the pair k/∅ (the plural of the tree and the singular of the fruit are thus homonyms). One fruit comes in the pair t/l and one in t/n. The fruits in the class pair c/m are typically round or roundish, the one in the pair t/l has a longitudinal shape. The fruits in the pair k/∅ do not seem to share specific properties. The pair contains fruits that are small and numerous, but also bigger ones.
In the following case the word for the (edible) leaf has the same root as the word for the tree. The word for the leaf lacks a singular/plural opposition:

\begin{verbatim}
tree  leaf
\end{verbatim}

Another case in which tree (and fruit) and leaf are clearly related is the following:

\begin{verbatim}
boabab tree  leaf
\end{verbatim}

\textit{boabab} ‘leaf, leaves of baobab’ suggests a development from *kw-əɾɔt or *kw-əɾɔt.\footnote{Sequences kw are not attested. A sequence kw can alternatively be pronounced as ko.}

Sometimes the word for the tree is used when reference is made to the whole of the fruits that are still on the tree, as in the second

\footnote{Some species that are translated as ‘tree (sp.)’ may rather be shrubs.}
example below. In the first example, in which the word for the fruit is used, reference is made to a specific fruit.

**caman**  c-øre  ána  c-ǐkkakọ

the caman-fruit is ripe and can be eaten

**paman**  p-øre  ána  p-ǐkkakọ

the fruits of the paman-tree are ripe and can be eaten

**People and abstractions in the t-class**

Some nouns that refer to people (mostly but not exclusively in the p/∅ class pair), and abstract nouns in the t-class share the same roots. These abstract nouns are unpaired. Whether or not there is an abstraction next to a paired noun that refers to a kind of person is lexically determined. Attested cases:

**ŋrë/ŋnrë, ŋrë**  ‘adolescent girl’
**t̪irë**  ‘behaviour and occupations associated with girls’
(i.e. making oneself pretty, making one’s room look nice, etc.)

**parĩ/arı**  ‘wife’
**t̪arĩ**  ‘behaviour and occupations associated with women’
(i.e. keeping the house clean, cooking food, etc.)

**pamít/amít**  ‘traditional healer’
**t̪amít**  ‘traditional healing’

**paraŋtan/arəŋtan**  ‘rich person’
**t̪arəŋtan**  ‘wealth’

**pọрукọ/urọkọ**  ‘friend’
**t̪urọkọ**  ‘friendship’
There are also cases of kinship and relational nouns that share their root with an abstract noun. Kinship and relational terms have the persona prefix ʒ- when denoting specific persons (unless in the vocative), and form plurals through suffixation instead of through change of noun class (see 4.10). In several kinship and relational nouns the class prefix p can be recognized. The same roots with the t-initial prefix refer to the kind of relationship. Nouns with the t-prefix do not have the persona prefix ʒ-.

\[\text{pɪāk/ɪāk} \, \text{‘orphan, poor person’}\]
\[\text{tɪāk} \, \text{‘suffering’}\]

\[\text{tək} \, \text{‘grandparent and grandchild (i.e. kind of relationship in which people stand to each other), ancestry, descendance’}\]
\[\text{ọ-pəkì (pl. ọ-pəkì-ọn)} \, \text{‘grandparent, grandchild, ancestor, descendant (i.e. a specific person)’}\]

\[\text{tɨɛ́ ‘in-laws of different generation (kind of relationship)’}\]
\[\text{ọ-ɨɛ́ (pl. ọ-ɨɛ̀e-ọn)} \, \text{‘in-law of different generation (specific person)’}\]

\[\text{təɾɛ́n} \, \text{‘maternal uncle and nephew or niece of maternal uncle (kind of relationship)’}\]
\[\text{ọ-ɾɛ́n} \, \text{‘maternal uncle, nephew or niece of maternal uncle (specific person)’}\]

\[\text{təɾɪn} \, \text{‘in-laws of same generation (kind of relationship)’}\]
\[\text{ọ-ɾɪn} \, \text{‘in-law of same generation (specific person)’}\]

An example follows here with a kinship noun that refers to a specific person, then an example with the noun that refers to the relationship:

\[37\text{In this case and the next, the difference in tone between the nouns in the t-class and the ọ-initial kinship terms reveal that the persona prefix ʒ, which brings a high tone, is present in the nouns denoting a specific person but absent from the noun denoting the relationship. The shared roots have an initial ọ (as is apparent from the vocative forms) and low tones.}\]
they are my grandparents

they are grandparent and grandchild to each other

Peoples and languages

Languages are productively derived in the k-class, irrespective of the class pair of the ethnonym. The autonym of the Lumun comes in the p/∅ class pair, as do the ethnonyms for the immediate and linguistically closely related neighbours Tocho, Acheron and Torona. Other peoples come in other class pairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person / people</th>
<th>language</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parrō/arrō</td>
<td>karrō</td>
<td>‘Lumun, mother tongue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>karrō k-arrō</td>
<td>‘mother tongue of the Lumun people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pappō/appō</td>
<td>kappó</td>
<td>‘Tocho’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəɾemê/əɾemê</td>
<td>kəɾemê</td>
<td>‘Acheron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəɾənɔ/əɾənɔ</td>
<td>kəɾənɔ</td>
<td>‘Torona’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəɾá/məɾá</td>
<td>kəɾá</td>
<td>‘Tira Lumun and Tira’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəɾmpəɾən/ləɾmpəɾən</td>
<td>kəɾmpəɾən</td>
<td>‘Moro’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uʃtəɾu/luʃtəɾu</td>
<td>kʊtʃtəɾu</td>
<td>‘Otoro’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakki/nakkì</td>
<td>kakkì</td>
<td>‘Nuba peoples south and southwest of the Lumun, across the plain (amongst others Dagik, Katcha, Kongo)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceŋkē/meŋkē</td>
<td>keŋkē</td>
<td>‘Dinka’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuʃtò/moʃtò</td>
<td>kʊtʃtò</td>
<td>‘Arab Sudanese’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other nominal roots occurring in more than one singular/plural pair, or in a singular/plural pair and as unpaired noun

Further examples of roots that occur in noun classes that change the meaning of the word in a way that is not number-related follow here.

ci̞mniej/kjimmijnk  ‘breast’
ŋjimmijnk/ŋjimmijnk  ‘human milk’

 الماضي/laak  ‘sesame paste’ (after the oil has been pressed out)
ŋaak/ŋaak  ‘oil/amounts, kinds of oil’ (not necessarily sesame oil)

ili/nili  ‘leader’
ŋili  ‘leadership’
kupó/upó  ‘hole in rock where water gathers’
tupó/nupó  ‘hole in the ground, grave’
capó/mopó  ‘hole in the ground (not big) to keep a small child safely in place, or for a large calabash of beer to stay upright’

kapó  ‘ground’
kapó/apó  ‘small hole for planting the sorghum’

pra/kira  ‘tree’
kwira/ira, wira  ‘small piece of wood or grass’

kucúk  ‘smoke’
mucúk  ‘ashes’

taṭa/naṭa  ‘leaf (generic term)’
kwaṭa  ‘edible leaves of beans’

pàrmpàrin/kàrnikàrin  ‘tree (sp.)’
càrnikàrin/pàrmmpàrin  ‘fruit of pàrmpàrin-tree’
kàrnikàrin/pàrinnàrin  ‘bell of seeds of the càrnikàrin-fruit’

camarâŋ ‘free fight for competition’
kəmarâŋ/əmarâŋ ‘shield’

ṯərōma/lərōma ‘ram’
ɲərōma/ɲərōma ‘young ram’

Replacing the original noun class prefix of an animal term by the class prefix ƞ-, as in the example above, is not a regular way of diminutive formation. Instead, there are diminutive morphemes ɲa- /ɲa- and ɲanja-/ɲanja- which can be applied productively (see 4.5.1). Nevertheless, it seems that nouns denoting animals can be assigned to the ƞ-class in a creative way. In the sentence below, which is from a story, the animal character kəɬ ‘tortoise’ is referred to as ɲəɬl, which is not a regular word for ‘small tortoise’. The ƞ-class gives a flavour to the word here that is related to the notion of smallness, but expresses something like ‘nasty little tortoise’. The speaker in the example is a malicious creature who is after the tortoise. He asks the animals to drink all the water from the stream so that he can catch the tortoise, who is in the water.

\[
\text{n-ánt-át-ikkjn-in} \quad \eta \eta \eta \quad \text{water}
\]
\[
\text{ákka} \quad \etaəɬ \quad \eta-əɛk \quad \eta-əpət.ɛ \quad cənɛ
\]

please come and drink the water for me, because some nasty little tortoise has fallen here (App. IV, 138-139)

A singular noun which has a variant in another noun class is cakkólůk ‘calabash (k.o.)’. There is only one plural:

cakkólůk, pakkólůk/makkólůk ‘calabash (k.o.)’

4.4. Contracted forms with gemination

In some individual cases, nouns can occur in a changed phonological shape when preceded by one of the prepositional proclitics ɪ- ‘in’, ɲo- ‘on’, tə- ‘up on, up at’ or ɲo- ‘at’, or the connexive ɕ- ‘of’. In isolation these nouns have the shape \( C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 \). In most cases both \( C_1 \) and
articulation of place of articulation of C₂, but not when C₁ is nasal, a nasal and stop sequence results at the place of articulation of C₂ (recall that the intervocalic allophone of t is r). C₂ geminates also if C₁ is absent. The result is thus CLITIC-C₂C₂V₂(C₃).

The examples with prepositional proclitics presented below were found in texts or obtained through elicitation. Note that in some cases which involve a low-toned noun, a rising tone results.

tupó ‘hole in the ground, grave’  i-ppó, na-ppó, ťa-ppó
tupan ‘room’  na-ppăn
pətak ‘stone’  i-ttök, na-ttök
kutök ‘fenced place for livestock’  i-ttök, te-ttök
parit ‘granary’  i-ttît, na-ttît, tă-ttít
kərak ‘farming field’  i-ttāk
kucül ‘back’  i-ccül, na-ccül, tă-ccül, ĭa-ccül
kucó ‘shed’  i-ccû, na-ccû, tă-ccû
okón ‘hand, forearm’  i-kkûn, na-kkûn, ťa-kkûn
okol ‘child’  i-kkûl, na-kkûl, ťa-kkûl

However, if C₁ is k and C₂ is p, the geminate adopts the place of articulation of C₁ (CLITIC-C₁C₁V₁(C₃)). In the third example, C₂ p is reflected in the labialized articulation of the velar geminate:

kupú ‘hole in rock where water gathers’  i-kkû, na-kkû, ťa-kkû
kupó ‘deep crack in rock’  i-kkû, na-kkû, ťa-kkû
kəpôn ‘farming field’  i-kkkwûn, na-kkkwûn, ťa-kkkwûn

There is also a form təpôn, which probably derives from tə + əpôn instead of from tə + kəpôn, though —synchronously— it does not convey a notion of plurality of the fields.

If C₁ is a nasal, a nasal and stop sequence results at the place of articulation of C₂, but not when C₁ is ţ and C₂ is p. In that case the place of articulation of C₁ is adopted, retaining the labialized articulation of p (third example below):

38 tə is realized here as te.
4.5. Complex nouns

4.5.1. Diminutive nouns

Diminutives are derived by means of attachment of the SG/PL morphemes ṣa-/pā- or ọa-/ọa- before the singular or plural noun. The diminutive prefixes are typically used with animals to denote young animals, but are also applied for small versions of objects. The reduplicated prefix expresses a stronger notion of being young and/or small than ṣa-/pā-. Some examples:

maté ‘sleep’  r-nté
ŋocol ‘sauce’  r-ncól
ŋọpak ‘beer’  r-ŋkwák

One case has a nasal (m) at C2. Like C1 ṣ – C2 p, C1 k – C2 m results in ŋkw:

kəmel ‘hunting party’  r-ŋkwēl

Finally, there is a comparable case of gemination (+ labialization) of a CV noun: r- ‘in’ + ƙa ‘body’ > ikkwâ ‘in the body’. This change, however, only occurs with proclitic r-, not with any other prepositional proclitic, nor with the connexive.

In most cases, regular forms of the combinations listed above are possible as well, but less commonly used. In some cases, the form with gemination and the regular form have different meanings. Examples of this are given in 16.3.1 and 16.3.2 (dealing with the PPCs r- ‘in’ and n- ‘on’). In other cases there is no difference, as for example in:

tọ-ccūl  ‘between the shoulder blades’
tọ-kucūl  ‘between the shoulder blades’

r-kkū  ‘in the hole in the rock where water gathers’
r-kupū  ‘in the hole in the rock where water gathers’
ŋa-tərõma/ŋa-lərõma, ŋaŋa-tərõma/ŋaŋa-lərõma, ‘young ram’ 
< tərõma/lərõma ‘ram’

ŋa-ʔúk/ŋa-lõk, ŋaŋa-ʔúk/ŋaŋa-lõk, ‘young dog, puppy’ 
< ʔúk/lõk ‘dog’

ŋa-pəlla/ŋa-alla, ŋaŋa-pəlla/ŋaŋa-alla ‘young cat, kitten’ 
< pəlla/olla ‘cat’

ŋa-rəʔərək/ŋa-nəṭərək, ŋaŋa-rəʔərək/ŋaŋa-nəṭərək ‘young pig 
(but no longer striped)’
< tuṭərək/nuṭərək ‘pig’

ŋa-pərɨt/ŋa-ɭɨt, ŋaŋa-pərɨt/ŋaŋa-ɭɨt, ‘little young man’ (a boy 
that does not yet have the age of a young man but that behaves as if 
he already were)
< pərɨt/ɭɨt ‘young man’

ŋa-kɔɾən/ŋa-ɔɾən, ŋaŋa-kɔɾən/ŋaŋa-ɔɾən, ‘small piece of 
firewood’
< kɔɾən/ɔɾən ‘piece of firewood’

ŋa-kəmək/ŋa-əmək, ŋaŋa-kəmək/ŋaŋa-əmək ‘small pot’
< kəmək/əmək ‘pot’

The following case has the long prefix in the singular (ŋaŋa + 
əntərə > ŋaŋ-entərə) and the short prefix in the plural:

ŋaŋ-entərə/ŋaŋ-entərə ‘k.o. drum (small size)’
< əntərə/ntərə ‘k.o. drum’

When ŋa- or ŋaŋa- is prefixed to ɔkəl ‘child’, k geminates:

ŋa-kəkəl/ŋa-ŋəkəl, ŋaŋa-kəkəl/ŋaŋa-ŋəkəl ‘baby, small child 
(up to about four years old)’
< ɔkəl/ŋəkəl ‘child’
The diminutive ɲəkəttak/ɲəkəttak ‘small calabash for sauce’ is derived from 戗ak ‘k.o. calabash’ (*kəttak does not exist on its own). Initial ɲə/ɲa is found in several other nouns referring to small items but those cases lack underived counterparts. Examples can be found under in section 4.3.5 under the noun class pair ɲ-/ɲ-.

4.5.2. Complex nouns in the t̪-class

The complex nouns in the t̪-class listed below are abstractions related to nouns that refer to people. They are different from earlier mentioned cases in the t̪ class that relate to nouns denoting people as they contain additional formatives: a (first two cases), probably from the copula ‘be’ (c-á), and ɔ (last case), probably from the connexive element c-ɔ ‘of’. Notably, *kurɪt is not attested as a noun by itself, but shares its root with purɪt/urɪt.

t̪.a-ɪɽɛ ‘style of an adolescent girl’ < ɪɽɛ ‘adolescent girl’
t̪.a-k.ʊɾɪt ‘style of a young man’ < p.ʊɾɪt/ʊɾɪt ‘young man’
t̪.ɔ-p.ɪ́t ‘master and servant (kind of relationship)’ < p.ɪ́t ‘master, servant’

The nouns tairɛ and the earlier mentioned tirɛ do not have exactly the same meaning. The former refers to the way or style in which a girl presents herself, the latter refers to behaviours typical for girls in general.

4.5.3. Complex nouns: reduplication

Several insects are denoted by fully reduplicated nouns. In most cases, the nouns are not attested in a non-reduplicated form. In the singular both parts take a singular noun class prefix, in the plural they both take a plural noun class prefix. Regular processes of assimilation take place across the reduplication boundary.

takkun-tákkun/nakkun-nákkun ‘mosquito’
pɪɾɪmam-pɪɾɪman/ɪɾɪman-ɪɾɪman ‘spider, spiderweb, spiderrag’
CHAPTER 4

Some trees and their seeds or fruits involve reduplication, as well as an edible plant:

- **piam-pian/kiŋ-kiŋ** 'tree (sp.)'
- **ciŋ-ciŋ/miam-mian** 'seed of *piam*-tree, necklace of seeds of *piam*-tree'
- **poró-póró/kóró-kóró** 'tree (sp.)'
- **coró-córó/móró-móró** 'fruit of *poró*-tree'
- **parim-parín/kɔɾɪŋ-karín** 'tree (sp.)'
- **carń-carń/marń-marń** 'fruit of *parim*-tree'
- **kərǐṅ-karīṅ/mərī̃-mərī̃** 'bell made of seeds of the *carń*-fruit'
- **kwɔći-kwɔcí/ərí-ɔři** 'plant (sp., edible)'

The words for ‘lyre’ and ‘twilight’ also involve reduplication. They suggest sound symbolic value, as does the word for ‘light rain’, which contains a partial reduplication.

- **parēm-pōrēn/ərēn-ōrēn** ‘lyre’ (traditional instrument)
- **kr-akkr** ‘twilight’
- **pıc-ci** ‘light rain’

---

39 In this word, there is no lenition of k after l, nor does there seem to be an inserted schwa. Hence the spelling with <lkk>. 
The following nouns are probably related to each other through partial reduplication, though they have different tone patterns:

ŋaŋa/ŋaŋa ‘gum arabic’
ŋarā-ŋa/ŋarā-ŋa ‘rheum (in the eye, after sleep)’

4.6. Nouns derived from other word categories.

4.6.1. Verb-to-noun derivation

Except for a small set of defective verbs, all verbs allow for nominalization. Deverbal nominalizations are formed in the t̪-class. They have a L*.LH tone pattern, irrespective of the tones of the verb stem.

t̪ʊnɔ ‘to build, building’ < ʊnɔ ‘build’
t̪ɔrɛkɔ ‘to work, working’ < ɔrɛkɔ ‘work’
t̪ɔrəkɔ ‘to eat, eating’ < ɔrəkɔ ‘eat’

Verbal nouns do not have a singular/plural opposition: they allow, if necessary, for both singular and plural reference:

t̪ennekkettā ‘to be tested, being tested, test(s) (< ennekketta ‘be tested’)

t̪ennekketta t̪ullukkû ‘one test’
 t̪ennekketta t̪erá ‘two tests’

Verbal nouns have characteristics of both nouns and verbs. They are nouns because they can function as arguments in a clause. Their modifiers agree with them, and so do verbs to which they function as the subject. Some examples:

t̪-ŋwɔ t̪-3-piŋnit t̪-ɔcëkákoŋ.ɛ ŋ-eŋ.tán
NOM-sing c-of-singer c-be_heard:COMPL with-far

the singing of the singer is heard from far
staying in Khartoum is good and bad

Verbal nouns are verb-like because they can take a direct object:

earning (lit.: finding) money in Lumun country (fr. written essay)

taking care of the children

Other nouns do not take direct objects; rather they need the connexive element C-ɔ ‘of’. Nominalized verbs allow not only for a direct object construction, but also for a modifying construction with the connexive, as in the second example below:

Verbal nouns can be modified by an adverb:

dancing seriously is good

4.6.2. Other nouns and verbs sharing the same root or stem

There are no other productive ways to derive a noun from a verb or vice versa. Apart from the verbal nouns, instances of nouns and verbs sharing the same root or stem are few. The attested cases are listed
below. ‘Swelling on the skin’ is probably based on the Completive verb form, since it has its final t and the Completive tone pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nokáči</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naé/ñaé</td>
<td>‘urine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apáre</td>
<td>‘have diarrhea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niparík/niparík</td>
<td>‘diarrhea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óráta</td>
<td>‘begin to have fruits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caráš/tmarášt</td>
<td>‘swelling on the skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipo</td>
<td>‘obtain, marry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>típa/lípa</td>
<td>‘marriage’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6.3. Nouns derived from adjectives

The same process that derives verbal nouns from verbs (see 4.6.1) derives nouns from adjectives. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Derived From</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tarík</td>
<td>‘being big’</td>
<td>c-arík ‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukwit</td>
<td>‘length, depth’</td>
<td>c-úkwít ‘long, deep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóparót</td>
<td>‘goodness’</td>
<td>c-óparót ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tókítäk</td>
<td>‘badness’</td>
<td>c-ókitak ‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóppöt</td>
<td>‘being plenty’</td>
<td>c-óppót ‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóŋi</td>
<td>‘blackness’</td>
<td>c-óŋi ‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóřé</td>
<td>‘redness, ripeness’</td>
<td>c-óré ‘red, ripe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóterét</td>
<td>‘being spotted’</td>
<td>c-óterét ‘spotted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tımmin</td>
<td>‘heavyness’</td>
<td>c-ımmin ‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tárró</td>
<td>‘bluntness’</td>
<td>c-àrró ‘blunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tippa</td>
<td>‘heat’</td>
<td>c-íppá ‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tírrök</td>
<td>‘cold, coolness’</td>
<td>c-írrók ‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóparí</td>
<td>‘being female’</td>
<td>c-óparí ‘female’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following noun has a different tone pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Derived From</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tóccora</td>
<td>‘being male’</td>
<td>c-óccora</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An example with a nominalized adjective:

\[
\text{t-}\text{opers} \quad \text{n-}t-\text{i} \quad \text{i-}t-\text{á} \quad \text{ŋ-}kw-\text{kint-}n \quad \text{t-ittik}
\]

NOM-good, DEM-C-NEARSP, RES-C-COP, 2-C-do_for:COMPL-o1, C-big

This loyalty that you showed me is big (lit.: this goodness that you did for me ...) (Ruth 3:10)

Adjectives which contain the copula c-á ‘be’, such as c-ackocokot ‘fast’ and c-arorŋ ‘colour of snake (sp.)’, do not allow for nominalization through addition of the t- prefix and a tone pattern.

4.6.4. Adverbs functioning as nouns

An example of an adverb that can function as a noun is cokcokot ‘quickly’:

\[
cakc-cokot \quad \text{ep-c-i} \quad \text{c-okitak}
\]

quickly-REDUP, DEM-C-NEARSP, C-bad

This rushing is bad

4.7. Place names and other locative nouns

Indigenous proper place names consist of two formatives: a prepositional proclitic and a nominal element. Most often the prepositional formative is t- ‘up on, up at’ or ŋ- ‘at’. The nominal element is in several cases (the remnant of) a noun attested on its own. Some examples follow here, some more are listed in 16.3.5, including some examples with other prepositional formatives.

\[
\text{t̪oromatōn} \\
\text{t̪omāŋ} \\
\text{t̪ortēŋ} \\
\text{t̪o} \\
\text{t̪oŋ} \\
\text{t̪attoō} \quad (< \text{t̪o} + \text{tōō} \text{lit.: ‘At the river’}) \\
\text{t̪omantēt} \quad (< \text{t̪o} + \text{mantēt} \text{lit. ‘At the mantēt-snakes’})
\]
The names for the homelands of the Lumun and neighbouring peoples are (historically) made up of to- ‘up on, up at’ or tɔ- ‘at’ and the (plural or singular) name of the people. In the case of Lumun, Tocho, Acheron and Torona it is likely that the plurals have served as formative and that ɔ, respectively ɔ and ə, have coalesced to ɔ. The plural name of the people has also served as formative for the name of the Moro homeland and for places where “Arab” Sudanese are living, but for the Tira and Otoro areas the singular (the name for one person) is involved. In the case of Dagi, Katcha and Krongo it is difficult to say whether pakkɪ or nakkɪ has served as formative, because either way, the noun class prefix has been deleted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/people</th>
<th>Homeland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parró/arró ‘Lumun’</td>
<td>tɔrrò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pappó/appó ‘Tocho’</td>
<td>tɔppó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pæremɛ/argɛmɛ ‘Acheron’</td>
<td>tɔremɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pærenɔ/argɛnɔ ‘Torona’</td>
<td>tɔrenɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Place names can function as subject (or object) in a clause. The prepositional formative no longer functions as a preposition but has become part of the place name, as is shown by the concord tɔ- on the verb in the next example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamantɪt</th>
<th>t-ɔnu</th>
<th>mantɪt</th>
<th>m-ɔppɔt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamantɪt c-have snake(sp.) c-many</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Toomantɪt has many cantɪt-snakes

Place names, including foreign place names such as karattʊm ‘Khartoum’ or katɔkɔlɪ ‘Kadugli’, are not used in combination with one of the prepositional proclitics tɔ-, tɔ-, nɔ- or ɪ-. The absence of these proclitics from foreign place names also points at prepositional...
formatives in indigenous place names no longer being perceived as prepositions. Instead, the whole name functions as a locative noun:

\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
m-p-a.1k & p-a.ɛ & tɔmanit/ \text{ karatôm} \\
1-C-be:PR & C-go:INCOMPL & tɔmanit / Khartoum
\end{array}
\]

I am going to Tɔmanit / to Khartoum

For comparison, a sentence follows here with a building, man mókapik ‘church’ (lit. house of God), instead of a place name. A prepositional proclitic must be used here:

\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
m-p-a.1k & p-a.ɛ & tɔ-man & m-3-kapik \\
1-C-be:PR & C-go:INCOMPL & at-house & C-of-God
\end{array}
\]

I am going to the church

In the case of the tɔtɔtɔt ‘sky, heaven’ both t- and t- concord are acceptable. tɔtɔt ‘sky, heaven’ exists as a noun by itself. Apparently tɔtɔt ‘sky, heaven’ can be interpreted as a place name (a locative noun), but also as a prepositional proclitic and noun, in which case agreement goes with the noun:

\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
tɔtɔt & t-ɪntat & cɪk & n-tɔllɛrɛk \\
\text{sky} & C-disappear:INCOMPL & VREF & with-lightening
\end{array}
\]

the sky will disappear with lightening

\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
tɔ-tɔt & t-ɪntat & cɪk & n-tɔllɛrɛk \\
\text{up.on-sky} & C-disappear:INCOMPL & VREF & with-lightening
\end{array}
\]

the sky will disappear with lightening

tɔtɔpɔt ‘(at the) place outside for use as toilet’ (lit.: at outside) is commonly used as a locative noun:

\[
\begin{array}{ccl}
tɔtɔpɔt & t-a-ɪk & kara-ṭa \\
\text{at.place_used.as.toilet} & C-be:VREF & where-QW
\end{array}
\]

where is the place for use as a toilet?

An unusual case of a prepositional proclitic (tɔ-) and a noun (cá/má ‘head’) is tɔcá/tɔmá ‘face’. On the one hand, the clitic has become a
part of these nouns because their concord is t, on the other hand pluralization involves a change of cá to má:

**t̪ɔmá**  t̪-ɔ-ʊl
faces  c-of-people
the faces of people

Another unusual case is **ŋkɔřá** ‘(in the) night’. The word can function as a noun, as in the following example:

**ŋkɔřá**  ŋ-ɪpimá.t.e
night  c-become_dark;COMP
the night is dark

**ŋkɔřá** must have developed from the prepositional proclitic ń- ‘with, by, (away) from’ and a synchronically not attested noun *kɔřá, because nasal + stop clusters in initial position are not attested in Lumun nouns.

A loan word that functions as a locative noun is **keceök** ‘market’ (< Sudanese Arabic *suug*). It is generally used as a locative noun. However, in some contexts, proclitic ı- ‘in’ can be used alternatively:

**l̪ɔn**  l-ɛn  l-ɔkkəttá.t.e  keceök / ı-keceök
words  c-DEM  c-be_done;COMP  market  in-market
those things happened in the market

4.8. Descriptive constructions expressing nominal concepts

4.8.1. Agent nouns

Lumun has no way to derive agentive nouns from verbs. Instead, the language makes use of descriptions: ‘person’ (or ‘child’) and a relative construction, involving the restrictor ı-, the concord that agrees with the noun, and a verb (noun ı-C-verb). In the examples below, the concord w of vowel-initial nouns is deleted between vowels.
Other agentive expressions consist of ‘person’ (or ‘child’) followed by the connexive + noun, or the connexive, a prepositional proclitic and a noun (noun C-ŋnoun, or: noun C-ŋPFC-noun). Examples:

- pol p-ɔ-tɔrak/ol w-ɔ-tɔrak ‘warrior’ (lit. ‘person of war’)
- pol p-ɔ-tipa/ol w-ɔ-tipa ‘negatioter of marriage’ (lit. ‘person of marriage’)
- pol p-ɔ-toran/ol w-ɔ-toran ‘thief’ (lit. ‘person of theft’)
- pol p-ɔ-kɔmel/ol w-ɔ-kɔmel ‘person who calls for a hunting party, performs the rituals and leads it’ (lit. ‘person of the hunting party’)
- pol p-ɔ-riŋkwel/ol w-ɔ-riŋkwel40 ‘person who joins in a hunting party’ (lit. ‘person of in the hunting party’)
- pol p-ɔ-riŋkwel/ol w-ɔ-riŋkwel
  - C-ŋnoun + PFC-ŋnoun + noun
- pol p-ɔ-ŋmôn/ol w-ɔ-ŋmôn41 ‘person who is hunting porcupines’ (lit.: person of in porcupines)
- pol p-ɔ-ŋmôn/ol w-ɔ-ŋmôn
  - C-ŋnoun + PFC-ŋnoun + noun

4.8.2. Other examples of descriptive constructions

The same descriptive constructions (noun I-C-verb, noun C-ŋnoun and noun C-ŋPREP-noun), and in particular those involving the connexive, are used for a variety of other nominal concepts. A descriptive construction involving a relative construction can also contain an adjective instead of a verb (noun I-C-adj). Modification of a noun through direct juxtaposition is not possible except with nominalized verbs that can take an object (see 4.6.1).

40 The allomorph ri- of prepositional proclitic I- ‘in’ is used here (see 16.2). kɔmel takes on its contracted shape after I- ‘in’ (see 4.4) but not after connexive C-ŋ.

41 In case of direct adjacency of I- (here: ri-, see 16.2) ‘in’ to a +ATR vowel, the resulting vowel will be articulated as +ATR.
Some further examples of descriptive constructions follow here.

Examples of ‘noun c-ɔ-noun’:

Plural formation always concerns not only the class prefix of the first noun, but also the agreement marker of the connexive or the relative. If the second noun involved is not already a plural, plural formation will often also involve pluralization of the second noun, as in the first example below.

**kwɔŋen kə-wɛk/ɔŋen wɔ-tacɔk** ‘shin bone’ (lit.: piece of firewood of the leg)

In a few cases, phonological changes have taken place.

**pa-pɔ-kira/arəp-ɔ-kira** ‘leopard’ (lit.: thing of the trees)
< papɔ + pɔ + kira/arəpɔ + wɔ + kira

**pa-pɔ-rua/arəp-ɔ-rua** ‘livestock animal’ (lit.: thing of hair)
< papɔ + pɔ + tua/arəpɔ + wɔ + tua

**nɔkul-ɔ-ʈtɔ/nɔkul-ɔ-ʈtɔ** ‘salt/amounts of salt’ (lit.: sauce of the Arabs)
< nɔkul + nɔ + mɔtɔ/nɔkol + nɔ + mɔtɔ

**cil-ɔ-ʈtɔ/miɬ-ɔ-ʈtɔ** ‘grain of maize/maize’ (lit.: sorghum of the Arabs)
< cil + cɔ + mɔtɔ

Examples of noun c-ɔ-PPC-noun:

**papɔ p-ɔ-ri-kira/arəpɔ w-ɔ-ri-kira**42 ‘wild animal’ (lit.: thing of among the trees)
< papɔ + pɔ + 1 + kira/arəpɔ + wɔ + 1 + kira

**caun c-ɔ-ʈʂ-kʊɾʊk/maun m-ɔ-ʈʂ-ʊɾʊk** ‘little finger’ (lit.: finger of at the corner)

---

42 The allomorph ri- of prepositional proclitic r- ‘in’ is used here (see 16.2).
Examples of noun 1-C-adjective:

ŋurú ı-ɽ́r/ŋurú ı-ŋ-ɽ́r ‘sour asida/portions of sour asida’ (lit.: asida which is sour)

caon ı-c-örık/maon ı-m-örık ‘thumb’, ‘middle finger’ (lit.: finger which is big)

The nouns for ‘woman’ and ‘man’ have this pattern as well. The adjectives themselves consist of a connexive and a nominal element (see also 10.2.4):

pol ı-p-ʒ.parí/ul ı-á.arí ‘woman’ (lit.: person who is female)

pol ı-p-ʒ.ura/ul ı-ʒ.mura ‘man/men’ (lit.: person who is male)

Example of ‘noun 1-C-verb’:

tɔk ı-r-apáŋka/ŋɔk ı-n-apáŋka ‘sea’ (lit.: waterplace which makes waves)

Relative constructions may also involve a passive verb, often in combination with an ‘absolute preposition’ (see chapter 16.6):

kwɔk ı-k-allúra ŋnın/wɔk ı-allúra ŋnın ‘running shoe’ (lit.: shoe which is run with)

Some comparable examples can be found in chapter 14.4 on passive derivation.

Noun complexes, though they may have fused together, do not function as single units, as could already be seen from their plural formation: not just their (initial) noun class marker varies for singular and plural, but also the concords involved, and in some cases the class marker of a noun that is part of the modifying element.
Tonally, noun complexes do not function as single units either. If they did, a complex such as kuppəɽuŋ kɔncəři ‘boat’ would behave as a noun with a rising tone and not receive a high tone from a prepositional proclitic (see 16.1). This, however, is not the case. Upon attachment of a prepositional proclitic, a high tone appears on kuppəɽuŋ, just as it would in the absence of kɔncəři:

ɪ̌-kuppəɽuŋ kɔncəři ‘in the boat’

ŋuol-ɔ-t̪ʊɔŋ ‘salt/amounts of salt’ and cilɔɔt̪ʊɔ/milɔɔt̪ʊ ‘grain of maize/maize’, however, seem to function as one word, having lost the concord before the connexive, and in the case of cilɔɔt̪ʊɔ/milɔɔt̪ʊ also the high tone on the first mora (< cɪl/mɪl).

4.9. Loans

Loans are incorporated into the noun class system according to their initial sound. Arabic nouns are often borrowed together with the article al–; in such cases the initial sound is a vowel, and the noun with Arabic article goes into the ¯/n class pair. Borrowed nouns sometimes have a final consonant that is not found in final position in genuinely Lumun items (p, t̪ or m), and some of them have an otherwise (virtually) unattested tone pattern with an initial H-tone.

It is in general uncertain if an Arabic loan is borrowed directly from Arabic or rather through another Nuba language. Moreover, the Arabic spoken in the region, whether as first or as second language, is not of one variety. In the town of Kadugli, some 40 miles west-west-north of the Lumun area, Manfredi (2013) discerns four varieties of Arabic: the prestigious and influential urban “koiné”: the variety spoken in Khartoum and other cities in northern and central Sudan; Baggara Arabic: the variety spoken by Arab cattle herders in the ‘Baggara belt’, an area which runs from Lake Chad through South Kordofan to the Blue Nile; Emerging Kadugli Arabic: a mother tongue variety spoken by non-Arabs born in Kadugli; and Non-native Arabic: varieties of Arabic spoken by bilingual or trilingual non-Arabs in Kadugli. When citing Arabic items, I use forms in the urban “koiné” of Sudanese Arabic. They are just presented in order to show the
relationship between the Lumun items and the Arabic items; no claim is made about the way in which an item may have entered the Lumun language, i.e. which variety of Arabic has been involved or through which other Nuba-language an Arabic item may have been borrowed.

In some cases, it is obvious that the Lumun item is not a direct loan from Sudanese Arabic, because sound changes are involved that are not expected on grounds of the Lumun phonological system. One such item is at̪ám ‘book’ from Sudanese Arabic kitaab. A clear indication that at̪ám is not a direct loan is the loss of initial k. Such a loss is not expected in Lumun, which has many k-initial nouns. Another indication is the change of final b to m. Lumun does not have final bilabial obstruents, but nor does it have m in that position. A good candidate for being the source of this item is Moro, which has ádámá/nádámá ‘book/books’ (Gibbard, Rohde & Rose 2009, p. 112), with variant ádám/nádám. In Moro, loss of initial k or g is common in this noun class. Moreover, Arabic b often converts to m in Moro.43

Another item for which it is clear that it was not directly borrowed from Sudanese Arabic is keccök ‘market’, from Sudanese Arabic (as-)suug. k(e) is not a Lumun locative marker, but must have been borrowed together with the Arabic loan from another Nuba Mountain language. Candidates include Tira, which has a general locative preposition k- (Schadeberg 2009, p. 52); Otoro, which has a general locative preposition gi (k- before a vowel) (Schadeberg 2009, p. 214-215); Ebang, which has a general locative preposition gi (optionally k- before a vowel) (Schadeberg 2013, p. 143); or Krongo, which has a locative particle kí- before non-animate nouns (Reh 1985, p. 146-147).

Loans with the Arabic article al- that are assigned to the singular Ø class have plurals in the n-class, unless they remain unpaired. Apart from the plural Ø class, the n-class seems to be the plural class with the least semantic associations, for which reason it is suitable as a

43 Personal communication by Sharon Rose (March 2017).
plural for a diversity of loanwords. My database contains some fifty nouns in which an Arabic word can be recognized. Some examples follow here. The Sudanese Arabic equivalents are cited from Tamis & Persson (2011), unless mentioned otherwise in a footnote. In one case (darangal ‘bedstead’) the item is Baggara Arabic. The examples show that Arabic vowel length is borrowed into Lumun as a falling tone (realized high in non-prepausal position).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Noun</th>
<th>Lumun Noun</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aləpaccʊt/naləpaccʊt</td>
<td>‘jackal’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; al-ba’shoob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aləppɛ́rə/naləppɛ́rə</td>
<td>‘flag’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; al-beerag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alakkɪn/nalakkɪn</td>
<td>‘clinic, hospital’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; al-ḥakiim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawɪr/nalawɪr</td>
<td>‘tree (sp.)’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; al-ʿawīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aləmpa/naləmpa</td>
<td>‘lamp’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; al-lamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aləkkʊppa/naləkkʊppa</td>
<td>‘basket’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; al-guffa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aləpɪpɪt/naləpɪpɪt</td>
<td>‘mat’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; al-birish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɾaŋkɪl/naɾaŋkɪl</td>
<td>‘rope bed’/‘-s’</td>
<td>&lt; darangal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of unpaired nouns in the ∅ class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Noun</th>
<th>Lumun Noun</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aləppʊ̀n</td>
<td>‘coffee’</td>
<td>&lt; al-bunn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accái</td>
<td>‘tea’</td>
<td>&lt; ash-shaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appələppəl</td>
<td>‘pepper’</td>
<td>&lt; al-filfil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arabic nouns with collective semantics tend to be borrowed together with the article into the plural ∅ class with a counterpart denoting a single unit in the k-class (the examples were given earlier):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Noun</th>
<th>Lumun Noun</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaləppʊkʊtora/kaləppʊkʊtora</td>
<td>‘tomato’/‘-es’</td>
<td>&lt; al-banadoora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kətəppa/aṭṭəppa</td>
<td>‘piece of tobacco’/‘tobacco’</td>
<td>&lt; at-tumbaak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakʊccɪj/akʊccɪj</td>
<td>‘coin’/‘money’</td>
<td>&lt; al-guruush</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

44 Hillelson (1930) mentions ba’shoob, Hillelson and Tamis & Persson (2011) both have ba’shoom.

45 The item is translated by Hillelson as ‘physician’, by Tamis & Persson as ‘doctor’s assistant’.

46 Hillelson gives not only the Sudanese Arabic word angareeb, but also the Baggara Arabic item darangal ‘bedstead (kind of matting which serves as mattress)’, which is clearly much closer to the Lumun item.
Nouns with an initial consonant that coincides with a noun class prefix are sometimes borrowed without the article. If the initial consonant coincides with a singular noun class prefix, a plural is often formed that fits in with a class pair and the other way round.

- **paṭṭanîc/aṭṭanîc** ‘blanket/-s’ < *battanîyya*
- **capôn/mapôn** ‘soap/bars of soap’ < *ṣaabun*
- **capâra/mapâra** ‘k.o. whistle/-s’ < *ṣuffaara*
- **ṭarra/larra** ‘scarf/-s’ < *ṭarha*
- **kọṭṭôm/ọṭṭôm** ‘fish trap/-s’ < *kajjaama ‘steel trap’*
- **kapôrît/apôrît** ‘match/-es’ < *kibriit*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>cût/mût</strong></td>
<td>‘banana/-s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cûnka/mûnka</strong></td>
<td>‘mango/-s’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the initial consonant coincides with a noun class prefix (singular or plural), this sometimes results in an unpaired noun that can have both singular and plural reference:

- **cicára** ‘cigaret(s)’ < *sijaara*
- **témôr** ‘date(s)’ < *tamur*
- **móccut** ‘comb(s)’ < *mushuṭ*
- ** môncel** ‘sickel(s)’ < *munjal*

The banana tree, mango tree and date palm cannot be denoted by changing the noun class. Instead, a description is used:

- **pîra pọṭémôr/kîra kọṭémôr** ‘date palm’ (‘tree of dates’)

4.10. Kinship terms and personal names

4.10.1. The persona prefix

Kinship terms and personal names have the persona prefix ɔ́- (which is also found in personal pronouns). Two further nouns with the persona prefix are ɔpaṭṭi ‘person’ and ɔpəllin ‘one of a group’.

Tone

The prefix brings about the same tonal changes to the noun to which it is attached as a preceding word with a final high, rising or floating high tone. Since the prefix cannot receive a high tone itself unless through tone bridge, it can either be represented as high or rising. As explained in chapter 3.8, I represent a case like this as high.

A few examples follow here in order to show that the tonal effects are fully in line with the rule of Tone Shift. This includes the (non-)realization of a high (or falling) tone on the following noun, which takes place in precisely the same way as described in the chapter 3 on Tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-tɔn</td>
<td>5-tɔn</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-cakkɔrɔk</td>
<td>5-cakkɔrɔk</td>
<td>‘hunch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-pari</td>
<td>5-pari</td>
<td>‘wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-omaparɔn</td>
<td>5-omaparɔn</td>
<td>‘calf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-țakɔrɔk</td>
<td>5-țakɔrɔk</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-omapɔn</td>
<td>5-omapɔn</td>
<td>‘elephant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-ɔpɔn</td>
<td>5-ɔpɔn</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exceptions to Tone sub-rule 2.3 apply here as well. Thus there is a falling contour (at least at surface level) on the short initial vowel of ɔtın ‘bird (sp.)’, and ɔpɔk ‘fly’ gets an initial high tone without contour formation.

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47 The persona prefix is discussed in more detail in Smits (2012).
The vocative kinship term/personal names ɔ-lɔttí ‘second born child, which is a boy’ and ɔ-lɔccɔ́ ‘fifth born child, which is a boy’, also get a high tone on their first vowel without contour formation. In these two cases the phenomenon cannot be observed in other contexts, since ɔ-lɔttí and ɔ-lɔccɔ́, without the prefix, are vocatives, and can, within a tonal domain not be preceded by other elements.

The vowel has itself a –ATR quality but may be realized +ATR or somewhat towards +ATR when attached to a +ATR noun.

In case of assimilation to an adjacent vowel, the vowels coalesce, i.e. the resulting (underlyingly) long vowel becomes short, and the (underlying) tone sequence is realized as high:

ámrə ‘Red’ (< ámra < a-âmrə < ɔ-əmrə) (< Sud. Arabic amra)
áməntáci ‘Amantaci’ (< ə-məntáci < a-əməntáci < ɔ-əməntáci)

Shortening seems to be less rigorous when there is elision of ən between assimilating vowels. In the following case an initial low-high sequence may be pronounced, but not necessarily so:

a-ətəɾəpə / átəɾəpə ‘Rabbit’ (< a-ətəɾəpə < ɔ-ətəɾəpə)

Segmental effects: vowel coalescence, consonant gemination

The segmental part of the prefix is coalesced before ə and a: ɔ + ə > ə, ɔ + a > a. Before ə it may be coalesced as well, but some length may also be audible. There is no coalescence before the other vowels (ɨ, ɪ, u, ʊ, ə). Cases of attachment of the prefix to a vowel-initial noun generally concern nouns that are loans. Some examples with adjacent vowels were already given above. Two further examples:
el mêlik ‘Elimelek’  (& 5- el mêlik)
ɔlîn ‘Heleen’  (& 5- ɪlîn)

In a few cases, I assume that attachment of the prefix causes gemination of the initial consonant of the noun. This is the case in the word for ‘my father’ (ŋ would otherwise be elided between vowels). ŋ is, however, not realized long, so that I write is with single ŋ:

5- + ŋappâ > ɔŋappâ ‘my father’

This also happens with borrowed names which have an initial voiceless obstruent. The following names are the names of story characters. They are not originally Lumun and have no meaning in Lumun.

ɔkkɔlî ‘Kôlle’ (name of a story figure, < 5- kôlle)
ɔppənnà ‘Penna’ (name of a story figure, < 5- pennà)

Prepositional proclitics preceding a noun with the persona prefix 5-

The persona prefix 5- becomes a- when preceded by one of the prepositions ɪ-, nɔ- or tɔ-. Compare the following examples with a common noun (ɔřen ‘firewood’) and a noun with the persona prefix (ɔpaŋɔn ‘siblings’):

1-ɔřen  ‘in/among the firewood’
1-apaŋɔn  ‘among his/her siblings’

In the examples below, ɔnnàn ‘(his/her) mother’, ɔsk ‘s/he’, ɔpaŋɔn ‘siblings’ and ɔlalû ‘Lalu’ have the persona prefix 5-. (For the paradigms of basic prepositions + personal pronouns, see 6.1.4).

m-p-ɔkɔtt.ɔ.t  i-a-nnàn  nɔ-kaʃr
1-C-run_into:COMPL  in-PERS-mother  on-road
I ran into his/her mother on the road
I ran into him/her on the road

s/he will leave the house and his/her siblings and the goats

s/he has climbed on Lalo (picture: Lalo is standing or sitting and the person has climbed onto Lalo’s neck)

After the persona prefix does not change to a, nor does it do so after the connexive marker c-ɔ ‘of’. The prepositional proclitic n- ‘with, by, (away) from’ cannot be combined with nouns with the persona prefix (see also chapter 16 on prepositional proclitics).

4.10.2. Kinship terms

In kinship terms, the noun class prefix of the noun to which the prefix is attached is often p- but not always. Nouns with the persona prefix do not occur in singular/plural pairs that differ from each other only as to the noun class prefix. Instead, they form plural through suffixation of a morpheme (-ŋɔ́n) to the singular noun (see 4.10.3).

Nouns with the persona prefix have specific concords. With the exception of possessor pronouns and connexives, the concord of singular nouns with the persona prefix is p-, the concord of plural nouns with the persona prefix is t-48.

my mother is coming

48 See also Smits (2012).
Nouns

my mother and companions (also: my mother and father) are coming

Personal names also have the persona prefix ɔ́. In fact, those personal names that denote whether a child is the first born, the second born, etc. (up to the fifth born) can be considered a type of kinship term. Other personal names are rather nicknames, or Arabic or English loans, but all have the personal prefix ɔ́. The prefix is only absent when the name is used as a vocative, i.e. when the person is directly addressed.

All Lumun children receive a name that denotes the order in which they were born. The first born child is called kakkâ if it is a girl, and kûkkû if it is a boy; the second born is called nennî if it is a girl, and lottî if it is a boy, etc. The names of the first three children are more fixed than the names of the fourth and the fifth: there are alternatives here. With the sixth child the name-giving in principle starts again from the beginning, so that there may be two children called kakkâ or kûkkû, etc. Most names are gender-specific, but some are used for both boys and girls. In the table below (after Smits 2012), both the vocative forms and the forms with the persona prefix are given.

Table 23 Birth names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vocative</td>
<td>with ɔ́-prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. kûkkû</td>
<td>ɔkokkû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. lottî</td>
<td>ɔlottî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lalô</td>
<td>ɔlalô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ɔtɔtô</td>
<td>ɔtɔtô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ɔlɛtô</td>
<td>ɔlɛtô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ɔlɛccô</td>
<td>ɔlɛccô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. komâŋ</td>
<td>ɔkomâŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Below, a list of kinship and relational terms with the persona prefix is provided. Except in the cases of ‘father/paternal uncle (father’s brother)’ and ‘mother/aunt (father’s sister and mother’s sister)’, the terms are used for both people who stand in a certain relationship to each other, and in most cases male and female are not distinguished. For example, Ṃpɔkɛ́ denotes both grandparent (grandfather or grandmother) and grandchild (grandson or granddaughter). The terms for father and mother are inherently possessed by a first, second or third person, as is the term for ‘mother’s brother’ (maternal uncle). In the forms for ‘mother’s brother’ the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG possessor pronouns can be recognized. The other kinship terms are commonly used in combination with a possessor pronoun. This is the case even more so for their vocatives, for which reason a possessor (‘my’ or ‘of X’) is added in the table. The vocatives between parentheses are not commonly used.

Table 24 Kinship and relational terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-prefix noun</th>
<th>Vocative (with possessor C-ɪ́n ‘my’, or C-ɔ́X ‘of X’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my father, my paternal uncle</td>
<td>Ṁŋappâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my father, my paternal uncle (informal)</td>
<td>Ṁpáppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your father, your paternal uncle</td>
<td>Ṁttɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(his, her) father, (his, her) paternal uncle</td>
<td>Ṁttàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my mother, my aunt</td>
<td>Ṁnáia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my mother, my aunt (informal)</td>
<td>Ṁcáca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your mother, your aunt</td>
<td>Ṁnné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(his, her) mother, (his, her)</td>
<td>Ṁnnàn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The kinship terms conveying the order in which Lumun children are born, and which function also a personal names, were already presented in table 23. The persona prefix is further used in order to
derive (nick)names for people. Body parts and animal species such as certain birds serve as sources of name formation, but other kinds of nouns as well.

- ɔɔ̞ɔŋ ‘the Mountain’  <  ɔɔ̞ɔŋ ‘mountain’
- ɔkɪɲe ‘the Nose’  <  ɔɲɛ ‘nose’
- ɔkaɾɪn ‘the Bold Patch’  <  ɔkaɾɪn ‘bold patch’
- ɔɔ̞ɔkɔɾɔk ‘the Hunchback’  <  ɔɔ̞ɔkɔɾɔk ‘hump’
- ɔt̪ʊk ‘the Dog’  <  ɔt̪ʊk ‘dog’
- ɔcɪtɪn ‘the Gittin-bird’  <  ɔcɪtɪn ‘bird (sp., making a lot of noise)’
- ɔt̪ɔn tɔɾʊʈɔɾʊk ‘the Mouth of Pig’  <  ɔt̪ɔn tɔɾʊʈɔɾʊk ‘mouth of pig’

A (nick)name formation process with ɔkkɑ is also attested. ɔkkɑ contains the persona prefix, otherwise its composition is not fully clear. It has probably developed from the personal pronoun ɔɔk ‘(s)he’ (which contains the persona prefix) and the copula p-ɑ ‘be’ where p is the concord. ɔɔk + pɑ has then given rise to ɔkkɑ, though tonally this is not regular. Some examples:

- ɔkkɑ-tʊɾɑn ‘Thief’  <  tʊɾɑn ‘theft’
- ɔkkɑ-ciɲ ‘Born in the evening’  <  ciɲ ‘evening’
- ɔkkɑ-maƙal ‘Born when the mother was working in the sesame field’  <  maƙal ‘sesame’
- ɔkkɑ-uɾɛ ‘Funny person’  <  ɳuɾɛ ‘fun, joke’

Vocatives of this type of names start with ka:

- kɑʈʊɾɑn ɳ-kw-a.r-i
  thief 2-C-COME:COMPL-Q

Thief, have you come?

---

49 The tonal representation of this item in Smits 2012 (p. 107) is not correct.

50 There is a plural noun ɑʈʊɾɑn ‘thieves’, but no singular noun *kɑʈʊɾɑn ‘thief’. 
A comparable construction involves ṥɔk, the connexive p-o ‘of’ and a verbal noun, for example:

ʔkkwɔt̪aŋt̪akɔ (also: ʔkkwɔt̪aŋt̪akɔ) ‘Dreamer’
(< ṣɔk + pɔ + ɔt̪aŋt̪akɔ, lit.: ‘s/he of dreaming’)

Names that are loans from other languages have the persona prefix:

ɔcɔn  ‘John’
ɔlɔkka  ‘Luke’
ɔɔmar  ‘Umar’

The persona prefix is sometimes used in combination with a noun that denotes a kind of person, such as kɔlln ‘old woman’ and tɔmɔcco ‘old man’. Such terms, for example ɔkɔlln and ɔtɔmɔcco function as names, denoting a specific individual.

The term ɔpɔtti ‘person’ is commonly used instead of somebody’s name, in order to avoid the personal name. When ɔpɔtti is used, it is usually assumed that the hearer knows who is being referred to.

ɔ-pɔttı  p-ɪ.ɔ̂ t  p-a-τuk  t-əkkwɔt̪.e
pers-person  c-die:compl  c-be:dog  c-kill:compl

the person died, he was killed by a dog

However, ɔpɔtti and its plural ɔpɔttın (see further below for plurals) can also refer to specific persons who are not (yet) identified by the hearer. A person who has arrived at somebody’s house may call out ɔpɔttı in order to announce himself, and ɔpɔttın if he or she has arrived together with one or more others.

The word ɔpɔllın typically refers to somebody from a group, but not somebody specific:

á-pɔllın  ənɔt̪àn
subj.pers-one_from_group  come:depincompl

let one of you come!
The word can also denote each member of a group:

\[
\text{ō-PELLIN} \quad \text{p-A.NÉKITTAT} \quad \text{lIČAK} \quad \text{UKULUK}
\]

PERS-one_from_group  c-be_taken_from:INCOMPL  goats  five

from each of you five goats will be taken

In the following example ṭpellin is just used as ‘somebody’: the speaker does not know who has beaten on the ground.

\[
\text{ō-PELLIN} \quad \text{p-ÖKKÖC} \quad \text{cIK}
\]

PERS-one_from_group  c-beat:COMPL  vref

somebody has beaten (on the ground with his stick) (i.e. a way of knocking at a place to see if somebody is there)

The plural ṭpellin denotes ‘some of a group’. In a construction ṭpellin ... ṭpellin ... it expresses ‘some ... others ...’, as in the sentence below:

\[
\text{ÁMMÁ} \quad \text{á-KIN} \quad \text{ÓPØKÓ} \quad \text{ō-PELLIN-ÓN} \quad \text{đ-Á.CØRD}
\]

if  CONJ.PERS-3a  be_beaten:DEP:INCOMPL  PERS-one_of_a_group-PL  c-stand:INCOMPL

\[
\text{ANA} \quad \text{ō-PELLIN-ÓN} \quad \text{đ-ÍKKÓ} \quad \text{cIK}
\]

and  PERS-one_from_group-PL  c-see:INCOMPL  vref

and when they are beaten, some stand and others sit (fr. written description)

Unlike other nouns with the persona prefix, ṭpellin cannot be used without it, i.e. it is not used as a vocative.
4.10.3. The plural suffix -ŋɔn

Nouns with the persona prefix form plurals through suffixation of the plural morpheme -ŋɔn to the singular noun. -ŋɔn has associative meaning such as ‘and companions’. The companions are typically the people who live in the same house as the mentioned person, but can also be friends or people working together. ‘My mother and father’ is expressed by the plural of ‘my mother’ or ‘my father’:

-ŋɔn does not cover accidental groups, such as people that happen to be together in a bus.

As expected, ŋ of -ŋɔn causes full assimilation of a preceding t, k or n to ŋ. The resulting geminated velar nasal is then shortened. ŋ is deleted after ī, ĩ, u or o and after l or r. In addition, the o of -ŋɔn coalesces (after ŋ-deletion) with a preceding o, e or a resulting in o, e and a, respectively. The vowel of the suffix may adopt a +ATR realization, or a realization towards +ATR upon attachment to a +ATR noun. Note that there is tone bridge in olttí-ŋɔn and that in okíncɛ-n the falling contour of the elided o of the suffix is retained.

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If a possessor pronoun is present, the plural suffix is attached after the possessor pronoun:

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If a possessor pronoun is present, the plural suffix is attached after the possessor pronoun:
‘my master, my servant’

‘my master and his/her companions, my servant and his/her companions’

In case of a demonstrative modifier, the plural suffix can come after the demonstrative (first example), but also before it (second example):

\[ \text{PERS-Kakka} \quad \text{DEM-} \text{NEARSP-PL} \quad \text{C-com:COMPL} \]

this Kakka and her companions have come

\[ \text{PERS-Kakka-PL} \quad \text{DEM-} \text{NEARSP} \quad \text{C-com:COMPL} \]

this Kakka and her companions have come

Vocatives of nouns which otherwise have the persona prefix also form plurals with the associative suffix:

\[ \text{mother-PL} \]

mother and father!

The associative suffix allows for plural reference as ‘one or more X’s’ if this is appropriate in the context. The second example, based on \( \text{opa} \text{t} \text{t} \text{t} \text{i} \) ‘person’, is irregular because the \( i \) is deleted before the suffix.

\[ \text{sibling-C-Poss1.PL} \]

my brothers!

\[ \text{person-PL} \]

to people! (way of greeting a group of people)

Relative words and question words referring to people (‘who’, ‘the one who’) are pluralized with -\( \text{ŋ} \text{ñ} \) (see 6.1.5. and 20.1.1), as can the associative marker \( \text{aṭṭot}/\text{āṭṭot} \) (see 6.8).
A special case of suffixation of -ŋɔ̂n is the following, in which the suffix is attached to the plural of the common noun nokol ‘child’. It is a way of greeting a group of children, of which the speaker knows at least a few.

nokol-ɔ̂n ‘children!’ (lit. children and companions)

The following example also involves a common plural noun (ɔl ‘people’). The suffix is attached to the demonstrative modifier:

k-kw-ānn-itta ṭɔ-ɔl ēn-n-i-ɔn
3-C-NEG-be_married:DEPINCOMPL at-people DEM-C-NEARSP-PL
she cannot be married into the household of these people