

A Grammar of Luwo

An anthropological approach

Anne Storch

Culture and Language Use

12

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A Grammar of Luwo

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Volume 12

A Grammar of Luwo. An anthropological approach
by Anne Storch

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John Benjamins Publishing Company

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Preface

A number of ideas in this book have begun to develop just around the beginning of my fieldwork on Luwo already in 2000, when I began to realise that there are categories and concepts in this language that wouldn't be described all that well in a "traditional" way to write a grammar, but needed a more anthropological approach. Since then, I have spent several months for fieldwork in Sudan over the years. During that time, and in the years afterwards when I was writing up what I thought I had found out about Luwo, I tried to find adequate ways of collecting, analysing and presenting data, and became increasingly interested in the possibilities of contextualising the functions of forms, their meaning and socio-cultural information. Of course, there will always be better ways of doing this, and there will always be mistakes – from a wrong transcription of a vowel to a misunderstood proverb –, but in this book I present the best I myself could do for the time being. I sincerely hope that the present work encourages others to engage in research on Luwo and things related to it.

I wouldn't have been able to accomplish anything concerning my research on Luwo without the generous help of many people. First of all, I want to express my heartfelt thanks to the Luwo speakers who worked with me, taught me their language and even read the manuscript of this book: Joseph Wol Modesto, Henry Manyual, Mohammed Lino Benjamin, Albert Apai Dumo, Pierina Akeelo Zubeir and members of her family. At the University of Khartoum, all my colleagues have been extremely supportive, generous and hospitable over so many years. I'm deeply grateful to Al-Amin Abu-Manga and Abdelrahim Mugaddam for their great support and continuing interest in my work, to Leoma Gilley for helping me getting into contact with people and for sharing her ideas with me, and to Abeer Bashir and Suzan Alamin for their generosity and discussions. Tim Stirtz helped me to get into contact with people in South Sudan and I'm very grateful to him for his help. At Cologne University, I remain deeply grateful to my colleagues who not only discussed my work on Luwo with me during the different stages of writing this book, but also read an earlier version of its manuscript, commenting on virtually every page of it. I want to express my gratitude in particular to Angi Mietzner with whom simultaneous grammar-writing is totally enjoyable, and to Gerrit Dimmendaal who not only generously commented on this book, but shared with me his insights into Nilotic and everything else. Furthermore, I greatly enjoyed, and greatly benefitted from discussing various chapters of this book with Helma

Pasch, Beatrix von Heyking and Jules Jacques Coly. I thank Roger Blench for his inspiration and his many comments on this book. I remain grateful to Gunter Senft for his continuing and encouraging interest in my work. Lots of thanks are due to Friederike Lüpke for many inspiring discussions. I owe a lot of gratitude to Sasha Aikhenvald and Bob Dixon for their interest and relentless support. My warmest thanks are due to Monika Feinen who produced the maps and graphics for the present volume, to Mary Chambers who proofread the entire volume and provided highly valuable comments on every chapter, and to Larissa Fuhrman and Marvin Kumetat who greatly assisted in locating rare sources on Luwo and in preparing data files for me. I also would like to express my deeply felt gratitude to the German Research Society for generously funding my research on Western Nilotic, and Kees Vaes (John Benjamins Publishing Company) for his great assistance.

Last but not least, I'm grateful to my family for everything else.

Cologne, May 2014

List of abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	INDEF	indefinite
=	boundary between clitics	INSTR	instrumental
A	agent	INTERJ	interjection
AC	anticausative	INVIS	invisible
AP	antipassive	IP	interrogative pronoun
ASS	associative	IPFV	imperfective
C	consonant	ITR	intransitive
CA	concomitant agent	LIM	limited
CASE	case marker	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	MASC	masculine
COLL	collective	MOD	modified
COMP	complementiser	N	nasal
COND	conditional	N.EVID	non-evidential/not first-
CONJ	conjunction		hand information
COP	copula	NAME	name, proper noun
DEF	definite	NEG	negation
DEM	demonstrative	O	object
DENOM	denominal	∅	zero morpheme
DEV	deverbal	O _{DIR}	direct object
DIM	diminutive	P	patient
DTR	detransitivised	PFV	perfective
DUR	durative	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	POSS	possessive
EX, EXCL	exclusive	PREP	preposition
EXT	extended	PST	past
FEM	feminine	QM	question marker
FOC	focus	REL	relativiser
FUT	future	S	subject
IA	itive-altrilocal	SC	subordinating conjunction
IDEO	ideophone	SG	singular
IF	imperfective-future	SGV	singulative
IMP	imperative	SIM	similative
INCL	inclusive	SMELL	smell term

SPEC	specified	V	vowel
TOPONYM	place name, toponym	VEN	ventive
TR	transitive	VIS	visible
unspec	unspecified	VN	verbal noun
v	ventive		

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Words bounce. Words, if you let them, will do what they want to do and what they have to do.

(Carson 1999: 3)

Upon entering new experiences in a new language, as when we set out to study or learn or describe a language, the ways of words, where they begin and end and how they go together to make meaning, seems to be something we can never fully grasp, and always fail to master completely; therefore, we may want to see that new language as something exotic and strange. A way of dealing with this experience of language as a kind of flowing, blurred thing is to create paradigms and sets of rules to make it manageable. There are different ways of writing about a language like this, and in an ideal case we have in the end something like a guidebook through its winding ways, looking at it as from above and providing the needed abstractions in order to separate words and constructions from each other. However, skilled speakers will know all kinds of shortcuts, detours (to make it more interesting), and may constantly change direction as they become distracted by other things, and so our abstractions will not account for such ways of using the language. Then there are all the other ways of speaking, forms of the language we don't think of when we produce our datasets and lists; these come into play, too, when we realize that our abstraction, our map-like view of the language, doesn't help all that much to make sense of utterances and texts.

This book is a grammar of Luwo, a Western Nilotic language of South Sudan. Luwo, like most languages spoken in Africa, has been explored to some extent in the contexts of Western scholarship and missionary linguistics. Apart from pedagogical materials used in schools and alphabetization classes, there are no meta-linguistic texts produced by its speakers, and no frameworks that would make an integration of their linguistic thinking into established Western discourses feasible. This is a pity, as a less formalistic and more open approach to such a language would make its structures and its speakers' deviations from the plan much easier to understand for linguists and other outsiders. However, one can, while learning and exploring the language, try to take into account the insights provided by speakers as part of their linguistic expertise, and see a grammar, or any

descriptive contribution, as a kind of starting point for explorations into the ways words bounce and do the things they do.

This needs to include sociolinguistic and anthropological linguistic work, in order to document and explain how the language is actually used, and by whom and when it is spoken. For instance, Luwo is used by multilingual, dynamic communities of practice as one language among others that form individual and flexible repertoires. It is a language that serves as a means of expressing the Self, as a medium of art and self-actualization, and sometimes as a medium of writing. It is spoken in the home and in public spaces, by fairly large numbers of people who identify themselves as Luwo and as members of all kinds of other groups. Ways of speaking, in the sense of speech registers and politeness strategies, sociolects, and so on, are rather dynamic in the way they change, or rather are changed by the speakers themselves.

In order to provide insights into these dynamic and diverse realities of Luwo, this book contains both a concise description and analysis of the linguistic features and structures of Luwo, and an approach to the anthropological linguistics of this language. The latter is presented in the form of separate chapters on possession, number, experiencer constructions, spatial orientation, perception and cognition. In all sections of this study, sociolinguistic information is provided wherever this is useful and possible, detailed information on the semantics of grammatical features and constructions is given, and discussions of theory-oriented approaches to various linguistic features of Luwo are presented. Luwo is not studied here using one single approach, but rather within a framework that is intended to provide insights and data on various possible ways of presenting knowledge on this language.

The present chapter contains a detailed discussion of the current state of description and documentation of Luwo and its closer relatives, thereby providing a critical evaluation of missionary linguistics and colonial contributions to this field in African Studies and Linguistics. It also presents information on the social history of Luwo, its location and speaker community. This will provide a basis for the following chapters in which basic linguistic information, semantic analyses and anthropological linguistic approaches alike are provided.

1.1 Location and linguistic affiliation

Luwo (also referred to as Dhe Luwo and Jur) is a Western Nilotic language of South Sudan, spoken in and around the town of Wau in Western Bahr el-Ghazal.

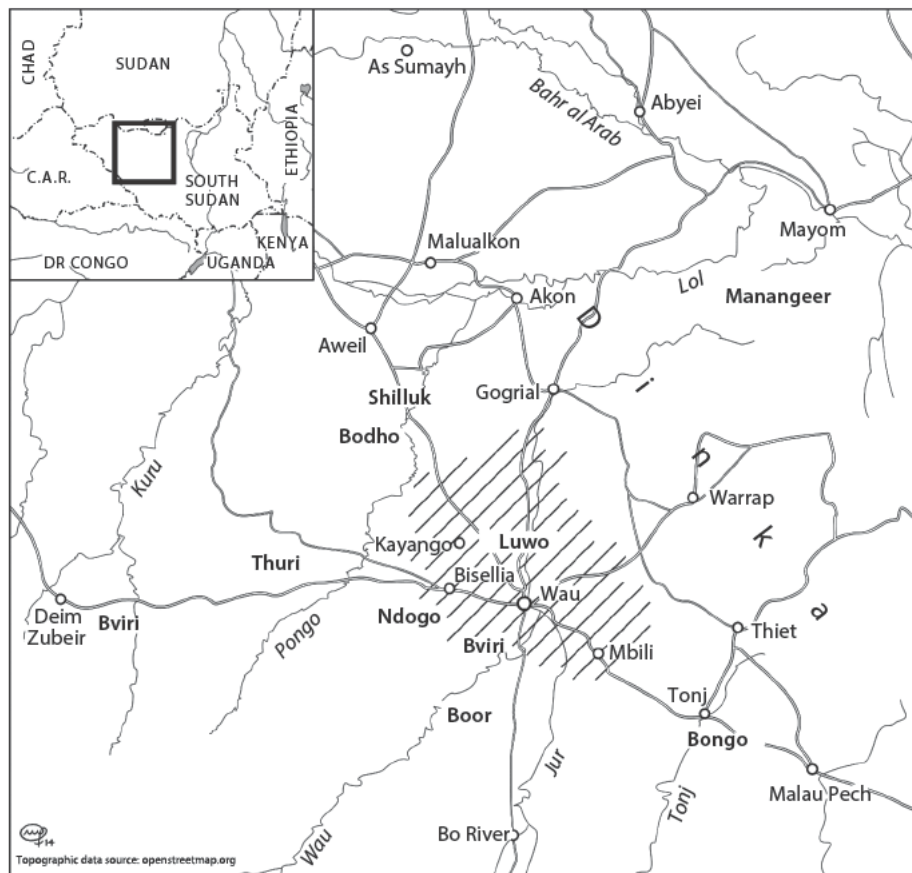
A census conducted in 1983 gives a figure of 80,000 speakers (Lewis et al. 2014), but this is a doubtful number. Most, if not all, speakers of Luwo are multilingual, and many have left their home areas as a consequence of the war and violent conflict that have affected the region in the past decades. Relocation to the villages wasn't always possible after the Sudanese secession in July 2011, and currently ongoing conflicts may contribute to further fragmentations of former communities. As a result, Luwo is not exclusively spoken in Southern Sudan, but is also used by diaspora communities in neighbouring countries, Europe and North America. Moreover, many of those who would identify themselves as Luwo do not actually speak the language, while other people, who would rather claim Dinka, Thuri, Ndogo or Bongo identities, do speak Luwo on a regular basis. The actual number of speakers may therefore be well above 80,000, or may have dropped below this in the course of the societal and political changes in Sudan. For a description of multilingualism and repertoires, refer to §16.1.

Principal Luwo settlements in Bahr el-Ghazal are Mbili and Kayango, which are also identified by speakers as the main dialect areas. There are a number of villages located between Mbili and Tonj, among them Boo, where the people who contributed to the present volume come from. Networking with other communities, trade, and educational and professional mobility seem to have reached far beyond these rural settlements. Luwo is not, therefore, a language of a small-scale rural community, but has also been present in towns and cities since the beginning of the 19th century. Significant communities have also existed in Khartoum and Omdurman throughout the 20th century, in particular in its last decades when speakers of various Nilotic languages resided there as displaced people and war refugees.

The core area of Luwo and contiguous languages is illustrated on Map 1.¹

Luwo is one of several Western Nilotic languages spoken in the region. Its closest relatives in terms of their genetic classification are the Northern Lwoo languages Thuri, Shilluk and Boor, as well as Anywa and Pãri, which are, however, spoken further away. Other Western Nilotic languages, albeit not of the Lwoo branch, spoken in the area are two Dinka varieties, namely Agar and Rek. For other contact languages, refer to §16.1 and §16.4.

1. It needs to be kept in mind that these languages are spoken in areas that have been severely damaged by civil war during the last 40 to 50 years. Since the map is based on my own as well as older sources, such as Santandrea (1946), it only shows the approximate location of these communities.



Map 1. Location of Luwo

As a Western Nilotic language, Luwo is a member of the Nilotic sub-family of Nilo-Saharan. The Luwo languages form one of the three branches within Western Nilotic, showing much coherence both in terms of the lexicon and grammatical properties. The group is occasionally also referred to as Luo or Lwo, but since these are also the names of single languages (Dholuo of Kenya and Tanzania, and Chopi of Uganda, respectively), the rather widely accepted term Luwo is used here for the whole branch. Luwo languages are spoken in Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kongo, Kenya and Tanzania, and divide into a Northern and a Southern branch, whereby lexicostatistical and typological criteria account for the sub-classification.

The other two branches of Western Nilotic are Burun and Dinka-Nuer. The following figure illustrates the genetic relations of Luwo within Nilotic:

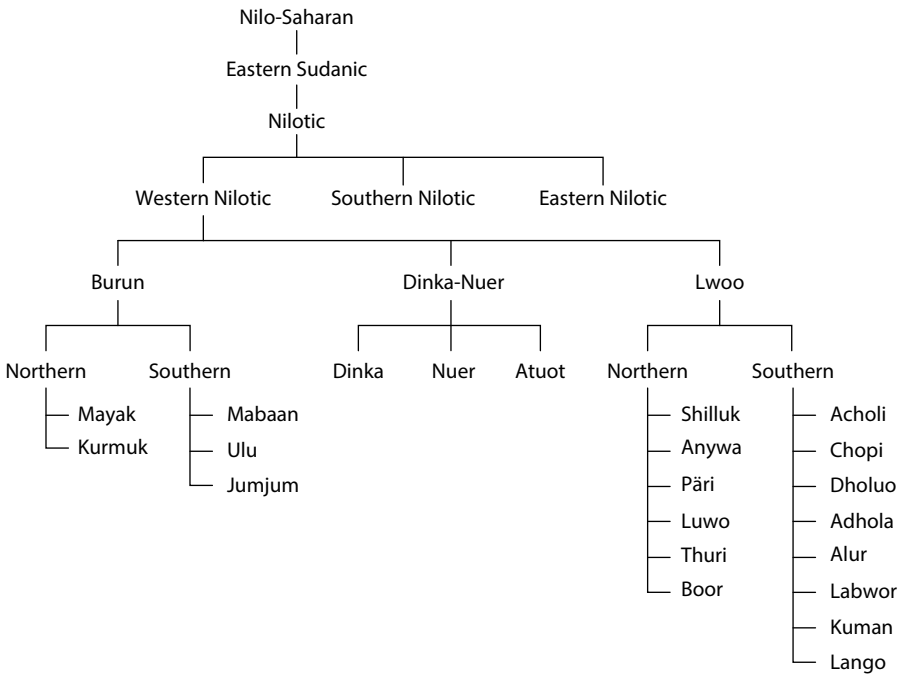


Figure 1. Classification of Western Nilotic (Bender 2000; Köhler 1955; Rottland 1981)

Rottland (1981), following Köhler’s classificational model, also mentions the three Northern Lwoo languages Bodho-Dembo, Manageer and Chol. According to my own investigations, none of these three languages is widely spoken anymore (see Storch 2005a for a survey). The Manageer have largely been assimilated by the Dinka and now speak Dinka, and the Bodho-Dembo and Chol apparently speak Luwo.

1.1.1 Historical situation

The present geographical situation of the Lwoo languages, and the patterns of multilingual practices in the Luwo-speaking area in Bahr el-Ghazal, are both the result of vast and permanent migrations, which appear to have begun in the medieval period, if not earlier. As far as available data on climate events and local history suggest, migration started as a reaction to environmental change and the resulting scarcity of resources (Ehret, Coffman & Fliegelman 1974; Storch 2003, 2005a, 2006; Lüpke & Storch 2013). The most interesting source for a reconstruction of the history of these macro-events and their social consequences is probably the documentation of the Nile floods in the Nilometer of Rawda (“Roda”)

in Cairo. Even in the Pharaonic era, the annual Nile floods were measured with the help of Nilometers, which were located along the Nile and were crucial for calculating the levy of taxes to be paid by the farmers – the higher the Nile flood, the higher were tax payments. While most Nilometers vanished with the decline of Ptolemaic Egypt, the one on Rawda continued to be used by the Arab caliphs, who by then resided in al-Fustat (Old Cairo). The Rawda Nilometer that is visible today is largely a construction of the ninth century, built after an older building collapsed following a particularly high flood. The documentation of annual Nile floods goes back to such incidents, and this flood data becomes extremely relevant for the history of Luwo and related languages from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. This period, which parallels a phase of extreme climate events in medieval Europe, is characterized by climate anomalies that were felt both in Egypt and further to the south and east (Eltahir & Wang 1999; Hassan 1981 & 2007; Herring 1979). Both geoarchaeological data and archive materials tell us that there were several decades of drought in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These were punctuated by extreme and sudden floods. Hassan (2007: 101) remarks: “The transition from one state to the other was characterized by incidents of low, high or a succession of both low and high extreme floods. The cluster of extreme floods was detrimental causing famines and economic disasters that are unmatched over the last 2000 years”. This caused famines that were a trauma remembered by future generations:

According to Taqi el-Dine Al-Maqrizi (1365–1441), one of Egypt’s most distinguished historians [...], low floods and famine during the 10th century (962–967) forced people to eat dogs and cats until there was a shortage of dogs. As conditions worsened, people ate each other. (Hassan 2007: 103)

Two thirds of the population within the caliphate died of starvation and from epidemics caused by the polluted water that remained after the wells dried up and the Nile was reduced to a smelly creek.

The devastating droughts of Cairo can be directly linked to lengthy droughts at the Nile’s headwaters, where the ancestors of the present speakers of Lwoo languages had lived. Basically organizing themselves as small-scale communities, they might have coped with the ongoing climate change for some time, but as farmers, fishermen and cattle herders, they would soon have depended on finding new areas in which they could settle. In his study on the history of the Acholi, Atkinson (1999) makes the interesting observation that oral histories of Lwoo-speaking groups permit a reconstruction of the time span of their southward migrations within the frame suggested by geoarchaeological research on Egypt (Hassan 2007). Hence, a connection between the precisely documented climate change in the northern Nile valley and the beginning of the diversification of the Lwoo group is likely.

This is not to say that Luwo, Shilluk, Anywa and so on got where they are today during the drought periods of the twelfth century, but this period in history is likely to mark the beginning of the formation of these communities and the Lwoo varieties they speak. A peculiar characteristic of the Northern Lwoo-speaking groups is that they all share a mythological story of their past. This story, usually referred to as the tale of Nyikang, is told in Shilluk (Westermann 1912; Evans Pritchard 1948), Anywa (for a full text see Reh 1996), Boor (Heyking 2013), and Luwo.² The story is about three brothers – called *ɲikáŋ*, *ɖimò* and *àcòol* in Luwo – who, after their ancestors had migrated from the south, quarrelled about one of their children, who had taken a bead from his cousin and swallowed it. As the bead had to be returned to its owner, the belly of the child was cut open in order to retrieve it. After this happened, the conflict became unbearable, and the three brothers separated. Everybody went his own way, and while *ɲikáŋ* became the forefather of the Shilluk and *àcòol* became the ancestor of the Acoli, *ɖimò* became the ancestor of the Luwo and Thuri. The three groups no longer shared a close relationship, and began to live with people of other origins. The story can be read as a testimony of how communal identities are created on the basis of disaster; one could go as far as to say that linguistic and cultural diversification have their roots in such historical phenomena, where a community loses practically its entire material basis and is forced to leave its homelands.

However, as far as historical research suggests, migrations took place over centuries. Reh (2002) reports how some of the Southern Lwoo groups developed strategies such as intermarrying with local groups, which is reflected in the historical semantics of the courting vocabulary. Her observation that the verb ‘court’ derives from an older root ‘speak a foreign language’ is a good indication that wives could have come from communities other than Lwoo. Examples provided by Reh (2002: 587) are:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----------|--|
| (1.1) | Shilluk | ɖum, ɖumo | ‘to speak a strange language; to interpret’ |
| | | oɖumi | ‘interpreter’ |
| | Anywa | ɖúúm | ‘to speak a foreign language’ |
| | Acholi | ɖòòm | ‘foreign language, metaphor’ |
| | | làdoom | ‘interpreter’ |
| | Lango | dumo | ‘to speak a foreign language, to interpret’ |
| | Dholuo | ɖum | ‘to speak in a foreign language’ |
| | Alur | ɖùmò | ‘to speak a language; to ask in marriage’ |
| | | ɖùmírí | ‘to speak fluently; to court, to seek each other as marriage partners’ |

2. Speakers of Thuri and Pãri claim to have this story as well, and it is widely attested for Acholi.

Such practices also suggest that, at the time of the Western Nilotic expansions into Bantu-speaking and Eastern Sudanic areas, Lwoo-speaking, small-scale communities were exogamous, dynamic communities employing multilingual practices on a daily basis. The onward migrations, as described by Atkinson (1999), are also characterized by frequent split-offs of sub-groups, and emigration away from political centres. This process, described by Kopytoff (1987), is the principle of conflict resolution on the African Frontier: once a group had lost out in a competition over power or resources, it was better to leave and found a new polity or settlement elsewhere. Such newly established settlements would only then acquire power if new adherents could be attracted to settle among the first-comers. Kopytoff describes this process as a constant production of frontiersmen and new frontiers. Communities would always fall apart again, and settling among a group remained a preliminary solution.

These social practices, in combination with a climate-driven need to relocate, must have been important motivations for people to remain flexible and culturally open. As can be seen in (§16.1.1), an extreme form of openness towards others is indeed one of the most conspicuous features of Luwo sociocultural praxis and ideology. Moreover, this picture of the history of Lwoo-speaking groups provides a rather convincing argument for why their large-scale expansions occurred within a relatively short time span, and why Lwoo languages appear to be lexically quite homogenous³ (Reh 1985; Heusing 2004) and at the same time are so diverse typologically (Storch 2005a). The migrations and social interactions within the African Frontier have not only resulted in the rise of new languages, such as the Southern Lwoo languages Alur, Labwor, Adhola, Kumam and Lango, but also in the creation of diversified repertoires used by different people in different locations. These repertoires are a feature of different contact scenarios (see §16.4 for contact in Luwo), and the respectively shared linguistic practices within the different communities have resulted in Labwor developing a morphology heavily influenced by Teso-Turkana languages (Storch 2005b), Boor resembling Ubangi languages (Heyking 2013; Storch 2003), Alur converging to Central Sudanic, and so on.

What is striking, however, is that all the Southern Lwoo languages (which are assumed to have developed through migrations and expansions out of the northern homelands of Lwoo) share certain morphological features that are not found in most Northern Lwoo languages. These include the presence of derived locative nouns that are marked with a prefix *pa-*, paired prefixed singular-plural genders on derived nouns, and the absence of two markers for general singulars (*-no*, *-do*).

3. So that some scholars have suggested classifying them as dialects of a single language (Reh 2002).

These three features of the nominal system are found in Southern Lwoo; in the north, they are only present in Luwo, Thuri and Boor (see Storch 2005a for a documentation). While Boor is likely to be a more recent development (Storch 2007; Heyking 2013, and below), Luwo and Thuri are better-established languages of the Northern Lwoo branch. Although this is not fully verifiable, it is very likely that the Luwo-Thuri cluster represents a kind of linguistic junction, from which the great Southern Luwo expansions took off, perhaps along the Jur River into the Nile valley and Great Lakes region. Luwo has, at some time in its history, innovated a particular set of nominal derivation strategies, while Anywa, Shilluk and Pãri remained more conservative in this respect.⁴ The distribution of place names and locatives with *pa-* suggests that, if Luwo was the starting point of this morphological innovation, the ancestors of the present Southern Lwoo languages were split-offs of this language.

Today, in the Acholi-speaking regions, as well as the more southerly Lwoo areas of Central Uganda and Western Kenya, numerous toponyms with *pa-* are found, and Alur, Lango, Acoli, and Adhola also have locatives with *pa-*. Examples are:

- (1.2) *pa-ábúr*
 LOC-antelope.sp
 ‘place of the antelope-clan’ (Luwo; toponym)
- pà-ráà*
 LOC-hippo
 ‘hippo-clan area’ (Acholi; toponym)
- latin pa-co*
 child LOC-people
 ‘Small Home’ (Lango; name of a restaurant along Kampala-Jinja road)

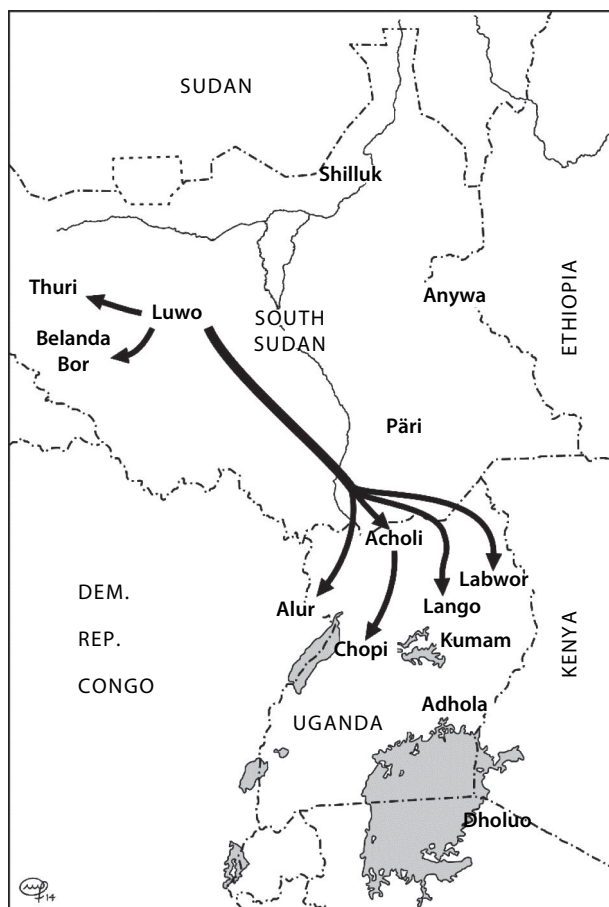
The second above-mentioned feature, paired prefixed genders, is a very significant property of Southern Lwoo languages, which has been attributed to language contact with Bantu (Dimmendaal 2001; see §16.4 for a detailed discussion). Although Anywa, Pãri and Shilluk also use prefixes for derivation, there are no singular-plural pairings of prefixes, as grammaticalization of head nouns has not reached a stage where both number-marked forms, singular and plural, of the underlying noun are used as prefixes. But in Luwo and Thuri (where it has been reduced), prefixing of grammaticalized nouns does occur. The prefixed secondary nouns inflect for number, which is indicated by the prefix, not necessarily the suffix. Thus, the

4. They construct locatives by means of *ka(r)-* or *wot-*, which are grammaticalisations of ‘place of’, while Dinka-Nuer and Burun do not exhibit any locative prefixes at all.

technique of using the singular and plural forms of an underlying, grammaticalized noun in derivation and number marking is already found in Luwo and Thuri, and is therefore not an innovation of Southern Lwoo languages through contact with Bantu.

Finally, the absence of *-NO* and *-DO* general singular markers is a very distinctive feature of the noun morphology in Luwo, Thuri and Belanda Bor. While Shilluk, Anywa and Päre still exhibit a relatively large variety of singular suffixes, the other three members of Northern Lwoo do not. Precisely these suffixes are also missing in Southern Lwoo, which I claim is the result of the retention of the underlying Luwo system.

A possible scenario of the historical expansions (based on Storch 2005a and Ogot 1996) is presented in Map 2:



Map 2. A scenario of the Lwoo expansions

The sociohistorical context of Luwo itself can be understood with the help of other historical sources as well, which are, besides oral history and linguistic data, written documents produced by missionaries, travelers, ethnographers and colonial administrators. Western sources on the Luwo area probably begin with missionary work. One important motivation for this was without doubt the intensification of the slave-trade in Egypt and Sudan under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Particularly with the arrival of the Comboni Fathers, an Italian congregation based in Verona, who operated first in the slave markets of Cairo and then ran stations in the Sudan, with the plan to “regenerate Africa by means of Africans” (Pierli et al. 1998: 11), missionary presence in Southern Sudan became significant. This resulted in the extensive linguistic documentation of a number of Luwo languages (e.g. Crazzolaro 1950–54; Santandrea 1946; see also §1.2 below). With the establishment of mission stations, schools and welfare projects for liberated slaves, Luwo became a local *lingua franca* around the settlement of Wau (which by then was one of the more important slave-traders camps in Bahr el-Ghazal (Burr & Collins 1994)). Luwo was used in schools operated by the Comboni Fathers and served as a medium of alphabetization in the early 20th century.

Subsequently, ethnographic and linguistic research was conducted by scholars such as Evans-Pritchard and Tucker (commissioned by the colonial administration), and in the first half of the 20th century a number of insightful compilations of historical data and in-depth studies alike were produced. They reveal that the migrations of the 19th and early 20th centuries, which had to do with attempts to escape from slave-raiders, resulted in other split-offs and again new languages, like Boor (Storch 2003). According to local accounts, interpreted by Tucker (1931: 50), the Luwo settled around Aweil, where they lived with other groups. Slave raids later caused a large group of them to break away and migrate southwards, where they settled west of the Dinka country. The Dinka pejoratively called them *jùur* (sg *júur*) ‘strangers’, and refused to let them settle among them or to intermarry with them. The Luwo were, rather, taken as slaves by the Dinka, who regarded them not only as inferior since they had no cattle, but also seem to have depended on them as blacksmiths. Tucker claims that some Luwo-speaking groups eventually came under the rule of Dinka chiefs and partly assimilated to the Dinka. He further states, about the relationships between these communities (op. cit.: 50):

The Jur are excellent iron-workers, and still supply the Dinka with spears, where the two races meet. Although still regarded as the inferior race, they intermarry to a certain extent with the Dinka, the woman taking the nationality of her husband; there is also a fair amount of assimilation of Dinka customs (e.g. the tribal marking of boys’ heads). They answer readily to the name of ‘Jur’ (the name no longer carrying with it its former insult), but among themselves they are still the *Jo Luo*.

Contemporary Luwo speakers would not confirm Tucker's statement about readily answering to the name Jur (see §16.2), but consistently call themselves Luwo.

Tucker also reports that the Thuri (or 'Shatt', as he also calls them) split from the Luwo during that time and settled west of them, where they basically lived from hunting and farming. Other groups who split off from the Luwo were the Manangeer, who largely became assimilated by the Dinka and now speak Dinka (author's field data), and the Demo or Dembo, who reportedly speak Luwo. The Boor are the fourth group of closely related Northern Lwoo-speaking communities to have emigrated from the Luwo only around the 19th century. Evans-Pritchard (1931:42) suggests that there were several waves of southward migrations and that the last groups to reach the Boor area met the refugees that had fled from the violent Zande expansions in central Africa (Evans-Pritchard 1931). The Luwo themselves – in spite of their association with other groups during their earlier migrations – remained a comparatively large group. Identity formation as an ethnic entity, however, may not have taken place before the separation of the various groups (Thuri, Boor, Bodho, Manangeer), a consequence of social pressure playing a role. This led to a tendency to close-knit societies and also to a preference for endogamy:

The Jur, on the whole, like to marry in their own tribe: intermarrying between the eastern and the western Jur goes on, but it is not common, With regard to the eastern Jur, once (say from 1890 to 1920) a good few of them used to take Belanda, Bongo and even Zande women as second or third wives, but at present this custom is being dropped off. (Santandrea 1945:240)

Wheeler (1997) describes the establishment of ethnic identities and imagined boundaries between them as a result of crisis, war, slavery and social pressure during the 19th as well as much of the 20th century (when violent conflict also led to cases of martyrdom and far-reaching Christianization movements). Contemporary Luwo-speaking communities are ascribed Luwo identities, which they can also use as symbolic capital for the establishment of political power, fund-raising, and so on. Current standardization tendencies, the establishment of Luwo as a language used in the classroom in South Sudan, and the creation of a Luwo New Testament (in 2003) go in line with such processes of sociopolitical consolidation.

1.2 Research history and documentation

1.2.1 Missionary linguistics

Luwo is rather poorly studied, despite the fact that its social and linguistic history is of some importance to the historical and sociolinguistic evaluation of Lwoo

as a whole. However, many of the available sources are of relatively high quality, providing an interesting view into the language history of the past century, as well as the typological properties of Luwo. First of all, there are two monographs, one being Ghawi (1925), which contains a short description of the phoneme inventory, the basic morphological structures and the syntax of Luwo.⁵ The basic descriptions and analyses are in principle those that are also presented in other early sources on Luwo, but as far as the quality of the material is concerned, there seem to be a number of shortcomings. Ghawi only spent a short time in Bahr el-Ghazal, and his transcription and analysis of Luwo is rather inadequate. It is likely that this small volume of only 42 pages was written as a language guide to the area, rather than as a scholarly contribution. It seems as if both the authors of such volumes and their consultants were interested in making the language under study simple and its structures transparent, rather than describing it in its complex entirety; this was a strategy that fairly often resulted in simplified representations (Irvine 2008).

The second monograph is a sketchy grammar by the Comboni Father P. Stefano Santandrea.⁶ His *Grammatichetta Giur* (1946) contains two slightly disparate parts, namely one with “elementary findings” (*nozioni elementari*), and another one with “notes on the constructions of Jur and miscellaneous items” (*note sulla costruzione jur e varie*). The first part uses Ghawi’s book as a blueprint and presents rich data and clear, transparent analyses of the phonology and orthography, and of what Santandrea identifies as nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. The entire description is organized very much like a classical Latin grammar, corresponding to standard practice of missionary linguistics of the period. Consequently, state verbs are treated as adjectives, aspect forms as tenses, and so on. But Santandrea was obviously able to obtain deep insights into Luwo, and seems to have been quite knowledgeable about the language; he therefore presents excellent data, and very useful analyses of idiomatic language and some discourse features of Luwo. The second part is a bit difficult to use, as it unsystematically assembles sections on various features, such as phonological variation and verb paradigms. It does, however, contain large passages of Luwo texts. Today, this collection of materials serves as an insightful

5. The volume is difficult to find, but was finally retrieved by Don Killian, who was so kind as to make his copy available to me.

6. 1904–1990. Born in Imola, Santandrea joined the Comboni Mission at Verona in 1927. He was sent to Wau in the Sudan in 1928 and remained there until 1936, and then stayed in Dem Zubeir until 1955 (Contran 1991). His many contributions to the history, languages and cultures of the Bahr el-Ghazal belong to the Comboni Mission’s most prolific contributions to African Studies.

document of Luwo as it was spoken around Kayango in the 1930s and 1940s. As a linguistic description it is clearly dated, as, for instance, Santandrea does not indicate tone, but it is of much better quality than other contributions of missionary linguists of the period.

A lexicographic synthesis of missionary linguistic work on Luwo is Briani (1953). It is now largely outdated by the dictionary of Pozzati & Panza (1993).

Other materials on Luwo include larger collections of texts and ethnographic documentations. A collection of articles on Luwo ethnography, documenting family life and the organization of the community and religious practices, also by Santandrea (1944, 1945, 1948), contains word lists with kinship terminology, proper names, cultural terminology, and details on ritual communication. In Santandrea (1967a), accounts of the histories of various groups of Bahr el-Ghazal are presented, with photographic material, king lists and genealogies. Santandrea (1969) is a collection of songs with translations and short commentaries. These songs are remarkable today, insofar as they were performed for “killers”, older men who had either killed a person or a dangerous animal. It is not clear whether such songs were already becoming obsolete in Luwo-speaking communities in Santandrea’s time, but they are clearly not much remembered today. For an analysis of ritual forms of communication, see §16.2.

A collection of an equally changing speech register is Santandrea (1967b), where prayers in Luwo are presented and discussed. This small study largely bases, besides Santandrea’s rich field data, on Maganotto’s (1925) volume on religion among this group.

Explanatory texts in Jur, with translations and comments, are presented in Santandrea (1977). They deal with family life, social organization and rituals. Annotations provided by the author contain insightful semantic and ethnolinguistic details.

A number of occasional contributions relating to sociocultural practices appeared in the first half of the 20th century. The most interesting of these is probably Ghawi (1924), who describes law and legislation among the Luwo.

Even though the materials produced by missionaries in the mid-20th century are of relatively good quality, the entire descriptive and documentary situation is not exactly adequate. These sources largely represent a context that is no longer relevant to the speakers, framing the Luwo as a more or less monolithic group, standing as a “traditional”, “tribal” society in stark contrast to “modern” European societies (see Fabian 1983 for a more general discussion of anthropology as a pre-modern subject). In texts such as those presented by Santandrea, Luwo speakers are represented more or less as followers of traditions, who marry, name their children, undergo rituals and perform burials in a particular way that is compulsory for anybody who considers him or herself as a member of the “tribe”. There is no

indication that people have any individual scope in how they organize their lives, or that they have agency and could always make opportunistic decisions that foil group interests. This is where the documentation of Luwo texts and the cultural and social context of the language is fairly problematic: Santandrea, like most missionaries and African linguists working on Nilotic in his time, gives no detailed information about who told a story, gave a form, or provided knowledge on the language, a cultural practice or a social phenomenon. We do not know, consequently, if speakers produced certain “facts” or forms, or whatever, in order to “please” the missionary, fulfil an assignment or present themselves as members of a coherent group for various advantageous purposes, and so on. The material provided in these sources is certainly interesting in terms of its use in comparative studies, for instance of Luwo languages, or dialect comparison, but it clearly does not tell us anything about how people actually spoke Luwo or how the language was used in the different communities.

An interesting reaction to this problem comes from contemporary speakers of Luwo. When discussing the value and contents of such historical sources, my Luwo teacher and consultant Pierina Akelo Zubeir mentioned that the divide between missionaries writing about the Luwo, and the Luwo being written about, was an imagined one. She remembered that when she herself visited a missionary school in Bahr el-Ghazal in the 1950s, there were all kinds of interactions between everybody present:

We had to sweep the verandahs of the mission and the school every afternoon, because of the dust. The verandah went all round the building. On the left side was the part of the nuns, and on the right was the house for the priests. When you looked at the floor that we had been spraying with water for the dust (in the evening), you could see their foot marks left on the moist pavement. They led from the nun’s rooms to the priests’ house and the other way around. They had children together, and some of these children were left with our people.

There are various biographical stories on this (see §16.1), and they all emphasize the openness of Luwo-speaking communities, their interconnectedness with Europeans, Arabs, and other people around them, and their essentially modern ways of life.

1.2.2 Linguistic description and comparative studies

The more recent contributions to Luwo are somewhat isolated studies on the phonology, case system, noun morphology and verb system of the language. These studies are based on elicited data, again suggesting a problem of data quality.

Nevertheless, two important contributions to Luwo continue to be the two articles by Buth, which deal with the ergative case system (1981a) and the vowel

system (1981b). Data on the case system is clearly elicited, and this has been problematic to a certain point. Comparative research on case in Africa (König 2008), as well as typological work (e.g. Dryer & Haspelmath 2013), use the analysis provided by Buth as a proof for their hypotheses and as evidence in modelling. As can be seen in Chapter 11, the system looks a bit different when taking into account other, non-elicited data. There is a pragmatically motivated case system in Luwo which differs from the prototypical systems described for Lwoo languages on the basis of Buth's paper (see, e.g. Fiedler 2013 for the problem of divergent findings on the basis of different datasets).

Storch (2005a) is a comparative study of Western Nilotic noun morphology with a focus on demonstrating that the system is partly based on noun classifiers. Luwo is treated in the form of an overview chapter, and most of the data is elicited, but there are also examples of derivation that come from an experimentally engendered corpus. An expanded analysis of the noun morphology is presented in a contribution on Luwo morphosyntax (Storch 2010). Storch (2006) contains an analysis of evidentials and verb morphology in Luwo, which is based on elicited data and natural language data alike. This topic is expanded in Storch (2013), where perception verbs, evidentials and the expression of cognition are explored. Storch (2004) and Storch & Vossen (2007) explore the domain of smell and taste terms, a field that has not been looked at in Nilotic studies before. These studies, as well as Heyking & Storch (2008), have been inspired by approaches developed in cognitive linguistics, and aim at a deeper understanding of how objects and events can be viewed by speakers of Lwoo languages. This is also the focus of Storch (2014), where the semantics of number are explored.

Studies on language contact and the social history of Luwo are Storch (2003, 2005b, 2007) and Lüpke & Storch (2013).

1.3 Fieldwork

Data for this book has been collected by the author during various field trips to the Sudan between 2000 and 2007. Since the areas in Bahr el-Ghazal where Luwo is spoken remain difficult to reach or persist as war zones, no research was undertaken there. Instead, I was able to work with a large community of Luwo speakers in Khartoum and Omdurman, who were in regular contact with their families in southern Sudan, but preferred to stay in Khartoum as long as personal safety, working conditions and education were more favourable in the north.

As a consequence, this book stands in a kind of opposition to the work of Santandrea, who focuses on Luwo spoken by more rural communities. However, I consider my focus on Luwo as spoken by an urban community justified. First

of all, it could provide a first basis for a more diversified approach to Luwo and other Western Nilotic languages. Then, as more than 50% of all Africans today reside in large towns and urban spaces, and as differences between “village” and “town” blur considerably, it is important to include in a study of a language such as Luwo data from such “modern”, anti-traditionalist contexts. Luwo is, at least, a modern and globally present language used by an appreciable number of speakers in diverse contexts and places. It has probably been a modern means of communication beyond regional limitations for a long time and under various conditions, having been present in Cairo and Omdurman, for instance, as well as in missionary contexts, trade networks and so on in Bahr e-Ghazal.

Therefore, the present study offers a description of Luwo as a language used by urban, dynamic and geographically mobile speakers. Methodology used in the field largely corresponded to field work standards in other contexts. In the beginning phases of the research, wordlists were elicited in order to obtain a better idea of word structures, tone patterns and semantics. Elicitation always went together with undirected discussions and recording of explanatory and narrative texts. After this initial phase, I worked with a group of speakers who appointed a language teacher for me, with whom I spent at least four to five hours each day, learning and studying Luwo by asking my way through the grammar, engaging in discussions, jointly undertaking daily routines such as going to the market and cooking, and so on. Participant observation was possible in various contexts where members of the community came together. Besides linguistic research, I also studied aspects of the social history, and biographical topics, such as the linguistic biographies of different speakers.

Besides lexicographic data and grammar samples, the corpus includes texts of different genres (narrative, explanatory, poetic) and natural conversation. Data was collected in Omdurman and Khartoum with the help of Joseph Modesto, Henry Manyual, Mohammed Lino Benjamin, Albert Apai Dumo, and my Luwo language teacher Pierina Akeelo Zubeir, as well as with other anonymous members of the speaker community.

1.4 Aims of this study

This study not only describes the phonology, morphology and syntax of Luwo, but also variation, ways of speaking and repertoires used by different speakers. It aims at offering insightful data and analyses of the social history of Luwo, as well as contextual biographical information provided by the speaker community. The grammar is not organized in a conventional way, but provides chapters of a more traditional type (e.g. on phonology) alongside more specialized ones that

are devoted to semantics, anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, and so on, wherever this helps to provide a more complete picture of the kind of language Luwo is and how it is used. Luwo is presented here as a language spoken by separate small-scale communities, with all the discursive features that would go along with such a sociolinguistic situation (e.g. metalinguistic awareness, multilingualism, shared diverse language ideologies), but also as a language with a history of being a former local *lingua franca* in parts of Bahr el-Ghazal. The aim of this book, consequently, is to present on the one hand a methodologically adequate and detailed analysis of the linguistic features of Luwo, and on the other hand to provide a sociohistorically informed study that makes use of approaches from anthropological linguistics and critical multilingualism studies alike. This is also an attempt to describe a language together with at least part of its context.

It is hoped that with an increasing interest in what the speakers themselves have to say, future studies on Luwo (and other languages of the Sudan) will also reflect local metalinguistic wisdom and the speakers' ideas about what their language actually is.

Phonology

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the phonological inventory and principle phonological processes of Luwo. As several phonological processes have an impact on the morphology and syntax, they will be described in more detail in the relevant sections throughout this book.

Luwo is not more complex in its phonology than other Northern Lwoo languages. The consonant inventory is a rather conservative one, and does not exhibit as many phonemes as those of Southern Lwoo languages (§2.1.1; see Heusing 2004). Luwo has a diverse and complex vowel system, which however is smaller than other Western Nilotic ones (§2.1.2; Remijsen & Manyang 2009). After providing an overview of the segmental phonology, the suprasegmental features are described (§2.2). The syllable will be explored in (§2.3), and in (§2.4), the main phonological processes are described. A brief overview of orthography and graphic representation is provided in §2.5.

2.1 Segmental phonology

2.1.1 Consonants

Luwo exhibits a typical Western Nilotic consonant inventory, which comprises of nineteen consonant phonemes. These contrast in six places of articulation. There are no fricatives. While stops and nasals form a symmetric sub-system in five contrastive places of articulation, the liquids and glides occur in one or two points of articulation only.

Table 2.1. Consonant inventory

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
voiced stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n̪</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
trilled rhotic			<i>r</i>			
lateral			<i>l</i>			
glides	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

All consonant qualities occur in a morpheme-initial position, while there is much variation in their frequency in a morpheme-final position.

A. STOPS

There is little allophonic variation among stops. Occasionally, /k/ becomes /y/ in intervocalic position.

All stops, with the exception of the glottal stop, have a distinction for voice in morpheme- and word-initial position. A lack of voice distinction in word-final position is noted in a majority of Western Nilotic languages, and in Luwo, too, this situation appears to prevail. In most of the recorded forms, voiced stops are largely absent word-finally, whereas voiceless stops do not seem to occur in word-medial or intervocalic position, e.g.:

- (2.1) /put/ ‘beat’ : /pudò/ ‘beating’
 /cyèk/ ‘be short’ : /cyégó/ ‘shortness’
 /yác/ ‘be pregnant’ : /yéjós/ ‘pregnancy’

However, there are cases where these constraints on phoneme distribution do not hold. In particular, /b/ and /j/ are rather frequently attested in word-final position, where they may represent a secondary phoneme quality, namely the hardened glides /w/ and /y/, respectively (see §2.5 for morphophonological processes). But all other stops are found in various phonotactic positions as well, albeit less frequently so. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of stops in various positions in different morpheme and word types.

- (2.2) /p/: /pɪ/ ‘water’, /jòápà/ ‘guava tree’, /ɾápɪ/ ‘fish sp.’, /ɾúdúp/ ‘rat’
 /t/: /tɔ́/ ‘jackal’, /ɾàtáálé/ ‘s/he cooked’, /cɪát/ ‘excrement’
 /t/: /tíél/ ‘legs’, /ɾànáà kàtì/ ‘you brought’, /wét/ ‘write’
 /c/: /cɪát/ ‘excrement’, /kécá/ ‘this’, /tíc/ ‘work’
 /k/: /kàn/ ‘place’, /ɾàdíkít/ ‘tree sp.’, /jòkoor/ ‘watchman’, /cyèk/ ‘be short’
 /ɾ/: /ɾɔ́/ ‘thigh’, /ɾoc/ ‘fence’
 /b/: /búól/ ‘drum’, /ɾòbò/ ‘say sth.’, /ɾòb/ ‘speak’
 /ɖ/: /ɖépaàrwàn/ ‘our language’, /ɾáànáà puòdí/ ‘I was made thin’, /pàɖ/ ‘not exist’
 /d/: /dímò/ ‘Dimo’, /ɾàdúóló/ ‘heart’, /ɾadɛ/ ‘pythons’, /bàd/ ‘smell under armpits’
 /j/: /jók/ ‘god’, /paàjò/ ‘house’, /meràj/ ‘bad one’
 /g/: /gáná/ ‘eagle’, /àgɛɛr/ ‘built’, /ɖòg/ ‘mouth’

Note that the glottal stop /ʔ/ is only attested in word-initial position, before V. This puts its phonological status into question; however, the following minimal pairs suggest that the glottal stop has phonemic status in this one phonological environment:

- (2.3) /ṛòḍṛ/ ‘brother’ : /koor/ ‘watch’
 /ṛΛΛm/ ‘thigh’ : /wûm/ ‘nose’
 /ṛoc/ ‘fence’ : /yác/ ‘be pregnant’

B. NASALS

All nasals occur in the initial, medial and final positions of a word. There is no significant allophonic variation. The nasals are found in:

- (2.4) /m/: /mááwú/ ‘tsetse fly’, /ṛΛmmé/ ‘thighs’, /wûm/ ‘nose’
 /ŋ/: /ṛááṫṫṫ/ ‘have long hair’, /ṫṫṫṫ/ ‘smallness’, /ṫṫṫṫ/ ‘be small’
 /n/: /níín/ ‘sleep’, /pínós/ ‘cheek’, /kàn/ ‘place’
 /ɲ/: /ɲàyén/ ‘grey cow’, /maɲwàt/ ‘boy born after deceased sibling’, /wɲn/ ‘birds’
 /ŋ/: /ŋṫṫ/ ‘lion’, /riŋḍ/ ‘piece of meat’, /ɲín/ ‘name’

Note that in intervocalic position, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is sometimes realised as non-phonemic [h] by speakers of eastern Luwo varieties (e.g. /jáhḍ/ -> [jáhḍ]) ‘hunting song’).

C. RHOTIC AND LATERAL

There is no allophonic variation of any significance for the rhotic and lateral phonemes. Only in word- or clause-final position, /r/ is articulated by some speakers as [r], e.g. in /ɲṫ kúɾ/ ‘it smells of perfume’. The rhotic and lateral are found in:

- (2.5) /r/: /riŋḍ/ ‘piece of meat’, /ṛádṫṫṫ/ ‘name of a girl’, /ṛàbúr/ ‘antelope sp.’
 /l/: /láy/ ‘animal’, /ṛádṫṫṫ/ ‘heart’, /tíél/ ‘legs’

D. GLIDES

The bilabial glide /w/ and palatal glide /y/ occur in all consonant positions. However, word-final /w/ is rare and is predominantly found in morpheme-final position in pertensive constructions, such as in /cúw láy/ ‘bones of the animal’. Examples for the distribution of glides are:

- (2.6) /w/: /wûm/ ‘nose’, /màwúd/ ‘white-and-brown bull’, /ápíyòw/ ‘first-born twin (FEM)’
 /y/: /yác/ ‘be pregnant’, /ɲàyén/ ‘grey cow’, /láy/ ‘animal’

E. CONSONANT LENGTH

All consonants, except voiced stops and the two glides, exhibit a length distinction. Short consonants are by far the most frequent, while the long (geminated) consonants are particularly found in derived forms. For example, some modified noun forms replace the original root-final consonant with a geminated nasal:

- (2.7) /cṫṫṫ/ ‘blindness’ → /cṫṫṫn-/ ‘blindness of’
 /ɾemṫ/ ‘blood (sgv)’ → /ɾemm-/ ‘blood of’

Geminated nasals in Luwo also occur in unmodified plural nouns, such as in /ʔámmé/ ‘thighs’. These morphosyntactic distribution patterns speak in favour of the occurrence of long consonants as a consequence of assimilation processes. They can therefore be interpreted as sequences of two consonants which on the surface are similar. Reh (1996: 63) observes that geminated nasals can also develop out of /CN/ sequences. Her suggestion for the internal construction of /NN/ sequences resulting out of such nasalisation processes is that -CNV suffixes lost their original C components and assimilated the previous consonant to the remaining nasal of the suffix. The result, a geminated nasal, is a systematic feature of a number of grammatical forms, such as modified forms in pertensive constructions (see Chapter 4 below).

However, the status of geminated stops and nasals (and homorganic nasal-stop clusters) is a particular problem of Northern Luwo consonant systems. Even though complex consonants are historically a result of the assimilation of a stem/root-final consonant and a suffixed grammatical morpheme, the original processes leading to their emergence cannot always be determined. Given this uncertainty concerning the reconstruction of the underlying morphophonological processes, we will have to hypothesize that, as in other Northern Luwo languages, the resulting consonant qualities have no phonemic value in Luwo either, as they can be assumed to be fully predictable and governed by a number of morphosyntactic rules.

Long consonants (interpreted here as a sequence of two separate – and formerly possibly different – consonant phonemes) in Luwo never occur in word- or morpheme-initial position, and never at the end of a word. Examples for their word-medial occurrence are:

- (2.8) /máàḍḍí/ ‘drink there’, /káddé/ ‘charcoal’, /dággén/ ‘third’, /cámmí/ ‘eat over there’, /ṭúṇṇò/ ‘breasts’, /kànnè/ ‘broths’, /párré/ ‘hippo’, /cárrárré/ ‘vision and sound of lightning’, /ʔàlállè/ ‘parrots’

F. LABIALISATION

Labialisation occurs only in syllable-initial position, with all phonemes except /ḍ, j, ŋ, n, r, w, ɣ/. Unlike lengthened consonants, labialised consonants are present in underived and derived lexemes alike, where they occur before both front and back vowels and in various types of syllables.

Examples for the occurrence of labialised consonants are:

- (2.9) /pwòt/ ‘be thin’, /pwón/ ‘teach’, /ʔùṭwón/ ‘hyena’, /cwác/ ‘make pottery’, /maàkwààr/ ‘red one’, /dwán/ ‘cheat’, /ʔàkégwòòrò/ ‘s/he was scratched’, /ɲwó/ ‘he-goat’, /lwók/ ‘wash’, /ʔàbwóró/ ‘monkey sp.’, /ʔúmwbò/ ‘rhino’, /ɲwól/ ‘be lame’, /ʔátwaj/ ‘disease’

The limited distribution of labialised consonants as C₁ consonants may have something to do with morphological markedness. In some of the cases, it is possible to

argue that historical morphophonological processes are at play. For example, the cognate forms for ‘body’ in some Western Nilotic languages illustrate that this lexeme is sometimes marked by a suffix *-u/-Nu* (Storch 2005a: 131 f.). This suffix marks a set of nouns that are classified as body part nouns and locative nouns (whereby locatives are typically derived from body parts). The incorporation of suffixes as in Dinka (Andersen 2014), or their regressive assimilation, has led to a diphthongisation of the root vowel in some languages, and to the labialisation of the first root consonant in others:

(2.10) ‘body’

	SG	PL
MABAAN ¹	wárù	wáàkù
JUMJUM	yórù	yókù
DINKA	gwóp	gúp
LUWO	kwom	kòome
ACHOLI	kôm	kòmgi
KUMAM	kom	komín

Historically, such a development is feasible. Therefore, labialised consonants in Luwo are analysed here as originally allophonic variants of plain consonants. An analysis of /C^w/ as an equivalent of /C + w/ is not helpful if this hypothesis holds. In his study on Lango, Noonan (1992: 15) remarks: “[w] occurs in morpheme initial position and in clusters following any consonant morphophoneme except /b/ and the glide /y/ in morpheme initial position.” Even though on the surface this seems to be exactly the situation in Luwo too, Noonan’s analysis by no means explains why consonant-glide clusters have such a salient limitation in their distribution as compared to other consonant qualities. In order to make historical processes more transparent in the role they play for phonotactic patterns, these consonants are seen as products of morphological processes and phonological change, in the same way as the emergence of lengthened consonants discussed above.

That affixation plays an important role in the genesis of /C^w/-initial syllables is further suggested by the relatively high number of roots with initial labialised consonants among nouns with a prefix *u-*. Here, the prefix has triggered the progressive assimilation of the root-initial consonant. Examples are:

- (2.11) /ʔùgwéc/ ‘snake-like fish’
 /ʔúkwòk/ ‘fish sp.’
 /ʔùt wòŋ/ ‘hyena’
 /ʔùgwaal/ ‘frog’
 /ʔùgwèn/ ‘gerbil’

1. Note that /w/, /y/, /g/, /k/ are regular sound correspondences.

E. PALATALISATION

Some consonants occur in a palatalised form, most frequently /t, c, ɟ, g, m, l/. Palatalised consonants are always found in root initial position, and always before the front vowels /e/, /ɛ/. Examples are:

- (2.12) /cyèk/ 'be short', /ɖyèŋ/ 'cow', /dyek/ 'goats', /gyénó/ 'chicken', /myél/ 'dance',
/lyèɖ/ 'become hot', /ryámryàm/ 'sensation of breaking things'

Palatalisation is phonemic and may be the result of affixation, as in the following example:

- (2.13) àtyél (SG) : átéènè (PL) 'elbow'

There is dialectal variation here, concerning the spirantisation of palatalised velar stops. For example, /gyénó/ 'chicken' is realised as /jénó/ by speakers of eastern Luwo varieties.

F. CONSONANT SEQUENCES

Consonant clusters are rare in Luwo. Within a morpheme, sequences of consonants are not permitted. However, a number of consonant sequences are possible within word boundaries. This is the case where the root-final consonant does not assimilate to the morpheme-initial consonant of a suffix, for example in plural-marked nouns and verbs:

- (2.14) /délné/ 'skins'
/àyóúdgén/ 'they have seen'

Consonant clusters are also found in loanwords, which is where most nasal-stop sequences are found, as in /úbéélàndà/ 'Belanda man', /mángà/ 'mango'. Besides these quite rare examples, nasal-stop sequences, as well as liquid-nasal, liquid-stop and nasal-nasal sequences are found in ideophones. These frequently exhibit reduplication of the root, whereby consonant clusters emerge:

- (2.15) NC
/bánbán/ 'compound is flooded', /kwaŋkwaŋ/ 'come near with fear',
/cím cím/ 'tiptoe', /ryámryàm/ 'breaking things'
- (2.16) CN
/mòrmòr/ 'a lot of people/cattle moving together', /ŋidŋidè/ 'cut with knife that is not sharp'
- (2.17) CC
/kèlkèl/ 'come near, leaving much space in between', /liblib/ 'sneak, creep (like cat)', /kèèrkér/ 'walk weakly, almost falling down', /cipcip/ 'walk like a dog', /tàktàgè/ 'walk like a drunk person', /tòltòl/ 'dust comes up after beating on cloth', /kàjkàjì/ 'pulling s.o. around in a merciless way', /lwoŋlwoŋgi/ 'hold s.o., but not firmly', /cúgcúk/ 'move/happen straight away', /hàrhàr/ 'flame coming up suddenly'

- (2.18) NN
/maanmaan/ ‘pour down all water on ground (spoiling it)’

2.1.2 Vowels

Luwo has twenty phonemic vowels. An analysis of the vowel system is found in Buth (1981a: 121 f.), where it is stated that the vowels are organised in two asymmetrical sets with four short [−BREATHY] and five short [+BREATHY] vowels (Buth uses the terms ‘hard’ and ‘breathy’); this could not be verified by my own data, which suggests that there are, rather, two symmetric sets. These two sets differ according to the feature [±EX], and also according to [±BREATHY], which appears to be the more salient property of Luwo vowels:

Table 2.2. Short vowel phonemes

[−EX, −BREATHY]			[+EX, +BREATHY]		
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ɨ</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>

The five [+ BREATHY vowels] are represented as /i, e, ɛ, o, u/ in the present study.

All vowels can be long or short, but for the [−BREATHY] vowels, there is an additional long vowel quality, which does not occur as a short phoneme:

Table 2.3. Long vowel phonemes

[−EX, −BREATHY]			[+EX, +BREATHY]		
<i>ii</i>	<i>uu</i>	<i>ɨɨ</i>	<i>ɨɨ</i>	<i>ɨɨ</i>	<i>ɨɨ</i>
<i>ɛɛ</i>	<i>ɔɔ</i>	<i>ɛɛ</i>	<i>ɛɛ</i>	<i>ɔɔ</i>	<i>ɔɔ</i>
<i>aa</i>		<i>ɔɔ</i>	<i>ɔɔ</i>	<i>ɔɔ</i>	<i>ɔɔ</i>

Buth (1981a) proposes one additional long [−BREATHY] vowel phoneme /ee/, which is not attested in my corpus.

Different speakers exhibit significant differences in their articulation of the [+EX, +BREATHY] vowels. Some speakers tend to articulate breathiness with a lot of friction, while others articulate them as vowels with a [+ATR] quality. Most speakers, however, articulate the vowels in such a way that [+BRV] and [+ATR] go together. This variation in the articulation of Luwo vowels requires an explanation. Maddieson points out that:

[...] in most languages in which ATR distinguishes two sets of vowels [...], the difference is not simply in the tongue root gesture, but in the enlargement of the whole pharyngeal cavity, partly by the movement of the tongue root, but also by the lowering of the larynx. [...] The lowering of the larynx sometimes results in these vowels having a slightly breathy quality. (Maddieson 1996: 300)

[BREATHINESS], [EXPANDED PHARYNX] and [ADVANCED TONGUE ROOT] are closely related phenomena, and the different modes of articulation may be dynamic and flexible. The co-occurrence of both features of vowel quality in Luwo, which is not a rare phenomenon cross-linguistically, is also found in Anywa (Reh 1996).

A. THE SHORT VOWELS of Luwo have been described in detail in Buth (1981a), except for non-breathy /ɔ/. In the present work, they are exemplified as follows:

- (2.19) /wɨ́p/ 'birds', /réc/ 'fish', /yáy/ 'boat', /jók/ 'god', /ɲogɔ́/ 'lions', /ɔ́díkít/ 'tree sp', /yéç/ 'belly', /ɔ́mmé/ 'thighs', /kwón/ 'places', /wúɥ/ 'heads'

B. LENGTH

Luwo, like Anywa, has only two vowel lengths, while closely related and neighbouring languages such as Shilluk and Dinka have three (Remijsen & Manyang 2009; Andersen 2014). The system is identical to that of the short vowels, with no significant allophony. Examples for long vowels are:

- (2.20) /kàrnínós/ 'sleeping place', /léèm/ 'jaws', /t̥óól/ 'rope', /paábóór/ 'Pabur area', /yii/ 'breathe', /ákeelo/ 'girl born after twins', /ɔ́mm/ 'thigh', /jòkoor/ 'watchmen', /ábúuk/ 'girl called after wife of a god'

C. VOWEL SEQUENCES

The only vowel sequences that occur consist of front plus back or high plus low vowels. Other types are not attested, and wherever sequences of a low plus a high vowel could occur, an epenthetic glide is inserted between the two vowels. Examples for vowel sequences are:

- (2.21) /çíàɥ/ 'excrements', /yíèr/ 'hair', /àd̥ièŋ/ 'swampy land'

- (2.22) /ɲwùók/ 'he-goat', /dúál/ 'voice'

2.2 Suprasegmental phonology

Besides the segmental phonemes, various suprasegmental features play a role in Luwo, namely tone and stress.

2.2.1 Tone

Luwo is a terraced-level tone language with three tonemes, namely high (indicated by an acute mark ´), mid (which is left unmarked in this grammar), and low (indicated by a grave mark `). Furthermore, there are dynamic tones, namely rising and falling ones. In most cases, these can be analysed as the results of morphotological processes, such as the occurrence of a non-segmental morpheme. Tone

basically occurs on syllabic units, where it sits on the vowel, but tones may also be floating, and the latter may cause apotony in various morphosyntactic contexts.

There are numerous examples for minimal tonal pairs, indicating the lexical salience of tone. But tone is also highly important on the grammatical level, where it distinguishes number on nouns and verbs, verb classes, and so on. Examples of the different functions of tone are given as follows:

- (2.23) LEXICAL TONE
 /t̥̀òó/ ‘jackal’ /t̥̀ó/ ‘death’
 /pì/ ‘sit’ /pìì/ ‘water’

- (2.24) GRAMMATICAL TONE
 /ròb/ ‘speak’ /rób/ ‘speech’
 /càm/ ‘eat’ /cám/ ‘food’
 /lwók/ ‘wash’ /lwógí/ ‘make wash’
 /cwàt̥/ ‘fat (SG)’ /cwát̥/ ‘fat (PL)’

A. UNDERLYING TONE AND ITS REALISATION

Complications occur where low tones precede high tones. When two low tones, or a long vowel with a low tone, are followed by a high tone within a word, the first low tone is raised to high. This upstep process can be observed when the 1SG possession pronoun is suffixed to a low CVVC root:

- (2.25) zòr ‘brother’ → zò[↑]r-á [zòórá] ‘my brother’

A new high tone cannot superficially be distinguished from an original one. Nouns with a CVVC root, which are not suffix-marked, for example, when no segmental number marker is present, may exhibit a falling tone pattern, such as the following:

- (2.26) /léém/ ‘jaws’
 /yíèr/ ‘hair’

Such a tone pattern could have resulted out of the spreading of a floating tone which remains from a formerly segmental, high tone plural suffix. Such suffixes are still productive, such as in *dél-né* ‘skins’, but some of these markers seem to have been reduced segmentally in other contexts (see Chapters 5 and 6). If the originally low CVVC stem is followed by a floating high tone, its tonal pattern changes into a falling one, hence */léém-/ → /léém/ ‘jaws’.

In contrast to such forms, most other CVVC nouns have either mid, high or rising tone patterns. Such tone patterns could be the result of explicit marking of non-plurality (in the sense of using the oppositional, rising pattern), but should also be equivalent to the basic tone pattern of the respective root:

- (2.27) /zám/ ‘thigh’, /dúál/ ‘voice’, /t̥̀óól/ ‘rope’, /cìát̥/ ‘excrements’, /ɲwùók/ ‘he-goat’

It is relatively easy to ascertain whether a particular root has an underlying falling tone or whether this tone pattern has resulted from upstep. An original falling tone triggers downstep on the following morpheme if its tone is high or mid. This is a regular process on verbs when they are inflected for 3SG:

- (2.28) *ɲɔ à-tóòr=↓é*
 o:3SG PFV-break:TR=3SG
 's/he broke it'

2.2.2 Stress

Luwo has movable stress which is realised in the increased length of the vowel. The nucleus of a stressed syllable is articulated more intensely than that of a non-stressed one. This results in the impression that the respective syllable has more weight. As stress is dynamic, this also causes the impression that vowel length varies in different morphosyntactic contexts. An example is:

- (2.29) /'twék.twèk/ [t^wé:kt^wék^h] 'hornbill'
 /twèk.'twé.gé/ [t^wèk't^wé:γ[↑]è] 'hornbills'

However, it is possible to demonstrate that syllable weight in stressed syllables, versus phonemic vowel length, differs. Stress moves through affixation of additional grammatical morphemes or construction of compound words, while vowel length is stable, as in the following example, where the stressed prefix /'kàr-/ 'home of' is added:

- (2.30) /'kàr.twék.twèk/ [kà:rt^wék^twék^h] 'hornbill's nest'
 /'kàr.twèk.twé.gé/ [kà:rt^wèk't^wéγè] 'hornbills' nest'

Stress has no lexical function and no grammatical relevance. But it does have some consequences for tone, as stressed syllables with a high tone on the nucleus cause high-tone spreading (as in 'hornbills' in Example 2.29). Internal tone sandhi have only been observed to be caused by high tone on stressed syllables.

2.3 Syllable structure

2.3.1 Syllable types

Syllable patterns in Luwo are V, CV(V) and CV(V)C. The most basic pattern is CV(V), which may appear in any position in a word. While there are no restrictions in the occurrence of consonants in the onset of CV(V) syllables, the distribution of the same in CV(V)C syllables is conditioned by various constraints (see

above). V only occurs with bound morphemes. All other syllable types are found in monosyllabic phonological words:

(2.31)	V	/è/	‘plural’ (marker of a noun)
	CV	/pì/	‘sit’
	CVV	/yii/	‘breathe’
	CVC	/náŋ/	‘lick’
		/ʔoc/	‘fence’
		/lwèŋ/	‘drink’
	CVVC	/cíic/	‘suck’
		/maad/	‘drink’
		/ʔΛΛm/	‘thigh’

In bi- and polysyllabic words, the distribution of syllables is CV(V)C.CV(V), CV(V)C.CV(V)C, CV(V).CV(V)C, CV(V).CV(V).CV(V).CV(V), as in the following examples:

(2.32)	/dél.né/	‘skins’
	/ŋàt.cwác/	‘potter’
	/ya.wét/	‘poets’
	/ŋà.tà.wé.dó/	‘a person who writes’
	/ʔù.ŋóó.ŋè/	‘chameleon’

2.3.2 Syllable weight

The mora plays an important role in various domains of the grammar. As the tone system in Luwo is based on morae, the assignment of grammatically relevant tone, for example in number marking and verbal stem formation, depends on the weight of the syllable, and hence the number of morae in a morpheme or word.

Syllables with a short vowel have only one mora, while syllables with a long vowel consist of two morae. The occurrence of nasals or the number of consonants in a syllable does not affect the weight of the syllable.

Syllables with two morae behave like bisyllabic entities, as they can carry two tones. Stressed syllables with a short vowel have less weight than syllables with long vowels and do not carry more than one toneme.

2.4 Morphophonological processes

If two morphemes are combined this may result in a variety of phonological changes within these morphemes. The basic processes that are responsible for these changes are discussed in this section; first for consonants, then for vowels.

Morphophonological processes concerning tonemes will be explained in the sections where these processes are relevant.

2.4.1 Morphophonological processes concerning consonants

Regular morphophonological processes relating to consonants affect C2 and C3, but never C1. Hence, upon affixation, the initial consonant does not change, whereas later consonants do. Consider the following example:

- (2.33) /cwór/ ‘be blind’ /ú-cwór/ ‘blind man’
 /cík/ ‘repeat’ /ù-cíg=é/ ‘s/he repeats’

Consequently, the following outline of morphophonologically triggered changes will concentrate on consonants in non-initial position.

A. CONSONANT HARMONY

There is consonant harmony in Luwo, as in most Western Nilotic languages that exhibit five points of articulation in their consonant systems (see Heusing 2004 for Southern Lwoo languages with different consonant systems). A functional system of consonant alternation is found in both noun and verb morphology.

Consonant harmony only affects the alveolar and dental consonants /t, d, n/ and /t, d, n/, respectively. These two sets are not permitted within the same root or stem, and therefore the relevant consonants harmonize. This is a principle that is at work all over the lexicon, but probably becomes particularly obvious in the two possible forms in which the Arabic words *suda:n* and *su:q* are phonologically adapted into Luwo:

- (2.34) /tuɖaaɳ : /cudaaɳ/ ‘Sudan’
 /tuuk/ : /cuuk/ ‘market’

Since Luwo has no any fricatives, speakers either use the dental plosives /t, d/ for /s, z/, or the palatal consonants /c, j/. In the example above, this has a consequence for the quality of the root-final consonant in ‘Sudan’, while it does not have the same effect in ‘market’.

B. VOICING

Voicing is a process that affects final consonants in associative constructions and before suffixes and clitics. It occurs regularly in the context of derivation, when a root-final plosive, which is normally voiceless, is voiced:

- (2.35) /put/ ‘beat’ : /puɖò/ ‘beating’
 /cyèk/ ‘be short’ : /cyégó/ ‘shortness’
 /túgò/ ‘play’ : /túwó/ ‘play!’

In eastern Luwo, voicing includes spirantisation, so that the root-final consonant is realised as a non-phonemic fricative [x, ɣ], as in the following example, where the word-final plosive in ‘go’ undergoes external sandhi:

- (2.36) /ù-cíḡ=é d̀̀k ù-dwóḡg=é/ -> [d̀̀xùdwóḡgé]
 IPFV-repeat=3SG go IPFV-go.away:VEN:IF=3SG
 ‘again s/he returned’

C. LOSS OF LABIALISATION

As a result of fronting, labialised plosives lose their labialised quality when a stem receives a suffix with a vowel /i, ɪ/. This happens when a causative verb stem is constructed, or a noun receives a 2SG possessive pronoun suffix. Examples are:

- (2.37) /pwòṭ/ ‘be thin’ -> /puòḡí/ ‘be made thin’
 /ḡwùók/ ‘he-goat’ -> /ḡwóḡ-í/ ‘your he-goat’

D. CONSONANT DELETION.

Root-final stops /j, g/, rhotic /r/ and glides /w, y/ are optionally deleted before a -V or -wV/-yV suffix. Consonant deletion largely depends on the rate of speaking, so that in elicited material (when a speaker tends to pronounce slowly) it occurs less often than in natural language. Examples are:

- (2.38) /paár=wán/ -> /paáwán/
 home:MOD=POSS:1PL:EX
 ‘our home’
 /à-géér-é/ -> /àgéé’é/
 PFV-build:TR=3SG
 ‘s/he built’

Consonant deletion is compensated for by an epenthetic glide, when a back vowel is followed by a front vowel. This occurs in plural formation by means of suffixing -ì or -ɪ, as in the following examples:

- (2.39) SG PL
 /múr/ /múyì/ ‘vagina’
 /buur/ /búyì/ ‘hole’
 /úmór/ /ùmóyì/ ‘antelope sp.’

2.4.2 Morphophonological processes concerning vowels

In most cases, changes in vowel quality and quantity are caused by grammatical processes. The vowel changes are often triggered by underlying, phonologically complex affixes that surface as V forms or suprasegmental elements. Reh (1996: 56 ff.) describes morphophonological processes in Anywa that characterise stem formation in that language. Luwo is very similar to Anywa in this respect.

A. VOWEL HARMONY

There is [ATR]-based cross-height vowel harmony in Luwo, which extends to roots and suffixes, i.e. a suffix occurs in a [-ATR] and in a [+ATR] variant, depending on the root vowel quality. Vowel harmony spreads progressively, hence a stem causes

its suffixes to harmonise but not its prefixes. There is a constraint on affixes in general, which do not cause stems to harmonise. Examples are:

- (2.40) /kùŋ/ ‘dig:TR’ -> /kùŋ̀/ ‘dig:AP’
 /rób/ ‘speak:TR’ -> /rób̀/ ‘speak:AP’
 /yeey=gén/ ‘their feather’
 feather=POSS:3PL
 /gìr=ó/ ‘our thing’
 thing=POSS:1PL:INCL

There are, however, numerous constraints on these harmonisation rules. For example, noun classifiers, which are suffixed to a nominal stem, do not harmonise with the stem, but occur in one specific form, and keep their vowel quality unaltered. An example is (with classifier in bold>):

- (2.41) dɛɛl, PL **dél-né** ‘skin’
 cúl, PL **cún-nè** ‘penis’
 yíèr, SGV **yíè-nò** ‘hair’
 ʔúŋ, SGV ʔúŋ-ŋ̀ò ‘breasts’

That nominal suffixes, which in this book are analysed as old classifiers (see Chapter 5), are not harmonised implies that there is one principled difference between inflection and derivation in Luwo. While derivational suffixes (like those on verbs) harmonise, inflectional ones (like those on nouns) don’t.

Further examples on constraints of vowel harmony are presented in the relevant section in §3.1.2.

B. VOWEL FUSION AND DISSIMILATION

Vowels undergo sandhi when vowels belonging to several different morphological elements converge. In terms of their quantity, these vowels remain unchanged, but they undergo a modification in their quality. This process depends on the quality of the stem vowel, as in the following example:

- (2.42) /bé=ú-gòòy=é/ [búúgòòyè]
 NEG:IPFV=IPFV-hit=3SG
 ‘s/he will not hit’

In this example, the first two morphemes are prefixes, which cannot be made to harmonise regressively by the stem. As a consequence, they keep their [+ATR] quality, but the vowels become back vowels. They are also a bit higher than the stem vowel, which is a consequence of the vowel dissimilation rule being at work here: in two syllables of the same vowel quantity and quality, the first one is subject to rising. The only exemption to this rule is /a/, which never undergoes dissimilation, as can be seen in the following example:

- (2.43) /k^é=à-náà-ròb=é/ [káànáàròbá]
 NEG:PFV=PFV-N.EVID-speak:TR=3SG
 's/he didn't speak'

Here, the vowel quantity of the stem vowel is smaller than that of the affix vowels, which have all undergone fusion. Hence, the environment of the stem has completely converged to the same vowel quality.

In the following example, the same stem carries another suffix, which has the same vowel quality as the stem itself. The affixes all converge to the stem vowel quality, which itself changes as a result of the dissimilation rule, which is now at work on the suffix-marked stem itself:

- (2.44) /á=k^é=à-ròbò/ [ákúùròbò]
 1SG=NEG:PFV=PFV-say:AP
 'I didn't talk'

D. CHANGE OF VOICE QUALITY AND VOWEL LENGTH

Both derivation and number inflection are characterised by these phonological processes. They are explained in detail in the relevant sections. In principle, the change of vowel quality can operate in both directions, from [+ATR] to [-ATR], and vice versa. The direction of the process depends on the underlying historical process and type of grammatical element that was originally at work. For example, anticausative verb stems always change an original [-BRV, -ATR] vowel to its [+BRV, +ATR] counterpart. Likewise, nouns with a back stem vowel that construct their singular and plural forms with the help of a front vowel suffix undergo a stem vowel change:

- (2.45) /gòòṅò/ 'scratch' → /gwóòṅò/ 'scratched'
 /póól/ 'shinbone' → /pònè/ 'shinbones'

Vowel lengthening, or shortening, plays a role in verbal derivation, such as in the construction of causative stems, as well as in the pluralisation of nouns. This process is entirely the result of historical incorporations of affixes into the stem, and appears on the synchronic level as a principle of markedness (c.f. Andersen 2014 for a related situation in Dinka, and Storch 2005a for an overview of Western Nilotic number marking). Examples are:

- (2.46) /máàḍ/ 'drink' → /màḍ-i/ 'make drink'
 /pááá-ó/ 'hippo' → /pár-ré/ 'hippos'

2.5 Orthography and graphic representation

Up to the present, no standard orthography has been agreed upon for Luwo on an authoritative level. However, groups of speakers have formed grassroots

committees or worked together with international NGOs such as SIL. These groups, building on Bible translation work already started by members of the Comboni Mission, have prepared primers and alphabet books which have begun to serve as a standard in adult education schemes and primary schools. The proposed orthography, however, does not fulfil all the needs of a linguistic work, as it lacks the indication of tone, for example.

In this grammar, therefore, a modified IPA system is used. The vowels are represented graphically as indicated above in (§2.1.2). Short vowels are represented by a single grapheme (e.g. *pvt* ‘beat’), and long vowels by two graphemes (e.g. *àkúúr* ‘dove, pigeon’). High and low tone are both written, while mid tone remains unmarked. Stress is not represented graphically. The consonant /ʒ/, which only occurs in word-initial position, is never written. The interdental stops /*t̪*, /*d̪*/ and the interdental nasal /*n̪*/ are represented as *th*, *dh* and *nh*, respectively. All other consonants are written as indicated in (§2.1.1) above.

CHAPTER 3

Word classes and other categories

Understanding the structures, classes and categories of words is fundamental to understanding the grammar of Luwo. As the morphology of nouns, verbs and adjectives makes use of diverse formatives, involving affixation, composition, apophony and apotony, it is not always easy to define the limits of an individual word. This chapter, therefore, first explores the phonological structures of morphemes and words (§3.1), then goes on to consider the open word classes of nouns, verbs, and ideophones as a semantically distinct, open category (§3.2). Closed word classes are adverbs, prepositions, numerals, conjunctions, particles, pronouns and interjections (§3.3). It is not always possible to produce definitions of categories such as adjectives and smell words, which clearly differ from prototypical verbs, for example, but share some features with them (and ideophones) at the same time. Smell verbs are therefore treated as a separate category in terms of their functions and meanings, even though they resemble verbs in their distribution as predicates, and may therefore be seen, by others, as a subclass of verbs. Adjectives, to refer to the other example just mentioned, are extremely rare in Luwo, but the few that appear to exist differ sufficiently from verbs (out of which they are likely to have developed) to be presented as a separate functional category as well (§3.3).

3.1 Morphophonological structures

3.1.1 Morphemes

The morphophonological differences between the morpheme types in Luwo are not so much concerned with syllable structure and weight, but rather with the potential to accept affixes. Morphemes, as the smallest meaningful units in a language, may be full words in Luwo, where many nouns and verbs consist of only one morpheme. All morphemes in Luwo are monosyllabic. Lexical morphemes may consist of any of the possible syllable structures:

- (3.1) pì 'sit'
 pɪ 'water'
 jók 'god'
 léèm 'jaws'

Loanwords are an exception to these monosyllabic words consisting of only one morpheme. As is discussed in detail in (§16.4), Luwo exhibits a variety of contact phenomena, including loanwords from Arabic, Italian and English, as well as from other languages. Hence, there are lexical morphemes such as *thudhaanh* (< Ar.) ‘Sudan’, *jòápà* (< It.) ‘guava’ and the areally distributed form *kùdùrúk* ‘pig’ that have more than one syllable.

Lexical morphemes can always take affixes, such as derivative prefixes or number suffixes, for example. Grammatical morphemes may be bound or free; the latter may not take any affixes. The syllable structures of grammatical morphemes are limited to V, CV(V), CVC:

- (3.2) -ú- imperfective-habitual marker on verbs
 jò- derivational morpheme on plural agent nouns
 náà- perfective marker on verbs
 ñàt- derivational morpheme on masculine autonyms in the singular

Pronominals and the relative marker are clitics. Their tone and vowel quality changes depending on the host word. Examples of their basic forms are:

- (3.3) =gèn 3PL marker on verbs
 mé= relative marker on verbs

There are also grammatical morphemes which have only a suprasegmental realisation, such as the high tone in the following example:

- (3.4) -’ imperfective future marker on verbs

Some morphemes, such as the 3SG marker on some verb forms, are realised as zero (\emptyset). Grammatical morphemes such as the conjunction *nì* do not take any affixes.

3.1.2 Words

Words may consist of one or more morphemes. However, a large part of the inventory of nouns, all verbs, and most words of the other word classes consist of just one morpheme. This morpheme can have any syllable weight and structure, with the constraints addressed above. In this respect, a phonological word is hard to distinguish from a grammatical one: many features that are considered relevant as criteria for the definition of a phonological word (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002) do not fulfil this task in Luwo. As described in Chapter 2, there are hardly any salient restrictions in the distribution of consonants in syllables, and therefore also in words that consist of a single morpheme. Stress is not contrastive and therefore there is no criterion for the phonological word either.

A. PHONOLOGICAL WORD

Tone plays an important role in the recognition of a word. Most tonal rules apply within word boundaries, and some word classes are defined by specific tone patterns. An example is the high tone spreading rule explained in (§2.2.1).

Moreover, phonological rules, such as consonant and vowel harmony rules, apply within the boundaries of phonological words. As discussed in (§2.4), harmonisation concerns both consonants and vowels. Consonant harmony distinguishes interdental consonants from consonants of other places of articulation. A root which consists of interdental consonants will always take affixes whose consonants are also articulated interdentally. Hence, some inflectional and derivative morphemes occur with at least two allomorphs, namely interdental ones and non-interdental ones.

- (3.5) singulative suffix *-Nɔ̃*
 thúnh ‘breasts’ thúnh-nhɔ̃ ‘one breast’
 pɪɪ ‘water’ pí-nɔ̃ ‘drop of water’

Cross-height vowel harmony typically applies within word boundaries. Some affixes occur with [+ATR] and [-ATR] allomorphs. However, there are some bound morphemes that are not affected by vowel harmony rules and always have a specific vowel quality. Both vowel harmony and vowel disharmony rules are at work within the word, but not across word boundaries.

- (3.6) vowel harmony: 3PL suffix
cám à-cám=gèn
 food PFV-eat:TR=3PL
 ‘they eat the food’
rɔ̃g=én à-cɔ̃b=gèn
 self=POSS:3PL PFV-hurt:TR=3PL
 ‘they hurt themselves’

- (3.7) vowel disharmony: singular classifier *-ɔ̃* and plural-marking suffix *-Cé*
 páád-ɔ̃ pá-r-é ‘hippo/s’
 àdúúl-ɔ̃ àdúúl-é ‘heart/s’

B. GRAMMATICAL WORD

All lexical classes fulfill the conditions of the grammatical word. The lexical roots and the affixes within a given word always occur in fixed orders, expressing a conventionalised meaning. Grammatical words may be formed by various strategies: as indicated above they may consist of the bare root, a root and its affixes, compounds, or reduplicated simple or affix-marked roots. The strategies for word formation may depend on membership of particular word classes, but can also

signify sub-classes of lexical categories. For example, many ideophones exhibit reduplicated simple roots, while particles consist of the bare root. And, as indicated above, verbs consist just of one morpheme, but may be part of words that correspond to more than one phonological word, such as agent nouns which typically consist of a nominal marker and a verb with a nominalising suffix.

I. Bare root

Grammatical words which consist of a bare root are underived verbs, such as *yii* 'breathe', *túk* 'play', *géér* 'build', and so on. Nouns denoting collectives also consist of the bare lexical root, e.g. *réc* 'fish', *wíjn* 'birds', *rém* 'blood', etc. Other examples for this type of word formation are conjunctions (*ké* 'with'), clitic pronouns (*gén* 'POSS:3PL') and prepositions (*yír* 'for').

II. Affixed root

Most number-marked nouns, derived verbs, adjectives and numerals consist of the lexical root and one or more affixes. Affixes are, for example, number-marking and classifying morphemes on nouns (*lééb-è* 'tongue', *rìŋ-ǝ* 'piece of meat', *pál-à* 'knife'), transitivity and other derivational markers on verbs (*cód-é* 'shoot at', *lwǝg-í* 'make wash'), and gender markers on personal names (*ú-kác* 'boy born during hunger'). All of these grammatical markers are considered to be affixes because they only occur in close vicinity to the respective lexical root or stem, and never stand alone.

Other grammatical elements in Luwo are less clearly identifiable as clitics. Luwo has a means of expressing evidentiality in the perfective aspect. The more marked form is the one which indicates that the speaker has no first-hand information on the event, or cannot refer to the source of information. The grammatical element *náà* indicates NON-FIRSTHAND and stands after the aspect marker and before the verb:

- (3.8) *à-náà-cámǝ*
 PFV-N.EVID-eat:AP
 's/he ate/has eaten (but may not have completed)'

Unlike clitics such as bound pronouns or aspect markers, the evidential marker consists of a syllable with two morae, and hence is phonologically more prominent. It may stand at some distance from the verb, and is not affected by phonological harmony rules or any assimilation to the verbal root. Therefore, the evidential marker is treated in the present book as a separate entity, but not as a complete grammatical word, since it cannot occur in any contexts other than with verb forms.

III. Compounding

A number of nouns are formed by means of compounding. These are deverbal nouns, such as agent nouns (*ŋàt-koor* 'person-watching; watchman'), locative

nouns (*kàr-thaal* ‘place-cooking; kitchen), and terms for fruits (*ɟithíính-bòò* ‘child-banana; banana’).

IV. Reduplication

Reduplicated words are relatively rare in Luwo. They are mostly found among ideophones (*hàrhàr* ‘perception of flame coming up suddenly’).

3.2 Open word classes and categories

Only nouns and verbs are open word classes in Luwo, together with the open category of ideophones. All other word classes and categories are closed, and as well as adjectives, adverbs and various classes of function words these include smell and taste words.

3.2.1 Nouns

All nouns have the grammatical categories of number and case. Many nouns are marked by suffixed noun classifiers, and several categories of derived nouns are marked by prefixed gender morphemes. The morphology of nouns is described in Chapter 4, and the grammar and semantics of noun classifiers is explored in Chapter 5. Number marking is discussed in Chapter 6, and case is treated in Chapter 11.

Phonologically, nouns can be grouped into various subclasses according to their syllable structure, tone patterns and the quality of the root vowel. Low-tone nouns which have a root consisting of two morae undergo tone raising when a high-tone suffix is added to the root (see §2.2.1). The quality of the root vowel plays a role in affixing, as some affixes occur in a [-ATR] and a [+ATR] variant (see §2.4.2). All morphophonological subclasses of nouns are presented in (§4.1).

Nouns also fall into several grammatical subclasses, according to their ability to be marked by a noun classifier and a gender marker. Noun classes may overlap. Nouns may be marked for class and number by suffixed portemanteau morphemes. For instance, ‘donkey’ belongs to a set of nouns that denote either foreign or moving items. Nouns of this set are marked by the suffix *-a* in the singular and by *-é ~ -é* or *-Né ~ -Né* in the plural:

(3.9) àkáj-à ‘donkey’ → àkáj-é ‘donkeys’

Nouns that denote uncountable items, or items that usually occur in large numbers, are morphologically unmarked forms that are grammatically plural. They can add a singulative suffix, as in the following example:

(3.10) lwet ‘fingers’ → læɛd-ò ‘finger’

Derived nouns that are used as personal names, or that are terms for members of social groups, or cattle terms, exhibit prefixed, gender-sensitive markers in the singular:

- (3.11) lúm ‘grass’ → á-lúm (FEM), ú-lúm (MASC) ‘illegitimate child’
 jΛΛηè ‘Dinka’ → nì-jánà (FEM), ú-jánà (MASC) ‘Dinka person’
 wúd ‘ostrich’ → nà-wúd (FEM), ma-wúd (MASC) ‘white and brown cattle’

Personal names have no plurals, and the plurals of social group terms and cattle terms are not gender-marked, but are expressed by a prefix.

Other derived nouns include diminutives and locatives (see §4.4 and §4.5 for further explanations).

Kinship nouns are underived, primary nouns which form a closed subset. They refer to a human referent, but most of them cannot, unlike other nouns that denote human beings, be pluralised. Only terms such as ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’ can occur in their plural forms. Furthermore, many kinship terms can only be used in their possessed form (see §4.5.3 for further explanations).

Another subset of nouns, basically including temporal nouns, body part and orientation nouns, terms of address and nouns of physical states, does not inflect for number. These nouns are number-neutral nouns, which behave grammatically like singulars.

Animacy plays a role in case-marking, as animate referents fully inflect for case and can always function as agent nouns, which in specific contexts take a suffixed case marker *-é*, while inanimate referents cannot (see §11.4). There is also a tendency in Luwo for suffixed noun classifiers to occur with animate nouns, while nouns that denote inanimate referents tend to be unmarked for class.

Finally, nouns differ with respect to their aspectual behavior: a relatively large subclass of nouns exhibits nominal aspect and can have both marked plurals and unmarked plural forms (see §6.3.3).

3.2.2 Verbs

Verbs differ from other word classes insofar as they can be marked for person, aspect, focus and negation. There are various phonological classes of verbs, which differ according to their syllable structures and tone patterns. These distinctions play a role in person and tense marking, where tone lowering processes can occur (cf. §2.2.1 and §7.1).

Verbs fall into two transitivity classes, namely genuinely transitive and intransitive roots. Strictly intransitive verbs include *thòw* ‘die’, motion verbs such as *món* ‘crawl’, state verbs like *nín* ‘sleep’, *dwóη* ‘be big’, posture verbs such as *pí* ‘sit’, and a few inchoative verbs coding inner states, e.g. *gòk* ‘tire’.

There are no real ambitransitives, as genuinely transitive and intransitive roots achieve both transitivisation and detransitivisation respectively by morphophonological processes (which are described in §7.2.1). An example is:

- (3.12) ηάγ (TR) → ηλλγ (ITR) ‘know’
 ηók (ITR) → ηωók (TR) ‘vomit’

Verbs that are only used transitively are *méèg* ‘make’ and *rób* ‘say’, for example. Transitive verbs cannot increase their valency and become ditransitive; if more than two participants are involved, a periphrastic construction is used, whereby the additional participant is introduced with the help of the conjunction *ké* ‘with’:

- (3.13) *cám à-cám=gèn ké jíη=á*
 food PFV-eat:TR=3PL CONJ name=POSS:1SG
 ‘they eat the food for me’

Stem formation can be complex, as a root may undergo various modifications. First, (de)transitivisation can be used to construct a stem of a verb. Other derived stems are antipassives, anticausatives, causatives, itive-altrilocal stems, ventive stems, and frequentative-intensive stems (see §7.2.2).

Furthermore, verbs fall into various categories according to their semantic patterns and morphological behavior. Luwo distinguishes between action verbs, inchoative verbs, and state verbs. Unlike action verbs and inchoative verbs, state verbs can construct plural stems. Plural here refers to an increase in the number of undergoers, in the sense that the root *dwóη* ‘be big’ expresses the state that an individual is in, while the plural stem *dwóóηè* refers to many referents being big (cf. §7.2.2).

Another subclass of verbs in Luwo is auxiliary verbs, which are used in coverb constructions. In two-verb constructions with a main verb and an auxiliary verb, the latter provides additional information on aspect, or changes the aspect of a verb. An example is:

- (3.14) *béédh-é ú-cámò*
 be=3SG IPFV-eat:AP
 ‘s/he eats habitually’

The verb *béédh* ‘be’ is used in a number of aspects as a formative. Other verbs which may have different functions in different constructions are *méèg* ‘make’ and *cáá* ‘go’. An overview of such polyfunctional verbs is presented in (§7.4).

3.2.3 Ideophones

In Luwo, ideophones are a major open category. Ideophones are vivid sensory words which are best characterised as depictive (Dingemanse 2011). Rather than

describing what something looks, sounds or feels like, ideophones depict these sensory perceptions. Similar to onomatopoeic words, ideophones mime meaning, but – unlike onomatopoeia – not by imitating certain sounds (such as *bang!* of a gunshot), but rather by using sound symbolism. The meanings of ideophones are not easily understood by unexperienced or less competent speakers, as the sound-meaning correspondences of ideophones are related to cultural concepts and knowledge as much as to linguistic principles. Consequently, Luwo speakers claim that only elderly speakers are true experts in the language, since only they would have accumulated enough knowledge on ideophones to be able to really tell tales and use heightened language. Dingemanse (2011) remarks that one particular feature of ideophones is, besides their depictive meanings and functions, their performative form and use. In Luwo, ideophones are not only realised in a performative, marked way, but they are very often performed, with the speaker standing up and making gestures. An example of this multimodal use of poetic and expressive language is the following sentence, where the narrator imitates the movement of the watchman (from Storch 2013a):

- (3.15) *ɲàt-koor kweɛr à-bʌʌl=é nì cʊʊr*
 person-watch hoe PFV-throw=3SG SC IDEO
 [sit] [raise right arm, stand]
 ‘the watchman threw a hoe at something far away’

In Luwo, as in many other languages, ideophones stand out phonologically insofar as they exhibit sound sequences that are otherwise not found in the language, such as reduplication and consonant clustering (see §2.1.1). Ideophones can also be distinct in terms of their syllable structures. A principle division is between simple and reduplicated ideophones, whereby the simple ones may have the structure CVC, CVVC, CVCC, CVCVC. Consider the following colour-depicting ideophones:

- (3.16) *ɲàk* ‘bright red’
cɔ̀ɔ̀k ‘bright green or yellow’
burr ‘bright white’
tìríc ‘bright red’

Unlike nouns and verbs, these ideophones do not take any affixes, and do not undergo any morphophonological modifications. Ideophones do not inflect for number, aspect, or any other grammatical category, and their position in a clause is flexible. They relate to verbs in so far as they can be used in secondary predication contexts, such as in example (3.15) above. In this case, ideophones are introduced by means of the subordinating conjunction *nì*. They can be linked to a colour-denoting adjective, as in (3.17), an action verb, as in (3.18), or a pronominal head (3.19):

- (3.17) *kwaar nì ηàk*
 red SC IDEO
 'bright red'
- (3.18) *à-máàdh=á kyâη nì ták*
 PFV-drink=1SG all SC IDEO
 'I drank it all to the last drop'
- (3.19) *ηò nì dil*
 O:3SG SC IDEO
 'it is absolutely still'

The subordinating conjunction can be linked directly to an aspect marker, as in (3.20):

- (3.20) *thíú gé à-nì ruót*
 flower:PL 3PL PFV-SC IDEO
 'flowers, they have fallen down at once'

Finally, the ideophone can also stand in a predicative position (3.21):

- (3.21) *yín kóóm ci kée án càà paár àkíúmò!*
 2SG IDEO LOC where 1SG go home doctor
 'Where are you going like this?' 'I go to the doctor!'

The ideophone *kóóm* 'walking of somebody sick' also occurs in a reduplicated form (*kóómkóóm*), which is found in all other contexts where ideophones occur. In predicative position, however, ideophones occur as simplex forms.

Ideophones exhibit very constrained semantics in Luwo. Unlike Siwu, the language studied by Dingemans for his (2011) work on ideophones, and many other African languages (Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 1999), Luwo uses ideophones exclusively to express visual and sometimes audible sensations, but never odour and taste, and very rarely haptic sensations. A list of ideophones used frequently in stories is:

- (3.22) Ideophones of static qualities, intensifying colours
kwaar nì thíríc 'bright red'
mar nì còk 'bright green or yellow'
tàr nì búrr 'bright white'
tàr nì wæc 'bright white'
cól nì líp 'pitch dark, very black'
- (3.23) Ideophones depicting states and static properties
ηaaj 'look happy because s.b. else has bad luck'
cár 'look as if doing well (e.g. in exams)'
bánbán 'compound is flooded'
wídwíc 'extremely clean and shiny'
ηán 'removed nuts/grains which are not good'

bàláp	‘s.th. flashing’
túl	‘fire burning far away, vision of smoke at horizon’
ríp, rìk	‘cover closes well on pot/container’
gìr	‘things lined up are exactly the same’
cút	‘look carelessly at s.b.’
yóom	‘expression full of fear’
thùu	‘not beautiful; not clear (water)’
raaṅraaṅ	‘transparent, see-through’
ryàṅryàṅ	‘beautiful with many colours, shimmering’
dínj	‘be present without showing interest’
dil	‘still, no movement’

(3.24) Ideophones depicting motion

A. Directed translocation

kwaṅkwaṅ	‘come near with fear’
dhikdhik	‘very heavy rains’
jèkjèk	‘last drops of rain after a heavy rainstorm’
mòrmòr	‘a lot of people/cattle moving together’
maanmaan	‘pour down all water on ground (spoiling it)’
paaw	‘pour out water at once’
thíkthík	‘come very close, without leaving space in between’
kelkel	‘come near, leaving much space in between’
lwAAAt	‘come closer slowly and without being noticed’
mòk	‘bees gathering at one time, salt being thrown into pot’
wày	‘tumble over each other’
kòtkòt	‘running after s.b. in order to get s.th.’

B. Undirected locomotion

kunákuná	‘walk with head bowed down’
càjàcàjà	‘shuffle along’
címcím	‘tiptoe’
liblib	‘sneak, creep (like cat)’
kèèrkér	‘walk weakly, close to falling down’
kwègìrákwègìrá	‘come along with legs trampling’
pírípír	‘flit, as trying to fly like a bird’
cìpcìpcìp	‘walk like a dog’
tùktùk	‘walk with a crutch’
laaṅlaaṅḶ	‘walk sideway, not straight’
tàktàgè	‘walk like a drunk person’
lèglègè	‘s.b. very fat moving’
dhàgèdhàgè	‘s.b. very fat moving’
ḡónḡón	‘s.b. very thin moving’
yíyíyí	‘insects moving in grass roof at night’
rawráw	‘walk here and there, get confused/scattered’

gòmàgòmà	‘walk bent over because of stomach pains’
karkar	‘going in a hurry like a mad person’
thamtham	‘walking of toddler’
riúwriúw	‘walking in circles without paying attention’
kómkómkóm	‘walking of s.b. sick’
yookyook	‘walking in grass’
nùdnùdi	‘s.th. covered with hair/skin moves’
mànmàn	‘move around without orientation’
bèdbèdi	‘movement of s.th. very soft (e.g. wet leather)’
bàdbadí	‘movement of a useless person’
cùtcùt	‘walk pouting, looking sulky’
muunó	‘crawl on the ground’
pàar	‘jump’
ryèp	‘(move) all at the same time’
kwómò	‘limping’
ηwódá	‘walking proudly, show off wealth’
láàdó	‘walk in a hurry’
màadh	‘walk slowly’
wín	‘moving very high in the sky (e.g. plane)’
dhil	‘movement of oily substance, slow movement of heavy person’

C. Ballistic motion

ryêdh	‘fall into mud’
lòt	‘fall down from high (fruit from tree)’
lùt	‘falling from tree after losing balance’
jìk	‘fall to the ground without moving legs’
dìr	‘s.th. very heavy falls down’
ruót	‘leaves/flowers fall down from branch completely and at once’
piidh	‘rise up suddenly’
pàlt	‘boldly telling secrets’
yúàk	‘fall down lightly’
dìrr	‘heavy thing falls down’
páaw	‘crowd/flock disperse immediately’
tìk	‘stamp with one foot’
tòk	‘beat s.th.’
bùdh	‘beat s.th. heavy’
bir	‘electric sparks on clothes or body’
wày	‘pile of things falling down’
wàt	‘fall down as if dead’
táitái	‘zigzag motion of lightning’

D. Separation

kàηkàη	‘speaking without respect and to many people at one time’
ryámryàm	‘breaking things’

tòltòl	‘dust comes up after beating on cloth’
ɲidɲidè	‘cut with blunt knife’
gàrgàr	‘s.th. heavy carried by two people’
kúdkúdí	‘to grind grain to very fine flour’
ɲàay	‘to cut in the middle (e.g. fruit with knife)’
pwòdh	‘being slippery, slip away’
pàc	‘slip away’
píl	‘s.th. breaks sharply into two’
cour	‘throw piece of wood at s.th. far away’
cúr	‘send s.b. away with hand movements’
lɔc	‘disappear without notice’
thíp	‘cut s.th. with knife while two people are holding it’
túp	‘chew s.th. hard (e.g. bone)’
tyér	‘break s.th. fragile’
ràat	‘break s.th. (e.g. sugar cane)’
wàat	‘pull out slowly’

E. Transport

kàjkàjì	‘pulling s.b. around in a merciless way’
lwòglwògí	‘hold s.b., but not firmly’
tíktík	‘stamp with one’s feet’
làɲèlàɲè	‘softly moved by the wind’
cáp	‘catch with both hands’
yáɲ	‘wave with hand’

F. Emergence

cárrárré	‘vision and sound of lightning’
cúgcúk	‘move/happen straight away’
hàrhàr	‘flame coming up suddenly’
rújrújì	‘fidget with legs at moment of dying (person)’
gwèjgwèjè	‘move all legs while dying (animal)’

G. Oscillation

kèerkerè	‘softly swinging’
yànyàɲ	‘wind blowing into tree’
ràbràb	‘clapping hands (many people)’
rigrig	‘shivering because of old age or alcoholism’
kwàjìkwàjì	‘shivering because of fear’
làɲlàɲì	‘swinging movement, oscillate’
bodhbodhì	‘tie too fast’

(3.25) Change of state ideophones

célan	‘appear suddenly’
rup	‘reduce oneself quickly, lose weight quickly’
pòt	‘turn out to be not enough’

ták	‘drink to the last drop’
wic	‘eat all up’
bic	‘suddenly become dark (after electricity is cut off)’
wεɛŋ	‘lighten up again’
pét	‘become angry with s.b. very suddenly’
kár	‘get a feeling of pain, burning pain going from feet to head’
kárr	‘all get a feeling of happiness’
rùk	‘get shocked, reddened face’
jèŋ	‘get shocked, quick heartbeat’
twíil	‘feel pain when pressing a spot on hand/foot where a thorn came in’

Besides ideophones, Luwo also has a variety of onomatopoeic words, which are functionally related to ideophones. They almost all imitate sounds and noises rather than visible phenomena:

(3.26)	tòktòk	‘dripping water’
	gòtgòt	‘swallow water’
	bâw	‘wind in trees’
	tâw	‘shooting of gun’
	bùm	‘falling down from up’
	pùum	‘falling down from up’
	gùkgùk	‘crying of leopard at night’
	râwrâw	‘noise made by goat skin wrapper while walking (Dinka dress)’
	râbrâb	‘clapping hands (many people)’
	gíliŋ	‘sound of iron’
	twàc	‘sound of wood in fire; stretching fingers’
	wáàw	‘sound of seeds/grass are put in a basket’
	kóp kòp	‘sound of walking with heavy boots’
	wíiŋ	‘constant ringing in one’s ear’
	paatpaat	‘farting’
	célòp	‘sound of walking in shallow water, throw s.th. into water’
	córr	‘sound of liquid being poured into cup from high above’
	yúât	‘sound of beating with rope or leather’
	ywít	‘sound of beating with small rope’

Given the performative character of ideophones and the way speakers evaluate them in actual speech, the semantic constraints make sense. Ideophones are typically used in narration, where they permit an actual recreation of an event by means of depicting the speaker’s visually perceived experiences. In this sense, properties that can be perceived (visually or aurally) from a distance are described by means of ideophones, while sensations that involve getting close to an object or a place are not.

Storch (2013a) contains an analysis of the semantics of ideophones in the light of the grammar of perception and cognition in Luwo, and Heyking & Storch (2008) present a detailed study of how ideophones relate to motion. In §9.4, a detailed analysis of ideophones in the light of the grammar of perception is presented.

3.3 Closed word classes and categories

Closed classes and categories in Luwo include adjectives, adverbs, smell words, and a number of classes of function words.

3.3.1 Adjectives

There are three classes of adjectives in Luwo, namely gender-neutral adjectives that agree with the number value of the head noun, gender-neutral adjectives that show no number agreement, and adjectives that exhibit gender (i.e. sex) agreement.

While most qualities that can be perceived visually, acoustically, emotionally, and in terms of taste and odour are expressed by state verbs, inchoative verbs and smell words in Luwo, there are some qualities that are expressed by adjectives. The number of adjectives is, however, very limited, and their use is confined to only a few particular contexts.

Adjectives that express shape all belong to the first class of adjectives, which exhibit number agreement. There are only about half a dozen such adjectives; a diagnostic feature for their identification is their lack of any derivative possibilities, and the absence of aspect and person marking. The plural forms of these adjectives are achieved by the use of either apotony, change of the root vowel quality, suffixation of -*ś*, or a combination of all these (see §6.2.2). The attested forms include *bààr*, pl. *béèr* ‘long’, *thíính*, pl. *théénhò* ‘small’, *cwàth*, pl. *cwáth* ‘fat’ and *thúúth*, pl. *thùúth* ‘deep’. In an attributive function, they are linked to the head noun by the relativiser *mé=*. Examples are:

(3.27) *buur m↓é=thúúth*
hole:SG REL=deep:SG
‘deep hole’

(3.28) *bùr-é mé=thùúth*
hole-PL REL=deep:PL
‘deep holes’

In their predicative function, adjectives directly follow the head in the singular and are preceded by the plural pronominal *gè* in the plural; consider the following example:

(3.29) *gín nìpín thính*
 DEM:SG thing:SG small:SG
 ‘this thing is small’

(3.30) *gíí nìpín-é gén théénhò*
 DEM:PL thing-PL 3PL small:PL
 ‘these things are small’

The second class of adjectives shows no agreement. This class does not contain more than a dozen items, and all of them denote either colours of cattle and livestock or colours of beads. Note that such highly specialised colour terms are found in several Lwoo languages, such as Shilluk (Storch 2006). Usually the livestock-related colour terms are associated with cattle and the sphere of the men, while bead colours are associated with the pastimes of the women. Examples for bead colours are:

(3.31) *lwél* ‘red’
cáar ‘yellow’
cól ‘black’
tár ‘white’
yΛΛr ‘white’
màr ‘green’

These terms are mostly used as nominalisations, hence *à-lwél* ‘red one(s)’, *á-cól* ‘black one(s)’, *mú=tár* ‘those of white colour’, *má=màr* ‘those of green colour’, and so on.

The men’s colours, which refer to livestock, are almost always used in nominalised forms as well, with different nominalisation strategies being used for cows and bulls (see §4.4.2.2). The adjectival base, however, does not inflect for gender or number.

This sub-class of adjectives is relatively large, and some of the colour terms are derived from nouns and thus are not primary adjectives. An example is:

(3.32) *ma-wúd* ‘white and brown bull’ }
nà-wúd ‘white and brown cow’ } < *wúd* ‘ostrich’

The third class of adjectives also denotes colours. This very small class only contains cattle colours, and is limited to two or three lexemes. These do not inflect for number, but for gender (sex). There are different formatives at work; the first example below exhibits vowel fronting in the feminine form, whereas the second one is based on suppletive forms for both cattle sexes:

(3.33) *ma-lwal* *nà-lwél* ‘red’ (< *lwal* ‘red’)
ma-byór *dhyèn* *ma-tàr* ‘white’ (< *tàr* ‘be light in colour’)

No further adjectives have been recorded so far. A relatively small class of adjectives seems to be the usual case among Lwoo languages, rather than being an exception in Luwo, as previous studies suggest (e.g. Reh 1996; Noonan 1992; Heyking 2013).

3.3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs form a relatively small class with few primary (underived) items. Many adverbs, especially local ones, are derived from nouns (see Chapter 12), with which, however they do not share any grammatical features.

Adverbs modify verbs and do not inflect for any grammatical category. They can be sub-divided according to their semantic functions. The following groups of adverbs have been identified:

A. Adverbs of manner

- (3.34) mé 'very'
 món 'much'
 nów 'simply'
 tek 'strongly'
 math 'slowly'
 caŋ 'quickly'

B. Temporal adverbs

- (3.35) pódí 'still, yet'
 àmání 'now'
 ágái 'after'
 dougì 'for long'
 kèràà 'tomorrow'
 nùáró 'yesterday'
 tín 'today'

C. Adverbs of location

- (3.36) caŋ 'near'
 bàllr 'far'
 yí 'near, inside'
 òògò 'away, outside'
 màálo 'up'
 wì 'over'
 thár 'down'
 tók 'behind'
 lo 'beyond'
 ním 'before'
 bàtyen 'after'
 kéó 'in the middle of'
 rí 'towards'

3.3.3 Smell words

In Luwo, smells are expressed by a group of words which behave differently from the other word classes. They do not fit into the morphosyntactical patterns of any other semantically relevant class, such as nouns, verbs or adjectives (which in many other languages can encode smells), but represent a lexical category of their own. Unlike adjectives, smell words in Luwo never inflect for number or sex, and unlike verbs they are never part of a relative construction and are never inflected for aspect or mood. Unlike nouns, they cannot be head of a phrase, can't be possessed, and can't take any affixes.

None of these words is derived from a semantically related noun, verb or adjective as far as we are able to establish (hence, there are no derived smell terms such as 'fishy', deriving from 'fish', and so on). The etymology is quite obscure, as one would expect something like 'flowery perfume' to be derived from the word for a particular flower or seed, rather than being an etymon of its own. The variety among these etyma is striking, because the language does not seem to possess such a multiplicity among words denoting other qualities, e.g. materials and their hardness or softness, temperatures, sounds, etc. Smells are perceived differently from, for example, sights, as the sensation of a smell is processed directly in the limbic system. They are therefore often considered quite elusive sensations, differing in their perception from individual to individual. However, they are of particular importance in Luwo and can be distinguished to a very high level of precision.

Besides having an extremely precise semantic and cognitive value, these words behave rather like a distinct class of categorisers that can be used to designate the particular smell of almost any object.

Smell words almost always have the syllable structure CV, CVV, CVC or CVVC. They do not exhibit any of the phonological properties of ideophones and cannot undergo reduplication or repetition. Smell words can qualify a head noun directly, or can be used in a predicative construction:

(3.37) *thiin* *lêm*
 flower:SG pollen:SMELL
 'a flower smelling of pollen'

(3.38) *thiin* *ŋʂ* *lêm*
 flower:SG 3SG pollen:SMELL
 'the flower, it smells of pollen'

A list and description of smell words in the light of the grammar of perception is presented in §9.3.1. Such a dedicated class of words to express smells is rare among the world's languages, but there are a number of examples in other Western Nilotic languages, for instance in Chopi (Lüpke & Storch 2013), Mayak (Storch 2004), and Kumam (Storch 2004). A discussion of this phenomenon is

found in Storch (2004, 2005a, 2011, 2013b), Storch & Vossen (2007), and Aikhenvald & Storch (2013). That smell words can also be found in other languages of the southern (and tropical, forested) parts of Africa's Fragmentation Belt (Dalby 1971), has been demonstrated by Van Beek in his (1992, 2010) studies on smell in Kapsiki (Nigeria, Cameroon). Van Beek has shown that smell terms in Kapsiki help to distinguish ambiguous and marginalised social groups, such as blacksmiths, from other groups. Similar values are attributed to smells among the Dassenech of Ethiopia: one distinguishes one's own group or caste from other groups by smell (Almagor 1987). Further examples are presented in Finnegan (2002) and Drobnick (2006).

Blench & Longtau (1995) have described smells in the Nigerian language Tarok, and Koops (2009) presents smell terms in Kuteb (Nigeria), where they relate to food qualities and similar domains, respectively. Hombert (1992) presents a description of smell terms in Fang.

In many of the world's 'smell languages', smell words (or ophresaeathemes, in the terminology of Blench & Longtau) form a lexical class of their own, or at least a sub-class of one of the major classes (Burenhult & Majid 2011, Dingemanse & Majid 2012).

From a Luwo perspective, smell words form a central part of the lexicon. In Luwo society, discourse on food is important in many ways, for instance in terms of the relationship between social identity and group-specific food taboos, or with respect to seasonally available foods and how to secure them. Smell words form an integral part of such discourses, where they are used in order to classify socially and/or culinary edible items. Luwo speakers say that their environment simply has many things with different odours and tastes, and that it is therefore important to express distinctions between each individual odour. The Luwo further say that they have "a sense of self-esteem which causes them to be selective about things to eat" (Modesto 2001). Some items are not eaten, in particular by the women, because of their particular smell, and many Luwo will not eat particular edible dishes just because of their smell (rather unlike Westerners, who are more likely to refuse a dish due to its unpleasant visual appearance). Moreover, there is a particular genre of mocking songs which refer to a person's unpleasant odour, and at the same time there are narratives about hunters who will not only smell an animal's odour, but are also able to hide their own body odour.

It may therefore be possible that smell words historically relate to social group terms, singling out hunters, blacksmiths, and so on. Joseph Modesto (2001) observes that many smell terms refer to dangerous, fierce animals, which are culturally salient and may have formerly had totemic functions (see §9.3.1). Hence, smell terms can be associated with particular animals, such as the following:

- (3.39) rÁw ‘smell of millet’ → associated with *kwàc* ‘leopard’
 tík ‘smell of uncastrated he-goat’ → associated with *ηοο* ‘lion’
 tɛ̀là̀nò ‘smell of black ants’ → associated with *thóʒl* ‘snake’

3.3.4 Prepositions

Prepositions form a small closed class with perhaps a dozen members. All of them precede the participant that they introduce in a clause (see Chapter 13). They are morphologically invariable, but may become clitics in some contexts, whereby they undergo phonological changes.

An inventory of prepositions in Luwo is:

- (3.40) ké ‘with’, introduces oblique participants
 yír ‘reason’, introduces beneficiaries
 rí ‘on’, introduces patients
 yi ‘in, at’, introduces locatives
 né ‘in’, introduces containing locations
 wii ‘from’, introduces sources
 gín ‘whom’, introduces concomitant agents
 ní ‘while’, introduces concomitant participants
 cèè ‘when’, introduces concomitant states and events
 báj ‘at, towards’, introduces goals

3.3.5 Numerals

Numerals are a very small class with only a few primary roots. Numbers are based on a quinary system, with the values from ‘one’ to ‘five’ being represented by separate roots. All higher values are translated as ‘five plus X’, with ‘ten’ being a separate root again. Higher values are represented by nouns based on ‘person’ for ‘twenty’.

Numerals exhibit a prefix *a-* and a root which has the syllable structure CV(V)C, with the exception of ‘one’, which also exhibits a singulative suffix (see §6.1.2 for an explanation of singulatives, and Storch & Dimmendaal (2014) for a discussion of number marking and counting).

The basic numerals in Luwo are:

- (3.41) á-cíèl-ó ‘one’
 á-ríòw ‘two’
 á-dák ‘three’
 á-ηwè̀n ‘four’
 à-bíic ‘five’
 à-pààr ‘ten’

The absence of more than just a few primary number words in many languages world-wide has some interesting implications for the general idea of counting. Obviously, languages vary considerably in their cardinal number systems and the ways in which these are employed. Dixon (2012) argues that having a small, closed set of numerals does not mean that speakers will not be able to grasp the dimensions of large numbers of items (and speakers of such languages have been found to perform as well in arithmetic tests as speakers of languages with large sets of numerals Pederson 2007: 1032). Rather, the absence of a larger set of numerals can be correlated with different social practices:

It is often said, of these languages, ‘that they can only count “one”, “two”, “many”, or perhaps “one”, “two”, “three”, “many”’. This is misconceived. Speakers of such languages did not count. That is, words which are translated as ‘one’, ‘two’, and so on, were not used for enumeration. (Dixon 2012: 71)

Dixon (2012: 72) therefore suggests that in many speaker communities, listing may have been the preferred strategy, in the sense of rather asking “what cattle do you have?” rather than “how many?”. In the case of Luwo, counting up to higher numbers is in principle possible, namely by using constructions based on ‘person’ (for ‘twenty’), but obviously these numbers are complex to construct and therefore need some practice and expertise on the part of the speaker. In actual practice, on markets and in bartering contexts, speakers seem to prefer to use Arabic numerals for most of the higher values.

3.3.6 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are a relatively small class. They specify relationships between different clauses, which is further explained in Chapter 13. There are very few underived conjunctions in Luwo. The language also has a number of polymorphemic and borrowed conjunctions, which form a sub-class within this word class. A list of commonly used conjunctions is:

- (3.42)
- | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| ké, kédé | ‘with’ |
| ùù | ‘and’; consecutivising conjunction |
| máá | ‘and’ |
| nì | ‘while’; subordinating conjunction |
| néé, ènéé | ‘if’ |
| é, éc | ‘then’ |
| àbéeé | ‘but’ |
| bàŋ gín | ‘because’ |
| múdhé | ‘so that’ |
| wàlá | ‘or’ (< Arabic) |

3.3.7 Particles

There are only a few particles in Luwo, which, however, are high-frequency words. The relativiser *mé* is present in a large number of constructions denoting qualities, such as adjectives (see Examples 3.27–28 above). The particles *bé* and *ké* are widely employed for negation (see 3.44). Note that these particles behave as clitics.

An inventory of particles is:

- (3.43)
- | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>mé</i> | ‘pertaining to, in relation to’ |
| <i>è</i> | ‘right?’ (interrogative marker) |
| <i>báà</i> | ‘so’ |
| <i>ácík</i> | ‘again’ |
| <i>cók</i> | ‘only, merely’ |
| <i>wá</i> | ‘like, as’ |
| <i>baa</i> | ‘so’ |
| <i>bé, bá</i> | ‘not’ |
| <i>ké</i> | ‘not’ |
| <i>nú</i> | ‘a little, few’ |
| <i>mε</i> | ‘very’ |
| <i>tεk</i> | ‘strongly’ |
| <i>nóù</i> | ‘simply’ |
| <i>né</i> | ‘in fact, actually’ |

- (3.44) *jithíính ba=ú-ηwεεn wii líbò à-ηwεεn wii kwán*
 child:SG NEG:IPFV=IPFV-take head word:SG PFV-take head mush
 ‘a child does not begin (life) with talking, but with eating’

3.3.8 Pronouns

Pronouns can replace nouns, but do not share their grammatical features to a large extent. While nouns can be marked for class, the number values singular, singulative, plural, collective, and for case and aspect, pronouns generally cannot. The pronominal system of Luwo is nevertheless rich; it is described in detail in Chapters 8 (person) and 12 (location).

The free forms of the personal pronouns have the syllable structure CVC, and the bound forms exhibit V and CV structures.

Pronouns can be free morphemes or clitics, and they occur in either grammatically singular or plural forms. Most of the different pronominal forms are based on the same set of etyma, hence there is a restricted number of pronominal roots, which can be combined and enlarged in various ways. Consider the following examples:

- (3.45)
- | | |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>gé=</i> | 3PL subject pronoun, clitic |
| <i>gén</i> | 3PL subject pronoun, free form |

=gèn	3PL suffixed subject marker
gén ké kíd=gén	3PL reflexive pronoun
gé	3PL object pronoun
gé=ɲà	PL interrogative ‘who?’

The meanings, uses and subcategories of pronouns are all discussed in the above-mentioned chapters.

3.3.9 Interjections

Interjections are often considered to be spontaneous coinages, and indeed there are some innovative forms in the repertoire. Nevertheless, interjections are a rather small word class in Luwo, with only a dozen or so commonly used forms.

Examples are:

(3.46)	ee	‘well’
	náyè	‘alas!; oh!’
	yò	‘oh!’
	àyí	‘yes’
	gan	‘no’
	tóòrù	‘no way’
	cítεε	‘please’
	koor jwók	‘thank god’
	bεεr	‘good!’
	ràc	‘bad!’
	ádyεεr	‘right!’
	ádyεεr món	‘very right!’
	né jwók	‘oh god!’

Examples for the use of interjections are presented in Chapter 15.

CHAPTER 4

Nouns

Nouns in Luwo inflect for number, case and status. They may be marked by a nominal classifier and by a gender-indicating affix, but there are also morphologically unmarked nouns. Syntactically, a noun can be the head or a modifier of a noun phrase, the head of a predicate, or the head of a possessive construction.

Semantically, nouns fall into a large array of categories, which it is important to distinguish at the level of clause types (see Chapter 13). There are, for example, inherently temporal nouns (which can be temporal adjuncts), body part and orientation nouns (functioning as locative complements; c.f. Reh 1996 on localisers), terms of address, nouns of physical states (e.g. hunger, thirst), and so on.

In terms of their morphophonological properties, nouns fall into a number of subclasses, which are dealt with in (§4.1). In the following sections of the present chapter, status inflection (§4.2), semantic sub-groups of nouns (§4.3), and derivation and compounding strategies (§4.4) are discussed. Culturally specific properties of nouns, such as the meanings and grammatical properties of names, are discussed in (§4.5). An overview of the noun phrase is presented in (§4.6). For the grammar of noun classifiers see Chapter 5, for number see Chapter 6, and for case see Chapter 11. The different types of noun phrases are discussed in Chapter 13.

4.1 Morphophonological subclasses

Simple (i.e. non-derived) nouns fall into two morphophonological sub-classes, namely into nouns that consist of only a bare root and are therefore morphologically unmarked, and nouns which take an affix and are therefore morphologically marked. Morphologically marked nouns may consist of one or more roots.

The nominal root itself is commonly of the shape C_1VC_2 . Neither this type of root, nor the others available, differ from verbal roots in terms of their phonological structures.

The vowel may be short or long, but can also be a diphthong. The following root types can thus be distinguished:

(4.1) C_1VC_2

jók	‘god’
wùm	‘nose’
réc	‘fish’
wíŋ	‘birds’
yáy	‘boat’

(4.2) $C_1V_1V_2C_2$

léëm	‘jaws’
à-dúól-ó	‘heart’
mááw-ú	‘tsetse fly’
wáár-ù	‘cotton, cloth’

(4.3) $C_1V_1V_2C_2$

tíél	‘legs’
ciáth	‘excrement’
yíèr	‘hair’

Note that $C_1V_1V_2C_2$ with $C_2 = [y, w]$ is not possible.

Nouns without either initial C or final C do occur as well, but are extremely rare. Examples are:

(4.4) $V(V)C$

ΛΛm	‘thigh’
oc	‘fence’

(4.5) $CV(V)$

à-wí	‘mice, rats’
thò-ó	‘jackal’
ŋuʊ	‘lion’
pi	‘water’

Besides these types of nouns, polysyllabic nominal roots are widely attested in Luwo. These are always loans, mostly from Arabic (e.g. *kitàb* ‘book’ < *kita:b*), Italian (e.g. *bèrjiné* ‘virgin’ < *vergine*), and occasionally from English (e.g. *bíbthi* ‘lemonade’ < *pepsi*). See Chapter 16 for a detailed treatment of contact phenomena.

4.1.1 Morphologically unmarked nouns

Affixless nouns are morphologically opaque (which means that historically these nouns may have been affix-marked, with the old affix now being fused with the stem) as underlying forms, but can take an affix when they are inflected for number, case and status. The morphologically unmarked form, however, is the basic one, and this form can express either a singular or a plural referent.

In terms of their number-inflecting behaviour, affixless nouns can best be grouped into three groups, namely nouns that take a suffix when inflected for number, nouns that change the length of their root vowel, and nouns that change the tonal pattern of the root. Examples for these three groups are:

- (4.6a) rìŋ ‘meat’ → rìŋ̀ ‘piece of meat’
 (4.6b) láy ‘animal’ → lááy ‘animals’
 (4.6c) thóól ‘rope’ → thòòl ‘ropes’

The semantic basis for these different plurals is explained in Chapter 5; their consequences for the conceptualisation of number are discussed in Chapter 6.

A special and synchronically problematic group of morphologically unmarked nouns are singular nouns that exhibit /k/ as their C_2 . While nouns such as those presented in (4.7) are synchronically simplex nouns, there is historical-comparative evidence that the final consonant is originally a suffixed classifier (see Chapter 5 for discussion).

- (4.7) ɲwùók ‘he-goat’
 ròk ‘enclosure’
 lwák ‘byre’

4.1.2 Affixed nouns

Morphologically marked nouns can consist of the root plus a prefix, suffix or both. Deverbal derived nouns can also exhibit more than one prefix. Affixes exhibit functional distribution patterns, as suffixes are almost exclusively noun classifiers, while prefixes are derivational morphemes. Both affix types also indicate number.

Suffixes are obligatory with a large part of primary nouns in Luwo. The suffixes that have been recorded are -ɔ (tone-copying), -ò, -ɔ (tone underspecified), -a (tone-copying), -u (mostly tone-copying), -é, -V_[-front, +breathy]-é, -VNé, -kλ, -i, -th. Their meanings and functions are described in Chapter 5.

The following list illustrates the different sub-groups of suffixed nouns:

- (4.8) pín-ó ‘cheek’
 cín-ò ‘hand’
 rɔŋɔ ‘kidney’
 gán-á ‘eagle’
 wùd-ù ‘ostrich’
 màdh-è ‘women’
 mîŋ-è ‘blind persons’
 dél-né ‘skins’
 ŋɔ-gλ ‘lions’
 ɲán-ì ‘crocodiles’
 wú-th ‘heads’

Prefixed nouns are as diverse as the number of different prefixes they exhibit. However, only three prefixes are purely grammatical morphemes which only occur as nominal affixes; these are *ú-*, *á-*, *mà-* (which, however, are of non-nominal origin; Dimmendaal, to appear). Six other derivational prefixes attach to nouns and may still be used as full nouns, albeit in a phonologically different shape (see §4.3); these are *kàr-*, *paá-*, *jà-*, *jí-*, *ɲàt-*, *jò-*. They may precede one of the aforementioned prefixes, particularly *á-* and *ú-*. The following list illustrates the different sub-groups of prefixed nouns:

(4.9)	<i>ú-jáɲà</i>	‘Dinka man’
	<i>á-lúm</i>	‘illegitimate child’
	<i>mà-wúd</i>	‘white-and-brown bull’
	<i>kàr-thaal</i>	‘kitchen’
	<i>paá-bóór</i>	‘Pabur’ (place name)
	<i>jà-yén</i>	‘grey cow’
	<i>jí-báyá</i>	‘Gbaya woman’
	<i>ɲàt-koor</i>	‘watchman’
	<i>jò-koor</i>	‘watchmen’

Both prefixing and suffixing are productive grammatical devices whenever they have number-marking or derivational functions. In contrast to this, some of the suffixed noun classifiers have lost their original grammatical functions (Storch 2005a: 380 ff.; see Chapter 5 for details).

4.2 Grammatically distinctive semantic sub-groups

Nouns typically express concrete objects or entities, parts of such entities, and other time-stable or at least temporarily existing phenomena. Referents expressed by nouns can be referred to by demonstratives, i.e. can directly or symbolically be pointed at. Some of the semantic properties of nouns are relevant for their grammatical behaviour. These properties include animacy, alienability and countability. Nouns which express locative concepts, generic referents, and body parts are more prone to being grammaticalised as derivational affixes than others. The following sections will deal with the correlations of semantic properties and morphological features and constraints on nouns.

4.2.1 Animacy

Whether a noun is grammatically treated as a word that denotes an animate or an inanimate referent depends to a large extent on the speaker’s cultural perspective on both the past and the present. In principle, contemporary speakers of Luwo

would always claim that plants, animals, and human beings are animate, while other objects such as things and abstract concepts are not. But in terms of the grammatical behaviour of different semantic groups of nouns, there are different concepts at play. Plants are grammatically treated as inanimates (probably reflecting an older world view), while more abstract referents, such as disease, witchcraft, or words for specific social functions, are grammatical animates (reflecting concepts of local religion and local epistemics; see also Chapter 15).

There are two domains in the grammar where animacy plays a rather important role, namely case-marking and the suffixing of noun classifiers. Whereas animate referents fully inflect for case and can always function as agent nouns, which in specific contexts take a case-marking suffix *-é*, inanimate referents – including plants for example – cannot (see §11.4.3).

Furthermore, Luwo exhibits a tendency for productive suffixed noun classifiers to occur with animate nouns, while nouns that denote inanimate referents tend to be unmarked for class or exhibit a tendency for the noun classifier to be lexicalised (see Chapter 5).

4.2.2 Alienability

In its grammar of possession, Luwo distinguishes between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. Alienability is more marked, in requiring a possessed relative construction, while inalienably possessed nouns take only a suffixed possessive pronoun (Dixon 2010: 262 ff., Aikhenvald 2013). Examples for the two different construction types are:

(4.10) *níŋ=á* INALIENABLE
 name=POSS:1SG
 ‘my name’

(4.11) *mwór gir=á* ALIENABLE
 bull:MOD thing=POSS:1SG
 ‘my bull’ (among other cattle)

Inalienable nouns include, besides ‘name’, all body parts, kinship terms, and spiritually salient terminology such as *túbó* ‘shadow’, *átííb* ‘spirit’, *mwór* ‘personal bull’, etc. (see Chapter 10 for details). One argument for the emergence of the morphologically more simple inalienable form would be the frequency of use of the relevant possessed forms: speakers refer more often to a body part, relative, or a spiritually important concept as possessed, than to a socially and cognitively less central concept (cf. Heine 1997a & b). Their praxis and discursive treatment of the different possessed forms would result in different patterns evolving, with different sets of nouns that can only be constructed as either alienably or inalienably

possessed. Hence, Luwo has a large number of highly specialised and rather infrequently used nouns that are always inalienably possessed, because they refer to objects that ideologically are not detachable from the possessor.

On the other hand, Luwo, like other Lwoian languages as well (e.g. Lango, Noonan 1992: 158–9), has nouns that can be constructed as either inalienably or alienably possessed (see §10.1.3 for details). This speaks to some extent against frequency-based grammaticalisation processes, and for a semantically motivated distinction between two fundamentally different concepts of possession.

4.2.3 Countability

An important semantic feature of nouns, which is also metalinguistically referred to by speakers, concerns their countability. This is another way of categorising a noun in Luwo. Like most, if not all Western Nilotic languages, Luwo treats nouns that denote mass items (*riŋ* ‘meat’, *ciáth* ‘excrements’), liquids (*piu* ‘water’, *rém* ‘blood’, *caak* ‘milk’, *lác* ‘urine’), and items that naturally occur in large numbers (*réc* ‘fish’, *àwí* ‘mice, rats’, *yìèr* ‘hair’, *lúm* ‘grass’) as unmarked nouns from which a singulative form can be derived by means of suffixing a singulative classifier (see Chapter 6). Collective nouns thus always have their simplex form in the plural, as it triggers plural pronominal concord.

In a number of cases, this grammatical treatment also affects nouns which describe objects that occur in pairs, such as *pìn* ‘cheeks’, *tíél* ‘legs’, *mán* ‘testicles’, etc. In contrast, nouns denoting referents that are perceived as singular objects, defined entities and separable items have suffix-marked plurals.

4.2.4 Location

There is a tendency for nouns that denote less concrete, more generic concepts to grammaticalise as derivational morphemes. Such nouns are rare, and they usually occur as both full noun and grammatical morpheme.

Inherently locative nouns such as *kàn*, pl. *kwón* ‘place’ and *paár* ‘home, area’ may occur in a modified form (see §4.3) as formatives of secondary locative nouns. Place names and nouns that express functional spaces usually exhibit these prefixes, for example *kàr-níínò* ‘sleeping place’ and *paá-búúr* ‘Pabur’. With the exception of toponyms, locative nouns can be pluralised. In this respect, they do not differ from other types of nouns.

4.2.5 Generic referents

Nouns denoting generic concepts, in particular *ηàt*, pl. *ńógé* ‘possessor’, *júr*, pl. *júwì* ‘person’, *ńì-*, pl. *ńí-* ‘child ~ son of’, and *ńà-*, pl. *ńí-* ‘daughter of’ are, in their

modified forms, the main source for the creation of derivational prefixes. A specific feature of these formatives is that the nouns are grammaticalised in their singular and plural forms, so that a “paired gender” type of nominal prefix emerges (see §4.4). This feature is of interest in terms of the occurrence of structurally similar patterns in Southern Lwoo and its contact languages. A detailed discussion is presented in Chapter 16.

When they are used as bound morphemes, the semantics of these nouns undergo some bleaching process, but never become opaque. For example, *ηàt* always denotes human or animate referents in terms of ‘owners’ of a specific property, and never occurs with derived nouns that denote inanimates (which would not ‘own’ a feature). There is no indication that these number-sensitive generic nouns can be used for non-human referents in Luwo; however, as *singularia tantum*, the noun *juì*- ‘child of’ are used in the formation of diminutives (see §4.4.2.5 below).

Other generic nouns that do not inflect for number when used as bound morphemes include *píjñ* ‘ground, earth’.

4.2.6 Body parts

Nouns denoting body parts are very frequently used in the formation of experiencer constructions. In particular *cwíjñ* ‘liver’, *wíc* ‘head’, *kwom* ‘body’ and *yéc* ‘belly’ play an important role here (see Chapter 8 for details). In terms of spatial orientation and temporal deixis, *wíc* ‘head’, *cíjñ* ‘hands’ and *ηác* ‘back’ take on other grammatical functions (see Chapter 12).

Both semanticisation and grammaticalisation patterns are widely attested in Nilotic languages (Reh 1996, 1999; Reh & Simon 1999; Reh, Simon & Koops 1998; Mietzner 2009). This might go back to areally salient as well as genetically inherited strategies.

4.3 Status inflection

A very specific feature of nouns, which is not shared by other word classes, is their ability to inflect for status. A noun can always occur in an absolute form and a modified form. The absolute form is used when the noun is not accompanied by a complement, while the modified form occurs in all contexts where a noun does not stand alone, e.g. when it is part of a possessive noun phrase or a compound. This morphosyntactic property of the modified noun form has caused Tucker and Bryan (1966: 438) to call this its construct state (“status constructus”). Since most of the recent work on Lwoo uses “modified noun form” instead, the latter term will

be used in this grammar as well, together with the synonymous term “pertensive” (in the domain of possession and association). The grammatical function of noun modification is, however, status inflection.

In a relatively large number of Western Nilotic languages, nouns are modified by number-sensitive suffixes, which consist of a nasal in the singular and a velar plosive in the plural (e.g. $-n\check{V}$, $-gV$ in Anywa, Reh 1996: 131). Such suffixes are reminiscent of areally distributed number-marking morphemes, which were first described by Bryan (1959, 1968) as a feature of the N/K and T/K linguistic area.

Furthermore, noun-modifying morphemes may indicate alienability, which in Anywa is marked on singular and plural modified nouns (Reh 1996: 117 ff.). Here, the root-final consonant is geminated or becomes /NN/ with modified alienable suffixed nouns. Suffixless nouns exhibit a post-radical floating low tone instead. Modified alienable plural nouns exhibit gemination of their root-final consonants. From a comparative point of view, taking languages such as Anywa into account, Luwo stands out in its modification system. There is no singular-plural contrast of /n/: /k/, even though a nasalisation pattern in the singular can be observed. Given the similarities of Northern Luwo with regard to many of its number-marking morphemes (§6.1), it is intriguing that Luwo exhibits linker morphemes that do not resemble those of Burun, Anywa, Pãri or Shilluk. A possible conclusion would be that Luwo underwent an internal development that led to the loss of the old /n/: /k/ opposition for number-sensitive modifiers. Moreover, Luwo does not show any indication of alienability in its status-inflectional system. As nouns cannot be marked for alienability in compounds, a construction such as the following always encodes an inalienable relationship:

- (4.12) *dɛɛn* *púrɔ̀*
 skin:SG:MOD antelope:SG
 ‘skin of antelope’

The coding of alienable relations, however, works on the construction level, as an alienable possession can be linked to the head noun with *ké*, whereby the head noun would be used in its absolute form (*púrɔ̀ ké dɛɛl* ‘Mr. Antelope and a skin’). Further discussion of alienability can be found in (§10.1.3).

4.3.1 Modified singular nouns

Morphologically marked modified noun forms are more diverse in the singular. Here, modified forms of suffixless nouns are constructed by nasalisation of the root-final consonant and the reversal of tone patterns. Consider the following examples:

(4.13)	ABSOLUTE FORM	MODIFIED FORM
	thó ‘death’	thón
	tíél ‘jealousy’	tìén
	búól ‘drum’	bùún

Nouns with a CV-V structure add *-ŋ* in their modified form:

(4.14)	ABSOLUTE FORM	MODIFIED FORM
	cóó ‘bone’	cóóŋ
	téè ‘strength’	tééŋ

Suffix-marked CV(V)C nouns delete their suffix and keep their stem-final consonant:

(4.15)	ABSOLUTE FORM	MODIFIED FORM
	ùŋjójòŋè ‘chameleon’	ùŋjójò
	wúnó ‘trap’	wun

CVN nouns undergo a dissimilation process of their C_2 . The root-final nasal becomes /r/ in a rhoticisation process. Note that the tone of the modified form is stable. Consider the following examples:

(4.16)	ABSOLUTE FORM	MODIFIED FORM
	kàn ‘place’	kàr
	gín ‘item’	gír

Nouns with a root-final consonant /r/ construct their modified form with final /y/. Again, the tone pattern remains unchanged. Consider the following example:

(4.17)	ABSOLUTE FORM	MODIFIED FORM
	lùár ‘fear’	lùáy

4.3.2 Modified plural nouns

The plural forms do not exhibit a linker morpheme or any morphophonological changes to their root-final consonant, but delete their plural suffix if any is present. Morphologically unmarked forms remain unchanged or – in case of CVV nouns – add an epenthetic phoneme such as /w/ in ‘bones’. Examples are:

(4.18)	ABSOLUTE FORM	MODIFIED
	délné ‘skins’	dél
	cúú ‘bones’	cúw
	ámme ‘thighs’	ám
	ɲade ‘pythons’	ɲad
	kànnè ‘broths’	kàn

It seems that, in Luwo, modified singulars are formally more marked than plurals. This is relatively easy to explain in the light of the underlying morphophonological processes. In Luwo, unmarked singulars represent by far the largest morphological group in the vocabulary. Thus, any singular must take a singular linker element (which is most often *N*) or use a strategy related to this linker element (such as dissimilation of root-final /*n*/) in order to be clearly number-marked, while plurals tend to be more marked in their basic forms anyway and therefore are more easily identified as belonging to a particular number category.

4.4 Derivation

Some derivations are word class-changing and others are not. Hence, nouns may be primary or derived, whereby nominalisation can be from other nouns, verbs, and adjectives. With the exception of verbal nouns and deverbal action nouns, which can both be used as cognate arguments in progressive and habitual forms, all derived nouns exhibit a derivational prefix.

In this section, deverbal nominalisations will be presented first, before moving on to denominal derivation. Deadjectival nouns are rare and will be presented very briefly at the end of this section.

4.4.1 Deverbal derivation

Derivation is characterised by grammaticalisation processes and prefixation. Only one category of deverbal nouns is constructed with the help of a suffix; all other derived nouns employ prefixes. These may be grammaticalised generic nouns, relational morphemes or sex-indicating prefixes.¹ This section presents an overview of deverbal nouns and strategies for denominal derivation.

4.4.1.1 Verbal nouns

Simple verbal nouns are constructed on the base of the root; primary intransitive verbs, however, add the suffix -*ò*. Verbal nouns can be used as infinitives and as obligatory cognate arguments in progressive forms. Examples are:

(4.19a)	SOURCE VERB		VERBAL NOUN
	thaal ‘cook/boil s.th.’	thaal	‘cooking/boiling (of s.th.)’
	wár ‘sing’	wár	‘singing’
	pot ‘beat’	podò	‘beating’

1. Which perhaps are not grammaticalised from nouns, but seem to be an old grammatical device of Eastern Sudanic (Don Kilian pers. comm. 2014, Dimmendaal forthcoming).

- (4.19b) *ú-wár=é wár*
 IPFV-sing;TR=3SG sing;VN
 's/he is singing (it)'

4.4.1.2 Action nouns

The same pattern is used in the formation of action nouns. The only difference is seen in the tone pattern. While verbal nouns exhibit the same tone as the root, the tone of action nouns is always high. Action nouns of verbs with a high stem tone therefore do not exhibit any differences from their source verbs.

While verbal nouns denote concepts that mostly have to do with activity, action nouns also refer to results of the same. Examples are:

(4.20)	SOURCE VERB	ACTION NOUN
	tíc 'work'	tíc 'job'
	ròb 'speak'	rób 'speech'
	cám 'eat'	cám 'food'
	tho 'die'	thó 'death'

4.4.1.3 Abstract nouns

The formation of abstract nouns is a special property of stative verbs. Deverbal abstract nouns are constructed by adding the suffix -ó to the infinitive base of such verbs. The tone pattern of the noun is always H-H, and the root vowel is always short. Abstract nouns do not inflect for number. Examples are:

(4.21)	SOURCE VERB	ABSTRACT NOUN
	bààr 'be long'	báró 'length'
	cyèk 'be short'	cyégó 'shortness'
	mínj 'be deaf'	mínó 'deafness'
	yác 'be pregnant'	yéjó 'pregnancy'
	thính 'be small'	thínhó 'smallness'

4.4.1.4 Nouns indicating physical properties

The verbs presented in example (4.21) above may also be nominalised by adding *mé=* and *à-*. The first of these has been described as a NOMINALISER in Anywa (Reh 1996), a RELATIVE MARKER in Shilluk (Gilley pers. comm.) and in Luwo (Storch 2003 & 2004), and as a SPECIFIER in Belanda Boor (Heyking 2013). However, this morpheme – fulfilling a rather large number of grammatical functions in Luwo – in principle expresses a process of relating two concepts to each other. It is therefore termed a RELATIONAL MARKER in the present study.

The second prefix is identical with the perfective aspect prefix. There is no suffix. The nominalised forms are used in constructions with either *ηàt* 'person', *dhỳèη* 'cow', or *tîi* 'beads' (the latter being a collective noun).

Since this group of deverbal nouns is based on state verbs, which can always have a pluralic stem (see §7.2.2.10), there is a double-marking strategy for number inflection, whereby both the prefix and the verbal noun are inflected for number at the same time. Examples are:

(4.22)	SOURCE VERB	SG	PL	
	mín	'be deaf'	ɲàt má=à-mìn	ɲógé má=à-mìn 'deaf person'
	pwòt	'be thin'	ɲàt má=à-pwòt	ɲógé má=à-pwòdè 'thin person'
	kwààr	'be red'	ɲàt má=à-kwààr	ɲógé má=à-kwááyè 'red person'
			dhýen má=à-kwààr	dhág má=à-kwááyè 'red cow'
				tíi má=à-kwááyè 'red beads'

There is an alternative pattern of constructing nouns denoting physical characteristics of people, which makes use of sex-sensitive prefixes, which are otherwise used in the formation of personal names (see §4.4.2.1). Again, the verbal base is marked for number in the plural form of the deverbal noun, this time, however, with the help of a nominal plural suffix *-è*. Consider the following examples:

(4.23)	SOURCE VERB	MASC	FEM	PL	
	mín	'be deaf'	ú-mín	á-mín	mîn-è 'deaf person'
	ɲwól	'be lame'	ú-ɲwól	á-ɲwól	ɲwóód-è 'lame person'
	cwór	'be blind'	ú-cwór	á-cwór	cóór-è 'blind person'

4.4.1.5 Agent nouns

Another category of deverbal nouns that is constructed with *ɲàt-* 'possessor' are agent nouns. These use the verbal noun of an action verb to express habitual or professional activities of people. The plural is constructed with the etymologically unrelated prefix *jò-*. It has been assumed that this prefix originates from 'travelers' (Reh 1996). This noun has the same meaning in Luwo (*júr*, PL *júwì*), but can also be used with the connotation of 'person' in this language. Nouns that denote professions are pluralised with *ya-*, which otherwise constructs communal and generic plurals (Example 4.24b; see also §4.4.2.3).

Persons who have completed an action are referred to in constructions with a perfective form of the verb. The perfective aspect, marked by a prefix *à-*, expresses both perfectiveness of an action or event and first-hand evidence or eye-witness evidence. Hence, the nouns presented in (4.24c) refer to persons who performed a given action in the past and were witnessed to have done so.

Note that agent nouns are constructed on the base of action verbs, which do not form verbal plurals. Hence, the pluralised agent noun is exclusively marked with the prefixes *ya-* and *jò-*, but not with a stem-pluractional strategy. Consider the following examples:

- (4.24.a) SOURCE VERB SG PL
 koor ‘watch out’ ñàt-koor jò-koor ‘watchman’
 cwác ‘do pottery’ ñàt-cwác jò-cwác ‘potter’
- (4.24.b) SOURCE VERB SG PL
 thaal ‘cook’ ñàt-thaal ya-thaal ‘cook’
 pwón ‘teach’ ñàt-pwón ya-pwón ‘teacher’
 wét ‘write’ ñàt-wét ya-wét ‘writer, poet’
- (4.24.c) SOURCE VERB SG PL
 dwánj ‘cheat’ ñàt-à-dwánj-ó jò-à-dwánj-ó ‘cheater (witnessed)’
 wét ‘write’ ñàt-à-wéd-ó jò-à-wéd-ó ‘writer (of a certain text)’

4.4.1.6 Instrumental nouns

Instrumental nouns are commonly constructed with *gín* ‘thing’ and the nominalised form of an action verb. Only one example, ‘molar’, exhibits tonal alternation as a derivational formative. Examples are:

- (4.25) SOURCE VERB INSTRUMENTAL NOUN
 nám ‘chew’ ñàm ‘molar’
 wét ‘write’ gín má=à-wèt ‘writing instrument’

4.4.1.7 Locative nouns

There are two categories of locative nouns: deverbal nouns with *kàr-* ‘place of’ and denominal constructions with *paá-* ‘area of’ (§4.5.2). Deverbal locative nouns are constructed from the verbal nouns of action verbs. Examples are:

- (4.26) SOURCE VERB LOCATIVE NOUN
 níín ‘sleep’ kàr-níínó ‘bed; sleeping place’
 thaal ‘cook s.th.’ kàr-thaal ‘kitchen; cooking place’
 méédò ‘dance’ kàr-méédó ‘dancing place’
 gúk ‘stop’ kàr-gúgò ‘end; place of stopping’

4.4.2 Denominal derivation

Denominal derived nouns mostly denote social phenomena and very often differentiate between feminine and masculine, thereby using a variety of formatives. Most of the different semantically and morphologically defined categories of nouns are used in complex discursive ways, reflecting the cultural praxis and social history of the speech community. These aspects of such nouns – reflecting their relevance for the ethnography of speaking in Luwo – will be dealt with in (§4.5) below. The following sections, however, deal with derivational strategies and formatives employed in the construction of denominal derived nouns.

4.4.2.1 *Proper names*

Personal names in Luwo are marked for sex and almost always occur in a feminine and a masculine form. The basis of a proper name is often a noun that denotes referents which symbolise circumstances of birth or pregnancy, relationship or other phenomena surrounding the newborn child. These nouns are marked with a prefix *á-* (feminine) or *ú-* (masculine). Unlike the derivational prefixes discussed in (§4.4.1) above, *á-* and *ú-* do not permit a straightforward identification of their grammaticalisation sources or etymological origins. Reh (1996: 152) assumes that the masculine prefix, which is *o-* in Anywa, is likely to be derived from an irregular modified form of *wáádo* ‘son’. This explanation is not supported by data from Luwo, where ‘son’ is referred to by a different lexeme, and the term *wád* refers to ‘relative’. The origin of the feminine derivational prefix *á-* has not yet been satisfactorily explained either (see Dimmendaal forthcoming for a discussion).

Note that proper names are not pluralised. Examples of derived proper names are:

(4.27)	SOURCE NOUN	FEM	MASC	
	lúm ‘grass’	á-lúm	ú-lúm	‘illegitimate child’
	lɪɲ ‘war’	á-lɪɲ	ú-lɪɲ	‘born during war’

It should be remarked at this point that sex-indicating prefixes have a high tone, while segmentally identical prefixes occurring with other, probably historically derived, nouns usually bear a low tone. It may well be the case that both prefixes originally had sex-indicating meanings – which at least is a semantic property they exhibit in a fairly large number of Nilotic languages – and that these meanings have been lost in those cases where nominalisations are established with a lexicalised derivational morphology. In such circumstances, *á-* and *ú-* would have no grammatical functions, as in the following examples:

(4.28)	à-dúúɓ ‘heart’
	ù-ɲóóɲè ‘chameleon’

4.4.2.2 *Livestock terms*

Livestock terms are few and refer to the most common colours of either cows or goats. They are marked for sex, which is achieved by forming endocentric compounds of *ɲà-* ‘daughter of’ or *dhyèɲ* ‘cow’ for the feminine forms, and a noun expressing objects of certain colours. The masculine form is constructed with the relational morpheme *mé=*, which is realised as [*má*]. Examples are:

(4.29)	MASC	FEM	LIVESTOCK COLOUR	SOURCE
	má=wúd	ɲà-wúd	‘white and brown’	wúú ‘ostrich’
	má=lwal	ɲà-lwɛl	‘red’	lwal ‘red’
	má=ríál	ɲà-ríál	‘white and black’	

má=yén	jà-yén	‘grey’	
má=byór	dhyèŋ má=tàr	‘white’	tàr ‘light in colour’
má=cààr	dhyèŋ má=cààr	‘black’	Dinka ‘black’

As the last example, ‘black’, and the absence of explanatory source nouns in other examples in (4.29) suggest, livestock terminology is not very productive in Luwo. Terms for cattle colours are often loans from Dinka,² but archaic forms that are widespread in Western Nilotic occur as well. An explanation for the obsolescence of livestock terminology formation could be the absence of large numbers of livestock and the lack of importance of cattle among contemporary Luwo-speaking groups.

4.4.2.3 *Ethnonyms*

Sex is also indicated for ethnonyms, which, like proper names, use the prefix *ú-* in order to construct the masculine forms, but employ *ni-* ‘daughter of’ (and not *á-*) for the feminine forms. The plural is commonly constructed by adding the suffix *-ε*. An exception is the autonym of the Luwo themselves, which is formed with *ηàt-* and *jò-* (see 4.30b). Members of a nation, e.g. ‘Sudanese’ (see 4.30c), are not marked for sex; here the singular is uniformly constructed with *ηàt-* ‘owner’, and the plural with *yá-*, which constructs generic and communal plurals.

(4.30a)	MASC	FEM	PL	
	ú-jánà	ni-jánà	jΛΛηè	‘Dinka’
	ú-dógó	ni-dógó	dógé	‘ηdogo’
	ú-bwón	ni-bwón	bwón	‘Bongo’
	ú-karèc	ni-karèc	karèyè	‘Kreish’
	ú-báyá	ni-báyá	baayè	‘Gbaya’
	ú-béélàndà	ni-béélàndà	béélanè	‘Belanda Bor, Bviri’
	ú-bòòdhè	ni-bòòdhè	bóòdhè	‘Bodho’

(4.30b)	MASC	FEM	PL	
	ηàt-lúwò	ni-lúwò	jò-lúwò	‘Luwo’

(4.30c)	MASC + FEM	PL	
	ηàt-thudhàanh	ya-thudhàanh	‘Sudanese’

It is remarkable that ethnonyms of contact groups are mostly locally established terms or autonoms, rather than derogative terms or nicknames. The background for this situation may be a specific attitude towards contact with non-Luwo-speaking groups, which in oral history is referred to as positive and worthwhile (see Chapter 15).

2. Which makes sense, as Dinka groups are the dominant cattle breeders in the Luwo area.

4.4.2.4 *Fruit names*

Names of fruits are derived from tree and plant names with the help of *nìthíính* ‘daughter, small girl’. This mode of derivation is restricted to plants and their fruit, framing fruits as daughters of trees, and within this domain it is extremely productive, as the following examples, which include the introduced fruit guava, illustrate:

(4.31)	TREE	FRUIT	
	bòò	nìthíính-bòò	‘banana’
	jòápà	nìthíính-jòápà	‘guava’
	yów	nìthíính-yów	‘lulu-tree’
	yàth mángà	nìthíính-yàth mángà	‘Mango’

4.4.2.5 *Diminutives*

The feminine formative *nì-* ‘daughter of’, which is found in ethnonyms, has another derivative function in the construction of sex-neutral diminutives. That feminine markers become formatives for diminutives is a rather common feature of Western Nilotic languages (e.g. in Labwor, Storch 2005b and Anywa, Reh 1996: 153). Here, the feminine formative expresses small quantities for mass nouns, and small size for count nouns. The latter, however, is expressed more frequently with the help of the relational construction *má=à-thíính* ‘of being small’ (4.32b). Nouns denoting liquids, finally, do not construct diminutives, but are modified with relational constructions (4.32c). Note that nominal aspect is determined by the choice of modifier (see §6.3).

Number is indicated by suffixes, such as *-s* as a singulative marker in ‘meat’. Examples are:

(4.32a)	nì-bòò	‘small number of bananas’
	nì-yów	‘small quantity of lulu fruits’
	nì-rìṅò	‘small quantity of pieces of meat’
(4.32b)	nìthíính má=à-thíính	‘small child’
(4.32c)	pɪɪ mé=nòòk	‘little bit of water’
	caak mé=nòòk	‘little bit of milk’
	mów má=thíính	‘small quantity of oil’

4.5 Culturally specified nouns

Nouns may have salient cultural meanings in addition to their lexical semantics. These cultural meanings play a role in the emergence of the grammatical

constraints that such nouns are exposed to, and they make a significant contribution to frequency patterns.

In the following sections, grammatical properties and culture-specific semantics of proper names, clan names, kinship terms, as well as culinary terms and mythological terms will be discussed. This includes a presentation of information on derivative strategies.

This section aims to present contextual information on the cultural and social background of language practices among Luwo speakers, providing first insights into this field of study. Further information on culture-specific language practices is provided in Chapters 15 and 16.

4.5.1 Names and naming

Besides Evans-Pritchard's famous study on the Nuer and their naming strategies (1948), the complexity of the use and management of names in Nilotic societies has received considerable attention by anthropologists. For Luwo-speaking groups, naming practices have been explored in ethnographic studies by Maganotto (1919, 1926) and Santandrea (1969, 1977).

In Luwo societies, grandparents and parents chose names for a new-born child, whereby a variety of interests played a role. The child can inherit an ancestor's name, but can also be named in a way reminiscent of the circumstances of his or her birth. Moreover, there are several names which a person accumulates before becoming an adult. Some of the proper names given to a person can be used as address terms. In contemporary Luwo society, this is very often a Christian name (such as Pierina, Henry, etc.), but one could also address a person by using a name given at birth (such as Akeelo, Ukac, etc.).

Santandrea's contributions are probably the most interesting linguistic source on naming, as the author presents rich text material on a number of passage rites and cultural practices. Naming was closely associated with the removal of the new-born child's umbilical cord, which involved the ritual allocation of the child's gender. Only after this ritual (*ákwól*) had been performed was the proper name of the new-born child pronounced, usually by a woman who served as midwife or companion to the mother. After the child's name was pronounced, which included pronouncing his or her sex, as names are always marked for sex, social role, meaning for the family, etc., mother and child left the hut and participated in a ritual communal meal.

Proper names such as those that were given before Christianisation and the establishment of missionary institutions are still used. They are always marked for sex, with the root very often being a noun, but there are also names that are

derived from verbs. Names are basically epithets and often refer to the circumstances of someone's birth. Examples are:

(4.33)	FEM	MASC	MEANING	SOURCE	
	ákác	úkác	'born during hunger'	kác	'famine'
	ájwec	újwec	'born during flight, migration'	ɲwec	'run fast'
	ábáàɲò	úbáàɲò	'born during locust plague'	báàɲò	'locust'
	ákwéér	úkwéér	'born during divorce'	kwéér	'sp. ceremony'
	áyòò	úyòò	'illegitimate child'	yòò	'street'
	àkec	úkec	'born of a widow'	kec	'bitter'
	ácɔɔ	úɔɔ	'born before mother was married again'	ɔɔ	'shaving day' ³
	áyóú	úyóú	'born after sibling died'	yóú	'throw away'

There are at least three terms that refer to the concept of an illegitimate child; here, different circumstances seem to have come into play. The parents may have had only a brief encounter, in which case names such as *áyòò* and *álúm* were given, but in the case of *nóón* in (4.35) below, the situation could have been different. Here, the payment of the bride price might not have been completed, or another part of the marriage obligations was left unfulfilled.

Other types of names were given in the context of events that fall under taboos, such as the birth of twins, or that were considered salient events for the community.⁴ Such names are not creative coinages belonging to a specific context, but are fixed expressions that are used as the proper name for a child whenever the context demands it. Examples are:

(4.34)	FEM	MASC	MEANING
	ápíyòw	úpíyòw	'first-born twin'
	ácán	úcán	'second-born twin'
	ákeelo	úkeelo	'born after twins'

A fairly large number of names were given during initiation or as age group names. Most such names were originally reserved for boys and men, but were, as a name

3. When a man died, he was buried at his compound (*kàr thò*). Mourners and guests stayed at the compound for three days, after which the *thòòl* feast was celebrated. A widow was shaved three days later on the *ɔɔ* day.

4. The birth of twins was considered a problematic event, as twins were regarded as being ritually dangerous. Earlier texts such as Maganotto (1919) deal with infanticide in the context of twin birth, and Santandrea (1977: 593 f.) remarks that one of the twins was usually removed and killed. However, these practices lost their meaning as cultural and social changes took place, e.g. in the context of missionary activities.

referring to a male relative, also given to girls or women. The feminine names below are secondary derivations from originally masculine names.

(4.35)	MASC	FEM	MEANING
	nóón	ánóón	‘illegitimate child’
	ból	ñiból	‘born after twins’
	dèèn	ádèèn	‘born after mother was cured by witchcraft’
	cól	ácól	(unknown)

There are other names which refer to female spirits, or are reserved for females. Such names may have been children’s first names, or may have been given later as nicknames. Examples are:

(4.36)	FEM	MASC	MEANING
	ákóth	–	‘born after infant sibling died’
	ápíj	–	‘born after sibling died’
	ábúuk	ábúuk	‘called after wife of a god’
	ácóò	–	(unknown)
	ádóóró	–	(unknown)

Status names, such as bull names, which refer to a young man’s favourite bull, are constructed with *má=* (4.37a). However, a number of boys’ names referring to the circumstances of their birth exhibit the same prefix (4.37b). Like the names given in Example (4.35), they can also have a feminine form:

(4.37a)	MASC	FEM	MEANING
	mawúd	áwúd	‘ostrich’
	makwàc	akwàc	‘leopard’
(4.37b)	MASC	FEM	MEANING
	madúút	ádúút	‘born after a stillborn child’
	maṅwàt	aṅwàt	‘born after death of a sibling’

Other names are epithets reflecting a child’s appearance at the time of his birth, or refer to survival strategies employed by a family or community in order to chase away evil spirits. Such names are:

(4.38)	FEM	MASC	MEANING
	ácóú	úcéú	‘bones’
	/	piél	‘born with help of magic’
	laaw	laaw	‘spit’ (refers to witchcraft)
	ájòk	/	‘god, spirit’

Note that proper names are not inflected for number, and that they never take any number- inflectional or classificatory suffixes unless the underlying noun is suffix-marked, such as ‘locust’ in (4.33). Furthermore, personal names cannot be possessed, and they are not uttered in the context of imperatives and commands. They

form, in this respect, a special subclass of nouns. They do, however, share various other properties with nouns, such as the potential to be modified by demonstratives (e.g. *ábuuk gín* ‘this particular Abuuk’) and to be marked for case (e.g. *ùbeen ábuúgέ* ‘then came Abuuk’).

4.5.2 Toponyms and clan names

Toponyms are denominal locatives that denote clan areas and villages, and are constructed with *paá-* ‘home, area of’. There are other construction types as well, such as those with the pattern ‘ground of’, but the *paá-* place names appear to represent the most common and productive pattern. A few locative nouns, such as *paájò* ‘compound, house’, also belong to this group.

A very typical feature of Luwo toponyms is to be based on the proper names of clan founders, mythological heroes, names of totemic objects (*gín kwér* ‘avoided thing’), etc. This strategy is embedded in the speech community’s ideology of their history, oral accounts of their migrations and attitudes towards land ownership and identity. Oral history often not only mirrors cultural contexts of language attitudes, besides many other things, but also tends to reflect the importance of specific ritual objects, such as beads, in the context of Luwo social history.

One of the central texts on the history of the Luwo has been summarised in (§1.1.1). It basically explains how the Lwoo-speaking groups Shilluk, Luwo, Thuri and Acholi once split and migrated to different areas. The villages that were established by Luwo-speaking clans often have rather similar founding histories, where the split of a clan or the emergence of a founding figure plays a salient role. Moreover, villages are always divided into different quarters, belonging to the different clans, and land is generally divided among the clans as well. Such structures continue to play an important role in Luwo society, as marriage patterns are strictly clan-exogamous, and this must be one of the most important reasons for the cultural salience of clan-name-based toponyms.

Toponyms frequently exhibit assimilation of the locative prefix to the masculine prefix of the underlying noun. This results in an allomorph *puú-*. Note that no assimilation is observed in place names with a base that is marked by an *a-* prefix, such as *àbúr* ‘antelope sp.’ Examples for *paá-* toponyms are:

(4.39)	TOPONYM	SOURCE
	<i>paábúr</i>	<i>àbúr</i> ‘antelope sp.’
	<i>paápíòw</i>	‘plant sp.’
	<i>paáñùàr</i>	?
	<i>paábwólò</i>	pertaining to <i>ábwólò</i> (name)
	<i>puúthwónh</i>	<i>uthwónh</i> ‘hyena’
	<i>puúlièc</i>	<i>lièc</i> ‘elephant’
	<i>puúgwááyò</i>	<i>úgwááyò</i> ‘caterpillar’

puúkwárò	kwárò ‘civet cat’
puúgyénò	gyénò ‘chicken’
puújíék	?
puújááhò	jááhò ‘skin:AP’
puúkùnú	kùnú ‘there’
puúgóló	‘snake sp.’
puúmwló	mwól ‘gentle’
puúcwíer	cwíer ‘star’

Another group of toponyms is constructed with *pín* ‘ground, earth’. Examples are:

(4.40)	TOPONYM	SOURCE
	pínèwiil	wiir ~ wiil ‘giraffe’
	pínkwááyò	kwááyò ‘herd:AP’
	pínjuulò	juulò ‘dry:AP’
	pínccò	pertaining to <i>ácòò</i> (NAME)
	pínlín	lín ‘wars’
	pínnhááthò	nhááthò ‘have long hair’

Finally, a few toponyms are morphologically unmarked place names, such as *átòhò*, *àbáth*, *àlúr*, *kwééló*, and *àthiíró*. Some of them refer to clan names, such as *àlúr*, but others are not analysable etymologically.

4.5.3 Kinship terminology

Like most Western Nilotic languages, Luwo has a descriptive kinship system, in which most relations between Ego and Ego’s kin are referred to by separate terms. Kinship terms refer to the relational distance between a relative and Ego, gender, and the nature of the relationship.

All kinship terms that denote both descending and ascending consanguineous kin are usually constructed as possessed nouns (see Chapter 10 for details), but can be elicited as unmarked nouns in fieldwork contexts. In the table below, obligatorily possessed forms are constructed with the possessive pronoun in the first person singular, =*á*. Possession marking works here as a means of specification, as this kinship system does not entail a classification of kin through its terminology.

The so-called “Sudanese kinship system” reflects a number of important social relations and duties. For example, a father’s brother may observe a number of duties for Ego, such as bringing up a child when the father is dead. In this case, a widow was formerly married to her husband’s brother in some communities (and a large number of Western Nilotic societies). A father’s sister has a special term of address, as she is (or was) usually responsible for a girl’s sexual education. The father’s brother would have done the same job for a boy.

Grandparents are addressed by respect terms throughout, regardless of their affiliation to the maternal or paternal side of Ego's family. The term for 'grandfather' refers to an age-group leader, while 'grandmother' is a respect term that is also used for other socially superior women, especially for Ego's mother-in-law.

Non-consanguineous kin are mostly not marked as possessed and are very often referred to by descriptive terms ('wife of a relative'). In-law relations are affected by a large number of taboos, and a mother-in-law is taboo for a newly married wife until she has given birth. The father-in-law, in contrast, remains taboo throughout married life. The relationship between Ego and her parents-in-law is ritualised, as is the relationship between Ego and her children-in-law.

First-born children of both sex are addressed with special terms, which reflects the status change that a woman experiences through their birth. All further children are referred to as *ᶑᶑ* 'sibling'. Ego's elder sister's children will receive particular care and affection. This is symbolised by referring to them as 'male/female maternal uncle'.

All grandchildren are, as with grandparents, referred to by uniform terminology. This is a frequently found pattern in Nilotic kinship systems (and elsewhere), which symbolically associate the two most distant groups of relatives – in terms of generations – of Ego. The kinship system is presented in Table (4.1).

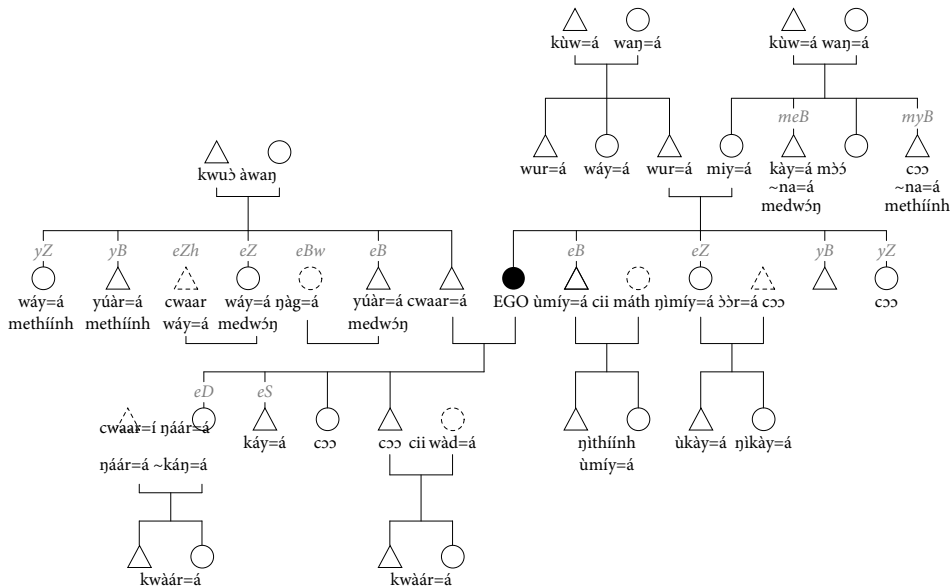
One interesting consequence of clan-exogamy, the management of complex kinship relations, and of a social organisation in which gender-based stratification is emphasised, is that food taboos are very pronounced. In this light it is not surprising that some of the earlier sources on Luwo (e.g. Santandrea 1977) devote several sections to the discussion of food and culinary practices. Such specialised terminologies are interesting pragmatically, in that they are affected by a number of culturally stimulated taboos. For example, pregnant women are not permitted to eat elephant meat or chicken, and do not utter words referring to these foods during the time they are affected by the taboo.

Men, on the other hand, are permitted to eat leopard, and several species of rodents, lizards and pythons. Their culinary terminology differs considerably from that of the women, which is one salient aspect of the organisation of gender-specific codes of Luwo. This field is still understudied in most Western Nilotic languages, even though respect terms and honorific language have been demonstrated to play a significant role in linguistic practices and the articulation of language attitudes (e.g. Reh 1996; Storch 2011b).

4.5.4 Mythological terms

A likewise understudied field is that of mythological terminology, which seems to be widespread in the Luwo-speaking areas and exhibits various common

Table 4.1. Kinship terminology



motifs and topoi, which are probably the result of intense cultural exchange and contact.

At the same time, mythological concepts reflect attitudes towards culturally and linguistically more distant groups, which are dealt with in the form of strategies of alterity. One example is the term *àgwáŋ béér*, which denotes a group of “famous man-eaters” that is claimed to live near Rumbek. Other concepts are mythological animals which are related to specific areas of Luwo land, or to specific time-frames during which culturally salient events took place.

An example of a mythological creature is that of *rǎŋǎ* (PL *rǎŋè*), a snake living in hollow trees in hilly parts of Bahr el Ghazal. If a person is seen by a *rǎŋǎ* first, s/he would die, and vice versa. The *rǎŋǎ* has very big eyes, and all the trees become dry and die off wherever the *rǎŋǎ* turns its shiny eyes. Other mythological snakes live in caves, where they keep gold in order to attract insects on which the snake feeds.

Rivers are the homes of spirits, but also of the *dánwàì*, an octopus who drowns people in order to suck their blood. Such concepts and their terminology are very restricted to narrative language and its associated register, another field of pragmatics in Western Nilotic languages in general that needs further, intensive study.

Noun classifiers

It was demonstrated in the previous chapter that nouns are often suffix-marked. Likewise, there are a number of nominal prefixes. Both suffixes and prefixes mark nouns for number, and both have other, semantically less clear meanings and functions. Since prefixes often appear on verbal stems, or mark a certain stem in terms of sex (as in proper names), they have more derivational functions than other affixes, such as in constructing deverbal nouns or other types of secondary nouns. Nominal suffixes do not have such derivational functions. They occur on any type of underived noun, where they indicate number in the first place, but also mark a noun for a particular category, or class.

However, affixes are never optional, but instead are obligatory in any context when a noun is marked for number, or categorised. While derived nouns hardly ever occur without a derivational prefix, primary nouns do. These are mostly mass nouns and collectives, and the construction of singulatives on the basis of such stems resembles the construction of derived forms. Here, a definition of derivation in contrast to inflection is fairly problematic, particularly as some nominal suffixes seem to be semantically more complex than others. For example, the morpheme *-ò* plainly marks singulatives, which can be animate or inanimate, small or large objects singled out from any larger number of similar objects. In contrast to this, the morpheme *-a* marks single items which are movable, in the sense of either being foreign or not statically fixed to a place. Other markers relate to the shape and animacy of singular referents, irrespective of the object's movability or countability. This is exactly what Senft (2000:23) defines as a central function of classifiers:

C[classificatory] P[article]s are morphemes that classify and quantify nominal referents according to semantic criteria [...].

And further (op. cit.: 27):

As stated above a classifier marks that the noun it classifies must be understood as having non-generic reference, in other words: classifiers individuate nouns in classifier languages. My research on the actual use of CPs [...] revealed that the semantic domains constituted by the CPs can be described and understood as a kind of 'network' [...].

In Luwo, part of what Senft describes as a network has been reduced over the course of time, perhaps in favour of prefixing, derivational strategies. A number of classificatory particles, however, are productive, such as in constructing contrastive forms that express different concepts in individuated nouns.

In this chapter, an overview of Western Nilotic classifier systems is provided in order to illustrate how the system of Luwo needs to be evaluated in the context of its diachronic development. Following this, detailed analyses of the semantics and functions of the different classificatory suffixes are presented.

5.1 Classifiers in Western Nilotic: An overview

Nominal classifiers retain their semantics and grammatical functions in a few sub-groups of Western Nilotic, but have lost some of their meanings and functions in Luwo, particularly in the plural. This is not unusual for the linguistic sub-family to which Luwo belongs. That nominal suffixes must have undergone some kind of lexicalisation process in Luwo languages has also been observed by Noonan (1992: 69 f.). Only some of the more recent studies which have dealt with the productive semantic and functional properties of nominal categorisation formatives in Burun (Andersen 2001, 2006) and Shilluk (Gilley 1998, 2000) allow for a partial reconstruction of the original grammatical functions of the suffixes identified by Noonan. Storch (2005a, 2011a), taking up these ideas, presents a comparative analysis of Western Nilotic noun classifiers, and also relates these to very similar noun categorisation devices found in Southern Nilotic (Tucker & Bryan 1962, 1964, 1965; Kiessling 2001), as well as to areally distributed properties (Bryan 1959, 1968).

In accordance with the existing comparative work, it can be stated that Western Nilotic languages employ various grammatical means for the linguistic categorisation of nouns, which, however, never involve any grammatical agreement marking. The nouns themselves may be marked for sex, animacy, shape and culturally defined categories, but the accompanying parts of speech, such as adjectives, verbs and pronouns, are not marked.

According to Aikhenvald's (2000) definition, the lack of concord morphemes among the categorisation devices is characteristic for noun classifiers, which in this respect stand in opposition to noun classes and genders with their often elaborate systems of concord. General typological differences between both categories, noun classes (or genders) and classifiers, have been defined by Dixon (1982, 1986) and are summarised as follows by Aikhenvald (2000: 6):

Table 5.1. Definition of classifiers

	NOUN CLASSES	CLASSIFIERS
SIZE	Small finite set	Large number
REALISATION	Closed grammatical system	Free forms
SCOPE	Marking is never entirely within the noun word	Never any reference outside the noun phrase

Similar to noun classes, classifiers are typologically distinguished according to their morphological behaviour, degree of grammaticalisation, meaning, ethno-grammatical features, and cognitive properties. Most of these properties vary considerably. For example, the more conservative Western Nilotic Burun languages, such as Mabaan, Mayak and Jumjum, make use of suffixed noun classifiers which categorise nouns according to shape and salience. All suffixes are productive in Burun, as can be concluded from their various derivational functions. Distinct classifiers can be used with the same noun stem to specify or modify its meaning. Consider the following two sets of Mabaan nouns:

- (5.1a) béèkòn ‘root of tree’ -gòn; designates long artefacts, pejoratives
 beenành ‘skin, bark’ -Nành; designates part-whole concepts
- (5.1b) puᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ ‘grain’ -Nᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ; designates circular objects
 puᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛkòn ‘maize’ -kòn; designates long artefacts, pejoratives

All four suffixes categorise nouns, according to their discursively most salient property, in terms of shape, but they also, as portmanteau suffixes, indicate number (in this case, singular). In the Burun group, noun classifiers appear to have originally formed a relatively large system of paired genders, which later was partly modified by the inclusion of a semantically bleached number marker, namely *-kV* (Storch 2005a: 381 ff.). Most of the suffixes are not transparent etymologically and are not easily connected to a lexical source.

This speaks in support of the great age of the system, as well as of its incipient reduction in Northern Lwoo. For example, in Luwo, the nominal affixes are basically reduced to expressing number, animacy and mobility, and this has also happened to some extent in Shilluk, Anywa and Pãri. However, Luwo has fewer suffixed formatives than e.g. Anywa, but exhibits a large number of derivational, sex- and number-marking prefixes instead. An explanation for these structural differences in Northern Lwoo may be contact with other languages on the one hand, and language-internal dynamics on the other.

In the Southern Lwoo languages (with the exception of Labwor), such processes of appropriation and structural change have resulted in a reduction of the

number-marking functions of the suffixes as well. As a consequence, not all nouns may be inflected for number anymore. Innovative prefixes compensate for this loss of morphology in some Southern Lwoo languages, though not in all of them. In contrast, in Dinka and to a certain extent also in Nuer, linear morphology has been given up in favour of tone alternation, vowel quality change, vowel lengthening and similar strategies (Andersen 2014). Remnants of suffixes occur as petrified morphology, but most of the morphological material seems to have been assimilated and incorporated, so that all that remains of grammatical formatives are phonological alternations.

Hence, etymological and functional relationships between the different systems exist in some cases, while other formatives can be identified as later grammaticalizations, special innovations or borrowed material. The overview of suffixed singular classifiers presented in Table 5.2 (extracted from Storch 2005a: 382) illustrates the occurrence of cognate forms and semantic relationships between the forms.

Table 5.2 shows that singular suffixes in Burun and Dinka-Nuer tend to include a consonantal element, which is combined with a particular vowel – either as *-VC* or *-CV* – or may occur without any vowel accompaniment. Some of these consonant elements are also present in Northern Lwoo, specifically in the form of an alveolar phoneme, which is normally realised as a variety of either *N* or *D*. In Luwo, Thuri, Labwor and Southern Lwoo these consonantal elements are not present. This may be attributed to a phonological reduction of the suffixes or to the fact that Southern Lwoo never had the *-CV/-VC* suffixes that occur in Northern Lwoo, but just *-V*.

A second major group of singulative and singular suffixes tends to consist of a voiceless alveolar or dental plosive [*t, th*] and a vowel. A consonant *T* has also been identified as a singulative or singular marker that is distributed areally.

The suffixation of several singular markers goes together with a change in the stem vowel quality. This is the case with the singulative suffixes *-ith* and *-Vn* in Mayak, *-ành*, *-ù/-Nù* and *-Nλ* in Mabaan, and *-n₂* and *-u* in Jumjum. Some of these are singulative suffixes (*-ành*, *-ith*), while the others consist of */u/* or an unspecified vowel and */N/*. The former are two etymologically unrelated morphemes, while the latter probably derive from a common source. The vowel changes that are observed in connection with the suffixes in question suggest that these number markers must have substituted older morphemes or originally consisted of a phonologically more complex structure. It may be suggested here that the original suffixes have been replaced or completed by imperialistic number markers that do not stem from the original Western Nilotic system. The vowel changes, as well as the highly specified semantics that are attributed to synchronically rather non-diverse morphemes, support this hypothesis.

Table 5.2. Singular suffixes of Western Nilotic languages

Mayak	Mabaan	Jumjum	Dinka	Nuer	Anywa	Päri	Shilluk	Luwo	Thuri	Boor	Southern Lwoo	Labwor	Semantics
-ic -(C)λ -ɔk, ak			-V3-										length, cultural do-minance
		-VD - ɓndò	-V:- -w										
-ɔn -gɔn ɔn-g													derogative
-ul		-VD	-V:- -w	-w									metal
-ith -tλ	-caN	-V:-	-V2-	-o	-ó	-ɓ	-ɔ	-ɔ		-o	-ò		sgv
-eth	-Nu	[ʔ]	-VV-				-ɓ			-VV-	-jo		
-ath	-Na	HL	-V:-				-Nɓ				-í -á -VV-		
-Vn -n	-Nə -n ₁	-V:- -V3-	-l			-VNò -Dɓ -Dɔ	-a -ɔ	-ɓ		-o	-o	-a	gen.sg
-it -λ	-i -O	-V3-	-y	-ò -i			-ɔ -i						abstract, cultural
-Vk -gλ				-k	-k			-k					abstract
-è -à	-a -ɔ	-V:- [ʔ]	-y	-ò -u -á	-Vnò -Da	-á	-ɔ -Dɔ	-ɔ	-ɓ	-a	-o	-ú -è -a	round, small, mass, specialists

(Continued)

Table 5.2. (Continued)

Mayak	Mabaan	Jumjum	Dinka	Nuer	Anywa	Päri	Shilluk	Luwo	Thuri	Boor	Southern Lwoo	Labwor	Semantics
	<i>-i</i>				<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>		<i>-í</i>		<i>-i</i>		fast
	<i>-ò</i>	<i>-ùk</i>	<i>-o</i>		<i>-ò</i> <i>-VNò</i>	<i>-o</i> <i>-Dò</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-a -ò</i>			<i>-a</i> <i>-u</i>	<i>-a</i>	locative, domestic
	<i>-ù/</i> <i>-Nù</i>	<i>-u/</i> <i>-Nu</i>	<i>-V2-</i> <i>-V3-</i> []	<i>-c</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-D-u</i>		<i>-u</i>	<i>-a</i>		<i>-ù</i>	<i>-ú</i>	body, space
	<i>-Nλ</i>		[] <i>-w</i> <i>-l</i>	<i>-w</i> <i>-r</i>	<i>-á</i> <i>-V:-</i> <i>-VN +</i>	<i>-â</i> <i>-Da</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>		<i>-i</i>		soft, circle
	<i>-ành</i> <i>-jành</i>	<i>-caN</i>	<i>-w</i>								<i>-a</i>	<i>-é</i>	part of
	<i>-Cinh</i>	<i>-n₂</i>	<i>-l</i>		<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>		<i>-í</i>		<i>-i</i>		mass

The suffixes *-Vk*, *-gV(C)*, *-i*, and *-u ~ -w* appear to be original morphemes. These are not areal phenomena, but are restricted to Western Nilotic and perhaps to the two other coordinate branches of the Nilotic family. This conclusion can be drawn from the highly differentiated, albeit highly specified semantics, as well as the intragenetic distribution of these morphemes.

Plural nouns exhibit suffixes as well, and these suffixes also have classificatory functions, very similar to those which are observed among the singular suffixes. However, plural suffixes are less diversified in both form and function than the singular suffixes. Even though Storch (2005a) presents comparative evidence that the original system may have consisted of suffix pairings, which then would have formed genders, imperialistic plural markers, namely *-K* and *-N*, have substituted some of the older plural suffixes and are used on a large number of nouns. The original structure of the semantically and functionally specified plural formatives is preserved by suffixes that denote round shape, spatial extension and mass concepts. Some of the suffixes are no longer semantically specified, but are restricted in function to the pluralisation of particular singular patterns. An overview (extracted from Storch 2005a) is presented in Table 5.3.

The following sections set out an overview and descriptive analysis of suffixed noun-categorising devices in Luwo. For further comparative analysis and diachronic considerations, see Storch (2005a).

5.2 Zero-suffixing

In Luwo, strategies of suffix-marking and zero-suffixing reflect the semantic shift of the system towards animacy distinctions. Besides suffix-marked nouns, there are a large number of suffixless singular nouns, and most inanimate referents are denoted by nouns in this category. While such opacity in the singular originally occurred (and is still found in the more conservative Western Nilotic languages such as Burun) among nouns that denoted singular artefacts, entities that are perceived as delimitable, defined entities, etc., this strategy is not employed in Luwo. Here, simplex nouns denote either nouns that refer to conceptually singular items, or inanimates, while suffix-marked singulars denote either singulative concepts, or refer to referents that are ranked high in the animacy hierarchy. A categorisation of nouns in terms of shape, spatial organisation and motion concepts does not exist in Luwo.

5.2.1 Simplex nouns

Simplex nouns denote nouns that rank high and others that rank very low in the animacy hierarchy. Among the high-ranked nouns are those that denote edible, large or culturally salient animals (5.2b), as well as all body parts that are conceptualised as distinct parts of the body, which in their shape and condition may be characteristic of a particular person (5.2c). The group also contains nouns which are only used in their modified form, including ‘person’ and most kinship terms (5.2a).

The majority of morphologically unmarked nouns, however, consist of nouns that are ranked low in the animacy hierarchy, denoting inanimate objects ranging from tools to landmarks, trees, and liquids with a high degree of viscosity (5.2d).

- (5.2a) júr ‘person’
 cwaar ‘husband’
 cii ‘wife’
 wàd ‘relative’
 wáy ‘grandmother’
- (5.2b) gwàṅ ‘wild cat’ (edible)
 páár ‘hippo’ (edible)
 kúl ‘wart hog’ (edible)
 wìir ‘giraffe’ (edible)
 díél ‘goat’ (edible)
 náṅ ‘crocodile’ (edible)
 góor ‘fish sp.’ (edible)
 cóór ‘fish sp.’ (edible)
 dhyèṅ ‘cow’ (edible; culturally salient)
 kwàc ‘leopard’ (edible; culturally salient)
 ṅoo ‘lion’ (culturally salient)
 kónṅ ‘pangolin’ (mythological connotations)
- (5.2c) wum ‘nose’
 léép ‘tongue’
 cwíṅ ‘liver’
 deel ‘skin’
 póól ‘shinbone’
 cúl ‘penis’
 dúál ‘voice’
 múr ‘vagina’
 wíc ‘head’
 yíc ‘ear’
 yéc ‘belly’
 ṅác ‘back’

(5.2d)	lwák	‘byre’
	kàn	‘place’
	bur	‘hole’
	kwεεɾ	‘hoe’
	môw	‘oil’
	yór	‘road’
	yòò	‘street, path’
	yáy	‘boat’
	ròk	‘enclosure’
	bóó	‘banana’
	cwàá	‘tamarind’
	káw	‘bamboo’
	tíil	‘sisal’

5.2.2 Suffixless nouns

Suffixless nouns, which exhibit prefixes, usually denote fish, and land animals that are not eaten but may occur as personifications in folktales, or are based on derivational morphology (5.3a). Other nouns found here denote agricultural terms and plants (5.3b), as well as a variety of other inanimates, mostly household items and objects of adornment (5.3c).

(5.3a)	ùgwéc	‘snake-like fish’
	úkwòk	‘fish sp.’
	àpwòth	‘fish sp.’
	ápìr	‘fish sp.’
	ùthwónh	‘hyena’
	ùgwaal	‘frog’
	úmór	‘antelope sp.’
	àkóúr	‘dove, pigeon’
	úgwèn	‘gerbil’
	údúp	‘rat’
(5.3b)	ùcòòl	‘water melon’
	àdíkit	‘tree sp.’
	àòk	‘tree sp.’
	úkàŋ	‘uncultivated land; bush’
	àdhiénh	‘swampy land’
(5.3c)	ábook	‘grass hut’
	ádwél	‘bed’
	àláy	‘dish for broth’
	àpúò	‘spoon’
	àkél	‘necklace’
	àkwèn	‘rattle’

5.3 Singular suffixes

Not all of the classifiers from the presumably originally rich system of Western Nilotic are present in Luwo. However, a suffix-marked singular noun may have one of the following five synchronic suffixes: $-ɔ \sim -Nɔ́$, $-a$, $-u$, $-k$. The most prominent and productive suffix is $-ɔ \sim -nɔ́$, while the others are very rare.

5.3.1 Singulative concepts

One of the semantically most salient classifiers is the suffix $-ɔ$, which has two underlying forms, namely the tonally underspecified suffix $-ɔ$, and the low-tone suffix $-ɔ̀$. A post-radical nasalisation process suggests that a suffix $-Nɔ́$ has merged with $-ɔ̀$.

The suffix $-ɔ$, which copies the tone of the preceding syllable, occurs with nouns that have a root structure CVC or CVVC. There may be a prefix $à-$. The suffix is also used with nouns that are pseudo-singulatives, which have underlying plural forms and exhibit fossilised pluralisers.

All nouns that belong to this morphological class denote objects which occur in pairs, such as ‘breasts’, ‘hands’, ‘legs’, ‘testicles’, or as mass objects, such as ‘fish’, ‘milk’, ‘blood’, ‘excrements’, etc. A large number of nouns that can form singulatives in Luwo are found in different classes in the other Lwoo languages, which implies that Luwo uses semantic analogy more than original number-marking patterns and does not necessarily refer to the original class-membership of these nouns in its number-inflectional system. Examples for the singulatives are ordered according to their morphological and morphophonological behaviour:

(5.4) Singulatives with tone-copying $-ɔ$

rɪŋɔ́	‘piece of meat’
pínɔ́	‘cheek’
léɛ̀mɔ́	‘jaw’
tíé̀lɔ́	‘leg’
mánɔ́	‘testicle’
ŋé̀dɔ́	‘rib’
rémɔ́	‘drop/quantity of blood’
ciádhɔ́	‘excrement’
àbwórɔ́	‘monkey sp.’
àwíɔ́	‘mouse’
àcò̀bɔ́	‘snail’
réyɔ́	‘single fish’
wínɔ́	‘single bird’

In Example 5.4, the root vowel quality and length are stable, tone patterns remain unchanged, and C_2 is not altered (except $/c/$ becoming $/y/$ in intervocalic position in ‘fish’). The singulative forms differ from the underlying collective nouns only in taking a suffix $-ɔ$, e.g. ‘blood’ *rém/rémɔ́*, ‘testicles’ *mán/mánɔ́*, etc.

In Example (5.5), the singulative forms with $-ɔ$ exhibit internal changes that cannot be attributed to the suffix as it surfaces here. We observe vowel lengthening (‘molar’, ‘finger’ (5.5a)) and nasalisation (‘hair’, ‘breast’, ‘urine’, ‘water’ (5.5b)), which suggest that the suffix originally was more complex and is very likely to have consisted of a nasal element as well. This nasal also surfaces in some singulars which occur in other classes, so that a possible conclusion is that, besides the singulative suffix, two universal singularising morphemes were originally used: $-ɔ$ and $-Nɔ$. These two must have merged and are distributed rather unsystematically. This observation speaks in favour of a hypothesis that the original distinction between singulative and singular has become residual as far as the morphological markers of both categories are concerned.

(5.5a) Singulatives with $-ɔ$

COLLECTIVE BASE	SINGULATIVE	
ɲam	ɲaamɔ	‘molars’
cɪŋ	cɪŋɔ	‘hands’
lwet	lɛɛdɔ	‘fingers’

(5.5b) Singulatives with $-Nɔ$

COLLECTIVE BASE	SINGULATIVE	
yíèr	yíènrɔ	‘hair’
thúnh	thúnhnrɔ	‘breasts’
làc	lájnrɔ	‘urine’
pɪ	pájnrɔ	‘water’

A further argument in favour of the hypothesis of a merger process of singulars and singulatives are the following examples of pseudo-singulatives:

(5.6) COLLECTIVE (*PL) BASE	SINGULATIVE	
làk	lééyɔ	‘teeth’
caak	cájɔ	‘milk’

These two nouns represent a small group which derives singulatives from marked plurals. However, comparative analysis demonstrates that $/k/$ was originally a pluraliser (Storch 2005a), which in some languages, such as Anywa, has become lexicalised. In the Luwo examples, $/k/$ is deleted in the singulative forms, and the suffixes $-ɔ$ and $-Nɔ$ are used instead. This suggests that the original pattern may still be reconstructed from such reflexes of the old suffixes. Other examples help to illustrate that a singulative suffix is used even with nouns that have a fully productive plural morpheme. These nouns denote mass objects and uncountable items, e.g.:

(5.7) SINGULATIVE	PL	
káarɔ	káddé	‘charcoal’
gélɔ	gélé	‘chain’

5.3.2 Animate referents with -ɔ

Among the singulars, nouns which take the suffix -ɔ are the most common subgroup. They tend to denote living objects, such as animals, and also body parts.

The suffix is underspecified for tone, but appears to be subject to a set of tonological rules. A specific structural feature of singulars with -ɔ is that they exclusively construct their plurals with either -è or -Né (e.g. *ɣúdɔ*, pl. *ɣúdé* ‘neck’). Examples are:

- (5.8)
- | | |
|----------|------------------|
| àdóúlɔ | ‘heart’ |
| rɔŋɔ | ‘kidney’ |
| cínɔ | ‘intestines’ |
| tìèdɔ | ‘gazelle sp.’ |
| púrɔ | ‘antelope sp.’ |
| jɔɔbɔ | ‘buffalo’ |
| úmɔwɔ | ‘rhino’ |
| thòɔ | ‘jackal’ |
| àgáàŋɔ | ‘monitor lizard’ |
| ùŋɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ | ‘chameleon’ |
| gééɔnɔ | ‘crab’ |
| naadɔ | ‘python’ |
| cárɔ | ‘viper’ |
| páádɔ | ‘hippo’ |
| àpɔwóyɔ | ‘hare’ |

All other nominal singular suffixes are very rare. The two other productive suffixes are -*u* and -*a*, while -*k* is a lexicalized suffix which does not occur either with recent loanwords or with neologisms.

5.3.3 Foreign and movable referents with -a

This suffix is found with several loanwords or nouns denoting objects that are foreign to the Luwo. However, this group also includes more common nouns such as ‘eagle’, ‘potash’ and ‘tsetse fly’, which represent a semantic group of nouns denoting explicitly moving or movable referents. Note that these nouns tend to have a root vowel /a/, and that it is possible to have a prefix *a-*. Again, the plural is constructed with -*é* or -*Né*. Examples are:

- (5.9)
- | | |
|---------|-----------------|
| gáná | ‘eagle’ |
| ámíyá | ‘fly’ |
| àmáná | ‘camel’ |
| àkàjà | ‘donkey’ |
| pálà | ‘knife’ |
| kada | ‘potash, sauce’ |
| báyà | ‘horn, trumpet’ |
| líblàrà | ‘needle’ |

5.3.4 Animate referents with *-u*

This extremely rare suffix is found with nouns of Luwo origin that denote either animals and living objects or botanical items, such as ‘cotton’. The prefix is underspecified for tone and copies the stem tone. The plural tends to be constructed with *-é*.

- (5.10) mááwú ‘tsetse fly’
 wúdú ‘ostrich’
 wáárú ‘cotton; clothes’

5.3.5 Animals and body parts with **-k*

A small, closed set of nouns is marked with a singular suffix *-k*, which is also present in several other Western Nilotic languages. The plural of nouns with *-k* is either suffixless or is marked by the suffixes *-é* or *-i*. Consider the following examples:

- (5.11)
- | SG | PL | |
|---------|----------|-------------|
| dhòk | dhòw | ‘mouth’ |
| dìtik | dìtúw | ‘chin’ |
| ùtòk | ùtòwé | ‘shoulder’ |
| úpùk | úpùwè | ‘tortoise’ |
| gwók | gwóy | ‘dog’ |
| ɲwùók | ɲóyì | ‘he-goat’ |
| ɲwùòdì | | |
| kùdùrúk | kùdùrúwé | ‘pig’ |
| rúòk | rúwé | ‘drum-net’ |
| ròk | róyè | ‘enclosure’ |
| lwák | lwáyè | ‘byre’ |

At first sight, this appears to be a lenition process that affects the velar plosive in intervocalic position. But there is evidence to support the theory that here, again, an old suffix has been preserved in the singular, which is deleted and replaced in the plural. First, ‘he-goat’ appears to be one of the nouns that may take an alternative suffix, which here is *-Ci*, which is not documented elsewhere in the language. Secondly, the lexemes displayed in (5.11) are very much the same as the *-k* singulars in other Northern Lwo languages and Dinka-Nuer; they occur in Burun, for instance, where they occasionally take other classifiers than *-k* and then do not exhibit a word-final velar plosive at all (see Table 5.2 above). This leads to the conclusion that some of these nouns belong to an old singular class marked by a velar plosive and have been conserved with this marker in several Western Nilotic languages. The deletion of final /k/ in other forms, such as ‘pig’, are clearly analogous to this old pattern.

Some lexemes with a root-final /k/, however, behave differently, such as the nouns in (5.12). These phonemes are likely to be part of the root, in opposition to those in (5.11), which are analysed as number-inflectional morphemes.

(5.12)	SG	PL	
	tánàk	tánáágè	‘turban’
	àjùgó	àjúgè	‘girl’s loincloth’
	jók	jógè	‘god’
	úbúk	úbúgè	‘bellows’

5.4 Plural Suffixes

The incipient loss or obsolescence of noun classifiers could be interpreted as a result of morphological simplification in the sense of language decay. This set-up has been reflected in former analyses of Luwo noun morphology, which emphasise its assumed irregularity. Hence, Santandrea (1946: 6) does not provide a set of rules, but rather lists the most salient plural formatives: “La formazione del plurale è assai varia. Vi sono certe quasi-norme pur nella strana varietà delle sue forme; ma talora i casi sono veramente irregolari. Le forme più regolari sono le seguenti: (a) [...] sufisso *en* (op. *e*) [...], (b) [...] elisione della vocale finale”.¹ This is followed by some examples of tonal alternation and other “irregular” pluralisation patterns. But by means of comparative analyses (Storch 2005a), the sets of regular rules that govern the system become easily discernible. For example, opaque plurals are rather common, which is easily explained by the presence of such a large number of singulatives in Luwo. Almost every noun that fits semantically is put into the singulative category with a few exceptions, such as ‘intestines’ or ‘potash’ (see §5.3.2–5.3.3).

The remaining nouns almost exclusively construct their plurals with either *-é* or *-né*. Most certainly several pluralisers have merged here. In some cases the suffixation of the plural markers involves a root-vowel quality change or root-vowel lengthening, while in other cases the base remains unchanged.

1. “The formation of the plural is rich in variation. There are some patterns that are almost regular, however, in the strange variety of its forms; but sometimes the cases are truly irregular. The most regular forms are the following: (a) [...] suffix *en* (or *e*) [...], (b) elision of the final vowel.”

5.4.1 Plurals with -é

This plural suffix occurs with both opaque and suffixed singulars. It always bears a high tone, apart from a few very rare exceptions, and is suffixed to the bare root without causing any internal changes apart from some tonal changes. Examples are:

(5.13)	SG	PL	
	ɲúdɔ	ɲúdé	‘neck’
	àdúólɔ	àdúólé	‘heart’
	gáná	gàné	‘eagle’
	líɓlárà	líɓláràné	‘needle’
	mááwú	maawé	‘tsetse fly’
	lwák	lwáyè	‘byre’
	gwàŋ	gwáŋé	‘wild cat’
	ùthwónh	ùthónhé	‘hyena’
	léép	léébè	‘tongue’
	cwíŋ	cwíŋé	‘liver’

5.4.2 Plurals with -V_[-FRONT, +BREATHY]-ε

A segmentally almost identical suffix, albeit with a different tone, is -ε. The suffixing of -ε goes together with a change to the root vowel, whereby the vowel changes to a [-FRONT] place and takes on a breathy voice quality. The root-final consonant remains unchanged, so that a reconstruction of a phonologically complex -VCε suffix may not hold. The non-segmental pluraliser, however, may be accounted for as follows: the singular morpheme -ɔ has been described above as an imperialistic number suffix, which is used instead of the original syllabic suffixes with many nouns. The same seems to hold true for the plural suffix -ε, which is by far the most common and prominent productive pluraliser in Luwo. It constructs plurals of most derived nouns, as well as of many opaque singulars and nouns in the -ɔ singular group. In the following examples, it may have replaced an original -V suffix with a different vowel quality. This still surfaces in the changes to the root-vowels in the following nouns:

(5.14)	SG	PL	
	thúón	thóóné	‘male’
	cúàr	còòrè	‘blind person’
	ɲúól	ɲóóné	‘lame person’
	míŋ	míŋè	‘deaf person’
	kán	kùóné	‘place’
	wìir	wùrè	‘giraffe’
	tìèdɔ	téénè	‘gazelle sp.’

5.4.3 Plurals with *-VNé*

A third plural group with *-ε* involves nasalisation or reduplication of the root-final consonant. The root vowel quality changes as well, but no change of voice has been recorded. The nasal element of the suffix is not specified for its quality, but in consideration of the pluralisers found in the other Northern Lwoo languages, /*n*/ appears to be highly probable. The original vowel may have preceded the nasal, but is now only reflected in root-vowel changes.

The suffix occurs with opaque singulars and *-ɔ* singulars. Examples are:

(5.15)	SG	PL	
	dɛɛl	délné	‘skin’
	àtyél	átéènè	‘elbow’
	ΛΛm	ámmé	‘thigh’
	póól	pònè	‘shinbone’
	cúl	cúnnè	‘penis’
	dúál	dɔɔné	‘voice’
	páár	párré	‘hippo’
	kwác	kwááné	‘leopard’
	ùgwaal	ùgwánè	‘frog’
	ɲɔɔl	ɲóllé	‘hammer’
	páádɔ́	párré	‘hippo’
	àpwɔ́yɔ́	àpwóné	‘hare’
	káárɔ́	káddé	‘charcoal’

5.4.4 Plurals with *-kɔ́*

A very small group exhibits a plural suffix *-kɔ́* or *-k*. All three of the following examples denote animals of considerable cultural and economic significance, and it seems probable that the suffix entered Luwo as an areal feature, as explored by Bryan (1959, 1968). Examples are:

(5.16)	SG	PL	
	ɲɔɔ	ɲúgɔ́	‘lion’
	dhyèɲ	dhág	‘cow’
	díél	dìèk	‘goat’

5.4.5 Plurals with *-ì*

This rare plural suffix was only found in five nouns, all of them having opaque singulars. No internal changes are observed in this pluralisation pattern, so that the original suffix may well have been *-ì*. The examples are:

(5.17)	SG	PL	
	múr	múyì	‘vagina’
	buur	búyì	‘hole’

náj	nájì	‘crocodile’
úmór	ùmóyì	‘antelope sp.’
àkóúr	àkúyì	‘dove, pigeon’

5.4.6 Plurals with *-th*

This pan-Western Nilotic plural suffix is well represented in Luwo. All plural forms of this group end with *-th*, which is recognisable when it replaces a singular marker. In some cases, *-th* is supplemented with *-ε*, which is taken as a further argument in favour of the hypothesis of *-ε* as an imperialistic pluraliser. Several nouns exhibit internal changes in addition to the suffixing of *-th*, but these appear to be sufficiently unsystematic that no comment on any original V element in the plural suffix may be made at this point.

Note that almost all opaque singulars in this group end with /c/, which may indicate the presence of a former singular suffix. Consider the following examples:

(5.18)	SG	PL	
	wíc	wúth	‘head’
	yíc	yìth	‘ear’
	yéc	yìth	‘belly’
	ηác	ηadhè	‘back’
	káwú	kòth	‘chest’
	lánó	lath	‘vein; muscle’
	kónnó	kódhé	‘seed’
	mōw	mádhé	‘oil’
	yór	yèdhé	‘road’
	yáy	yédhé	‘boat’
	gèèwó	gèèdhé	‘town’

No other inflectional suffixes have been recorded. Compared to Anywa, Pári or Shilluk, Luwo has few number-marking suffixes, which demands an explanation, given the fact that these four languages are so similar in many other respects, e.g. sharing an ergative case system, evidentials, and a large part of their vocabulary. As an explanation, convergence towards Dinka seems to be the cause for the rather uncommon loss of nominal suffixes. Refer to Chapter 16 for a more detailed discussion.

5.5 Noun categorisation devices and their meanings: An overview

Luwo suffixes exhibit a number of trends in their semantics, but many of the classificatory functions of these suffixes have become obsolete. However, the relative large number of prefixes, which correlate to specific semantic fields or types of nouns, seem to have acquired a classifying function in some respect.

We saw in Chapter 4 that deverbal nouns denote rather general concepts, such as instruments, agents, location, etc., while denominal nouns, which are constructed with the help of various prefixes, refer to more cultural-specific concepts. In contrast with this, suffixes – particularly in the singular – help to group nouns into units that are defined by the countability, cultural salience and animacy of the referents. Hence, the principles employed in semantic sub-grouping and categorisation differ greatly among the different morphological types of nouns. The following table presents an overview of recurring patterns.

Table 5.4. Semantic categories and their morphological devices

SEMANTICS	FORMATIVE	GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY
event	ϕ, -ḵ	verbal noun SG
action	H	DEV action noun SG
abstract	H, -ḵ	DEV abstract noun SG
physical property	ḡàt 'owner' ma-à-	DEV noun SG
physical property	ú-/á-	DEV noun SG
physical property	ḡóḡé 'people' ma-	DEV noun PL
physical property	-è	DEV noun PL
agent	ḡàt 'owner'	DEV agent noun SG
witnessed agent	ḡàt 'owner' -à- -ḵ	DEV agent noun SG, EVID
agent	jò- 'persons'	DEV agent noun PL
professional agent	ya-	DEV agent noun PL
agent	jò- 'persons' -à- -ḵ	DEV agent noun PL, EVID
instrument	ḡín 'thing' ma-à-	instrumental noun
locative	kàr 'place of'	locative noun
epithet	á-	FEM name
epithet	ú-	MASC name
epithet	ma-	MASC name
lifestock	ma-	MASC cattle term SG
lifestock	ḡà- 'daughter of'	FEM cattle term SG
ethnonym	ú-	MASC ethnonym SG
ethnonym	ḡì- 'child of'	FEM ethnonym/autonym SG
autonym	ḡàt- 'owner'	MASC autonym SG
autonym	jò- 'persons'	autonym PL
ethnonym	ḡàt- 'owner'	nationality SG
ethnonym	ya-	nationality PL

(Continued)

Table 5.4. (Continued)

SEMANTICS	FORMATIVE	GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY
fruit	nìthíính- ‘child’	DENOM fruit term
diminutive	nì- ‘child of’	DENOM diminutive
toponym	paá- ‘area of’	clan name-based toponym
toponym	pín- ‘earth’	toponym
animals	φ- -φ	noun SG
body parts	φ- -φ	noun SG
kinship term	φ- -φ	noun SG
inanimates	φ- -φ	noun SG
fish	V- -φ	noun SG
land animals (not eaten)	V- -φ	noun SG
agriculture	V- -φ	noun SG
household	V- -φ	noun SG
adornment	V- -φ	noun SG
pairs	-ɔ	noun SG
collective	-ɔ	noun SG
animates	-ɔ	noun SG
body parts	-ɔ	noun SG
foreign objects	-a	noun SG
moveable objects	-a	noun SG
animates	-u	noun SG
opaque	*-k	noun SG
gen. plural	-é	noun PL
gen. plural	-ì	noun PL
gen. plural	-th	noun PL
gen. plural	-VNé	noun PL
gen. plural	-V _[-FRONT, + BREATHY] -é	noun PL
cultural salience	-kλ	noun PL

CHAPTER 6

Number

Number marking is closely connected to the system of nominal classification in Luwo. As already mentioned in Chapter 5, nominal number marking devices are mostly portmanteau morphemes which indicate number value, classificatory meanings, and derivational concepts. These markers interact with other number marking devices, particularly when referents are quantified, for example by counting. This chapter,¹ therefore, sets out to describe all of the grammatical domains of number marking including the strategies used in nominal number inflection.

The chapter explores the number marking system of nouns (§6.1), adjectival and verbal plurals (§6.2), and numerals and quantifiers (§6.3). In principle, Luwo uses different number systems for different word classes, whereby number inflection of nouns, as already hinted above, is semantically complex, while verbs and adjectives exhibit a semantically more basic number-marking system. Agreement is limited to pronominal markers.

Numerals are dealt with in this chapter (and not in Chapter 8, where person is discussed), because they are relevant for the explanation of nominal aspect and the function of transnumeral forms of nouns.

6.1 Number marking on nouns

6.1.1 Historical context

Luwo shares with its Western Nilotic relatives a tripartite number-inflectional system that distinguishes between singulative marking, plural marking and number marker replacement strategies. This system has been demonstrated to be or to have been operative in a large part of the Nilo-Saharan phylum by Dimmendaal (2000). Dimmendaal also demonstrates that the tripartite

1. This chapter is an enlarged version of Storch (2014).

number-marking system has a semantic dimension reaching beyond quantification of referents (2000: 229 ff.):

As the examples from Baale [Surmic; ...] illustrate, Nilo-Saharan words with meanings such as ‘bird’, ‘hair’, ‘leaf’, ‘louse’, or ‘tooth’ are inherently plural, the corresponding singular, expressing an individuated item from a collective or group, being marked with a singulative number suffix. [...] A second semantic property of the system involves the distinction between count and mass nouns. Although such a distinction appears to be essentially irrelevant for languages with numeral classifiers, there is evidence from language acquisition that the distinction itself has a more universal ontological basis [...].

(Dimmendaal 2000: 229)

Tripartite number marking reflects basic cognitive patterns and semantic concepts, which appear to be universally present in human languages. However, the conceptualisation of a given noun within the different categories of the tripartite number system also depends on the rather specific cultural context of the language in question. But a number of number-inflectional formatives that are employed in tripartite systems can be reconstructed for the entire family, regardless of culturally specific meanings and usages. Important sources for the historical-comparative reconstruction of Western Nilotic number-inflectional morphemes are Hieda (1991, 2003) and Reh (1996). In Hieda (1991), the original number-inflectional morphology of Western Nilotic is assumed to have been suffixing; the prefixes are analysed as grammaticalised head nouns of compound structures. In Hieda (2003), a reconstruction of the singulative suffixes of Western Nilotic is presented.

The proposed reconstructions match the situation found in Luwo rather well, and it has been argued by both Hieda and Dimmendaal that the reconstructed number-inflectional devices, besides similarities in the basic lexicon, provide a good argument for the cohesion of the Nilo-Saharan phylum.

6.1.2 Tripartite number-marking

All number-inflectional affixes of Luwo can be attributed to one of the three number-marking patterns of the tripartite number-marking system, which permits the formulation of a set of rules for the choice of a certain number affix.

It has already been demonstrated in Chapter 5 that the suffixed noun classifiers are number-sensitive, i.e. they mark either singular or plural nouns. They occur in three distinct patterns of number-marking, namely:

(6.1)	SINGULAR	PLURAL		
	rìŋ-ḁ	rìŋ	‘meat’	SINGULATIVE MARKING
	réy-ḁ	réc	‘fish’	
	gwàŋ	gwáŋ-é	‘wild cat’	PLURAL MARKING
	léép	lééb-è	‘tongue’	

páád-ò	pár-ré	'hippo'	REPLACEMENT
àdóól-ò	àdóùl-é	'heart'	

As can be seen from these examples, the morphologically unmarked forms for 'meat' and 'fish' are collective forms. These are less marked and thus considered to be underlying. The singulative forms are derived from these morphologically opaque forms by adding the singulative suffixes -ò and -é.

The examples illustrate that the speakers' cognitive perception of their world determines whether a given noun is treated as part of the singulative marking, plural marking, or replacement category. Singulatives, most typically, are nouns that denote single units or pieces of a larger whole or a collection of similar items. This number-inflectional strategy is highly marked, both semantically and morphologically (with an underlying zero-marked noun). As a consequence of its reduction of noun-categorising devices, Luwo also uses singulative marking with nouns that are semantically less prototypically collective. This suggests that the semantic prototype of mass and collective has become more openly defined and now also includes concepts such as single items of a pair (e.g. 'hand', 'breast').

Note that pronominal verb concord is in the third person singular when the head noun is a collective. A modifying adjective or any other modifier occurs in the plural. Consider the following examples:

(6.2a) *wíŋ* *à-pλdhò* *wii* *yàdh*
 bird:COLL PFV-fall:AP head tree
 'birds fell from a tree'

(6.2b) *wíŋ* *me=thééhò*
 bird:COLL REL=small:PL
 'small birds'

The morphologically less marked, suffixless singular forms in Example (6.1) above, which have suffix-marked plurals, prototypically denote singled out, individualised items such as larger mammals, singular body parts and large singular inanimate objects. But suffixless singular nouns may also denote concepts that would be collectives or mass items in other systems, such as 'oil'. Here, viscosity, but also the common ways in which such items are purchased, kept and used, play a role. For example, *mòw*, pl. *mádhé* 'oil' is used in the kitchen, where it is measured in certain quantities, kept in bottles, etc., as a singular entity and not as a collective.

The third pattern of the tripartite number system is much more common in the other languages that are in contact with Luwo than the first two patterns. It is characterised by the use of number-inflectional morphemes in both number categories, so that the singular is marked as well as the plural. Here, the choice of singular and plural markers is motivated only to a certain extent by cognitive strategies, which are connected with the semantics of the original classifiers. However,

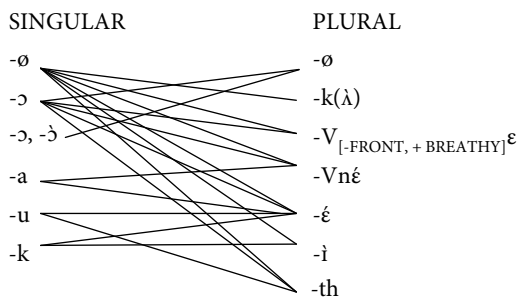
most of the plurals are constructed with generalised plural morphemes and are thus semantically opaque.

Of the three patterns of the tripartite number-marking system available in Luwo, the pluralisation pattern is the most common one, and is used with almost two thirds of the nouns recorded. Consequently, morphologically opaque singulars represent a large majority of the nouns in this language. Among the morphologically complex non-pluralic nouns, singulatives are the largest group.

We have already seen in Chapter 5 that, alongside reduction and merger processes of the original suffixes, which have led to a less diversified and less diversifying system in Luwo, another fundamental change has taken place: many of the productive suffixes tend to occur with those nouns that denote animate objects, such as persons, body parts and animals. Nouns expressing inanimate objects are often morphologically unmarked in the singular, unless they are secondary constructions. It could be assumed, on the basis of these observations, that Luwo developed an animate-inanimate contrast in its noun classification system after having lost its original classifiers.

The distribution patterns of the number-marking pairings are as follows:

Table 6.1. Pairings of singulative, singular and plural-marking suffixes



The number of choices of plural markers among nouns without a suffix or with -ɔ is misleading in terms of the arbitrariness this may indicate. Plural markers are chosen for clear-cut reasons, as discussed in Chapter 5: some plural suffixes indicate semantic classes, while others occur with derived nouns, and still others are limited to a small group of nouns. Apart from the first two classes of singular nouns, all other nouns take only one or two out of the seven possible plural markers. Summarising these observations, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- There is only one morpheme that constructs singulatives, namely tone-copying -ɔ.

- The general singular class marker $-\phi$ is pluralised by all six plural markers. The suffix $-\text{ɔ}$ is the second most productive marker in terms of possible pairings with plural classes.

If we stay with the hypothesis that $-\text{ɔ} \sim -N\text{ɔ}$ has developed singulative-marking functions in a secondary process, then we have $-\text{ɔ}$ as a singulative suffix, $-\text{ɔ} \sim -N\text{ɔ}$, $-\text{ɔ}$, $-a$, $-u$, $-k$ as singular markers in the replacement pattern, and $-\phi$ as the singular marker in the pluralisation pattern.

Plural suffixes used in the replacement pattern are $-Vn\acute{e}$, $-\acute{é}$, $-i$, $-th$. The other pluralisers are multi-functional, with the exception of $-\phi$, of course, which occurs in the singulative-marking pattern.

6.2 Number marking on state verbs and adjectives

As explained in Chapter 3, Luwo has very few adjectives and mostly expresses properties by means of state verbs. Both adjectives and state verbs inflect for number, whereby they use different strategies. Hence, number inflection in the plural is a relatively safe diagnostic property to distinguish between adjectives and verbs.

Besides the differences in plural-marking strategies, number marking on adjectives and state verbs refers to similar concepts: while pluractional verbs refer to a plural of undergoers (S), pluralised adjectives refer to several modified referents (A, S or O).

6.2.1 Pluractional verbs

While action verbs never inflect for number, state verbs can be pluralised. The verbal plural usually refers to a large number of undergoers, and does not imply an increase of obligatory participants.

Verbal plurals are constructed by suffixation of $-\acute{e}$ and a change to the root tone pattern. Pluralisation patterns are associated with particular syllable patterns, and are therefore predictable. These regular pluralisation patterns are observed with CVVC and $C^{(w/y)}VC$ singular roots, which take the plural suffix, whereby assimilation processes on the second root consonant may be involved. As a rule, $/r/$ changes to $/y/$, and voiceless plosives become voiced (e.g. $/k/ \rightarrow /g/$, $/th/ \rightarrow /dh/$). The liquid $/l/$ changes to $/d/$.

Tone change is also regular, and in the CVVC-type examples results in a [HH-L] pattern. $C^{(w/y)}VC$ -type state verbs with a high stem tone lengthen their stem vowels in the plural and have a [HL-L] tone pattern. $C^{(w/y)}VC$ -type verbs with a low stem tone in the singular exhibit a [LL-L] pattern in the plural. Compare the following examples:

(6.3a) CVVC SINGULARS

SG	PL	
kwààr	kwááy-è	'be red'
bààr	bàày-è	'be long'
bèer	bééy-è	'be good'
cièk	ciég-è	'be short'

(6.3b) C^(w/y)VC SINGULARS WITH [H] STEM TONE

SG	PL	
dwónj	dwóòŋ-è	'be big'
thwónh	thóòhn-è	'be male'
mínj	míŋ-è	'be deaf'
ŋwól	ŋwóòd-è	'be lame'

(6.3c) C^(w/y)VC SINGULARS WITH [L] STEM TONE

SG	PL	
pwòth	pwóòdh-è	'be thin'
màth	mààdh-è	'be female'
cwàr	còr-è	'be blind'

All of these state verbs are verbs and not adjectives because they can be fully inflected in all tenses and aspects, which is not possible for adjectives (§3.3.1). They can also take other stem formatives. Examples of the inflection of causativised basic and plural state verbs are:

(6.4a) *á* *à-náà-pwòdhí*
 O:1SG PFV-N.EVID-be.thin:CAUS
 'I was made thin'

(6.4b) *gé* *à-náà-pwóòdhíè*
 O:3PL PFV-N.EVID-be.thin:CAUS:PL
 'they were made thin'

Note that entirely inchoative verbs, such as *thèc* 'become wet', *lyèdh* 'become hot', *tèk* 'become hard', etc. do not inflect for number.

6.2.2 Number-sensitive adjectives

Adjectives in Luwo denote either colour or shape. While colour adjectives do not inflect for number, shape adjectives do. They employ three basic strategies, namely change of the root vowel (fronting or lowering), suffixing of -ò, and tonal changes (L → H). Consider the following examples:

(6.5) SG PL
 bàar bээр 'long'
 thífnh thééfnhò 'small'
 cwàth cwàth 'fat'

The following examples illustrate the differences between number-marked and transnumeral forms in the two different classes of adjectives:

(6.6a) *gín me=cól*
 thing:SG REL=black
 ‘a black thing’

(6.6b) *gíí me=cól*
 thing:PL REL=black
 ‘black things’

(6.7a) *gín ma=thíính*
 thing:SG REL=small
 ‘a small thing’

(6.7b) *gíí me=théénhò*
 thing:PL REL=small
 ‘small things’

6.3 Quantifiers and numerals

In Luwo, number marking on nouns encompasses the expression of nominal aspect. Nouns may express constructs that are conceptualised as a set of similar items rather than mass concepts, simple plurals, etc. The characteristic feature of set nouns is that they exhibit number discord.

This section also deals with quantifiers, which differ from numerals insofar as they are not employed as counting or quantifying devices with sort nouns.

6.3.1 Quantifiers

Quantifiers express different concepts of number, namely small quantities of mass nouns (6.8a), completeness or large plurals of singular object nouns as well as singulatives (6.8b), and indefinite number of participants in an action or event (6.8c). The following examples illustrate the different types of quantifiers:

(6.8a) SMALL QUANTITIES
kónnó ma=thíính SINGULAR OBJECT
 seed:SG REL=small
 ‘a small (quantity/bag/type of) seed’

rém me=nòòk COLLECTIVE
 blood REL=few
 ‘a little (bit of) blood’

(6.8b) UNIVERSAL AND LARGE PLURALS
àdóòlé càη SINGULAR OBJECT
 heart:PL all
 ‘all hearts’

àwí ma=thódlh COLLECTIVE
 rats REL=many
 ‘many rats, a large number of rats’

(6.8c) INDEFINITE NUMBER

móógw à-ké-góóhò SINGULAR
 some:SG PFV-DUR-scratch:DTR:AP
 ‘some(one) was scratching’

móógé gé=à-ké-góóhò PLURAL
 some:PL 3PL=PFV-DUR-scratch:DTR:AP
 ‘some were scratching’

6.3.2 Numerals

Numerals can be constructed and used as cardinals, ordinals and distributive expressions. Cardinals are used in order to modify a noun (6.9), while ordinals can also occur in argument position (6.10). Distributive constructions are used as adjuncts (6.11).

(6.9) *àwí áríòw*
 rats two
 ‘two rats’

(6.10) *mé=à-tyéné à-nág=é ù-wááy*
 REL=PFV-be.next:MOD:PL PFV-kill:TR=3SG IPFV-leave
 ‘he kills the second one and (then) leaves’

(6.11) *jàáków ñùt yéénó à-ñól=é àbɪɪc bí*
 girl neck:MOD chicken:SGV PFV-slaughter=3SG five plus
cíèl bí cíèl
 one plus one
 ‘the girl slaughtered chicken six times (one chicken each time)’

The lower numbers are based on a quinary system, with the values from ‘six’ to ‘nine’ being constructed as ‘five plus X’, as (6.12) illustrates:

(6.12) 1 *áciéló*
 2 *áríòw*
 3 *ádák*
 4 *áñwèèn*
 5 *àbɪɪc*
 6 *àbɪɪc bí cíèl* ‘5 + 1’
 7 *àbɪɪc bí ríòw* ‘5 + 2’
 8 *àbɪɪc bí dák* ‘5 + 3’
 9 *àbɪɪc bí ñwèèn* ‘5 + 4’
 10 *àpààr*

The base *àpààr* ‘ten’ is used to construct the numbers from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’. *àpààr* is linked to the smaller number by means of *ηwóη* ‘increase’. Consider the following examples:

(6.13) *àpààr ηwóη=έ άcíέłó*
 ten increase:TR=3SG one
 ‘eleven’, ‘ten increases one’

(6.14) *àpààr ηwóη=έ άρίóω*
 ten increase:TR=3SG two
 ‘twelve’, ‘ten increases two’

Higher values are based on a vigesimal pattern, which relates to the human body as counting base. Consequently, the basis for ‘twenty’ is the noun *dháànhó* ‘person’, which is modified by *dùòñ* ‘collect, complete’:

(6.15) *dháànhó à-dùòñ*
 person:SG PFV-complete:DTR:AP
 ‘twenty’, ‘completed person’

(6.16) *dháànhó à-dùòñ ηwóη=έ άcíέłó*
 person:SG PFV-complete:DTR:AP increase:TR:3SG one
 ‘twenty-one’, ‘completed person increases one’

‘Thirty’ is expressed on the basis of ‘person’ plus ‘ten’. All higher decimal values use the modified plural of ‘person’ *jò-*, realised as [*jé-*] in numeral expressions. The fronting of the vowel and tone rising is a product of the assimilation of /*ò*/ to the initial vowel /*á*/ of the numerals from one to four. Consider the following examples:

(6.17)	30	<i>dháành-ó à-dùòñ ηwóη-έ àpààr</i>	‘completed person increases ten’
	40	<i>jé-ríóω</i>	‘persons-two’
	50	<i>jé-ríóω ηwóη-έ àpààr</i>	‘persons-two increases ten’
	60	<i>jé-dák</i>	‘persons-three’
	70	<i>jé-dák ηwóη-έ àpààr</i>	‘persons-three increases ten’
	80	<i>jé-ηwèèn</i>	‘persons-four’
	90	<i>jé-ηwèèn ηwóη-έ àpààr</i>	‘persons-four increases ten’
	100	<i>jé-bíic</i>	‘persons-five’
	200	<i>jé-bíic άρίóω</i>	‘persons-five two’
	1000	<i>jé-bíic àpààr</i>	‘persons-five ten’

Ordinals use the same numerals as cardinals. Only ‘first’ and ‘second’ are exceptions here, as these ordinals are derived from the state verb *módh* ‘be first’ (6.18a) and the body part noun *átyén* ‘elbow of ~ next of’ (6.18b). All other ordinals lose their initial prefix vowel and suffix the third person plural pronoun *gén* (6.18c–d). Consider the following examples:

- (6.18a) *ú-màdhò*
 MASC.SG-be.first:VN
 ‘first one’
- (6.18b) *ma=tyéné*
 REL=next:PL
 second
- (6.18c) *dág=gén* ‘third’
ɲwèén=gén ‘fourth’
bII=gén ‘fifth’
- (6.18d) *dhyèŋ pààŋ=gén*
 cow:SG tenth
 ‘the tenth cow’

Finally, distributives are reduplicates, such as *àbuc bícíèl bícíèl* ‘six times’, or are constructed with *tyel* ‘time’, as in *tyel áríðw* ‘two times’.

6.3.3 Nominal aspect

We saw in Chapter 5 that Luwo exhibits suffixed noun classifiers, whereby the singular-marking suffixes have a categorising function, while the plural-marking suffixes largely do not mark nouns for semantic categories any longer. However, these are not merely number-inflectional morphemes, but also have another function, which occurs in very specific, pragmatically marked contexts. This can be demonstrated by quantifying a noun with the help of a numeral, where plural-marking suffixes may be absent. While this constraint – omission of the plural marker when a numeral higher than ‘one’ modifies the noun – is obligatory in many languages world-wide (Rijkhoff 2008: 526) as a specific feature of qualitative modifying devices, Luwo nouns may make use of both possibilities when they occur with a numeral, i.e. they may be plural-marked in certain pragmatic contexts, and be unmarked for number in other such contexts, depending on whether the counted noun indicates multiple singular objects (or multiple collective items), or whether it indicates a non-singleton set. The latter is the case when a noun shows number discord, as in the following example:

- (6.19) *gwók áríðw*
 dog:SG two
 ‘two dogs’

The ability of a plural number marker to specify what kind of entity is involved – a singleton set or a non-singleton set – is referred to as nominal aspect. It also relates to the representation of a “nominal property in the spatial dimension” (Rijkhoff *ibid.*). Hence, grammatical elements that function as number markers in Luwo

may also take on the function of nominal aspect markers. This is the situation when a noun shows number discord, as in examples (6.21–26) below.

However, the use of number markers versus nominal aspect markers is relevant not only for the discrimination of nominal properties, but also for the individuals they describe. The distinction between different classes of individuals on the basis of nominal properties is referred to as *seinsart* (Rijkhoff 2002, Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). According to Rijkhoff (2000:231 ff.), languages with classifiers may have [–SHAPE] sort and mass nouns, which require numerals to occur with a classifier (e.g. ‘three bottles of oil’, ‘three pieces of meat’), but can also have [+SHAPE] singular object nouns, collective nouns and set nouns, which require numerals to occur without a classifier (e.g. ‘three pots’). The latter group of nouns must be plural-marked when a numeral modifies the noun.

In some languages, set nouns, which refer to a set of discrete spatial objects, are transnumeral and can occur in the singular form even when modified by a numeral. Such nouns are not marked by a number marker, but by grammatical elements that express that the noun refers to a property of a whole set (consisting of one object or many similar objects). In Luwo, for example, *wárgà* ‘book’ may be treated as a set noun when it refers to similar exercise books in a shop or on a market, but not to individual books on different topics, or written by different authors:

(6.20a) *wárgé ádek*
 book:PL three
 ‘three (different, individual) books’

(6.20b) *wárgà ádek*
 book:SG three
 ‘three (new, similar) exercise books’

In example (6.20b), ‘book’ is treated as a set noun. Such nouns display number discord, which is a common feature in Luwo. In other words, even though (6.20b) refers to not one, but several books, the noun is not plural-marked, and verbal concord would be in the singular as well, ‘book’ thus behaving very much like collective nouns as exemplified in example (6.2a) above.

Because of its more complex number-inflectional morphology, the situation is not always very transparent in Luwo. The principle – expressing two different types of nominal properties, namely singleton sets and non-singleton sets – is achieved by omission of the plural suffix in clauses where a noun is modified by a numeral, but refers to a set of non-singleton items. Such nouns are able to highlight the spatial property of the nominal referent, such as its shape and homogeneity.

Nouns which are not used as set-nouns are marked for plural when they are modified by a numeral. They denote abstract or non-material concepts such as time (which has no spatial dimension), or individual items (such as the two

different goats and various spears that are mentioned in Example 6.25 below). Consider the following examples:

- (6.21) *gé=ù-góòyò* *duugi ké nín àpààr*
 3PL=IPFV-fence:AP lengthy PREP day:PL ten
 ‘they are fencing for ten days’
- (6.22) *sáàèn áríòw*
 hour:PL two
 ‘two hours’
- (6.23) *rún áríòw*
 year:PL two
 ‘two years’
- (6.24) *néé dwálè àpààr à-thum*
 COND month:PL ten PFV-finish
 ‘when ten months have passed’
- (6.25) *én dyek áríòw làr ké-nay-ù gògò*
 be.present goat:PL two quickly IPFV:DUR-kill:TR-2PL hit:TR:VN
má twóóη áríòw ké-cáj-é yír-gén
 CONJ spear:PL two IPFV:DUR-search:TR-3SG PREP=POSS:3PL
 ‘you are quickly killing the two goats with a hit, and as for the spears: they are searching (the spears) for them’
- (6.26) *nógè càηη nógè óódó àbéeé ábwólò yee ùcλmò úbéén*
 people all people run:VN but NAME stomach pain IPFV-come
 ‘people, all people, ran, but Abwolo’s labor pains began’

Nouns express non-singleton sets, such as ‘goats’ as a more abstract concept, for example in the context of counting them as a bride-price (6.27), or ‘beads’ as part of a compensation or payment (6.28). In both cases, we find that nominal referents may include several similar, non-individuated items as a sort of items in opposition to another sort (e.g. ‘hoses’, ‘pounds’, etc.).

- (6.27) *nwó áríòw*
 he.goat:SG two
 two goats
- (6.28) *néé gé yal=i yalò níη tiu ádáκ*
 CONJ O:3PL satisfy=2SG payment eye:PL bead:SGV three
 ‘when you satisfy them with three beads’

It is likely that, in Luwo, noun classifiers, after losing their ability to semantically categorise nouns in the plural, has continued to express spatial concepts of plural referents, in terms of being able to refer to these as a large entity that spreads out

over a critical space. This is an interesting possibility, as it permits the conclusion that noun classifiers that originally express shape and tactile properties can have a polysemous nature insofar as they are able to express nominal aspect, as well as properties that are more correlated with sensory perception. This makes classifiers in Luwo semantically supercharged elements, whereby number specifies them as being markers that express nominal aspect and spatial extension (in the plural), or that classify referents according to shape and tactile sensations (in the singular).

If this hypothesis holds, nominal number inflection in Luwo would be of marginal relevance for the singulative (where strong semantic overtones exist, classifying paired and large-numbered entities as one morphologically marked group) and for the plural (but not the collective), where it is possible to mark nouns for their perception as (part of) singleton or non-singleton sets.

In (§16.3), these strategies are discussed as an emblematic feature of Luwo, which plays a salient role in language ideology.

CHAPTER 7

Verbs

This chapter describes the entire verbal system of Luwo. First, the structure of the verb root is explored. After this, stem formation and transitivity are treated extensively before verb inflection is discussed. The tense-aspect system of Luwo is then presented in detail, before an overview of multiverb constructions and light verbs is provided.

Verbs in Luwo may express actions, inchoative meanings and states. Though such meanings may be attributed to verbs in most languages, the semantics of verbs in Luwo exhibit unusual features as they seem to exclude some basic meanings in the field of perception, particularly olfactory perception, which is mainly encoded by a separate word class (see §3.3.3). Specific properties such as odour are conceptualised as time-stable, non-dynamic ways of being, while verbs typically express transitional states, ways of becoming, and different types of events, which may include high or low degrees of agentivity.

An interesting feature that is shared with Western Nilotic languages such as Shilluk and Boor concerns the striking diversity of the lexicon, where numerous terms without shared etymologies are used for related concepts synchronically. The verbal lexicon is particularly rich in different roots which express fine-grained differences between actions of the same kind. This holds particularly true for action verbs, and one consequence of this is that such verbs tend to be less polysemous than state verbs. An example of semantically closely-related verbs, all expressing ingestion, is (7.1):

- (7.1)
- | | |
|--------|---|
| maath | ‘drink s.th. cold (water)’ |
| lwèth | ‘drink s.th. hot (soup, tea)’ |
| nán | ‘lick (porridge, honey)’ |
| nhoth | ‘suck (outside the mouth; e.g. halwa)’ |
| dhòòdh | ‘suck (inside the mouth, e.g. being breastfed)’ |
| cwííc | ‘suck (through straw, pipe)’ |
| dád | ‘gnaw (maize, fruit)’ |
| kaj | ‘bite (off)’ |
| cam | ‘eat (food, i.e. dumpling, mush, bread)’ |
| nám | ‘chew’ |
| cwét | ‘eat (meat)’ |
| muɔŋ | ‘swallow’ |

All full verbs have to be marked for aspect, evidentiality and mood as well as for person. As has been shown in (§6.2.1), state verbs expressing properties also exhibit singular and plural forms.

Luwo has no verb classes that can be differentiated according to their inflectional behaviour, but verbs can be classified according to other criteria. Verbs can be distinguished semantically and functionally, according to the type of events they express. The largest group to be identified here is formed by action verbs, which vary, however, in terms of agentivity. Action verbs may be transitive or intransitive, and denote an action performed by an agent. Consequently, action verbs always take an agent-participant as a core argument. Examples of action verbs are motion verbs such as *myél* ‘dance’, *bèèn* ‘come’, *dòk* ‘return’, material-process verbs such as *thaal* ‘cook’, *kák* ‘split’, perception verbs such as *lín* ‘hear’, etc.

A limited (closed) class of verbs consists of state verbs expressing mainly locative-spatial and existential concepts, such as *nín* ‘sleep’, *pàdh* ‘be not (like), exist not (as)’, *béédh* ‘stay, be positioned’. Such verbs may take one or more core arguments.

Finally, there is a relatively small class of state verbs, which in certain environments (e.g. in imperfective constructions) have inchoative semantics. Such verbs typically express physical properties of the sole argument, which usually is a patient (O-participant) rather than an agent (A-participant) semantically. Most of the verbs in this class denote physical properties that may be perceived by touch or vision. Examples include *pwòth* ‘be(come) thin’, *lààc* ‘be(come) large’, *nòh* ‘be(come) smooth’, *lyèdh* ‘be(come) hot’.

Other criteria – e.g. phonological patterns – do not play a salient role in the definition of verb classes. This seems to be different in some Lwoo languages, such as Anywa, where verb classes are defined by specific tone patterns (Reh 1996). In Luwo, however, earlier sources mention as discriminating features of the verb the syllable structure of the verb stem, which according to Santandrea (1946) either ends in a consonant or in a vowel, or simply list a number of stem derivations as criteria for distinguishing verbal categories (Storch 2010). While the different syllable patterns of verb stems, as presented by Santandrea, can clearly be explained by the formation of derived stems (see §7.3.2 below), other distinctive features than stem formation can be demonstrated to play such a limited role, e.g. in the semantic set-up of the aspectual system, that they can be ignored as criteria for the definition of verb classes.

7.1 Verb roots

Like most nouns, verb roots are strictly monosyllabic. The following patterns have been recorded, wherein the CV(V)C structure clearly dominates:

(7.2)	CV	pì	‘sit’
	CVV	yɪɪ	‘breathe, inhale’
	CVC	yáb	‘open’
		cób	‘hurt’
		lwèth	‘drink’
	CVVC	kóór	‘take care’
		wìy	‘leave’
		béédh	‘be at’
		tùòn	‘miss’

This example also illustrates that verbs exhibit all possible syllable and tone patterns, although CV only occurs with a very few positional and motion verbs.

The root has a grammatical function in the verb paradigm as a full verb, and also serves as a base from which stems are derived.

7.2 Verb stems

Verb stems are constructed by means of affixation, tone alternation, vowel quality alternation, and also, rarely, consonant mutation. The affixation of formative morphemes is responsible for most of the phonemic alternations that occur in the various stem-deriving processes. This has been widely discussed for a number of Western Nilotic languages, e.g. Anywa (Reh 1996) and Pàri (Andersen 1988), where some of the original affixes can be reconstructed on the basis of observed phonological changes, as well as for Lango (Noonan 1992, with extensive lists of samples) and Dholuo (Tucker 1994).

7.2.1 Transitivity

As in many Lwoo languages, intransitive and transitive stems make up two major sub-groups. Intransitive verbs can be further divided into one group of stems ending in vowels and another group with stems ending in consonants.

In the following examples, the transitive verb stems are considered as the underlying form, and the intransitive stems as the derived form. There are two diagnostic features for a derived stem, which are both based on phonological and/or morphological markedness. First, underived forms tend to have less phonological weight (in terms of having two morae) than derived verbs, as in (7.3a). Second, they tend to have vowels that are less fronted or less lowered than the vowels of derived stems (e.g. 7.3b). Third, derived verbs tend to have a consonant in coda position that is more voiced and less plosive than that of underived stems (e.g. 7.3c). The stem-final consonant may also be elided altogether, as in ‘kill’ and ‘play’.

	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE	
(7.3a)	kwôy	kwôyyò	‘sew’
	ηáy	ηάy	‘know’
(7.3b)	rób	rúb	‘say, talk’
	kón	kúónò	‘help’
(7.3c)	cùd	cúòl	‘pay’
	nák	náá	‘kill’
	túk	túwò	‘play’

Many verbs in Luwo have genuinely intransitive simple stems, from which transitive stems are derived by means of vowel lengthening, vowel fronting, and vowel lowering. Examples are presented in (7.4):

(7.4)	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	
	ηók	ηwòók	‘vomit’
	déd	dáád	‘hunt’
	wôd	wâl	‘pound’
	kûn	kúón	‘dig’

The strategy of vowel gradation, which appears to be one of the salient features in Luwo stem formation, is also found to play a role in Dinka, where it has a function in the nominal number-marking system (Andersen 2002). Since Luwo does not share this feature with other Luwo languages as far as is presently known, vowel gradation may well be a contact phenomenon. Luwo has been in intensive contact with Dinka, and several number-marking formatives in the noun system have also diffused into Luwo from Dinka (see Chapter 16).

The role of tonal alternations in the construction of transitive and intransitive stems has not yet been fully understood. Wherever apotony occurs, there is a tendency to use contrastive tone, and this might be a sign of tonal underspecification in a specific class of verbs. In the examples presented above, contrastive tones are found only in ‘to know’ and ‘to vomit’, which both have the structure /NVC_{velar/palatal}/.

7.2.1.1 *Argument inflection and participants*

There are slots before and after the verb, their number depending on the verb’s valency, which must be filled by either pronominal or nominal complements. Hence, core participants are always obligatory. In terms of obligatory participants, both simple and derived intransitive verbs take one participant only, while transitive verbs take two participants. Trivalent verbs have not been recorded; a third participant is usually expressed in a periphrastic construction using a bivalent verb.

A prototypically intransitive verb is *thò* ‘die’. This verb takes a marker for the A-participant only. In the example below, this marker is \emptyset and merges in the third

person singular with the marker of the perfective construction. Any complement, such as a beneficiary or a locative postposition, has to be connected to the verbal phrase as an oblique object by a preposition, which always is *ké*. The following examples illustrate this construction type:

- (7.5) *à-thò*
 PFV-die
 's/he died'
à-thò ké níη=á
 PFV-die PREP name=POSS:1SG
 's/he died for me'
à-thò kécá
 PFV-die DEM:EXT:VIS
 's/he died over there'

Note that the verb 'die' is used in its antipassive form in the imperfective. It then changes its meaning and expresses 'be sick' rather than 'die':

- (7.6) *ú-thòò=é*
 IPFV-die:IF=3SG
 's/he is sick/dying'

Detransitivised verbs also take one participant, but here the A-participant is marked by a suffix, which in the third person singular is =*é*. The perfective marker may be omitted with verbs that denote time-stable concepts rather than actions. Hence, two possible constructions exist for derived intransitive verbs:

- (7.7a) *à-ηλλγ=é*
 PFV-know:DTR=3SG
 's/he knew'
 (7.7b) *à-tòòr=↓é*
 PFV-break:DTR=3SG
 'it broke'

In the transitive form of these verbs, the agent-marking suffix is used as well, but an object marker plus the tense marker always appears. Note that the object marker is an independent pronoun, not a clitic.

- (7.8a) *á(n) à-ηάγ=é*
 O:1SG PFV-know:TR=3SG
 's/he knew me'
 (7.8b) *ηó à-tòòr=↓é*
 O:3SG PFV-break:TR=3SG
 's/he broke it'

Both the pronominal and nominal object precede the bivalent verb, while the agent is represented by a suffix.¹ Compare the following examples:

- (7.9) *wá à-pwód=gèn*
 O:1PL PFV-beat:TR=3PL
 'they beat us'
cám à-cám=gèn
 food PFV-eat:TR=3PL
 'they eat the food'

If more than two participants are expressed, a periphrastic construction is used, whereby the indirect causer or beneficiary are introduced by a preposition. The following examples illustrate this:

- (7.10) *wòt à-géér=é yír dhààgó*
 house PFV-build:TR=3SG PREP woman
 's/he built a house for the woman'
kádò à-tháàl=à yír=è
 broth PFV-cook:TR=1SG PREP=POSS:3SG
 'I cooked broth for him/her'

7.2.2 Stem formation and derivation

Even though Luwo exhibits a relatively large number of the stem formatives commonly found in Lwoo languages, periphrastic constructions are sometimes used as an alternative to the morphologically constructed stems, and have sometimes completely replaced them. This is a common strategy in many Lwoo languages of the west and south, and may well be a contact phenomenon that is closely related to the contact-induced reduction of noun morphology in these areas.

Both transitive and intransitive verbs are the basis for the formation of derived stems. Verb stems and formatives may be distinguished with regard to the following functions:

A. CHANGE OF VALENCY

- Antipassive
- Impersonal-Passive
- Anticausative
- Instrumental
- Benefactive
- Causative

1. For more details on OVS word order and ergative case marking, see Chapter 11.

B. EXPRESSION OF DEIXIS

- Itive-Altrilocal
- Ventive

C. EXPRESSION OF NUMBER

- Frequentative-Intensive (number of events)
- Pluralic stem (number of agent/patient participants)

The following sections set out to describe the construction of the various derived stems.

7.2.2.1 *Antipassive*

Some of the intransitive verbs in Example (7.3) above exhibit a suffix $-\dot{\text{c}} \sim -\dot{\text{o}}$. This morpheme appears when a second participant (usually an O-participant) is implied but is not realised, or when agent and object refer to each other (as in reflexives). Such forms are antipassive stems, a very common category in verb systems of split-ergative Western Nilotic languages,² where they express not only the deletion of the object, but also transfer the subject from the ergative to the absolutive case (Miller & Gilley 2001a; Reh 1996; Andersen 1988; see Chapter 11).

The subject slot is not filled, but the object slot is filled by the agent participant (A). The absolutive subject now stands in the position of the topic, where it may be conceptualised as less agentive, and the entire event is cast as being more potential and imperfective.

Examples that help to illustrate this are:

- (7.11a) *wáàrc* *à-kwóy=↓é*
 cloth PFV-sew:TR=3SG
 's/he sewed a shirt'
à-kwóyó
 PFV-sew:AP
 's/he sewed (a bit, for some time)'
- (7.11b) *án* *à-kóny=é*
 O:1SG PFV-help:TR=3SG
 's/he helped me'
à-kúunyó
 PFV-help:AP
 's/he helped (but...)'

2. Reh (1996:385 f.) suggests a Proto-Nilotic origin, pointing at the occurrence of antipassives in the other two branches of Nilotic.

- (7.11c) *ηó à-cód=é*
 O:3SG PFV-shoot:TR=3SG
 's/he shot him/her'
à-cóòdò
 PFV-shoot:AP
 's/he shot (and..., but may have missed...)'

Typically, antipassive forms implicitly refer to a more enduring event and not to a telic and terminative action, which is indicated in the translations of the above examples by the explanation in brackets. There can also be a consecutive function, as in the following example, where the action expressed by the antipassive verb form may be perceived as incipient for a chain of linked actions:

- (7.12) *à-cámò wáày*
 PFV-eat:AP leave:VN
 'he ate and left'
- (7.13) *à-cámò ù-mádh=é*
 PFV-eat:AP IPFV-drink=3SG
 'he ate and then drank'

As in Example (7.11) above, some verb stems that are morphologically marked as antipassives also undergo a change of vowel quality. The phonological changes that can be observed in the formation of antipassive stems are as follows.

Transitive CVC stems of motion verbs and positional verbs such as 'sleep' change a root vowel /ɔ/ to /ʊ/ and /i/ to /ɛ/. Back vowels tend to be lengthened. Tone mostly remains unchanged, but in a very few cases an original high or mid tone becomes a falling tone in the antipassive stem. Examples for vowel-changing antipassive derivation are:

- (7.14) *món* → *mòònò* 'crawl'
myél → *myéìò* 'dance'
nín → *nènnò* 'sleep'

Verbs with a root vowel /a/ that end with a liquid consonant // change both the vowel quality and the consonant, which becomes /d/.

Suppletivism may also occur, as in the example of *thaal* 'cook'. The transitive stem, with the underived meaning 'boil', is replaced by 'cook' (7.15).

- (7.15) *wâl* → *wòdò* 'pound'
thaal → *téèdò* 'cook'

Other processes, which occur in only a small set of verbs, include vowel shortening in CVVC stems, and vowel lengthening in CwVy stems:

- (7.16) *máadh* → *mádhò* 'drink'
kwôy → *kwóóyò* 'sew'

Most other stems – CV, CVV, CVC – do not exhibit any changes apart from voicing and lenition of root-final consonants. Examples are:

(7.17)	pì	→	piyò	‘sit’
	yɪɪ	→	yɪɪò	‘breathe’
	líŋ	→	líŋò	‘hear’
	tút	→	túdò	‘fear’
	cút	→	cúdò	‘pay’
	kódh	→	kódhò	‘blow’
	túk	→	túwò (*túkò)	‘play’
	kôŋ	→	kôŋò	‘dig’
	rób	→	róbò	‘speak’

As mentioned above, all phonological changes apply to a limited number of verbs only. Languages that are closely related to Luwo, such as Anywa, Pãri and Shilluk, exhibit far more regular patterns of vowel and consonant change in the formation of antipassives. Reh (1996:220 ff.) describes a complete set of rules that make all formation processes fully predictable. In Luwo, such rules apply to such a small group of verbs that they no longer explain the underlying derivational system. Since Luwo has lost many of the morphologically marked stems that can be described, for example, for Anywa, it is likely that the absence of regular, rule-governed processes in the derivation of antipassives is the result of a general reduction of productivity and complexity in the verbal derivational system. This is also suggested by the periphrastically constructed benefactives, causatives, and instrumental forms below, which seem to have replaced morphological derivations.

7.2.2.2 Impersonal-passive

Luwo does not have a real passive,³ but employs an impersonal form to express the passivity and patienthood of the original agent-participant. The impersonal form consists of an object marker, a TAM morpheme, and the bare root of the verb, which loses its antipassive suffix. Examples that contrast active and impersonal-passive clauses are given in (7.18).

(7.18a)	IMPERSONAL-PASSIVE:
	ŋó à-rób
	O:3SG PFV-say:TR
	‘it was said’

3. This remains a matter of definition. It is common for Nilotic languages to delete the agent without promoting the object to subject, and this is one way of expressing passives or “impersonal actives” (Gerrit Dimmendaal p.c.).

ACTIVE:

ηó à-róbò

O:3SG PFV-say:AP

's/he said'

(7.18b) IMPERSONAL-PASSIVE:

gé bòdh

O:3PL save:TR

'they were saved'

ACTIVE:

gé à-bòdh=é

O:3PL PFV-save:TR=3SG

's/he saved them'

In the third person singular, there is a distinction between animate and inanimate participants, which is expressed by the use of two different O/P pronouns. A human P-participant is represented by a zero pronoun, while other P participants are expressed by the pronoun *ηó*.

(7.19) *à-cám*

PFV-eat:TR

's/he has been eaten'

ηó à-cám

O:3SG PFV-eat:TR

'it has been eaten'

A second pronoun also occurs in consecutive impersonal-passive constructions. While Buth (1981a) gives a construction with a suffixed participant as an example of the passive, namely *máá gɔɔj-e* 'and then she was hit', this was not accepted by the group with whom the present author worked – they would replace the form given by Buth with a construction like *máá ηó à-pwóð* 'and then she was beaten'. The example illustrates that there is some variation among the possible impersonal-passive forms. This is further implied by the existence of periphrastic forms alongside the morphologically marked constructions for the other derived stems.

7.2.2.3 Anticausative

While impersonal-passive constructions allow for a syntactic indication of the cause of the event, anticausatives do not permit this. Anticausative verbs express an event that affects the subject as patient-experiencer (or undergoer), but do not provide any means of expressing the agent of causation.

Anticausative verbs can be derived from action verbs by means of vowel alternation. The vowel in the verbal stem always shifts to its breathy counterpart. This strategy is very similar to that found in Labwor (Heine & König 2010), for

example. The following examples illustrate the formation of anticausatives in anti-passive constructions. Note that there is no distinction between an animate and an inanimate patient-experiencer, e.g. in (7.20b) and (7.20c).

- (7.20a) ACTIVE
à-ké-góòṣò
 PFV-DUR-scratch:AP
 ‘s/he was scratching’
 ANTICAUSATIVE
à-ké-gwóòṣò
 PFV-DUR-scratch:AC:AP
 ‘s/he was scratched’
- (7.20b) ACTIVE
à-ké-wàṛò
 PFV-DUR-sing:AP
 ‘s/he was singing’
 ANTICAUSATIVE
à-ké-wàò
 PFV-DUR-sing:AC:AP
 ‘it was sung’
- (7.20c) ACTIVE
à-ké-dááḍò
 PFV-DUR-gnaw:AP
 ‘s/he was eating gnawingly’
 ANTICAUSATIVE
à-ké-dááḍò
 PFV-DUR-gnaw:AC:AP
 ‘it was eaten gnawingly’
- (7.20d) ACTIVE
móóḡè à-ké-ṣáámò
 some:PL PFV-DUR-eat:AP
 ‘some were eating’
 ANTICAUSATIVE
móóḡè à-ké-ṣámò
 some:PL PFV-DUR-eat:AC:AP
 ‘some were eaten’

7.2.2.4 Instrumental

There is no productive morphological derivation of instrumental stems apart from a characteristic H or HL tone pattern (e.g. *kòdh* ‘blow:TR’ → *kódhò* ‘blow:AP:INSTR’). Besides tone, a linking morpheme is used: a transitive or intransitive verb is always

the Luwo suffix and the reconstructed causative marker are historically identical, which seems likely, then Luwo would have retained the causative meaning of the morpheme, while other languages of the Lwoo group may lack such a semantic pattern.

Interestingly, itives in Luwo exhibit a suffix *-Cí* plus an H tone pattern. Besides these structural similarities, both derivations share semantic patterns: while the causative expresses the transfer of the action from one participant to another, itives also express the transfer of the action, albeit to another location.

The causative stem conveys the meaning ‘to make somebody do something’. This may also be expressed in periphrastic constructions, which are frequently used. The following examples illustrate transitive causative stems, before the other construction types are presented below:

- (7.26a) *lwók* ‘wash’ → *lwòg-í* ‘make wash’
máàdh ‘drink’ → *màdh-í* ‘make drink’
- (7.26b) *màdhí ké bíbthì*
 drink:CAUS PREP NAME
 ‘make somebody drink “pepsi”’

Intransitive causative stems retain their tone and exhibit a suffix *-ó* rather than *-í*, whereby it is conceivable that two suffixes, namely *-ò* and *-í*, have merged, sharing the [H] tone pattern. An example is:

- (7.27) *cám* ‘eat’ → *cálámó* ‘feed somebody’
thò ‘die’ → *thó^{wó}* ‘make somebody die’

Periphrastic constructions differentiate between animate and inanimate, or [\pm human] undergoers. This distinction is made by the use of two different light verb constructions. Causative constructions that express an action which aims at an inanimate undergoer use the light verb *yóóg* ‘make’, plus the bare root of the main verb. Examples are:

- (7.28) *ηó à-yóóg=é dwóη*
 O:3SG PFV-make=3SG be.big
 ‘s/he made it big’
- (7.29) *ηó à-yóóg=é liéth*
 O:3SG PFV-make=3SG be.hot
 ‘s/he made it hot’

Animate undergoers are expressed by the use of the coverb *méèg* ‘let, make’:

- (7.30) *án à-méèg=↓é kòadh*
 O:1SG PFV-make=3SG blow:ITR
 ‘s/he made me blow’

án *à-méèg=↓é* *wóðlò*
 O:1SG PFV-make=3SG cough:AP
 ‘s/he made me cough’
án *à-méèg=↓é* *kwálanò*
 O:1SG PFV-make=3SG count:AP
 ‘s/he made me count’

7.2.2.7 Itive-Altrilocal

Itive stems are found in a large number of languages closely related to Luwo, and seem to share a number of structural features. They are typically marked by a high tone (e.g. Anywa, Reh 1996, Dinka, Andersen 2012), by a suffix -V́ (Anywa), or by non-linear devices such as vowel lengthening and fronting (Dinka). In Luwo, both the high tone and a suffix -Cí occur, and very rarely does vowel change also play a role.

As far as semantics and function are concerned, the term ‘itive’ seems to be somewhat imprecise, as more often altrilocality is expressed. Consequently, Andersen (2012), besides others, chooses the term ‘centrifugal’, which more clearly denotes the derivation’s semantic and functional concept. In Luwo, some stems denote an action that is performed moving away from the speaker, while other stems refer to an action that takes place elsewhere, not where the speaker is. In order to refer to both possible meanings, I choose the term ‘itive-altrilocal’ (IA). Typical forms are presented in the following examples:

- (7.31a) *cám* ‘eat’ → *cám-mí* ‘eat over there’ (eat:TR:IA)
máadh ‘drink’ → *máadh-dhí* ‘drink there’ (drink:TR:IA)
kwaay ‘swim’ → *kwá-ŋí* ‘swim there’ (swim:IA)

but:

- (7.31b) *waay* ‘depart’ → *wiyy* ‘leave there’

- (7.31c) *à-kwáŋí* *naam*
 PFV-swim:IA river
 ‘s/he swam in the river’

When the itive-altrilocal derivation is combined with the antipassive, the suffix of the antipassive is not replaced, e.g.:

- (7.32) *kódh* ‘blow’ → *kódhò* ‘blow at, over there’ (blow:AP:IA)

Other itive-altrilocal stems exhibit the characteristic high tone but lack the derivational suffix, such as *kàl* ‘take there (far)’ → *kál* ‘pass over’. In order to make the phrase less ambiguous (as high tone stems without itive-altrilocal meaning also exist in Luwo), the demonstrative *kécá* ‘there’ is added:

- (7.33) lwók 'wash' → lwók kéká 'wash there'
 myél 'dance' → myél kéká 'dance there'
 thò 'die' → thò kéká 'die there'
 cùuṅò 'stand' → cùuṅò kéká 'stand there'

Besides the demonstrative, there are locative prepositions⁴ with which itive-altrilocal clauses can be constructed. These are used with stems that have stacked derivations, such as AP-IA. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (7.34) à-kúdhò rí ñithíính
 PFV-blow:AP:IA PREP:LOC child
 'he blew on the child'
- (7.35) à-pádhò yi buur
 PFV-fall:AP:IA PREP:LOC hole
 'he fell into a hole'
- (7.36) à-thíyò yi pwódhó
 PFV-work:AP:IA PREP:LOC farm
 'he worked on the farm'
- (7.37) à-pádhò wii yáth
 PFV-fall:AP:IA PREP:LOC tree
 'he fell from a tree'

7.2.2.8 Ventive

The ventive stem expresses an action that is performed towards the speaker. Unlike the itive-altrilocal, the ventive is not marked by a suffix. There is, however, a regular decrease in tone height from H to M or L that characterises ventive stems. Examples are:

- (7.38) lóg 'turn around' → lóg 'turn around towards here'
 ṅwúdò 'spit:AP' → ṅwùd 'spit at'
 kál 'pass:IA' → kal 'bring here'
- (7.39) à-lòg-é báṅ=á
 PFV-turn:v=3SG side=POSS:1SG
 's/he turned to me'
- (7.40) à-ṅwùd=é báṅ=á
 PFV-spit:v=3SG side=POSS:1SG
 's/he spit at me'

4. Reh (1996:273) uses the term 'localizer' rather than preposition for very similar forms in Anywa.

7.2.2.9 *Frequentative-Intensive*

This derivation expresses that an action is carried out in an intensive way or several times. It does not increase the number of participants. The frequentative-intensive derivation may be applied to action verbs, but not to state verbs, which are pluralised instead.

Frequentative-intensive stems exhibit an H–L tone pattern, but no vowel change and no affixation. Examples are:

- (7.41) kódh ‘blow:ITR’ → kòdh ‘to blow much’
 yII ‘breathe’ → yíi ‘breathe much, hyperventilate’
 kwálln ‘count’ → kwálln ‘count all, completely’
 nènò ‘sleep’ → nénò ‘sleep a lot’

7.3 Verbal inflection

While verbal derivation in Luwo has been little studied in comparison to some of its relatives, and may still need considerable attention, especially in the domain of apotony, the inflectional morphology and morphophonology of the verb was described in remarkable detail by Santandrea as early as 1946. Much of his analysis can still be considered substantial and insightful today. There are, however, specific paradigms that were not explored and described appropriately by this pioneering scholar, so that they need to be reconsidered here. Even more problematic than the slightly incomplete description of the paradigms is the issue of tense and aspect. Santandrea’s analysis is tense-based, whereas the system seems actually to be an exclusively aspect-based one. Hence, an aspect-oriented analysis which suits the system much better will be used in the present section.

7.3.1 Person and pronominal inflection

Inflection primarily operates by affixation, whereby the conjugated verb basically consists of the verb root, a pronominal prefix or suffix, an affixed aspect or mood morpheme, and in some cases a light verb. This section will provide an overview of person marking on the verb, before aspect and mood are discussed.

7.3.1.1 *Pronominal prefix*

The pronominal prefix is used in intransitive clauses, progressive reflexive clauses and wherever the pronominal affix refers to a participant (O), but not the agent (A) of a verbal action. This is the case with intransitive, antipassive and stative verbs, for example. Compare the following forms:

- (7.42) á=à-cámò AV
 1SG=PFV-eat:AP
 ‘I ate’

- (7.43) *á-cóp ríi-á* AVO
 1SG=hurt self:SG=POSS:1SG
 'I am hurting myself (accidentally)'

The prefixed pronoun occurs in a short and a long variety. The long pronoun has subject-focussing functions:

- (7.44) *án à-ráy* A_{FOC}V
 1SG PFV-leave:ITR
 'I left'

The full paradigms of the prefixed short and free long subject/agent pronouns are as follows:

Table 7.1. Subject prefixes with 'eat:AP' and 'leave:ITR' in the perfective aspect

		SHORT (PREFIX)	LONG (INDEPENDENT FORM)
SG	1	<i>á=à-cámò</i> 1SG=PFV-eat:AP	<i>án à-ráy</i> 1SG PFV-leave:ITR
	2	<i>yí=à-cámò</i>	<i>yín à-ráy</i>
	3	<i>à-cámò (*é=...)</i>	<i>en à-ráy</i>
PL	1INCL	<i>òn=à-cámò</i>	<i>òn à-ráy</i>
	1EXCL	<i>wá=à-cámò</i>	<i>wán à-ráy</i>
	2	<i>ú=à-cámò</i>	<i>wún à-ráy</i>
	3	<i>gé=à-cámò</i>	<i>gén à-ráy</i>

The third person singular is often realised as zero (\emptyset), so that the verb is preceded only by an aspect marker, for example *à-* in the forms presented in the preceding section.

7.3.1.2 Pronominal suffix

The pronominal suffix is used with transitive verbs, where it refers to the agent and refers to an object or patient. As in other ergative languages of the Lwoo group, the basic word order in transitive sentences is always OVS; in intransitive sentences, the agent (S_A) takes the position of the patient (O), so that the word order here is SV.⁵ An example is:

- (7.45) *cám à-cám=á* OVS
 food PFV-eat=1SG
 'I ate the food'

5. On word order and ergative clauses in Luwo, see Chapter 11 and Buth (1981a).

Unlike the prefixed subject pronouns, the suffix occurs only in one – short – variety. It functions as a pronominal form for a nominal agent in transitive clauses, and it occurs as an agent in reflexive clauses. The full paradigm of both functional domains of the pronominal suffix is exemplified as follows:

Table 7.2. Subject suffixes with ‘eat:TR’ and ‘hurt:TR’ in the perfective aspect

		‘eat’	‘hurt oneself’
SG	1	cám à-cám=á food PFV-eat:TR=1SG	ríí=á à-cób=á self:SG=POSS:1SG PFV-hurt:TR=1SG
	2	cám à-cám=i	ríí=i à-cób=i
	3	cám à-cám=é	réé=à-cób=é
PL	1INCL	cám à-cám=ò	ròg=ón à-cób=ò
	1EXCL	cám à-cám=wàn	ròg=wán à-cób=wàn
	2	cám à-cám=ù	ròg=ú à-cób=ù
	3	cám à-cám=gèn	ròg=én à-cób=gèn

7.3.1.3 Object marking

The object as an obligatory participant may be represented by a nominal object, i.e. a noun, or may be pronominalised. Like the object noun which precedes the bivalent verb phrase in the first slot of Table (7.2) above (see also Chapters 11 and 13), the pronominalised object occurs in the slot directly preceding the verb. The paradigm for pronominal object marking is given in Table (7.3). Note that the aspect morpheme *à-* assimilates to the vowel quality of the preceding plural object pronoun.

Table 7.3. Object marking with ‘know (somebody/something)’ in the perfective

SG	1	an à-ηάγ=έ O:1SG PFV-know=3SG
	2	yi à-ηάγ=έ
	3	ηó à-ηάγ=έ
PL	1INCL	o ò-ηάγ=έ
	1EXCL	wa à-ηάγ=έ
	2	u ù-ηάγ=έ
	3	gé è-ηάγ=έ

7.3.2 Aspect

As indicated above, Santandrea’s pioneering (1946) study contains rather insightful data on the different verb-inflectional paradigms of Luwo, but explores them using a tense-based approach. The following tenses were explored:

- Past (*passato*) with *a-*
- Present (*presente*) with *u-...-o*
- Future (*future*) with *u-*
- Imperfect (*imperfetto*) with *ana-*
- Pluperfect (*piucheperfetto*) with *(a)ke-*
- Habitual (*frequentativo o abituale*) with *na u-*

This was first dealt with as a problematic analysis in Storch (2006). In this contribution, a focus was laid on aspect and its evidential extensions, but no systematic analysis of the entire system took place. In the following, the aspectual categories of Luwo will be studied in more detail.

First of all, it can be argued that if we assume that the verb system of Luwo distinguishes between tenses, then there are some features which remain unexplained and may best be termed “irregular”. This is the case in the forms that were described as past tense, which may also be used to describe events which take place in the present. Additionally, the imperfect (a kind of additional “past tense” in many of Santandrea’s examples) is described as a form that denotes events that took place some time ago, while a third form also denoting actions of the past was described as expressing durativity. The occurrence of the last form usually indicates that a given system is tense-marking, and looks rather similar to the forms found in many elaborate tense-marking languages, such as Lacustrine Bantu, where this tense would express consecutive events. In Luwo, however, the semantics of these different “past” forms differs greatly in accordance with verbal semantics; for example, events denoted by action verbs are conceptualised as having different a different event structure as opposed to static events.

An aspect-based analysis of the system makes these phenomena much more transparent. If the forms formerly termed “past” by Santandrea are analysed as perfective aspect, rather prototypical features of the perfective emerge: in perfective constructions, an event is typically seen as a whole, and this is exactly what happens in Luwo. The event can be seen as a complex structure that consists of preparatory processes and the consequences associated with the expression of a process that comes to a culmination (Moens & Steedman 2005: 99 f.). Action verbs here tend to emphasise culmination, or the end of the event (i.e. the second boundary: ‘to result in XY’), while state verbs have a more inchoative meaning and focus on the preparatory process (i.e. the first boundary: ‘to become XY’).

In contrast with this, the imperfective aspect (Santandrea’s present, future and habitual tenses) typically describes an existing state or ongoing process (single or iterative event). This is especially the case with *-CONSEQUENCE EXTENDED PROCESS* verbs (e.g. ‘walk’, ‘speak’, ‘play music’) and with *-CONSEQUENCE ATOMIC POINT* verbs (e.g. ‘hiccup’, ‘cough’, etc.). The imperfective may also express culmination

when telic action verbs are used, such as ‘win’, ‘recognise’, or a culminated process with verbs such as ‘build XY’, ‘eat XY’, etc. (Moens & Steedman 2005: 96 ff.).

Consequently, a number of diagnostics can be used to define Luwo as an aspect-based language. First, the verb-inflectional categories do not refer to absolute time frames, but either describe an event as a whole, emphasising its boundedness (perfective), or express an existing state with emphasis on the internal structure of the situation (imperfective) (Comrie 1976: 16 ff.). Second, verb semantics and temporal reference interact considerably. Third, aspect is often organised in binary oppositions (PERFECTIVE: IMPERFECTIVE), which may also be morphologically marked. This is exactly the case in Luwo, as the following sections will demonstrate.

All non-mood inflectional categories in Luwo can be associated with one of two basic aspectual categories, namely imperfective and perfective. The most salient morphological features of the two aspects are the prefixed aspect morphemes *à-* (perfective) and *u-* (imperfective). The semantic differences between these basic aspects are exemplified as follows:

(7.46) PERFECTIVE ASPECT

rééyś éñ à-cám dhecuów-é wòt
 fish:SGV be.present PFV-eat:TR man-CASE house
 ‘the man (definitely) eats the fish in the house’

(7.47) PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT

lááy à-nág=é ù-wááy
 animal PFV-kill:TR=3SG IPFV-leave=ITR
 ‘he killed an animal and (then) leaves’

(7.48) IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT

dhecuów ù-cámó ké rééyś wòt
 man IPFV-eat:AP PREP fish:SGV house
 ‘the man (habitually) eats the fish in the house’

In Example (7.46), the event is conceived of as a whole, and the verbal phrase here covers the entire action of eating the fish in the house. The event is furthermore conceptualised as being of indisputable reality, i.e. the man definitely eats the fish in the house. It is not indicated whether the process of eating is ongoing at the time of the utterance, and the perfective does not express whether or not a situation is of limited duration. Instead, the sentence in (7.46) describes an event that in itself, as a whole, may be contrasted with another event, which may be incomplete (imperfective). Here, the perfective event would be conceived of as completed, as in (7.47). Without such a contrastive form, the perfective represents the action without any overtones.

In (7.48), the imperfective expresses a culminated process with strong habitual overtones. The verbal phrase consists of an antipassive verb and expresses

an ongoing process of eating. The second participant, the fish, is not an obligatory participant here, but a complement that is linked to the verb with a linker morpheme. The entire sentence describes the event as an existing state, with participants that might possibly undergo change (fish, other foods). Its more literal translation would be ‘the man eats in the house with fish’.

The two basic aspectual categories of Luwo are the basis for several aspectual values. These are all constructed by means of the perfective or imperfective marker plus other aspectual-temporal morphemes. The following table provides an overview of the aspect system.

Table 7.4. Overview of the aspect system

PERFECTIVE ASPECT	IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT
Perfective: <i>à-</i>	Imperfective: <i>ù-</i>
Perfective II: <i>à-náà-</i>	
Perfective-durative: <i>àké-</i>	Imperfective-durative: <i>ké</i>
Perfective-habitual: <i>béédhò ká à-</i> , <i>béédh- à- VN</i>	Imperfective-habitual: <i>béédh- ú-</i> , <i>naa ú-</i>
Perfective-progressive: <i>à- VN</i>	Imperfective-progressive: <i>ú-/φ VN</i>
Perfective-future: <i>à-cáá- né</i>	Imperfective-future: <i>ú-'</i>

The following sections describe the aspect system in more detail.

7.3.2.1 *Perfective*

The perfective aspect denotes an event as a whole, without any overtones. The action is conceived as real and – with action verbs – the perfective highlights the second boundary of the event, while with state verbs the incipient event is more in focus, i.e. the first boundary is focused. Compare the following examples:

(7.49) ACTION VERB
jááków ñùt jénó à-ñól=é
 girl neck chicken:SGV PVF-slaughter=3SG
 ‘the girl slaughtered a chicken’

(7.50) STATE VERB
an à-kwíj=é
 O:1SG PFV-ignore=3SG
 ‘s/he ignored me’

For the full paradigm of the perfective, see Table 7.1 above. It should be noted that the perfective marker *à-* is responsible for a tone-lowering process of high- and mid-tone verbs. This might be evidence for a low tone as an additional, or perhaps original, aspect marker.

7.3.2.2 *Perfective II*

The second perfective form basically denotes the same type of event as the first one. It does not, however, highlight the second boundary of the event in relation to the real nature of the event. While the first perfective form denotes an event that has really taken place and can be distinguished from other events, the perfective II simply describes an event without emphasising firsthand information (see §7.4 below).

The full paradigm of this aspect is as follows:

Table 7.5. Perfective II with ‘cook’

sg	1	kádò	à-náà-tháàl=↓á	‘I cooked broth’
		broth	PFV-N.EVID-cook:TR=1sg	
	2	kádò	à-náà-tháàl=-ì	
	3	kádò	à-náà-tháàl=↓é	
pl	1INCL	kádò	à-náà-tháàl=ò	
	1EXCL	kádò	à-náà-tháàl=wàn	
	2	kádò	à-náà-tháàl=ù	
	3	kádò	à-náà-tháàl=gèn	

The perfective II prefix *à-náà-* was first analysed as an imperfective morpheme in Storch (2005b), but after careful analysis of its tone pattern as well as its semantics and functions, this interpretation no longer holds. Instead, the prefix clearly consists of the perfective marker *à-* plus a *-EVIDENTIAL* morpheme *-náà-*, which makes this perfective form more marked. The marker may have developed through a grammaticalisation process from the verb *naa* ‘exist’.

The perfective II expresses a focus on the object, rather than highlighting the event as real and whole. Hence, the examples in Table 7.5 express something like ‘I cooked broth (and nothing else)’. With state verbs, the perfective II has strong subject-focussing connotations, as in the following example:

- (7.51) *á=à-náà-pwòth*
 1SG=PFV-N.EVID-be.thin
 ‘I was thin’

This is interesting in that the only functional difference between the two perfective forms seems to lie in the highlighted component of the verb phrase: while the *à*-perfective highlights the event itself, the perfective II emphasises the participants.

7.3.2.3 Perfective-durative

The durative morpheme *-ké-* may be combined with either a perfective or imperfective aspect marker. It expresses an event that goes on uninterrupted for an undefined period of time. This event may be an action ('walk'), a state ('be hot'), or a series of similar actions ('hiccup'). In the perfective, state verbs no longer express inchoative concepts, but refer to the mere state without any overtones.

In the following example, the action verb 'cook' is antipassive, because the object – the cooked food – is not mentioned. The benefactor is expressed by a possessive noun phrase 'for me'. The verb in the perfective-durative denotes an action that continued over a long period of time, but may now have stopped. Here, the perfective-durative has habitual connotations.

- (7.52) *àn à-ké-téèdò yír=á*
 O:1SG PFV-DUR-COOK:AP PREP=O:3SG
 's/he was cooking for me (continuously)'

In the next example, the state verb 'be old' is used. In the perfective, this verb has an inchoative connotation, in the sense of 's/he has become old, i.e. now is old'. In the perfective-durative, this verb denotes that the participant was continuously in the state of being old for some time, perhaps before dying.

- (7.53) *à-ké-wá*
 PFV-DUR-be.old
 's/he was being old'

The full paradigm is presented in the following table:

Table 7.6. Perfective-durative with 'cook'

SG	1	kádò	à-ké-tháàl=↓á	'I was cooking broth (for some time)'
		broth	PFV-DUR-COOK:TR=1SG	
	2	kádò	à-ké-tháàl=ì	
	3	kádò	à-ké-tháàl=↓é	
PL	1INCL	kádò	à-ké-tháàl=ò	
	1EXCL	kádò	à-ké-tháàl=wàn	
	2	kádò	à-ké-tháàl=ù	
	3	kádò	à-ké-tháàl=gèn	

7.3.2.4 Perfective-habitual

While the habitual connotation of the perfective-durative depended on the semantics of the verb, the perfective-habitual clearly focuses on the event as a regularly repeated, commonly performed action. The perfective marker indicates that the

habit of performing the action is completed or finished at the time of the speech event. This also holds true for state verbs, whereby it is indicated that a certain state has been replaced by another, different one.

There are two equivalent constructions, both with the light verb *béédh* 'be'. In the first construction, the light verb is linked to the perfective main verb with *ké*, which is assimilated to the vowel of the following perfective morpheme *à-*. Hence, the entire construction expresses something like 'staying with perfective XY'. The second construction uses the inflected form of 'be', *béédh-*, which is followed by the main verb in the perfective and the verbal noun of the main verb. This construction literally expresses 'X exists and was doing XY'. Compare the following examples:

(7.54) *béédhò ká à-cámò*
 be:AP PREP PFV-eat:AP
 's/he used to eat (but not any longer)'

(7.55) *béédh=é à-cám cám*
 be=3SG PFV-eat:TR food
 's/he used to eat (food) (but now...)'

The full paradigm is as follows:

Table 7.7. Perfective-habitual with 'eat'

SG	1	<i>béédhò ká á=à-cámò</i>	<i>béédh-á à-cám cám</i>
		be:AP PREP 1SG=PFV-eat.AP	be=1SG PFV-eat:TR food
	2	<i>béédhò ké yí=à-cámò</i>	<i>béédh=ì à-cám cám</i>
	3	<i>béédhò ká à-cámò</i>	<i>béédh=é à-cám cám</i>
PL	1INCL	<i>béédhò ké òn=à-cámò</i>	<i>béédh=ò à-cám cám</i>
	1EXCL	<i>béédhò ké wá=à-cámò</i>	<i>béédh=wàn à-cám cám</i>
	2	<i>béédhò kú ú=à-cámò</i>	<i>béédh=ù à-cám cám</i>
	3	<i>béédhò ké gé=à-cámò</i>	<i>béédh=gèn à-cám cám</i>

7.3.2.5 *Perfective-progressive*

In contrast to the perfective-durative, the progressive denotes a process, which may or may not be still going on at the time of the speech event. With action verbs, this process is conceptualised as a culminated process, which results in a progressive state. With state verbs, a clearly inchoative meaning is expressed, and many state verbs in the perfective-progressive denote an achieved change of state.

The perfective-progressive is constructed with the perfective marker *à-* and the verbal noun. The following examples illustrate the form:

(7.56) à-rób=é róbò
 PFV-say=3SG say:VN
 's/he was saying it'

(7.57) à-míŋ=é míŋò
 PFV-become.deaf=3SG become.deaf:VN
 's/he was becoming deaf'

7.3.2.6 Perfective-future

As Luwo is largely a tenseless language, the future does not refer to an absolute time of reference after the time of the speech event, but rather to an event which, in relation to another event, is yet to commence. Consequently, the perfective-future may be used to describe an action as future which has actually already occurred at the time of utterance.

Moreover, this aspect highlights the first boundary, i.e. the time at which the event or action starts. The following example expresses something like 'I am/was going to start to ...' rather than 'I will do ...'.

This aspect is realised as a multiverb construction with *cáá* 'go', which is inflected for aspect and person, and the conjunction *né* that introduces the main verb.

This stands in contrast to the morphologically marked imperfective future (see §3.2.11 below).

(7.58) á=à-cáá né thaal
 1SG=PFV-go CONJ cook:TR
 'I am/was about to cook'

7.3.2.7 Imperfective

The imperfective aspect expresses an existing state and highlights the internal structure of the situation or event. The basic imperfective is clearly limited to this aspect's core function, as all other connotations of the imperfective are expressed by separate forms.

The imperfective prefix is *ù-*. Even though the morpheme bears a low tone, it is likely that the original imperfective marker also involved a high tone marker, as there is no tone lowering process as in the perfective aspect (see §7.3.2.1).

In the imperfective, action verbs express a process as a state, without making any reference to truth. State verbs, in turn, express state and not change of state. There can be a habitual connotation with extended process action verbs, such as 'dance'. If more than one verb in a clause is constructed in the imperfective, a consecutive meaning emerges. The following examples illustrate these semantic-functional patterns:

(7.59) ù-rób=é
 IPFV-say=3SG
 's/he says (it)'

- (7.60) *ù-mwól=é*
 IPFV-be.mad=3SG
 's/he is mad'
- (7.61) *ù-myélb*
 IPFV-dance:AP
 's/he is (usually, always) dancing'
- (7.62) *á=ù-cámò ù-mádh=á ké en*
 1SG=IPFV-eat:AP IPFV-drink=1SG PREP O:3SG
 'I eat and then drink with him/her'

The full paradigm is as follows:

Table 7.8. Imperfective with 'cook'

SG	1	<i>á=ù-tɛɛdò</i> 1SG=IPFV-cook:AP
	2	<i>yí=ù-tɛɛdò</i>
	3	<i>ù-tɛɛdò</i>
PL	1INCL	<i>òn=ù-tɛɛdò</i>
	1EXCL	<i>wá=ù-tɛɛdò</i>
	2	<i>ú=ù-tɛɛdò</i>
	3	<i>gé=ù-tɛɛdò</i>

7.3.2.8 Imperfective-durative

The duration and progressive state of an event is highlighted by the durative morpheme *ké-*. In the imperfective, this morpheme is not combined with another aspect marker, which is a strategy that is also encountered in the progressive (see §7.3.2.10 below). The following examples illustrate the formation of this aspect:

- (7.63) *ηó ké-pwód-á ké jínj-í*
 O:3SG DUR-beat=1SG PREP name-POSS:2SG
 'I am (continuously) beating him/her for you'
- (7.64) *án ké-gòk*
 1SG DUR-tire
 'I am tiring'

7.3.2.9 Imperfective-habitual

The habitual may be constructed with the person-inflected light verb *béédh-* and the imperfective prefix *u-*, which bears a high tone and marks the main verb for aspect. Another strategy involves the use of the imperfective prefix and the light verb *naa* 'be, exist as'. Both forms express an action or event that habitually occurs

again and again, or is frequently performed as a habit. State verbs tend to express a habitual change of state rather than the state itself.

(7.65) *béédh=é ú-cámò*
 be=3SG IPFV-eat:AP
 's/he eats habitually'

(7.66) *óò naa ú-cám-é*
 potato exist IPFV-eat:TR=3SG
 's/he habitually eats potatoes'

7.3.2.10 Imperfective-progressive

The imperfective prefix *u-* also bears a high tone in the progressive, in which the verb is followed by a verbal noun. The aspect marker may also be omitted, so that the main verb is marked zero for aspect.

The progressive expresses a continued event or state, whereby neither iterative nor change of state are referred to. The progressive rather refers to a single culmination process which has not yet come to its end. Characteristic examples are:

(7.67) *ú-cám cámò*
 IPFV-eat:AP eat:VN
 's/he is eating (right now)'

(7.68a) *ú-rób=é róbò*
 IPFV-say=3SG say:VN
 's/he is saying (it)'

(7.68b) *rób=é róbò*
 say=3SG say:VN
 's/he is saying (it)'

7.3.2.11 Imperfective-future

The imperfective has a strong future connotation, which is obvious from the morphological structure of the imperfective-future. This aspect is constructed with the high-tone-bearing imperfective prefix, which on mid- and low-tone stems has a tone-raising effect. Examples are:

(7.69) *ú-rób=é*
 IPFV-say=3SG
 's/he will say (it)'

(7.70) *ú-nénò*
 IPFV-sleep:AP
 's/he will sleep'

- (7.71) *móógè ú-ní am ηου-έ*
 some:PL IPFV-eat lion-CASE
 ‘the lion will eat some’

7.3.3 Mood

While Luwo seems to be a language whose verbal system is not based on tense but on aspect, mood certainly plays a role as well. There is only one morphologically constructed mood, namely the imperative, while the subjunctive consists of the bare stem to which the subject marker is suffixed.

Santandrea (1946:29) also mentions the conjunctive and conditional moods, but both are entirely periphrastic constructions which are formed with the help of prepositions, such as *ké*. These constructions will be dealt with in Chapter 13.

7.3.3.1 Imperative

The imperative is constructed with a suffix *-í* in the singular, and a suffix *-ú* in the plural,⁶ which are added to the transitive verbal stem. Antipassive verbs take an *-ó* suffix in the singular, and an *-ù* suffix in the plural. Furthermore, transitive verbs change their tone pattern to L–H, while antipassive verbs keep their original tone. Verb stems that end in /i/ trigger dissimilation of the singular suffix, which becomes *-é*. Examples are:

(7.72)	STEM	IMPERATIVE	
		SG	PL
	yii ‘breathe’	yìé	yìwú
	myél ‘dance’	myèlí	myèlú
	ηáy ‘know’	ηáyí	ηèyú
	ηút ‘spit’	ηùdí	ηùdú
	ner ‘laugh’	nèrí	nèrú
	túgò ‘play’	túwó	túgù
	róm ‘meet’	rómó	rómù

The imperative forms differ in the number of addressees; while singular imperatives refer to one addressee, plural ones refer to two or more of them. However, the use of imperatives is strongly constrained by pragmatics. An example for its use would be a prototypically top-down communication context, such as a teacher uttering a command to a child, or a military leader commanding a soldier, for example. Otherwise, the plural form of the imperative is used,

6. Historically, these are second person singular and plural markers respectively (hence suggesting that the imperative goes back to a subjunctive or a hortative; Gerrit Dimmendaal p.c.).

symbolically referring to the addressee and his or her (inferred) company. As discussed in Aikhenvald (2010:212 f.), imperatives, as imposing as they are on the addressee, also express deferential attitudes on the part of the speaker in some languages. In Luwo, this is realised by putting the addressee in the plural while the speaker acts as a singular individual. This symbolically heightens the agency and role of the addressee and thereby helps to soften an otherwise irrevocable command. This politeness strategy is not available in the other mood in Luwo, the subjunctive.

7.3.3.2 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is constructed with the bare stem, to which a subject pronoun is suffixed. There are no tonal changes and no changes in the vowel quality. The paradigm is as follows:

Table 7.9. Subjunctive with ‘cook’

SG	1	kádò tháál-↓á	‘I should cook (some) broth’
		broth cook:TR=1SG	
	2	kádò tháál=ì	
	3	kádò tháál=↓é	
PL	1INCL	kádò tháál=ò	
	1EXCL	kádò tháál=wàn	
	2	kádò tháál=ù	
	3	kádò tháál=gèn	

Subjunctives convey commands as well, but since these potentially permit a negative reply, and can also be directed at the speaker as well as the addressee or a third person, they are less authoritative. Hence, commands and orders are much more often expressed as subjunctive constructions than as imperatives. The actual meaning of the subjunctive, however, largely depends on person: subjunctives in the second person express polite commands, requests and invitations. In the first person, they rather express intents and plans (as in the example given in Table 7.9). In the third person, subjunctives are used as a politeness strategy in order to diplomatically convey commands via an intermediary. Hence, when a delicate order, for example to an older person, needs to be transmitted, a speaker could resort to the strategy of asking indirectly, using the third person subjunctive. Examples are:

- (7.73) *waarò lúóg-ì yír=á*
 dress wash:TR=2SG PREP=POSS:1SG
 ‘you should wash the dress for me’

- (7.74) *ákác waarò lúòg=é yír=á*
 NAME dress wash:TR=3SG PREP=POSS:1SG
 ‘Akac should wash the dress for me’ (implies the command to addressee:
 ‘go and tell her!’)

There are other ways of uttering commands and requests in face-keeping ways. One possible strategy is to construct a request in the form of a question, e.g.:

- (7.75) *yín ù-lúògò ké waarò yír=á*
 2SG IPVF-wash:AP PREP dress PREP=POSS:1SG
 ‘can you wash the dress for me?’

- (7.76) *ù-lúòg=é ké waarò yír=á*
 IPFV-wash:TR-3SG PREP dress PREP=POSS:1SG
 ‘should s/he wash the dress for me?’

Here, neither a subjunctive nor an imperative form is used. In principle, indirect commands and requests in the form of questions imply as much authority as those constructed in the imperative mood. They are considered less face-threatening, however, as they provide an opportunity to decline the order. This seems to be a general function of questions in authoritative discourse. For Example, (7.76) is also a possible way of criticising somebody who has not accomplished an order. Again, one has the option of responding with a negation, instead of admitting that an order has been forgotten.

For detailed explanations of questions, see Chapter 14.

7.4 Light verbs and multiverb constructions

Luwo has multiverb constructions with not more than two verbs participating in the construction. Most multiverb constructions in Luwo are light verb constructions. The light verb, which stands before the main predicative verb, provides additional information on aspect, or changes the aspect of the verb. Since the aspect system of Luwo is only based on morphologically marked aspect to a limited extent, light verbs play an important role in specifying aspectual values. Their occurrence seems not to be limited to aspect-marking contexts, as they also appear in contexts where modality and direction – functions which are salient in coverb constructions elsewhere in Nilo-Saharan (Waag 2010) – are expressed.

The following light verbs have been recorded:

- | (7.77) | LIGHT VERB | FUNCTION |
|--------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| | yóóg ‘make’ | causative, inanimate undergoer |
| | méèg ‘make’ | causative, animate undergoer |
| | én ‘be present’ | presentative, relative |

<i>cík</i>	‘repeat’	iterative actions
<i>dad</i>	‘intend’	immediate future
<i>cáá</i>	‘go’	perfective-future

These verbs are all verbs of generic semantics. They also have in common that they cannot occur in a non-finite form, hence they only are used as aspect-inflected forms. They occur with a non-inflected verb, which resembles a coverb (Schultze-Berndt 2000) in this construction type. In Luwo, however, such verbs do take inflectional morphemes in other constructions, for example when they appear as the sole verb in a clause. Therefore Luwo has, strictly speaking, no real coverbs, but constructions in which full verbs occur together with light verbs and are then constructed like coverbs. Examples are:

- (7.78) *ákác waarò à-méèg=↓é lúòg*
 NAME dress PFV-make:TR=3SG wash:VN
 ‘s/he makes Akac wash the dress’
- (7.79) *waarò à-yóóg=á bààr*
 dress PFV-make:TR=1SG be.long:VN
 ‘I make the dress long’
- (7.80) *ù-cíg=↓é dòk ù-cíg=↓é tyèné*
 IPFV-repeat:TR=3SG go IPFV-repeat=1SG tiptoe
 ‘s/he goes again, again on tiptoes’
- (7.81) *é=néé dwóŋ kéeéwó jithéénh màdhàràjà*
 3SG=be.present be.big entire children school
 ‘you are the biggest of all the children in the school’

Such a construction appears to be the historical basis for the perfective II with *-náà-*. There is a light verb *naa* ‘be, exist as’, which is only rarely used in multiverb constructions. As the most probable source for the grammaticalised marker of the perfective II, however, it is rather frequently used, particularly in expressions of non-firsthand evidentials and habitually performed actions.

A light verb that also occurs as a full verb is *béédh* ‘be’. As a light verb, it expresses frequentative-intensive and transitive actions and events. As a full verb, it is used in order to express existence and being.

Person and experience

A concept of personhood, and of one's relations to others, emerges out of and through social interaction. Through the coordination of conversational practices with those of others, as well as through cooperative behaviour, relations between Self and others are established and the basis on which personhood is constructed and is created (Gergen 2011). In language, the establishment of personhood is reflected in various ways. One of them, perhaps the most prominent one, is pronominal grammar, which "provides a window to the relationship between selves and the outside world." (Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990: 207). Therefore, the acquisition of knowledge and correct use of the pronominal forms relating to person are a crucial factor in establishing one's relationships to others within a community. As has already been addressed in §7.3.3, there are various culturally determined and socially grounded constraints on how a speaker can refer to an addressee. This does not, of course, hold true only for the framing of requests and commands, but also for how pronominal deixis is used within a cultural framework.

Moreover, personhood constitutes ways in which a speaker refers to the Self, and expresses interests, experiences and feelings about something or someone. Expressing oneself, mediating through language what one feels is important in order to communicate to others about one's 'inner states', and it is the basis for both the establishment of intimacy and of power. In Luwo, expressions of experienced states, feelings and emotions are not exactly pronominal constructions, but they are metaphorical constructions in which pronouns play an important role as markers of personhood and personal reference.

In this chapter, the grammar and meanings of personal pronouns are investigated, in order to provide insights into how discursive roles and personhood manifest themselves in grammar. An overview of experiencer pronouns and the expression of emotion is then provided (§8.2), dealing with the linguistic production of what constitutes interests and needs in the context of personhood. From there, the chapter turns to the expression of cooperation and comparison with others, and presents an investigation of comparative and superlative constructions (§8.3), which again are based on constructions with personal pronouns. Finally, indefinites are explored in (§8.4).

8.1 Personal pronouns

Luwo has one paradigm of person markers that occur in various forms, which are used for a variety of syntactic and discourse functions. The paradigm for the subject prefixes and personal pronoun suffixes has already been introduced in Chapter 7, as well as the object markers in their functions as part of the verb paradigm.

There are then two basic groups of personal pronouns that can be distinguished, namely A/S-marking pronouns and O/P-marking pronouns. As well as these, Luwo has a separate set of possessive pronouns, which are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 10.

Personal pronouns differ from nouns in that they cannot be modified (see §4.3) or marked for case (see Chapter 11). They occur in two paradigms which are in complementary distribution, the different pronoun paradigms indicating different syntactic roles. This will be exemplified in (§8.1.1). Personal pronouns presumably underwent considerable historical restructuring, and this has led to interesting semantic-functional properties, in particular in the third person singular and first person plural forms.

8.1.1 Subject pronouns, logophoricity and focus

Personal pronouns occur as independent and bound forms when they indicate S-participants. The choice of the independent versus the bound form depends on discourse-marking, whereby the independent pronoun usually indicates focus. Subject pronouns are always prefixed or – as independent forms – positioned preverbally when they occupy the syntactic position of the S-participant in intransitive clauses or the A-participant in object-focusing clauses. Note that the prefixed subject pronoun also precedes the aspect or mood marker, which can stand before the verb.

As vowel harmony in Luwo is progressive, the prefixed subject pronouns exhibit no vowel quality alternation, while the pronominal suffixes do. Tone is also stable, as far as the prefixes are concerned, whereas the suffixes pronouns can show tonal alternation (downstep) in some contexts. These two phonological and tonological properties of the subject pronouns speak in favour of their analysis as clitics, and since they never occur – in their short form – in other environments except before the aspect- or mood-marked verb, they are treated as such here.

The full paradigm is as follows:

Table 8.1. Subject pronouns

		PREFIX	INDEPENDENT FORM
SG	1	á=	án
	2	yí=	yín
	3	ϕ-, é=	εn
PL	1INCL	òn=	òn
	1EXCL	wá=	wán
	2	ú=	wún
	3	gé=	gén

The independent forms differ from the prefixes in having a final nasal consonant. The two forms are used in different contexts, whereby the bound form only occurs as a subject marker in SV clauses and as a marker of the agent in AVO clauses. Examples are:

- (8.1) *yí=à-myélò* SV
 2SG=PFV-dance:AP
 ‘you danced’
- (8.2) *ϕ-à-cúdò* SV
 3SG-PFV-pay:AP
 ‘s/he paid’
- (8.3) *é=ù-myélò* S_{FOC}V
 3SG=IPFV-dance:AP
 ‘s/he (not somebody else) is always dancing’
- (8.4) *á=à-wâl* *óò* AVO_{FOC}
 1SG=PFV-pound:TR potatoes
 ‘I pounded (mashed) *the potatoes* (and not the simsim)’

As can be seen in Table (8.1) above, a specific feature of subject pronouns is that there is a basic difference between the first and second person singular on the one hand, and the third person singular on the other: while the first and second person pronouns are obligatory, the third person can also be represented by a zero-morpheme or by a noun, a quantifier or a demonstrative. Examples (8.2) and (8.3) suggest that there are pragmatic constraints on when the third person pronoun may be present. Whereas the zero-morpheme is used in a pragmatically unmarked construction (8.2), the prefix *é-* indicates that the subject is contrastively focused

on (8.3). Since subject focus is normally expressed by the independent form of the subject pronoun (see 8.8–9 below), this needs an explanation.

In the following examples, the presence of the third-person prefix $\acute{\epsilon}$ - indicates that the meaning of this morpheme also has something to do with logophoricity (and is cognate with the logophoric pronoun in Lango; Noonan 1992). Here, it serves as a means of disambiguating the two S-participants that occur in the same clause:

- (8.5) $\eta\acute{o}$ $k\acute{e}\acute{e}$ ϕ - $r\acute{o}b\acute{o}$ $\acute{\epsilon}$ = \acute{u} - $k\acute{o}\acute{o}n\acute{y}\acute{o}$
 O:3SG NEG 3SG-say:TR 3SG=IPFV-help:AP
 'she didn't say it (that) she (same person, not s.o. else) will help a little'

A comparative-historical reconstruction of Nilotic pronouns is yet to appear (e.g. Dimmendaal forthcoming), but the comparative data presented in Ehret (2001) already suggests that the frequently occurring morpheme $\acute{\epsilon}$ - ~ ϵ is best attested as a marker for the third person singular in subordinate clauses. The general pronoun for the third person singular would have been something like $*\acute{u}nu$ (Ehret 2001: 225 ff.). Dimmendaal (1991, forthcoming) discusses the distribution of these two markers in a number of Nilo-Saharan languages and comes to the conclusion that the former morpheme originally indicated logophoricity, while the latter served as the general form for the third person singular in all other contexts.

This seems to be the historical situation in Luwo. Here, the marker $\acute{\epsilon}$ -, which may acquire some subject-focussing functions, occurs as a logophoric pronoun in subordinate clauses. Its counterpart in Luwo, however, is not a marker $u(nu)$ - or $o(no)$ -, but a zero morpheme (ϕ -).

There are several indications of a loss of means to express logophoricity in Luwo, such that the zero morpheme could well be interpreted as the result of reduction and restructuring. As will be demonstrated in (§8.1.2) below, the suffixed personal pronouns do not permit the omission of the third person marker (or a zero morpheme). Here, logophoricity cannot be indicated morphologically. Moreover, there are constraints in the plural as well. As can be seen in the examples above, the zero-marker is the default marker in the third person singular constructions, while $\acute{\epsilon}$ - disambiguates and focuses the subject. This strategy only works for the third person singular, as no choice between two pronominal forms is offered in the third person plural.

Why is this so? Example (8.4) above illustrates the use of subject pronouns in AVO clauses. This clause type is pragmatically marked as well, as here the object is focused. The prefixed pronoun in turn expresses a pragmatically weak, explicitly unfocused agent-participant. This suggests that all prefixed pronouns, excluding $\acute{\epsilon}$ -, express an unambiguous and unfocused S-participant (and A-participant in AVO clauses). Obviously, ϕ - stands for a pronoun that got lost, namely the one that

is suggested as the Nilo-Saharan proto-form by Ehret (2001) and reconstructed for Nilotic by Dimmendaal (forthcoming). The prefix *é-* would then be a survivor of a former set of logophoric pronouns.

The paradigm of the prefixed subject pronouns exhibits another specific feature in its person-marking functions, namely the occurrence of inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns. It is intriguing that the first person inclusive pronoun *òn-* differs in terms of its tonal patterns, and also does not resemble the first person plural forms suggested to be underlying by Ehret (2001:246) and Dimmendaal (1991, forthcoming). Rather, this morpheme looks strikingly like the original third person singular pronoun. As an historical explanation, one could bring forward the possibility of semantic and functional reanalysis. Consider the following examples:

(8.6) *jòwááfà béédh=é cámb wá=ù-cámò*
 guava be=3SG eat:VN 1PL:EXCL=IPFV-eat:AP
 ‘we normally eat guava’

(8.7) *jòápà béédh=é cámb òn=ù-cámò*
 guava be=3SG eat:VN 1PL:INCL:IPFV-eat:AP
 ‘we all normally eat guava’

Both sentences express the habit of eating guava, (8.6) as the habit of a particular group, and (8.7) as the habit of people as such. The second example could also be translated as an impersonal construction, in the sense of ‘one can normally eat guava.’ And here we come across one possible function of the third person, namely its use in generalised and impersonalised expressions, which often mark politeness strategies such as the avoidance of the first person in specific statements (Siewierska 2004:216 f.). The lexicalisation of ‘s/he’ as ‘one, we all’ would be the result of a conceivable and not uncommon process, which has taken place in Luwo, Anywa and elsewhere in Lwoo, and also elsewhere in Eastern Sudanic (Eastern Nilotic, Dimmendaal 1991 & forthcoming).

The independent pronouns exhibit the same values as the bound ones, but have different functions. They are always subject-focusing when they precede a verb, whereby they occur exclusively in focused SV clauses and never in other contexts such as AVO clauses. Examples are:

(8.8) *án à-ηλλγ* S_{FOC}V
 1SG PFV-know:ITR
 ‘I (not you) knew’

(8.9) *wán ù-ηók* S_{FOC}V
 1PL:EXCL IPFV-vomit:ITR
 ‘we (women, not men) usually vomit (during pregnancy)’

Furthermore, the independent personal pronoun is used in associative constructions with comitative meanings, equative and existential expressions, as well as in reflexives. In associative constructions, the personal pronoun is linked by the conjunction *ké* to the verb phrase (8.11), or two personal pronouns are linked to each other (8.10). The light verb *béédh* ‘be’ introduces the subject in existential constructions, as in (8.12).

(8.10) *án ké yín*
1SG CONJ 2SG
‘me and you’

(8.11) *φ-ù-cámò ké án*
3SG-IPFV-eat:AP CONJ 1SG
‘s/he is eating with me’

(8.12) *béédh=á án*
be=1SG 1SG
‘it’s me’

Existential constructions can also consist of the independent pronoun and a noun phrase, as in:

(8.13) *wán jò-lúwò*
1PL:EXCL PL-LUWO
‘we are Luwo’

The second person independent pronouns are also used in vocative expressions, e.g. *yín* ‘you!’, *wín* ‘you people!’. These pronouns are not suitable as terms of address if the addressee’s name or family relations are known. However, it is possible from a sociocultural point of view to address unknown and unrelated people that way (for example at a market).

Reflexives are constructed with the independent personal pronoun and a possessed form of *kít* ‘kind, type’, which is linked to the pronoun by the preposition *ké* (8.14–15).

(8.14) *wòt à-géér=é en ké kíd=é*
house PFV-build:TR=3SG 3SG PREP type=POSS:3SG
‘she built a house herself’

The plural forms of the reflexives can also encode reciprocity. The reflexive and reciprocal meanings of the construction depend on context; formally, there is no difference between them, giving room for ambiguity unless contextual information is provided. Consider the following example:

(8.15) *gén ké kíd=gén ú-lín-gèn*
3PL PREP type=POSS:3PL IPFV-hear:TR=3PL
‘they are hearing each other ~ they hear themselves’

The full paradigm of the reflexive pronominal construction is as follows:

Table 8.2. Reflexive pronouns

SG	1	án ké kíd=á
	2	yín ké kíd=i
	3	en ké kíd=é
PL	1INCL	òn ké kíd=on
	1EXCL	wán ké kíd=wán
	2	wún ké kíd=wún
	3	gén ké kíd=gén

8.1.2 Suffixed personal pronouns

The suffixed personal pronoun is restricted in its occurrence to transitive clauses. Unlike the prefixed subject pronouns, the suffix occurs only in one – short – variety. It functions as the pronominalisation of a nominal agent in transitive clauses, and occurs as an agent in reflexive clauses, as Examples (8.14) and (8.15) above have already indicated. The full paradigm is as follows:

Table 8.3. Suffixed personal pronouns

SG	1	=á/=á
	2	=i/=i
	3	=é/=é
PL	1INCL	=ò/=ò
	1EXCL	=wàn
	2	=ù/=ù
	3	=gèn/=gèn

While the forms are largely identical with those of the prefixed subject pronoun, there seems to be no means of focusing the agent-participant by using a long or independent form of the pronoun. This suggests that the independent subject pronoun expresses an increase of agency rather than just focus. In Examples (8.8) and (8.9) above, the independent subject pronoun refers to an A-participant who has, in contrast with other potential A-participants, a specific ability or agency which enables him or her to perform a particular action. In Examples (8.16) and (8.17) below, the agent-participant is attributed a similar kind of ability or agency:

- (8.16) *cám à-cám=á*
 food PFV-eat:TR=1SG
 'I ate the food'

- (8.17) *lèèlò* *à-bàlìl=↓é*
 stone:SG PFV-throw:TR=3SG
 's/he threw a stone'

In both examples, there is no doubt about the A-participant's capacity or agency, and it is clear that the A-participant does not have to be highlighted in order to make his/her performance credible. In this respect, the use of postponed independent pronouns would be a tautology, basically duplicating what the suffixed pronoun already expresses.

8.1.3 Object pronouns

Object pronouns differ from the other personal pronouns in not distinguishing between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural, and in exhibiting two different forms for the third person singular (*ηó* and *én*). Furthermore, the third person singular object pronoun *ηó* expresses several types of object referents, namely a feminine or masculine object, an impersonal or an inanimate object.

This data further supports the argument that the distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural has derived from pragmatic contexts rather than reflecting an original pattern of the proto-language. While the first person plural inclusive form of the personal pronoun paradigm also expresses common practice and general truth, the exclusive form does not. Such a differentiation could be relevant in contexts where it is socially desirable for speakers to avoid referring to themselves as a group, imposing a decision or action on others. Instead, an impersonal construction is used in order to create a polite or otherwise socially acceptable expression (see Dimmendaal 1991: 299 f. for a similar situation in Toposa). Such politeness strategies make sense for the treatment of the S/A-participant in active verb forms, but not so much for the treatment of the object or patient. Here, the notion of agency is not as salient, and the motivation to make it explicit that the speaker's group does not impose any action or decision on the hearer is not given. As a consequence, the object pronoun paradigm has not developed a distinction between two different forms in the first person plural. Instead, the presumably original form for the first person plural has been kept, while the third person singular pronoun *ηó* still exhibits a velar nasal that is considered part of the original third person singular (topic) pronoun by Ehret (2001: 246). The second form used for the third person singular, the logophoric pronoun *én*, is used in specific contexts, such as in situations where disambiguation or object focus are expressed (see Example 8.21 below).

The object pronoun paradigm exhibits no differentiation between direct and indirect objects. The object pronoun usually stands in clause-initial position, i.e. before the verb. Further syntactic properties of the object are presented in Chapter 11.

The object pronoun paradigm is presented as follows:

Table 8.4. Object pronouns

SG	1	án ~ á
	2	yí
	3	ηῶ, έν
PL	1	wá
	2	ú
	3	gέ

Examples for the use of object pronouns are presented below. Note that the pronoun of the first person singular *án* has an allomorph *á*, which occurs before verbs with an initial nasal (8.19):

(8.18) *án* *à-kóny=έ*

O:1SG PFV-help:TR=3SG
's/he helped me'

(8.19) *á* *à-ηwεεr=↓έ*

O:1SG PFV-laugh:TR=3SG
's/he laughs at me'

(8.20) *ηῶ* *à-niìd=έ*

O:3SG PFV-see:TR=3SG
's/he saw her/him'

(8.21) *έν* *ù-pwód=à* *pwód=έ*

O:3SG IPFV-beat:TR=1SG beat:VN-POSS:3SG
'I am beating *him* (thoroughly/not somebody else)'

The object is expressed by an independent subject pronoun if the verb is intransitive. Here, the object is not conceptualised as a patient, but as a pragmatically unmarked S-participant, as in (8.22), or as a topicalised undergoer, as in (8.23):

(8.22) *gέ* *à-rῶḡmḡ* *ké* *án*

3PL PFV-meet:AP CONJ 1SG
'they met me'

(8.23) *wún* *wiìy=á* *ke* *píŋ*

2PL leave:IA=1SG PREP ground
'I am leaving you there'

8.2 Experiencer pronouns and coding emotion

Besides personal pronouns, Luwo exhibits a paradigm of possessive pronouns. These are used to refer to the possessee (see §10.1.1), but they also have a role in

forming experiencer pronouns. Like other Lwoo languages (Noonan 1992; Reh 1996: 168 f.; Dimmendaal 2002), Luwo has a variety of such pronouns which are used to express emotive and cognitive experiences. All of them are constructed on the base of a body part noun, to which is added a possessive pronoun.

The respective etymological base of experiencer pronouns tells much about the speakers' conceptualisation of the human body and its relevance for a person's emotional life. As in many Western Nilotic languages (e.g. Reh 1996: 166), the seat of emotions in Luwo is the liver. Emotions are expressed by referring to this organ, as in the following examples:

(8.24) *dhààgò cwíjɪ=é mith*
 woman:SG liver=POSS:3SG be.tasty
 'the woman is happy'

(8.25) *cwíjɪ=á lêm*
 liver=POSS:1SG be.sweet
 'I am pleased'

Other taste words may be used as well, for example in order to express negative emotions. These constructions employ metaphors using the CONTAINER scheme (Lakoff 1987): the BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. Interestingly, emotions are framed as perception: EMOTION IS A TASTE OF THE LIVER. Therefore, emotions are conceptualised as sensations that can only be felt inside the body, hence are inner states and in principle only perceived by the speaker, but not shared as a sensation by others (which in principle distinguishes emotion from perception). What is interesting here, however, is that taste is a sense that involves physical contact with the perceived substance, a concept that is hardly conceivable here, as one cannot possibly taste one's own liver. What appears to come into play is a concept of humours, in the sense of substances produced by the body's organs, which transport emotion, signify disease, and so on. Such a concept would be somewhat reminiscent of the humoral pathology of ancient Greece, a concept that influenced Western medicine until the late nineteenth century. However, relating emotional states experienced by an individual to substances of the body, or more precisely the intestines, is a concept that also has its place in African biomedicine (e.g. Baronov 2008), as well as in healing and witchcraft practices in areas close to the Luwo-speaking regions (for example in colonial Zande society (Evans-Pritchard 1976)). Cultural models of emotions and the experience of inner states are based here on the assumption that these can be caused, as diseases can be caused, by substances that are placed inside the body by a third person (e.g. through envy, witchcraft or sorcery).

But there is another dimension to this, as the liver is also used as a metaphor to describe the character or the more general emotional disposition of a person. Here, the head noun is modified by perfective state verbs:

(8.26) *cwíŋi à-cól*
 liver PFV-be.black
 ‘bad character’

(8.27) *cwíŋi à-bɛɛr*
 liver PFV-be.good
 ‘good-hearted’

The underlying schema here is CHARACTER IS A QUALITY OF THE LIVER, and the body is not only a container for emotion but also for character. Dimmendaal (2002) observes that emotions are coded with the help of colour terms in many Nilotic languages. In Luwo, this holds as well, but doesn't encompass negative, or strong emotions such as anger and pity. Here the range of qualities and properties of the liver is much wider.

Santandrea (1946: 85 f.) mentions that liver constructions fall into two categories: one that encodes desire, and one that expresses emotion (Santandrea does not refer to character as a third category). According to Santandrea, suffering, feeling anger and compassion are expressed by means of constructions with state verbs that express temperature and quality rather than taste:

(8.28) *cwíŋi=á à-rèŋɔ*
 liver=POSS:1SG PFV-become.bad
 ‘I'm sad’

(8.29) *cwíŋi=á à-líéth*
 liver=POSS:1SG PFV-be.hot
 ‘I'm angry’

(8.30) *cwíŋi=á à-jíéth*
 liver=POSS:1SG PFV-be.sharp
 ‘I feel pity (for someone)’

Desire, adding a third semantic dimension to the liver metaphor, is expressed with the help of a verb phrase that is introduced by a subordinating conjunction. ‘Liver’ here implies, or rather expresses, an inner state, or a feeling in general:

(8.31) *cwíŋi=á nì cáá paájò*
 liver=POSS:1SG SC go home
 ‘I want to go home’

(8.32) *cwíŋi=á nì béédh yír kiríthíyanhi*
 liver=POSS:1SG SC be PREP Christian
 ‘I want to be a Christian’

Cognitive experiences are expressed using a pronoun that is constructed on the base of the noun ‘head’. Here, rather than using taste to refer to a specific condition, motion verbs and adverbs are used, as in the following examples:

- (8.33) *wì=á* *à-liyáb*
 head:SG=POSS:1SG PFV-turn.round
 'I am confused'
- (8.34) *wùdh=ú* *à-liyáb=é*
 head:PL=POSS:2PL PFV-turn.round=3SG
 's/he confused you'

Unlike in Anywa (Reh 1996: 166 ff.) or Lango (Noonan 1992: 189 f.), where at least three sets of experiencer pronouns exist, Luwo appears to basically distinguish between liver (emotion) and head (cognition) based experiences. A construction with *ríí* 'body' plus a possessive pronoun exists, but is reserved for the expression of 'self', and does not function as experiencer pronoun (see §10.1.1). Physical experiences, in contrast, are not expressed by a specific pronoun but by the verb *dóŋ* 'be grown-up'. The following examples briefly illustrate its use:

- (8.35) *á=à-dóŋ* *bɛɛr*
 1SG=PFV-be.grown-up be.good:SG
 'I feel good (physically)'
- (8.36) *ú=à-dóŋ* *bééyè*
 2PL=PFV-be.grown-up be.good:PL
 'you feel good (physically)'

Of course, speakers also have other resources for expressing their feelings and emotional states. For example, interjections such as *ràc* 'bad!' or *náyè* 'alas!' will – embedded in a context – convey unmistakably to the hearer that the speaker does not feel good about something. Other ways of expressing one's feelings include less confrontational, more face-keeping strategies, such as the use of proverbs and other means of indirect communication (see Chapter 15).

However, the use of different metaphors and strategies for the expression of different concepts of emotional states and feelings reflects a basic feature of the grammar of emotion:

Human beings are “classifying animals”: they categorize both the “contents of the world” and events into categories and put labels on them. Among other things, they categorize feelings, including “thought-related” ones (which I will call, for convenience, “emotions”), and they do so differently in different speech communities. (Wierzbicka 2005: 24)

In other words, the specific ways of categorising emotions in a specific language reflect a particular way of bringing the world into order, in a given community of practice. The common agreement among speakers of Luwo, about how such a classification of inner states should be, reconciles the interests and personal state of the individual and the interests of a group. How one's own person, in turn, is compared to others and evaluated against them is illustrated in the next section.

8.3 Comparative and superlative

Comparison is based on constructions with *ríí*, PL *ròg* ‘self’. These directly follow a state verb or adjective. Examples are:

- (8.37) *thíính ríí=á*
 small:SG self:SG=POSS:1SG
 ‘s/he is smaller than me’
- (8.38) *ηó δwóη ríí=í*
 O:3SG be.big:SG self:SG=POSS:2SG
 ‘it is bigger than you’
- (8.39) *wá δwóη ròg=gén*
 O:1PL be.big:SG self:PL=POSS:3PL
 ‘we are bigger than them’

Similarity is constructed with the particle *wá* and the independent form of the personal pronoun:

- (8.40) *thíính wá án*
 small:SG SIM 1SG
 ‘s/he is as small as me’

The expression of excess, in turn, is achieved by using a construction with *néé* ‘be present’, and modifiers such as *kééwó* ‘entire’ (see Example 7.81):

- (8.41) *é=néé δwóη*
 3SG=be.present be.big:SG
 ‘s/he is the biggest’
- (8.42) *é=néé ηà-thíính*
 3SG=be.present SG-small:SG
 ‘s/he is the smallest one’

Note that Santandrea (1946:10–11) presents other forms as well; however, the examples described are the forms that are attested in my corpus, reflecting the construction of comparative and superlative by a given community. The entire system appears to be rather consistent, with comparative being the central domain for the use of ‘self’ and a definition of the Self among other individuals.

It is interesting that Luwo does not employ suppletion here, which is a universally rather common feature of comparative and superlative forms (Bobaljik 2012). In Luwo, Bobaljik’s Root Suppletion Generalization is at work, which postulates that “root suppletion is limited to synthetic (i.e. morphological) comparatives” (op. cit.: 5). Luwo not only has no morphological devices for constructing comparatives, but also reduces the expression of the same to a mere confrontation of Other and Self: the constructions presented in (8.37–9) express nothing more

than “X is big – my self”. Here, comparatives and superlatives are not special forms of adjectives, but rather special forms of clauses, being void of nearly all personal inflection.

8.4 Indefinites

Indefinite pronouns in Luwo include quantifiers, partitives and universals. The choice of an indefinite is often governed by pragmatics, whereby the indefinite pronoun may be used in order to express the speaker’s uncertainty about a participant’s identity, as well as self-deference. For example, an utterance such as (8.43) highlights the speaker’s ignorance as providing non-firsthand information, while in (8.44), self-deferential meanings are conveyed by not explicitly imposing one’s own point of view on a proposition:

- (8.43) *móógé à-náà-kóny=é*
 some:PL PFV-N.EVID-help:TR=3SG
 ‘he presumably helped some of them’
- (8.44) *móógó waarò lóóg=é yír=á*
 some:SG dress wash:TR=3SG PREP=POSS:1SG
 ‘somebody should wash the dress for me’

According to Haspelmath’s (1997) typology, Luwo has a set of special indefinites, which are not derived from interrogatives or nouns, but are indefinite pronouns that are synchronically unrelated to other roots in the language. The indefinite pronoun referring to animate or human referents occurs in a singular and a plural form. It can also be used as a quantifier, as already demonstrated in (§6.3.1). The other indefinite forms that occur are unspecified for number and person. The indefinite quantifier is derived from *thódh* ‘be many’. The forms are as follows:

- (8.45) *móógó*, PL *móógé* ‘someone, some’
nòók ‘few’
càŋ ‘all’
màthódh ‘many’

CHAPTER 9

Perception and cognition

This chapter¹ treats the expression of perception and cognition in Luwo, which is characterised by a relatively large group of perception verbs which exhibit some unusual etymological connections between ‘smell’ and ‘know’. Moreover, words that denote smells and tastes constitute a word class of their own in Luwo. In contrast to this specialised word class, ideophones exclusively describe motion and gestures, but hardly ever perceptions of sound, smell, or intensity of perceivable qualities. When compared with other word classes and the sensual impressions they denote or refer to, ideophones in Luwo can be analysed as a strictly narrative word class. This observation leads to an exploration of the cultural and social practices that contribute to the emergence of particular grammatical patterns through invisible-hand processes.

9.1 Truth as state or event

Truth, the source of knowledge and the reliability of a proposition are encoded by means of the two forms of the perfective aspect in Luwo. While the imperfective has no means of encoding the truth or evidence concerning an event, there are two perfective forms which are functionally distinguished according to exactly this feature. This suggests that there is a correlation between the perfective aspect, or the completion of an event, and a speaker’s ability to make a statement about truth and evidence (c.f. Aikhenvald 2004: 263 f. on evidentiality as an extension of aspect). The following examples contrast the two perfective forms:

- (9.1a) à-cámò
PFV-eat:AP
‘s/he ate/has eaten’ (speaker as a witness who is sure that the action was completed)

1. This chapter is an enlarged version of Storch (2013a).

- (9.1b) à-náà-cámò
 PFV-N.EVID-eat:AP
 's/he ate/has eaten' (speaker has not witnessed that the action was completed)

Example (9.1a) exhibits the perfective prefix without any marker of evidentiality. Example (9.1b) shows the aspect marker, plus a morpheme *náà*. According to my consultants, Examples (9.1a) and (9.1b) largely mean the same thing, but the first one denotes a clearly completed action which was witnessed by the speaker, while the second form does not necessarily denote a completed action, as the speaker was not present when it took place. Form (9.1a) also occurs with a second meaning in the corpus: the action may take place in the present, but without much relevance to the speaker – 'he eats food (but does so as part of the completion of another action – buying food, cooking ...)'. Another example helps to illustrate, too, that this form indicates the completion of the action:

- (9.2a) à-cámò ù-mádh-é
 PFV-eat:AP IPFV-drink:TR=3SG
 's/he ate and then drank' (witnessed by speaker)

- (9.2b) jithíính à-kè-póòd=↓é ù-góòd=↓é
 child PFV-DUR-beat:TR=3SG IPFV-run=3SG
 's/he was beating the child and then ran away' (witnessed by speaker)

The *à*-prefix denotes an action that had been performed (as a process) and was completed at the time that a second action was to take place. The speaker has first-hand evidence that the action has indeed taken place. The perfective form in (9.2b) above, which uses the morpheme *á-ké-*, expresses that the action took place in the past, but may still be going on or may still be of relevance. The speaker has not witnessed its completion and has no evidence for the truth of the utterance. The conceptualisation of the perfective aspect as a grammatical category with strong evidential overtones is obviously a salient property of the entire aspectual system, as it correlates with the use of a separate marker for the non-evidential perfective. That non-evidentiality is more marked here (by the *á-náà-* prefix) supports the hypothesis that the perfective aspect has a semantic-functional extension into evidentiality.

In some languages, tense, mood, person, etc. can develop connotations that resemble evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004). Their strategy is to evaluate and to define the correctness or reliability of an information source: Have I seen what happened or have I heard about it? Is there good or poor evidence for it? The closely-related language Shilluk, for example, distinguishes three forms of evidentiality (Miller & Gilley 2001b):

A. Speaker has direct knowledge concerning the proposition; marked by PAST verbal prefix *á-*:

- (9.3) *dhyàng' á-kwal' yi col*
 cow PST-steal ERG Col
 'Col stole the cow'

B. Speaker witnessed the action, but does not wish to make any accusation/comment; agent is omitted:

- (9.4) *dhyàng' á-kwal'*
 cow PST-steal
 'someone (I know who) stole the cow'

C. Speaker was not eyewitness to the event, but has evidence; verbal affixes *ó-...-ɔ*

- (9.5) *dhyàng' ó-kwalò yi col*
 cow PFV-steal ERG Col
 'Col stole the cow (I'm sure he did)'

D. Speaker was not eyewitness, but knows the event took place; agent omitted

- (9.6) *dhyàng' á-kwal'*
 cow PFV-steal
 'someone stole the cow (I'm sure it happened)'

E. Speaker refers to an accusation; particle *í*

- (9.7) *í dhyàng' ó-kwalò yi col*
 hear cow PFV-steal ERG Col
 'it is reported that Col stole the cow'

F. Speaker refers to hearsay; agent omitted

- (9.8) *í dhyàng' ó-kwaló*
 hear cow PFV-steal
 'it is reported that someone stole the cow'

The same marker as in Luwo is used in Shilluk to express eyewitness plus past tense (perfective aspect in Luwo). Luwo apparently lacks the two other forms Shilluk uses (at least in the present author's material), but distinguishes between the eyewitness-perfective category and a non-eyewitness-perfective category. The connection between perfective, eyewitness evidence and truth is interesting, as it implies that only a perfective event permits the speaker to make a statement about probability and truth. In the imperfective aspect, completion as a parameter is not relevant, and hence no evaluation of the event's probability and truth can be given. The conceptualisation of the perfective aspect as a grammatical category

with strong evidential overtones is obviously a salient property of the entire aspect system, as it correlates with the use of a separate marker for the non-evidential perfective.

9.2 Perception verbs

Luwo has a number of perception verbs which may have several semantic extensions, sometimes leading to cognitive meanings. Unlike state verbs, perception verbs do not have plural stems, and unlike less agentive verbs which often are intransitive (e.g. *thò* ‘die’), they are always transitive. Perception verbs may be detransitivised, however, and in this process the stem vowel is lengthened, making them more marked (e.g. *ηάγ* → *ηάάγ* ‘know’).

That perception verbs differ from action verbs and inchoative verbs alike becomes obvious when looking at the behaviour of aspect markers: The perfective marker may be omitted with verbs that denote time-stable concepts rather than actions, and this is exactly what happens in constructions with perception verbs (see 9.9a). Compare the two possible constructions which exist for derived intransitive verbs:

(9.9a) *ηάάγ=έ*
 PFV-know:DTR=3SG
 ‘s/he knew’

(9.9b) *ά-tόόρ=↓έ*
 PFV-break:DTR=3SG
 ‘s/he broke’

In the transitive forms of these verbs, the suffixed subject marker is used, but an object marker plus the tense marker always appear.

(9.10a) *άν ά-ηάάγ=έ*
 O:1SG PFV-know:TR=3SG
 ‘s/he knew me’

(9.10b) *ηό ά-tόόρ=↓έ*
 O:3SG PFV-break:TR=3SG
 ‘s/he broke it’

Perception verbs such as ‘know’ construct regular imperatives, as well as deverbal nouns, e.g.:

(9.11a) *ηάγί, PL ηέγύ (ηό)* ‘know (it)!’ (in the sense of ‘learn (it)!’)

(9.11b) *ηάγ* ‘know’ → *ηάγò* ‘knowledge’

ábwoḷò cíy=é gé né paájò
 NAME wife=POSS:3SG 3PL LOC house

‘it was one day that Zubeir came to our village Boo and detected my grandfather Akol together with his wife Abwolo in the house’

‘see, find’ → ‘grasp, seize’

(9.17) *én cèè dḵmì ù-yóór oc me=dwḵòḵ*
 be.present when forest IPFV-see:TR fence REL=be.big:PL
én ḵḵ à-gεεr
 be.present O:3SG PFV-build:DTR

‘in the forest it became clear that a huge fence was built (there)’

‘see, find’ → ‘discern, discover’

(9.18) *ù-ḵwḵḵd=é tyèn=é ùù ma=à-ḵíḵḵ*
 IPFV-stand.up=3SG toe:PL=POSS:3SG and REL=PFV-look:CAUS
è=yóúdí ḵḵ én gén béédh ḵìḵhíính
 3SG=see:CAUS O:3SG be.present 3PL be child

‘he stood on his toes and looked and he discovered that there were indeed children’

The concept of discerning, as expressed by *yóúd* ‘see, find’, is an entirely affirmative one. Not knowing, or finding, is not expressed by the negated form of this verb, but by a special verb expressing ‘not know’, namely *kwíc*. Consider the following examples:

(9.19) *ḵḵ à-kwíj=é*
 O:3SG PFV-ignore.TR=3SG
 ‘s/he didn’t know it’

(9.20) *á à-kwíj=é*
 O:1SG PFV-ignore.TR=3SG
 ‘s/he didn’t know me’

9.2.2 Sensory perception

Interestingly, most of Luwo’s other verbs of sensory perception do not exhibit salient transfield polysemies, even though *liḵ* ‘hear’ may express ‘understand’ in the sense of ‘listening to something audible’, as perhaps in (9.14). Otherwise, these verbs tend to refer to the domain of physical perception, and they rarely show any intrafield mapping from one specific domain of perception into another. Some examples are:

‘hear’

(9.21) *lúbò me=ràc ù-liḵ=gén*
 word:SG REL=be.bad:SG IPFV-hear.TR=3PL
 ‘they hear bad news’

‘look at’

- (9.22) à-m̀l̀n=é b́ány cwòr nìmín
 PFV-look:TR=3SG side husband sister
 ‘he looked at the husband of his sister’

‘see’

- (9.23) dhècwòw gín à-niíd=ó éñ ù-béènó
 man DEM:SPEC:SG PFV-see:TR=3PL:INCL be.present IPFV-come:AP
 ‘the man whom we saw is coming’

‘touch’

- (9.24) nááków à-gɔɔj nìdhɔɔg-é
 girl PFV-touch:TR boy-CASE
 ‘the boy touched/hit the girl’

Example (9.24) illustrates that verbs of sensory perception may express actions rather than states, as ‘touch’ also expresses ‘hit’, depending on the context and the semantics of the core participants. However, verbs that express vision without any semantic extensions into the domain of cognition refer to static events, where *s* is not particularly agentive, but rather affected. Here, the meanings of middle voice constructions – which is not a grammatical category in Luwo – and of ambitransitive constructions play a role.

We will later have a look at the special role of vision as a perception modality that is linked to undergoer concepts and affectedness. This is a salient feature not only of VISION verbs, but also in pragmatics and in the cultural context, where vision is considered important. This is discussed further at the end of this chapter.

None of the verbs of sensory perception briefly dealt with here primarily expresses the concept of recognition or awareness, e.g. as the result of a process of sensing and experiencing. Such concepts are, however, expressed by another, rather specialised verb, namely *héc*.

9.2.3 ‘Recognise’ as search and action

Both Luwo folktales and ethnographic sources on this people group suggest that knowledge is closely associated with investigating and being actively involved in gaining knowledge. For example, divination as a process of finding out and coming to know about hidden things is expressed as searching, as in the following name for ‘diviner’ (one of several terms or titles for diviners):

- (9.25) h́àt ćáyò
 person search
 ‘seeker (of hidden things), diviner’

In narratives, the idea of obtaining knowledge is often expressed by ‘search’, and the result has the connotation of ‘find’, as we have already seen above. The verb *h́áy*

‘know’, which was discussed in (§9.2), does not express these meanings, but rather a static and abstract form of cognition. In most of the texts in the corpus available to me, ‘know’ is not expressed by *ηλύ*, but by the verb *ηέε* ‘recognise’. These two verbs are probably not etymologically related, or only distantly through lexicalised grammar, and they occur in complementary distribution rather than being pragmatically marked variants.

As can be seen in the following examples, *ηέε*, in the transfield mapping of perception onto cognition, expresses cognition as an active and goal-oriented action. It is often used in imperfective, durative constructions, expressing knowing as a continuous action (e.g. Example (9.27)).

- (9.26) *lúbè ní à-wéd=é ηàd-é àmùól-é gé pàdh*
 word:PL REL PFV-write=TR-3SG person-CASE insane-CASE 3PL NEG
ηέjí ríí=gén yír jógé
 recognise:CAUS self=POSS:3PL BEN person:PL
ma=à-kwààn=ò wárgà
 REL=PFV-read:TR=1PL.INCL book

‘the words which the diviner then wrote cannot make themselves known to (‘be recognised by’) people who read paper’

- (9.27) *ú-ηέj=é*
 IPFV:FUT-recognise=3SG
 ‘he will know/be knowing’

- (9.28) *à-náà-ηέj=á lúm=é ké*
 PFV-N.EVID-recognise:TR=1SG word=POSS:3SG PREP
dhé paár=wàn
 mouth:MOD place:MOD-POSS:1PL:EXCL
 ‘now I know his word in our language’

- (9.29) *ù-ηέj=é òòr=é à-ηέéjò*
 IPFV-recognise=3SG brother=POSS:3SG PFV-recognise:DTR:AP
 ‘he then recognises his brother, he knew (that he would)’

In other contexts, *ηέε* expresses ‘recognise’ as an event of vision and cognition, as in the first verbal clause of (9.29) and in (9.30):

- (9.30) *né ηó à-ηέj=i ké dwoɔg=i*
 if O:3SG PFV-recognize:TR=2SG PREP go=2SG
ù-wóm=i ηó
 IPFV-bring:TR=2SG O:3SG
 ‘once you have recognised him you go and bring him’

In Example (9.30) above, knowing as an event and process (and not as a state or situation) is linked to the agentivity of A and to transitivity. In terms of the semantic extensions of the expression of cognition, which are made less agentive and more autobenefactive, Luwo departs from well-attested patterns and exhibits other possibilities. This becomes obvious when the derivational morphology of sensory verbs in Luwo is explored.

9.3 Anticausative and ambitransitive constructions

It seems that sensory perception verbs which refer to sight tend to express cognition more than verbs referring to other domains of perception. We have seen that the verbs *yúúd* ‘see, find’ and *héc* ‘recognise’ are more polysemous than other perception verbs (*liη* ‘hear’, *gɔɔj* ‘touch’), and express concepts of knowing and understanding. However, there are a number of less volitional verbs which specifically express vision, such as *mλɲ* ‘look at’, *niið* ‘see’, and which do not exhibit semantic extensions into cognition.

A sense we have not yet dealt with is smell, and its sibling, taste. This is not actually surprising once one has a fuller perspective on how physical properties are expressed in Luwo. Before we deal with this aspect of perception, the construction of ‘smell’ needs to be explored.

Smelling is expressed in the following way:

- (9.31) *rià à-ηwaay=é* O V-SA
 perfume PFV-smell=3SG
 ‘s/he smelled perfume’
- (9.32) *waar à-ηwaay kɔ̃th* SP V SMELL
 cloth PFV-smell sesame:SMELL
 ‘the cloth smells of sesame’

The verb *ηwaay* looks strikingly like the verb for ‘know’, *ηλγ*, which does not exhibit any meanings related to smell, even though a rather common pattern of semantic extension of ‘smell’ is ‘detect something, find out, think’. Such meanings, however, are expressed in Luwo by *yúúd* ‘see, find’, but not by *ηλγ* ‘know’. But what is *ηwaay* then? An answer comes from the following example. The verb ‘scratch’ occurs as an active stem, from which an anticausative stem can be derived. Compare the following forms:

- (9.33a) ‘scratch’, active stem
à-ké-gɔ̃ɔ̃ɲɔ̃
 PFV-DUR-scratch:DTR:AP
 ‘s/he was scratching’

- (9.33b) ‘scratch’ anticausative stem
à-ké-gwóòpò
 PFV-DUR-scratch:AC:AP
 ‘s/he was scratched (for some time)’

Anticausative verbs are derived from action verbs by means of vowel quality alternation. The verbal stem vowel is always shifted to its non-breathy functional counterpart. This strategy is very similar to that found in Labwor (Heine & König 2010), for example. Anticausative action verbs express an event that affects the subject as patient-experiencer (or undergoer), but do not provide any means of expressing the agent of causation. With ‘know’, a verb that is not a real action verb (unlike ‘recognise’, ‘find’, etc.), the situation is slightly different, and the resulting anticausative stem has an s-argument which expresses an actor who acts and endures at the same time. ‘Smell’ is conceptualised here as a perception that is much less controllable by the A-participant than sight, touch, etc. The source of the smell event stands in the position of O, but modifies the predicate.

Consequently, smell here is something that invades and affects the subject’s body, obviously making it a patient as well. It is interesting that the (inanimate) recipient of a smell, namely *waar* ‘cloth’, in Example (9.32), is not marked as agent. This is due to the case-marking pattern of the intransitive construction. While the nominative-ergative case marker *-é* is always suffixed to A in transitive OVA clauses, it does not occur in intransitive clauses. Here, the core argument S appears in the absolutive case, which in Luwo is morphologically unmarked. The word for ‘sesame smell’ in (9.32) is not a core argument, but modifies the verb.

Thus we have two grammatically marked forms of the cognitive verb *ηάγ* ‘know’, one referring to controlled cognition and volitional sensing (active), and one referring to uncontrollable perception (middle voice), namely ‘smell’. Compare the following forms:

- (9.34a) *á à-ηάγ=έ*
 O:1SG PFV-know:TR=3SG
 ‘s/he knew me’

- (9.34b) *ά à-ηwaay=έ*
 O:1SG PFV-know:AC:TR=3SG
 ‘s/he smelled me’

Middle voice is not a grammatical category in Luwo, but its semantics and functions are clearly expressed through the language’s other verb-derivational possibilities. And not only is ‘smell’ semantically middle, but so is ‘think’, which is expressed by a reflexive construction of *par* ‘remember’. Consider the following example:

‘remember’ → ‘think’

- (9.35) *wíŋ=è* *à-par=é* *parò* *kécá*
 head=POSS:3SG PFV-remember:TR=3SG memory DEM
 ‘s/he thinks by herself as such: ...’

KNOW can thus be described as at least two different processes and events in Luwo: on the one hand as an activity which relates to SEARCH, RECOGNISE, and so on, and on the other hand as an uncontrollable event which relates to autobenefactive actions and experiences of being overwhelmed by sensations.

9.3.1 Smell and taste terms

It is possible that Luwo originally had other smell verbs, but these are not attested. It is very characteristic of this language that small differences among smells can be expressed in a very detailed manner by a rather large variety of different lexemes. Unlike the examples given for ingestion verbs in Chapter 7, smell terms form a word class by themselves. They are not verbs, adjectives or ideophones, but morphosyntactically differentiated ophresae themes, which cannot inflect for aspect and mood or take a relational prefix (Storch & Vossen 2007; Storch 2004 & 2013a). Examples of the use of smell terms are:

- (9.36) *dhòg* *à-náà-dòŋ* *bádh* *yír* *kálá*
 mouth PFV-N.EVID-become saliva:SMELL PREP long.time.without.meat
 ‘the mouth has become tasteless because of hunger/starving for meat’
- (9.37) *kwom=è* *bàd*
 body=POSS:3SG armpit:SMELL
 ‘his/her sweat-smelling body’
- (9.38) *ŋó* *kòth*
 O:3SG sesame:SMELL
 ‘it is a smell of sesame’
- (9.39) *ŋoo* *tík*
 lion he-goat:SMELL
 ‘a lion (is) a he-goat smell’

The Luwo have a rich vocabulary of terms given to smells and tastes. Due to the lack of substantial and immersion field research in this area, it is often difficult to explain their meanings and usages. In (9.38) and (9.39), the smell can be equated with the referent, hence a lion is the same as the he-goat smell, and the expression of the smell alone could pragmatically refer to the lion. Smells are also used as similes in comparisons, as in (9.36) and (9.37). As smell terms are not restricted to one referent or class of objects, they can modify a noun and then express meanings like ‘the body smells like sweat’.

According to the speakers themselves, their environment is full of things with different odours and tastes, and it is important to them to distinguish these. As further explained in Chapter 15, there are various taboos on food, and one way of being selective about what one eats is to refer to smell and taste. Women, particularly, are considered to be very sensitive to smells and tastes, and claim to select their diets according to sensory perception within these domains, and to classification as available through smell and taste terminologies. People claim that they would always refuse a certain dish or food item not simply because of its smell, but because of the association of this smell to a particular smell term. Especially when an item is classified under a smell term that refers to taboo food, such as *ɾáw* ‘smell of millet’, which is associated with *kwàc* ‘leopard’, this item may be rejected (Modesto 2001; see also Example 3.39).

Smell terms are used as classificatory terms in other contexts as well. Hunters make reference to animals by using smell terms, and also refer to smells when communicating suitable strategies of stalking amongst themselves, as they follow the wind in order not to be smelt by the animals.

In their daily use, smell terms are employed as derogatory terms in mocking songs. In these songs, a person is compared to a bad smell or taste and is thus made to look ridiculous. Mocking songs are short texts that are composed in order to shame a neighbour, a co-wife, or a spouse. They therefore regulate personal relationships in one’s more intimate environment and are never meant for a larger audience. An example is:

- (9.40) *ɲɔ̀ à-rɔ̀b ákác ù-dɔ̀ɲ cér*
 O:3SG PFV-say:TR NAME IPFV-become urine:SMELL
 ‘it was said that Akac is starting to smell of urine’

Examples of other smell terms are:

- (9.41) *cáù* ‘smell of raw fish’
yùŋ ‘unbearable smell of rotten things’
kúr ‘flowery perfume’
trù ‘pus smell’
cér ‘smell of urine’
lém ‘odour of flower, pollen’
wàc ‘smell of fermented flour’
bàd ‘smell of sweat under armpits’
pèèt ‘smell of rotten meat’
kééc ‘aggressive smell of smoke’
ɲìr ‘smell of unripe beans’
kòt ‘light scent of flowers’
tík ‘smell of uncastrated he-goat’
kòth ‘sesame smell’
bádh ‘neutral, breath/saliva’

As already mentioned elsewhere (Storch 2013a; see also Chapter 3), taste terms are verbs. There is no verb which encodes the general meaning of ‘taste’, only verbs for specific tastes. These include:

- (9.42)
- | | |
|--------|---|
| lāw | ‘taste salty’ |
| mìth | ‘taste good’ |
| còt | ‘taste not sweet and not sour’ |
| cèr | ‘taste unripe (sugar-cane)’ |
| lēm | ‘taste sweet (sugar, honey)’ |
| wàc | ‘taste sour (unripe mango)’ |
| kéèc | ‘taste bitter (pepper, mahogany)’ |
| ḡáu | ‘taste unripe (fruit)’ |
| cwàt | ‘taste bitter (unripe guava, guava leaves)’ |
| ḡwèèth | ‘taste sweet (cooked meat)’ |
| bát | ‘taste like cooked beans just about to spoil’ |
| lwēḡ | ‘lose taste’ |
| kεem | ‘taste not bitter and not sweet’ |
| ḡàý | ‘taste of cooked oily food’ |

Taste verbs can be reduplicated and then express a decrease in taste intensity, in the sense of ‘a bit of a taste’. Examples are:

- (9.43)
- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| lēm̄lēm̄ | ‘taste a bit sweet’ |
| kεem̄kεem̄ ~ kēnkēn̄ | ‘a slight taste, not bitter and not sweet’ |

It is intriguing that only very few of these terms can be etymologically related to smell and taste terms in other Lwoo languages (e.g. *lēm* ‘be/taste sweet’), even though languages such as Kumam and Chopi have elaborated smell and taste terminologies as well (Storch 2004, 2013a). The verb **ḡwey* ~ **ḡway* ‘smell’, however, is widespread, as is a root **ḡec* for ‘know’. This may indicate that there existed a common concept of SMELL in Lwoo, as distinct from KNOW. Ehret’s comparative data, however, suggests a Western Nilotic root *wum*, deriving from ‘nose’ (Ehret 2001:294), so that the situation in Lwoo might be the result of a very specific cultural and social process in terms of how the different senses were valued and conceptualised (for general reflections see Van Beek 2010).

9.4 The transmission of knowledge

If the cultural functions of different perception domains can be correlated with the way the senses are encoded, then the transmission of knowledge should be revealing for our understanding of how the society organises a hierarchy of the senses. We have seen that KNOW, as an agentive action, has much to do with SEARCH in Luwo. Making knowledge obtained available to others may involve

a large variety of strategies, and the management of secret knowledge may be entirely different from that of available knowledge. One important factor, however, in passing on wisdom and knowledge to other people, is the narration of tales and stories.

In an attempt to discover the possible origins of Luwo smell words, an extensive list of several hundred ideophones was analysed. Without revealing the origin of smell words in Luwo, they do shed some light on the cultural semantics of word classes instead. Ideophones are typically used in narration, they are an indispensable part of storytelling, and their appropriate use characterises a skilled storyteller. And by looking at the semantics of ideophones and the properties they encode, we can say that narrative and possibly also dyadic communication generally prefers to focus on vision. In Luwo, ideophones allow for a painstakingly accurate description of visual events and a categorisation of such events and objects, while they hardly ever refer to sounds, smells and haptic sensations. A brief overview of ideophones is given in Chapter 3.

Hence, even though some ideophones refer to perception domains such as emotion, touch, hearing, etc. as well, more than anything else they encode motion. They do not highlight haptic perception, or what one hears, for example, but rather the movements that are characteristic of certain actions and events, as in the following example:

- (9.44) *cáádhi ké nè mán kwâg kwâg*
 walk:IA PREP COP DEM:SG IDEO IDEO
 ‘walks like that: dragging sandals, dragging sandals’

Most of the ideophones listed in (§3.2.3) were enacted and thus made visual by a storyteller. This suggests that sound symbolism also indicates distance: properties that can be perceived from a distance are described by referring to ideophones, while sensations that involve coming into close contact with an object or a place are never encoded by this highly specialised word class. Vision is used in the same way when a skilled storyteller describes a scene, organising the story and pointing at actors and actions at a distant location, for example sitting in a village square, under a tree, etc.

Thus, there are two aspects of poetic language that are interesting for our understanding of how the domain of visual perception is culturally valued in Luwo society. First, ideophones are language that can be made visible, as they often go along with gestures, acting and moving – rather than sitting while narrating. This multimodal use of poetic and expressive language is illustrated in Example (3.15), where the narrator imitates the movement of the watchman and then sits down on a chair again in order to continue the story.

The ideophone not only allows a correlation of auditory and visual domains – in the sense that the audience *listens* to a story, but is also made *see* its dramatic aspects – but also the imitation of events, in the sense of a recreation of former perception events. And this is the second aspect of poetic language as an expression of culture through visible actions. As the narrator is also an actor, her interpretations of an event through imitating motion become evidence of truth, as the narrated event is, through gesture, made to happen once more.

This is also the case when emotions are made visible, as in the following example:

- (9.45) *capíya ù-cámò nì cár*
 NAME IPFV-eat:AP SC IDEO
 >raise eyebrows, move head up and forward<
 ‘Sophia (child) eats nicely and satisfyingly’

By imitating the child’s expression when properly eating her food, the narrator here evokes the emotions of satisfaction and relief that are felt by the mother. The emotive expression of the ideophone is only achieved in combination with the facial expression of the narrator, and can then be shared by the audience. Here, a culturally salient technique, namely storytelling with the help of ideophones and gestures, bridges the gaps between the various perception domains, such as seeing, hearing and feeling.

9.5 Some conclusions

Face-to-face communication, being one of the fundamental elements of human interaction and social life, has “eyes on top” (Van Beek 2010) in the perception hierarchy of Luwo. However, in what we may call non-dyadic communication, the role of immersion is emphasised, both in the semantic extensions of sensory verbs and in the existence of a separate ophresiological word class. Instead of having a separate root for ‘smell’, Luwo synchronically derives ‘smell’ from ‘know’, and correlates cognition, vision and searching in other constructions, where a variety of perception verbs in addition to ‘know’/‘smell’ are used. Here, cultural praxis and social history seem, to a certain extent, to be reflected in grammar – an observation which implies that polysemy and semantic extension in this very specific part of the lexicon do not necessarily support assumptions about universal patterns.

Finally, the situation found in Luwo is interesting diachronically. The root for ‘smell’ found in Luwo is widely attested in almost all branches of Western Nilotic (present author’s own corpus), and in a large variety of other Nilotic languages. It

seems as if the first meaning of the verb, historically, was 'smell', which in Luwo may have undergone semantic shift (or enlarged its semantics?) towards 'know'. The present situation – 'smell' as an anticausative of 'know' – must therefore be a later development, perhaps through the reanalysis of both forms, or a more recent construction which makes the original meaning of 'know', namely 'smell', transparent. One argument for this hypothesis is the lack of any primary verb for 'smell' in this language, and the presence of a rather large inventory of specialised smell terms.

Possession and association

This chapter contains a description of how nominal and predicative possession are constructed, and which meanings they may encode besides ownership. Furthermore, possessive pronouns in their various functions are described. The grammar of possession is interesting in Luwo within its Western Nilotic context, as it expresses various cultural concepts about alienability and relationships to an individual's surrounding. In many Western Nilotic languages, alienability patterns along with cultural concepts referring to cattle and their socio-ritual meanings. These concepts can also be demonstrated to be of relevance for Luwo, even though the speakers have no longer any close attachment to cattle.

10.1 Nominal possession

Nominal possession differs from predicative possession in so far as it mostly expresses ownership and identity, association, location, and part-whole relations. Predicative possession, in contrast, tends to express acquisition and specified features of a referent.

The word order in the possessive NP is always possessee – possessor, whereby the possessee is the head of the phrase. This order is maintained in constructions with a pronominalised possessor (10.1), as well as with a nominal possessor (10.2):

(10.1) *kitáb álúm*
 book Alum
 'Alum's book'

(10.2) *ci=á*
 wife=POSS:1SG
 'my wife'

Both types of nominal possession differ in degrees of multi-functionality and polysemy. The following sections show that possessive pronouns occur in a relatively wide range of construction types, and that grammatical markers involved in noun-noun compounds such as Example (10.2) express various concepts besides possession.

10.1.1 Possessive pronouns

As discussed in Chapter 8, Luwo has a relatively uniform and little varied pronominal system, which consists of only a few sets of pronominal forms. The possessive pronouns formally resemble the suffixed subject markers, both in terms of their phonological shape and their morphophonological behaviour. They are either suffixed to a noun that denotes a possessee, or stand in morpheme-final position in a pertensive form. The third person pronoun forms occur in two allomorphs, according to vowel harmony rules, and all pronouns which consist of just a vowel take an epenthetic glide /y/ or /w/ when they are suffixed to a nominal base with a root-final vowel.

In Table 10.1, the entire paradigm is presented:

Table 10.1. Possessive pronouns

/#C/	/#V/	
=á	=yá	‘my’
=í	=yí	‘your (SG)’
=é ~ =é	=yé ~ =yé	‘his/hers’
=ó	=wó	‘our (inclusive)’
=wán	=wán	‘our (exclusive)’
=ú	=wú	‘your (PL)’
=gén ~ =gén	=gén ~ =gén	‘their’

Examples for the use of possessive pronouns are given in (10.3) and (10.4), where these morphemes express ownership and association, respectively.

- (10.3) *púrɔ̀ à-maagò ké wún=é*
 antelope:SG PFV-catch:AC:AP CONJ trap:SG=POSS:3SG
 ‘the antelope was caught with his trap’

- (10.4) *wîŋ mé=yey=gén rɔɔm gé paar ké tyèd*
 birds REL=feather=POSS:3PL same 3PL fly CONJ together
 ‘birds of a feather flock together’

Nominalisation of the possessive pronoun is based on the same morphological principle as the construction of possessed nominal forms. Here, an inanimate possessee, namely the pertensive form *gír* of *gín* ‘thing’, takes the possessive suffix, which refers to the possessor. There are pertensive forms in the singular and in the plural, the latter being constructed with the plural form of ‘thing’, *gíí*. The resulting forms are as follows:

Table 10.2. Pertensive forms of the possessive pronouns

SG	PL	
gìr-á	gíí=yá	'mine'
gìr-í	gíí=yí	'yours'
gìr-é	gíí=yé	'his/hers'
gìr-ó	gíí=wó	'ours, our (INCL)'
gìr-wán	gíí=wán	'ours, our (EXCL)'
gìr-ú	gíí=wú	'yours'
gìr-gén	gíí=gén	'theirs'

These forms are used in copula constructions, negation of possession and in the expression of alienable possession (see §10.1.3). Examples for their use are:

(10.5) *gìr=ó* *ké* *gìr=ú*
 thing=POSS:1PL:INCL CONJ thing=POSS:2PL
 'ours and yours'

(10.6) *wárgà* *gìn* *pàdh* *gìr=á*
 book:SG DEM NEG thing=POSS:1SG
 'this is not my book'

(10.7) *kwàd* *gíí=gén* *gé* *bà* *róóm* *ké* *múúká*
 culture:PL thing:PL=POSS:3PL 3PL NEG meet:TR CONJ DEM:PL
 'their (acquired, alienable) cultural ways are different from those over there'

10.1.1.1 *Multi-functionality of possessive pronouns*

Constructions with possessive pronouns are also used in contexts where other meanings than possession and ownership are encoded. Apart from expressing possession, the possessive pronoun is also used for the expression of reflexivity, reciprocity and in undergoer and experiencer constructions. The reflexive pronoun is treated in detail in §8.1.1. It is constructed with the possessed form of *kíd* 'kind, type', which is linked to the concordant absolute personal pronoun by *ké*, e.g. *gén ké kíd=gén* 'they themselves'. The undergoer and experiencer constructions, which also use possessed forms of nouns, express concepts that seem to have more to do with possession and control than the reflexives. These constructions are based on body part nouns, and express types of experience by which the speaker refers explicitly to the domain of the body in which the perceptive domain of the experience is located. Undergoer constructions are based on the pertensive form of *ríí*, PL *ròg* 'self', while experiencer constructions use possessed forms of

either *cwíŋ*, PL *cwíŋe* ‘liver’ or *wíc*, PL *wúth* ‘head’, depending on which kind of experience and emotional connotation is encoded (see §8.2).

Undergoer constructions typically express that a referent receives a particular treatment or engages in a reciprocal or reflexive action. Undergoer constructions thus resemble reflexives in some of the ways they are used. However, reflexive pronouns express actions directed at the agent, while undergoer constructions typically express autobenefactive (or, as in Example (10.8), automalefactive) actions. The semantic focus is not on how a particular action is performed by an agent, but how the acting participant is at the same time a patient, undergoing a change of state. Consider the following examples:

- (10.8) *ríí=yá* *à-cób=á*
 self:SG=POSS:1SG PFV-hurt:TR:1SG
 ‘I hurt myself’
- (10.9) *án ú-gwóŋ* *ríí=yá*
 1SG IPFV-scratch:TR self:SG=POSS:1SG
 ‘I’m scratching me’
- (10.10) *án ú-ŋàbò* *ké waar ríí=yá*
 1SG IPFV-dress:AP CONJ cloth self:SG=POSS:1SG
 ‘I’m dressing myself a bit up’

In all of these examples, the undergoer pronoun takes the position of the object argument. In (10.10), the direct object argument stands in the slot before the undergoer pronoun, which has the function of an indirect object here.

A similar use of undergoer pronouns is found in Boor (Heyking 2013). In this language, which is closely related and geographically adjacent to Luwo, undergoer pronouns are constructed with the nominal base *r(i)*, to which a personal pronoun suffix is added. Heyking (2013:96) remarks that *r(i)* is derived from *rɔK* ‘body’, also resembling the forms attested for reflexives in Anywa (Reh 1996:166). In Boor, undergoer pronouns fulfill a variety of functions. They encode reflexivity, but also reciprocity and patienthood (Heyking 2013:96–98). In subject position, undergoer pronouns in Boor also occur as experiencer pronouns.

In Luwo, the situation is slightly different. The function of reciprocals is fulfilled by reflexive pronouns (§8.1.1). Other constructions that encode related meanings are benefactive constructions, which also make use of possessive pronouns, e.g. *ké níŋ=á* ‘for me’, lit. ‘in my name’ and *yír=á* ‘for me’, lit. ‘my reason’; see §7.2.1.1 and §7.2.2.5 for examples). Only in some rare instances, such as in the following proverb, are reciprocal meanings implied:

- (10.11) *màk* *ŋàt* *jók ú-kóór=i* *ríí=yí*
 catch:VN possessor god IPFV-take.care=2SG self=POSS:2SG
 ‘as for catching a witch, you take care on your side’

In Luwo, unlike in Boor, experiencer pronouns are constructed with different nouns (see §8.2). The undergoer pronoun is not attested in subject position anywhere in the present corpus, with the exception of its occurrence in greetings. Here, it exhibits semantics that more literally refer to ‘self’ or ‘body’ (as in Anywa and Boor). Moreover, the forms are all number-sensitive, with the nominal form *rɔ̌g* not being the underlying, unmodified noun but the pertensive plural form:

- (10.12a) *máádh ríí=yí*
greet:VN self:SG=POSS:2SG
‘greeting!’
- (10.12b) *máádh rɔ̌g=ú*
greet:VN self:PL=POSS:2SG
‘greetings!’
- (10.13a) *ríí=yá yɔɔm*
self=POSS:1SG be.protected
‘I’m well’
- (10.13b) *rɔ̌g=ɔ yɔɔmè*
self=POSS:1PL:INCL be.protected:PL
‘we are well’
- (10.14) *jò-paár=ú rɔ̌g=gén yɔɔmè*
PL-home=POSS:2PL self=POSS:3PL be.protected
‘your people, are they well?’

The pertensive constructions in which possessive pronouns occur concern a rather limited number of nominal roots. They can be summarised as follows:

Table 10.3. Possessive pronouns used in pertensive constructions

NOMINAL ROOT	MEANING	PERTENSIVE FORM	USE
<i>gín</i> , PL <i>gíyí</i>	‘thing’	<i>gír-</i> , PL <i>gíí-</i>	nominalised possessive pronoun
<i>kíd</i>	‘kind, type’	<i>kíd-</i>	reflexive pronoun
<i>jíñ</i>	‘name’	<i>jíñ-</i>	reciprocal
<i>yír</i>	‘reason’	<i>yír-</i>	reciprocal (benefactive actions)
<i>cwíñ</i> , PL <i>cwíñe</i>	‘liver’	<i>cwíñ-</i>	experiencer pronoun (expressing emotion)
<i>wíc</i> , PL <i>wúth</i>	‘head’	<i>wíj-</i>	experiencer pronoun (expressing mental state)
<i>ríí</i> , PL <i>rɔ̌g</i>	‘self’	<i>ríí-</i>	undergoer pronoun

Besides these meanings, possessive pronouns also help to express comitative concepts. Here, the basis to which the pronoun is suffixed is the noun *kéet* ‘togetherness’. An example is:

- (10.15) *yín ú-dóòŋ kεεd=á*
 2SG IPFV-remain togetherness=POSS:1SG
 ‘you remain with me’

The construction bases on the noun in its singular form, onto which the relevant possessive pronoun is suffixed, in both singular and plural and in all persons.

10.1.2 Compounding

Luwo uses two different basic compounding strategies, namely juxtaposition and associative constructions, in order to express possessive relations. Both strategies are simple in their respective morphological and syntactic set-up, but have complex semantic patterns in two respects: juxtapositions encode various types of relationships between entities, ranging from ownership to location, and associatives allow a distinction in terms of separability and alienability of different entities.

All compounds include the use of modified noun forms; these are also used in the pertensive forms described above, as all nouns that are modified by another noun or a pronoun take on a shape that differs from the basic (citation) form. The morphology of modified noun forms is explained in detail in (§4.3). In terms of their function within the expression of possession and association, it is important to note at this point that modified noun forms differ with regard to alienability. This is further explained in (§10.1.3).

10.1.2.1 Juxtaposition

Simple, morphologically unmarked noun-noun compounds are modifying compounding constructions, where a free noun is used as an attributive modifier. Both the modified noun and the second, modifying phrase of the construction are usually substantives. The first, modified part of the construction is usually a noun that belongs to a prototypical semantic class of nouns denoting three-dimensional, concrete entities. Far from all of the juxtapositions found in Luwo encode possessive relationships. The range of relationships expressed includes:

A. OWNERSHIP

- (10.16) *búúl nè [paár dìmó] ŋó béeédhà*
 drum LOC home NAME 3SG DEM
 ‘this is the drum in Dimo’s house’
- (10.17) [*kitáb [wùr=á]*]
 book father=POSS:1SG
 ‘book of my father’

B. PART-WHOLE RELATIONS

- (10.18) [nithíính [yàth mángà]]
 child tree mango
 ‘mango fruit’

C. KINSHIP RELATIONS

- (10.19) [nithíính [ùmíy=á]]
 child elder.brother=POSS:1SG
 ‘nephew/niece’

D. ASSOCIATION, ORIGIN AND GROUP-MEMBERSHIP

- (10.20) yín ú-dʒòŋ wá [àkóór pàthòʒnh]
 2SG FUT-remain SIM pigeon TOPONYM
 ‘you will remain like the pigeon of Pathuon (who always came too late for feeding)’

- (10.21) [gèén jò-lúwò]
 town PL-luwo
 ‘Luwo town’

- (10.22) án naa [àkéélʒ ná]
 1SG exist.as NAME daughter
 ‘I am Akeelo’s daughter’

E. LOCATION AND TIME

- (10.23) nithíính bá ŋween [wii lúbò] ŋween [wii kwán]
 child NEG start head word start head asida
 ‘a child does not start (life) by talking but by eating asida (mush)’

- (10.24) daad [léŋ ùbàd]
 search:IMP axe shoulder
 ‘search for the axe on the shoulder!’

F. ATTRIBUTE

- (10.25) [gúú àbáárò]
 dog:MOD trap
 ‘a guiding dog’

- (10.26) [tʒŋ bʒòŋ]
 spear copper.decoration
 ‘spear used for marriage payments’

10.1.2.2 Associative

Associative constructions differ from juxtapositions morphologically in using one of two possible morphemes that mark the first, modified noun within the

construction. In associative constructions that encode relationships between inseparable entities, a linker morpheme *-è* is used. Such constructions are typically used in the context of idiomatic expression, describing well-defined discrete entities. Examples are:

(10.27) [kàn-è púrɔ̀]
broth:PL:MOD-ASS antelope
'lots of broth of antelope'

(10.28) [ɲɔ̀g-è rɪŋɔ̀] à-kɪl=gèn nè paájɔ̀
people-ASS meat PFV-bring=3PL CONJ home
'they brought the people's meat (which has been distributed to them) home'

(10.29) bεεdh=à [jò-lúw-è ketíyɔ̀]
be=3SG PL-luwo-ASS culture
'this is the (real) Luwo culture'

Associatives of this type also play a role in complex predicate constructions, such as 'slaughter' (lit. 'cut throat'):

(10.30) ájɔ̀k à-ŋɔ̀l ηùd-é ɲwùɔ̀k
NAME PFV-cut:TR throat-ASS he.goat
'Ajok slaughtered the he-goat'

A second type of associatives expresses more alienable relationships between two entities. It is constructed with the help of *gír*, PL *gíí* 'thing'. Examples are:

(10.31) [bεεdhɔ̀ gír jò-lúwò]
be:VN ASS PL-luwo
'the Luwo way of life (in the process of change)'

(10.32) ùmíy=ú à-yóód=à kùn yì [rɔ̀ɔ̀k gír árábè]
elder.brother=POSS:2PL PFV-find=1SG DEM LOC fence ASS arab:PL
'I found your elder brother there within the fence of the Arabs'

There are fewer compounds in the corpus constructed with the help of associative markers than there are juxtapositions, which implies that the former are not as prominent a means of word formation as the latter. Associative-marking morphemes, however, are an important means in the expression of alienability.

10.1.3 Alienability

In its grammar of possession, Luwo distinguishes between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. There are two different possessive construction types to indicate the type of possession, namely through alienable and inalienable modified noun forms and through two different possessive construction types. Modified noun forms can be marked for alienability in a number of Western Nilotic languages,

such as Anywa (Reh 1996:117–136), where a reconstructed number-sensitive linker morpheme **nV̇*, PL **gV* that is responsible for phonological and tonological changes in modified nouns has been absent historically (Reh op. cit.: 135). Hence, alienable possession is more often marked on nouns than inalienable possession, which is also the case in Luwo, not only concerning its modified noun forms, but also the different possessive construction types.

Modified noun forms have been described in (§4.3). Alienable nouns construct their modified forms by means of a variety of morphophonological modifications, depending on the phonological structure of the nominal stem. Consider the following examples:

(10.33) *tèè* ‘strength’ *tèéh* *ya-thudhàành*
 strength:MOD PL-Sudan
 ‘the strength of the Sudanese’

(10.34) *paájé* ‘house’ *paár* *ùṅṣṣṅè*
 house:MOD chameleon
 ‘home of chameleon’

In these examples, ‘strength’ and ‘house’ are conceptualised as properties that can be acquired but also lost. They imply that the Sudanese may have strength in performing arts, but not in football, for example, and that the chameleon uses something as its house which it may want to leave for a better place the next day, and so on. Nouns that denote inalienably conceptualised referents, in contrast, such as ‘liver’ and ‘self’, do not exhibit any such morphophonological differences between the basic and the modified form:

(10.35) *cwíjɪ* ‘liver’ *cwíjɪ àkékélɪs*
 liver NAME
 ‘Akelo’s liver/feelings/character’

(10.36) *wíc* ‘head’ *wíc mwóɾ=á*
 head bull=POSS:1SG
 ‘the head of my personal bull’

If ‘liver’ in the example above is conceptualised as an alienable entity, for example as a liver dish cooked by Akelo, no alienable modified form is constructed. Here, a different construction type is employed which uses the associative marker *gír* (refer to §10.1.2.2 for more examples):

(10.37) *cwíjɪ gír àkékélɪs*
 liver ASS NAME
 ‘Akelo’s liver (bought by her as a dish, item in butcher’s shop, etc.)’

Nouns that are inherently inalienable include body-part nouns, *kíd* ‘kind, type’, *níjɪ* ‘name’, *yír* ‘reason’, *ríí* ‘self’, *ric* ‘age mate’, and kinship terminology denoting

close relatives (father, mother, husband, grandfather, grandmother, eldest child, grandchild and elder uncle and aunt). In the case of kinship nouns, inalienability correlates with permanent association: these particular kinship terms are the only nouns that denote referents that are always possessed. Hence, the noun *miyò* ‘mother’ can only be used in the possessed form, for example *miyá* ‘my mother’. The unpossessed form is only applicable as an out-of-context citation form.

Nouns that have alienable modified forms can be constructed as inalienable possessions by the differentiated use of bound and pertensive forms of the possessive pronouns. For the noun *mwór* ‘bull’, for example, the following construction would be the most likely one in discourse:

- (10.38) *mwór gir=á*
 bull:MOD thing=POSS:1SG
 ‘my bull (among other cattle)’

This construction denotes an inalienable, not further determined property. If one wants to refer to a bull as inalienable, such as in a bull-name context, where a male speaker refers to a personal bull after whom he is named, the following construction is appropriate:

- (10.39) *mwór=á*
 bull:MOD=POSS:1SG
 ‘my personal bull’

The inalienable construction is the most frequently used one, which suggests that the expression of alienable possession is something that needs to be framed as some kind of additional information, being more marked and less often used.

This strategy of having two different construction types permits speakers to express possession, association and relationship for basically any type of referent. As far as the corpus and accessible data on Luwo suggest, there are no referents that cannot be possessed in Luwo (see Aikhenvald 2013 for constraints on possession). Wherever a speaker may consider the use of a suffixed possessive pronoun to be semantically awkward – e.g. with nouns denoting augmented concepts such as ‘king’, ‘River Nile’, ‘Sudan’, and so on – he or she could alternatively resort to a construction with *gir*. Consequently, the following forms – being framed as descriptions of perfectly alienable relations between two referents – are fully acceptable:

- (10.40) *cudaàn gir jò-lúwò*
 Sudan ASS PL-Luwo
 ‘the Sudan of the Luwo, i.e. the Sudanese daily life for Luwo people’
ruòdh gir=á
 king thing=POSS:1SG
 ‘my king, i.e. the king whom I refer to’

10.2 Predicative possession

In Luwo, possession, association and ownership are mostly encoded as noun phrases. Predicative possession, in contrast, is less diversified and less frequently used in discourse and texts. As in many other Lwo languages – e.g. Anywa (Reh 1996) and Lango (Noonan 1992) – Luwo has no verbs denoting ‘have, possess, own’. Possessive sentences are formed with the existential and presentative predicate *béédh* ‘to be at’. There are two possible syntactic patterns, one with possessor-*béédh*-possessee, and one with possessee-*béédh*-possessor. The first pattern topicalises the possessor and the second the possessed item. Such a difference is also present e.g. in Lango (Noonan op. cit.: 148) where it has similar semantics to Luwo. Consider the following example from a riddle:

- (10.41) *cín=é* *béédh yi kálá*
 intestines=POSS:3SG be.at LOC outside
 ‘what has its intestines on the outside?’
- (10.42) *búól béédh cín=é* *yi kálá* POSSESSOR TOPICALISED
 drum be.at intestines:POSS:3SG LOC outside
 ‘the drum has its intestines on the outside’
- (10.43) *cín=é* *yi kálá béédh búól* POSSESSEE TOPICALISED
 intestines=POSS:3SG LOC outside be.at drum
 ‘the drum has its intestines on the outside’

The acquisition of possessions, or the recently established relationship between possessor and possessee, is expressed with the help of the verb *káb* ‘take’, as illustrated by the following example:

- (10.44) [*biríc à-káb=é*]
 mat PFV-take=3SG
 ‘s/he has acquired a mat’ (lit. ‘took a mat’)

Predicative possession is negated by *tòró* ‘not present’, as in the following Example:

- (10.45) *àbéé wán* [[*rémò árábè*] *tòró*] *ròg=wán*
 but 1PL:EXCL blood:SGV Arab:PL not.present self=POSS.3PL:EXCL
 ‘but we don’t have a drop of Arab blood ourselves’

Copula constructions express similar concepts of ownership as clauses with verbs. Here, the conjunction *ké* fulfills the function of a copula, introducing the possessed item:

- (10.46) *béédhò píñ à-túòn* [*ùgwaal ké yíb*]
 be:VN place PFV-miss frog:SG COP tail
 ‘staying at one place, s/he missed the frog having a tail’

Meanings of association and attribution are otherwise expressed by clauses without a predicate. Here, the semantic relationships between the participants allow for an unambiguous reading of the clauses. As the possessor prototypically has more agency and animacy than the possessee, the relationships between the participants in the following examples are simple to discern on the basis of such semantic hierarchies:

(10.47) [[àkóól cí=yé] níŋ=é] àbwólà
NAME wife=POSS:3SG name=POSS:3SG NAME
'Akool's wife's name is Abwola'

(10.48) [[cí=yá yee] ùrλmɔ̃]
wife=POSS:1SG stomach pain
'my wife has stomach pains'

Word order, case and pragmatics

11.1 Overview

Luwo has a split-ergative case system, which can be distinguished morphologically as well as on the syntactic level. The first scholar to note this was probably Santandrea (1946). However, he was not, at that time, considered correct in his analysis:

I am interested in that he discards the Kohnen-Pschorn thesis (expressed in their Shilluk grammars) of there being a passive voice and maintains the theses of reversible subject and object, e.g. “I kill the man” as against “the man kill I” (my own Dinka experience started with this thesis and proceeded to that of the Passive Voice!). (Tucker 1948:237)

One of the very few other published sources on Luwo, Buth (1981b), outlines the split-ergative case system of the language. More recently, König (2008:114 f.) has reconsidered the data presented in Buth (op. cit.) and has analysed Luwo as a member of her “group one” ergative languages, together with closely-related Anywa and Pări. These languages tend to share an underlying OVA/SV constituent order, transitive and antipassive verb classes and a case marker *C_I*, which as a suffix occurs in the form *-ɪ*. This morpheme is realised as a suffix *-é* in Luwo, which encodes the semantic role of the agent.

In Luwo, case and constituent order are both employed for pragmatic purposes. There are certain discourse functions which correlate with the placement of the case marker before or after the verb. In transitive constructions, Luwo employs at least two different constructions, whereby the agent-participant is definite if it occurs clause-initially. Being a prototypically definite participant, the agent-participant needs no marking in AVO clauses. In OVA clauses, in contrast, the agent-participant stands in a post-verbal position, where it is indefinite and is typically marked with the ergative case marker. This suggests that the object-participant is more topical than the agent in an OVA clause, in the sense that A has to be case-marked, this being the more unusual situation.

This situation may be found in other Nilotic languages as well, and also in other ergative case-marking languages in the area. The following section provides

a brief overview of previous work on case in these languages, in order to provide the context in which the analysis of Luwo is presented.

11.2 Ergative case in Western Nilotic

The case systems of the Western Nilotic languages Anywa, Pāri and Luwo share structural similarities, but their possible common source has not yet been satisfactorily explored. The currently debated hypotheses on the historical background are discussed briefly in this section, being relevant for the following analysis of the situation in Luwo.

The languages under concern exhibit different constraints and functions in their ergative case-marking systems. All of these languages are split-ergative rather than ergative, because case is restricted to specific clause types, a specific word order, or to other specific grammatical contexts. This is also the case in Luwo, as we shall see later.

Even though the shared similarities of case in Northern Luwo languages could well be considered purely typological, with different authors suggesting different origins for the case-marking affixes in the different languages, much of the available literature on this topic deals with problems with reconstructing the most likely grammaticalisation paths that might have resulted in the emergence of a split-ergative case system (recently discussed in König 2008).

However, there are only five primary, descriptive contributions on ergativity in Northern Luwo (and Western Nilotic as a whole), namely Andersen (1988, 2000) on Pāri, Reh (1996) on Anywa, Buth (1981b) on Luwo, and Miller & Gilley (2001a) on Shilluk. With the exception of Buth and Miller & Gilley, these studies also discuss the etymology and emergence or development of ergative marking in the respective languages. The explanations offered are often controversial. For example, Andersen (2000: 74 f.) observes that in Pāri the ergative marker *-i* is suffixed only to proper nouns, and not to possessed kinship terms or pronouns, where a low tone as a non-segmental formative appears,¹ e.g.:

(11.1) Pāri (Andersen 2000)

	ABSOLUTIVE	→	ERGATIVE	
(a)	mλλn	→	mλλn-ì	'woman'
	ùbúr	→	ùbúr-rì	'Ubur'
(b)	wλr-á	→	wλr-à	'my father'

1. Case is occasionally realised as a suprasegmental marker in Nilotic, for example in Kalenjin (Mietzner forthcoming).

Because of the suprasegmental realisation of the morpheme *-i*, Andersen suggests that it is originally a case marker, which later developed into a definite marker on nouns.

König (2008: 118) discusses this hypothesis and suggests that, given certain grammaticalisation processes, the development would have been in the other direction, with definite marking representing an older stage, and the case marking functions of *-i* being historically younger. As far as the data she cites suggests, this would also be the situation in Anywa.² However, the process occurring in the opposite direction is attested as well. For instance, Jingulu, an Australian language, exhibits a case marker that has developed out of a topic marker (Aikhenvald, pers. comm.), and in languages such as Tima (Dimmendaal, pers. comm.) and Luwo, a situation is encountered where both possibilities seem to exist.

However, in Pãri, ergativity occurs in principle in all NP-initial main declarative clauses, but not in other clause types (i.e. imperatives, questions, subordinate clauses). This situation is noteworthy, as it suggests that NP-initial clauses underwent a different historical development than other clause types. A possible explanation for such a process could be that an initial NP indicates topicality; the development of a case system would then have been motivated by the grammaticalisation of pragmatic functions.

König (2008: 118) claims that there is evidence for a development from verb-initial clauses to NP-initial clauses, whereby a marked nominative case system was replaced by an ergative one. As part of this development, a definite marker would have been regrammaticalised as case marker. For some problems with this analysis see Dimmendaal (2014); according to him, the *-ε/-i* case markers are extremely old, and also found in Gaahmg (Eastern Jebel), for example.

It is not clear what may have triggered the development sketched by König (and others), but one explanation that has been suggested is the high frequency of SV-*yi* AGENT passive clauses in Shilluk,³ as in the following example:

- (11.2) Shilluk (Tucker & Bryan 1966)
dháanhó á-kác yi kwèc
 person PST-bite by leopard
 'the man was bitten by a leopard'

Reh, in her internal reconstruction of the emergence of an SOV word order in Anywa (1996: 360 ff.), suggests that the preposition *yi* was first used to introduce

2. Note, however, that Reh (1996: 137, Footnote 2) rejects this reconstruction.

3. This refers to Westermann's (1912) claim that the Shilluk prefer to use passive voice rather than active constructions.

the demoted agent participant in transitive passive constructions; this also occurred in other languages, and was later reanalysed as a case preposition in basic transitive clauses. Meanwhile, Miller & Gilley (2001a) have presented a more adequate analysis of the ergative case system of Shilluk than was available before in the mostly colonial sources on that language, and they have been able to demonstrate that the preposition *yi* is not part of a passive construction at all, but rather an ergative marker (see also König 2008:122 f.). Their analysis, based on more than a decade of fieldwork on Shilluk, and on constant exchange with linguistically skilled mother-tongue speakers of that language, is to be taken much more seriously than the previous interpretations of *yi*-constructions, which all used Westermann's (1912) incorrect analysis of the passive as a starting point for their explanations of the development of Western Nilotic ergativity. This probably does not mean that the assumed historical processes do not hold true for individual languages, but they are certainly not true for Shilluk. However, we would, as a consequence of improved descriptive situations, have to think of parallelism in drift, rather than of one shared historical process.

It has been mentioned above that the source of the case marker may be a definite marker. This assumption is basically supported by evidence from Anywa, where the definite form of a noun is constructed with the help of a suffix *-Cì*, as in the following example:

- (11.3) Anywa (Reh 1996)
riŋo a-cám ñilàal-li
 meat PST-bite child-DEF
 'the *child* ate up the meat'

However, it is not made clear by Reh's evidence (1996) why it is impossible to use this „definiteness“ marker with postverbal objects or preverbal subjects and objects. When contrasted with an example with an indefinite agent-participant, it becomes obvious that in Anywa, definite marking has pragmatic overtones, as well as focussing and perhaps foregrounding connotations. Compare Example (11.4) to (11.3) above:

- (11.4) Anywa (Reh 1996)
riŋo a-cám ñilàal
 meat PST-bite child
 'a child ate up the meat'

Reh (1996:137) remarks that ergative case marking in Anywa may have developed from other sources. Furthermore, Reh presents a set of six prepositions (op. cit.: 272), which are also found in other Northern Lwoo languages, and which are used to introduce secondary participants (op. cit.: 320 f.).

Hence, while case-marking functions are to a certain extent covered by case prepositions in Anywa (and elsewhere in Northern Lwoo), the suffix that goes along with ergative patterns is not convincingly demonstrated to have emerged from definite markers, demoted agent-prepositions in passive constructions, or an old ergative case system, which are the sources discussed and considered probable, in principle, in König (2008). This is of relevance for the following discussion of case in Luwo, because in this language, the ergative case marker seems to have emerged from a different development than in Anywa, Pãri and Shilluk, and it seems to express other meanings besides encoding the semantic role of the agent-participant. These will be discussed in the following sections, before a different explanation for ergativity in Luwo than the one given in König (2008) will be offered in (§11.6) below.

11.3 Establishment of ergativity

11.3.1 Transitive clauses

Ergativity in Luwo is expressed by a suffix *-é*, which affixes to a specific group of nouns (see §11.4 below for further explanation). The ergative marker occurs regularly in OVA clauses, where it marks A for ergative case. In such clauses, the ergative case correlates with object focus, or the definiteness of the O-participant. An example is:

- (11.5) *móʒgè ɲám ɲoo-é ɲámò*
 some:PL chew:TR lion:SG-CASE chew:VN
 ‘the lion is eating some of them’

An example with a contrasting constituent order, namely AVO, requires no case marker on A:

- (11.6) *uthwónh à-rék gwòy áríòw*
 hyena PFV-catch:TR dog:PL two
 ‘hyena catches two dogs at the same time’

Buth (1981b) demonstrates that OVA is the most unmarked and therefore the basic word order in Luwo. There is no cross-referencing on the verb, and there is none of the prosodic marking, such as pausing, tonal raising, etc., which occurs with other constituent orders. In Example (11.5), the predicate is split and consists of the zero-marked verb and the verbal noun, which is marked by a suffix *-ò*. Such split predicate constructions are used in the formation of the

imperfective-progressive (see Chapter 7). In other TAM forms, constructions like those in (11.7) and (11.8) are found.

- (11.7) [ɲóǵé à-mwǝj ðim-é] ké riŋǝ
 people PFV-give:TR NAME-CASE with meat:SGV
 ma=[à-mìn cwíɲ=ǵén-é]
 REL=PFV-become.tasty liver=POSS:3PL-CASE
 ‘Dimo gave a piece of meat to the people so that they became happy’
 (lit. ‘their livers became tasty’)

- (11.8) [díél à-pwód ɲidhǝǵ-é]
 goat PFV-beat:TR boy-CASE
 ‘the boy beats the goat’

Examples (11.5–8) are all noun phrase-initial clauses, and *-é* is suffixed to the agent; however, (11.7) shows that A may also be constructed as an undergoer. In this example, the construction ‘their liver’ is framed as an animate referent (the liver being the seat of the emotions), and this renders the liver an agentive and inherently definite participant.

Post-verbal subject clitics can express any person, but they can only be marked for ergative case when they replace an agent noun, as in the following example:

- (11.9a) *waarǝ à-lúǝk mán-é*
 cloth:SGV PFV-wash:TR women-CASE
 ‘the women washed the dress’

- (11.9b) *waarǝ à-lúǝǵ=ǵén-é*
 cloth:SGV PFV-wash:TR=3PL-CASE
 ‘they washed the dress’

The ergative marker only occurs with post-verbal and possessive subject pronouns in the third person plural, never in the singular. The latter may be due to the homophonous character of the ergative marker *-é* and the 3SG pronoun *-é*; there could well be an underlying additive suffixing strategy here, but this is not audible, at least not in the form of increased vowel length, stress, or any prosodic feature. Note also that the ergative marker may be omitted after the pronouns, and that *waarǝ àlúǝǵén* is a free variant of (11.9b), with the final vowel deleted, being semantically and pragmatically identical.

11.3.2 Intransitive clauses

As already demonstrated by Buth (1981b), Luwo treats the S-participant in intransitive clauses in the same way as the O-participant in transitive clauses. The S-participant, if it is a noun, is not marked by a case suffix; pronominal S-participants are represented by pre-verbal subject pronouns (unless the verb is

detransitivised; see Chapter 7.2.1). This means that a pattern exists which also characterises the ergative case systems of related languages such as Anywa, Pāri, and Shilluk; this pattern is typical of ergative case systems generally (Dixon 1994), and can be represented as follows:

Table 11.1. Ergative-absolutive case system

Obligatory participants

S		
O		A
↑		↑
ABS		ERG

The situation in Luwo is illustrated by the following examples:

(11.10) *mɔɔgɛ à-ké-ɲámɔ̎*
 some:PL PFV-DUR-chew:AP
 ‘some were chewing’

(11.11) *dhècwɔ̎w ù-cámɔ̎*
 man IPFV-eat:AP
 ‘the man is eating’

In these two intransitive clauses, the subject, being morphologically unmarked for case, is not functionally marked (e.g. as agent). The case label for this form is referred to as absolutive. The absolutive can also be realised by a pronominalised S-participant, as in the following example:

(11.12) *gɛ̀=à-cámɔ̎*
 3PL=PFV-eat:AP
 ‘they ate’

In drawing first conclusions about the case-marking patterns that can be observed in the two basic clause types presented here, namely transitive and intransitive clauses, one could state that case marking always takes place after the verb, but never before it. König (2008) claims that the rule “no case before the verb” is characteristic of African ergative languages in general. In Luwo, however, this rule does not hold, as we shall see in (§11.6) below.

11.3.3 Cross-reference

Luwo permits other word order patterns than OVA and SV. In non-elicited data, e.g. narrative and explanatory texts, the word order AOV-A is the most common. Both (1981b) remarks that clauses of this type are more marked, because a small

pause is heard after the nominal A-participant, which he represents by a comma. Consider the following example (Buth 1981b: 74; transcription adapted by present author), which illustrates the clause type containing an extraposed sentence-initial topic:

- (11.13) *nìdhɔɔk, nááków à-gɔɔj=é*
 boy girl PFV-touch:TR=3SG
 ‘the boy hit the girl’

However, Buth uses elicited data for his analysis, and this might be a problem for the generalisation of his observation. In my own data, especially in texts, prosodic markedness, pausing, etc. in AOV-A clauses is not often found (and not in Examples 11.14 and 11.15). This makes it slightly difficult to confirm Buth’s claim.

Verbal cross-referencing, in principle, operates on an ergative-absolutive basis. A strategy which makes AOV-A clauses pragmatically more marked is cross-referencing of the A-participant by means of a post-verbal pronoun. Cross-referencing occurs with simple and complex or split predicates (e.g. 11.15 ‘cut neck’). In (11.16) the cross-referential pronoun precedes the oblique object. Consider the following examples:⁴

- (11.14) *nì-jáhà lèèlɔ́ à-bɔɔl=↓é*
 MASC:SG-Dinka stone PFV-throw=3SG
 ‘the Dinka man threw a stone’
- (11.15) *nááków ηùt yéénɔ́ à-ηɔɔl=é*
 girl neck chicken PFV-cut=3SG
 ‘the girl slaughtered the chicken’
- (11.16) *nááków kádé à-tháàl=↓é yír nìdhɔɔi*
 girl broth:PL PFV-boil=3SG PREP boy:PL
 ‘the girl cooked broth for the boys’

As in the clause types discussed above, the nominal A-participant may be pronominalised. In this case, only the word order changes. The most frequently used pattern would be OV-A (11.17), but if the O-participant is indefinite, AVO is used (11.18).

- (11.17) *kádò à-tháàl=↓é*
 broth:SG PFV-boil=3SG
 ‘s/he cooked broth’

4. Note that in these two examples, the 3SG pronoun occurs in two different shapes, =↓é and =é, because of vowel harmony rules and a downstep rule after a [HL] verb stem.

- (11.18) *à-tɛɛdò ké kádò*
 PFV-COOK:AP PREP broth:SG
 ‘s/he cooked some broth’

Note that post-verbal cross-referencing does not occur in relative clauses, where the absolute pre-verbal pronoun is used instead (see Chapter 13).

11.4 Split-ergative patterns

In Luwo, ergative case marking occurs only in specific contexts, and the language therefore has a split-ergative case system. We have already seen that the word order AOV-A, which is common, does not permit ergative marking on the nominal A-participant. Other contexts where case marking is not permitted are discussed in (§11.4.2–3). They refer to clause-type constraints and animacy constraints. Before these are dealt with, verb-initial clauses, which do exhibit case marking, are presented.

11.4.1 Verb-initial clauses

Luwo also allows verb-initial clauses. These diverge from noun phrase-initial clauses, as in verb-initial clauses, both A- and S-participants take the *-é* suffix, while O remains unmarked. This distribution of case-marking is characteristic of the marked-nominative case pattern (see König 2008: 115 f. for a discussion):

Interestingly, the distribution of the two different patterns and the correlating word order – noun phrase-initial or verb-initial – is semantically conditioned: verb-initial clauses have a different function than noun phrase-initial clauses, as they encode sequential actions and events (also see Buth 1981b: 78 ff.).

Verb-initial clauses may have the structure VS, if they are intransitive, or VAO if they are transitive. The nominal S-participant in Examples (11.19) and (11.20) takes the suffix *-é*, which also appears with the nominal A-participant in (11.21). In all three examples, the event is conceptualised as part of a chain of events or actions, and A/S are backgrounded. The discourse-pragmatic functions of O in such clauses, as in (11.21), is that of an inherently definite, contextualised participant (‘a trap in order to catch the buffalo’).

VS

- (11.19) *me=à-ɲíɛɲ ɲʊʊ-é yi wóɲ=é ù-tùd=é*
 REL=PFV-be.angry lion-CASE in eye-POSS:3SG IPFV-threat:DTR=3SG
 ‘and the lion was angry in his eyes and then he threatened’

- (11.20) *ù-bɛɛn* *jibɛɛr-é*
 IPFV-COME:ATR NAME-CASE
 ‘then came Zubeir’

VAO

- (11.21) *naa* *à-ceg* *dim-é* *wúnò* *è*
 when PFV-make:TR NAME-CASE trap:SG QM
ǰǰbó *à-ké-mágò*
 buffalo:SG PFV-DUR-catch:AP
 ‘when has Dimo made the trap then, in order to catch the buffalo?’

In contrast to languages with a split case system, where the marked nominative case is indicated by a dedicated marker, Luwo uses the same suffix that marks ergative case. In the examples above, it renders the A and S participants more agentive, helping to frame them as animate and volitionally acting participants. Hence, we have a marked nominative system (developing naturally out of an ergative system; Dimmendaal 2014).

11.4.2 Functionally marked NP-initial clauses

The pattern that is found in AVO and OAV clauses requires no case marking on any core participant. As with the verb-initial clauses, these are semantically conditioned. The word order AVO is used whenever the O-participant is focused and emphasised. This may include the use of demonstratives, numerals or other modifying devices.

In contrast to this, OAV clauses are used for negation. Negation, not being compatible with focus, matches perfectly with this word order, which is not compatible with focus either. Both the functional and the semantic properties of AVO and OVA clauses have been explored by Buth (1981b), where more examples (albeit systematically elicited) are given. The specific semantics and functions of these clause types, however, have not yet been given particular attention. It will be shown in (§11.6) that this analysis is of importance for an adequate understanding of the development and underlying functions of case marking in Luwo.

I. AVO CLAUSES

This clause type is used when the O-participant is highlighted or focused. Since neither core participant is case-marked, disambiguation of the two core participants, which could be a problem if the context was not known, is achieved by modifying O. Consequently, AVO clauses very often exhibit a definite, counted or otherwise modified form of the object noun. Consider the following examples:

- (11.22) *uthwónh* *à-rék* *gwòy* *árlòw*
 hyena PFV-catch:TR dog:PL two
 ‘hyena tries to catch *two dogs* at the same time’

- (11.23) *nááków à-ηṣl díél è*
 girl PFV-cut:TR goat QM
 ‘the girl really slaughters *the* goat?’
- (11.24) *dímò à-cám kàn púrò nu*
 NAME PFV-eat:TR both:MOD antelope DEM
 ‘Dimo ate *that* antelope broth’

II. OAV CLAUSES

This clause type is used when an event or action is negated. The O-participant may be expressed by a noun or pronoun, while the A-participant is always pronominalised. There are a number of strategies employed for negation (see Chapter 13), but in OAV clauses only one of them is used, namely *ké*. The following examples illustrate this construction:

- (11.25) *ηṣ ká=à=ròbò*
 O:3SG NEG=1SG=talk:AP
 ‘I didn’t say it’
- (11.26) *jidhɔɔk ké=é=jwòlò*
 boy NEG=3SG=deliver:AP
 ‘she did not deliver a boy’

11.4.3 Animacy constraints

In Luwo, a specific split in case marking concerns the treatment of inanimate referents. In the corpus used for the present study, no inanimate A-participants are marked for ergative case in OVA clauses (or any other clause type). Very often, the referent which occurs in the syntactic position of A is semantically treated as a patient, which might be one of the reasons for the absence of the ergative case suffix here. Examples are:

- (11.27) *léηò à-waη níínò*
 silence PFV-burn grain.sp:SGV
 ‘the nino-grain⁵ burns (in) silence’
- (11.28) *náyè óò à-jwán wárgà*
 alas potatoes PFV-push book
 ‘oh, the book pushed the potatoes!’ (making them fall from the kitchen table)

More common with inanimate A-participants, however, are SV clauses, where the inanimate referent is morphologically unmarked for case and precedes the verb,

5. Note that plants are considered inanimate referents in Luwo (see Chapter 5 for details).

which is typically a change of state verb, a positional verb, or a similar type of less active verb, as in the following examples:

(11.29) *cwàá ú-túì píŋ nôw*
 tamarind FUT-grow ground flat
 ‘tamarind will grow on flat land’

(11.30) *ùkwééró ú-cièk kúí pwòdh ñáá*
 cucumber FUT-ripen in farm person:MOD
me=lág=é tóòrò
 REL=teeth=POSS:3SG be.absent:VN
 ‘cucumber grows nicely on the farm of a toothless person’

These examples suggest that ergative case marking is, in principle, restricted to animate agents, which can be singled out and given a very active role that is central to the event, while inanimate referents are treated as less singular and less agentive. This is also achieved by the particular verbs they tend to occur with.

11.5 Indefinite marking

As case-marking of the A-participant has the functional behaviour and semantic constraints mentioned above, the explanation offered by König (2008) for the development of case-marking suffixes does not hold for Luwo. Here, case marking of agent/subject nouns expresses their active participation in an event and their control over actions, rather than their definiteness. It is not surprising in this context that in Luwo, the strategy of definite marking differs from that in Anywa, for instance, as in Luwo no suffixed definite marker appears. Instead, the language uses demonstratives as definite markers, or employs an indefinite marker to highlight a lack of information on a specific participant. There is no evidence in Luwo that grammaticalisation of definite markers has played any role in the development of the suffixed case marker *-é*.

The definite-marking strategies of Luwo are, however, of interest as far as our understanding of the semantics of case marking is concerned. We have seen that, in OVA clauses, A is marked for case by means of the suffix *-é*. The marked noun may be definite or indefinite, depending on the context. The A-participant is always definite, however, when it occurs in clause-initial position. In (§11.3.2) above, it has been demonstrated that clauses with an SV pattern are intransitive. In contrast to this, clauses with an AVO word order are transitive clauses in which the O-participant is treated as an indefinite object (introduced by *ké*). In this construction, the O-participant often expresses collectives or general concepts, which

tends to be characteristic of peripheral participants in Luwo. A, in contrast, is prototypically definite (Du Bois 1987a, 1987b), and, as the topic around which discourse is organised, is very often human or at least animate, and is in control of an event or action. Topics are typically more definite; in an OVA clause, A occurs in post-verbal position, which correlates with indefiniteness, and renders O more topical than A. One could conclude that a definite and topicalised O-participant motivates ergative marking on the A-participant. Compare the following examples:

(11.31) *réyó à-cám dhècwòw-é* OVA
 fish:SGV PFV-eat:TR man-CASE
 ‘the/a man ate fish’

(11.32) *dhècwòw ù-cámò ké réyó* AVO
 man IPFV-eat:AP PREP fish:SGV
 ‘the man eats (some kind of) fish’

Such constructions are only attested in clauses where the verb takes two arguments, namely A and O. In such clauses, involving two object arguments, the indefinite object is introduced by *ké* in the post-verbal position, while A and the topicalised O precede the predicate verb. Furthermore, the agent is cross-referenced on the verb. Here, the A-participant must be modified by a demonstrative in order to be marked as definite. Compare the following examples:

(11.33) *dhècwòw réyó à-cám=é ké wòt*
 man fish:SGV PFV-eat:TR=3SG PREP house
 ‘the/a man eats (some kind of) fish in the house’

(11.34) *dhècwòw gín réyó à-cám=é ké wòt*
 man DEM fish:SGV PFV-eat:TR=3SG PREP house
 ‘this man eats (some kind of) fish in the house’

11.6 Foregrounding and participant marking

It has been shown in the preceding sections that the case marker is completely irrelevant for definite marking, is absent in syntactically-marked emphatic sentences, negation, and in constructions with inanimate participants. This means that the suffix *-é* is excluded from all contexts where foregrounding is semantically impossible or contradicts other strategies, such as emphasis. I consider this observation a strong argument against the hypothesis that case markers in Luwo languages, such as Luwo, have emerged from definite markers through grammaticalisation. Neither does the hypothesis hold that ergative case marking derives from marking peripheral participants in passive clauses; Miller & Gilley’s (2001)

study of case in Shilluk has made it clear that earlier assumptions on the nature of passives in this language (which were crucial for reconstructing the grammaticalisation of case marking) were incorrect.

But what would be a better explanation for the origin of the system, keeping the semantic and functional constraints of case in Luwo in mind? If we exclude definite-marking and peripheral object-marking functions, then it is very simple to grasp its main use and meaning: the suffix *-é* occurs in contexts where it marks A-participants (which are not necessarily definite) as a discourse theme. If the ergative case is used mainly to mark participants as discourse theme – and always A, never O – then the system must be discourse-based and pragmatically motivated, rather than being a product of more or less complex grammaticalisation paths leading from definite marking to case marking.

Dixon (1994:209 ff.) provides some arguments which strongly support this hypothesis. Starting off from Du Bois' (1987a, 1987b) work on the discourse basis of ergativity, Dixon argues that a discourse theme is very frequent in both S and A functions, changing from one clause to another. New participants, however, are overwhelmingly introduced through a noun phrase with S or O function, but hardly ever in A function. In other words, even in discourse, a theme is treated as S or A ('she went inside, and then she cooked the dumplings'), while a new participant is most likely not introduced as an A-participant but in a presentative or related way ('there was once a woman', 'a woman once lived there', etc.). Such presentative constructions, which have the tendency to introduce new information in S or O function, are used with nouns in the absolutive case but not in the ergative case, e.g. in Dyrbal and Mayan (Dixon 1994:210). These, and many other examples, Dixon concludes,

add further support to Du Bois' claim that S and O are typically associated with the introduction of new information. Note how this correlates with an ergative pattern of intra-clausal marking; in a case-marked language, for instance, a new participant will typically be introduced by an NP in absolutive case (S or O function). The continuation of a theme provides the other critical factor in building a discourse, and it is useful to have constant grammatical marking for the grammatical relations (S and A) that play the most prominent role here; this is consistent with nominative-accusative grammatical marking. (Dixon 1994:211)

Furthermore, Dixon suggests that the majority of ergative splits "can be explained in discourse terms" (1994:211). A discourse theme is likely to be animate or human, while inanimate referents usually play a less salient role (which might easily lead to the grammatical identification of S and O). Moreover, a newly introduced participant is normally indefinite ('a woman once cooked...') and only becomes definite once the participant has been established as a theme ('this woman was hungry').

Dixon consequently concludes that new information and indefinite status can be correlated on the one hand, while definiteness and old information are usually characteristic of discourse themes on the other.

In Luwo, newly introduced participants are – as expected – indefinite, and they occur in the absolutive case and not in the ergative case. In Luwo, however, ergative case-marking is not a strategy for marking nominal discourse themes for definite status. They may be indefinite unless put in a different syntactic context.

Why is this so? An answer comes from a look at pragmatics. Luwo also uses the suffix *-é* in other contexts than case-marking. These contexts have to do with an emphatic treatment of a theme, and with predicate focus. In the clauses concerned here, an action which is performed and controlled by the A-participant is expressed as being specifically unusual and noteworthy, happening in contrast to the expected event. The suffix *-é* here is not used as a case marker, but rather as an assertive morpheme which has strong mirative connotations, expressing that A is much more in control of the action, and performs it with more agentivity than in other contexts. An example, stemming from a narrative text, is:

- (11.35) *dhyèŋ uthwónh-é ù-ŋwol=é*
 cow hyena-CASE IPFV-deliver=3SG
 ‘(now it is the case that) hyena really delivers a cow’

Note that the case marker is used before the verb here (albeit in its function of expressing agentivity), contradicting König’s (2008) assumption that such markers never occur in that position.

11.6.1 Foregrounding functions

Besides strategies that are used to put more agency on the A-participant and focus the action performed by him or her, Luwo has constructions with a light verb that foreground newly-introduced participants, or participants about whom new information is given (in the sense of ‘it is not X who did this, but actually Y’).

In clauses which foreground an A-participant, the light verb *én*⁶ follows A, as in (11.36). New information on O-participants can be given in cleft sentences with *én*, as (11.37) illustrates. If a newly introduced and potentially animate participant is foregrounded, e.g. as being of specific importance for the further development

6. Note that a similar construction is described by Noonan (1992:234) for Lango. However, Noonan argues that the relativiser *énn* in Lango is identical with the 3rd person singular pronoun. In Luwo, this explanation is unlikely, as *én* clearly and audibly differs from the 3rd person singular pronoun *en* in terms of tone and vowel quality. Moreover, *én* can take a pronominal clitic *=é*, as in example (11.38), which would not be possible for a pronoun such as *en*.

of the discourse topic, a cross-referencing subject pronoun is added to the light verb *én*, as in (11.38).

(11.36) *uthwónh én à-cám rìηð*
 hyena be.present PFV-eat meat:SGVE
 '(and) it was hyena who ate the piece of meat'

(11.37) *bεεdhà yéénó én nì ηùt ηó à-ηól=é*
 DEM chicken be.present REL neck O:3SG PFV-cut=3SG
 'it is a chicken which she slaughtered'

(11.38) *bεεdhà réyó én=é ù-cám dhècwów-é*
 DEM fish:SGV be.present=3SG IPFV-eat:TR man-CASE
 'it is this specific fish whom the man eats'

It should not be surprising that the case marker is also used in contexts of topicalisation, as in (11.39).

(11.39) *γογó à-yúód=gèn-é é=budò thar ηλλb*
 buffalo PFV-find=3PL-CASE 3SG=lie:AP under tree.SP
 'they found the buffalo, he was lying under a ngaab-tree'

For further discussion of topicalisation, see Chapter 13.

11.7 Summary

Summarising our observations, it can be concluded that although Luwo exhibits a split-ergative case system, this system is rather discourse-based, with a case marker that is used in contexts with strong pragmatic overtones (see Dimmendaal 2014). Rather than simply marking A-participants for definiteness, the ergative case-marker *-é* expresses agentivity and an agent's control over an action. The semantic, functional and pragmatic character of the morpheme explains the split conditions under which case in Luwo occurs.

The suffix *-é*, in principle, marks A as the discourse topic, combining the function of a marker of grammatical relations and of pragmatic functions. Examples of languages with comparable systems can be found in some of the languages of the area with ergative case systems, such as Tima (Dimmendaal, pers. comm.), but also elsewhere cross-linguistically. Even though there seems to be an areal distribution pattern of ergativity in Eastern Africa, ergativity in this part of the world is not exactly common. This may have to do with the process of its historical development, as suggested by Dimmendaal (2014):

Such constellations suggest that there is a deeper, structural reason why ergativity is so rare in Eastern Africa, and that it is something in the inherent organization of these languages which results in parallel developments. Mithun (1991) has observed that lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*), agency, control and affectedness are semantic features that have a bearing on the split of Subject between Agent and Patient. Thus, inchoatives denote temporary conditions (or states) and may call for Object marking for the affected entity. State (as opposed to affectedness) may call for Subject marking [...]. Such fluid-S and Split-S marking are very common in Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic languages in the area.

This model provides a further explanation of how A-participants can be framed as more agentive and less affected when S is marked for case, in contrast to those constructions where case is not morphologically indicated.

Location and spatial orientation

12.1 Overview

Marking location and directionality is a salient feature of a large number of Nilotic languages (Mietzner 2009), and a prominent domain in the grammar of Luwo. A striking property of Luwo in the spatial domain is that the language exhibits several sets of demonstrative pronouns that correlate with the principal semantic patterns of its system of nominal categorisation devices, namely the size and extendedness of a referent. The way in which a referent can be touched and carried (being of small size), or is conceived (as a large entity that cannot be carried) appears to be crucial for the choice of a particular demonstrative. Moreover, demonstratives that refer to portable referents can be pluralised, thus also indicating the extendedness of an object.

This chapter first sets out to provide a description of these demonstratives, in (§12.2), before turning to the expression of location in (§12.3). Topological relations are, as in many other languages of the Nilotic family as well as areally, encoded using body part nouns as a base, but in Luwo are also constructed on verb bases. Basic locative constructions are usually achieved with the help of a verb of existence, *bɛɛdh*, while non-basic locative constructions exhibit various other possibilities, such as prepositions and localisers.

The way in which orientation and direction are encoded in Luwo is explored in (§12.4). Here, I describe the expressions of cardinal directions and frames of reference in Luwo. The expression of motion is treated in (§12.5). This section is devoted to both directional verbs and ideophones (see also §7.2.2 and §9.4), which in Luwo are a salient feature of the domain of motion. In (§12.6), the conceptualisation of space and extension is presented. This section describes how the grammatical encoding of number and the grammar of space correlate with each other in Luwo, in the sense of asking to what extent this language permits plurality to be framed as space.

12.2 Demonstratives

Luwo has two types of demonstratives, namely demonstratives expressing discourse deixis, which show number concord and allow for a distinction between different categories of nominal referents; and spatial demonstratives, which also inflect for number but do not exhibit number concord with the head noun. These do not permit any distinction between different contexts of nominal referents, but express different types of spaces, in the sense of more defined and less specifiable locations. Both sets of demonstratives express the three distances proximate, medial and distal.

In Luwo, demonstratives mainly have locative meanings and are hardly ever used in a temporal sense. They can all be used as NPs.

12.2.1 Exophoric demonstratives

The use of demonstratives has strong pragmatic overtones when they are used to organise discourse. Here, they do not merely refer to the spatial relationship between the speaker, hearer and referent (e.g. in terms of expressing distances and visibility), but indicate the interlocutor's degree of familiarity with a referent in discourse and newly given information. These are what Diessel (1999, following Halliday & Hasan 1976) calls exophoric demonstratives, in contrast with endophoric demonstratives, which encompass all other uses. Exophorically used demonstratives help to "orient the hearer in the speech situation, focusing on his or her attention on objects, locations, or persons, but [...] also serve a variety of other pragmatic functions" (Diessel 1999:93). In Luwo, exophoric demonstratives mainly have tracking and discourse deictic uses. They do not refer to location but to propositions, involving the speaker (and sometimes another person) as the deictic centre and thereby mostly also referring to distance.

Himmelmann (1996) argues that the discourse deictic use of demonstratives is one of four types of use that are attested cross-linguistically. These types "represent two major interactional goals involved in the use of demonstratives: Demonstratives are used either in establishing a referent in the universe of discourse for the first time (situational and discourse deictic uses) or to single out a certain referent among already established referents (tracking and recognitional uses)" (1996:240). What is interesting here with respect to the situation found in Luwo is that Himmelmann observes that even though these functions and usages of demonstratives may well be universal, specific grammaticalisation processes in individual languages may lead to one particular use becoming more prominent than the others, as can be seen in the uses of 3rd person pronouns. In Luwo,

such processes involve the grammaticalisation of noun phrases rather than the grammaticalisation of personal pronouns and definite articles. The more basic function of demonstratives here is a noun modified by demonstrative suffixes, which are most likely originally endophorically used (situational demonstratives, e.g. Reh 1996:170). Hence, even though Luwo demonstratives do exactly what Himmelmann (1996:205 ff.) assumes they would do, Luwo develops demonstratives with spatial or situational functions into demonstratives with tracking (or recognitional) and discourse deictic uses. This is exactly the process assumed to be at work by Diessel (1999:93 ff.).

The exophoric demonstratives in Luwo are based on two paradigms, of which one seems to be the original Western Nilotic one. The other, semantically fairly specific one is an innovation on the basis of a modification strategy that is common in Lwoo languages.

Comparable patterns of demonstrative usage are attested for other Western Nilotic languages, as well, such as Boor (Heyking 2013). However, Luwo so far appears to be the only language where the grammaticalisation of demonstratives and deictically marked noun phrases alike has resulted in the development of two distinct and semantically specialised sets of exophoric demonstratives. As we will see further below, comparable processes have resulted in the development of equally specialised endophoric demonstratives.

Luwo expresses discourse deixis through two sets of demonstratives that consist of the number-sensitive bases *gìn* and *mán* (both indicating proximity to speaker) respectively, and the bound demonstrative morphemes *-cáàlì* (not near speaker) and *-cá* (far from speaker and hearer). Plural forms of these demonstratives are constructed with *gìì* and *múúy*. Note that in Luwo, the speaker-plus-hearer distal demonstrative is the less marked form of the terms employed for tracking use.

Whereas *gìn* demonstratives refer to contextualised referents and to items on which information has already been given, the demonstratives based on *mán* refer to newly introduced referents or information on the same. Consequently, items indicated with *gìn* are framed as being more defined and inherently definite. Consider the following examples:

(12.1) *jìbèer gìn à-mágè n̄s̄gè áhllnè*
 NAME DEM:SPEC:SG PFV-catch:TR people now
 ‘this (already introduced, particular) Zubeir is now catching people’

(12.2) *n̄wùsk gìn pàdh gír=á*
 he.goat DEM:SPEC:SG NEG thing=POSS:1SG
 ‘this (present) he-goat is not mine’

Items indicated with *mán* are sometimes framed as not being contextualised, either in the sense that they have not been introduced before, or that they pertain to another (possibly unknown) place or person. Examples are:

(12.3) *dhààgò mán à-mwəj úkej-é ké nithíính yàth mángà*
 woman DEM:SG PFV-give:TR NAME-CASE with child tree mango
 ‘Ukec gave a mango¹ to that (unknown/unspecified) woman’

(12.4) *wárgà gín bè róóm kán ké mácá*
 book DEM:SPEC:SG NEG same DEM:LIM PREP DEM:SG
 ‘this book is not identical with that (unspecified one) over there’

Here, as already indicated above, Luwo diverges from other Lwoo languages, which have demonstratives based on *man* as their most basic paradigm.² Anywa, for example, has a set of such demonstratives which, however, is complemented by nominal locative suffixes which can be added to a noun (Reh 1996: 140 f., 169 f.). The resulting noun forms resemble Luwo’s definite demonstratives based on *gín*, which clearly derives from the noun ‘thing’. And like modified demonstrative noun forms in Anywa, Luwo demonstratives inflect for number. Therefore, it may well be the case that Luwo has developed a whole additional set of demonstratives from suffix-marked modified noun forms, which in Anywa are distinct from purely pronominal demonstratives. Compare the following forms:

(12.5) Demonstrative pronouns

LUWO		ANYWA	
<i>mán</i>	‘that’	<i>mǎn</i>	‘this one’ [+speaker]
<i>máca</i>	‘that over there’	<i>mànóǵò</i>	‘this one’ [+hearer]
<i>máca w[↓]áŋ maaló</i>	‘that over there (far)’	<i>màn(i)cé</i>	‘this one’ [–speaker, –hearer]
<i>múúy</i>	‘these’	<i>mòúy</i>	‘these ones’ [+speaker]
<i>múúca</i>	‘these over there’	<i>mòúǵò</i>	‘these ones’ [+hearer]
<i>múúca w[↓]áŋ maaló</i>	‘these over there (far)’	<i>mòké</i>	‘these ones’ [–speaker, –hearer]

1. Lit. ‘child of mango tree’.

2. This pronominal form as a basic demonstrative is found in many Western Nilotic languages, e.g in Lango (Noonan 1992:86 f.), Shilluk (Tucker & Bryan 1966), Dholuo (Tucker 1994), and – no longer being number-sensitive – in Boor (Heyking 2013).

(12.6) Demonstratives based on modified nouns

Luwo		ANYWA	
gìn	‘this’ [proximate]	dáaí	‘this pot’ [+speaker]
gìncááli	‘this there’ [medial]	dáagò	‘this pot’ [+hearer]
gìncá (kwón cáádhi nú)	‘this there (of)’	dáaé ^l cé	‘this pot’ [-speaker, -hearer]
	[distal/+third person]		
gìi	‘these’ [proximate]	dáaGGí	‘these pots’ [+speaker]
gìicááli	‘these there’ [medial]	dáaGGógi	‘these pots’ [+hearer]
gìicá (kwón cáádhi nú)	‘these there (of)’	dáaGGé ^l ké	‘these pots’
	[distal/+third person]		[-speaker, -hearer]

In the plural, Luwo demonstratives are used just like the singular forms. They show concord to the head noun, as in the following example:

- (12.7) *wárgéé gii gé bè rósóm ké múúca*
 book:PL these 3PL NEG same PREP DEM:PL
 ‘these books are not identical with those over there’

The distal demonstratives *máca w^láη maaló*, PL *múúca w^láη maaló* and *gìncá (kwón cáádhi nú)*, PL *gìicá (kwón cáádhi nú)* may occur with a phrase following the actual demonstrative. They derive from *wáη* ‘face, eye’ and *kwón* ‘place’, respectively. Speakers tended to shorten the latter construction to the mere demonstrative, but claim that the complete and explicit form consists of the whole phrase. The constructions are analysed as follows:

- (12.8) *máca w^láη maaló*
 DEM:SG face sky
 ‘that in front towards the sky’
- (12.9) *gìncá kwón cáádhi nú*
 DEM:SPEC:SG place:PL walk:IA far
 ‘this, pertaining to the place you walk to far away’

This analysis further shows that the features encoded by these constructions are, as well as the domain of pragmatics (emphasis, precision and recognition, distance, elevation (‘up’), and movement³ (away from S, ‘in front, over there’)).

In an attempt to explain the development of the different sets of demonstratives in Luwo, and thereby also their underlying meanings, one can define three different strategies in constructing them, in a layered setting: first, there

3. Movement seems to be frequently encoded in Nilotic demonstratives; c.f. Mietzner (forthcoming) for ‘opposite place’ demonstratives in Cherang’any.

are demonstrative suffixes or postpositions which modify the nominal referent or the pronominal basis *mán*. A second strategy is the grammaticalisation of a second demonstrative on the basis of a deictically modified noun, *gín* ‘thing’. The third would be to construct periphrastic forms on the basis of either of these two demonstratives and a phrase or clause. The motivation behind piling up such forms may simply be a need for explicitness in referring to propositions in discourse, where emphasis and clarity are not so much achieved by the use of additional gestures (as far as my own observations suggest), but on the basis of constructions.

12.2.2 Spatial deictics

Demonstratives that express spatial deixis are, like the discursive demonstratives with *gín*, based on a modified noun, namely on *kâr*, PL *kwón* ‘place’ (modified form *kán*, PL *kwóné*). But in contrast with the demonstratives that express discursive deixis, which refer to propositions, spatial demonstratives point at places. In Luwo, these demonstratives form a three-term system (exactly like the discursive demonstratives) and refer to either a single place, or to a variety of places in the sense of a wider, underspecified area. The features encoded by these demonstratives are distance and visibility.

Hence, they form the following paradigm:

- (12.10) *kán* ‘here’ (lit. ‘this place’)
kácá ‘there (visible)’
kùncá ‘there (invisible)’
kùnú ‘there’ (lit. ‘these places’)
kécá(áli) ‘over there (visible)’
kécú(ùrì) ‘over there (invisible)’

As in Boor (von Heyking 2013: 107), these demonstratives can be used as adverbial demonstratives which do not replace a noun as an NP (12.12–13). In other contexts, however, they do replace nouns (12.11), so that, unlike Boor, Luwo does not permit the establishment of a true category of adverbial demonstratives (see also Dixon 2010: 223–247). Another specific feature of these forms is that although they occur as singular and plural forms, number concord with the head noun plays no role, as spatial demonstratives refer to space as non-extended (singular) and extended (plural). Consider the following examples:

- (12.11) *rééyó éń à-cám dhecuów-é kán*
 fish:SGV 3SG PFV-eat:TR man-CASE DEM:SPEC:SP
 ‘the man (definitely) eats the fish (right) here’
- (12.12) *wárgà nè kùnú*
 book COP DEM:EXT
 ‘the book is (somewhere) there’

- (12.13) *ùmíy=ú à-yóód=à kùn yì [ròòk gír árábè]*
 elder.brother=POSS.2PL PFV-find=1SG DEM:EXT LOC fence REL Arab:PL
 'I found your elder brother (somewhere) there within the fence of the Arabs'

Spatial demonstratives also occur in constructions with motion verbs, which precisely express complex movements. In this context, they refer to the different places to which the referent moves or the locations where particular movements are carried out. Consider the following examples:

- (12.14) *cáá kán ù-cèè kán*
 go DEM:LIM IPFV-go:AP DEM:LIM
 'go here and there'
- (12.15) *cámmí kécá*
 eat:TR:IA DEM:EXT:VIS
 'go and eat somewhere over there'

With verbs other than motion verbs, these constructions express altilocal events:

- (12.16) *cám ηó kùncá*
 eat:TR O:3SG DEM:LIM:INVIS
 'eat sth. there (hidden)'

12.3 Location

The most basic means of indicating location in Luwo is the use of the verb *bεεdh* 'exist, be'. This verb fulfils, as a light verb, a variety of functions, such as the construction of frequentative-intensive verb forms (see §7.4). Having a presentative meaning, a nominalised form of *bεεdh* serves as a marker of general location as in the following example:

- (12.17) *ee bεεdhà [dháànḥò à-dùòṅò]*
 well be:VN person:SG PFV-complete:DTR:AP
 'well, here are twenty' (lit. 'well, being a complete person')

Another verb, *naa* 'exist as', is used in similar contexts, where it has, however, less of a presentative meaning than *bεεdh*, and rather functions as an indicator of identity, regardless of location:

- (12.18) *en naa ú-báyá*
 3SG exist.as MASC:SG-Gbaya
 'he is Gbaya'

Even though these verbs are used with a high frequency in texts, the majority of locative relationships are expressed with the help of prepositions and localisers. These are constructed from the bases of body part nouns and topological nouns.

12.3.1 Prepositions

The origins of locative prepositions are largely opaque. There could be a connection to ‘belly, stomach’ in the case of *yídh* ‘insides’, but for the other prepositions no convincing lexical bases are readily available in Luwo. Historically, however, it seems that they have largely developed from nouns in a time depth that goes back to some stage of Proto Western Nilotic (Reh 1996: 274 ff.).

They are all number-neutral, with the exception of *yídh* which refers to the location of plural referents. The most common locative prepositions are:

- (12.19) *yì* ‘in, at’
rí ‘at’
né ‘in(side)’
wii ‘from’ < *wíc* ‘head’
bánj ‘at, towards’
è ‘in, at, inside’
yídh ‘inside:PL’ < *yídh* ‘belly, stomach’ (PL)

Examples of their usage are:

- (12.20) *cíín=é* *bεεdh* *yì* *kálá*
 intestines=POSS:3SG be PREP:LOC outside
 ‘what has its intestine on the outside?’
- (12.21) *à-ηwúdhò* *rí* *kàd* *dóp*
 PFV-spit:AP:IA PREP:LOC soup:MOD fish.dumpling
 ‘s/he spit on the fishy soup’
- (12.22) *á=à-kúdhò* *yì* *cám* *kécá*
 1SG=PFV-blow:AP:IA PREP:LOC food DEM:EXT
 ‘I blew at the food somewhere over there’
- (12.23) *à-mλɿ=é* *bánj* *pán* *thoom* *rìηò*
 PFV-look.TR=3SG PREP:LOC knife cut meat:SGV
 ‘s/he looked at the knife for meat’

12.3.2 Localising adpositions

First introduced by Reh for a class of words that specifies the location of referents and events in Anywa (1996: 273 f.), the term “localizer” appears, ideally, to address the similarity in function and fuzziness in the syntactic behaviour of these words alike. The problem with assigning the various localising adpositions to more established word classes is that they resemble either prepositions, postpositions or nouns in the various contexts in which they appear.

As already observed by Reh (1996) for Anywa, and Heyking (2013) for Boor, as well as by others for a large variety of African languages (e.g. Heine 1997; Mietzner 2007, Ameka & Essegbey 2006), localisers are often derived from bodypart nouns.

In Luwo, this holds true for a large portion of them. Unlike in Anywa, they are not number-sensitive. Besides bodypart-based localising adpositions, Luwo also exhibits localisers based on nouns with topological meanings. Localisers include the following terms:

(12.24)	ɲúm	‘in front’	< tar ɲúm ‘forehead’
	wáŋ	‘front’	< w [↓] áŋ ‘face, eye’
	ɲac	‘behind’	< ɲác ‘back’
	but	‘near, side’	cf. Anywa èc ‘belly, lower abdomen’
	wíí	‘above’	< wíc ‘head’
	thár	‘under’	< thár ‘buttocks’
	píí	‘on the surface of’	< píŋ ‘earth, ground’
	caar	‘behind, after’	cf. Anywa kòòr ‘line, row’
	lògò	‘across’	< ‘edge’
	yi díér	‘middle of’	< díér ‘middle’
	kyéwú	‘between’	< ‘frontier’
	òògò	‘outside’	
	ní kyàwú	‘straight on’	
	caŋ	‘nearby’	
	bàar	‘far from’	< bàar ‘be high’

Localisers are used as postpositions in examples such as the following, where they follow the predicative verb or a copula standing as a predicate:

(12.25) *ee ɲàt-koor à-búdò kàr me=baar thár yàth*
 well watchman PFV-lie.down place REL=be.far under tree
 ‘well, the watchman lay down at a place far away under a tree’

(12.26) *árábè gén píí kàr me=baar gé=bé-càŋè ké gén*
 Arab:PL 3PL on place REL=be.far 3PL=NEG-be.near:PL with O:3PL
 ‘the Arabs, they (sit) in a far place, they are not near them’

(12.27) *ee à-náà-dóŋ=↓á bút ci=á*
 well PFV-N:EVID-remain-1SG near wife=POSS:1SG
 ‘well, I remain near my wife’

Von Heyking (2013:205 f.) observes that localisers develop into classifying prefixes in Boor. These encode the position of at least three types of objects: referents that are typically surrounding, are under or are on top of an item. Such functions and uses have not been found to exist in Luwo.

12.4 Cardinal directions and spatial orientation

Even though spatial orientation works in much the same way among all humans – along three planes, i.e. front/back, up/down, left/right – the possibilities for

expressing space differ greatly between languages and very often have strong cultural and environmental connotations (e.g. Brown 1983; Heine 1997). This has been demonstrated for Nilotic languages, among others. As Dimmendaal and Rottland (1996), Mietzner (2009, 2012) and Mietzner & Rous (2006) show, these languages use a wide array of possible ways of encoding spatial orientation and cardinal directions. Moreover, there seems to be a considerable degree of variation and potential change, for example when speakers move to another environment or adopt certain conventions in the context of religious conversion.

This appears to hold true for Luwo as well, where two different sets of terms for the expression of space can be used. One of them involves the expressions for ‘left’ and ‘right’, which are culturally connoted themselves. The expressions for both directions have strong cultural meanings, in the sense of associating the pointing hand with symbolic actions of devouring and creating, for left and right respectively. In many Lwoo languages, ‘right’ is associated with eating, as one usually eats using the right hand (e.g. in Anywa, Reh 1996). In Luwo, however, it is left that is expressed by means of ‘eat’. Such a situation is also found in neighbouring languages such as Boor and Dinka, as well as in Nuer. Dimmendaal & Rottland (1996: 75 f.) offer the following explanation:

A partial answer to this somewhat enigmatic issue may be found in the fact that the meaning of ‘eat’ includes that of ‘devour’ or ‘destroy’ in Nuer (as well as in other African languages). The latter sense, rather than ‘eating’ (of food), presumably formed the basis for this type of metaphorical extension. The left hand may be used, for example, in cursing people, by throwing sand over one’s shoulder with the left hand.

‘Right’, in contrast, is based on a verb that originally could have expressed ‘build, make’ (Ehret 2001), perhaps also with the sense of ‘twist, plait’, as Mietzner & Rous (2006: 12) suggest. This would seem to be an opposite concept to the destructive connotation of ‘left’, or may simply reflect the experience that the right hand is commonly used more than the left one in order to produce something manually.

The terms for both directions in Luwo are as follows:

- (12.28) cáám ‘left side’
kwíc ‘right side’

The expressions for the cardinal directions are constructed with either *kàr* (mod. *ká-*) ‘place’ or the body part nouns *káwú* (mod. *kúr*) ‘side, chest’, *thár* ‘buttocks’ and *núm* ‘front, forehead’. There are two different sets, employed, as far as speakers were able to tell, in two different environments.

Table 12.1. Two sets for cardinal directions

Boo		KHARTOUM	
thár pǝj̃	south (lit. 'buttocks of earth')	kúr kwíc	south (lit. 'right side')
núm pǝj̃	north (lit. 'front of earth')	kúr cáám	north (lit. 'left side')
kúr thiénhó	west (lit. 'side of evening')	ká-kwáár	west (lit. 'place of being red')
kúr nájó	east (lit. 'side of morning')	ká-mɔɔl	east (lit. 'place of waking up')

One set of cardinal direction terms, used in and around Boo in Bahr al-Ghazal, is entirely based on anthropomorphic forms. These relate to the earth as a body, with south as its buttocks, north as its forehead, and east and west as its two sides. The latter forms refer to sunrise and sunset, so that orientation has north as the canonic viewing direction, and east and west would be identical with right and left, respectively.

Speakers residing in Khartoum for some years, however, used other terms. This set has north and south as left and right side, respectively, and codes west and east as locatives. These refer to sunrise ('wake up') and sunset ('be red'), very much like the terms used in Boo. Interestingly, the line of vision is not north any longer, but east, as Figure 2 illustrates:

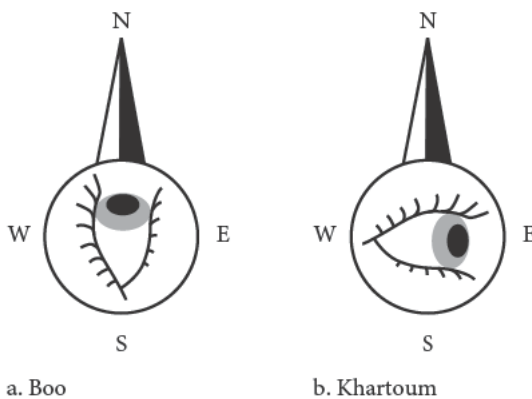


Figure 2. Lines of vision

Whether this has to do with a change of landmarks, as speakers were unable to refer to the hills north of their area in Bahr al-Ghazal anymore, or whether the importance of Mekka to the east of Khartoum plays a role here, would be difficult to decide. Probably a combination of factors is at work, and migrant speakers

simply react to the changes of their habitat and sociocultural environment alike. The most likely explanation, however, is that cardinal directions in Khartoum are an approximation to the local Arabic expressions, which have /*shima:n*/ and /*jami:n*/ for north and south, respectively, which literally translate as ‘left’ and ‘right’. This means that speakers of Arabic, too, have east as their line of vision. And, as mentioned in Chapter 1, all Luwo speakers in Khartoum are multilingual speakers of both Juba Arabic and Sudanese Arabic, alongside Luwo, Dinka and so on. With the strong dominance of Sudanese Arabic in Khartoum, it is likely that speakers use calques in such salient contexts.

12.5 Motion

In the lexical domain, motion and directionality are encoded by a relatively small set of verbs and a group of ideophones. While some Nilotic languages have been described as being quite rich in motion verbs that denote all possible ways of walking and running (Mietzner in print & forthcoming, Heyking & Storch 2008), Luwo does not exhibit an extensive lexicon of such specialised verbs. Most action and motion verbs, however, can construct itive-altrilocal and ventive stems (cf. §7.2.2) to express meanings of motion and directionality.

12.5.1 Motion verbs

Verbs of walking and going mostly encode itive meanings, while only one principally ventive verb, namely *bɛɛn* ‘come’, is extensively used. All other motion verbs that were found in texts in the corpus encode movement away from the speaker. A selection of them is presented in example (12.29). They differ in the manner of motion and in terms of directed and undirected motion.

(12.29)	d̥	‘go’	DIRECTION/GOAL NOT SPECIFIED
	cáá	‘go, roam about’	UNDIRECTED MOTION
	dwɔɔg	‘go away’	DIRECTED MOTION
	náa	‘go somewhere’	UNDERSPECIFIED GOAL
	g̊ɔ̊d	‘run’	DIRECTION/GOAL NOT SPECIFIED
	wáàɣ	‘leave s.th.’	UNDIRECTED MOTION
	ráy	‘leave for’	DIRECTED MOTION

Itive-altrilocal stems with a characteristic high tone pattern, and ventive stems with a low tone pattern, can be constructed on the base of any verb in (12.29). Note that, as explained before in §7.2.2.1, itive-altrilocal stems may also take a suffix *-Cí*.

- (12.30) *dwòòg* ‘go away from there’ VENTIVE
dwóògí ‘go away to’ ITIVE-ALTRILocal

Manner of motion, and also path and direction, are to a large extent encoded by means of ideophones (Heyking & Storch 2008). These are extremely frequent in various types of discourse and describe in a most intricate way how movements happen or are performed. Consider the following examples:

- (12.31) *úcán à-wáà y nì thágthági wii lwák* MANNER
 NAME PFV-leave SC zigzag PREP:LOC byre
 ‘Ucan leaves the byre zigzagging’
béédh=é ú-góòd nì píj w^lénwénò PATH
 be=3SG IPFV-run SC earth round.and.round
 ‘s/he usually runs in circles’
màdhè gé=ù-dwòògò nì kwàṅkwàṅ DIRECTION + MANNER
 women 3PL=IPFV-go.away:V:AP SC fearful
 ‘the women went away from there, coming near with fear’

Other motion ideophones are:

DIRECTED TRANSLOCATION

- (12.32) *kèlkèl* ‘come near, leaving much space in between’

UNDIRECTED LOCOMOTION

- (12.33) *kunákuná* ‘walk with head bowed down’, *càjàcàjà* ‘shuffle along’, *cím cím* ‘tiptoe’, *liblib* ‘sneak, creep (like cat)’, *kèérkér* ‘walk weakly, close to falling down’, *cìpcìpcìp* ‘walk like a dog’, *tàktàgè* ‘walk like a drunk person’

BALLISTIC MOTION

- (12.34) *ryêdh* ‘fall into mud’, *lbt* ‘fall down from high (fruit from tree)’, *lùt* ‘falling from tree after losing balance’, *jik* ‘fall to the ground without moving legs’, *yúàk* ‘fall down lightly’

SEPARATION

- (12.35) *pàc* ‘slip away’

12.6 Space

Spaces are framed in various ways in Luwo. They can be conceptualised as action- and event-centred locations, owned or dedicated places, or as an extension of something. This section provides an overview of these nominal concepts of space and presents a discussion on number as a type of space.

12.6.1 Locatives

As already described in (§4.4.17) and (§4.5.2), locative nouns are derived from either nouns or verbs by prefixing *ká(r)*- ‘place of’ or *paá*- ‘area of’.⁴ While the former are basically *nomina loci*, the latter are toponyms and play an important role in place-making. Examples are:

(12.36) *kágúgέ* ‘end’ (lit. ‘place of stopping’)
kàrmλáádó ‘assembly’ (lit. ‘place of gathering’)

(12.37) *puúícúú* ‘place of the bony one’
puúícán ‘Ucan’s place/town’

Besides these locative nouns, there is another type of noun that refers to concepts of space in a more general sense. These are abstract nouns that denote extensions and shapes of objects. They are derived from state verbs. Examples are:

(12.38) *báró* ‘length’
cyégo ‘shortness’
thíínhó ‘shortness’
dúwónó ‘bigness’
ádúúúnó ‘roundedness, round shape’
úróómó ‘flatness, flat shape’
ábwódhó ‘longish shape’

12.6.2 Extension concepts

Besides the lexicalised concepts of space, spatial extension can be framed as an accumulation of objects. As well as being marked grammatically for various semantic and cognitive concepts, nouns may express constructs that are conceptualised as a set of similar items, rather than as mass concepts, simple plurals, etc. The characteristic feature of such set nouns is that they exhibit number discord (see also §6.3.3). Number is indicated by suffixes that originally indicated class *and* number. It is likely that these classifying and number-marking noun suffixes in Luwo express spatial concepts of referents themselves, in terms of being able to refer to a referent as a large entity that spreads out over a critical space (§5; see also Storch 2005a & 2014).

Consider the following examples:

(12.39) *nógè càγη nógè óódó àbéé ábwólò yee úcλmò ú-béén*
 people all people run:AP but NAME stomach pain IPFV-come
 ‘people, all people, ran but Abwolo’s labor pains begin’

4. Associated with inalienable possession in Nilotic historically (Gerrit Dimmendaal pers. comm.).

g'é=yal=i *yalɔ* *ɲíŋ* *tiu* *jé-bɪɪc* *àpààr*
 3PL=satisfy=2SG payment eye:SG bead:SGV persons-five ten
 'you satisfy them with a payment of thousand beads'

While the first example refers to a larger number of individual items, the second one emphasises the extendedness of a large number of similar, inseparable referents. Here, plural – not being marked on the noun – is tantamount to an extension over space.

Clause types and constituents

This chapter provides an overview of the modifiers of core sentences, of the clause-linking devices in dependant sentences, and of clause types. The order of the basic constituents and their modifiers within a phrase is largely fixed, and so is the order of constituents and adjuncts on the syntactic level. This will be discussed in the first three sections of this chapter. In (§13.4), the pragmatic motivations behind constituent order will be examined, with an emphasis on topicalisation strategies.

13.1 Modifiers of the core sentence

As has been shown in various places throughout the preceding chapters, a head can be modified by a number of syntactic units, which are each dependent and facultative additions to an otherwise grammatical and complete core sentence. These modifiers are often adjuncts rather than complements, as they do not trigger specific grammatical forms on verbs. However, in constructions with specific groups of verbs, such as positional verbs, they are complements.

13.1.1 Locative complements

The different types of locative complements and their semantics were introduced in Chapter 10. As complements of a phrase, they occur with positional verbs and the itive-altrilocal and ventive stems of verbs. Motion verbs such as *dó* ‘go’, *cáá* ‘go, roam about’, *gód* ‘run’, and so on, do not take complements in their antipassive forms.

A characteristic feature of the positional verbs *pì* ‘sit’, *dóη* ‘remain’, and *cúη* ‘stand’ is that they are rarely used with just one argument. Even though an antipassive form of a positional verb is, in principle, possible, and is available upon elicitation, it is not used in natural language as far as the corpus suggests. Positional verbs usually take a locative complement that is introduced by a locative preposition, as in the example below. Locative complements that follow the verb without any preposition are deictic elements.

- (13.1) *à-náà-pì=↓á* *cΛΛr* *ákác*
 PFV-N:EVID-remain=1SG behind NAME
 'I sat behind Akac'

Itive-altrilocal stems of any type of verb, such as ventive stems, always trigger locative complements.

- (13.2) *à-cámmí* *cám=é* *yì* *kàr-níínò*
 PFV-eat:TR:IA food=POSS:3SG PREP:LOC place-sleep:VN
 's/he took her/his food at the bed'

13.1.2 Benefactive adjuncts

Antipassive and detransitivised stems of transitive verbs can take a variety of adjuncts. Benefactive adjuncts are, like locative complements, introduced by special linkers. The most commonly used is the construction *ké jínj* 'in the name of', which is illustrated in example (13.3). Alternatively, benefactive adjuncts can be introduced by the preposition *yír* 'reason, matter', as in (13.4).

- (13.3) *à-téédò* *ké* *jínj* *ηà* *mòògò*
 PFV-cook:AP PREP name:MOD person:MOD some
 's/he cooked for somebody'

- (13.4) *à-náá* *yír* *jìbèer*
 PFV-kill:DTR PREP NAME
 's/he killed for Zubeir'

13.1.3 Temporal adjuncts

Temporal adverbs and terms for concepts of time can occur as adjuncts. Unlike locative complements and other adjuncts, temporal adverbs can precede the verb phrase. In this case, they refer to the time line on which the action or event can be located (13.5). In their position after the verb phrase, the temporal adjunct refers to other temporal concepts as well, such as consecutive or concomitant events, ongoing actions (13.6), affiliation to a specific time (13.6), and so on. Consider the following examples for an illustration of both construction types:

- (13.5) *nóλrò* *wòt* *à-géér=gé*
 yesterday house PFV-build:TR=3PL
 'yesterday they built a house'

- (13.6) *wòt* *à-géér=gé* *duugi*
 house PFV-build:TR=3PL for.long
 'they built a house for a long time'

- (13.6) *ɲɔ beɛdh=à biùn àgùt pɪŋ*
 o:3SG be=3SG drum:MOD protrude:VN earth
 ‘that’s it, the drum of daytime’

Besides the temporal adverbs presented in (§3.3.2), temporal adjuncts can be names for weekdays, market days, months and seasons. These have largely been borrowings from Arabic and, for the terms for months, Italian and/or English. Luwo terms were not used by the speakers I was able to work with.

13.1.4 Instrumental adjuncts

Instrumental adjuncts are noun phrases which are linked to the head with the preposition *ké*. They are triggered by verbs with instrumental stems, which always take instrumental adjuncts. Instrumental adjuncts indicate instruments with which an action is performed (13.7), the manner in which such an action is accomplished (13.8), or the means by which it is achieved (13.9).

- (13.7) *ɲúmɔ à-wâl=↓é ké lyék*
 simsim PFV-pound:TR:INSTR=3SG PREP mortar
 ‘s/he pounded simsim with a mortar’

- (13.8) *wòt à-géér=gé ké wárɔ*
 house PFV-build:TR=3PL PREP sing:VN
 ‘they built a house, singing’

- (13.9) *à-kúdhɔ ké dhé=é*
 PFV-blow:AP:INSTR PREP mouth=POSS:3SG
 ‘s/he blew with her/his mouth’

13.1.5 Manner adjuncts and expressives

The ways in which an action is performed, or in which an event is perceived, can be referred to with manner adjuncts. These are either based on adverbs (13.10), nominalised verbs (13.11), or ideophones (13.12). Manner adjuncts follow the verb phrase and are introduced by the conjunction *nì*.

- (13.10) *búúl à-yáàɲ nì cók*
 drum PFV-sound SC high.pitched
 ‘the drum sounded high’

- (13.11) *à-téèdɔ ké gáánɔ*
 PFV-cook:AP PREP trust:VN
 ‘s/he cooked in a trustworthy manner’

- (13.12) *à-máàdh=á kyâŋ ni ták*
 PFV-drink=1SG all SC IDEO
 'I drank it all to the last drop'

13.1.6 Comitative adjuncts

Comitative adjuncts introduce an additional agent or an additional participant in the form of a second noun phrase. Comitative adjuncts are linked to the verb phrase by the preposition *ké*.

- (13.13) *án ù-cámò ké yín*
 1SG IPFV-eat:AP PREP 2SG
 'I'm eating with you'
- (13.14) *gé à-róòmò ké án*
 3PL PFV-meet:AP PREP 1SG
 'they met me'
- (13.15) *à-cámò ké ŋòòr*
 PFV-eat:AP PREP beans
 's/he ate beans'

13.1.7 Iterative adjuncts

Pluractional verbs with iterative semantics are derived through the construction of pluractional stem forms. However, there is also a construction with an iterative adjunct that expresses frequency and intensity. This construction does not use the derived frequentative-intensive or pluractional stem, but the auxiliary *béedh* 'be' and the noun *kár* 'place', with which a construction 'stay in the place of ...' is formed (this looks quite similar to a periphrastically constructed progressive). There seems to be a functional split between morphological frequentative-intensive stems and constructions with an adjunct in the form of a locative noun phrase, as most transitive and agentive verbs prefer to construct their iterative forms in the latter way. Examples are:

- (13.16) *béédh ká thaal*
 be place:MOD cook:VN
 'cook repeatedly'
- (13.17) *béedh ká nák*
 be place:MOD kill:VN
 'kill repeatedly'

13.1.8 Similitive adjuncts

Similarity is expressed by means of an adjunct introduced by the particle *wá*. Similitive adjuncts are based on noun phrases. They may occur after a verb phrase or an adjective. Examples are:

(13.18) *yín ú-dóòŋ wá júr*
 2SG FUT-remain SIM stranger
 ‘you will remain like a stranger’

(13.19) *yín thính wá án*
 2SG small SIM 1SG
 ‘you are as small as me’

Superlative clauses are constructed differently, as they based on a multiverb form with *néé* ‘surpass’, for example *yí=néé thính* ‘you are the smallest’.

13.2 Clause linking and dependent clauses

Luwo uses a variety of means to link several clauses together. The main clause may take one or more dependent clauses, which are either chained without any linker, or are introduced by a coordinating or subordinating conjunction. The first-mentioned type of clause linking occurs rather frequently in a number of Lwo languages and has been explored in much detail e.g. in Lango, where it is referred to as parataxis by Noonan (1992: 194). In principle, Luwo makes use of three distinct structures in the construction of complex sentences (which consist of more than one clause): clause chaining (parataxis), coordination and subordination.

Dependent clauses, which are peripheral arguments of the main clause, provide information on the condition, manner, location or time frame of the proposition made in the main clause. They can be differentiated according to the linking strategy that they use and the modifying meaning they convey.

13.2.1 Clause chaining

The most widely employed strategy for clause linking is the juxtaposition of, typically, two clauses. This type of clause chaining does not involve the use of any subordinating conjunction or coordinating linker, so that the syntactic relation between the two clauses is not formally specified. However, both units form a single prosodic entity, without any break or pitch-raising after the first clause. Moreover, word-final plosives in the clause-final lexeme of the first unit regularly undergo external sandhi, hence:

(13.20) [dòxùdwóògé]
ù-cíg=é dòk ù-dwóòg=é ké rí pân
 IPFV-repeat=3SG go IPFV-go.away:VEN:IF=3SG PREP in wall
 ‘again s/he returned to the wall’ (lit. ‘s/he repeated to go, s/he returned to the wall’)

The same situation is described in depth for Lango (Noonan 1992: 195 ff.), where this strategy seems to be of similar importance.

Noonan's (1992: 200) list of the characteristic properties of paratactic constructions in Lango is also relevant for Luwo. Like Lango, Luwo features paratactic constructions in which:

- each clause contains a fully inflected verb, whereby these verbs may not agree in aspect and can be independently negated;
- only the first verb in the sentence has an overt subject noun phrase, and the subject of the second clause must be an argument of the first.

This clause chaining strategy is used in order to express consecutive and sequenced actions and events (13.21), causation (13.22), and complements of verbs of cognition and reflection (13.23).

(13.21) *ee cwaar-é ádèrɔ̀ ù-kwáà=á ù-caadh=é*
 well husband-CASE NAME IPFV-herd=3SG IPFV-walk=3SG
ù-wɔ̀dh=é dɔ̀m
 IPFV-reach=3SG forest

‘well, it is the case that Adero’s husband is herding, he is walking and reaches the forest’

(13.22) *ee cáŋ ní jibeer à-beenɔ̀ paà=wánu bóó*
 well day PREP NAME PFV-COME:AP:IA area:MOD=POSS:1PL:EX NAME
ù-yúúd=é kúw=á àkɔ̀ɔ̀l
 IPFV-see:TR=3SG grandfather=POSS.1SG NAME

‘well, as one day Zubeir came to our village Boo he found my grandfather Akol’

(13.23) *ŋɔ̀gè càŋŋ à-niíd=ɔ̀ gé=ù-myélɔ̀*
 people all PFV-see:TR=1PL:IN 3PL=IPFV-dance:AP
 ‘we saw all the people dancing’

13.2.2 Complement clauses

In clauses where a predication serves as the argument of the predicate, this argument is introduced by the preposition *ké*, unless the main verb is a verb of desiring or commanding. In this case, the following predication is not introduced by a linker and is constructed in the imperfective aspect. Verbs of perception, in turn, introduce their argument with the conjunction *ná*, whereby the complement may occur in any TA form. Purposive clauses introduce the complement with *múdhé* ‘so that’, with the following predication in the subjunctive.

Hence, complement clauses can be indicative complement clauses, as illustrated in (13.22), desiderative clauses (13.23), perceptive complement clauses (13.24), and purposive clauses (13.25).

- (13.22) *à-kóòbò ké én en-è thaal kádò*
 PFV-speak:AP PREP be.present 3SG-CASE cook:TR broth
 's/he said that s/he is the one to cook the broth'
- (13.23) *án à-pyèn áánè ù-ròb=á ká à-náà-cák níŋ*
 1SG PFV-desire NAME IPFV-tell=1SG how PFV-N.EVID-name:TR name
kùw=á kíí ɲó jibεεr
 grandfather=POSS:1SG how O:3SG NAME
 'Anne asked me to tell how my grandfather, whose name is Zubeir, was named'
- (13.24) *báŋ-é à-líŋ ná ú-mág-é jìsɔ̀gè*
 side-POSS:3SG PFV-hear that IPFV-catch-3SG people
 's/he hears about him that he is now catching people'
- (13.25) *ù-gòd=gèn é gòdò cók kéét cwɔ̀r jìmín*
 IPFV-run=3PL then run:VN only with husband sister
múdhé cíth=gèn paàjò
 so.that return=3PL home
 'they are running, just run, together with her sister-in-law, in order to return home'

Complementation can also be achieved by the use of a light verb. Causative complement clauses which frame the s-participant as an UNDERGOER are typically preceded by constructions based on the light verbs *yóóg* 'make' (taking an inanimate undergoer as an argument) and *méég* 'make' (taking an animate undergoer as an argument). In constructions of this type, the complement is not introduced by a linker, but occurs in a nominalised form, while the s-participant is coded as an object of the predicate verb. See the following examples and consider how undergoers that can move by themselves, such as 'water' in (13.27), are treated as animate:

- (13.26) *á à-méég=↓é jwánŋ*
 1SG PFV-make:TR=3SG push:VN
 's/he makes me push'
- (13.27) *píí à-méég=↓é wát*
 water PFV-make:TR=3SG flow:VN
 's/he made the water flow'

- (13.28) *ɲɔ à-yóóg=↓á wàáɲ*
 O:3SG PFV-make:TR=1SG burn:VN
 'I cause it to burn'

Other types of complement clauses are effective cause clauses and reported speech clauses. Effective-cause clauses use the complementiser *bàɲ gín* 'because' (lit. 'side of matter') in order to introduce the effector, as in the following example:

- (13.29) *ù-ɲɔɔm=é bàɲ gín à-dɔɔɲ=é nì*
 IPFV-marry=3SG side matter PFV-become.big=3SG SC
dháànhò má=dòɔɲ
 man:SG REL-big
 'he marries because he has grown to be a big man'

Reported speech clauses differ from direct speech insofar as they exhibit imperfective aspect marking on the predicate verb, which is unmarked for aspect and person. Another difference between the two construction types concerns the choice of the dicerative verb: in reported speech clauses, the verbs *rɔ̀b* 'speak, tell' and *kóòb* 'declare, say' are used, while direct speech is introduced by *kéé* 'speak'. When *rɔ̀b* or *kóòb* are used in the sense of 'tell' the complementiser *ká* 'that' needs to introduce the reported speech clause. Examples for direct speech (13.30–31) and reported speech (13.32–33) are:

- (13.30) *ù-béén zùbeer-è kéé yí tíc gín kán*
 IPFV-come NAME-CASE speak 2SG do what DEM:SPEC:SP
 'then comes Zubeir and says: "What do you do here?"'
- (13.31) *kéé án á=ú-góodí kènèdí àbé cí=á*
 speak 1SG 1SG=FUT-run:CAUS how with wife=POSS:1SG
yee ù-ràmɔ̀
 stomach IPFV-pain:AP
 '[he] says: "I, how can I flee with my wife being in labour!"'
- (13.32) *án à-pyèn áánè ù-rɔ̀b=á ká à-nàà-cák nín*
 1SG PFV-ask NAME IPFV-speak:TR=1SG COMP PFV-N.EVID-name name
kùw=á kíí ɲɔ̀ né jibeer
 grandfather=POSS:1SG why O:3SG indeed NAME
 'I asked Anne whether I told her how and why my grandfather was actually given the name Zubeir'
- (13.33) *ɲɔ̀ ké=é=rɔ̀bɔ̀ ká à-cɔ̀d=é*
 O:3SG NEG=3SG=speak:AP COMP PFV-shoot:TR=3SG
 's/he didn't say that s/he shot him/her'

- (13.34) *á-kóòbò ká én ù-tèèdò ké kádè*
 PFV-declare COMP be.present IPFV-cook:AP CONJ soup:PL
 's/he declared that she cooked soups'

13.2.3 Relative clauses

Relative (or attributive) clauses follow the syntactic unit that they modify. This can be a noun phrase or a clause. Luwo differentiates between true relative clauses that express concomitance, and clauses that express relative meanings in the sense of sequences. The latter are actually chained clauses, and do not contain any relative marker or clause linker. Consider example (13.35), which literally translates as something like 'the skin of the antelope which the trap caught, Dimo made a drum with it'. Here, both actions, namely trapping and making a drum, are constructed as a sequence, and as one being completed before the other started.

- (13.35) [*dæen púrò à-náà-mák wún*] [*dim-è*
 skin:MOD antelope PFV-N.EVID-catch:TR trap NAME-CASE
à-náà-kwóç búól kээdh=é]
 PFV-N.EVID-make:TR drum with=3SG
 'Dimo made a drum of the skin of the antelope which he had trapped'

Concomitant relative clauses in turn exhibit clause linking morphemes, namely:

- (13.36) *gín*, PL *gié* 'whom', introduces concomitant agents
nì 'while', introduces concomitant participants
cèè 'when', introduces concomitant states and events

Examples for relative clauses with concomitant agents are:

- (13.37) *dhècwów gín à-niídò nì diénó ù-bèènd*
 man CA:SG PFV-see:AP while before IPFV-come:AP
àwáán kán
 now DEM:SPEC:SP
 'the man whom s/he saw is coming right now'
- (13.38) *cúow gié diénó gén à-niídò nì gén=ù-bèènd*
 men CA:SG before 3PL PFV-see:AP while 3PL=IPFV-come:AP
 'those men whom s/he saw before, they are now coming'

Relative clauses can also be achieved with the help of the relativising prefix *mé-*

(13.39) or the light verb *én* 'be present' (13.40):

- (13.39) *néé gín mé=nàg=wán éc wán nàk-naa*
 COND thing:MOD REL=kill=O:1PL:EXCL CONJ O:1PL:EXCL kill-PFV
 'whatever will kill us then kills us'

- (13.40) *én=é à-thaal kádò*
 be.present=3SG PFV-cook:TR soup
 's/he is the one who cooked soup'

A nominal agent can be introduced by the demonstrative *bεεdhà* 'this':

- (13.41) *bεεdhà nááków én à-thaal kádò*
 DEM girl be.present PFV-cook:TR soup
 's/he is the girl who cooked soup'

13.2.4 Conditional clauses

There is only one common type of conditional clauses, which are constructed with the conjunction *née* 'if'. The difference between likely, unlikely and concessive conditions is only conceivable in the way the apodosis, expressing the consequences of the condition, is linked to the protasis. The conditions themselves are always expressed in the protasis, which is always introduced by *née*.

The apodosis, expressing the consequence of the likely-to-happen condition, is introduced by the conjunction *é* (or *éc*, as in 13.39 above). Consider the following example:

- (13.42) *née yín ù-caadhò ké ηàd ké ηàd-kòw*
 COND 2SG IPFV-walk:AP CONJ person CONJ person-steal:VN
é yín ù-dòò ηàd-kòw
 COND 2SG IPFV-become person-steal:VN
 'if you walk with a person ..., with a thief then you will become a thief'

Concessive or improbable conditions are expressed by introducing the apodosis with the conjunction *ké*:

- (13.43) *née cí=í ù-ηwòl ké ηìdhɔɔg ké càk*
 COND wife=POSS.2SG IPFV-deliver:TR CONJ boy CONJ name:IMP
ηìη=é ní zùβεεr
 name=POSS:3SG then NAME
 '(only) if your wife delivers a boy then give him the name Zubeir!'

- (13.44) *née ηó à-ηéj=i ké dwɔɔg=i ù-wóm=i ηó*
 if O:3SG PFV-recognise:TR=2SG FOC go=2SG IPFV-bring=2SG O:3SG
 '(only) if you recognise him you go and bring him'

13.3 Clause types

The main clause types of Luwo are declarative clauses, imperative clauses and interrogative clauses. Clauses of different types can be linked, whereby main clauses show considerable variation in their word orders, as we have seen in Chapter 11.

Dependent clauses, conversely, tend to have a fixed constituent order. These are briefly illustrated here for the three clause types.

13.3.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses can be verbless clauses, copula clauses or clauses with a predicate verb.

Verbless clauses and copula clauses tend to express identity, equation, naming, association and attribution, as in the following examples. They have the following syntactic structures:

(13.45) *ης κὼθ* [O_{DIR} COMP]
 o:3SG sesame:SMELL
 ‘it smells like sesame’

(13.46) *νίη=ά άάνε* [O_{DIR} COMP]
 name=POSS:1SG NAME
 ‘my name is Anne’

(13.47) *wán ké wún* [S [CONJ S]]
 1PL CONJ 2PL
 ‘we and you’

(13.48) *piyeríinà ηàt-thudhàanh* [S COMP]
 NAME SG-Sudan
 ‘Pierina is a Sudanese’

Clauses with a verbal predicate express, besides actions, processes and states (see Chapters 7 and 9), adverbial notions such as purpose (using the preposition *yír* ‘reason, matter’), cause and result (using the complementiser *bàη gín* ‘because’), similarity (see also §13.1.8) and manner (see also §13.1.5):

(13.49) *νì-gwoon bòδ ά-wóm=έ*
 DIM-piece banana PFV-bring:TR=3SG
yír νìdhwɔg [[O_{DIR} [V-S]] COMP]
 PREP boy
 ‘s/he brought the small piece of banana for the boy’

(13.50) *ágára ά-tèèd=έ bàη gín*
 cocoyam PFV-cook=3SG side thing
cwíη=έ ά-yoút [[O_{DIR} [V-S]] COMP]
 liver=POSS.3SG PFV-desire
 ‘s/he cooks cocoyam because s/he likes it’

(13.51) *buur ápwááy-έ ù-kóòη=έ nì dín* [[O_{DIR} [V-S]] COMP]
 hole hare IMPERV-dig:TR=3SG SC fast
 ‘the hare will dig a hole fast’

Weather expressions form a special sub-type of declarative clauses. They are characterised by the weather phenomenon – e.g. rain, thunder, and so on – occurring in clause-initial position, followed by the verbs *pód* ‘fall’, *been* ‘come’ and *kúdh* ‘blow’. Noonan (1992: 187 f.) describes the same type of construction for Lango, where, as in Luwo, the weather term is used as the subject of the clause. Examples from Luwo are:

- (13.52) *kǝdh ù-pódò*
rain IPFV-fall:AP
‘it is raining’
- (13.53) *mAAŋ kǝdh ú-beenǝ*
look:VN rain IPFV-come:AP
‘there is lightning’
- (13.54) *yámǝ ú-kúdhǝ*
wind:SGV IPFV-blow:AP
‘a wind is blowing’

13.3.2 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses differ from declarative clauses in that they may consist only of the imperative form of the verb. As imperatives do not take a subject pronoun but are merely marked for number (see also §7.3.4.1), the pattern is consequently V. In imperative clauses with one or two object participants, the argument structure is VO and VO_{INDIR}O_{DIR}. Imperative clauses can be modified in terms of manner, similarity, location and so on. Consider the following examples:

- (13.55) [*cámí*]
eat:IMP
‘eat!’
- (13.56) *kóóri* [[*pí*] *píŋ*]
welcome [sit:IMP ground]
‘welcome, sit down!’
- (13.57) [[*kěb=á*] *pû*]
give:IMP=O:1SG water
‘give me water!’
- (13.58) [[*kǝǝgí*] *nì ryèp*]
pay:IMP SC IDEO
‘pay all at the same time!’
- (13.59) [[*wàrí*] *wá ákác*]
sing:IMP SIM NAME
‘sing like Akac!’

If an imperative clause contains a definite and an indefinite object, the constituent order is VO_{DEF}O_{INDEF}:

- (13.60) [[*kabù=gé*] *mʒʒgé*]
 take:IMP:PL=O:3PL INDEF:PL
 'take them some!'

13.3.3 Interrogative clauses

There are two types of interrogative clauses, namely polar questions and information questions. Polar questions differ syntactically from declarative clauses, as they consistently exhibit the word order VSO. They are marked by the clause-final general interrogative particle *è* 'right? how?'. Information questions in turn contain either clause-final interrogative markers that specify the purpose of the question, such as time, reason, location, or manner, in which case they have the structure SVQM, or they are constructed with the help of a clause-initial interrogative pronoun and then have the structure QM(S)V. Examples are:

- (13.61) *kàr é=nút ù-kál=i éñ è* [COMP [[V-S] O] QM]
 place 3SG=make IPFV-bring=2SG O:3SG QM
 'is it possible you bring him?'
- (13.62) *yí=à-cámɔ̀ cì kéeé* [[S-V] QM]
 2SG=PFV-eat:AP LOC where
 'where to have you eaten?'
- (13.63) *ɲà à-náà-béénɔ̀* [QM [(S)-V]]
 IP PFV-N.EVID-come:AP
 'who has come?'

For a detailed analysis of questions, see (§14.2).

13.4 Cleft constructions and topicalisation

Foregrounding a topic in Luwo is achieved by clefting. There are two types of cleft constructions, namely true cleft sentences and pseudo-cleft sentences. True cleft sentences consist of a clefted noun phrase, the clause linker *éñ* 'be present', and a relative clause. This construction type is very consistent and frequently used whenever speakers intend to foreground and topicalise a participant. Cleft constructions with topicalised A versus O participants differ in that a topicalised O-participant is presented with the help of *béedhà* 'this' (13.64–65), while a topicalised A-participant does not need any presentative introduction (13.66). Inanimate O-participants require, as well as the clause-linking light verb *éñ*, a relative construction with *nì*, as in (13.64).

(13.64) *bεεdhà thúàγ éñ nì ηó à-kál=é*
 DEM women's.drum-net be.present REL O:3SG PFV-bring=3SG
 'it is the women's drum-net that s/he brought'

(13.65) *bεεdhà àdínè éñ=é à-mág=é*
 DEM electric.fish:PL be.present=3SG PFV-catch=3SG
dhààg-é kéeédh=é
 woman-CASE with=3SG
 'it is many electric fish that the woman has caught with it'

(13.66) *àdínò éñ à-pwód ké dhààgò*
 electric.fish:SG be.present PFV-beat:TR PREP woman
 'it was the electric fish that beat a woman'

Pseudo-clefting, in contrast, is achieved by a clause chaining strategy, whereby a clause with a case-marked agent-participant is chained to a clause with a clause-initial, hence definite agent-participant, the A of the second clause being identical to the O of the first clause. An example of this construction is:

(13.67) *àdínò à-bλλλ=é-é é=kwàηò*
 electric.fish:SG PFV-throw:TR=3SG-CASE 3SG=swim:AP
 'what s/he threw away was the electric fish that was even swimming'

Such constructions help to provide new information on a topicalised O-participant that is not only foregrounded in terms of being the centre of an action or event (the fish was thrown away, not the drum-net), but also as being remarkable in its properties or behaviour (the electric fish was still able to swim after it had been trapped). Topicalisation and the framing of contextual information as new information are not only semantic properties of pseudo-cleft sentences, but also of embedded clauses, as the following section illustrates.

13.4.1 Coding new information and disambiguation

As already discussed briefly in (§11.6.1), new information on O-participants can be indicated in cleft constructions. However, a much more explicit and more frequent strategy of marking a statement for new or unexpected information is the topicalisation of referents via embedded clauses. In Luwo, this is achieved by moving the topicalised noun phrase to the front of the clause, embedding and fronting it in a relative construction, or fronting it by means of clause chaining.

(13.68) *ácól ηύηη à-cúb-é yír ηó*
 NAME money PFV=give=3SG PREP O:3SG
 'Acol (was the one who) gave money to her/him' (and not someone else, as previously assumed)

- (13.69) *àwúḡnḡ mé=kúpàḡ à-wúḡl=á-é*
 cough:VN REL=dry PFV=cough=1SG-CASE
 ‘a dry cough I coughed’ (and didn’t choke on something)
- (13.70) *thíen à-bèènḡ waarḡ à-lúḡg-é yír=á*
 evening PVF-come:AP dress PFV-wash:TR=3SG BEN=POSS:1SG
 ‘even in the evening s/he washed the dress for me’ (and didn’t call it a day)

Fronting of participants is also part of a disambiguation strategy that is employed to express coreference. Noonan (1992: 240 f.) demonstrates that coreference properties are not properties of subjects, but rather of topics. Topics control switch reference in Lango, which subjects do not in other syntactic environments. This is also the situation in Luwo. Here, by topicalising a participant, a fronting or left-dislocation (Reh 1996: 369 f.) strategy promotes the participant to the syntactic entity that controls switch-reference, as the following examples illustrate.

- (13.71) *ákác ḡidhḡḡg à-rḡb é=ú-mádhḡ ké tàbà*
 NAME boy PFV-speak:TR 3SG=IPFV-smoke:AP PREP tobacco
 ‘Akac_i told the boy that she_j smokes’
- (13.72) *ákác ḡidhḡḡg à-rḡb ú-mádh=é ké tàbà*
 NAME boy PFV-speak:TR IPFV-smoke:TR=3SG PREP tobacco
 ‘Akac_i told the boy that she_j smokes’

For further information on logophoricity and coreference, refer to (§8.1.1).

Questions and negations

This chapter provides an overview of questions and negation. As far as speech production is concerned, these are interrelated, as a question may always trigger a reply in the form of a negative declarative statement, or a negative imperative. Questions themselves can of course also be negated, and then the replies that would follow them include a focus construction.

Moreover, both questions and negation tend to go with gestures and mime, more than other clause types. This may, to a certain extent, also hold true for focus constructions. This chapter provides a rather brief insight into quite marked aspects of discourse, before we proceed to the next chapters, which focus focus on how people speak, to whom, and in which contexts they choose to situate their language.

14.1 Questions

Like any language, Luwo has two principle types of interrogative clauses, namely polar and content questions; these have been briefly described in (§13.3.3). Both differ from declarative clauses in terms of their syntactic structures, and both are pragmatically marked. In natural speech production, polar questions are not frequently used, it seems, and speakers give the impression that a simple yes or no reply would be too abrupt and impolite. As discussed in Dixon (2012:376 ff.), questions have a variety of non-canonical meanings and functions (such as being used as indirect or polite commands), and they often go together with other modalities of communication, for example movement of the hands, miming, and movement of the shoulders or the head. In Luwo, which is a language used much more in face-to-face communication than in a written form, polar questions are seldom used without being accompanied by hand movements, and information questions usually go together with raised pitch and lifting one's eyebrows. These characteristic signs and facial expressions of question clauses can also be used in isolation, such as simply making a gesture or a facial expression. These possibilities will be described briefly at the end of this chapter.

14.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are normally used for confirmations rather than information (Dixon 2012: 377 f.), but there are some exceptions, as we will see below. In Luwo, polar questions are marked by an interrogative particle, so that there are no unmarked questions. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, polar questions are VSO clauses. They usually trigger a reply in the form of *àyí* ‘yes’ or *gan* ‘no’. Information on delicate issues or public affairs is rarely enquired about in a direct manner, however, so that polar questions occur more typically in balanced, relaxed contexts and face-to-face communication. Examples are:

(14.1) *ù-tééd=á ké kádò è*
 IPFV-COOK:AP=1SG PREP soup QM
 ‘should I cook a soup?’

(14.2) *à-ɲʌʌr=i gé è*
 PFV-like=2SG O:3PL QM
 ‘did you like them?’

Rhetorical polar questions, which imply that the answer is already known, have the function of confirming the speaker’s assumption about a proposition (here: that the addressee has an upset stomach and will not eat anyway), and are not meant to confirm the addressee’s point of view. In this case, questions are constructed like declarative clauses, without any interrogative marker:

(14.3) *yín ù-cámò ké gin*
 2SG IPVF-eat:AP PREP DEM:SPEC:SG
 ‘can you eat this?’

The expected reply would be *gan* ‘no’.

Polar questions are part of greeting, and in this context cannot be replied to with ‘yes’ or ‘no’; consider the following example:

(14.4) *yí=nóúd è*
 2SG=make QM
 ‘how are you?’

An expected reply would be:

(14.5) *á=à-nóúd*
 1SG=PFV-make
 ‘I’m well’

14.1.2 Information questions

Information questions are never constructed with clause-final *è*, but have interrogative markers that permit the specification of the information one wants to obtain

by asking. Interrogatives may be pronouns, or proforms such as pro-adverbs. Interrogative pronouns are distinguished from other question words in that they can be pluralised (unlike personal pronouns, which cannot take plural markers). This property was first noticed by Santandrea (1946: 16), and is also found in Southern Lwo languages such as Lango (Noonan 1992: 109). Pluralisation of an interrogative pronoun in Luwo is achieved by prefixing the third person plural marker *gé* to the pronominal base. This is only possible, however, with pronouns that ask about persons, objects and events.

The following interrogative pronouns can be listed:

- (14.6) SG PL
 ɲà géɲà 'who?'
 gín gégí 'what?, which?'

Note that in interrogative clauses the non-evidential perfective is chosen. Examples are:

- (14.7) ɲà à-náà-béénò
 IP PFV-N:EVID-come:AP
 'who has come?'
- (14.8) ɲà à-náà-yáb dhú wót kéwu
 IP PFV-N:EVID-open:TR mouth:MOD house DEM
 'who has opened this door?'
- (14.9) gégí à-náà-pòdhò
 IP:PL PFV-N:EVID-fall:AP
 'which ones have fallen down?'

The interrogative pronouns of Luwo differ from those of other Northern Lwo languages such as Anywa insofar as they cannot be grouped into general and selective pronouns (Reh 1996: 171). In other words, Luwo interrogative pronouns do not permit a distinction to be made between asking for a type of person or an object, and for a specific person or object ('who?' versus 'which one?').

Other question words and markers are:

- (14.10) wéné 'when?'
 nì kéé 'where?'
 cì kéé 'where to?'
 kíí 'why?'
 mááweenè 'which one'

Examples are presented below. Note that 'when' questions can also be constructed without making any reference to aspect, as in (14.11).

- (14.11) *wéné à-náà-béèn=é*
 IP PFV-N:EVID-come.TR=3SG
 ‘when did s/he come?’
- (14.12) *yí=ù-béènᵛ ké wéné*
 2SG=IPV-come:AP CONJ when
 ‘when do you come?’
- (14.13) *wárgà nì kée*
 book LOC where
 ‘where is the book?’
- (14.14) *yí=à-náà-náá ci kée*
 2SG-PFV-N:EVID-go LOC where
 ‘where to have you gone?’
- (14.15) *mááwεené à-náà-kλt=i*
 which PFV-N:EVID-bring=2SG
 ‘which one did you bring?’

14.1.3 Indirect questions

Indirect questions are a regular part of riddles. They are not marked by any interrogative morpheme, and do not seem to be very marked by intonation or pitch height. An example is:

- (14.16) *nithíinh=é béédhò ηέéd=é*
 child=POSS:3SG be:AP ribs=POSS:3SG
 ‘its child is [in] its ribs’

The expected reply is:

- (14.17) *ábítλλb*
 maize:PL
 ‘maize!’

In other contexts than joking and telling riddles, questions are potentially face-threatening acts, in a society whose members are to a large extent interested in cooperation and social coherence. Therefore, direct questions in potentially difficult situations, or questions that can be interpreted as a critique (like asking a delayed person ‘where have you been?’) are avoided and replaced by indirect ones. These could merely consist of widespread gestures and mime, such as:

- smile
- raise hands and show palms
- open one hand towards addressee
- lift eyebrows

Other options are the use of declarative sentences that address the issue in question, for instance ‘these days people get delayed’, or the like. Declarative sentences here have the pragmatic status of investigative information questions, and are usually understood this way. However, the addressee always has the choice of pretending not to understand and may refuse to give an answer (instead, an utterance like ‘yes, delays happen a lot’ would make a suitable avoidance strategy).

14.2 Negation

Negation may take on many guises, as saying ‘no’ can be a rather delicate issue in many societies. In Luwo, there is a repertoire of gestures and mimic expressions that can substitute for verbal negation. This has not yet been researched in detail (being a field that needs more investigation in many languages), but seems to be salient enough to me to be mentioned here.

Negation has complex pragmatics, and at times rather complex meanings as well.

14.2.1 Negation of verb phrases

Negative clauses are not simply derived from declarative or affirmative clauses in Luwo. While a verbal phrase can be marked for eleven different aspects and two moods, there are only three different negation structures reserved for verb phrases. They allow for a distinction between the negative perfective, the negative imperfective, and the negative imperative. Upon taking a negation marker, however, the verb itself retains its aspect or mood markers.

The perfective aspect is negated with the particle *ké*. As already briefly shown in Chapter 3, this particle behaves like a clitic. The vowel assimilates to the vowel that follows, thereby taking the vowel quality of the aspect marker or the subject pronoun. Examples are:

(14.18) [kéégòyò]
nithíinh ké=é=gòyò
 child NEG:PFV=3SG=hit:AP
 ‘s/he definitely didn’t hit the child’

(14.19) [káànáàròbá]
ηò ké=à-náà-ròb=é
 O:3SG NEG:PFV=PFV-N.EVID-say:TR=3SG
 ‘s/he didn’t say it’

(14.20) [ákúùròbò]
á=ké=à-ròbò
 1SG=NEG:PFV=PFV-say:AP
 ‘I sure didn’t talk’

It is rather difficult to define in a straightforward way what exactly negation means here. As the previous examples illustrate, it is possible to negate the perfective. This means that an action framed as an accomplished event can also be conceptualised as an event that did not take place at all. Moreover, it is also possible to negate both forms of the perfective, namely the one that indicates witness and the non-evidential one alike. Obviously, negation of perfective II has other functions than negation of other perfective forms. In example (14.19), the subject is highlighted, and the speaker may use such a construction in order to suggest a contrastive meaning, in the sense of ‘s/he didn’t do it, but maybe you did it instead’. In examples (14.18) and (14.20), the indication is that the speaker is sure about the proposition, and does not give any hint that the action may still have been performed, but by someone else.

The imperfective aspect is negated with the help of the particle *bé*. It also behaves like a clitic, and stands before the verb and its aspect prefix, to whose vowel quality it assimilates. When it negates state verbs, it takes on the shape *bá*. Consider the following examples:

- (14.21) [búúgòòyé]
nithíính bé=ú-gòòyé=é
 child NEG:IPFV=IPFV-hit=3SG
 ‘s/he will not hit the child’
- (14.22) *á=bé=ròbò*
 1SG=NEG:IPFV=say:AP
 ‘I’m not talking’
- (14.23) *dhààgò cwíjn-é bá=mith*
 woman liver=POSS:3SG NEG=be.tasty
 ‘the woman is not happy’

Negative clauses with *bé* are far more frequent than those with *ké*. They indicate, besides negating current or future actions and events, that a proposition is common knowledge or reflects some kind of universal truth. Such uses of *bé*-negations are found in proverbial expressions, statements about the nature of places and objects, and epithets of wisdom. Examples are:

- (14.24) *cwàá bé=túì píj nòw*
 tamarind NEG:IPFV=grow ground flat
 ‘tamarind doesn’t grow on flat land’
- (14.25) *údwéén uthwónh bé=yood yi cúúk*
 skin hyena NEG:IPFV=find:TR LOC market
 ‘the skin of a hyena is not found on a market’ (i.e. in order to achieve something extraordinary, one needs to go to exceptional lengths)

- (14.26) *álèth níŋ bá=róòm*
 pain eye:PL NEG:IPFV=meet:TR
 ‘pains cannot be compared’

Commands are always negated with *kíí*, and here the meanings and functions of negation are fairly clear. Being used for both negative imperatives and negative subjunctive constructions, *kíí* basically expresses prohibitive meanings. In example (14.27), it is used as an order, whereas in example (14.28), it rather expresses advice.

- (14.27) *gé kíí màgú*
 O:3PL NEG:IMP catch:IMP:PL
 ‘don’t catch them!’

- (14.28) *yín kíí còŋnò ké lééb=i còŋní*
 2SG NEG:IMP knock:AP CONJ tongue=POSS.2SG knock:IMP:SG
ké tyèn=i
 CONJ foot=POSS.2SG
 ‘don’t knock with your tongue, knock with your foot!’
 (i.e. ‘don’t hurt yourself unnecessarily’)

Both the imperative and the subjunctive are used frequently in their negated forms. There are, of course, some sociolinguistic constraints regarding when and with whom they can be used. For example, negative imperatives are fully acceptable in social top-down communication, such as when a chief gives commands to his subjects. They are rather used in an abusive way, in turn, when a socially inferior person addresses a figure of respect, such as a young speaker uttering an order in the presence of an elder.

Negative meanings are also expressed with the help of a number of inherently negative verbs, which encode instances of deficit and deficiency. These verbs include the following ones:

- (14.29) *tóòr* ‘be absent, not exist’
túòn ‘not get’
kwíc ‘not know’

14.2.2 Negation of noun phrases

There is only one possibility for negating noun phrases, namely a construction that makes use of the particle *pàdh* ‘not’. Clauses with *pàdh* express negation in relation to another referent, such as ‘Y is not X’. Examples are:

- (14.30) *wárgéé gii gé pàdh gíí=yá*
 book:PL DEM 3PL NEG thing=POSS.1SG
 ‘these books, they are not mine’

(14.31) *jók pàdh àbèel*
 god NEG weak.one
 'god is not weak'

(14.32) *án pàdh ñàt-thudhàành*
 1SG NEG SG-Sudan
 'I'm not Sudanese'

Contrastive meanings become clearer in the following examples:

(14.33) *án pàdh yín*
 1SG NEG 2SG
 'me but not you'

(14.34) *ñò pàdh yín*
 O:3SG NEG 2SG
 'it's not you'

14.2.3 Emphatic negation and indirect negation

In Luwo, as in any other language, there are the polarity interjections 'yes' and 'no'. *Gan* 'no' or *làà* 'no!' (Arabic loan) are not a suitable reply to a polar question in most contexts, but rather are reserved for emphatic negation. However, as this is considered abrupt and potentially impolite, speakers resort to other emphatic means of saying 'no'. The examples illustrate that an acceptable way of expressing a decided rejection is the use of inherently negative verbs or prohibitive forms (e.g. to a child):

(14.35) *tóòr=ù*
 not.exist=2PL
 'no way!'

Indirect negation is probably a domain as salient as emphatic negation in terms of gestures and other means of non-verbal communication. There are, however, a number of interjections that can be used instead of a negation, such as *né jwók* 'oh god!', *ràc* 'bad!', and so on. Other possibilities are expressions about the negative feelings of the speaker, or the use of proverbs or songs.

(14.36) *yín nì cùtcùt*
 2SG SC IDEO
 'you cause grumpiness'

Discourse, genre and ways of speaking

In the previous chapters, linguistic features of Luwo as it is spoken by contemporary urban communities have been described. Speakers of Luwo, like speakers of just about any other language, however, employ different speech registers and styles in different contexts, and with different interlocutors. This chapter provides insights into how different ways of speaking take place, and how speakers use them.

This is a domain of the linguistic practice of Luwo speakers where more extensive reference is made to Santandrea's work, as well as to other earlier sources. These sources not only provide insights into styles now considered to be typical or emblematic of "real" Luwo verbal art, but also into how present-day much used styles, such as Christian and missionary educative texts, are created.

15.1 Access rituals, politeness and social marking

Unlike in Anywa and Shilluk, there is no speech register reserved for communication with a sacred king. Luwo communities are not ruled by paramount chiefs, but rather by elders, or authorities of the state. Speakers have univocally explained that they do not recall anyone using a special way of speaking when talking to a person of respect, but that politeness in such a context is very much marked by patterns of turn taking. A person who is of lower social status, for instance, should wait until addressed by an elder or socially more respected person, and should only speak when asked to. Furthermore, one should not gaze at elders and betters directly, but should look down instead and remain quiet. There are a number of discourse markers that mark both turn taking and social standing in the way that they are employed in conversations.

Apart from such general politeness constraints, there are relatively few ritualised forms of communication that help speakers to define their own social position relative to that of the addressee within a speech act. In fact, Luwo uses very few social markers and has only a few means of expressing honorifics. The following two sections show where these are most salient, namely in access rituals and gendered language.

15.1.1 Access rituals

Greetings mark changes in how speakers have access to others, or simply to communicative acts (Goffman 1971). This can include two transitions, namely a transition into a state of increased access, by greeting, and a transition in which the encounter closes and distance is created, by bidding farewell. Such transitions, which do more than just marking an entrance into different communicative acts and situations, are not simple but are extremely meaningful. They reflect social bonds between people who share fragile and fluid social identity concepts, negotiating these through greetings and the use of special address terms. Moreover, in a community where settlement might always be merely a preliminary situation, greetings, in their function as access rituals, help to create a symbolic space in which both speech participants have a guarantee of social cooperation, trust and security. In other words, communicative acts that are introduced with an access ritual are more than random talk, and are socially meaningful in many ways.

Clearly, greetings in Luwo, like greetings in other African languages, are not only complex access rituals in this sense, but are also used as social markers. Luwo greetings never actually become very time consuming (in contrast with Wolof, for example; see Irvine 1974), but they can be expanded if one needs to signal social closeness or social superiority, for example. Ameka (2009) remarks that because encounters vary in terms of their purpose, length and contents, greetings are performed in varying ways, too. In his ethnopragmatic study on greetings in Ewe, he identifies a number of canonical transitions and stages within an encounter, all of which serve functions such as social identification, affirmation of cultural practices, deepening relationships, and so on. Even though other speech acts may do the same job, greetings differ from these acts insofar as they represent a culturally meaningful arrangement of sequences, in a sense a script. In contrast with other speech acts, the entire linguistic design of an encounter is ritualistic rather than being part of a routine, as speakers “draw on standardized syntactic patterns and formulaic phrases, applying them in conventionalized frames for opening and closing interactions” (Ameka 2009: 151).

These rituals are fairly simple in Luwo, as in various other Lwoo languages. However, they require some experience and both linguistic and social skills, as their performance varies in accordance with a speaker’s social position and interests. An example of an encounter of two speakers of almost equal social standing is presented below.

- (15.1) A *málladh ríí=yá*
greet:VN self:SG=POSS:1SG
'Greetings!'
- B *málladh ríí=yá*
greet:VN self:SG=POSS:1SG
'Greetings!'
- A *yí=núód è ríí=yí yɔɔm è*
2SG=make QM self:SG=POSS:2SG be.protected QM
'How are you? How is your health?'
- B *á=à-núód ríí=yá yɔɔm*
1SG=PFV-make self:SG=POSS:1SG be.protected
'I'm well, there is nothing'
- A *jò-paár=ú gé=núód è rɔ̀g=gén*
PL-home=POSS:2PL 3PL=make QM self=POSS:3PL
yɔɔmè è
be.protected:PL QM
'People of the house, how are they? Are they well?'
- B *áyí rɔ̀g=gén yɔɔm*
yes self=POSS:3PL be.protected:PL
'Yes, they are well.'
- B *kóórí píí píñ*
welcome sit:IMP ground
'Welcome, sit down!'
- A *kóódhó ké ráyá*
INTERJ CONJ much
'Thanks a lot!'
- A *cítεε kěb=á pí*
INTERJ give:IMP=O:1SG water
'Please, give me water!'
- B *ee beedhà pí*
INTERJ DEM water
'Well, here is water!'
- A *á=dɔ̀k paár=á*
1SG=return house=POSS:1SG
'I go back to my house.'
- B *ú-rɔ̀mí-wán*
FUT-meet:CAUS=2PL
'We'll meet again.'
- } exchange of greetings
- } health enquiry
- } seat offer
- } taking drink/food
- } departure

The social status and closeness of the interlocutors is measured by the length and differentiation of the second stage of the ritual. One may simply ask about the health of the family, or extend such enquiries over a larger number of individual relatives, colleagues, neighbours, and so on. The stages after this may differ as well, but provided the encounter takes place near a person's home or in a village, an invitation to sit down and a question about a drink will be part of the greeting ceremony. The visitor uses, upon leaving, a standardised expression, saying that he or she is going back home. This is part of the greeting, even if the speaker is going elsewhere.

If a visit is extended and speakers have more time to talk, news and gossip may be exchanged. A discourse marker for entering into a non-ritualised conversation is *ee* 'well':

- (15.2) *ee ù-yóòd=é ní cáàbùúné ù-cùb=é ɲó yír àkóól*
 well IPFV-take=3SG SC soap IPFV-give=3SG O:3SG matter NAME
 'Well, he takes some soap and gives it to Akol.'

Listeners will confirm their attention by using interjections to express approval or critique:

- (15.3) *koor jwók*
 thank:TR god
 'Thank God!'

A dialogue of short utterances and interjections may confirm shared sentiments and shared interests alike, creating a comfortable atmosphere and a sense of communality:

- (15.4) A *wìì=á à-liyáb*
 head=POSS:1SG PFV-turn
 'I am confused!'
 B *náyè*
 INTERJ
 'Oh!'
 A *ádyeer*
 INTERJ
 'Right!'

This speech event took place among women, but would have been very similar if the participants had been men. Rituals, formulae and conversational routines are performed by men and women alike; however, there are differences between ways of speaking among the different sexes, and these differences are found in particular contexts, as is discussed in the next section.

Santandrea (1944: 139f.) observes this as follows:

Another point is to be recorded here which throws a favourable light on the Luo's character. In spite of their rough ways, great politeness prevails in what we might style ceremonial intercourse amongst themselves, a trace of which is to be found in their "addressing terminology". Unknown persons are soon addressed as *goma* ("my friend") if young, and respectively *kwo a* ("my grandfather") or *xo-na* ("my grandmother") if old. Old folk, especially women, often address young ones as *waran* (or *wadan*), viz. "my son." In calling, or answering, old men the term *aba*, a familiar variant of *ura*, is commonly used.

For better acquainted people, a substantial difference is made between clansmen and outsiders. The former are frequently addressed as *nyi ura* ("my little father") or *u ura* ("son of my father," viz half-brother), if they are young, and as *ura* (or *aba*), if they are old. The latter are addressed as *xora*, viz. "brother-in-law," if not yet old. In connection with this term *xora*, women are often heard to address youths or still well fit men as *cwor nyar-a* ("husband of my daughter"), a term of extreme kindness.

In other words, there are no exclusionist strategies, and no honorifics that produce distance, but rather terms of endearment for certain people, creating a symbolic space of belonging, safety and togetherness.

What is quite interesting here is that greeting rituals and ritualistic communication forms are not marked in a salient way for social hierarchy. There is no use of honorifics, and there are no speech registers that would exclude others. Luwo communities are characterised by low-key hierarchical differentiation, and they are extremely open to foreigners. Speakers say that they do not feel that anybody in the society should have significantly more power than anyone else, and that on a daily basis decisions are made with the advice and consent of groups of elders, but not by them alone. Moreover, access rituals and linguistic practices are considered simple enough to not be inhibiting to outsiders. The speakers suggested that such rituals are easily learned by outsiders so that they can feel like part of the society. In other words, speakers see a positive meaning in directness and in the minimalised exchange of polite expressions, claiming that this keeps an encounter uncomplicated and makes their society open and easily accessible. Further details on this language ideology are presented in Chapter 16.

What is intriguing about such strategies is that they help speaker communities to adjust to new social environments within a short time. They considerably reduce the stress of social instability and encourage individuals to create new functioning networks regardless of what social position they claim. Face-keeping constraints play a much smaller role than in societies with more saliently performed social differences, and this allows individuals to make uncomplicated, opportunistic decisions, approach others and enjoy comforting and empowering close ties

between themselves and other people regardless of religious and cultural differences. Such strategies, which of course are not only reflected in linguistic practice, seem to be interrelated with other strategies of Frontier societies (see Chapter 1). But they are also effective in large cities and newly emerging urban conglomerates, which could in some ways be regarded as a contemporary Frontier scenario. For example, Luwo speaker communities who have resided as displaced people in Khartoum for years and have had to get along in a fairly hostile society, have managed to keep kin group ties intact, are able to interact with others in an open way, and at the same time have created networks that have helped them to gain access to education and qualified work.

Seen against this background, the simple design of access rituals, the openness of communicative events and the interest in creating comfort and relaxation through language make a lot of sense.

15.2.1 Gendered speech

In a society with such a remarkable openness and tolerance, it is considered appropriate to marry people from different backgrounds and to introduce them into Luwo social and cultural praxis and norms without many inhibitions. And indeed, Luwo family histories often have it that someone's grandparent came from elsewhere, being totally different, but still accepted. Wives therefore could be strangers,¹ but there is no indication that their position was or is marked as that of foreigners or visitors (unlike, for example, in Dinka society). Women do not use gendered language that marks them as linguistically different,² and they do not use avoidance languages that would express their strangeness and social vulnerability, for example. Again, a passage from Santandrea (1944: 140):

Another feature that cannot fail to strike the attentive observer of Luo life, is the kind and in the same time dignified intercourse between the two sexes. There is not among them that apparent avoidance, mostly due to a generally acknowledged conviction of man's utter superiority over the woman [...].

The Jur [...] are openly chivalrous towards women when dealing with them socially; elderly women are treated with respect, and young ones with courteous awe. Youth who are seen about wooing their belles do not differ much from Europeans. On their side, women are equally frank and kind in dealing with men. [...] In Luo households, [...] even a white man – once he is known – is warmly

1. Much more than husbands, it seems.

2. Like Tarok women do, who are married into Tarok society on the basis of clan exogamy, which often involves practices of linguistic exogamy (Blench & Longtau 2012).

welcomed by all members of the family. Either the lord or the lady of the house will come first to meet you; old women seem to stick to this privilege which is usually granted them by men.

Santandrea (op. cit.: 144) notes that Schweinfurth (1873) had already observed affectionate family relationships among the “Dyoor”, and that they revere age.

Even though gender is not constructed as a salient restriction or particularly powerful social criterion, it is nevertheless marked by linguistic devices. In discourses about food and in specific poetic genres, there is a particular area where speakers make a clear distinction, namely in the domains of hunting, eating and cooking. There are terms and texts reserved for the things eaten by men and women, respectively, and these, together with food taboos, serve as an important gender-differentiating device.

Food taboos are interesting in that they do not only reflect cultural constraints on consumption habits, and ideas about ingestible substances and harmful ones, but also refer to social differences, be it in terms of clan affiliations or gender. In Luwo-speaking rural communities, these taboos mostly refer to meat, particularly to game. In urban contexts, game is not a staple in many people’s diet, but in the countryside it is. There, goat, sheep and cattle are kept in small herds by most people, but are rarely slaughtered, as they are meant for bride price payments. Meat comes from the bush, especially in the dry season when animals are easy to hunt. Dogs are kept as hunting companions (and are never eaten). Men may hunt for large game such as:

(15.5)	tìédó, ñikwál, ròdó	‘gazelle sp.’
	púrú, thiil, úmór, tàλη, àbúr	‘antelope sp.’
	àwééno	‘guinea fowl’
	bím	‘baboon’
	àpwóyó	‘hare’
	cíw	‘porcupine’
	naadó	‘python’
	púk	‘turtle’

These are all eaten by men and women alike, and no specialised terms refer to such food items. But this is different with other daily foods: boys hunt and trap rodents and other small mammals (*lwáñ kàbòòr* ‘rodent’, *kíl* ‘rodent’, *àpááró* ‘grasscutter’, *áyédhó* ‘squirrel’, *ábwop* ‘squirrel’, *ábòjò* ‘mouse sp.’, *úgwên* ‘small colourful mouse’, *úmádhá* ‘brown mouse’, *útáàñ* ‘mouse sp.’). Such items are reserved for the men, playing a role in boys’ and men’s discourse, but not among the women.

Birds such as ducks (*àtúdó*) and pigeons (*àkúyì*) are also hunted. During the rainy season, fishing is an important activity. Small fish (*úrémó*) are dried, pounded and made into dumplings (*dóp*). Fresh and particularly dried fish are

typical rainy season staples, together with *úccín*, a ‘cheese’ made out of termites, *úpílò* ‘termite dumpling’, and *àtíjò* ‘fermented flour mixed with ground termites, simsim, honey and lulu oil’. While wild fowl and fish is eaten by all members of the society, termite products are more often consumed by women (in contrast to the men’s roasted rodents).

Hunting for large game is related to more salient gendered discourse and also to a poetic genre of its own. Santandrea (1969) reports that hunting is reflected in two particular types of songs, namely *jáñò* ‘hunting song’ and *gúmò* ‘killing song’:

The first is for hunters that have killed big and dangerous animals, such as buffaloes and elephants. The second is for those who have killed a man, or a fierce beast of the feline genus, such as lions and leopards (The Jur say: animals *me luadhe beth*, “with sharp fingers”, i. e. claws). As can be seen, it is the physical kind of the victims that counts. *Jáño* and *gumo*, both as songs and dances, exhibit very much the same type, and very much the same in the treatment or ceremonial through which their heroes pass [...]. They are all strong men, who have shed blood at the danger of their lives.

Hence, game is categorised into different sets, namely one set that contains harmless animals, and a second one that contains big, dangerous animals, such as those in example (15.6), which are sung about in *jáñò*:

- (15.6) *úmwò* ‘rhino’
lièc ‘elephant’
kúl ‘warthog’
páádó ‘hippo’
jòòbó ‘buffalo’
wiir ‘giraffe’
wúdú ‘ostrich’

A third category refers to fierce animals (and humans), being celebrated by a *gúmò*:

- (15.7) *nán* ‘crocodile’
kwàc ‘leopard’
àgáàjò ‘monitor lizard’
àbathúúrò ‘big lizard’

Women may eat all the animals named in (15.6), unless they are pregnant. In this case, there is a food taboo imposed on elephant meat.

The game in (15.8) is consumed exclusively by men.³ It is taboo for women, and only prepared for the hunters. Women do not use the words for fierce animals

3. Men did and do eat game; the human victims referred to in killer songs were of course not consumed.

in the sense of terms for food, but men do. Women, however, do cook these taboo foods, and in order to do so they have to use a special small pot.

Gendered language here has to do with discourses that go together with daily life practices, and it unfolds in songs. Santandrea (op. cit.) records a number of killer songs, and here two of them are presented in order to illustrate the form of this genre:⁴

- (15.8) *Jáŋɔ̀* by Ireneus Wien Dut (Santandrea 1969: 186 f.)
- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Ator bol i kaajo | (He) broke the (spear-)shaft in the jungle |
| ajɔge bol dhe beer oo! | (he) broke into splinters the shaft near the swamp oh! |
| Ator bol i kaajo | (He) broke the (spear-)shaft in the jungle |
| ajɔge bol dhe beer ɔɔŋo Yaa. | (he) broke the shaft near the swamp called Yaa. |
| Thwon lai ulāro | A male animal comes running |
| ge atāmo ke Waliibo dhe | he started fighting with Waliibo near |
| beer Monymany. | the swamp (called) Monymany. |
| Ajɔge bol i käu. | (He) broke the shaft into splinters in (the place of) |
| the bamboos. | |
| Mwɔya Bol Thony | I shal praise Bol Thony, |
| ge ya ɔyer luōro. | they are people ignoring fear. |
| Awel ajar i kɔɔr; | A buffalo bellowed at (his) side; |
| ajar, ubwook luōren can, | bellowed, startles fear back, |
| wɔp mɔgo adɔɔ can ne mak | a youth returned back to grasp |
| yath i lum. | a tree in the bush. |

This highly expressive text feels like a telegram from the hunting scene, just the bare facts, not much praise, but lots of action. It is a representation of a genre that aims at recreating an emotional, adrenaline-filled situation, making the audience imagine it in a symbolic way. Men and their dangerous hunting are presented in a way that does not aim at foregrounding or celebrating a particular person or deed, but rather as a manifestation of manhood itself and the individual ways of dealing with the latter. This is a bit different in the *gúmɔ̀* songs, such as this one, about killing people:

- (15.9) *Gúmɔ̀* by Zachary Mawien U. (Santandrea 1969: 189 f.)
- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Uboŋ akobo ne ɔaŋi ya: | A Bongo said a little time ago: |
| uthero mɔgo. | (there is) another arrow. |
| Kaba nyimuur, udil ŋo dhe | I'll take a dikdik, and make a strong loin-cloth |
| ŋwinye ya. | with it. |

4. Transcription has been left as Santandrea provided it in these texts.

Uthero mɔgo.	(There is) another arrow.
Cude thɔɔ meber, ayam go Magotden.	Revenge of death (is) good, Magot has begun it.
Boŋ uthou naduk kede mān no.	The Bongo will die all, (together) with the women.

Here, no telegram about the course of events is given, but rather a jaundiced comment on the unsuspecting victim's soliloquy, which is erased by the simple and precise attack of the killer. The final declarative line is both a threat to the neighbours, and a statement. This text leaves no doubt about political interests, power relations and ideological concepts. It is not so much about manhood or recreating shared experiences among men, but about their power and abilities. These remain *unsung*, as we are not told how the Bongo man was killed. There is only a hint, and the audience is left with the somewhat uncomfortable feeling that there is an unnamed and unknown, powerful and capable killer out there, ready at any time to wipe out the Bongo people, or any other group of people.

This, so far, is the only speech genre where conflict and violence are treated in an utterly open and threatening way. As will be argued in the following section, this is not a strategy to *solve* conflicts, but to symbolically *recreate* them, perhaps as a strategy of increasing agency.

15.2 Conflict and concealment

Conflicts are not addressed in an open, aggressive manner. They are often concealed, smiled away or talked about in confidential gossip. This does not mean that conflicts are not part of discourse strategies. They are, but in an indirect way. Critique is not uttered in a face-threatening way if this can be avoided by any means, but in an indirect manner. A preferred strategy for doing this is the use of proverbs (*ùcáàlè*). These can be read as advisory statements, but also as a retrospective critique. The addressee is free to make whatever sense he/she can out of such statements, and keeps face (for related strategies, see Baumgart & Bounfour 2004 and Storch 2011b).

Within my corpus, there is no proverb that aims at shaming or mocking others; in contrast, most of the recorded proverbs evoke humour and play with motifs in quite an entertaining way. Examples are:

- (15.10) *cók* *thár dháàn hò ñweená cók*
 correct.position:TR buttock person better correct.position:TR
thár kéenó yír=é
 buttock gourd PREP=POSS.3SG

'It is better to adjust the position of a gourd plant than the position of a man.'

- (15.11) *dhààgò má=à-dìijòk bá=ròòm kεεt*
 woman REL=PFV-be.messy NEG:IPFV=meet:TR with
dhààgò má=ágáλλk
 woman REL=barren
 ‘A messy woman is better than a barren woman.’
- (15.12) *à-dúgò né wáadh wá gwók à-ríεm lièc*
 PFV-return:AP PREP empty.handed like dog PFV-charge:TR elephant
 ‘He returned empty-handed like a dog chasing an elephant.’
- (15.13) *ηàt-lùár én=é mwódh níthéen=é*
 person-fear be.present=3SG care:TR children=POSS:3SG
 ‘The coward can bring up his children.’
- (15.14) *ùthwónh à-rék gwòy áríòw*
 hyena PFV-catch:TR dogs two
 ‘Hyena tries to catch two dogs at a time.’
- (15.15) *ηυυ má=à-γwòk bá=cík cáμ*
 lion REL=PFV-cry NEG:IPFV=repeat eat:VN
 ‘A lion who cries cannot eat again.’⁵
- (15.16) *dhààgò má=à-ηèt áηírò ù-ròòmò ké wòt má=cítr*
 woman REL=PFV-talk talk IPFV-meet:AP CONJ room REL=leak
 ‘A talkative woman is like a leaking roof.’⁶

Besides these short and clear statements, concealed ways of addressing conflict involve witchcraft practices and sorcery. Santandrea (1948) provides a detailed description. However, in contemporary urban contexts, these practices do not play a role. This is not to say that witchcraft has become meaningless; but practices and their relevance change, and modern forms of manipulating others and of solving one’s conflicts with them place these practices more in the realm of healing.

There are various concepts of witchcraft and sorcery, which are reflected in the terms for witches: *ηàt-wiál*, *ηàt-rán*, *ηàt-kòdh*, and *ηàt-yaath*. The etymology of the first term is unclear, but the second (‘onion person’),⁷ the third (‘rain person’) and the fourth (‘tree/medicine person’) are quite self-explanatory. These people are specialists, but anybody who has a little insight and knowledge of their practices may perform certain rituals him- or herself. There are important, secret plants that are needed for magical practices, and these include *ránó* ‘wild onion’ and *kwál jwók* ‘wild cucumber’. Some specialists, who have a reputation as healers,

5. Because everybody will hear him and run away.

6. Nobody finds peace there.

7. Wild onions are used in witchcraft in many societies of Sudanic Africa.

are known as *ḡàt-tháù*; they are consulted in order to remove objects from one's body that have been put into it by a witch. In all the cases I was able to record, specialist vocabulary played a role, and this was always considered secret knowledge. But there was no spirit language,⁸ secret code or specialised language involved (see §15.4.2 below). Spiritual activities and also the creation of power relations (or more precisely of revealing a power by manifesting its existence in the form of manipulated languages) are not a matter of secrecy; they aim at establishing communal coherence. Power in turn is established through discourse and practices.

15.3 Ritualised speech types

Communality is constantly recreated and affirmed through socialisation practices, which in the domain of language include amusement and performance. Both are practised in a ritualised form, with codified turn-takings, fixed texts and unambiguous meanings. In this section, two out of a larger number of speech routines, which have ritual features, are examined, namely riddles and prayers.

Even though these speech types are ritualised, they are very dynamic. Riddles as an artful genre are extremely widespread in Africa. Motifs and metaphorical coinages alike are therefore likely to spread from one community into another, constantly enriching and changing speakers' repertoires of riddles. While the form is canonical and the context of telling a ritual one, the contents continue to change and adapt to ever new lifestyles. A riddle such as 'What bird gives birth to people?' would not have been popular during Santandrea's time, simply because the answer would not have made sense to most people, who at that time were not familiar with aeroplanes.

Prayers are another highly canonical speech form, deeply embedded in ritual contexts, and yet dynamic with respect to their topics and motifs. The prayers of modern Sudanese communities do not differ much from those of pre-Christian communities in the early twentieth century. But they not only make reference to a different religious concept, but also reflect different interests.

In contrast to postcolonial assumptions about traditionalist societies and the rather static rituals reflected in their languages (Lüpke & Storch 2013), both spontaneous face-to-face communication and ritualised speech in Luwo are dynamic expressions of the contemporariness of its speakers.

8. Spirit possession plays a role in the Zar cult, but is only accepted by few people. It is mostly performed in Arabic or Juba-Arabic, by groups of women from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Spirit possession plays a role as well in the *yáyí* celebration, which was not practiced by the speakers I talked to. Spirit language in this context remains undocumented.

15.3.1 Riddles and jokes

Being somewhat similar to proverbs, riddles are conventionalised speech events, stereotyped and artfully composed (for an overview of African riddles, see Finnegan 2012: 389 ff.). They represent, like proverbs, a domain in which a speaker can excel, as they are considered art and not a simple form of entertainment. Speakers are therefore seen as skilled and knowable people if they can tell many riddles, thereby demonstrating their capacity for using rich, metaphorical, rhetorically challenging language. The more condensed a riddle is, the more advanced and artistic its underlying abstraction. The proposer is skilled in literary language, as deciphering such almost-epigrams requires a lot of knowledge about veiled language.

Riddles are therefore part of poetic language and literary culture. They can also be read as comments on society, people's behaviour, developments in one's life and environment, and so on. In Luwo, the term for riddle is *tàbàktàbák*. Once this term is mentioned, as a request or a challenge, two different things seem to happen at once: both challengers and proposers indulge in dyadic communication, enjoying the play with words and the interaction as such. But riddles can also always be disguised critical comments, short and sharp ones, and here speakers and their audiences have a less simple task, namely that of creating a space within which social matters are negotiated.

Examples for riddles are:

- (15.17) Challenger: *ɲithíɲh=é béeédhò ɲéèd=é*
 child=POSS:3SG be:AP ribs=3SG
 'Its child is [in] its ribs.'
- Proposer: *àbítàlɓ*
 maize:PL
 'Maize!'
- (15.18) Challenger: *cór ɣi búɲó*
 pass LOC bush
 'Passes through the bush.'
- Proposer: *àɲwúdhò*
 blade
 'Blade!'
- (15.19) Challenger: *cíɲn=é beed ɣi kálá*
 intestines=POSS:3SG stay LOC outside
 'Its intestines are on the outside.'
- Proposer: *bóól*
 drum
 'Drum!'

- (15.20) Challenger: *wíjɔ́ mé=yaac ké jɔ́gè*
 bird:SGV REL=be.pregnant CONJ people
 ‘Bird that is pregnant with people.’
 Proposer: *cáàrà*
 plane
 ‘Plane!’
- (15.21) Challenger: *ù-yájɔ́ ké wáár ù-ɲwóllí ké jánó*
 IPFV-get.pregnant CONJ night IPFV-deliver CONJ morning
 ‘Gets pregnant at night and delivers in the morning.’
 Proposer: *wòt*
 room
 ‘Room!’
- (15.22) Challenger: *ù-cáàdhò ké cáɲ nín àbé*
 IPFV-walk:FI:AP CONJ day each but
γòòn=é bé=líyàk
 path=POSS:3SG NEG:IPFV=trace
 ‘It walks every day but its way leaves no trace.’
 Proposer: *ɲíɲ*
 eye:SG
 ‘Eye!’

Finnegan (2012: 417) comments on such riddles:

First, among some peoples riddles may be particularly closely connected with proverbs, so that either the answer or even both parts of the riddle are sayings accepted in other contexts as proverbs. [...] Thus change of fortune and the mortality of all men are brought out in the [...] proverb-riddles.

And further:

In content, riddles can include just about every sphere of natural and human life, and vary according to the preoccupations and customs of the society in which they are told. An understanding of the point of a riddle thus often depends on a knowledge of the ways of a particular society. The Nuer riddle, for instance, ‘Guess what big man it is near whom they have the wedding talk but he never makes a remark—It is a barn’ is explained by the fact that among the Nuer, wedding negotiations commonly take place near a barn (Huffman 1931: 105).

(Finnegan 2012: 423 f.)

This confirms what Luwo speakers have to say about riddles: they are a condensed art, and they are indicators for sociocultural coherence and belonging. Like any art that has a certain level of abstraction, these texts and interactions can only be fully appreciated when one has obtained relevant cultural knowledge. Hence, only

those who are rooted in the community will be able to tell riddles, just as only they will use such things as ideophones and smell words appropriately.

15.3.2 Prayers and invocations

The situation is somewhat different with prayers and spiritual exclamations. These are not so much evidence for artful linguistic abilities, but manifestations of community in another sense. Prayers are, however, an equally dense and metaphorically rich speech register, highly specialised in their usage, and one with a culturally rich meta-text. The speech register is – like riddles, songs, and proverbs – very marked, both in terms of its performative features and its context.

The first published source on Luwo prayers is Maganotto (1925). There is little, though valuable material on the language in this study, which gives an overview of pre-Christian religion. Prayer in pre-Christian society is described by Santandrea (1948) as a repertoire of invocations and related ritualistic texts that were performed on particular occasions, and often only by specialists or selected persons. In Santandrea (1967b), prayers of the Luo are discussed as a literary genre and anthropological topic.

All available sources on prayers and invocations within the local religion were prepared by missionaries, and meant as missionary resources, and remain positivist descriptions. However, there are some interesting examples that illustrate how such speech registers are designed.

In Luwo, there are two different concepts of spiritual communication, which are reflected in the terminology available in this language. Firstly, there is *lam*, a ‘prayer, curse, religious formula’, which is a plea directed to a god or a spirit. The use of *lam* was not restricted to particular speakers, but to certain contexts and circumstances. For example, an invocation that was used in case of sickness (conceptualised as the result of witchcraft (Santandrea 1948: 183)) is:

(15.23) *jwók=wán* *én* *à-cág=i* *an*
 god=POSS:1PL:EX be.present PFV-name=2SG O:1SG
 ‘Our god, you who made me!’

Such utterances are almost always exclamations, and often reduced to the epithet that stands for the particular deity.

The second term is *ròòk* ‘prayer, recital, spiritual dance’, which refers to a dialogical communication with a spirit or a god. In contrast with *lam*, *ròòk* was performed by a religious specialist, the *ηàt àciek* ‘message person’, who interceded between the spirits and people. The performance was usually multimodal, not confined to the recitation of the text, but also including canonical movements, which themselves were representations of the power of the words. The

following example illustrates such a text (Santandrea 1948: 189), which was used for rain making:

- (15.24) *àweed wur=á tšŋ kwàáy úkeelo*
 NAME father=POSS:1PL:EX spear grandson:MOD NAME
tšŋ=wán ù-pòdí ké math
 spear=POSS:1PL:EX IPFV-fall:CAUS CONJ slowly
ɲìmíy=ó yô
 sister=POSS:1PL:IN INTERJ
 ‘Awed, my father, spear of Ukelo’s grandson, our spear, let it fall slowly, oh our sister!’

This text is less transparent than the available *lam* examples, and requires both spiritual knowledge and cultural background information to be deciphered. The names that are called and the ritual summoning of weapons are very characteristic features of prayers and invocations, also of songs and praise poems. But here they refer to gods and deified ancestors, who will only be known to those who have been initiated into the culture and religion. Again, like the riddles, ritualised speech registers, here in the religious domain, require in-group knowledge and culturally framed wisdom.

This is significantly different in contemporary Christian Luwo communities, who use prayers in a more global context. The older texts referred to in Santandrea’s work have largely been replaced by Christian ones. The New Testament in Luwo was published in Wau in 2003, and decades before that churchgoers were able to use small collections of Luwo prayers and songs. Today, the Lord’s Prayer is frequently said in church, be it in a diaspora community in Omdurman (where I recorded multilingual services), or in Bahr el-Ghazal.

Christian prayers and invocations are also performed on a daily basis, and in their codified form do not differ much from the English or Latin versions available to Bible translators and local committees.

However, the *lam* type of invocation and prayer lives on in a Christian context, where this speech type is often realised in a multimodal way. Speakers may actually speak the following invocation, in an emphatic way, but just as often they refer to material representations of such a text. The following example was engraved into a bisected calabash, hung on a wall as decoration and souvenir:⁹

9. Of the dedication of the New Testament in Luwo.

- (15.25) *koor jwók à-náà-ηέj=á lúm=é ké*
 thank god PFV-N.EVID-recognize=1SG word:MOD=POSS:3SG CONJ
dhé paár=wán ù-yood=á bwádh way
 language:MOD home:MOD=1PL:EX IPFV-find=1SG life soul
 ‘Thanks to God! I know his word in our language and find the living soul.’

In a way, those prayers and exclamations that aim to attract a speaker’s interest, whether in terms of making rain or saving one’s soul, seem to need more salience than just being mere words. Such meanings are danced, are decoratively placed as a written artefact within one’s house, or stored on a shelf. They are both interesting and sometimes also moving statements of speakers and their immediate concerns and needs, which are felt so deeply that these pleas are meant to last longer than the spoken word. This gives books and written materials (and the Bible translation) a powerful status.

15.4 Literary genres

With all the many changes in people’s lives, through missionary work and violent conflicts alike, the ways people use their languages have changed as well. In Luwo, spirit languages are not remembered or are simply denied, religious registers have been exchanged, and special-purpose registers like those of blacksmiths and killers have been traded for the multilingual vocabulary of computer experts and politicians. Repertoires, being composed of different languages and different registers alike, are dynamic and change throughout a speaker’s life.

This is also reflected in the literary genres which are of importance to contemporary speakers. While some of the types of texts documented in colonial sources seem to have lost their place in life, others have emerged. Text production in Luwo is no longer a matter of oral culture, as Luwo speakers read and write and are very interested in the publication of Luwo books. There may, however, be genre-specific constraints on what is written and what is reserved for oral transmission.

Contemporary Luwo texts, apart from those used in the religious domain, fall into three main genres, namely narratives, missionary folklore and educational texts.

The first genre comprises of folktales that make use of established local motifs, such as trickster stories, modern fiction stories and biographical texts. Folktales are increasingly being written down, partly in order to encourage alphabetisation (Modesto et al. 1995a & b), but are also popular as orally transmitted verbal art. Fiction stories have been produced for more than a decade, and they are primarily available as written texts (Luwo Literacy Organisation 2000). In contrast to these,

biographical narratives are almost exclusively oral texts, which are popular and carefully composed as verbal art, with all the suspension that good stories need.

Fictional narratives are the least formalised and fixed of these three genres. A storyteller has to use certain rhetorical figures, and should be experienced with ideophones and epithets. But the design of the tales varies greatly, depending on the composition of the audience and the storytelling context. Consequently, it would be misleading to refer to these texts as “oral tradition”, as they are fairly dynamic and are not fixed or codified as tradition.

There are a few features, however, that help to define narratives. Even though they very often do not exhibit any opening formula, it is, if there is one, frequently *cóón* ‘formerly’:

- (15.26) *cóón à-núúð ké dhààgò máá dhècwów*
 formerly PFV-make:AP CONJ woman with man
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a woman and a man.’

Biographical narratives are often introduced with an explanation as to why they are being told. An example from the speaker’s aunt’s story is:

- (15.27) *àmání á=dad ú-rób=á ké à-náà-bèen*
 now 1SG=intend FUT-say:TR:SUBJ=1SG CONJ PFV-N.EVID-COME
capíiya ù-dóòη=é paár=wán
 NAME IPFV-remain=3SG home=POSS:1PL:EX
 ‘Now I want to talk about how Sophia remained in our home.’

The narrative form is usually the perfective form, constructed with the prefix *à-*. This aspect also indicates firsthand witness, and has evidential meanings. In a sense, the story is told in such a way that the audience can be sure of its credibility. However, in the introduction to the aunt’s story, the non-evidential marker *-náà-* appears. The speaker, being younger than her aunt, was not present at the time when the storyline begins.

While folktales often centre on Hare – the trickster figure – and his victims, mostly represented by the somewhat dim Mr. Hyena, biographical narratives tell equally extraordinary *real* stories. The one about Sophia is presented in (§16.1.1).

An appropriate ending of a narrative is as unpretentious as its beginning: usually the formula *é n̄n̄n̄* ‘it’s over’ suffices.

An interesting process of adaptation to changing domains of text production has taken place in the creation of missionary folklore. This has its starting point in the ambitious text collections of the Comboni Fathers, who first recorded songs, prayers and folktales. In order to produce “authentic” material on the culture of the Luwo, the missionaries began to document other spheres of life as well, and in order to do so asked speakers to explain their culture in their own language. Santandrea’s (1977) collection of texts on family life are a valuable example of this

type of text. Luwo speakers tell, in a monologue, how one courts a bride, cures a child, or buries the deceased. None of these texts is in any way instructive (which would make sense in an interaction with a newly-introduced, non-Luwo family member, for example), and none of them is educative. The texts are mostly characterised by the consistent use of the imperfective aspect (in contrast to the use of the perfective aspect in narrative texts); and there is hardly any use of the subjunctive (which one would expect in instructive texts). These stories are perhaps best described as explanatory stories that aim at a translation of Luwo cultural practices into the cultural concepts of the foreign missionaries.

An example of such a text is taken from Santandrea's collection (1977:581):

(15.28) *Tib ŋa mathou enne kwaje wŋ Jwɔk, kɔbe: wege beno ne rɔb i dwon wadgen ma nhyaren. Nāa: can rumo e wij Jwɔk wiyo, ubeno wi wadegen ke rɔb: ci thyedhe arumo. Cane wadegen nɔni ucayo ke akek.*

Ne cwinye ne peny lubo mɔgo (y)i atib ŋani, e akek ke gano duugi ke wär naga: cona atiben. Batyene e ubeno arumo, urube rubo i dwon ŋane ni.

(It is) the ghost of a dead person that prays before God (lit. "in the eye of God"), saying: let it go and speak in/with the voice of a relative whom she loves. That is: the at-last *Jwɔk* allows her, and she comes over (= in the head of) her relative with (this) word: and she is "consecrated" "finished". Then this her relative practices divination by means of *akek*.

When she wants to ask something from this spirit, she shakes the *akek* for a long time by night, namely: she calls the ghosts (= the spirits of the dead). The he (= the spirit) comes at last, and speaks with the voice of this person.

Such texts were commissioned by Santandrea, or other members of the mission station. Today, this genre continues to be attractive, but not now for the same reasons. Simple, explanatory texts on daily life in the village and activities considered to be characteristic of the Luwo are written for primers and introductory alphabetisation booklets. After their establishment as a genre that serves the purposes of intercultural communication, these texts continue to recreate and reinvent the traditions and schemes of true Luwo culture. And schoolbooks seem to be the ideal medium for this genre, as they at least enable Luwo speakers to acquire the knowledge that is essential to participate in globalised epistemological frameworks and communication networks. In this sense, the genre of missionary folklore continues to be used as a means of bridging cultural gaps.

The third genre, educational texts, probably originates from missionary literature as well. However, it is found in all educational institutions, and is both produced and consumed by people of various backgrounds. In Khartoum, educational volumes on health care, alphabetisation and other issues were prepared by a Bible translation committee, but also by speakers who came together on a regular basis in a "Thursday Afternoon Language Club" in a shady courtyard in Old

Omdurman, to discuss ideas and problems. Cooperating in their work on such booklets, they were able to achieve a relatively high degree of acceptance within the Luwo community residing in and around Khartoum.

In an environment where the state and its institutions fail to address the people's needs, and provide education and health care only for those who are literate in one of the large globalised languages – English and Arabic – such texts are highly valuable for many. They help to reduce distance and fears on the part of the audience and make essential knowledge available in a culturally appropriate way. This is successful because Luwo committees and interest groups have largely designed these text collections themselves. They are able to avoid taboo violations on the one hand (which is particularly important in health education), and on the other hand know which speech register and literary genre would be acceptable as a medium to most members of their community. An example for educational texts is the *Kitaab Yoohm Rog*, the 'Book of the protected body' (Manywaahl et al. 1997). It offers chapters on the diagnoses and treatments of some of the most common diseases in the region, such as diarrhea, malaria and HIV. In an instructive style, this booklet tells how one can protect oneself against such illnesses, and uses both a very direct language and pictorial material, which itself is again supported by writing. Here, speech register, multimodality and the way in which these written texts remodel oral texts all bridge the gap between the oral transmission of knowledge, let's say in a health class, and static printed text. The following figure on HIV transmission helps to illustrate this interesting form of intertextuality (Manywaahl et al. 1997:23):



Figure 3. HIV education (Manywaahl et al. 1997)

This literary genre probably has the potential to be equally dynamic and rich in the new media (such as Facebook and cell phones), which are not yet truly widespread as the infrastructure in South Sudan is lacking. But there, and in radio broadcasting and television programmes, such uses of Luwo seem to be much anticipated by the speakers.

Multilingualism and language ideology

They tell of a strange winged monster who lived on an island called Erythrea (which is an adjective meaning simply “The Red Place”) quietly tending a herd of magical red cattle, until one day the hero Herakles came across the sea and killed him to get the cattle.

(Carson 1999: 5)

Lwoo-speaking communities have been constructed, as groups that have an ethnic identity and share a particular language, not only through local discourse, but also, and more dominantly so, through the contributions of European or Western scholars and missionaries. Although there were pre-colonial institutions in these communities that managed memory and epistemes on a local basis, such as the *chir* schools in eighteenth-century Luwo society (Ogot 2001: 32 f.), the currently influential concepts of what constitutes these societies and speaker communities are much more based on scholarly contributions that almost always imply that there are native speakers of mother tongues, in whom an ethnic group’s heritage and wisdom are enshrined (Bonfiglio 2010). These concepts of ethnicity are closely linked to ideologies of linguistic purism, as they imply that a community such as the Luwo ‘has’ or ‘owns’ a language of its own that exists as an unmixed, pure language, which acquires quantifiable elements from other languages only through discernible contact with these other languages. Language contact is seen not so much as the consequence of stable multilingualism, but rather as the result of periods of exchange between otherwise separate groups.

Conversely, models such as those of codeswitching, in the Lwoo-speaking area and beyond (e.g. Myers-Scotton 2005), consistently base the interpretations of observations of the occurrence of two different languages in one single speech act as instances of more or less stable bilingualism.

The sociolinguistic reality is probably more like the one symbolically referred to in oral accounts of group origins and in the establishment of epistemologies on other groups and their origins. As distant and foreign as Erythrea is to Herakles, in the quote from Carson’s *Biography of Red* at the beginning of this chapter, so distant and strange are the speaker’s oral accounts of their history and origin to

their Western collectors and interpreters. The resulting Western ideas about ethnic identity, heritage and concepts of ownership of language and oral tradition alike often seem as contradictory to those articulated locally as could be anticipated.

The consequence of such contradictions and problems have been addressed by the Kenyan historian Bethwell A. Ogot: “Africa needs to reclaim its history. We have done it in the past, we can do it in the future. And the future began a long time ago.” (2001: 50).

This could not be more relevant if the statement referred to languages. The sociolinguistics of Luwo, and the history of this language, are characterised by multilingual practices, frequent inclusions of people from other societies, openness towards others, and a constant exchange with people from other parts of the region and the world. As a consequence, Luwo exhibits various convergence phenomena. This chapter first provides insights into multilingualism among Luwo speakers, then sets out to explore some of the characteristic social practices and cultural features shared by speakers of Luwo. This will also include an investigation of language ideologies.

16.1 Multilingualism

Luwo is one language in a repertoire of several available to its speakers. It is spoken in different domains of daily life, but far from all domains, and by far from every person who claims Luwo identity. The basis for multilingualism is deeply rooted in history, it seems, and one explanatory model for this has already been introduced in Chapter 1, namely Kopytoff’s (1987) African Frontier Model. Proposing a model that reconciles the observation of constant change, migration and upheavals and the apparent continuity of exchange and interaction between groups, Kopytoff correlates these processes with the emergence of an institutionalised and socially meaningful multilingualism. As conflicts within the small-scale societies that lived in most of Sudanic Africa tended to be solved through the migration and retreat of the subordinate party, new communities and new settlements were established in a more or less constant way. As power was achieved through the attraction of adherents to one’s group, constant immigration of other people into an area was desirable and continued to be of sociopolitical importance until (post-)colonial times. The construction of a common identity involved the creation of an official history, centering on first-comers, and the establishment of a public language (most often that of the first-comers). However, all this co-existed with differing histories of kin-groups (focusing on the story of ancestors who originated from various places) and the continuing use of the languages of the separate immigrant groups.

These strategies of creating community were at work in most of the small rural settlements where Luwo speakers lived, and they are referred to in the form of a deep symbolism in the story of Nyikang and his brothers – a story of migration, dispersal and linguistic diversification as a result of conflict – told in Chapter 1. The establishment of centres of trade and power in the area did not change much in this respect, and what would later be referred to as urbanisation did not have much effect on how community was negotiated. The town of Wau, today the urban focal point in Bahr el-Ghazal, was established in the nineteenth century as a slave-trading point and became a centre of the British administration soon after that. Burr and Collins (1994) describe Wau as a place in which no one lived, and which belonged to no one, and which continues to be foreign to all who are there, as a result of its Frontier history as much as of recent armed conflict.

Living in such an environment demands a high degree of social and linguistic flexibility. As a consequence, multilingual practices continue to play an important role for migrants, as well as for people who remain in the area. Besides Luwo, most members of the Luwo communities also speak Arabic (Juba Arabic and Central Sudanese Arabic), one or more varieties of Dinka, English, and one or more other languages of the area, such as Thuri, Bodho, Bongo or Shilluk. Though closely neighbouring, Boor, Ndogo and Bviri are less known, perhaps because of the low prestige attributed to them. Although there are Italian loanwords in Luwo, speakers do not recall anyone speaking this language.

16.1.1 Inclusion of strangers

The attracting of adherents, in the sense of Kopytoff (1987), was not only targeted at larger kin-groups, but also at individuals. This becomes obvious in narratives about family history, where the motif of a foreigner who eventually becomes one of the family members, or an ancestor, is frequent. The openness of the Luwo towards strangers may have resulted from necessity during times of fierce slave-raiding, but has also been appropriated to provisional marriage practices, which were relevant when a widow was married into her brother-in-law's household, or an unattached woman was married into the community. While Santandrea (1945, 1977) merely reports that wives of deceased brothers were married symbolically in order to guarantee their safety and accommodation, at the same time families were enlarged through the adoption and marrying of individuals who often came to Luwo settlements as refugees from slave traders. For instance, the grandmother of one language consultant was reported to have been an Arab, who as a young woman came crawling into the village, obviously after a long flight from an Arab or Ottoman slave trader. She was eventually married into the household of one of the community's warriors. Her descendant's lighter skin complexion is referred to as additional evidence for her story.

Another life story concerns the adoption of an infant who was left behind in 1964, when the Sudanese Government evicted all missionaries from the country. The child was taken to a Luwo village and became, as she grew up, the illustrious aunt of my Luwo teacher Pierina Akelo Zubeir, who told this story:

Now I want to talk about how an English child came to our hometown. They left a girl called Sophia to one of their workers, whose name was Alio. Alio took the child and went with her to the Luwo place called Nebo, the home of the Acic clan. They went there to live there, but couldn't stay for long, as the place wasn't good for the child. So they returned to the town of Wau, and he gave the child to another person called Marcelo. Marcelo gave the child to a woman called Pina for upbringing. She remained with Pina until she was old enough to get married. And it happened that she [Sophia] was barren, so that she and her husband got divorced. She then went to Juba, never returning to the town and the people there, and she established a beer parlour. She sold a lot of beer and became rich. In 1993, my cousin Madut went to Juba to see her place, and they took her to Khartoum where she stayed for a few days. She said to Madut: 'You, Madut, Khartoum is not good for me, I return to Juba.' She returned to Juba. Madut went back to Juba to see her, and he found her sick. She said: 'You will not bring me to Khartoum, and I won't go to Khartoum.' After a month we heard that Sophia died. This is what I know about her.

There are numerous stories about related incidents, explaining a family's Arab name (for example, that of Zubeir), and other features that are associated with the Luwo's others in some way.

The issue of language only rarely comes up. Sophia, being the seemingly illegitimate offspring of a European missionary, spoke Juba Arabic most of the time, but communicated in Luwo with her relatives. As no formal education had been available to her, she reportedly hardly knew any English. The beer parlour in Pierina's story is largely a common euphemism for a brothel, which she owned and where she said her employees constituted her real family, after her Luwo clan had been unkind in giving her to such a bad husband. The whiteness of Sophia's skin was probably attractive to some of her customers, but her Luwo family considered it too delicate and rather ugly. This was the only instance where multilingual repertoires were discussed in the context of the inclusion of strangers: while adults who were included into the community maintained the languages they spoke previously, and learned Luwo as they grew into their new families, the situation of Sophia was different. She was an infant when she was left by her biological parents, and never learned their language (presumably Italian, although the evicted missionaries are all referred to as *nigle* 'English' by Pierina). The fact that a person only spoke Luwo and Juba Arabic, and not the language of her obviously non-Luwo kin, or any other language, was remarkable and added to Sophia's unusual ways.

16.1.2 Linguistic biographies

The ability to speak several languages on a daily basis is a cultural technique learned through socialisation, a social necessity, and also part of social work. Luwo speakers consider the acquisition of linguistic knowledge a lifelong process, and are able to tell when and where they became exposed to a new way of speaking and added a language to their repertoire (see Alexander (2011) for a South African linguistic biography). There is a division, for many Luwo speakers, between their own language, spoken in the family and neighbourhood, and learned without a framework of formal education, and the languages that they study in school. This opposition is referred to, in discourse, in Arabic, referring to the former as *rutana* ‘gibberish’ and the latter as *lugha* ‘language’. This concept of languages seems to be closely tied to concepts brought together by institutions of formal education, but is often not mirrored in daily life experiences.

Although many adult speakers claim that their first language was Luwo, and that they learned Arabic and English only later in life, this is not the case among younger speakers. Language acquisition appears to be rather multilingual in most cases, when children grow up in a non-Luwo environment. And in comparing their own childhood experiences to those of contemporary youths, elderly speakers remarked that they, too, grew up that way, in environments where one was ordered to use English or Arabic outside the home, or where one spoke Dinka rather than Luwo as so many companions were Dinka anyway.

In such a context, it is unhelpful to define a single language as a mother tongue. Rather, speakers appear to acquire multilingual repertoires very early in life, with Luwo as a dominant part of the repertoire if their environment is predominantly Luwo-speaking. Those young speakers who grew up in Khartoum, however, often claimed that they felt they were much more fluent in Arabic than in Luwo, and that their Luwo was only now, through family reunion in the south or participation in Luwo alphabetisation classes, becoming more advanced. Here, the concept of Luwo as an informally learned *rutana* (and not *lugha*) is inverted, as Luwo in the diaspora becomes one of the languages for which school books and courses are available. On the other hand, English, the language that is most closely associated to formal education, is learned from informal interaction with foreign visitors and through Facebook contacts, as much as in school.

Speakers also refer to loss when they talk about their repertoires and linguistic biographies. For instance, in Khartoum, the opportunities to use Thuri or Dinka are fewer than in Wau or in a village, and therefore speakers claim that they have experienced sometimes considerable language attrition since their migration to the north.

However, linguistic biographies are told in varying ways as a speaker addresses different audiences in different contexts. In Khartoum, endangerment discourses,

reflecting political pressure and conflict, were prevalent among the groups of “grassroots linguists”, meeting at their “Thursday Afternoon Language Club”. There, the notion of attrition and also the exposure of young speakers to Arabic were framed in a discourse of language extinction, reflecting people’s fears of losing social identities and part of their memory culture.

16.2 Prestige and language attitudes

Endangerment discourses are not only reflections of the problematic and challenging situations of migrants and refugees, but have gained new importance in this very context, particularly in Khartoum in the past twenty years. The politician and language consultant Joseph Wol Modesto recalls how he became interested in language consultancy work (Combs 2014):

How I became involved in our translation project was not planned. There was an introductory translation principles workshop in 1992 and I was invited by an ex-priest who was responsible for the department of Bible translation and literacy at Sudan Catholic Bishops’ Conference to attend. Since I had nothing to do besides being a taxi driver, I agreed. [...] Mohamed and I with some Luwo were helping with the review of Easy Scripture portion/readers that was being organised by Wycliffe consultants. While we were still doing this revision I was asked by the language programmes director to become a Bible translator for the Luwo project. I accepted, but not because I really was interested in the Bible. My motivation was that my language should not become extinct. I reasoned that, once the Bible was translated into Luwo, there would always be Luwo who believe in God and would be reading the Book. In this way the language would continue to exist.

Coming from a highly educated and religious family and at the same time having a communist background, Modesto combines the idea of saving – through education and translation work – the Luwo’s self-determination, and at the same time liberating southern Sudan through political activities. It appears as if it is exactly this binary interest, mirroring the history of endangerment angst and feelings of inferiority which continue to play a role in current discourse. In one of the earliest written records on the Luwo,¹ Schweinfurth (1873, cited in Santandrea 1944: 144) remarks:

1. Hassenstein and Petermann (1863) are a still earlier account, containing some of the first detailed maps of the region.

Good large families have the Dyoor; and were it not that the Nubians come upon their land, and every year carry off at least half the corn that is grown, there would long ago have been, as with their kindred on the White Nile, a dense Dyoor population.

The name used to refer to the Luwo here is a pejorative term from Dinka (*jiùr* ‘strangers’), to which ‘Luwo’ is clearly preferred as an autonym. It mirrors, however, the social history of the Luwo, and also reflects the low prestige the language has had in the area (“The Jur despised by the Dinka and despising the Bor”, Tucker 1931:59).

Only in the missionary and church context does this seem to have changed in the course of the twentieth century. Joseph Modesto evaluates this as follows (Combs 2014):

My people are mainly farmers which is their main occupation. They also keep cattle, sheep, and goats. They are hunters and in every household there are things for hunting and trapping animals. They used to be great hunters of elephants in the past. They also are good at iron working. As a result of their work in iron most of the Luwo are blacksmiths and provide iron implements for their use and that of the Dinkas who are their neighbors. [...] Their religious affiliation was determined for them when the colonial [administration] allocated different areas/tribes in southern Sudan to the different Christian denominations and missions. So all of the Luwo became Roman Catholic. Yet they have also native beliefs which are professed even by some Christians.

I took my primary education there also, at a mission school. The mission was established in February 1904. It was the first Catholic mission to be established in Bahr al Ghazal. [...]

My father was a teacher since 1932 and was pensioned in 1992 when he was in fact 85 years old. In those days teachers used to have farms to supplement income, so mother and father were also farmers. Father had some cattle. My father was one of the first educated Luwos and this being a Christian mission he had instruction in Christianity. He was very religious. So we his children received Christian education as catechumens [...]. I was active in the church and was an altar boy. I got further education in Christian religion from my days in intermediate and secondary schools. Also on holidays from the university I used to teach at Catholic seminary school in Wau [...].

The tremendous shift experienced by educated families in terms of the prestige of their language, and also in terms of how they could now take part in regional decision-making processes, led to a close association of the concepts of BEING Luwo and of being Catholic. This shift, however, led to a different kind of prestige elevation than one would assume: a language that becomes a preferred code, changing from a low-prestige language into a high-prestige one, is often considered

to become more of a public language, being used at the market and on the street as much as in education and media contexts. This is often also seen as an indicator for ethnolinguistic vitality (Coulmas 2005: 159):

The major factors involved in a group's EV [...] are *demography*, *institutional support* and *status*. Demography refers to the absolute size of the group and its relative strength in the total population as well as residence patterns – concentrated or dispersed –, birth rate, endogamy and continuing migration. Institutional support concerns the presence of the group's language in the institutions of various social arenas such as education, government, media and religion. And status refers to the group's position in a social prestige hierarchy which is itself a composite factor involving the group's immigration history as well as social, economic, cultural and linguistic aspects.

The consequence would be that a language that is used in only very few domains has little ethnolinguistic vitality and may be endangered. However, the status shift of Luwo has not resulted in an increase in the domains where it is used, but rather to a consolidation of its use in exactly two domains: in the home, as a code that is associated with identity and religion, and in the religious context, where it is associated with both faith and education. It is not, in contrast, very much present in the media (beyond the products of church-based literacy work and educational booklets), in the market or in popular culture. As a consequence, both speakers and Westerners concerned with NGO work in the region feel that Luwo could become endangered, as a result of the high presence of Dinka and Arabic.

In this respect, status elevation and the development of a specialisation of the domains where Luwo plays an important role have resulted in a concealed and at the same time prestigious use of the language. Van Engelenhoven (2012) remarks that in some communities, in this case in Timor, but situated in a comparable context, a language may not be used much in communication with outsiders. As their prestige can also derive from their role as an intermediary code used to communicate between both the ancestors and the living, these languages are simply not spoken to those who do not share the same ancestral affiliation and spiritual background. Languages such as Luwo, or in Van Engelenhoven's study Fataluku, are attributed a more concealed prestige, evoking to outsiders the impression that they are no longer used in most domains of their speakers' daily lives. A closer look at language ideology, however, suggests that the situation is not that simple.

16.3 Language ideology

In his study of small-scale societies and their languages, Evans (2010:12 ff.) describes how these communities' attitudes towards languages differ from those of large and coherent (Western) communities. Small-scale communities are

predominantly multilingual, and, often using concepts of esoterogeny, exhibit a high degree of metalinguistic awareness about differences between languages and linguistic correctness. Often, these societies are open to culturally and socially different people; this is also evident in terms of their preferring exogamy over other marriage patterns, and they use metalinguistic terminology because they are interested in sharing knowledge and linguistically innovative forms with others. Most, if not all of these features apply to Luwo-speaking groups. As far as language attitudes are concerned, this is of particular interest, as metalinguistic discourse and ideas about correctness often have two related, albeit different functions: to negotiate innovation and linguistic in-group practice and to ascribe identity.

The use of metalinguistic terminology is particularly relevant here. By speaking about Luwo, a discourse on the language, within the domains where it is most meaningful, is taking place, and its constant form is both normative and status-elevating. In this way, Luwo is present on a daily basis, and is the subject of heightened discourse.

That metalinguistic terminologies are available to speakers and that members of small-scale societies have strategies of transmitting metalinguistic knowledge has been demonstrated in various contributions (e.g. Olawsky 2002; Dixon 1992; Manfredi 1991). In Luwo, speech genres are referred to by a rather elaborate terminology, of which some examples are given here.

(16.1)	wár	‘song’
	jáŋò	‘hunting song’
	gúmò	‘killing song’
	ùcáálò	‘proverb’
	tábáktábák	‘riddle’
	máádh	‘greeting’
	àlámò	‘curse’ (derived from <i>lam</i> ‘invocation’)
	lúm	‘word’
	rób	‘speech’
	lam	‘invocation, prayer, religious formula’

These terms are used for identifying ways of speaking, for referring to the appropriateness of a speech style in a given situation, as well as in esoterogenic discourse, where differences between Luwo and other languages are highlighted. Such terminologies and the discourse in which they are embedded reflect not only linguistic awareness, but also language ideologies shared by a community of practice (Kroskirty 2007: 509, Lüpke & Storch 2013: 175 ff. & 224 ff.).

Another domain in which language ideology is enshrined is that of concepts of linguistic correctness (Aikhenvald 2002: 213):

The ways in which linguistic ‘correctness’ and ‘incorrectness’ are rationalized relate to current doctrines, and to linguistic ideologies concerning power and value associated with a language. In their value judgements about language,

speakers – consciously or not – select certain dimensions of languages and background others. The way in which speakers rationalize their institutions relates to the structure of the languages and to their function [...]. A study of the mechanisms of language awareness can be especially instructive in the case of multilingual communities with strict rules of code-switching and an acclaimed inhibition against ‘language mixing’.

Luwo speakers do indeed refer to specific properties of their language, which they consider, in contrast to others, emblematic. Besides the absence of fricatives, which is not shared by Arabic, English or neighbouring Ubangi languages, the property considered most salient in this respect is the occurrence of singulatives. The presence of collectives (which Luwo speakers call ‘uncountables’), and the strategies for deriving from them forms that denote singled-out items, is considered to be a feature their language has in common with the other Luwo languages related to them via the Nyikang story, but that is not shared with other Sudanese languages. Rationalising singulatives, their meanings and distribution is thus one of the most salient instances of language awareness, and an expression of a language ideology that sets Luwo and other Luwo languages apart from others, constructing group boundaries, symbolic networks and prestige in terms of an imagined linguistic uniqueness.

However, this rationale reaches into metalinguistic modelling, as speakers can provide exact definitions and descriptions of different number values, ways of constructing them and differences in meaning. For instance, when discussing singulatives in opposition to singular and plural nouns, speakers produced the following, contrastive examples:

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| (16.2) | <i>jénó</i>
chicken:SGV | <i>ácièlò</i>
one | ‘one chicken’ |
| (16.3) | <i>jén</i>
chicken:COLL | <i>áriðw</i>
two | ‘two (individual) chickens’ |
| (16.4) | <i>wóŋ</i>
eye | <i>jén</i>
chicken:COLL | ‘one chicken’ |
| (16.5) | <i>jénó</i>
chicken:SGV | <i>áriðw</i>
two | ‘two (items of) chicken (e.g. frozen on market)’ |

Example (16.2) is a singulative modified by a numeral, and denotes one particular chicken out of many of them. In (16.3), it is demonstrated that the concept of individuation extends to higher number values, so that one can refer to two particular chickens out of many of them by basically dropping the singulative marker, or restoring the collective form of the noun. These examples were provided as a

contrastive pair, in order to demonstrate morphological differences and semantic similarities.

Example (16.4) was provided as a reply to how one could refer to an arbitrary chicken (in contrast to a particular one), out of a larger number of similar chickens. Again, contrastive pairs were provided, this time of a singulative and an associative construction expressing a different type of singulative meaning. Example (16.5) was provided in order to illustrate that the arbitrariness of a singled-out chicken could be boosted by modifying it by a higher numeral. Now, the singulative refers to items of obviously slaughtered chickens.

Such contrastive pairs and explorations into the semantics of chickens are examples of discourse on what exactly the language achieves, in contrast with English, for example, where these fine-grained differences need to be expressed in lengthy clauses.

Interestingly, the examples could be expanded within the semantic field, and they were. Chickens lay eggs, and eggs can be counted as well:

(16.6) *tɔŋ ádák, ácíèlɔ́ yír wéélén*
 egg:COLL three one PREP guest:PL
 ‘three eggs, one for the guests’

(16.7) *tɔŋ ádák*
 egg:SG three
 ‘three eggs’

In (16.6), we have ‘egg’ in the plural, denoting a number of singular object nouns (namely boiled eggs on a breakfast table). In (16.7), eggs are counted as non-individuated items of a sort (e.g. on a market stall, where eggs and tomatoes are purchased). The striking thing about these examples is the difference in the vowel quality in the numeral, namely *ádák* vs. *ádák*. This could be just variation, if something similar were not observed with ‘one’ as well, e.g.:

(16.8) *tɔŋɔ́ ácíèlɔ́*
 egg:SGV one
 ‘one egg’

(16.9) *tɔŋɔ́ ácíèlɛ̀*
 egg:SGV one
 ‘one egg’

What is the difference between these forms, and what triggers the change in vowel quality in the numeral? A possible answer is that Luwo speakers make use here of the non-linear morphology of Dinka (Andersen 2014). Luwo has, as a consequence of multilingualism involving Dinka, developed a strategy of number-inflection

that does not involve affixing, but rather change of tone and/or change of stem vowel. Examples are:

- (16.10) SG PL
 tòŋ tóŋ 'horn'
 bat baat 'arm'

If this strategy – inflecting nouns denoting single-object referents and countable items for number by means of phonological changes – is mentally associated with a lack of categorisation devices and an ambiguity in terms of animacy, then the strategy could be adopted for the secondary inflection of numerals as well. These would then be able to indicate whether an item is conceptualised as individuated, as perhaps in (16.8), or as representing a sort or general type, as in (16.9).

The intriguing thing here is that even though Luwo speakers tend to associate salient phenomena such as singulatives with Lwoo-ness and contrast this concept to identities ascribed to other groups who speak different languages (such as the Dinka), the very strategy that is at work here, representing fundamental 'Lwoo' (or 'Luwo') aspects of language ideology, is borrowed from Dinka. Luwo ideas about linguistic correctness are based on keeping codes apart (as the Tariana do in the quote from Aikhenvald above), and speakers are eager to prevent the use of non-Luwo lexicon and grammar when they consider themselves to be speaking their language. Nevertheless, in an unconscious way, the same speakers make use of Dinka grammar, and even highlight these forms as those that nicely illustrate a salient feature of Luwo grammar.

Such forms of esoterogeny on the one hand and inevitable convergence to the Other's language on the other, are attested elsewhere (e.g. Aikhenvald 2002). But they do not illustrate whether speakers are unable to evaluate different grammatical strategies, or are incompetent at keeping their language 'pure'. They simply show that Luwo is a code used by an open community, and changes, in a flexible and often creative way, as its speakers communicate with others, move to different places, and lead their lives, not as representatives of tradition and of stagnant 'tribal dialects', but as modern and networking speakers of a modern and capable language.

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