

5 The noun phrase

All nominal modifiers follow the noun, the basic order being

noun - numeral - adjective - demonstrative - rel. clause

Examples

èthínò àbíc bècò 'five good children'
children five good.PL

rómí àdêk nà bècò nì 'these three good children'
sheep.PL three REL good PROX

5.1 Nouns

Like all other Western Nilotic languages, Labwor lacks a noun class (or gender) system. To be sure, there is a derivational distinction ò-/ò̄ (masc.) vs. à- (fem.) nouns (see chapter 7), e.g.,

ò-cíén (masc.), à-cíén (fem.) 'the last born of twins',

but this distinction does not appear to be fully productive nor is it accompanied by any kind of morphological agreement.

There is also no grammaticalized marking of definiteness or indefiniteness. Indefinite referents, both specific and non-specific, may be presented by móró 'some' (see 5.2.2), cf. (1), most commonly with non-existent referents, as in (2):

(1) gùènò móró tíê ì òt wá.
chicken some be PREP house 1.EX
'There is a chicken in our house.'

(2) gín mórò òpé.

thing some 3.be.NEG
'There is nothing.'

Number

While it may be possible to isolate some basic principles underlying the morphophonology of at least a part of Labwor nouns, number marking is on the whole highly idiosyncratic and is best treated as a lexical property of nouns; for a detailed discussion of the number affixes, see Storch (2005b).

Labwor is described by Storch (2005a; 2005b) as a fairly unusual Southern Lwoo language in that it has “retained as many suffixes as the more conservative Northern Lwoo languages, and keeps up the tripartite number-marking patterns of Western Nilotic” (2007: 10).

This tripartite pattern, however, does not exhaust the types of nominal number marking that are distinguished in Labwor; rather, it is most of all the following classes that we found (see also Storch 2005b):

(a) The number distinction is unmarked:⁵

dèricà (SG and PL) 'window'

tón (SG and PL) 'egg'

(b) Singular and plural are distinguished by tone:

tón, PL tòn 'spear'

(c) The plural is derived from the singular by a suffix:

búk, PL búké 'book'

⁵⁵ Depending on the noun concerned, “singular” and “plural” may stand, respectively, for singulative and collective or mass.

lúth, PL lúdhí 'stick'

(d) The singular (“singulative”) is derived from the plural by a suffix:

cùò, SG ècúò 'man'

gúén, SG gùènò 'chicken'

lÉ, SG lènì 'animal'

(e) Singular and plural take different suffixes:

àdèlá, PL àdèlí 'skin of a small animal'

òtòkâ, PL òtòkê 'car'

tùèlò, PL tùèlé 'leg'

(f) Singular and plural take different prefixes (and suffixes):

àṅwàlò, PL èṅwàlé 'lame person'

àthín, PL èthínò 'child'

òkónéì, PL ṅíkónéì 'friend'

(g) Singular and plural are not derivable from one another in a principled way:

àwóbí, PL èwòpè 'boy'

ànyáká, PL ènyírá 'girl'

(g) can be called a class of suppletives, even if singular and plural may be phonetically similar. But there are as well classic suppletives, such as

dhákó, PL món 'woman, wife'

yàth, PL yén 'tree'

This classification is a crude one; it ignores many phonetic and tonetic idiosyncrasies that are associated with number discrimination in addition. There are many nouns that are elusive to the above classification in exhibiting similarities to one of the classes distinguished even if one may hesitate to assign them to the relevant class on account of some unpredictable phonetic features. There are, however, some classes of nouns that exhibit a regular number behavior. This applies most of all to deverbal agent nouns, as in (1), and some ethnonyms (2), which both take their singular in *à-* and their plural in *è-*.

(1) à-lùòkò, PL è-lùòkò 'someone who washes' cf. lùòkò 'to wash'

à-tèdò, PL è-tèdò 'cook' cf. tèdò 'to cook'

à-túò, PL è-túò 'sick person' cf. tùò 'to be sick'

(2) à-kúmám, PL è-kúmám 'Teso or Kumam person'

à-lòk, PL è-lók 'Karimojong person'

(also: è-lókí)

à-théré, PL è-théré 'Lango person'

For generalizations on the meanings of number forms, see Storch (2005a; 2005b).

5.2 Modifiers

5.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstrative attributes are placed at the end of a noun phrase. The following demonstrative categories are distinguished:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
a n̄i	proximal	PROX
b nón, PL nón-ú	(a) near hearer (b) mentioned earlier	HEA
c cà	distal	DIST

The categories (a) and (b) may be shortened, resulting in the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see 2.2).

Examples

- a yáth n̄i *or* yá:dh-ì, PL yén n̄i *or* yé:n-î 'this tree (here)'
 lúth n̄i, PL lúdh̄i n̄i 'this stick'
- b yáth nón *or* yá:dh-ó, PL yén nón-ú 'that tree (near you,
 or mentioned earlier)'

dhók nón bèr. *or* dhó:g-ó bèr.
 cows HEA be.good
 'Those cows are good.'

c yáth cà, PL yén câ 'that tree (far away)'

lép 'dhíánj câ 'that cow tongue'

Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have participant status; three types are distinguished, consisting of the root elements *má-*, *gí-*, and *ká-* plus a demonstrative attribute:

	<i>Deictic</i>		<i>Thing</i>		<i>Place</i>	
a	mán	'this is'	gí-nì	'this one'	kány	'here'
b	má-nón	'that is'	gì-nón	'that one'	ká-nón	'there'
c	má-cá	'that is'			ká-cá	'there (far away)'

Examples

mán òbèdò mé màdhò càk.
PRON.PROX 3.be.PFV PREP drink.INF milk
'This is for drinking milk.'

én òṅèdò má- cá.
3.SG 3.know.PFV PRON- DIST
'He knows that one.'

àmító bèdò ká- nón.
1.SG.want.IMV be.INF LOC- HEA
'I want to be there (near you).'

5.2.2 Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and most quantifiers differ from adjectives in following their head noun without any formal linkage.

5.2.2.1 Numerals

Cardinal numerals follow their head noun and remain tonally stable, e.g.,

àñênò èthínò àdék.
 1.SG.see.IMV children three
 'I see three children.'

As the above example indicates, head nouns must be used in the plural (or collective) form when taking a numeral other than 'one' as their attribute.

The following is a list of cardinal numerals:

àcìèl	1	àpâr àcìèl	11, etc.
àrìò	2	pìr àrìò	20
àdék	3	pìr àdék	30, etc.
àṅwên	4	míá àcìèl	100
àbîc	5	míá àrìò	200, etc.
àbìcìèl	6	élip àcìèl	1000
àbíró	7	élip àpâr	10,000
àbôrò	8	élip míá	100,000
àbúṅwén	9	míliòn àcìèl	1,000,000
àpâr	10		

Example

élip àcìèl kì míá àṅwên kì pìr àdék wì àbîc
 1000 1 and 100 4 and 10.PL 3 on.top 5
 '1435'

Note that *pìr* is the plural of *àpâr* '10', while neither *míá* '100' nor *èlìp* '1000' have separate plural forms. As the example above illustrates, higher numerals are added with the comitative preposition *kì* 'with', while lower numerals within a decade are added with *wì* ('on top').

Ordinal numerals do not seem to be a well established category but may be formed using the purpose preposition *mé* as a linker followed by the cardinal numeral:

àthín mé . àcìél 'the first child'

àthín mé àrìò 'the second child'

àthín mé àgíkí 'the last child'

Example

án éné mé àrìò.

1.SG FOC PREP 2

'I am the second (child).'

To form distributive numerals, the reduplicated cardinal numeral is preceded by the locative marker *kà*:

gín óbìnò k- àcìél- àcìél.

gín óbìnò k- àrìò- àrìò.

3.PL 3.come.PFV LOC- 1/2- 1/2

'They came one by one/two by two.'

When used pronominally rather than attributively, a generic noun serving as a classifier tends to be used:

wán jó àdèk ècímó.

1.EX people 3 1.PL.eat. IMV.AP
'The three of us (will) eat.'

For arithmetic operations, *mèt kà* is used for addition and *kùàny* 'take away' for subtraction, while the equation marker is provided by either of the verbs *bèdò* 'be' or *bìnò* 'come (to)':

àrìò mèt k-àrìò béd(ó) àṅwên. '2 plus 2 is 4.'

or àrìò mèt k-àrìò bín(ó) àṅwên.

àṅwên kùàny àrìò bín(ó) àrìò. '4 minus 2 is 2'.

5.2.2.2 Quantifiers

The following quantifiers appear in our data:

kí'béc	'all'
kí'dúcú, dúcú	'all'
mókó	'a few'
móró	'some'
nónòk	'be few'
pól	'be many'

The quantifiers *pól* and *nónòk* resemble adjectives (see 5.2.3) and verbs (4.1) in being linked to the preceding noun with the relativizer *nà*. *móró* is used with both singular and plural referents, e.g.,

àmító yàth móró. 'I want some tree!'

àmító yén móró. 'I want some trees!'

mókó is preferred over *móró* when the relevant quantity is singled out as part of a whole, e.g.,

àmító dhòk mókó.
1.SG.want.IMV cows a.few
'I want some (out of those many) cows!'

Examples

ùdì kí'béc 'all houses'

ònù kí'béc 'all of us'

yén kí'dúú 'all trees'

or yén dúú

wán èmító bèdò nà pól.
1.EX 1.PL.want.IMV be.INF REL be.many
'We want to be many!'

ònù bá énnòk.
1.IN NEG 1.PL.be.few
'We are not few!'

5.2.3 Adjectives

The following is a list of common adjectives (or adjectival verbs):

ácàn, PL écàn	'poor'
bèr, PL bécò	'good'
bôr, PL bócò	'long, tall'
cíék, PL cíékò	'short'
cól, PL cól, cólè	'black'
dít, PL dít, dítò	'big'
dóṅò, PL dít, dítò	'big'
kwâr	'red'
niên	'new'
râc, PL récò	'bad'
târ	'white'
thúônè	'big'
(tí)tídí, PL tííné,	'small'

thínò

Examples

àthím nà râc	'a bad child'
èthínò nà récò	'bad children'

Adjectives share the following properties with verbs:

(a) They require a relative construction in order to modify nouns, cf. the following examples:

pì b̀èr. 'Water is good.'

pì nà b̀èr 'good water'

(b) They can form nominalizations, and

(c) like stative verbs they can only be used in the imperfective aspect.

Nevertheless, we follow Noonan (1992: 103-5) in his analysis of Lango in treating them as a category distinct from verb since unlike verbs

(d) they have an individual lexical tone,

(e) they lack infinitives and subjunctives, and

(f) many of them have suppletive number forms, i.e. the plural form cannot be predicted on the basis of the singular form, and vice versa.

ácàn 'poor' differs from other adjectives in being used without the relativizer *nà*:

dhá ácàn, PL món écàn 'poor woman'.

The quantifiers *pól* 'be many' and *nánǎk* 'be few' also behave like adjectives in that they take the relativizer *nà* to be used as nominal attributes (see 5.2.2).

To express aspectual distinctions with adjectives, the copular verb *bèdò* 'be' tends to be used:

kwâr. 'It is red.'

tiê kà bèdò nà kwâr. 'It is becoming red.'

tíê kà òbèdò nà kwâr. 'It has become red.'

The copula *bèdò* requires an adjectival complement to be treated as an adverb, that is, to be introduced by *nà*:

án bá àmító bèdò nà tídí.
1.SG NEG 1.SG.want.IMV be.INF REL small
'I don't want to be small.'

5.2.4 Attributive possession

Like with other nominal modifiers, attributive possessive modifiers follow their head noun. There is a basic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. The former is expressed by placing the particle *ká*, which most probably derives from 'place of' (Storch 2004: 372), between the possessee and the possessor noun phrase, while in inalienable possession there is no linking element between the two:

<i>Alienable</i>	<i>Inalienable</i>
òt kà dhákó	òt dhákó
house POSS woman	house woman
'house of a woman'	'women's house (where men have no access)'

Inalienable nouns are most of all body parts, parts of wholes, kinship terms, and things that are observed to regularly occur together:

wì dhìàŋ	'head of a cow'
head cow	
píén dhìàŋ	'cow hide'
hide cow	

tón gúénò 'chicken egg'
egg chicken

Nominal compounding

There does not appear to be a clear-cut boundary between inalienable possession and modifying nominal compounding: Both are marked by the juxtaposition of a head and its modifier. Thus, the following examples can be analyzed as instances of both attributive possession and of compounding:

wì òt 'roof of a house'
head house

wàŋ ôt 'window'
eye house

dél wàŋ 'eyelid'
skin eye

tón wàŋ 'eye, eyeball'
egg eye

Pronominal possession

The morphophonology of attributive pronominal possession is a complex matter and requires further research (see the detailed discussion on Lango in Noonan 1992: 77-83). The following example illustrates the basic paradigm:

1.SG òd-á 'my house'

2.SG	òd-í
3.SG	òd-è
1.EX	òd wá
1.IN	òd ónù
2.PL	òd wú
3.PL	òd gí

There is a second set of person markers which has a prefixed nasal element in the singular and in many cases is associated with alienable rather than inalienable possession; cf. the following examples:

	rìhò ná	'my meat'
vs.	rìhò kòm-á	'my flesh' (lit.: 'meat of my body')
	wì-á	'my head'

We will say that there is an “inalienable” and an “alienable” set of possessive person markers, which are:

	“Inalienable”	“Alienable”
1.SG	-á	ná
2.SG	-í	ní
3.SG	-è	mé(ré)
1.EX	wá	wá
1.IN	ónù	ónù
2.PL	wú	wú

3.PL	Gí	gí
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However, the nasal prefix is not restricted to alienable concepts, as the following examples may illustrate:

dhákó 'ná 'my wife'

wóló 'ná 'my cough'

àthín mètê 'his child'

Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by postposing the “inalienable” set of person markers to the prepositional root *még-* (before suffixes) or *mé-* (elsewhere):

1.SG még-á 'mine'

2.SG még-í 'yours'

1.SG még-é 'his, hers'

1.EX mé wá 'ours'

1.IN mé ónù 'ours'

2.PL mé wú 'yours'

3.PL mé gí 'theirs'

Example

àthín òbèdò még- á.

child 3.be.PFV PREP- 1.SG
 'The child is mine.'

5.2.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are introduced by the particle *nà* and occupy as a rule the last position in a noun phrase. We will return to them in section 10.2.

5.3 Pronouns and person markers

We mentioned demonstrative-based pronouns in section 5.2.1, and interrogative pronouns will be the subject of section 9.3.2. In the present section our concern is with personal deixis, that is, with person markers irrespective of whether they involve independent words, clitics, or affixes.

5.3.1 Person markers

Table 1 gives an overview of the different paradigms of person markers that need to be distinguished. For further distinctions, see chapter 4.

Table 1. Paradigms of person markers.

	Independent	Dependent		Possessive	
		Subject	Object	“Inalienable”	“Alienable”
1.SG	án	a-	-á	-á	ná
2.SG	ín	ɪ/i-	-í	-í	ní
3.SG	én	∅		-è	mé(ré)
1.EX	wán	ɛ/e-, wɛ-	wá	wá	wá
1.IN	ónú	ɛ/e-	ónú	ónù	ónù
2.PL	wún, wú'nú	ɪ/i-	wú	wú	wú
3.PL	gín, gímí	∅	gí	gí	gí

The third person singular pronoun *én* is strictly a human pronoun, that is, it may not be used to refer to non-human animates or inanimate items. Thus, (1) is correct if it refers to a person but not to some animal. The same does not apply to the third person plural pronoun *gí* in (2), which is not restricted to human referents.

- (1) *ànhèndò éni 'I see it (i.e. *gúók* 'the dog').'
 (2) ànhèndò gí 'I see them (i.e. *gùòṣṣì* 'the dogs').'

Nevertheless, *éni* occurs as a cataphoric pronoun for propositional contents:

éni rāc rùòk bà ókònyò àthín mèrê.
 3.SG be.bad very NEG 3.help.PFV child his
 'It is very bad that he didn't help his child.'

Instead of the exclusive first person plural prefix *ε/e-* there is occasionally the form *we-*, which is presumably a contraction of *wán + ε/e-*.

The inclusive pronoun *òni*

Labwor is somewhat unusual for a Western Nilotic language in having a distinction between an exclusive (EX) and an inclusive personal pronoun (IN), where the former excludes and the latter includes the hearer, e.g.,

éni ónhèndò wá. 'He has seen us (but not you).'
 éni ónhèndò ónú. 'He has seen us (including you).'

For example, in the following example, the use of the inclusive pronoun is ruled out for pragmatic reasons, since the hearer is obviously excluded:

kúr íciém kód 'wá!
 NEG.IMP 2.eat.AP PREP 1.EX
 'Don't eat with us!'

Note that the distinction inclusive vs. exclusive is restricted to independent pronouns, i.e., it does not occur with subject prefixes.

The inclusive pronoun *jò*

But there is also a second inclusive first person plural pronoun *jò* 'we (including you)'. Evidence from closely related Western Nilotic languages clearly suggests that this is a grammaticalized form of the noun *jò* 'people', and as the comparative evidence on grammaticalization shows (see Heine and Kuteva 2002), a similar process has occurred in a number of genetically unrelated languages across the world (cf. e.g. Portuguese *a gente* 'we', literally 'the people'). What is noteworthy about the Labwor pronoun is that it is very weakly grammaticalized, meaning that (a) it is never used as a subject pronoun and (b) only occasionally as an object pronoun, as in (1), and (c) only with a limited number of head nouns as a possessive attribute, as in (2). Furthermore, there is considerable variation among speakers as to whether its use is allowed or disallowed.

- (1) *én* *ónènò* *jò* (*or ónú*).
3.SG see.PFV.3.SG people
'He has seen us (including you).'

- (2) *èthínò* *jò*
children people
'our children (including yours)'

In the paradigms of person markers presented we are ignoring *jò* on account of its limited productivity.

Switch vs. non-switch reference

In complement clauses where the main clause takes an utterance or cognition verb there is a distinction between a logophoric and an anaphoric form depending on whether the subject of the main clause and of the complement clause have different (DS) or the same referents (SS). In the former case, the ordinary subject pronouns are used while in the latter case there is a

special inflectional construction whose third person prefixal exponent is *ε/e-* in the following examples (see Noonan 1992: 225-6 for a similar distinction in Lango):

món	òkòbò	ní	bìnô	gímí.	DS
women	3.say.PFV	COMPL	come	3.PL	
'The women said that they (not themselves) would come.'					

món	òkòbò	ní	è-	bìnô	gímí.	SS
women	3.say.PFV	COMPL	3.SS-	come	3.PL	
'The women said that they (themselves) would come.'						

5.3.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

Both reflexive and reciprocal functions are expressed by the verbal suffix *-εr-ê* (or *-ε*) which is a dominant [-ATR] suffix (see 2.2) inflected for person:

(án) à-nêndò 'I see (him)'

vs.

(án) à-nêndò-r-â 'I see myself'

(ín) ì-nèndò-r-î 'you see yourself'

(én) ó-nèndò-r-ê 'she/he sees herself/himself, etc.'

òkélò lúókó bòŋ. 'Okelo washes clothes.'

Okelo wash.IMV clothes

vs.

òkélò lúók- èr-ê. 'Okelo washes himself.'

Okelo wash-REFL

As in nearly one third of the languages of the world, the category forms a continuum of the following kind (see Heine and Miyashita 2008):

- (a) With singular subject referents it denotes reflexivity only, cf. (1).
- (b) With plural referents it is usually ambiguous between its reflexive and reciprocal uses (2).
- (c) With symmetric verbs, such as 'kiss' or 'meet', and some other verbs the category can only express reciprocity (3):

(1) én ónèk- èrê.
 3.SG 3.kill.PFV- REFL
 'He killed himself.'

(2) gín ónèk- èrê.
 3.PL 3.kill.PFV- REFL
 a 'They killed themselves.'
 b 'They killed each other.'

(3) èrùàt- èrê.
 1.PL.meet- REFL
 'We met (each other).'

In addition to this inflectional expression for reciprocity there is also a lexical form, namely *ɲàt-àciél-àciél* ('person-one-one'), which is introduced by a preposition (1) or the "alienable" possessive marker *kà* (2):

(1) gín fíó pì ɲàt-àciél-àciél.
 3.PL work.IMV PREP RECI
 'They work for each other.'

- (2) gín máró àcúló kà ɲàt-àcìél-àcìél.
 3.PL like.IMV beads POSS RECI
 'They like each other's beads.'

Intensifier

Frequently, the reflexive marker is accompanied by an intensifier, whose use tends to highlight the role of the subject referent. There are three different particles that serve as intensifiers in specific contexts:

- (a) kékén 'alone, only'

- gín mâr- é kékén gî.
 or gín mâr- é kèŋ gî.
 3.PL like- REFL only 3.PL.POSS
 'They like *themselves* (or *each other*).'

- (b) kéné 'alone'

- én ónèk- èrê.
 or én ónèk- èrê kéné.
 3.SG 3.kill.PFV- REFL alone
 'He (himself) killed himself.'

- (c) kì kóm 'with body'

- án kí kóm- à éné àyâbò dhógólà.
 1.SG PREP body- 1.SG FOC 1.SG.open.IMV door
 'It is I myself who opens the door.'

gín kí kôm 'gí.
 3.PL PREP body 3.PL.POSS
 'They are the ones.'

5.3.3 “Middle voice”

In addition to its reflexive and reciprocal functions, the verbal suffix *-èrê* is also used as an anticausative or “middle voice” marker, where the underlying patient has the function of a subject and the agent remains unexpressed:

àyâbò	dhógólà.	'I open the door.'
1.SG.open.IMV	door	
vs.		
dhógólà	àyàb- èrê.	'The door has been opened.'
door	3.open.PFV-REFL	
lép thùr	òjè- rê.	
Labwor.language	3.know.PFV- REFL	
'The Labwor language is known.'		

In many of its uses, the “middle voice” has a potential meaning ('can be done/can happen'), e.g.,

píŋ	tíê kà	púódh.
ground	PROG	be.slippery
'The ground is slippery.'		
vs.		
píŋ	púódh- èrê.	
ground	be.slippery- REFL	

'The ground can be slippery (therefore be aware!).'

As the above example shows, the suffix *-èrê* is not restricted to transitive verbs; cf. also the following example:

én túô 'he is sick'

vs.

én tíê kà tùò- rê.

3.SG PROG be.sick.INF- REFL

'He's becoming sick.'

6 The adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases consist either of a combination of a preposition plus noun (6.1) or an adverb (6.2). The former is preferentially placed clause-finally while adverbs are highly variable in their placement. There is some freedom in the placement of prepositional phrases relative to each other:

gín ócìdhò bóth- é k- ótòkà.

3.PL 3.go.PFV PREP- 3.SG.POSS PREP- car

or

gín ócìdhò k- ótòkà bóth- é.

3.PL 3.go.PFV PREP- car PREP- 3.SG.POSS

'They went to him with a car.'

6.1 Prepositions

We will distinguish loosely between primary and complex prepositions.

6.1.1 Primary prepositions