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A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

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A grammar of Lumun
a Kordofanian language of Sudan

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Abbreviations and symbols

NB: Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses are in small capitals.

1	first person singular
12	first and second person singular
1A	first person plural exclusive
12A	first person plural inclusive
2	second person singular
2A	second person plural
3	third person singular
3A	third person plural
a.o.	amongst others
ABS	absolute form
adj.	adjective
ASS	associative element
ALLOW	particle expressing allowance (-na)
app.	appendix
ATT	particle claiming the attention of the hearer (-a)
BEN	benefactive suffix
C	concord
C	consonant
CAUS1	causative suffix -ε
CAUS2	causative suffix -ɛ
cf.	compare with (confer)
COMPL	completive TAM-stem
CONJ	conjunctive particle (á-)
COP	copula (C-á)
DEP	dependent verb form
DEPCOMPL	dependent completive TAM-stem
DEPINCOMPL	dependent incompletive TAM-stem
DEPPRFV	dependent perfective TAM-stem
DIM	diminutive prefix (ŋa-)
DIST	distal
e.g.	for example (Latin: <i>exempli gratia</i>)
e.o.	each other
excl	exclusive
fr.	from

XXII

g.	gemination
HRT12	hortative pronoun, first and second person singular
HRT12A	hortative pronoun, first person plural inclusive
i.e.	that is (Latin: id est)
IMP	imperative TAM-stem
incl	inclusive
INCOMPL	incompletive TAM-stem
intr.	intransitive
INTS	intensifying
IRR	irrealis
IT	itive
ITVEN	itive or ventive (depending on context)
k.o.	kind of
lit.	literally
LOC	pragmatic locative proclitic (cí k-)
LOCAPP	locative applicative suffix
n.	noun
N	nasal consonant
NEARSP	near speaker
NEARADDR	near addressee
NEG	negation marker
NOM	nominalization
NP	noun phrase
num	numeral
o1	first person singular object
o12 (etc.)	first and second person singular object
o ₂ 2 (etc.)	second person singular as second object
obj.	object
PASS1	passive suffix -(a)kɔ
PASS2	passive suffix -(V)tta
PASS3	passive suffix -(u)ra
PCL	pronoun clitic
PERS	persona prefix (ʒ-)
pl.	plural
PL	plural suffix (-ŋʂn)
PLC	plural noun class prefix
PLR	plural agreement marked through reduplication
PLUR	pluractional

POSS1	first person possessor
POSS12 (etc.)	first and second person singular possessor
PPC	prepositional proclitic
PR	present TAM-stem
p.redup	partial reduplication
PRO	common noun subject pronominal clitic
PROBS	pronominal base
PROP	particle expressing proposal (- mé)
PST	past TAM-stem
Q	polar question particle (- ɪ)
QW	question word marker (- ṭa)
REC1	reciprocal suffix -(a) rɔ
REC2	reciprocal suffix - ttɔ
RECOV	information recovery particle (- a)
RECOVIN	informal information recovery particle (- ɛ)
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relative word
RES	restrictor (í -)
sg.	singular
SGC	singular noun class prefix
sp.	species
SUBJ	subjunctive particle (â -)
subj.	subject
Sud. Ar.	Sudanese Arabic
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
tr.	transitive
UNCERT	interjection expressing uncertainty (cuŋ)
URG	particle expressing urgency (- mɛ)
v.	verb
V	vowel
VEN	ventive
VREF	vague reference particle cɪk
vs.	versus
/ /	phonemic presentation
[]	phonetic presentation
< >	orthographic presentation
*	ungrammatical; unattested item; item in protolanguage

XXIV

Some further explanation about glossing conventions is provided in chapter 1.13.

13. Pluractionals

Pluractional verbs share a grammatical function: they denote, in one way or another, event plurality. In Lumun, all non-Pluractional verbs have one or more Pluractional counterparts. There is not one single morpheme, nor one single process that derives Pluractional verbs from non-Pluractionals. Instead, non-Pluractionals and Pluractionals relate to each other in different ways. These relationships, however, display patterns, and the far majority of Pluractionals share one or more formal features that are typically (but not exclusively) found in Pluractionals.

I will call those verbs Pluractionals that are in a paradigmatic relationship to a non-Pluractional counterpart and express event plurality as part of their lexical meaning. Semantically, I distinguish between non-habitual pluractionality and habitual pluractionality. I use the label Pluractional for both, since there are no clear morphological divisions between the two semantic types.

Non-habitual Pluractionals are a restricted set. Habitual Pluractionals on the other hand, can in principle be productively (and creatively) be made on the basis of a non-Pluractional or a non-habitual Pluractional. Also habitual Pluractionals themselves often serve as a basis for a further habitual Pluractional, particularly along the lines of certain patterns that will be exemplified in this chapter.

In the first part below, I explore the formal characteristics of Pluractionals, in the second part I address their meaning and use.

13.1. Form

In virtually all cases, the same root appears in the non-Pluractional and the Pluractional stems. Pluractional stems have certain formal characteristics. The far majority contain one or more of the following features:

- a geminated consonant (CC)
- a nasal-consonant sequence (NC)
- a (underlyingly) long initial vowel and a L-tone pattern
- a reduplicated part
- a final or last vowel ϵ .

The table below gives an overview of formal relations between non-Pluractional and Pluractional stems. The table presents patterns of generation of CC and NC sequences and of partial reduplication. Length of the initial vowel (relationship 12) is in most cases not audible in the isolated stem, but comes to the surface when the initial vowel receives a H-tone, because the H-tone is realized as falling. Some relationships between non-Pluractionals and Pluractionals seem more frequent than others: partial reduplication and gemination (6) and final or last vowel ϵ (13). The latter however, is rare as the only feature distinguishing between non-Pluractional and Pluractional. Attested combinations are listed in the last column.

Table 92 Form features of Pluractionals

<i>characteristic form features of Pluractionals</i>		<i>relationship Pluractional/non-Pluractional</i>	<i>combines with¹:</i>
CC	1	Gemination of t , k , a nasal or a rhotic	12, 13
	2	insertion of ll between vowels	13
	3	insertion of (V) tt before the final or last vowel	13
	4	insertion of ukk(w) before the final or last vowel	12
	5	addition of $\text{cc}\epsilon$ after the final or last vowel	
reduplicated part and CC	6	partial reduplication and gemination: $\text{VC} \Rightarrow \text{VC-VCC}$, or $\text{VNC} \Rightarrow \text{VNC-VCC}$	

¹ Still further combinations are attested, but verbs with such combinations are labelled 'further Pluractionals': Pluractionals based on already Pluractional stems (see 13.1.1).

NC	7	insertion of a homorganic obstruent (p, t, c) after a nasal (m, n, ɲ)	12, 13
	8	insertion of a homorganic nasal (ŋ) before k	12
	9	insertion of ɲc between vowels	13
	10	addition of ɛnt before final or last vowel ɛ	12
reduplicated part	11	partial reduplication: VC ⇒ VC-VC, or VCC ⇒ VCC-VCC	
initial VV (or V at surface) + all-low tones	12	lengthening of the initial vowel and application of an all-low tone pattern	1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 13
final or last vowel ɛ	13	final or last vowel ɛ where counterpart has final or last ɔ	1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 12

Non-habitual and habitual meanings are distributed across the patterns, though for a few minor patterns, and one larger pattern (pattern 12) only the one or the other is attested.

Examples of the different formal relationships follow here. Habitual Pluractionals are translated with ‘habitually x’, the others are non-habitual. I have used the term ‘plural’ (‘pl.’) in translations of non-habitual Pluractionals (‘pl. subject participants’ and ‘pl. object participants’), but in several of these cases ‘plural’ refers to ‘many’ rather than to ‘more than one’, moreover distributive semantics may be involved as well. Some non-Pluractional verbs have several Pluractional counterparts that are formed through different procedures, as can be seen in the list below. Examples are ‘say’ (relationship types 2 and 6 from the table above), ‘be’ (2 and 6), ‘steal’ (6 and 11) and ‘descend’ (9 and 11). In the case of ‘say’ the different Pluractionals have different meanings.

Relationship type 1. Gemination of **t̚, k**, a nasal or a rhotic.

Gemination of [r] between vowels can give **rr** but also **tt**. The first is the case if **r** is the phoneme /r/, the latter if **r** is the intervocalic

allophone of /t/. Occasionally **r** geminates as **ll**. In such cases, it is likely that **r** has formerly been **ṛ**. Geminated **ṛṛ** is not attested: gemination of **ṛ** results most often in **ll**, but sometimes in **rr**.

ṛṛəkāt cīk ‘swell’	ṛṛṛəkāt cīk ‘swell (pl. subject participants)’ (also 12)
əkā ‘be’	ṛkka ‘habitually be’ (also 12)
ṛmākōt ‘follow’	ṛmmākōt ‘habitually follow’ (also 12)
ṛnā ‘bring’	ṛnnā ‘habitually bring’
ṛrā ‘cultivate’	ṛrrā ‘habitually cultivate’ (also 12)
ṛkēro ‘trade’	ṛkétte ‘trade (pl. object participants)’ (also 13)
ṛṇōro ‘eat (a paste substance)’	ṛṇólle ‘habitually eat (a paste substance)’ (also 13)
arō cīk ‘sleep, spend night’	alle cīk ‘habitually sleep, spend night’ (also 13)
ṛṛṛtta ‘be eaten’	ṛrrṛtta ‘be eaten (pl. subject participants)’

I mention here also a case in which there is a change from **ṛ** to **r**, though the Pluractional verb does not contain a geminate. Note also that the initial vowels differ.

ṛṛe ‘say’	ere ‘say, speak (a longer stretch of speech)’
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Relationship types 2-4. Insertion of **ll** between vowels (2); insertion of (V)**tt** before final or last vowel (3); insertion of **ukk(w)** before final or last vowel (4).

ro ‘die’	ille ‘die (pl. subject participants)’ (also 13)
ṛṛōt ‘send’	ṛṛllet ‘send (pl. object participants)’ (also 13)
ṛṇāeō ‘urinate’	ṛṇalle ‘urinate (pl. subject participants), urinate repeatedly’ (also 13)
arṇwōt ‘guard’	arṇottet ‘habitually guard’ (also 13)
arṇwō ‘sing’	arṇotte ‘habitually sing’ (also 13)
ṛkākō ‘grind’	ṛkākotte ‘habitually grind’ (also 13)
ṛkkōt ‘do, make’	ṛkkōttet ‘habitually do, make’ (also 13)
ṛkkō ‘pass, reach’	ṛkkōtte ‘habitually pass, reach’ (also 13)
arṇpō ‘pass, appear’	arṇpōtte ‘habitually pass, appear’ (also 13)

apɔ ‘fall’	apɔkk(w)ɔ ‘fall with several bumps’
aɔ ‘come’	aɔkk(w)ɔ ‘come (pl. subject participants)’
ɔkékɔ ‘be shaved’	ɔkɛɔkk(w)ɔ ‘habitually be shaved’ (also 12)

In **ɔkɛɔkk(w)ɔ** ‘habitually be shaved’ (last example above) **ɔkk(w)** replaces the second **k** of **ɔkékɔ** which is part of the Passive marker -**kɔ** (**ɔkê** ‘shave’/ **ɔkékɔ** ‘be shaved’)

Relationship type 5. Addition of **ccɛ** after final or last vowel.

ɔkə́tɔ ‘look’	ɔkə́taccɛ ‘watch’
ɔɔ ‘cry’	ɔɔccɛ ‘habitually cry’

Relationship types 6 and 11. Partial reduplication and gemination: VC ⇒ VC-VCC, VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC (6); Partial reduplication VC ⇒ VC-VC, VCC ⇒ VVC-VCC (11). Partial reduplication of VC without gemination (VC ⇒ VC-VC) is a relatively rare process.

In the reduplicated part the high vowels (**i**, **ɪ**, **u**, **ʊ**) are often copied, but not in all cases. The vowel **ə** is mostly copied, but can also be **ɛ** in reduplication. **ɛ** and **a** can be copied, but can also appear as **ə**. The vowel **ɔ** is never copied. Instead, one often finds **ə** in the reduplicated part, but other vowels also appear.

VC ⇒ VC-VCC

ɪtɔ ‘cook’	ɪtattɔ ‘habitually cook’
ɪɪkɔ ‘enter’	ɪɪkɪkkɔ ‘enter (pl. subject participants)’
ɪɪkɔ ‘tie’	ɪɪkɪkkɔ ‘tie with several windings, tie (pl. object participants)’
ɔkəɾɔ ‘bite’	ɔkəɾellɔ ‘bite repeatedly, eat (hard foods), bite (pl. subject participants)’
ɔɾɪkɪɛ ‘make not see’	ɔɾɪllɪkɪɛ ‘make not see (pl. (causee) object participants)’
ɪɾɛ ‘say (one utterance)’	ɪɾille ‘habitually say (one utterance)’
ɔkwáɾɪkɔt ‘recall instantly’	ɔkwáɾəttɪkɔt ‘remember, think’
ɔrékɔ ‘work’	ɔɾəttekɔ ‘habitually work’

In **ɪt̪at̪ta** the vowel **ɪ** corresponds to **a** in the reduplicated part. In **ɔk̪ɔɾɛllɔ** the H-tone occurs one mora to the left as compared to its non-Pluractional counterpart.

VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC

unta ‘fall and spread out (for example of water)’

untutta ‘fall and spread out (pl. subj. participants, scattering)’

ɔnt̪oma ‘become dry’ **ɔnt̪ətt̪oma** ‘habitually become dry’

VCC ⇒ VVC-VCC

ɔpp̪at̪ ‘become full’

ɔpp̪əpp̪at̪ ‘become full (pl. subject participants)’

itt̪at̪ ‘become fat’

itt̪itt̪at̪ ‘become fat (pl. subject participants)’

itt̪e ‘escort’

itt̪itt̪e ‘escort, help walk (requiring repeated effort)’

ɔcc̪ɔk̪ət̪ ‘catch’

ɔcc̪ɛcc̪ɔk̪ət̪ ‘catch (pl. object participants, typically thrown one by one and then caught one by one)’

akk̪arɔ ‘call’

akk̪əkk̪arɔ ‘call repeatedly, read’

ɔcc̪ikk̪arɔ ‘plant’

ɔcc̪ikk̪ikk̪arɔ ‘habitually plant’

mma ‘see’

mm̪mma ‘habitually see’

A case is also attested of reduplication followed by degemination of the root part (assuming that reduplication operates to the right):

ikk̪ɔ ‘drink’

ikk̪ikk̪ɔ ‘habitually drink’

VC ⇒ VC-VC (far less frequent than VC ⇒ VC-VCC).

ɔt̪ɔ ‘pull’

ɔt̪ɔt̪ɔ ‘pull repeatedly’

ɔk̪ɛ ‘shave’

ɔk̪ɛk̪ɛ ‘habitually shave’

ɔm̪ɔɲɛ ‘steal’

ɔm̪ɔɲɛɲɛ ‘habitually steal’

Relationship types 7-10. Insertion of a homorganic obstruent (**p**, **t**, **c**) after nasal (**m**, **n**, **ɲ**) (7); insertion of a homorganic nasal (**ɲ**) before **k** (8); Insertion of **ɲc** between vowels (9); insertion of **ent** before a final

or last vowel *ɛ* (10). The latter case could also be interpreted as addition of *nte* after a final or last vowel *ɛ*.

Pluractional *ɔŋwɔ̃* ‘kill (pl. object participants)’, which relates to non-Pluractional *ɔkkwɔ̃t* ‘kill’, may be a case of insertion of *ŋ* before *kk* and subsequent deletion of *kk*. The pair is a rare example of presence versus absence of final *t*. Generally, final *t* is either present or absent in both.

<i>ɔmɔ̃ne</i> ‘miss’	<i>ɔmpɔ̃ne</i> ‘habitually miss’ (also 12)
<i>ɔno</i> ‘pour’	<i>ɔnte</i> ‘pour repeatedly’ (also 13)
<i>ɔŋáno</i> ‘say a name’	<i>ɔŋante</i> ‘enumerate, count’ (also 12)
<i>ɔno</i> ‘build’	<i>ɔnte</i> ‘habitually build’ (also 13)
<i>ɔkíno</i> ‘defecate’	<i>ɔkínɛ</i> ‘habitually defecate’ (also 13)
<i>ɔkɛ́rɔt</i> ‘squeeze’	<i>ɔŋkɛ́rɔt</i> ‘squeeze repeatedly’ (also 12)
<i>ɔkɔ̃ne</i> ‘show’	<i>ɔŋkɔ̃ne</i> ‘show (pl. object participants), teach’ (also 12)
<i>ɔkkwɔ̃t</i> ‘kill’	<i>ɔŋwɔ̃</i> ‘kill (pl. object participants)’
<i>ɔt</i> ‘find’	<i>ɔ̃ɛt</i> ‘find (pl. object participants)’ (also 13)
<i>ɔɔ̃</i> ‘throw (a stone) at’	<i>ɔ̃ɔ̃ɛɔ̃</i> ‘throw (plural stones) at’
<i>ɛɔ̃</i> ‘go’	<i>ɔ̃ɛ̃ɛ</i> ‘habitually go’ (also 13)
<i>ɔ́íne</i> ‘go to’	<i>ɔ̃ɛ̃ɛíne</i> ‘habitually go to’
<i>ɔɔ̃</i> ‘descend’	<i>ɔ̃ɛ̃ɛ</i> ‘habitually descend’ (also 13)
<i>ime</i> ‘wash’	<i>imɛ̃te</i> ‘habitually wash’
<i>ɔmê</i> ‘tell, say’	<i>ɔmɛ̃te</i> ‘habitually tell, say’ (also 12)

In the case of *ɛɔ̃* ‘go’/ *ɔ̃ɛ̃ɛ* ‘always go’ (insertion of *ɛ̃* between vowels) the initial vowels differ.

Relationship type 11. See above, under *Relationship types 6 and 11*

Relationship type 12. (Underlying) length of the initial vowel and application of an all-low tone pattern.

Length of the initial vowel is not always audible. It is usually audible when it is the only feature distinguishing between the non-Pluractional and the Pluractional stem. In other cases, length of the vowel may only be recognized when it receives a H-tone: this H-tone is realized as a falling tone, reflecting the vowel's bimoraicity. I write a long vowel when it is the only distinguishing feature between a non-Pluractional and a Pluractional (or between a Pluractional and a further Pluractional).

ua 'rise'	uua 'habitually rise every'
uɔ 'descend'	uɔɔ 'habitually descend'
ɔmɔɲɛ 'steal'	ɔmɔɲɛ 'habitually steal'
ɔkâ 'be'	ɔka 'habitually be'

ɔmɔɲɛ 'steal' also has a Pluractional with partial reduplication (relationship 11, see 6 and 11).

Relationship type 13. Final or last vowel *ɛ* where the counterpart has final or last *ɔ*. Only one case is attested for which this is the only difference:

ɔkkwɔ 'hit'	ɔkkwɛ 'beat, hit repeatedly'
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Some further, occasional relationships are attested between Pluractionals and non-Pluractionals; several of these are suppletive.

ɛɛ 'stab, blow'	ɔkɔntɔ 'blow repeatedly'
ɔkɔ 'cut'	ɔkɛccɛ 'cut repeatedly'
ɔppɔ 'take an amount'	ɔppɔɛ 'take an amount repeatedly'
ɛtɛt 'give'	ɪkkɛt 'give (pl. object participants)'
ɔmmɔ 'take, pick up'	ɔcɔmmɔ 'take, pick up (pl. object participants)'
ɪpɔ 'dig, collect'	ɪtte 'habitually dig, habitually collect'

Note that the Pluractional ɔcɔmmɔ does not have any of the formal features that are typically found in Pluractionals.

13.1.1. Further Pluractionals: Pluractionals based on Pluractional stems

In many cases, one or more further Pluractionals can be formed on the basis of an already Pluractional verb, in particular along the lines of partial reduplication $VCC \Rightarrow VCC-VCC$ (11) (sometimes $VC \Rightarrow VC-VC$), and partial reduplication and gemination $VNC \Rightarrow VNC-VCC$ (6). Another process that often applies is (underlying) lengthening of the initial vowel and change from a L.H.L* tone pattern to an all-low tone (12). Relationship types 11 and 12 can occur together. Still more relationships are occasionally attested. Relationships between Pluractionals and further Pluractionals are exemplified below. The most common relationships (the reduplicating patterns 11 and 6, depending on the shape of the Pluractional base verb, and pattern 12 (lengthening of the initial vowel and application of a L-tone pattern) are presented first.

Relationship type 11: Partial reduplication $VCC \Rightarrow VCC-VCC$

Table 93 Pluractionals and Further Pluractionals

<i>Pluractionals (non-habitual and habitual meaning)</i>	<i>Further Pluractionals (habitual meaning)</i>
ɔppɔppat ‘become full (pl. subj. participants)’	ɔppɔppɔppat (11), also: ɔppɔppat (12) / ɔppɔppɔppat (11, 12)
ɔppɔrɛ ‘take an amount repeatedly’	ɔppɔppɔrɛ (11)
ɔkɔtte ‘trade several items’	ɔkɔttɔtte (11)
ɔkákɔtte ‘habitually grind’	ɔkákɔttɔtte (11)
ɪtte ‘habitually dig, habitually collect’	ɪttɪtte (11)
ɔkwárəttíkɔt ‘remember, think’	ɔkwárəttəttíkɔt (11), also: ɔkwarəttíkɔt (12) / ɔkwarəttəttíkɔt (11, 12)
anɔttɪt ‘habitually guard’	anɔttɔttɪt (11)
ɔɲállɛ ‘urinate (pl. subj. participants)’	ɔɲálləllɛ (11), also: ɔɲallɛ (12) / ɔɲalləllɛ (11, 12)
ɔtɪllet ‘send (pl. obj. participants)’	ɔtɪllillet (11), also: ɔtɪllet (12) / ɔtɪllillet (11, 12)

apukk(w)ɔ ‘fall with several bumps’	apukkukk(w)ɔ (11)
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In **apukkukk(w)ɔ** ‘habitually fall with several bumps’ **kkw** is delabialized before **ʊ**: **apukk-ukk(w)-ɔ**.²

In the following cases it is the pluractional ending **ccɛ** that is reduplicated. The case of **ɔkɛccɛ** ‘cut repeatedly’ and **ɔkɛccɛccɛ**, **ɔkɛccɛccɛ** ‘habitually cut’ could also be interpreted as involving reduplication of **ɛcc**.

ɔccɛ ‘habitually cry’	ɔccɛccɛ (partial redup)
ɔkɛtaccɛ ‘watch’	ɔkɛtaccɛccɛ (partial redup)
	also: ɔkɛtaccɛ (12) and ɔkɛtaccɛccɛ (partial redup, 12)
ɔkɛccɛ ‘cut repeatedly’	ɔkɛccɛccɛ (partial redup)
	also: ɔkɛccɛ (12), and ɔkɛccɛccɛ (partial redup, 12)

Partial reduplication VC ⇒ VC-VC

ɔtɔtɔ ‘pull repeatedly’	ɔtɔtɔtɔ (11)
	also: ɔtɔtɔ (12) and ɔtɔtɔtɔ (11, 12)
ɔkɛkɛ ‘habitually shave’	ɔkɛkɛkɛ (11)
	also: ɔkɛkɛ (12) and ɔkɛkɛkɛ (11, 12)

Though there is no restriction on sequences of the type VCC-VCC, there is degemination of the first part in some cases: VCC ⇒ VC-VCC:

ɪkkɛt ‘give (pl. object participants)’	ɪkɪkkɛt
ɔkkwɛ ‘beat, hit repeatedly’	ɔkɔkkwɛ

The same type of relationship was seen between **ɪkkɔ** ‘drink’ and **ɪkɪkkɔ** ‘habitually drink’.

Relationship type 6: partial reduplication and gemination on the basis of a stem with NC combination (VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC)

² That is, in the speech of JS, possibly not in the speech of NaA (see 2.1.2).

In the following case relationship 6 is applied as $VC \Rightarrow VC-VCC$:

also: ʁɪllɪkɪɛ (12) / ʁɪllɪkɪkkɪɛ (6, 12)

ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆡᆫ ᄇᆡᆫᆸᆡᆫ ‘habitually steal’ **ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆡᆫ** (12)

$$\mathfrak{a}k\mathfrak{r}nc\mathfrak{e} \quad (12)$$

also: **ǎkírɕiceɕe** (6) and **ǎkírɕiceɕe** (6, 12)

øtillst (12)

also: **ɔtɪllilɪet** (11) and **ɔtɪllilɪet** (11, 12)

ʒkəʁɛllə 'bite repeatedly, eat (hard foods), bite (pl. subject participants)' ʒkəʁɛllə (12)

also: ɤkəɾelluttə (3) and ɤkəɾelluttə (3, 12)

၁၇၁၁ ‘kill (pl. object participants)’ ၁၇၁၁၁ (3, 13)

also: ᾠπυττῦττε (3, 13, 11)

Relationship type 1: gemination of t, k, a nasal or rhotic:

ɔka ‘habitually be’ **ɔkka** (1)

also: **ɔkakka** (6) (VC $\Rightarrow$ VC-VCC)

Relationship type 10: addition of **nte** after a final or last vowel **ε**.

ερε ‘speak (a longer stretch of speech)’ **ερεnte** (10)
also: **ερεntette** (10, 6)

The following case is a case of suppletion. It is reminiscent of relationship 10 since it ends in **nte**, but instead of coming after a final or last vowel **ε** the element **nte** replaces part of the stem:

εεόμο ‘take, pick up (pl. object participants)’ **εεόντε** (suppletion)
also: **εεόνtette** (6, VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC)

13.2. Meaning

Lumun Pluractionals can be divided into non-habitual and habitual Pluractionals. The non-habitual ones express plurality within the (bounded) context of an event. The habitual ones express (unbounded) habitual events or repeatedly reoccurring events.

Further Pluractionals (Pluractionals based on an already Pluractional stem) have habitual meaning, regardless of whether the Pluractional base verb has habitual or non-habitual meaning.

Non-habitual Pluractionals can express different types of plurality. They typically denote that an action or event consists of many sub-actions or sub-events, rather than just two or three. This is a tentative list of types of semantics of non-habitual Pluractionals:

1. Verbs that express repetition within one activity. They can be intransitive, or transitive with action upon a single object participant;
2. Verbs that inherently take some time due to continued effort, particularly sensory or mental processes;
3. Verbs that express action upon (distributed) plural object participants;

4. Verbs that express action carried out or undergone by (distributed) plural subject participants.

Examples follow here. Some verbs can, in the right context, express more than one sub-type of non-habitual plurality. The type numbers are mentioned between parentheses.

1. Verbs that express repetition within one activity. When transitive, they express repetitive action, typically upon a single object participant. Both the subject and object participants can have singular reference.

ṛṛṛkṵ ‘tie’	ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛkṵ ‘tie sth. while winding the rope several times’ (1), also: ‘tie several things’ (3)
ṛṛṛkwṵ ‘hit’	ṛṛṛkwṵ ‘beat, hit repeatedly’ (1)
ṛṛṛṣ ‘pull’	ṛṛṛṣṣ ‘pull repeatedly’ (1)
ṛṛṛ ‘stab, blow’	ṛṛṛṣṣṣ ‘stab repeatedly, blow repeatedly’ (1)
ṛṛṛ ‘pour’	ṛṛṛṣṣ ‘pour repeatedly’ (1) (for example water or tea, often locational distribution)
ṛṛṛṛṛ ‘call’	ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘call repeatedly’ (1), also: ‘read’ (2)
ṛṛṛṛṛ ‘bite’	ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘bite repeatedly in a hard or crisp item’ (1), also: ‘bite on several small, hard or crisp items’ (3), also: ‘bite in a hard or crisp item (pl. subject participants)’ (4)

2. Verbs that inherently take some time due to continued effort, particularly sensory or mental processes.

ṛṛṛṣṣ ‘look’	ṛṛṛṣṣṣ ‘watch’ (2)
ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘recall instantly’	ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘remember, think’ (2)
ṛṛṛ ‘say (one utterance)’	ṛṛṛṣṣ ‘speak (a longer stretch of speech)’ (2)

3. Verbs that express action upon (distributed) plural object participants.

ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘say a name’	ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘enumerate, count’ (3)
ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘show’	ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ ‘show (pl. object participants), teach’ (3)

၁၃ ‘throw at (typically in order to chase away)’	
	၁၃၀၃ ‘throw at (pl. object participants, typically stones, one by one)’ (3)
၁၃၁ ‘kill’	၁၃၁၁ ‘kill (pl. object participants)’ (3)
၁၃၂ ‘send’	၁၃၂၂ ‘send (pl. object participants: one by one or group by group)’ (3)
၁၃၃ ‘trade’	၁၃၃၃ ‘trade (pl. object participants: one by one or group by group, involving several transactions)’ (3)

4. Verbs that express action carried out or undergone by (distributed) plural subject participants. These verbs are intransitive. They include some (inchoative) state verbs and verbs that refer to processes concerning the body, but also others. Use of the Pluractional verb in case of a plural participant is not strictly obligatory in these cases (this will be explained further below).

၁၃၄ ‘become fat’	၁၃၄၄ ‘become fat (pl. subj. participants)’ (4)
၁၃၅ ‘become full’	၁၃၅၅ ‘become full (pl. subj. participants)’ (4)
၁၃၆ ‘get pregnant’	၁၃၆၆ ‘get pregnant (pl. subj. participants)’ (4)
၁၃၇ ‘die’	၁၃၇၇ ‘die (pl. subj. participants)’ (4)
၁၃၈ ‘urinate’	၁၃၈၈ ‘urinate once (pl. subj. participants)’ (4), also: ‘urinate repeatedly’ (1)
၁၃၉ ‘come’	၁၃၉၉, ၁၃၉၉၁ ‘come (pl. subj. participants: one by one or group by group)’ (4)

The different uses of non-habitual Pluractionals can be illustrated by means of the verb ‘bite’. The non-habitual Pluractional of ‘bite’, ၁၃၉၉၉, expresses plural (sub-) events of biting. It is used for eating hard and dry food which requires repeated (audible) biting, as does the very hard *cupu*-fruit:

m-p-၁၃၉၉၉.t c

1-C-bite.PLUR:COMPL

fruit(k.o.)

I have eaten a *cupu*-fruit (requiring many bites, since the fruit is extremely hard)

Having pain is expressed as the involved body part repeatedly biting its owner:

wək w-a.ɪk w-a.kəʔellɔ̃-n
leg C-be:PR C-bite.PLUR:INCOMPL-O1

my foot hurts (lit.: my foot is biting me repeatedly or continuously)

əkəʔellɔ̃ is also used when a singular subject bites in plural object participants and when plural subject participants bite in one object. In the latter case (verb with plural subject and a singular object) the Pluractional verb is not used because of plurality of the subject, but because of the plurality of the event as undergone by the object. For comparison, two examples with non-Pluractional verbs are given first. The examples show that use of the Pluractional verb is not a matter of (semantic) number agreement with the subject or the object, but expresses plurality of the bites.

tək t-əkəʔ.t ɔ̃kɔl
dog C-bite:COMPL child

the dog has bitten the child (one bite)

lɔk l-əkəʔ.t ɔ̃kɔl
dogs C-bite:COMPL child

the dogs have bitten the child (the non-Pluractional implies that the child got bitten once. The dogs were in a group when it happened and it is unclear which dog did it)

tək t-əkəʔellɔ̃.t ɲɔkɔl
dog C-bite.PLUR:COMPL children

the dog has bitten the children (several children got bitten)

ɔʔək w-əkəʔellɔ̃.r-ín
ants(sp.) C-bite.PLUR:COMPL-O1

the ɔʔək-ants have bitten me (several ants biting once)

The use of a non-habitual Pluractional relating to plural participants depends on how the event or situation is conceptualized. Non-habitual Pluractionals with semantics of type 3 and 4 can present the plural subject or object participants as consisting of individuals or

subgroups performing or undergoing the action in a distributed way: individually or as separate subgroups. For example, in the case of ‘give’, use of the Pluractional (**ikket**) or the non-Pluractional (**eṭeṭ**) presents a different picture of the scene. The Pluractional expresses that the plural objects are handed over one by one, or group by group while the non-Pluractional is not concerned with the (semantic) plurality of the object, nor with distributional aspects, but treats it as a group.

ikket-ɔk **aɾəpɔ** **en-n-ərik** **áppík**
 give.PLUR:IMP-O3 things DEM-C-NEARSP all
 give him all those things (one by one)

eṭ-ɔk **aɾəpɔ** **en-n-ərik** **áppík**
 give:IMP-O3 things DEM-C-NEARSP all
 give him all those things (not concerned with how the items are handed over)

A similar situation is found in the following phrases with ‘send’:

ɔ-kakká **p-ɔ̃lléṭ.é** **ɲókúl** **kéccôk**
 PERS-Kakka C-send.PLUR:COMPL children market

Kakka has sent the children to the market (as separate groups or individuals, each with his own task)

ɔ-kakká **p-ɔ̃ṭɔ̃ṭ.é** **ɲókúl** **kéccôk**
 PERS-Kakka C-send:COMPL children market

Kakka has sent the children to the market (as a group, with a shared task)

Explicit distribution over different locations can induce the use of a Pluractional. In the example below Pluractional **unte** ‘pour’ must be used because the situation involves several actions of pouring due to locational distribution of the object (the sorghum):

anákká **ɔ-kín** **ṭ-ɔká.t** **cík** **a-kín** **unte** **m̃l**
 and.that PERS-3A C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ.PERS-3A pour.PLUR:DEPINCOMP sorghum
n.ti **i-aɾók ...**
 from in-bags

and when they were pouring the sorghum out of the bags ...

The subject in the sentence below is the mass noun **ḡucul** ‘sauce’. Its distribution over several calabashes is expressed with a Pluractional verb (**ṣppəppat** ‘become full’).

ḡucul ḡ-ṣppəppat.ε i-ləntərō
 sauce C-become_full.PLUR:COMPL in-calabashes

the calabashes were full with sauce (lit.: the sauce was full in the calabashes)

In the examples below, both the non-Pluractional and the Pluractional can be used. When the non-Pluractional is used, the subjects are conceptualized as a group.

ṣ-kín appik ṭ-ṣppəppét.ε / ṣ-kín appik ṭ-ṣppét.ε
 PERS-3A all C-get_pregnant.PLUR:COMPL / PERS-3A all C-get_pregnant:COMPL

they are all pregnant (each of them is pregnant) / they are all pregnant

ṣ-kín ṭ-ṣḡallê.t / ṣ-kín ṭ-ṣḡæṣ.t
 PERS-3A C-urinate.PLUR:COMPL / PERS-3A C-urinate:COMPL

they have urinated (each of them) / they have urinated

For the verbs ‘die’ and ‘kill’ the undergoer-event of dying is central. These verbs do not present the possibility to choose between a non-Pluractional and a Pluractional in case of multiple events of dying. Here pluractionality relates to plurality of the subject in the case of ‘die’ and to plurality of the object in the case of ‘kill’: several persons dying is a plural event of dying and one or more persons killing several persons is also a plural event of dying. However, several persons killing one person is a single event of dying. This goes for any creature that dies, and even when relatively indistinguishable creatures such as ants die as a group the Pluractional must be used. However, according to my consultant (JS), when two or perhaps three persons die, it is not entirely impossible to use the non-Pluractional. I do not think that the near-obligatory use of the Pluractionals of ‘kill’ and ‘die’ makes these verbs essentially different from other Pluractionals that (can) express event-plurality due to

participant plurality. Rather, for some verbs, more than for others, use of the Pluractional is conventionalized more strongly.

The verbs in the example below are **ɪ** ‘die’ and **ɪlle** ‘die (PLUR)’, and **ɔkkwɔt** ‘kill’ and **ɔɣwɔ** ‘kill (PLUR)’.

pul **p-ɪ.áɣe**

person C-die:PST

the person died

ul **w-ɪlle.káɣe**

people C-die.PLUR:PST

the people died

m-p-ɔkwɔt.é **tɪk** **nɔ-lɔra-lɔra** **ana** **l-ɪlle.káɣe**

1-C-ignite:COMPL fire on-insects(sp.)-REDUP and PRO.C-die.PLUR:PST

I set fire to the insects (an ant species?) and they died (dry grass is put on the insects and set fire to)

ɔ-kín **t-ɔkkwɔt.é** **ɪmɪt**

PERS-3A C-kill:COMPL goat

they have killed the goat

ɔ-kín **t-ɔɣwɔ.t** **ɪɣɔk**

PERS-3A C-kill.PLUR:COMPL goats

they have killed the goats

m-p-ɔɣwɔ.t **ɔɣek** **n-tɪk**

1-C-kill.PLUR:COMPL ants with-fire

I have killed the ants with fire

Pluractionality and Reciprocal verbs

Reciprocal verbs are verbs that involve at least two actions (an action from X upon Y and from Y upon X, with the subject referring to both X and Y). Some Reciprocals are based on a Pluractional verb (see also section 14.5 about Reciprocals). Two examples:

ikkettət ‘give each other’ < **ikket** ‘give (several items)’
ɪncettət ‘find each other, meet each other’ < **ɪncet** ‘find (several persons or items)’

(Non)-use of Pluractionals in certain collocations

The choice of a non-Pluractional or a Pluractional verb may (partly) depend on fixed collocations. For example, cutting in one movement takes the non-Pluractional verb **ɔkɪɔ**, whereas cutting with several cutting movements takes the Pluractional verb **ɔkéccɛ** (for example onions, or somebody’s hair).

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.kéccɛ** **ʈún**
 1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR:INCOMPL onion

I am cutting the onions

However, cutting sorghum is expressed with the non-Pluractional **ɔkɪɔ**, even though the event involves more actions of cutting since it is normally not just one sorghum stock that is cut. The Pluractional **ɔkéccɛ** can be used in combination with sorghum, but then it expresses ‘cutting sorghum during several days’. The first example below states what the speaker is doing at the moment of speech, the second, with the Pluractional verb, could be an answer to the question: ‘what are you doing these days?’

m-p-a.ɪk **p-á.kɪɔ** **mɪl**
 1-C-be:PR C-cut:INCOMPL sorghum

I am cutting the sorghum

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.kéccɛ** **mɪl** **tɔ.pôn**
 1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR:INCOMPL sorghum at_farming_field

I am cutting sorghum in the field (implication: the cutting takes several days, it needs repeated going there)

Verbs with formal characteristics and semantics of Pluractionals, but without non-Pluractional counterpart

ꠘꠘꠘ ‘press oil’ (done with a repeated movement) (long initial vowel)

ollá cik ‘sweep’	(gemination)
urullo ‘cough’	(partial reduplication and gemination)
antettære ‘roll sth.’	(partial reduplication and gemination)
ottuotta ‘swim’	(partial reduplication)
okáko ‘grind’	(partial reduplication)
acce ‘lick’	(ending in <i>cce</i>)

Habitual Pluractionals express habitual actions or repeatedly reoccurring events. Examples:

<i>non-Pluractional</i>	<i>Pluractional</i>
၁်း 'go to'	၁်းၵ်း 'habitually go'
ၵ်း 'say (one utterance)'	ၵ်းၵ်း 'habitually say (one utterance)'
ၵ်း 'dig, collect'	ၵ်းၵ်း 'habitually dig, collect'
ၵ်း 'do, make'	ၵ်းၵ်း 'habitually do, make'
ၵ်း 'tell'	ၵ်းၵ်း 'habitually tell'
ၵ်း 'cry'	ၵ်းၵ်း 'habitually cry'
ၵ်း 'steal'	ၵ်းၵ်း 'habitually steal'

apukkwa ‘fall with several bumps’ **apukkukwa** ‘habitually fall’

Some examples with Pluractionals with habitual meaning follow here. Habitual Pluractionals can easily be combined with the adverb **ɛppɪnɛppɪn** ‘always’, but **ɛppɪnɛppɪn** does not need to be present in order to get the reading ‘always do x’. Habitual Pluractionals cannot

be combined with adverbs that express a specific, bounded time frame, such as **mamân** ‘this morning’.

a-kín **óípcme** **ı-ııpâ**
 CONJ.PERS-3A go_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL in-marriage

and they always went to her for marriage (fr. written story)

a-kín **óípcme** **ı-ııpâ** **εppın-εppın**
 CONJ.PERS-3A go_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL in-marriage always-REDUP

and they always went to her for marriage

***a-kín** **óípcme** **ı-ııpâ** **mâmân**
 CONJ.PERS-3A go_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL in-marriage this_morning

*and they always went to her for marriage this morning

Some more examples:

ɔ-parı **p-aı** **p-a.kkóttet** **ıúcul** **ı-ı-ın-ıa**
 PERS-wife C-POSS2 C-do.PLUR:INCOMPL sauce C-of-what-QW

what does your wife always make the sauce of? (App. IV, 12)

caıı **c-əıek** **c-əká.t** **cık** **a-ıúkul** **ı-ı-kəmən** **k-ı-nɔ-cəruk**
 day C-some C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-children C-of-houses C-of-on-opening

ı-əká.t **cık** **a-ı-ımııe** **áıəıu** **w-ı-ıua**
 C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-PRO-steal.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL things C-of-hair

there was a time that there were youngsters from the neighbourhood who were stealing cattle time and again (fr. written story)

Notably, presence of **εppıneppın** ‘always’ does not always lead to the use of a Pluractional verb, as in the following example:

ɔ-lóttı **p-ákkaró-k** **εppın-εppın**
 PERS-Lóttı C-call:INCOMPL-O3 always-REDUP

Lóttı always calls him

As mentioned earlier, non-habitual Pluractionals can serve as a basis for further Pluractionals with habitual meaning. The examples below contrast related non-habitual and habitual Pluractionals.

with non-habitual **ᵛkəʃello**:

ᵛ-kín ᵛ-á.ík ᵛ-á.kəʃello áppəntína
 PERS-3A C-be:PR C-bite.PLUR:INCOMPL groundnuts

they are eating groundnuts

with habitual **ᵛkəʃello** or **ᵛkəʃellottə**:

ᵛ-kín ᵛ-á.ík ᵛ-â.kəʃello / ᵛ-â.kəʃellottə áppəntína
 PERS-3A C-be:PR C-bite.PLUR:INCOMPL / C-bite.PLUR:INCOMPL groundnuts

they are always eating groundnuts

with non-habitual **ᵛɣwə**:

ᵛ-kukkú p-ᵛɣwə.t lɛ́sók
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR:COMPL goats

Kukku has killed the goats

with habitual **ᵛɣuttə** or **ᵛɣuttuttə**:

ᵛ-kukkú p-ᵛɣŭtte.t / p-ᵛɣŭttutte.t lɛ́sók
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR:COMPL / C-kill.PLUR:COMPL goats

Kukku used to kill the goats (but now he has stopped doing this)

with non-habitual **ᵛppəppet**:

ᵛ-kín ᵛ-ᵛppəppét.ɛ
 PERS-3A C-get_pregnant.PLUR:COMPL

they are pregnant

with habitual **ᵛppəppet**:

ᵛ-kakká p-ᵛppəppét.ɛ
 PERS-Kakka C-get_pregnant.PLUR:COMPL

Kakka used to get pregnant (but this has stopped)

Expressivity

Pluractionals in general have a certain expressivity, but further Pluractionals based on a habitual Pluractional stem are particularly expressive.

The following line is from the opening of the story ‘Tortoise and bird’. The activity of the bird is contrasted with the inertia of the tortoise. The verb **ittitte** ‘habitually dig, habitually collect’ is based on **itte** ‘habitually dig; habitually collect’, which again relates to **ipɔ** ‘dig, collect’ (NB: there is no verb which refers to one single digging movement). The use of the Pluractional reflects the very busy nature of the bird.

ɣattəttápe **ɣ-ikkó.t** **cɪk** **a-ítittite** **aŋn**
 bird(sp.) C-sit:COMPL VREF CONJ-(PRO-)collect.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL bees

the *ɣattəttápe*-bird was always collecting honey (App. IV, 2)

14. Verbal derivation

In this chapter I discuss verbs derived from other verbs: Benefactives, Locative-applicatives, Causatives, Passives and Reciprocals. In the last section of the chapter I present some verbs with combinations of derivational suffixes.

(Inchoative) state verbs very often have a final or last vowel **a**. Unlike the verbal “default” final or last vowel **ɔ**, this **a** has an association with (inchoative) stative meaning. (Inchoative) state verbs have an undergoer subject while their Completive typically expresses a present state and/or a change of state. They are not derived from other verbs, but in some cases relate to adjectives. Derivational relationships between verbs and adjectives are mentioned in chapter 10; examples of inchoative (state) verbs with Completives can be found in 12.5.7.

Noun-to-verb derivation is a very small-scale phenomenon. It is discussed in chapter 4.

Glossing

In the glossing in this chapter, verbal derivational suffixes are separated from the lexical stem of the base verb, or from another suffix, through a hyphen, where possible. The colon preceding the tense/aspect/mood meaning of the verb comes after the (last) derivational gloss, but must be understood as having scope over the (main) verb as a whole, i.e. over the lexical root with derivational suffix(es). An example:

ul	w-a.rék-me	pol
people	C-work-BEN:INCOMPL	person
the people will work for the person		

Order of derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes come after the verbal root in the following order:

root-REC1-CAUS2-CAUS1-REC2-PASS(1/2/3)-BEN-LOCAPP

The reciprocal suffixes can be reduplicated and a sequence REC2-REC1 is possible as well. A few items allow for a sequence CAUS2-CAUS1 and occasionally, what looks like CAUS2, may be analysed as a reduplicated CAUS2. If the base verb has a high tone, the high tone remains on the same mora in the derived verb. When the base verb has a final falling tone and the derivation adds a moraic unit, the falling tone is realized as a high tone (in accordance to the Contour Simplification Rule).

In this chapter I gloss the derivational suffixes, using BEN, LOCAPP, CAUS1, CAUS2, PASS1, PASS2, PASS3, REC1, REC2 and separating them from the root of the base verb, and from each other, by a hyphen. In the rest of the book, I do not gloss the derivational suffixes separately, but incorporate them in the lexical meaning of the verb. In case of Locative-applicative derivations with a locative or positional phrase as object, I add ‘at’ to the lexical meaning of the verb, in order to make clear that the derivation is present (or that I expect the derivation to be there, as it is not always apparent from the form).

Verbal derivation has implications for the verbal argument structure, i.e. for the relationship between verb and nominal constituents in the clause as well as for the semantic roles of verb complements. Before describing the various verbal derivations, I therefore first address the issue of determining the grammatical status of nominal constituents. For this, I make use of some general ideas concerning objects, as well as diagnostics for establishing objecthood in Bantu languages.

The basic word order of Lumun is SVO. Modifiers come after the noun, adjuncts tend to come at the end of the clause, and adpositional marking is proclitic. In view of Lumun’s SVO word order, its verbal derivational system and its ability to have a series of nouns following the verb —resembling the way semantic/grammatical relations are expressed in Bantu languages—, looking at Bantu object diagnostics does not seem far-fetched.

Nominal constituents are commonly divided (primarily) into subjects, objects and adjuncts.

Establishing the clausal subject is straightforward in Lumun. The (pro)noun or noun phrase preceding the verb or verbal complex is the subject. Moreover, non-dependent and non-focus-marked verbs agree with the noun class of the subject or carry the concord that corresponds with the subject pronoun (clitic). An example of the first:

pəlla p-ɔ́ɔkɔ́.t aʊn
 cat C-eat:COMPL rats
 the cat has eaten the rats

No cases were found of post-verbal subjects. The example below (also cited in chapter 8.1.4), with the focused verb ‘have, need’ may seem to have a post-verbal subject (**púl í-p-ɔ́ɔɔ́** ‘human being’), but this is not the case. The subject of the verb ‘have, need’ is the food, not the human being. The verb expresses here that food is what ‘keeps’ (or ‘holds’) the human being:

tuɾít ɪ-t-ɛn akk-ɔ́nó púl í-p-ɔ́ɔɔ́ cənɛ nɔ́-capó
 food RES-C-DEM FOC-have person RES-C-black here on-ground
 food is the one that keeps/holds (lit. ‘has’) a human being here on earth (i.e. food is what a human being needs here on earth)

For comparison, the following was found not acceptable (making no sense). The sorghum can only be understood as the subject and the people as the object; the sentence does not allow for a reading as ‘sorghum is what people cultivate here’.

***míl ɪ-m-ɛn akk-ará ʊl cənɛ**
 sorghum RES-C-DEM FOC-cultivate:INCOMPL persons here

To distinguish between object and adjunct, the criterion can be applied that the semantic role realized by an object argument is required by the verb, while the semantic role of an adjunct is not. An object is thus part of the argument structure of the verb and must be

present, though not necessarily overtly. Because of the absence of pronominal markers for non-person non-subjects (see chapter 6.4), an object can have a $\emptyset$ realization. Out of context, however, it must be overtly present. The verb **ɛt̪ɛt** ‘give’ requires, apart from an agent (realized as subject argument), a patient and a receiver. The patient and receiver are realized as object arguments, though not of equal status as will be argued further below. Out of context, these examples with only one object argument are not well-formed:

- ***m-p-ɛt̪ɛt ɔ-cɛccɛ** ‘I gave (to) Cɛccɛ’
 ***m-p-ɛt̪ɛt aɬám** ‘I gave (to) the book’

Adjuncts are not semantically required by the verb and thus not part of its argument structure. This means that adjuncts can freely be present or absent.

Lumun allows for a series of adjacent post-verbal nominal constituents. It will be shown that access to the immediate post-verbal position differentiates between objects, and that, on the other hand, adjuncts share some properties with objects that are typical for the latter in Bantu languages. Before turning to Bantu object characteristics, I briefly look at case marking and the presence of prepositional proclitics in relation to objecthood.

Case marking

In several languages of the world (certain) objects are case-marked, i.e. segmentally and/or tonally marked for their grammatical relationship to the verb. In Niger-Congo languages, however, this is not common, though, interestingly, it is found in languages of the Heiban group of Kordofanian, notably Ebang (Schadeberg & Kossmann 2010, p. 83), Koalib (Boychev 2013) and Moro (Ackerman, Malouf & Moore 2017, p. 8). Lumun does not have case marking, nor has case marking been found in other languages of the Talodi group (Dimmendaal 2015, p. 48).

Prepositional proclitics

Cross-linguistically, nominal constituents marked by an adposition are often adjuncts. In Lumun, a nominal constituent preceded by one of the locative prepositional proclitics *ɪ-*, *nɔ-*, *tɔ-* and *ʔɔ-* can be an adjunct, but also an argument of the verb, in the latter case the verb requires the expression of its semantic role. I regard such locative/positional constituents required by the verb as objects, though the prepositional marking itself already makes them somewhat different from other objects.

In Bantu languages, three criteria are generally applied for the establishment of objecthood, as well as for differentiating between objects, i.e. for establishing primary objecthood (a.o. Hyman & Duranti 1982, Bresnan & Moshi 1993, Kioko 2000). An object:

- has access to the immediate post-verbal position;
- can become subject upon passivization;
- can be cross-referenced on the verb by a prefixal object concord.

Lumun has no agreement marking of objects on the verb, but the first and second criterion can be tested.

Schadeberg (1995) suggests some further properties that may be worth looking at upon examining grammatical relations between verb and nominal constituents in the Bantu clause. Three of these properties (object case marking by tone, shortened verb forms (i.e. conjunctive vs. disjunctive verb forms), and transitive agent nouns) do not play a role in Lumun. The fourth, metatony of verb forms, could be present in Lumun and will briefly be considered first.

Metatony

Some of the basic TAMs have a floating high tone: in prepausal position these verbs have a final low tone (not allowing for a rising-tone realization), while in non-prepausal situation a high tone appears on the following item (provided that the tonal make-up of the following item allows for this).

This phenomenon resembles what, since Meeussen (1967), has been called metatony in Bantu languages. The term was originally used for Low – High tonal alternations on the final vowel of class 15 (*ku-*) infinitives corresponding with absence resp. presence of a following object (Meeussen 1967, p. 111), but became extended to other verb forms displaying the same alternation before all kinds of constituents Hyman & Lionnet (2011). Hyman & Lionnet report that in languages with metatony in infinitive verb forms only, the phenomenon has been found only before objects, whereas in languages with metatony in various verb forms, it has only been found before any word. They consider it likely that there are also languages which have metatony only in infinitive verbs forms, but before any word, as well as languages with metatony in various verb forms, but before an object only (2011, p. 181).

In languages in which metatony only occurs before an object, the phenomenon can indeed serve as a diagnostic for objecthood. What I have described as a floating high tone (+H) associated with some of the basic TAMs, notably the Dependent Incompletive, the Incompletive and the Dependent Perfective, though not with verbs of all tone classes (see 12.5.3, 12.5.4 and 12.5.6) could probably be regarded as metatony, even though the high tone does not surface on the verb, but on the following constituent. However, Lumun, like several Bantu languages, falls in the category of “metatony in various verb forms before any word”. I have not found that certain constituents do not give rise to the high tone, I only found that metatony treats objects and adjuncts alike.

Subjectivization

Various non-subject constituents can become subject of a passivized clause. For example, subjectivization is possible for both the recipient and the patient object of the non-derived ditransitive verb **ɛ̀t̩ɛ̀t̩** ‘give’; for both objects (beneficiary and patient) of a benefactive derivation of a transitive verb (for example **ɔ̀n̩ɛ̀k̩n̩ɛ̀** ‘carry for’); and for the beneficiary object and the prepositional phrase required by a benefactive verb with fixed preposition (for example **ar̩ɛ̀tt̩ɛ̀t̩ n̩án** ‘add on sth. for sb.’). Examples with these verbs are provided in 14.4.

The same section provides a case of subjectivization of a prepositionally marked locative argument (required by a verb with locative-applicative derivation) as well as a case of subjectivization of a locative adjunct (a constituent not required by the verb). Examples are also provided of subjectivization of instrumental adjuncts.

Various non-subject constituents are thus able to take up subject function in a passive construction, though some further testing would need to be done. This means that the criterion of subjectivization does not help to distinguish between different kinds of objects, nor even between objects and nominal adjuncts. Interestingly, also in Moro (Heiban group), objects realizing different semantic roles, including instrumental and locative roles, as well as locative and instrumental adjuncts can assume subject function in a passive construction (Ackerman & Moore, 2013).

In the type of grammatical construction below, however, two adjacent nouns coming after the verb are not both open to subjectivization. Such cases involve ‘possessor raising’. Compare the following examples:

ul w-immá.t pul cá
 people C-see:COMPL person head
 the people saw the head of the person

pul p-imm-akó.t ca n-ôl
 person C-see-PASS1:COMPL head with-people
 the head of the person was seen by the people (the person was seen by the people as to the head)

***ca c-imm-akó.t pul n-ôl**
 head C-see-PASS1:COMPL person with-people

In this type of construction the noun with possessor role can be the subject of a passive verb, but the noun with the role of possessee cannot. The verb **imma** ‘see’ assigns two semantic roles: an agent/undergoer realized as subject, and a patient realized as object. Though semantically the head (of the person) is the actual patient, it

is not treated as an object, which can be seen from the fact that it cannot be subjectivized. It is instead the possessor that is “raised” to the function of (primary) object.

Access to the immediate post-verbal position

Objects differ as to their ability to access the immediate post-verbal position. For the non-derived ditransitive verb ‘give’ this was shown in chapter 6.4, where the following example was presented:

k-kw-étet	ɔ-kakká	ɔ-cɛccɛ
3-C-give:COMPL	PERS-Kakka	PERS-Cɛccɛ
s/he gave Cɛccɛ to Kakka		

The sentence above, which has two objects that are equal in terms of the person scale (see 6.4), allows for only one interpretation: the first object has the semantic role of recipient, the second the semantic role of patient. Thus, for the verb ‘give’, in case of equality on the person scale, the recipient is the primary object, the patient the secondary. However, as illustrated in 6.4, differences between objects of ‘give’ with respect to the semantic factor of person/animacy override the hierarchy of semantic roles, leading to ambiguity. The person hierarchy mentioned in 6.4 is repeated here:

first person pronouns
second person pronouns
third person pronouns
humans
non-humans

Examples of derived verbs with double objects with an equal value on the person scale show that there, too, a semantic role hierarchy is at work on the one hand, while, on the other hand, a higher value on the person scale will override the semantic role hierarchy.

The example below, with the Double Causative verb **ɪcɪet** ‘make sb. lay sb. down’ illustrates the semantic role hierarchy for a derived verb through objects equally high on the person scale: only the

causee-object (Cεccε) can occur immediately post-verbally, not the patient of the caused action (Kakka):

ɔ-tuttú **p-ic-í-εt.ε** **ɔ-cεccé** **ɔ-kakká** **cık**
PERS-Tuttú C-lie_down-CAUS2-CAUS1:COMPL PERS-Cεccε PERS-Kakka VREF

Tuttú has made Cεccε lay Kakka down (Tuttú has made Cεccε make Kakka lie down)

The next example illustrates the semantic role hierarchy for a Benefactive + Locative Applicative derivation of a transitive verb ('eat') through objects equally low on the person scale. **ɲm̥ta** 'what' is the Benefactive object and comes immediately after the verb, followed by the patient object of the base verb. The Locative-applicative object, which here is a constituent with positional semantics, comes last:

ana **ɲ-kw-ɔɾək-ántét** **ɲín-tá** **ɲúrú** **kapık**
and 2-C-eat-BEN.LOCAPP:DEPPRFV what-QW asida upright

but why were you eating asida while standing?

These 'why'-constructions with Benefactive derivation are further exemplified in 14.1. For the discussion about object properties here, it is important to note that, as soon as an object higher on the person scale is present, **ɲm̥ta** 'what' as Benefactive object no longer has access to the immediate post-verbal position. In such cases, **ɲm̥ta** does not just move further away from the verb, as would other objects, but recourse is taken to a different construction. While retaining the Benefactive derivation, **ɲm̥ta** is fronted before the verb and combined with **akka** 'that', giving **ɲm̥takka** (see also chapters 19.2 and 20.1.2).

The personal object pronoun in the example below is the patient argument of the transitive base verb **ɔɲɔt** 'like, want, love'. Because of its higher value on the person scale than **ɲm̥ta** it is realized as the primary object of the verb:

ŋín-t-akka ŋ-kw-ɔŋ-ín-t-ín
 what-QW-that 2-C-like-BEN:COMPL-O1

why do you love me?

Notably, ‘why’ can also be stated entirely outside of the verbal argument structure, in such case there is no Benefactive derivation (20.1.2).

Locative and positional objects of a Locative-applicative derivation never occupy the immediate post-verbal position (unless of course when the only object), but come in last position. Locative applicative derivations, however, can also require an argument expressing the semantic role of addressee, a role typically realized by a noun denoting a human. A human locative-applicative object will be drawn closer to the verb, as illustrated below, where Kakka is the object of the Locative-applicative derivation. It will however not surpass a human Benefactive object (the child).

m-p-íptt-in̄t̄et ɔkul ɔ-kakká ŋúí
 1-C-ask-BEN.LOCAPP:INCOMPL child PERS-Kakka milk

I will ask Kakka for milk for the child

The nouns referring to the child and to Kakka in the example above cannot be reversed without a change of semantic roles, which means that the common noun **ɔkul** and the personal name (kinship term) **ɔkakká** are equal on the person scale.

It should also be noted that the primary object can be Ø. In the example below, with the Benefactive verb **ɔkkín̄t̄et** ‘do for, make for’, the Benefactive object is **kwɔcán**, the grass mentioned in the preceding clause. **kwɔcán** cannot be overtly referenced, since there are no object pronouns for non-humans. **antɔkkín̄t̄et ŋúcul** means that they ‘made a sauce for it’ (for the boiled grass), not that they ‘made a sauce’ and **ŋúcul** ‘sauce’ is not the primary object.

... a-kín	anɔ	kwɔcán
CONJ.PERS-3A	boil:DEPINCOMPL	grass(k.o.)
a-kín	ant-ɔkk-íntet	ɲócul
CONJ.PERS-3A	can:DEPINCOMPL-do-BEN:DEPINCOMPL	sauce

and they boiled grass (k.o.) and they made a sauce for it (i.e. for the boiled grass. In times of hunger people ate boiled grass as if it were asida).

The case described above of **ɲmɪta** ‘what’ as Benefactive object in a ‘why’-construction can be seen as a case in which the object, due to its position on the person hierarchy, was not only unable to hold the immediate post-verbal position assigned to it on the basis of its semantic role, but also could not remain within the post-verbal object sequence. Another deviating case, though in a different way, is the following. The abusive nouns **pənan** ‘(on) his/her mother’ and **kənɛ** ‘(on) your mother’ must be used together with a Benefactive derivation. The abusive word can immediately follow the verb, which is expected, but it can also come last, even after a non-animate noun. Compare:

m-p-a.nék-íntet	pənan	ɔ-kakká	kəret	á-n-áko
1-C-take-BEN.LOCAPP:INCOMPL	mother	PERS-Kakka	cloth	SUBJ-1-wear:DEPINCOMPL

I will take Kakka’s dress, on her mother, and wear it (myself)

m-p-a.nék-íntet	ɔ-kakká	kəret	pənan	á-n-áko
1-C-take-BEN.LOCAPP:INCOMPL	PERS-Kakka	cloth	mother	SUBJ-1-wear:DEPINCOMPL

I will take Kakka’s dress, on her mother, and wear it (myself)

It seems that in this case, the semantic role of abusive term can take priority over the high animacy value of **pənan**, directing the noun to the last position. This semantic role may allow it to function much like an interjection (as abusive words do in many languages, relatively unbound to syntactic positions), even though it is an argument of the verb.

I conclude that, in a Lumun clause, all objects are not equal, but one is the primary object. The primary object, in principle, occupies the immediate post-verbal position. Access to this position, however, is blocked if an object is present that is higher on the person hierarchy.

Which object is the primary object seems determined by a hierarchy in semantic roles of objects. The number of objects and their semantic roles are determined by the lexical verb (including its derivational suffixes). For example, a recipient or beneficiary is higher in the semantic hierarchy than a patient.

14.1. The Benefactive

Benefactive verbs are transitive verbs that are derived from an intransitive or a transitive base verb through addition of the suffix (ɪ)nɛ. Benefactives have increased valency as compared to their base verb. The added argument typically has the semantic role of beneficiary, but can have other semantic roles as well. The suffix is very productive.

Form

The Benefactive suffix is (ɪ)nɛ. nɛ replaces a stem-final ɔ, the shorter variant nɛ is attached after a stem that ends in a or ɛ. When attached to a stem with +ATR vowels (i.e. containing ɪ or u) the suffix is realized as [ine] or [ne]. Examples:

aɔ ‘come’	a-nɛ ‘come to’
unɔ ‘pour’	un-ɪnɛ [un-ine] ‘pour for’
ɔrɛkɔ ‘work’	ɔrɛk-nɛ ‘work for’
ɛɛ ‘speak’	ɛɛ-nɛ ‘speak to’
ɔnâ ‘bring’	ɔnâ-nɛ ‘bring for, to’

Derivations adding a moraic unit based on verbs with L.L.HL tones are the exception to the rule that a high tone stays in place. The high tone moves one mora to the left:

ɔrɛkɔ ‘eat’	ɔrɛk-nɛ ‘eat for’
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When replacing the ɔ of the Reciprocal suffix arɔ, the Benefactive suffix is realized with a reduced vowel, as ənɛ:

ɪkkɔ ‘sit, stay’ ɪkk-ar-ənɛ ‘stay for each other’ (ɪkkɔ + arɔ + nɛ)

The combination Benefactive (ɪ)ne + Locative-applicative t is realized as (ɪ)n̄t̄et, not *(ɪ)net. Benefactives derived from t-final verbs end in (ɪ)n̄t̄et, irrespective of whether the t functions as a productive suffix or is part of a lexicalized verb. Examples:

ɔkkɔ̄t ‘do, make’	ɔkk-ɪn̄t̄et ‘do for, make for’
aɾantɔ̄t ‘collect’	aɾant-ɪn̄t̄et ‘collect for’
ɔt̄t̄ɔ̄t ‘send’	ɔt̄t̄-ən̄t̄et ‘send to’
ɔkúccet ‘prepare’	ɔkúccet-n̄t̄et ‘prepare for’
ɔɲat ‘like, love’	ɔɲa-n̄t̄et ‘like for, love for’

Note in the examples above that in ‘send to’, after the vowel ɪ the suffix is realized as ən̄t̄et. After the Reciprocal suffix arɔ̄, too, the combined suffix ɪn̄t̄et is realized as ən̄t̄et:

ɔkkɔ̄t ‘do, make’	ɔkk-ár-ən̄t̄et ‘do for e.o., make for e.o.’
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The verb ɛ̄ɔ̄ ‘go’ has a suppletive Benefactive form: ɔ-ɪne ‘go to’.

Argument structure of Benefactive verbs

Benefactives can be based on intransitive and transitive stems. The Benefactive suffix increases the valency of the verb. The first example below, with the non-Benefactive verb ɪta ‘cook’, has two arguments: a subject and an object. The second, with the Benefactive verb ɪtane ‘cook for’, has three arguments. The Benefactive object is the primary object, occupying the immediate post-verbal position.

ɔ-kakká	p-ɪtá.t	ɲúɾú
PERS-Kakka	C-cook:COMPL	asida

Kakka has cooked asida

ɔ-kakká	p-ɪtá-ne.t	ɔ-kumán	ɲúɾú
PERS-Kakka	C-cook-BEN:COMPL	PERS-Kumaɲ	asida

Kakka has cooked asida for Kumaɲ

Semantic roles of the added argument

The added argument for which the verb is marked as Benefactive can have a beneficiary (or maleficiary) semantic role, it can express a non-locative goal and it is used in certain ‘why’-constructions. With the verb **εε** ‘speak’ it allows for expression of the addressee. Possessors are also attested as arguments of Benefactive verbs. Some examples with a beneficiary argument:

ɔráne ‘cultivate for’

ɲ-kw-ânɬan	á-rɪt	ɔrá-ne	áləpaccôɬ
2-C-come:INCOMPL	PERS.SUBJ-12	cultivate-BEN:DEPINCOMPL	jackal

you come so that we cultivate for the jackal (‘The story of the jackal’)

apɪne ‘open for’

ɔ-kakká	p-ap-á.nɬet	okul	kəɬət
PERS-Kakka	C-open-BEN:PST	child	door

Kakka opened the door for the child

Sometimes the added argument has a maleficiary role:

ɔɬákɪne ‘eat for’

lɪcək	l-a.ɬək-me	púl	p-əɬek	mɪl
goats	C-eat-BEN:INCOMPL	person	C-some	sorghum

the goats will eat somebody’s sorghum

When used with a human goal, verbs like **aw** ‘come’, **é̂** ‘go’, **ɔɬɪɬ** ‘send’, **ɔnâ** ‘bring’ and **ɔnékə** ‘take’, are constructed with a Benefactive:

ɔ-cɛccé	p-á-íne	ɔ-nné
PERS-Cɛccé	C-go-BEN:INCOMPL	PERS-your_mother

Cɛccé will go to your mother

m-p-a.nék-me	kəllán	kommok
1-C-take-BEN:INCOMPL	old_woman	pot

I will take the pot to the old woman

Coming or going to a place is expressed without Benefactive derivation, as in the following example. ‘The church’ is marked by the prepositional proclitic (PPC) **tə-** ‘(up) at’:

ɔ-cɛccɛ **p-á.éʃ** **tə-man** **m-ʃ-kapık** **cıpın** **éɲ-c-í**
 PERS-Cɛccɛ C-go:INCOMPL up_on-house C-of-God evening DEM-C-NEARSP

Cɛccɛ will go to the church this evening

It is possible to have the Benefactive of ‘go’ with ‘the church’ as Benefactive object, but now the sentence has a different meaning:

ɔ-cɛccɛ **p-á-íne** **man** **m-ʃ-kapık**
 PERS-Cɛccɛ C-go-BEN:INCOMPL house C-of-God

Cɛccɛ will go and take charge of the church (Cɛccɛ will run the church)

The Benefactive is used in certain ‘why’ (‘for what’) constructions. The added argument questions purpose, reason or cause:

m-p-a.móɲe-ne **ɲín-ʔa**
 1-C-steal-BEN:INCOMPL what-QW

why will I steal?

ɲín-ʔ-akka **kəmən** **éɲ-k-í** **k-úntá-ne.t**
 what-QW-that houses DEM-C-NEARSP C-collapse-BEN:COMPL

why have these houses collapsed?

The expression **ılên akka** + H ‘that’s why’ combines with a Benefactive. The derivation is based on **ɔɲat** ‘like, love’:

ı-l-ên **akka** **ól** **w-ɔɲá-nɬet** **ıttı** **w-íkko** **cık** **ʔaɽu**
 RES-C-DEM that people C-like-BEN:COMPL that PRO.C-sit:INCOMPL VREF ʔaɽu

that is why people like to live in ʔaɽu

The verb **ɛɛ** ‘speak’ takes a direct object such as **lən** ‘words’ or **karrô** ‘mother tongue’. It does not allow for the addressee to be expressed unless the Benefactive suffix is present:

ere-ne.t ɔ-páppa itti ɔ-nɪn t̪-a.ɪk t̪-ɔpərət̪
 speak-BEN:IMP PERS-my_father that PERS-1A C-be:PR C-good
 tell my father that we are fine!

The Benefactive also allows for ‘external possessor’ constructions. In such constructions, possessee and possessor noun are not together in a single NP (with the possessor modifying the possessee). The possessor is the Benefactive object and occupies the immediate post-verbal position. Comparable constructions are found in several other languages, for example in Citumbuka (Chavula 2016, p. 118-120).

The two examples with Benefactives below can alternatively be expressed with a non-Benefactive verb and a single object argument with possessor and possessee in a connexive construction. The Benefactive in the first example is derived from ɔŋɔt ‘like, want, love’:

ɔkʊl w-ɔŋ-ín̪t̪et ɔ-paŋ ŋurú
 child C-like-BEN:COMPL PERS-sibling asida
 the child likes his sister’s asida (made by his sister)

ɔkʊl w-ɔŋɔt̪.é ŋurú ŋ-ɔ-paŋ
 child C-like:COMPL asida C-of.PERS-sibling
 the child likes the asida of his sister (made by her)

t̪i t̪-ɔccɔk-ín̪t̪et ɔkʊl kərét̪
 thorn C-catch-BEN:COMPL child cloth
 a thorn has caught the shirt of the child

t̪i t̪-ɔccɔkɔ́t̪.é kərét̪ k-ɔ-kkʊl
 thorn C-catch:COMPL cloth C-of-child
 a thorn has caught the shirt of the child

The earlier given example of a maleficiary role of the Benefactive object (repeated below) is also a case of external possession. It could alternatively be expressed with a non-Benefactive verb and a connexive construction:

l̥ɛɔk **l-a.ɽə́k-mɛ** **pól** **p-əɽɛk** **m̥ɪl**
 goats C-eat-BEN:INCOMPL person C-some sorghum
 the goats will eat somebody's sorghum

l̥ɛɔk **l-a.ɽə́kɔ** **m̥ɪl** **m-ɔ-pól** **p-əɽɛk**
 goats C-eat:INCOMPL sorghum C-of-person C-some
 the goats will eat somebody's sorghum

It seems that there may be some semantic difference between the alternatives, in the sense that the external possessor construction presents the possessor-noun somewhat more as an ‘affectee’ (which is either positively or negatively affected) than as (just) a ‘possessor’. This was, however, not confirmed by my consultant (JS).

As mentioned earlier, expressions with an abusive word such as **pənan** (related to **ɔnnân** ‘his/her mother’) must be combined with a Benefactive verb. The second example is given for comparison. It lacks an abusive word and the verb is not a Benefactive.

ámamá **ɔ-kákká** **p-á-íne.t** **pənan** **ana** **k-kw-á.pókɔ**
 if PERS-Kakka C-come-BEN:COMPL mother and 3-C-be_beaten:INCOMPL
 when Kakka comes, on her mother, she will be beaten

ámamá **ɔ-kákká** **p-aá.t** **ana** **k-kw-á.pókɔ**
 if PERS-Kakka C-come:COMPL and 3-C-be_beaten:INCOMPL
 when Kakka comes, she will be beaten

Verbs without a non-Benefactive counterpart

Verbs that seem to contain a Benefactive suffix but lack a non-Benefactive counterpart are rare. The only cases attested are **ɔkəne** ‘show’ and its Pluractionals **ɔɲkəne** and **ɔɲkəkkəne**. Apart from the absence of a non-Benefactive counterpart, these verbs behave morphologically different from Benefactives. The examples below show that the Passive suffix (V)**tta** is attached after, not before, the ending **ne**. Attachment before **ne** would be expected when the verbs were Benefactives:

ɔkəne ‘show’	ɔkəne-tta
ɔŋkəne ‘show (pl. obj. participants), teach’	ɔŋkəne-tta
ɔŋkəkkəne ‘habitually show, habitually teach’	ɔŋkəkkəne-tta

Moreover, the Benefactive suffix can be added after (V)**tta**:

ɔŋkəne-tta ‘be shown, be taught’	ɔŋkəne-tta-ne ‘be shown for, be taught for’
---	--

It is, however, likely that **ɔkəne** historically derives from a verb with the Benefactive suffix, hence its ditransitive argument structure:

ɔ-kín	t-ɔkənɛ.r-ín	pápê
PERS-3A	C-show:COMPL-O1	fish

they have shown me the fish

14.2. The Locative-applicative

The Locative-applicative suffix is **t**. If it is present, it occurs in stem-final position, after the final vowel of the stem. A verb that already ends in **t** cannot undergo Locative-applicative derivation. When the suffix is added to a verb with the Benefactive suffix (ɪ)**ne**, the ending of the verb changes into (ɪ)**nɛt**, not *(ɪ)**net**.

The Locative-applicative is, semantically and syntactically, a complex derivation. It has different applications with different valency effects and different degrees of productivity. The suffix signals spatial information and/or affectedness of its complement. Several verbs with the suffix have lexicalized semantics.

When the suffix is productively applied, the derived verb requires the expression of a locative or positional semantic role. In such cases, a spatial object must be present for the expression to be grammatical, though this presence may have a $\emptyset$ surface realization. This spatial object is realized, for example, as a prepositional proclitic (PPC) + noun, or as an adverb. The suffix can also license an ‘affectee’ object, an entity that is being touched at or being affected, and that is realized without a prepositional proclitic. This function of the suffix

does not allow for productive application. With some verbs, the suffix does not increase the valency of the verb, but changes the semantic role of its object: from full patient or undergoer to ‘affectee’.

In some derivational pairs the verb with **t**-suffix has developed lexicalized semantics. There are also several **t**-final verbs that lack a counterpart without the suffix. Both types of verbs do not require the presence of a locative constituent.

Finally there is a small set of verbs (apart from **t**-final verbs) that do not take the Locative-applicative suffix at all.

Form

Synchronically the Locative-applicative suffix is **t**. This is evidenced by its change into **r** before an element that begins with a vowel. The verb used for illustrating this is **ipittət** ‘ask sb.’, which is the Locative-applicative derivation of **ipittə** ‘ask’.

m-p-ípitto-t **ɔ-kakkâ** [mbíβitər ɔʔakâ]

1-C-ask-LOCAPP:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka

I will ask Kakka

The **t**-suffix probably developed from an older form **ṭ**V. Loss of the final vowel of this suffix changed **ṭ** into **t**, as in word-final position **ṭ** is not allowed. The older form **ṭ** is retained in forms with a vowel-initial pronoun enclitic (first example below), as well as in some TAM-forms (second and third example below). In these cases the suffix is realized as **ð**, the intervocalic allophone of **ṭ**.

m-p-ípitto-ṭ-ðk [mbíβitəððk̚] (< **m-p-ípitto-t** + H + **ɔk**)

1-C-ask-LOCAPP:INCOMPL-3:O

I will ask her

m-p-ipittɔ̄-ṭ.ɛ **ɔ-kakkâ** [mbíβitɔ̄ðɛ]

1-C-ask-LOCAPP:COMPL PERS-Kakka

I have asked Kakka

ipittɔ-t.ɛ **ɔ-kakkâ** [ɪβɪtɔðɛ]
ask-LOCAPP:IMP PERS-Kakka
ask Kakka!

The Locative-applicative suffix as a pragmatic device

The derivation establishes a connection between verb and spatial constituent. With productively derived verbs, the spatial constituent is not a mere adjunct, but functions as an object argument, which cannot just be left out.

The Locative-applicative suffix tends to be applied productively in order to signal spatial information in the clause, unless

- (specific) spatial information is already presupposed by the verb without the derivation;
- the suffix would put undue focus on the (connection between verb and) locative constituent.

The use of the derivation as a productive tool signalling spatial information is thus driven by a combination of semantics of the verb and pragmatics of the communication. It is considered obligatory in some contexts, optional in others (putting different focus in the clause), not felicitous in again others, and in some contexts not possible.

Constituents expressing the spatial information demanded by the Locative-applicative verb can be place names, place question words, spatial adverbs such as **kapɪk** ‘upright’, place deictics, prepositional phrases with **ɪ-** ‘in’, **nɔ-** ‘on, at’, **tɔ-** ‘(up) on, (up) at’ or **tɔ-** ‘at’, or a compound preposition that starts with one of these. By contrast, a locative constituent preceded by the prepositional proclitic (PPC) **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’, cannot function as the argument that relates to the **t**-suffix.

Verbs that already end in **t** cannot take the derivation. An example is the verb **ɪt** ‘find’:

m-p-ɪɬ.é **kóllân**
 1-C-find:COMPL old_woman

I found/met the old woman

m-p-ɪɬ.é **kóllân** **nɔ-kat̪ɔr**
 1-C-find:COMPL old_woman on-road

I found/met the old woman on the road

Obligatory, optional and not-felicitous use of the derivation signalling spatial information will be exemplified below, as well as verbs that cannot take the derivation due to their semantics.

The verb in the first example below does not have the Locative-applicative suffix. On the verbs in the other two examples, with locative constituents, the Locative-applicative suffix is obligatorily present. (Specific) spatial information is not already presupposed by the verb without the derivation, nor is there context that asks for the connection verb-locative constituent to be downplayed.

ɔ-kín **t̪-ín-arɔ** **acín-t̪a**
 PERS-3A C-know-REC1:INCOMPL when-QW

when will they get to know each other?

ɔ-kín **t̪-ín-arɔ-t** **kárə-t̪a**
 PERS-3A C-know-REC1-LOCAPP:INCOMPL where-QW

where will they get to know each other?

ɔ-kín **t̪-ín-arɔ-t** **kárətt̪ôm / cənɛ / ɪ-man** **m-ɔ-kapík**
 PERS-3A C-know-REC1-LOCAPP:INCOMPL Khartoum here in-house C-of-God

they will get to know each other in Khartoum / here / in the church

In the next example, the Benefactive derivation of **ɔɾək̪** ‘eat’, **ɔɾək̪ɪnɛ** ‘eat for’ is used in the ‘why’-construction. The Locative-applicative **t̪** is present, giving **ɔɾək̪ɪnt̪et**, because of **kapík** ‘upright, in upright position’.

ɲín-t̪-akka **a-ɾək̪-ɪnt̪et** **ɲurú** **kapík**
 what-QW-that CONJ-(2-)eat-BEN.LOCAPP:DEPINCOMPL asida upright

why do you eat asida while standing?

The next examples include two cases (the second and the fifth) with a constituent preceded by the PPC **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’. **nti** ‘from’ in the second example contains **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ (see chapter 16.5). The verb **olló** ‘run’ (here: ‘leak’) does not imply a locative constituent to be present (nor does the Pluractional verb **ókéccē** ‘cut’). Compare:

ŋəɾɪ	ŋ-a.ɪk	ŋ-a.łłó-t	nə-capó
water	C-be:PR	C-run-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	on-ground

the water is leaking onto the ground

ŋəɾɪ	ŋ-a.ɪk	ŋ-a.łłó	n.ti	ɪ-páka
water	C-be:PR	C-run:INCOMPL	from	in-jerrycan

the water is leaking out of the jerrycan

m-p-a.kéccē-t	ṭún	nə.ppăn
1-C-cut.PLUR-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	onion	inside

I will cut the onions inside

m-p-a.kéccē-t	ṭún	nə-cáṭṭak
1-C-cut.PLUR-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	onion	on-calabash

I will cut the onions into the bowl

m-p-a.kéccē	ṭún	ŋ-kəɾɪttan	k-âŋ
1-C-cut:INCOMPL	onion	with-knife	C-POSS2

I will cut the onions with your knife

Also in the following two examples the derivation must be used. The examples illustrate that absence or presence of the **t**-suffix does not depend on deixis (movement towards or away from the speaker as the deictic centre):

ɔṭɔ-ṭ.ɛ	kurɾet	cənɛ
pull-LOCAPP:IMP	line	here

draw a line (up to) here!

ɔṭɔ-ṭ.ɛ	kurɾet	cɪt-téntərə
pull-LOCAPP:IMP	line	LOC-over_there

draw a line right (up to) there!

A case of optional use of the **t**-suffix, with the same verb as in the examples above, follows here. The Imperative based on the verb with **t**-suffix (second example) is not as pressing as the one based on the verb without it (first example). This is because the **t**-suffix directs the focus away from the action itself to the location where it must be carried out. This conveys a lesser urgency for the action to be performed immediately. In the translations I use italics to try and capture the differences in informational focus. In the second, there may be contrastive focus (but not necessarily).

ɔ̃.ʊ **kurret** **nó-kamúr**
pull:IMP line on-sand

draw a line in the sand (do it now!)

ɔ̃.ʊ-t.ɛ **kurret** **nó-kamúr**
pull-LOCAPP:IMP line on-sand

draw a line in the sand! (the focus on the place takes away some of the urgency that the action should be carried out at once)

Use of the Locative-applicative **t** is generally not felicitous in the following situations:

- the specific place follows from the semantics of the verb itself or is evident from the type of action;
- the relationship between the action and the place of action is not relevant in the context.

The first example below has the verb **ɔ̃.ʊ** ‘pull’ again. Lines are typically drawn on the ground (with a stick) to mark pieces of land for making terraces for cultivation. The location (the ground) thus often follows more or less naturally from the action. Use of the **t** would put undue focus here on the ground as the location:

ɔ̃-kakká **p-á.ík** **p-á.tɔ̃** **kúrrét** **nó-capú**
PERS-Kakka C-be:PR C-pull:INCOMPL line on-ground

Kakka is drawing a line on the ground

The verb **ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚** ‘work’ refers in the first place to farming. In the first example below, the place follows naturally from the verb itself. Use of the **t**-suffix in this example would imply that the man is not farming, but doing other work in his field. In the second example the **t**-suffix is present because now the spatial constituent represents information that is not implied by the verb.

ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚	᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚	ᳵ᳚᳚
old_man	C-be:PR	C-work:INCOMPL	in-farming_field	C-POSS3

the old man is working in his field (he is farming)

ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚	᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚
old_man	C-be:PR	C-work-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	on-room

the old man is working in the room

The next pair contrasts two where-questions. The first, without the derivation, asks for the type of place that, in this context, is naturally implied by the verb (namely a body part). The second, with the derivation, asks for the place that, in this context, would not naturally be understood as the place asked for, namely the place where the event took place (for example, on the road to the market). The verb is **᳚᳚** ‘stab, blow’, with derivation **᳚᳚᳚**. **camu** is a sharp piece of dead wood fixed in the ground that has remained after a small tree or bush has been cut.

camu	᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚	᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚
piece_of-wood	C-stab:COMPL-O2	where-QW

where did the piece of wood prick/pierce you? (for example: in my left foot)

camu	᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚	᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚
piece_of-wood	C-stab-LOCAPP:COMPL-O2	where-QW

where did it happen that the piece of wood pricked/pierced you? (for example: on the road to the market)

The following sentence is a case of the second type where the Locative-applicative derivation is not felicitous. It is an answer to the question ‘where is Lalo?’. Instead of just answering that Lalo is ‘in the compound’, the speaker says ‘he is mending a bed in the compound’.

In the context of the question the place is the relevant information, though not as the location where Lalo is *mending*, but as the location where he *is*. The speaker, therefore, does not use the *t*-suffix on *ɔ́tɛrɔ* ‘mend’:

m-p-ɔ́tte.t n-a-ák a-kw-ɔ́tɛrɔ áɾaŋkal nɔ́-cərúk
 1-C-leave:COMPL on-PERS-3 CONJ-3-mend:DEPINCOMPL bed on-opening

I (just) left him, he is mending a bed in the compound

A few verbs never get the *t*-suffix: *ɔ́kâ* (*cɪk*) ‘be’, *ɛ̂ɔ̂* ‘go’, *aɔ* ‘come’ and *ɔ́nâ* ‘bring’, due to their semantics. The verbs ‘go’, ‘come’ and ‘bring’ are inherently goal-oriented and the locative verb *ɔ́kâ* ‘be’ is inherently place-oriented. Because of their natural locative orientation, the *t*-suffix has no function on these verbs when they are used with a locative constituent. They can, however, also be used without such a constituent, but recall that in such cases ‘be’ as a main verb must be combined with the ‘vague reference’ particle *cɪk* replacing the locative constituent (unless it functions as a copular verb). Examples with ‘be’, ‘go’ and ‘bring’ follow here.

m-p-a.ká tórrô
 1-C-be:INCOMPL Lumun_country

I will be in Lumun country

m-p-a.ɛ́ tórrô
 1-C-go:INCOMPL Lumun_country

I will go to Lumun country

ana ɔ́l w-á.ná ɲɔ́pák kéccôk³
 and people C-bring:INCOMPL beer market

and the people bring beer to the market

The Locative-applicative with objects not marked by a PPC

When some positional verbs occur with the *t*-suffix, a locative prepositional phrase from the clause with the non-derived verb

³ *keccôk* ‘market’ is an inherently locative noun.

becomes object (without PPC) in the clause that has the locative-applicative suffix. The suffix establishes that the action, in one way or another, *concerns* this object, or that the object is affected by the action. The sentence with the underived verb and the sentence with the derived verb are typically semantically not precisely equivalent. Compare the following pairs of examples:

ᵛ-kukkú	p-á.ík	p-á.cóṛᵛ	nᵛ-karrân
PERS-Kukku	C-be:PR	C-stand:INCOMPL	on-wall

Kukku is standing on the wall

ᵛ-kukkú	p-á.ík	p-á.cóṛᵛ-t	kárran
PERS-Kukku	C-be:PR	C-stand-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	wall

Kukku is standing near the wall (maybe guarding it)

ᵛ-kín	ṭ-á.ík	ṭ-íkkᵛ	cík	ı-ccík	k-ᵛ-ṭík
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF	in-place	C-of-fire

they are sitting near the fire

ᵛ-kín	ṭ-á.ík	ṭ-íkkᵛ-t	ṭík	cík
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-sit-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	fire	VREF

they are sitting near the fire (maybe guarding it)

ᵛ-kín	ṭ-á.ík	ṭ-íkkᵛ-t	pól	cík	ákka	p-p-ᵛṅᵛ
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-sit-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	person	VREF	that	PRO-C-sick

they are sitting with the man because he is ill

The verb in the following example must have the locative-applicative derivation, though this cannot be seen from its form, since Dependent Perfectives of **ᵛcéṛᵛ** and **ᵛcéṛᵛt** are identical. **ᵛcéṛᵛ** ‘make stand’, however, would imply that the spear stands by itself, without support, and in combination with a form of **ᵛcéṛᵛ**, **cᵛṛé cᵛ-pıra** ‘bottom of the tree’ could not be used without prepositional proclitic.

a-kıt	ᵛcéṛᵛ-kat	kaṭuk	cᵛṛé	c-ᵛ-pıra
CONJ-wild_chicken	make_stand-LOCAPP:DEPPRFV	spear	bottom	C-of-tree

and the wild chicken made the spear stand against the bottom of the tree (the lower part of the tree trunk) (‘The story of the jackal’)

A few transitive verbs have a Locative-applicative derivation that introduces an argument that is deprived from something. Stealing something from a place is expressed with the verb **ᓃᓄᓯᓂ** ‘steal’ in combination with a locative constituent preceded by **ᓴ-** ‘with, by, (away) from’. Stealing something from a person is expressed with the **t-final** verb **ᓃᓄᓯᓂᓂᓂ** and a noun without prepositional marking referring to the victim. It seems that, with persons, stealing as affecting somebody takes prominence over the notion of stealing as an act of taking something away from a location.

n-ᓃᓄᓯᓂᓂᓂ	ᓃᓄᓯᓂ-t	ᓃ-paᓂ-k-aᓂ-ᓴᓂ
2A-let:DEPINCOMPL	steal-LOCAPP:DEPINCOMPL	PERS-sibling-C-POSS2-PL

do not steal from your brothers! (plural addressee)

A case of change from intransitive to transitive verb is the following:

kəpa	k-a.ɪk	k-á.kkunaᓃ	ɪ-makkóren
meat	C-be:PR	C-smell:INCOMPL	in-somewhere

meat is smelling somewhere (Said upon passing some houses. There is a smell of meat, but it is not clear where exactly it comes from)

m-p-a.ɪk	p-á.kkunaᓃ-t	kəpá
C-be:PR	C-smell-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	meat

I smell meat

Non-valency increasing derivations: change of patient-role of object into affected-entity role

The **t**-suffix can be used in order to express that an action is performed at, or upon, (part of) somebody or something. With the verb **ᓃᓄᓯ** ‘wash’, there is a difference between washing a cloth or bathing a person (or for example a cow). A cloth which is washed is put into the water entirely, while a person is typically not. The bathing of a person by somebody else is performed at, or onto (parts of) the body of that person and requires the **t**-suffix on the verb **ᓃᓄᓯ** ‘wash’ (second example below). Compare:

m-p-ɔmé.t **kəré.t**

1-C-wash:COMPL cloth

I have washed the cloth

m-p-ɔmé-ɬ.ɛ **ɔ-kakkâ**

1-C-wash-LOCAPP:COMPL PERS-Kakka

I have bathed Kakka

***m-p-ɔmé.t** **ɔ-kakkâ**

1-C-wash:COMPL PERS-Kakka

A comparable case is the following:

m-p-a.kécce **ɬɬɛk**

1-C-cut.PLUR:INCOMPL rope

I will cut the rope (cutting it in two parts)

m-p-a.kécce-t **ɬɬɛk**

1-C-cut.PLUR-LOCAPP:INCOMPL rope

I will cut the rope smooth (I will cut at the rope: I will cut off the fibres that are sticking out)

The Locative-applicative verb of ‘cut’, **ɔkécceɬ**, can also express that an action is performed upon oneself. Cutting somebody’s hair (or somebody’s nails) can be expressed with a possessive construction (first example below), but also with a Benefactive verb, where the possessor functions as the complement of the Benefactive verb (second example). If the action is performed upon oneself, on the other hand, the verb needs the **t**-suffix: the own body, though not explicitly mentioned, is the affected entity (or the location) of the action (third example).

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.kécce** **wan** **w-ɔ-kakkâ**

1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR:INCOMPL hair C-of.PERS-Kakka

I am cutting Kakka’s hair

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.kécce-ne** **ɔ-kakkâ** **wăn**

1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR-BEN:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka hair

I am cutting Kakka’s hair

m-p-a.ɪk p-a.kécce-t wǎn
 1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR-LOCAPP:INCOMPL hair

I am cutting my hair

If a locative adverbial phrase is added to the first or second example above, the verb with **t**-suffix is used. The Benefactive verb **ɔkécceɛne** ‘cut for’ (second example above) then becomes **ɔkécceɛtɛt**.

m-p-a.ɪk p-a.kécce-ɲɛt ɔ-kakká wan nɔ.ppǎn
 1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR-BEN.LOCAPP:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka hair inside

I am cutting Kakka’s hair inside

Some verbs of speech

With verbs of speech the function of the **t**-suffix is different. The verbs **ɪɛt** ‘tell sb.’ and **ɔmɛt** ‘tell sb.’ have an additional object with the role of ‘recipient’ of the speech, as compared to **ɪɛ** ‘say’ and **ɔmɛ** ‘say’. The same is true for **ɪpittɔ** ‘ask (for) sth.’, where the Locative-applicative derivation (**ɪpittɔt** ‘ask sb. (for) sth.’) adds the ‘recipient’ of the question. The Benefactive derivation adds an argument with beneficiary role to this verb (**ɪpittɪɲɛt** ‘ask sb. (for) sth. for the benefit of’), cf.:

m-p-ɪpittɔ ɲuí
 1-C-ask:INCOMPL milk

I will ask for milk

m-p-ɪpittɔ-t ɔ-kakká ɲuí
 1-C-ask-LOCAPP:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka milk

I will ask Kakka for milk

m-p-ɪpitt-mɛ ɔ-kakká ɲuí
 1-C-ask-BEN:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka milk

I will ask for milk for Kakka

m-p-ɪpitt-mɛt ɔkol ɔ-kakká ɲuí
 1-C-ask-BEN.LOCAPP:INCOMPL child PERS-Kakka milk

I will ask Kakka for milk for the child

The nouns referring to the child and to Kakka in the last example cannot be reversed without a change of semantic roles.

With the verb **ερε** ‘speak’, the **t**-suffix takes what is spoken about as its complement (second example below), while the Benefactive derivation introduces the addressee of the speech. Note that the language is marked with **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ in such cases (third example below).

ul w-ére kárrô
 people C-speak:INCOMPL mother_tongue
 the people speak Lumun

ul w-ére-t kárrô
 people C-speak-LOCAPP:INCOMPL mother_tongue
 the people speak about Lumun

ul w-ére-ne ɔ-nnán ŋ-karrô
 people C-speak-BEN:INCOMPL PERS-mother with-mother_tongue
 the people speak to the mother in Lumun

The sentence below, with a locative adverbial phrase, is ambiguous. The locative-applicative derivation can be used because of the locative phrase, but it is also possible that **karrô** ‘mother tongue’ functions as its complement. The first case translates as ‘speak Lumun’, the second as ‘speak about Lumun’.

ul w-ére.t kárrô i-man m-ɔ-kapık
 people C-speak-LOCAPP:INCOMPL mother_tongue in-house C-of-God
 the people speak Lumun in the church / the people speak about Lumun in the church

Some speakers, however, combine **ερε** ‘speak’ with **nɔ-** instead of using the locative applicative derivation for ‘speak about’.

Lexicalizations

Several verbs with the **t**-suffix have lexicalized semantics.

An example is the pair **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** ‘push’ / **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** ‘send’. A prototypical situation of **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** is described as a mother pushing a child out of the house in the early morning in order to go and get fire from the neighbours. This pushing involves a locative goal and has lexicalized into the verb **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** ‘send’, which can occur without a locative phrase.

ᵛ-kakká **p-ᵛᵗᵗᵗ.ᵗ** **ukul**
 PERS-Kakka C-send:COMPL child

Kakka has sent the child

The verb **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** is used as ‘push’ (first example below). In the second example below, the verb has the **t**-suffix because of the locative phrase: a regular productive derivation exists here next to the lexicalized derivation.

ᵛ-cēccé **p-á.ík** **p-á.ᵗᵗᵗ** **cóᵗᵗ**
 PERS-Cēccē C-be:PR C-push:INCOMPL stone

Cēccē is pushing the stone

ᵛ-cēccé **p-ᵛᵗᵗᵗ-ᵗ.ᵗ** **cóᵗᵗ** **nᵛ-kuᵗᵗ** **k-ᵛ-kkwᵗn**
 PERS-Cēccē C-push-LOCAPP:COMPL stone on-lip C-of-farming_field

Cēccē has pushed the stone to the edge of the farming field

The vowel-final verb **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** ‘push’ also has the more specialized meaning of ‘divorce’. Divorce is conceptualized as pushing the wife out of the compound: no locative goal is involved and the verb lacks the **t**-suffix.

ᵛ-kukku **p-ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** **parí**
 PERS-Kukku C-push:COMPL wife

Kukku has divorced his wife

Some more verbs with a lexicalized **t**-final counterpart follow here. The developments are not in all cases as transparent as in the pair **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ** / **ᵛᵗᵗᵗ**.

ᵛkkwᵗ beat **ᵛkkwᵗt** kill
ᵛkwᵗ blow **ᵛkwᵗt** ignite, blow at (fire)

ɪɾɪkɔ	enter	ɪɾɪkɔt	be busy
ʊmmɔ	take, pick	ʊmmɔt	come up (of sun, grass)
ɪpɔ	collect	ɪpɔt	dig (up), store
ɔkkɔ	pass	ɔkkɔt	do, make

Several **t**-final verbs lack a vowel-final counterpart. For some it is easy to think of a “natural” spatial complement, for others this is not so obvious. Though they have very diverse semantics, I suppose that all these verbs contain, historically, the **t**-suffix. They do not, or no longer, need the presence of a locative complement, although in some cases the element **cɪk**, functioning as a “dummy” place (or time) denoting element, is obligatory. For some of the verbs a corresponding verb without **t** does exist, but seems to be unrelated; such counterpart verbs are given in parentheses. Some examples:

apɪkɔt ‘rest’, **ɛtɛt** ‘give’, **ɪttarɔt** ‘help’, **ɪttat** ‘become fat’ (**ɪtta** ‘get married’), **ɪcat** ‘lie down, sleep’, **ɪcat cɪk** ‘lie (down)’, **ɪntat cɪk** ‘disappear’, **ɔcɔŋkwet** ‘splash (in the water)’, **ɔkúccet** ‘prepare’, **ɔkwántɔt** ‘search’, **ɔnákket** ‘put down’, **ɔŋɔt** ‘like, want, love’, **ɔpákkɔt** ‘return’ (**ɔpákkɔ** ‘wash one’s body’), **ɔnɔt** ‘taste’ (**ɔnɔ** ‘build’).

14.3. The Causatives

Lumun has a productive Causative suffix **ɪɛ** and a non-productive Causative suffix **ɛ** that occurs on a few verbs only. In this section, the suffix **ɛ** is glossed as CAUS1, the suffix **ɪɛ** as CAUS2. The two are in principle in complementary distribution, but this seems to be in a process of becoming somewhat fuzzy: some of the Causatives with the non-productive CAUS1 (**ɛ**) were, in elicitation, also given with the productive CAUS2 (**ɪɛ**), though in most of these cases doubt was expressed about the acceptability of the derivation with CAUS2, and in all cases the Causative with CAUS1 was the preferred.

In a few cases, Causatives with **ɛ** and with **ɪɛ** exist next to each other not as variants, but as different verbs. In such cases, the verb with **ɪɛ** is a double Causative: it is a derivation with CAUS2 based on a Causative that is derived with CAUS1.

Causatives can be derived from intransitive and from transitive verbs and have increased valency as compared to their base verb. The Lumun causative clause contains, apart from the Causative verb, at least two arguments: a “causer” and a “causee”. The causer-argument is the agent of the causation that is expressed by the verb. The causee-argument undergoes the causation and is at the same time agent or undergoer of the caused effect. In a situation of “direct causation” the causer-argument is directly and typically physically involved in the caused effect. In this situation control over the caused effect lies with the causer, not with the causee. In a situation of “indirect causation” the causer’s involvement in the effect is only indirect. The effect is caused by the causer, but actively carried out by the causee. In such a case, the causee is typically animate.

Form

The productive suffix **ɪɛ** (CAUS2) replaces a final or last vowel **ɔ**, **ɛ** or **a**. Upon attachment to a +ATR stem it is realized as **ɪɛ** [ie]. Some examples:

akɔ ‘wear; suck milk’	akɪɛ ‘dress sb.; breast feed’
apɔ ‘fall’	apɪɛ ‘make fall, drop (tr.)’
arrɔt ‘cross’	arɪɪɛt ‘make cross’
ɪkkɔ cɪk ‘sit, stay’	ɪkkɪɛ cɪk ‘make sit, make stay’
ɪkkɔ ‘drink’	ɪkkɪɛ [ikkie] ‘make drink’
accakɔ ‘soak (intr.)’	accakɪɛ ‘make wet’
ɔpákkɔ ‘wash (intr.)’	ɔpákkɪɛ ‘help sb. wash’
ɔkwáɪkɔt ‘remember’	ɔkwáɪkɪɛt ‘make remember, remind’
ɔccɔ ‘take, receive’	ɔccɪɛ ‘make take, make receive’
ɔllɔ ‘run’	ɔllɪɛ ‘make run’
ɔkkɔt ‘make, do’	ɔkkɪɛt ‘make make, make do’
ɔpállɛ ‘be afraid’	ɔpállɪɛ ‘make afraid, scare’
ɛɛ ‘speak’	ɛɪɛ ‘make speak’
ɔɲantɛ ‘enumerate, count’	ɔɲantɪɛ ‘make enumerate, count’
ɔppêt ‘get pregnant’	ɔppɪɛt ‘make pregnant’
ɔppêt ‘fill’	ɔppɪɛt ‘make fill’

ella ‘lack, be absent’	ellie ‘make disappear’
ɔ́ɔ́kka ‘grow (up)’	ɔ́ɔ́kkie ‘make grow (up), raise’
ɪɪmat ‘get dark, get blinded’	ɪɪmɪet ‘make dark, blind’
ɔ́píra ‘become good’	ɔ́pírie ‘make good’
ɔ́kítaka ‘become bad’	ɔ́kítakie ‘make bad’
ɔ́ntɔ́ma ‘become dry’	ɔ́ntɔ́mie ‘dry (tr.)’

In Causatives based on verbs with a L.L.HL tone pattern, the H tone occurs one mora to the left compared to the base verb:

ɔ́ɪəkɔ́ ‘eat’	ɔ́ɪəkie ‘make eat’
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Causatives with the non-productive suffix **ɛ** (CAUS1) are a limited set. The suffix **ɛ** replaces a final or last vowel **ɔ** or **a**. The derivational pairs that I found are listed below. In the case of **ɔ́ɛ́ɪɛ** (< **ɔ́ɔ́ɪɔ́**), the second vowel has harmonized with the suffix.

ɪɪkɔ́ ‘enter (intr.)’	ɪɪkie ‘make enter’
ɔ́pákkɔ́t ‘return (intr.)’	ɔ́pákket ‘make return, put back’
ɔ́ɔ́ɪɔ́ ‘stand, wait’	ɔ́ɛ́ɪɛ ‘make stand, make wait, stop (tr.)’
ɔ́páɪɔ́ ‘move at level height’	ɔ́páɪɛ ‘move at level height’
ɔ́ɪəpɔ́ ‘move down’	ɔ́ɪəpɛ ‘make move down’
ɔ́kúɪɔ́t ‘move up’	ɔ́kúɪɛt ‘make move up’
ɔ́páɪɔ́ cik ‘move out of the way’	ɔ́páɪɛ cik ‘make move out of the way’
ɔ́ɪəkkarɔ́t ‘move over’	ɔ́ɪəkkaret ‘make move over’
ɔ́kəɪɔ́ ‘get burnt’	ɔ́kəɪɛ ‘make burn’
ɛɪekɔ́t ‘grumble in oneself’ (related to ɛɪɛ ‘speak’)	ɛɪeket ‘convince’ (< make say to oneself)
ɔ́kkɔ́t ‘do, make’	ɔ́kkɛt ‘make (fire)’
ɔ́ppát ‘become full’	ɔ́ppɛt ‘fill’
ɪ́cat cik ‘lie (down)’	ɪ́cet cik ‘lay (down), make lie (down)’
ɛɪima ‘become deafened’	ɛɪime ‘deafen’
ɔ́rat cik ‘become lost’	ɔ́ret cik ‘loose, forget’

ɔ́ppɛt ‘get pregnant’ is probably related to **ɔ́ppɔ́** ‘appear’, and the Locative-applicative verb **ɛɪekɔ́t** ‘grumble in oneself’ relates to **ɛɪɛ**

‘speak’, but has lexicalized semantics (< ‘speak to oneself’). It seems that its Causative, **ερεκετ** ‘convince’, was derived before **ερεκετ** developed its specialized, somewhat pejorative, semantics.

In the following cases it is impossible to decide whether the suffix is **ε** or **ιε**, since both would have the same result: **νρι-α** + **ιε** > (**νρι-ιε** >) **νριε**; **νρι-α** + **ε** > **νριε**.

νρια ‘become red, ripe’	νριε ‘make red, ripe’
ετια ‘become cool’	ετιε ‘make cool’

Argument structure and semantics of Causatives

Causatives with **ε** are typically based on intransitive verbs and are themselves transitive: they have a causer and a causee argument. Causatives with **ιε** can be formed on the basis of intransitive and transitive verbs, and are themselves transitive or ditransitive. In the latter case they have, apart from the causer and the causee, a third argument that typically has a patient or beneficiary role in the caused event. Both Causatives can express direct as well as indirect causation. Whether a verb expresses direct or indirect causation is in some cases determined by the verb itself, but can also depend on its collocation. Finally, some sentences can be interpreted both as direct and as indirect causation.

In order to demonstrate the argument structure, the sentences presented in this section are in some cases contrasted with a sentence that contains the base verb.

Causatives with ε (CAUS1)

Several of the verbs with **ε** are concerned with path of movement (‘make enter’, ‘make go up’, and others) or with putting someone or something in a certain position. An example of the latter follows here.

ɔ-nnán p-ɨc-ε.káɛ ɔkul cɨk ná-aɾaŋkál
 PERS-mother C-lie_down-CAUS1:PST child VREF on-bed

the mother laid the child down on the bed / the mother made the child lie down on the bed

ɔkul w-ɨca.káɛ cɨk ná-aɾaŋkál
 child C-lie_down:PST VREF on-bed

the child lay down on the bed

In this example, the causative can refer to a situation of direct involvement of the causer in the effect, but also to a situation of indirect involvement: a situation in which it is the child itself that carries out the action of lying down.

Also in the following examples, with a verb with *ε* that is concerned with path of movement, the directness of the causers involvement is not determined by the verb itself. Here an interpretation as direct or indirect causation depends on the collocation of the verb. In the first two examples, with an inanimate causee, the causer is directly involved in the effect, in the third, the causer's involvement is less direct: the action of going back will be carried out by the people themselves.

ant-ɔpákk-ε.t lón l-ɛn
 can:DEPINCOMPL-return-CAUS1:DEPINCOMPL words C-DEM

please repeat what you said (lit.: please make those words return)

ɔpakk-ε.t.ε mɨl nɔ.ppăn
 return-CAUS1:IMP sorghum inside

put the sorghum back inside! (the addressee has just taken it out, but must put it back inside)

ɔpakk-ε.t.ε ôl
 return-CAUS1:IMP people

make the people go back!

The example below is a clear example of indirect causation: the goats perform the action of going up.

k-kw-ḡkuṭ-é.ṭ.ε **l̥cək** **təpərà**
 3-C-move_up-CAUS1:COMPL goats Təpərà
 s/he made the goats move up to Təpərà

l̥cək **l-ḡkuṭəṭ.é** **təpərà**
 goats C-move_up:COMPL Təpərà
 the goats moved up to Təpərà

A few verbs with *ε* are Causatives derived from (inchoative) state verbs. They typically express direct causation. The causee (first example below) has an undergoer role. The noise is directly making the man deaf.

pəṭé **p-εrim-é.t** **pul**
 sound C-become_deafened-CAUS1:COMPL person
 the noise has deafened the man

pul **p-εrimâ.t**
 person C-become_deafened:COMPL
 the man is deafened (typically by a loud noise)

Causatives with ιε (CAUS2)

Causatives with *ιε* are often derived from transitives, but can also be derived from intransitives. The Causative in the example below is based on an intransitive verb. Causation can be indirect and direct. The example below illustrates indirect causation. It describes the situation that the child, just upon seeing the dog, got scared and ran. The dog is present, but otherwise no action on its part is implied, it may even be sleeping. The causer, the dog, is involved in the causation, if only by its presence, but the effect is carried out by the child alone. The sentence cannot be interpreted as that the dog is running after the child.

ṭok **ṭ-ḡll-ιέ.t** **okul**
 dog C-run-CAUS2:COMPL child
 the dog has made the child run

ʊkʊl w-a.ɪk w-a.lɪ́ aka-ín-ṭa
 child C-be:PR C-run:INCOMPL that-what-QW
 why is the child running?

The following example of direct causation is also derived from an intransitive verb. The child is typically a small child, unable to wash itself (properly) on its own. The child is not necessarily purely undergoing the washing, it may have some agent-role itself as well. In the second (non-Causative) example, the child is typically a bit older, washing itself alone.

ɔpak-ɪe ʊkʊl
 wash_body-CAUS2:IMP child
 help the child to wash itself! / bathe the child!

ʊkʊl w-a.ɪk w-a.pákkɔ
 child C-be:PR C-wash_body:INCOMPL
 the child is taking a shower

Some Causatives with **ɪe** are derived from (inchoative) state verbs. Like the Causatives with **ɛ** that are derived from (inchoative) state verbs, they express direct causation:

cɪŋkɪ c-a.ɪk c-á.nṭɔm-ɪe ərét
 sun C-be:PR C-become_dry-CAUS2:INCOMPL cloths
 the sun is drying the clothes

ərét w-a.ɪk w-á.nṭɔma
 cloths C-be:PR C-become_dry:INCOMPL
 the clothes are getting dry

An example with a Causative based on a transitive verb follows here. Causatives based on transitive verbs often express situations of indirect causation. This is also the case in the following example: the causer can only make the causee decide to carry out the effect (swear an oath).

k-kw-á.kkw-ɛ **pól** **mĩ**
 3-C-hit-CAUS2:INCOMPL person spell

s/he will make the person swear an oath

pól **p-a.kkw** **mĩ**
 person C-hit:INCOMPL spell

the person will swear an oath

There is lexical variation as to whether a causative verb allows for both a direct and an indirect causation as an interpretation. The following example based on the transitive verb **ɔɾəkɔ** ‘eat’ allows for both interpretations. It can be a case of indirect causation: the mother makes the child eat (for example by suggesting punishment if it does not), but it also allows for an interpretation as direct causation: the mother feeds the child. In the latter case she is directly and physically involved, putting asida in the child’s mouth.

ɔ-nnán **p-á.ík** **p-á.ɾók.ɛ** **ókól** **ɲurú**
 PERS-mother C-be:PR C-eat-CAUS2:INCOMPL child asida

the mother is feeding the child asida / the mother is making the child eat asida

The situation is different with **akɔ** ‘wear, put on’, which only allows for a reading as direct causation. In the following example the causer has a direct physical involvement in the caused action. The sentence does not allow for a reading without such direct physical involvement.

ɔ-nnán **p-ák-ɛ** **ɲókól** **əré**
 PERS-mother C-wear-CAUS2:INCOMPL children cloths

the mother helps the children to put on their clothes (Not: the mother makes the children put on their clothes)

Verbs allowing both Causative suffixes

One verb occurs with both Causative suffixes: **ɪɾikɔ** ‘enter’. The most common Causative form has the suffix **ɛ**, but a variant with **ɪɛ** is considered acceptable as well. The variant with **ɪɛ** cannot be used in

the first example below, which is a clear situation of direct causation. It can, however, be used in the second example, with a (wilful) human causee. Notably, in the second example below, there is no difference between the verbs as to the way in which the causation is carried out (for example through persuasion or physically).

... **a-kw-ířık-ε** **káíří** **ı-a-âk**
 CONJ-3-enter-CAUS1:DEPINCOMPL nail in-PERS-3

and he inserts his claw into him (the lion attacks the leopard) ('The story of the jackal')

k-kw-ířık-é.t / k-kw-ířık-íε.t **ɔ-lóccɔ** **nɔ-ppăn**
 3-C-enter-CAUS1:COMPL / 3-C-enter-CAUS2:COMPL PERS-Lóccɔ on-room

s/he made Lóccɔ enter the room

Some of the other verbs with **ε** possibly have a variant with **íε**. In most of these cases there was uncertainty about the acceptability of the verb with **íε**. One such case is the verb **ɔrəpê** 'make come down':

ɔrəp-ε **ɔkɔl** **n-tɔ-cɔřđl**
 come_down-CAUS1:IMP child with-up_on-stone(k.o.)

get the child down from the stone!

? **ɔrəp-íε** **ɔkɔl** **n-tɔ-cɔřđl**
 come_down-CAUS2:IMP child with-up_on-stone(k.o.)

make the child come down from the stone!

There seems to be a subtle semantic difference between the two sentences above, but it was difficult to get clear what exactly the difference would be. The verb with **íε**, if acceptable, seems to imply an effort on the part of both causer and causee, whereas the Causative with **ε** refers in the first place to an action by the causer. The translations try to reflect this. In both cases, the child can come down from the stone by itself, but it is also possible that the addressee gives it a helping hand.

Further Causatives with **ε** that can (possibly) also be used with **íε** follow here. Most verbs with **íε** have a question mark, indicating that

my consultant hesitated about their acceptability or that acceptability judgements about these verbs with **ɪɛ** were inconsistent. The forms with **ɛ** are the ones commonly used.

ɪcat cɪk ‘lie down’	ɪcɛt cɪk, ɪcɪɛt cɪk ‘lay sb. down’
ʊrat cɪk ‘become lost’	ʊrɛt cɪk, ?ʊrɪɛt cɪk ‘loose, forget’
ʋɛɔɔɔ ‘stand, wait’	ʋɛɛɔɔ, ?ʋɛɛɔɔɛ, ?ʋɛɔɔɛ ‘stop (tr.), make wait’
ʋpáɔ ‘go level’	ʋpáɛ, ?ʋpáɛɛ ‘go level’
ʋpáɔ cɪk ‘move out of the way’	ʋpáɛ cɪk, ?ʋpáɛɛ cɪk ‘make move out of the way’
ʋkúɔt ‘move up’	ʋkúɛt, ?ʋkúɛɛt ‘make move up’
ʋpákkɔt ‘return’	ʋpákkɛt, ?ʋpákkɛɛt ‘make return, put back’

Double Causatives

The above-mentioned pairs with **ɛ** and with **ɪɛ** (**ɪɪɪɛ/ɪɪɪɛɛ** and others) are based on the same non-Causative base verb and can, at least in some constellations (and as far as the forms with **ɪɛ** are at all considered acceptable) be used both. Three pairs of Causatives are attested with **ɛ** and with **ɪɛ** that have different argument structures. In such cases the verb with **ɪɛ** is a (ditransitive) double Causative, derived on the basis of the Causative with **ɛ**: **ɛ** + **ɪɛ** > **ɪɛ**. The attested cases are all derived on the basis of Causatives with **ɛ** that are themselves derived from verbs with final or last **a** (typically (inchoative) state verbs). The fourth verb of the small set of verbs with a final or last **a** that have a Causative with CAUS1 (**ɛɪma** ‘become deafened’ / **ɛɪmɛ** ‘deafen’) does not seem to allow for double derivation. This is perhaps because the causer argument of **ɛɪmɛ** ‘deafen’ is typically non-animate (a loud noise).

A case of double derivation is **ɪcɪɛt cɪk** ‘lay down, make lie (down)’ (< **ɪcɛt cɪk** < **ɪcat cɪk** ‘lie (down)’). On the one hand **ɪcɪɛt cɪk** is said to be an alternative form of **ɪcɛt cɪk** (though in cases where both are possible, the latter is preferred), on the other hand it is also a different verb: a double Causative with an additional argument as compared to **ɪcɛt cɪk**. Where in the first example both verbs are possible (and both verbs can express direct as well as indirect

causation), the second example, with an additional argument, only allows for the double Causative **icjet cik**.

ɔ-kakká	p-ic-ét.ɛ / p-ic-íet.ɛ	ɔkɔl	cik
PERS-Kakka	C-lie_down-CAUS1:COMPL / C-lie_down-CAUS2:COMPL	child	VREF

Kakka has laid the child down, Kakka has made the child lie down

ɔ-kakká	p-ic-í-et.ɛ	ɔ-cɛccɛ	ɔkɔl	cik
PERS-Kakka	C-lie_down-CAUS2-CAUS1:COMPL	PERS-Cɛccɛ	child	VREF

Kakka has made Cɛccɛ lay the child down

The other attested pairs are **ɔret cik** ‘loose, forget’ (< **ɔrat cik** ‘become lost’) / **ɔriet cik** ‘make sb. loose sth., make sb. forget’, and **ɔppêt** ‘fill’ (< **ɔppât** ‘become full’) / **ɔppíet** ‘make sb. fill’. Compare:

ɬɔntəɔ	ɬ-ɔppát.ɛ
calabash(k.o.)	C-become_full:COMPL

the **ɬɔntəɔ**-calabash is full

ɲɔkɔl	ɲ-ɔpp-é.ɬɛ	ɬɔntəɔ	ɬamúr
children	C-become_full-CAUS1:COMPL	calabash(k.o.)	sand

the children have filled the **ɬɔntəɔ**-calabash with sand

ɔ-kukkó	p-ɔpp-ɪ-ét.ɛ	ɔ-nɛnní	ɲɔɾɪ	ɬɔntəɔ
PERS-Kukku	C-become_full-CAUS2-CAUS1:COMPL	PERS-Nenni	water	calabash(k.o.)

Kukku made Nenni fill the **ɬɔntəɔ**-calabash with water

Most Causatives derived from (inchoative) state verbs (with a final or last vowel **a**) are derived by means of the CAUS2 suffix **ɪɛ**. The Causative **ɔntɔmɪɛ** ‘dry’ (< **ɔntɔma** ‘become dry’), can function as a transitive verb ‘dry sth.’, but also as a ditransitive verb ‘make sb. dry sth.’. In other words, this verb can express single causation (with one causee-object), but also double causation (with two causee-objects). In the latter case, **ɪɛ** is perhaps the surface outcome of a doubled CAUS2 suffix (second example below).

ɔ-kakká	p-ɔntɔm-íɛ.t	ɔrét
PERS-Kakka	C-become_dry-CAUS2:COMPL	cloths

Kakka has dried the clothes (typically by waving them in the air)

ɔ-kakká p-ɔntɔm-ɛ.t ɔ-kumaŋ ərét
 PERS-Kakka C- become_dry-CAUS2(?-CAUS2):COMPL PERS-Kumaŋ cloths

Kakka made Kumaŋ dry the clothes (typically by waving them in the air)

Certain Causatives with CAUS1 (ɛ) do not allow for double derivation, e.g., ***ɔkúɾɛt** ‘make sb. make go up’ (double Causative, < **ɔkúɾɛt** / ? **ɔkúɾɛt** (single Causative) < **ɔkúɾɔt** ‘move up’):

***ɔ-kukkó p-ɔkuɾ-í-ɛ.t ɔ-lɔccɔ lɛcɔk tɔpəɾâ**
 PERS-Kukku C-move_up-CAUS2-CAUS1:COMPL PERS-Lɔccɔ goats Tɔpəɾâ

Kukku made Lɔccɔ make the goats move up to Tɔpəɾâ

Causatives with CAUS2 (ɛ) based on other than (inchoative) state verbs can often only express single causation, not double, e.g.,

ɔkkwíɛ ‘make hit’ < **ɔkkwô** ‘hit’

k-kw-á.kkw-ɛ pul mɪɔ̃
 3-C-hit-CAUS2:INCOMPL person spell

s/he will make the person swear an oath

***k-kw-á.kkw-ɛ ɔ-kukkó pul mɪɔ̃**
 3-C-hit-CAUS2:INCOMPL PERS-Kukku person spell

s/he will make Kukku make the person swear an oath

ɛɾɛ ‘make speak’ < **ɛɾɛ** ‘speak’

ɛɾ-ɛ pul
 speak-CAUS2:IMP person

make the man speak!

***ɛɾ.ɛ ɔ-kukkó pul**
 3-C-speak-CAUS2:IMP PERS-Kukku person

make Kukku make the man speak!

With verbs which do not allow for double Causative derivation —the far majority— double causation can be expressed syntactically, with an additional verb. The next sentence was elicited with ‘Kukku made Lɔccɔ stop Lalo’. The verb is **ɔcéɾɛ** ‘stop (tr.)’ (< **ɔcɔɾɔ** ‘stand, wait’).

ɔ-kukkó p-irét.ɛ ɔ-lóccɔ itti k-kw-á.cɛɾ-ɛ ɔ-lalô
 PERS-Kukku C-say:COMPL PERS-Lóccɔ that 3-C-stand-CAUS1:INCOMPL PERS-Lalu

Kukku told Lóccɔ that he must stop Lалу

A syntactic construction expressing double causation is actually also more common in cases in which double derivation is possible (first example below) and also in the case of **ɔnɿɿmɿɛ** ‘(make sb.) dry sth.’, a verb that can express both single and double causation (second example below).

ɔ-kakká p-irét.ɛ ɔ-cɛccɛ itti k-kw-íc-et úkul cɪk
 PERS-Kakka C-say:COMPL PERS-Cɛccɛ that 3-C-lie_down-CAUS1:INCOMPL child VREF

Kakka told Cɛccɛ to lay the child down, Kakka told Cɛccɛ to make the child lie down

ɔ-kakká p-irét.ɛ ɔ-nenní itti k-kw-á.nɿɿm-ɿɛ ərét
 PERS-Kakka C-say:COMPL PERS-Nenni that 3-C-become_dry-CAUS2:INCOMPL cloths

Kakka told Nenni to dry the clothes

Verbs with last or final vowel(s) (ɿ)ɛ and causative semantics, but without base verb

There are a number of verbs with last or final vowels (ɿ)ɛ that suggest, based on their meaning, that they have developed as Causatives, but that lack a base verb from which they were derived. Such verbs almost always have ɛ, I found just one case with ɿɛ. Some examples:

aɾɛ	‘hang sth. (make sth. hang)’
ɔcákkɛ	‘make smooth, filter’
uɛt	‘beg (make sb. accept)’
ɔkúccɛt	‘prepare (make ready)’
ɔnákɬet / ɔllákɬet / ɔɾákɬet	‘put down’
akkəɾɛt	‘add (make sth. increase)’
ɔɾɛt	‘save’
ɔɾíkɿɛ	‘block sb.’s view (make sb. not see)’

These verbs with *ε* can serve as a basis for Causative derivation with *ιε*. For example *əkúccet* ‘prepare’ / *əkúcciet* ‘make sb. prepare’, and *aɾe* ‘hang sth.’ / *aɾie* ‘make sb. hang sth.’.

Since in these cases, the base-verbs themselves have inherent causative semantics (but are not regarded as Causative derivations because they lack a non-Causative base-verb) they semantically express double causation.

k-kw-áɾé.t kəɾet nó-cáɾícáɾâ
 3-C-hang:COMPL cloth on-bush(sp.)

s/he has hung the cloth over the bush

k-kw-áɾ-íé.t ɔ-kakká kəɾet nó-cáɾícáɾâ
 3-C-hang-CAUS2:COMPL PERS-Kakka cloth on-bush(sp.)

s/he has made Kakka hang the cloth over the bush

14.4. The Passives

Lumun has three Passive suffixes: **-(a)kɔ** (PASS1), **-(V)tta** (PASS2) and **-(o)ra** (PASS3). I refer to verbs that contain one of these suffixes and that occur next to a base verb as Passive verbs or Passives.

In this section, I first present the form, distribution and function of the Passive suffixes. An agent argument can, in general, be expressed in Lumun passive clauses, but is usually omitted. Intransitive verbs can serve as base for a Passive derivation because oblique arguments (i.e. arguments marked with a preposition) with locative or instrumental role can function as subject of a Passive verb. With an instrument as subject, Passives denote the function of that instrument (i.e. what is done with it). Lumun does not have impersonal passive constructions.

An explanation for the existence of three instead of just one Passive derivational suffix will be proposed, suggesting that they have developed, on the one hand, from morphemes that historically had a different distribution related to plural versus non-plural semantics of the verb (PASS2 vs. PASS3), and on the other hand from morphemes

that historically had different functions (middle marking in the case of PASS1 versus passive marking in the case of PASS2 and PASS3).

Finally, some verbs are presented that (seem to) contain two Passive suffixes.

The three Passive suffixes

There are three Passive suffixes: **(a)kɔ** (PASS1), **(V)tta** (PASS2) and **(u)ra** (PASS3).

Many base verbs allow for two of these suffixes, and in some cases any of the suffixes is possible. These forms can simply be alternative possibilities, expressing the same meaning —though in most such cases one derivation is more commonly used—, but there can also be semantic differences, subtle in some cases, very clear in others. There are some distributional tendencies with regard to the choice between (or preference for one of) the three Passive suffixes, which relate to the final (or last) stem vowel of the base verb (in case of attachment of PASS1 or PASS2) and to its tonal structure in combination with the final (or last) stem vowel (in case of attachment of PASS3).

Forms, attachment and distribution

The suffixes **(a)kɔ**, **(u)ra** and **(V)tta** replace the final or last vowel of the base verb or come after it. If the base verb has a final **t**, this **t** remains in final position. If it contains a Benefactive suffix, the Passive suffix comes before the Benefactive suffix. **V** in PASS2 **(V)tta** stands for an underspecified vowel: its realization in the derived verb is determined by the vowel of the base verb that precedes it. Examples are given further below.

PASS1 **(a)kɔ** is the preferred suffix when a base verb ends in **ɔ** or **ɔt**. PASS2 **(V)tta** is the most common Passive suffix with verbs ending in **ɛ** or **ɛt**. Cases of PASS1 **(a)kɔ** attached to a verb ending in **ɛ** or **ɛt** are, however, attested next to Passives with PASS2, as are cases of PASS2 **(V)tta** attached to verbs ending in **ɔ** or **ɔt**. In the latter situation, Passives with PASS1 are sometimes not possible.

Verbs ending in **a** or **at**, as far as they allow for Passive formation at all, tend to be open to both PASS1 and PASS2, preference for one or the other is lexically determined.

The distribution of PASS3 (**u**)**ra** is restricted to a specific set of verbs: it occurs only on bimoraic verbs with L.HL tone pattern, particularly those that have a final or last vowel **ɔ**. There are, however, a few **ɔt**-final bimoraic verbs with L.HL tones that cannot take PASS3: these verbs only occur with PASS2 (V)**tta**. A case of PASS3 attached to a L.HL verb ending in **â** is also attested. All verbs that can take PASS3 also allow for both other suffixes. PASS3 is not attested with (**ε**)**t**-final verbs.

NB: The examples below just illustrate the attachment of the suffixes. In a few cases, there are semantic differences between Passives derived from the same base verb which are not revealed by the English translations provided here. Semantic issues will be discussed further below.

Attachment of PASS1 (**a**)**kɔ** to verb stems with different last or final vowels gives the following results:

ɔ(t) + akɔ > akɔ(t)

a(t) + kɔ > akɔ(t)

ε(t) + kɔ > εkɔ(t)

Examples:

ɔkɔ 'cut'

ɛlikkɔ 'release'

ɔkwéntɔ 'leave (tr.)'

ɔɲɔ 'fry'

ɔɲɔt 'like, want, love'

ɔkɪ-akɔ 'be cut'

ɛlikk-akɔ 'be released'

ɔkwént-akɔ 'be left over, remain'

ɔɲ-ákɔ 'be fried'

ɔɲ-akɔ-t 'be liked, be wanted, be loved'

ɪna 'know'

ɔná 'bring'

ɔkwáriccat 'search for'

ɪna-kɔ 'be known'

ɔná-kɔ 'be brought'

ɔkwáricca-kɔ-t 'be searched for'

ḡṡṡ, ṡṡṡ ‘make cool, bless’	ḡṡṡ-ḵ, ṡṡṡ-ḵ ‘be made cool, be blessed’
ḵḵḵ ‘shave’	ḵḵḵ-ḵ ‘be shaved’
ḵḵḵḵḵḵ ‘prepare’	ḵḵḵḵḵḵ-ḵ-t ‘be prepared’

A few verbs with PASS1 have an irregular form. In the first case below the last consonant of the non-derived stem is geminated upon attachment of PASS1. In the second case, the consonant of the PASS1 suffix is geminated:

ɟɾəkɔ̃ 'eat'	ɟɾək-k-akɔ̃ 'be eaten'
ɪta 'cook (asida)'	ɪta-k-kɔ̃ 'be cooked (asida)'

Attachment of PASS3 (V) **ttā** leads to change of the final or last vowel of the base verb when this vowel is **ɔ**. Attachment of the suffix to bimoraic L.HL verbs with a final **ɔ** results in **əttā** and sometimes allows for an alternative realization as **uttā**. If a labialized consonant (always a velar) precedes a final or last vowel **ɔ**, the suffix is realized as **uttā**. In all cases the underspecified vowel of the suffix is realized with a different quality than the preceding stem vowel.

Attachment of PASS3 to $\epsilon(t)$ -final verbs is presented first, since PASS2 most commonly occurs with these verbs, either as the preferred or as the only possibility.

$$\begin{aligned} \mathfrak{E}(t) + tta &> \varepsilon tta(t) \\ \mathfrak{A}(t) + tta &> atta(t) \\ \mathfrak{O}(t) + (\mathbf{V})tta &> rttat(t), attat(t), \mathfrak{a}tta(t), uttat(t) \end{aligned}$$

Examples:

εê ‘stab, blow’	εé-tta ‘be stabbed, be blown’
ɔkícce ‘chase’	ɔkícce-tta ‘be chased’
ɔkê ‘shave’	ɔké-tta ‘be shaved’
εt̪ie, it̪ie ‘make cool, bless’	εt̪ie-tta, it̪ie-tta ‘be made cool, be blessed’
ɔkkwê ‘beat’	ɔkkwé-tta ‘be beaten’
eret ‘talk about’	ere-tta-t ‘be talked about’
ɔkúccet ‘prepare’	ɔkúcce-tta-t ‘be prepared’
etê ‘give’	eté-tta-t ‘be given’

ina ‘know’	ina-tta ‘be known’
ɔʔia ‘fear’	ɔʔia-tta ‘be feared’
ako ‘wear’	ak-ətta ‘be worn’
ɔnəkɔ ‘take’	ɔnək-ɪtta ‘be taken’
ɛlikko ‘release’	ɛlikk-atta ‘be released’
ɔnɔ ‘fry’	ɔn-útta / ɔn-ətta ‘be fried’
ɔkwɔ ‘blow’	ɔk-útta ‘be blown’
ɔkkɔt ‘do, make’	ɔkk-əttat ‘be done, be made’
ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’	ɔkk-úttat ‘be killed’

Attachment of Pass3 (ɔ)ra:

ɔ(t) + (ɔ)ra > úra(t)
á(t) + ra > ára(t)

Examples:

ɔnɔ ‘fry’	ɔn-úra ‘be fried’
ɔppɔt ‘collect at’	ɔpp-úra-t ‘be collected at’
ɔllá ‘wipe (away)’	ɔllá-ra ‘be wiped (away)’

As mentioned earlier, passive suffixes always precede benefactive suffixes, cf.:

ɔkwéntɔ ‘leave (tr.)’ > **ɔkwéntɪnɛ** ‘leave sth. for’ (BEN)
ɔkwéntɔ ‘leave (tr.)’ > **ɔkwéntakɔ** ‘be left over, remain’ (PASS1)
ɔkwéntakɔ ‘be left over’ > **ɔkwéntakɪnɛ** ‘be left over for’
 (BEN + PASS1)

The following Passives have irregular forms:

ɔkáko ‘grind’	ɔk-ətta ‘be ground’
ɔʔəkɔ ‘eat’	ɔʔə-tta ‘be eaten’
ɪpɔ ‘obtain, marry’	ɪ-tta ‘get married’
ɔnɔ ‘build’	ɔn-ta ‘be built’
ərrɔ ‘push, shoot’	ərr-a ‘be pushed, be shot’

ɔkótte ‘trade (PLUR)’	ɔkótt-a ‘be traded (PLUR)’
ɔkɔ ‘cut’	ɔk-écca ‘be cut’

Argument structure and meaning of constructions with Passives

All three derivations function as regular or canonical passives. Canonical passive constructions are generally defined in relation to active constructions with a transitive verb (a.o. Siewierska 1984). In its most typical form, a passive construction lacks an overtly stated agent argument (the argument that functions as the subject of the active transitive clause), while subject function is assumed by the argument that functions as object (with patient role) in the active clause. It is generally possible to express the agent as an oblique.

Examples follow here, contrasting active and passive constructions. In some examples, a Passive with one or either of the other Passive suffixes would be possible as well, without a change of meaning. In such cases, the example is given with the Passive that is most commonly used. In the second example below the agent is omitted.

ɔ-lótti	p-ɛlɪkkɔ.t	puɾupê
PERS-Lótti	C-release:COMPL	bird

Lótti has released the bird

puɾupé	p-ɛlɪkk-ákɔ.t
bird	C-release-PASS1:COMPL

the bird has been released

NB: instead of PASS1 (**ɛlɪkk-akɔ** ‘be released’), PASS2 (**ɛlɪkk-atta**) could also be used.

Expression of the agent

Though agents are commonly omitted, it is possible to express them. People as agents (i.e. pronouns, personal names and common nouns referring to people) are followed by **ɲɲm** ‘with, by’, which is the absolute form of the prepositional proclitic **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ (see chapter 16.6 for the absolute prepositions):

pəɽupé **p-ɛlɪkk-ákɔ.t** **ɔ-lóttí** **ŋ.ŋm**
 bird C-release-PASS1:COMPL PERS-Lótti with:ABS

the bird has been released by Lótti

pəɽupé **p-ɛlɪkk-ákɔ.r-ɔk** **ŋ.ŋm**
 bird C-release-PASS1:COMPL-O3 with:ABS

the bird has been released by him

Animals as agents are marked by **ń**- ‘with, by, (away) from’:

ɬok **ɬ-ɔkkwɔɬ.é** **pəlla**
 dog C-kill:COMPL cat

the dog has killed the cat

pəlla **p-ɔkk-uttá.ɬ.ɛ** **n-ɬók**
 cat C-kill-PASS2:COMPL with-dog

the cat was killed by the dog

At least a few common nouns referring to people allow for both ways of expression of the agent argument, for example **ɔkɔl** ‘child’:

ɔkɔl **w-a.ɪk** **w-a.ɬɔ** **ɪmɪt**
 child C-be:PR C-pull:INCOMPL goat

the child is pulling the goat

ɪmɪt **w-a.ɪk** **w-a.ɬ-úra** **ɔkɔl** **ŋ.ŋm / n-ɔkɔl**
 goat C-be:PR C-pull-PASS3:INCOMPL child with:ABS with-child

the goat is being pulled by the child

NB: instead of Pass3 **ɔtúra** ‘be pulled’, Pass1 **ɔtáko** and Pass2 **ɔtútta** or **ɔtétta** are also possible.

Passives can express states; in such cases use is made of the Completive. An example follows here with the irregular Passive **ɪtta** ‘get married’ (< **ɪpɔ** ‘obtain, marry’):

ŋ-kw-ittá.r-ɪ
 2-C-get_married-PASS2:COMPL-Q

are you married?

The Completive of **ᵛkəɽittakət** ‘be(come) narrow, hold arms against/around the body and legs together’ (< **ᵛkəɽittət** ‘make narrow, squeeze’) is another example of a verb expressing a state. The example below can refer to a path (**kaɽər**) that is naturally “squeezed”, for example because it passes between rocks, but also to a path that has become narrow because people have been cultivating sorghum on it (second example below). An added phrase **n-ól** or **ól ɲɲɪm** (third example below) is understood as people standing on the path, causing the road to be narrow due to their presence.

kaɽər **k-ᵛkəɽitt-akə.t.ɛ**
road C-become_narrow-PASS1:COMPL
the path is narrow

kaɽər **k-ᵛkəɽitt-akə.t.ɛ** **m-mɪl**
road C-become_narrow-PASS1:COMPL with-sorghum
the path is narrow because of the sorghum (it grows on the path)

kaɽər **k-ᵛkəɽitt-akə.t.ɛ** **n-ól** / **ól** **ɲ.ɲɪm**
road C-become_narrow-PASS1:COMPL with-people people with:ABS
the path is narrow because of the people (they are standing on the path, leaving only a narrow space to pass)

An interpretation as a state and as a regular passive construction can both be possible. The verb in the examples below is **ᵛmɛtta** ‘be engraved’ (< **ᵛmê** ‘engrave’).

cakkələk **c-ᵛmɛ-ttā.t**
calabash(k.o.) C-engrave-PASS2:COMPL
the *cakkələk*-calabash is decorated

cakkələk **c-ᵛmɛ-ttā.t** **ᵛ-kakká** **ɲ.ɲɪm**
calabash(k.o.) C-engrave-PASS2:COMPL PERS-Kakka with:ABS
the *cakkələk*-calabash has been decorated by Kakka

A notion such as ‘be edible’ is expressed with a Passive verb. Edibility is conceptualized as ‘be eaten (by people)’:

cantít **pɪɲɪl** **ɪ-p-a.ɾə-tta**
 snake(k.o.) snake RES-C-eat-PASS2:INCOMPL

the *cantit* is a snake that is eaten / the *cantit* is a snake that can be eaten /
 the *cantit* is an edible snake

NB: instead of **ɾətta** ‘be eaten’, **ɾəkkakə**, with PASS1, can also be used.

The same goes for the notion ‘be visible’. In the first sentence below **immakə** ‘be seen’ is preferred, in the second **immatta** ‘be seen’, though in both cases the other verb would be acceptable as well. There is a subtle semantic difference between the two verbs. The sentence with **immakə** suggests a somewhat more active role of the sun than the sentence with **immatta**.

cɪɲkɪ **c-ímm-akə** **ɲ-ɲíɾmak**
 sun C-see-PASS1:INCOMPL with-early_morning

the sun is visible in the early morning (the sun lets itself be seen / appears
 in the early morning)

cɪɲkɪ **c-ímm-atta** **ámmá** **c-óppə.t**
 sun C-see-PASS2:INCOMPL if C-pass:COMPL

the sun is visible when it has come out (the sun can be seen when it has
 come out)

Semantic roles of subjects of Passive verbs

Subjects of a Passive verb often have a patient role, but not always. Examples with subjects with other semantic roles follow here. The examples show that Passives can be formed not only on the basis of transitive verbs but also on the basis of intransitive verbs, since oblique arguments with locative or instrumental roles can be subject of the Passive.

éttat (also **ɛttat**) ‘be given’ (< **ɛtət** ‘give’) allows for both the patient and the recipient to take the subject position.

cáttak **c-éé-tta.t** **ɔ-kakkâ**
 calabash(k.o.) C-give-PASS2:COMPL PERS-Kakka

the bowl will be given to Kakka

ɔ-kakkâ **p-éé-tta.t** **cáttak**
 PERS-Kakka C-give-PASS2:COMPL calabash(k.o.)

Kakka will be given the bowl

A beneficiary and a patient argument can both be the subject of a Passive + Benefactive verb. The verb in the examples is **ɔnékittane** ‘be carried for’ (base verb **ɔnékɔ** ‘carry’). Note that the order of the derivational suffixes remains unchanged.

ɔ-kakkâ **p-ɔnek-ítta-kanɕet** **ŋəɽĩ**
 PERS-Kakka C-carry-PASS2-BEN:PST water

the water was carried for Kakka (she did not carry it herself)

ŋəɽĩ **ŋ-ɔnek-ítta-kanɕet** **ɔ-kakkâ**
 water C-carry-PASS2-BEN:PST PERS-Kakka

the water was carried for Kakka (she did not carry it herself)

Prepositional phrases can be passivized. For example, the Passive + Benefactive verb **arəttakɨt nán** ‘be added to sth. for sb.’ (base verb **arəttɔt nán** ‘add’) has a beneficiary argument and an oblique argument marked by **nɔ** ‘on, at’. Both can be subject of the Passive + Benefactive verb. When not followed by its complement, **nɔ** is realized as its absolute counterpart **nán** (second example below). The action is presumed to be carried out by someone, but the agent is left unexpressed:

pɔl **p-arətt-ák-ɨtɕet** **nɔ-úrũ**
 person C-add-PASS1-BEN:COMPL on-asida

the man was given some more asida (for the man was added to the asida)

ŋurũ **ŋ-arətt-ák-ɨtɕet** **pɔl** **nán**
 asida C-add-PASS1-BEN:COMPL person on:ABS

the man was given some more asida (the asida was added to for the man)

The locative argument of a active Locative-applicative verb can be the subject of a passive construction:

ul w-a.ik w-â.ŋəkɔ-t i-cuŋé c-ɔ-pira
 people C-be:PR C-rest-LOCAPP:INCOMPL in-bottom C-of-tree
 the people are resting under the tree

pira p-a.ik p-â.ŋək-akɔ-t tit n-ôl
 tree C-be:PR C-rest-PASS1-LOCAPP:INCOMPL in:ABS with-people
 the tree is being rested under (lit.: in) by the people

A locative adjunct in a construction with an active verb can also be the subject of a corresponding passive construction. The verb **ɔcɔŋɔ** does not take the Locative-applicative derivation when combined with a locative prepositional phrase, nor does it inherently require a locative constituent. In the first example below, ‘on the wall’ is thus an adjunct, it could also be left out. Nevertheless, ‘the wall’ can function as the subject of the Passive verb **ɔcɔŋakɔ** (second example below); the PPC that is now separated from its complement takes on its absolute form **nán**. Instead of **ɔcɔŋakɔ**, derivation with PASS2 (**ɔcɔŋittɔ**) is also possible.

ɔ-kukkú p-á.ík p-á.cɔŋ nɔ-karrân
 PERS-Kokku C-be:PR C-stand:INCOMPL on-wall
 Kokku is standing on the wall

karrân k-a.ik k-a.cɔŋ-akɔ nán
 wall C-be:PR C-stand-PASS1:INCOMPL on:ABS
 somebody is standing on the wall (lit.: the wall is being stood on)

An instrumental adjunct can also function as subject of a Passive verb. In a corresponding active clause, the instrument is often marked with **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’, but in some cases with another preposition. Incompletives of Passive verbs with an instrument as their subject are used for the expression of the function or use of that instrument, stating what is generally done with it. Because the instrument is dislocated in the passive clause, the PPC is

realized in its absolute form. The examples below contrast the active with the passive constructions.

ul w-a.ṭáttə ŋ-kurrónj éŋ-k-í
 people C-fight:INCOMPL with-stick DEM-C-NEARSP
 people fight with this stick

kurrónj éŋ-k-í k-a.ṭátt-akə ŋ.ŋm
 stick DEM-C-NEARSP C-fight-PASS1:INCOMPL with:ABS
 this stick is for fighting (this stick is being fought with)

ul w-ícat na-aṣaŋkal én-n-í tullúk
 people C-lie_down:INCOMPL on-bed DEM-C-NEARSP just
 people only lie down (sleep) on this bed (i.e. it is not for sitting on)

aṣaŋkal én-n-í w-íca-kə.t nan tullúk
 bed DEM-C-NEARSP C-lie_down-PASS1:INCOMPL on:ABS just
 this bed is only for sleeping (this bed is slept on only)

Interestingly, when an instrument functions as the subject of a Passive that is derived from a transitive verb, **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ marking the instrument in the active sentence can be attached to the patient argument of the verb in the passive sentence (third example below). Compare:

ul w-a.kéccə ṭún ŋ-kəṛṭtaŋ éŋ-k-í
 people C-cut.PLUR:INCOMPL onion with-knife DEM-C-NEARSP
 people cut onions with this knife

kəṛṭtaŋ éŋ-k-í k-á.kéccə-tta ṭún ŋ.ŋm
 knife DEM-C-NEARSP C-cut.PLUR-PASS2:INCOMPL onion with:ABS
 this knife is for cutting onions (this knife is cut onion with)

kəṛṭtaŋ éŋ-k-í k-á.kéccə-tta n-ṭún
 knife DEM-C-NEARSP C-cut.PLUR-PASS2:INCOMPL with-onion
 this knife is for cutting onions (lit.: this knife is cut with onion)

Attachment of the PPC to a different argument than the one that is its complement in the corresponding active sentence was only found

with **ń** ‘with, by, (away) from’. In the passive constructions below (second and fifth examples) the absolute prepositions **nán** (corresponding to **nɔ** ‘on, at’) and **ntít** (corresponding to **nti** ɪ ‘from, out of’) must be used, respectively. Constructions with **nɔ** ‘on, at’ or **nti** ɪ ‘from, out of’ attached to **ɲərĩ** ‘water’ are not possible.

ul	w-ĩkkɔ	ɲərĩ	nɔ-cátták	éɲ-c-í
people	C-drink:INCOMPL	water	on-calabash	DEM-C-NEARSP

people drink water from this *cáttak*-calabash

cátták	ɲ-c-ɪ	c-ĩkk-akɔ	ɲərĩ	nán
calabash(k.o.)	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-drink-PASS1:INCOMPL	water	on:ABS

this *cáttak*-calabash is for drinking water

*cátták	ɲ-c-ɪ	c-ĩkk-akɔ	nɔ-ərĩ
calabash(k.o.)	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-drink-PASS1:INCOMPL	on-water

ul	w-únɔ	ɲərĩ	n.ti	ɪ-kummók	éɲ-k-í
people	C-pour:INCOMPL	water	from	in-pot	DEM-C-NEARSP

people pour water from this pot

kummók	ɲ-k-ɪ	k-ún-akɔ	ɲərĩ	n.tít
pot	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-pour-PASS1:INCOMPL	water	from:ABS

this pot is for pouring water

*kummók	ɲ-k-ɪ	k-ún-akɔ	n.ti	ɪ-ərĩ
pot	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-pour-PASS1:INCOMPL	from	in-water

Differences between the three Passives?

As stated above, there are distributional differences between the Passive derivations, relating to the final or last vowel of the base verb. PASS3 has a very restricted distribution, limited to bimoraic verbs with L.HL tones (but not all such verbs can take PASS3).

PASS2: historically related to pluractionality?

The forms of PASS2 and PASS3 (**(V)tta** and **(u)ra**) suggest that they may be related to each other: if **r** of PASS3 is underlying **t**, PASS2 can be

regarded as the geminated counterpart of PASS3. Another observation is that PASS2 typically occurs on verbs ending in *ε* or *et*. Such verbs are typically Pluractionals and Causatives. Pluractionals have inherent plural semantics, and Causatives are associated with a kind of action plurality as well: both causer and causee can perform an action (the causing action and the caused action).

Verbs to which PASS3 can be attached are, on the other hand, typically underived verbs (though they may contain the Locative-applicative suffix *t*). They do not involve action plurality. Thus, even though its phonological structure would fit the use of PASS3, the Pluractional verb *ṁwṁ* ‘kill (PLUR)’, only takes PASS2: *ṁwṁtta* ‘be killed (PLUR)’.

This suggests that PASS2 (V)*tta* may have developed as gemination of PASS3 (*u*)*ra* and may historically have been the suffix used on verbs with inherently plural semantics: Pluractionals and Causatives. The use of PASS2 has then later spread to verbs lacking plural semantics: synchronically, in all cases in which PASS3 is used PASS2 is possible as well, and several verbs that preferably go with PASS1 (and which lack plural semantics) also allow for PASS2.

It is unclear why the distribution of PASS3 is so restricted. Possibly PASS1, which arguably developed from a middle marker (see below), replaced PASS3. Notably, the verbs which take PASS3 also allow for PASS1 —and in such cases there are no semantic differences— but not vice versa.

Development of PASS1 (a)kṁ from a middle marker

A closer look at verbs with PASS1 (*a*)*kṁ* strongly suggests that, historically, the function of PASS1 was different from the others. The semantics of several derivations ending in *kṁ*, but also of verbs ending in *kṁ* that lack a base verb, suggest that PASS1 developed from a middle marker *kṁ*. This will be shown with several examples. Next to Passives with PASS1 that just function as passives, we distinguish:

- Passives with PASS1 functioning as regular passives, but also having a middle-type meaning;
- Verbs ending in **kə** and existing alongside a base verb as (formally) regular PASS1 derivations, but having middle-type meaning only;
- Verbs ending in (V)**kə** and existing alongside a base verb, but which are not PASS1 derivations and have middle-type meaning;
- Verbs ending in **kə** that lack a base verb and only have middle-type meaning.

In several cases a Passive with PASS2 exists alongside the verb with (a)**kə**. Both can be regular passives, but if there is a difference between them, whether clear or subtle, it is the verb with (a)**kə** that deviates towards middle semantics. One such case, **immakə** versus **immatta** (both derived from **imma** ‘see’) was already mentioned.

Examples of Passives with PASS1 that function as regular passives but also have a middle-type meaning follow here (second column). The base verb is presented in the first column. In case a Passive with PASS2 or PASS3 is attested as well, it is mentioned in the third column. The latter ones are always regular passives. Note that the base verb and the derived verb may differ as to presence or absence of a final **t**.

Table 94 Derivations with PASS1 also having middle semantics

<i>base verb</i>	<i>Passive with PASS1</i>	<i>Passives with PASS2 or PASS3</i>
əllā ‘wipe (away)’	əlləkə ‘be wiped away’, ‘scratch oneself’	əllətta, əllāra ‘be wiped away’
əkē ‘shave (tr.)’	əkəkə ‘be shaved’, ‘shave oneself’	əkətta ‘be shaved’
əkúccet ‘prepare (tr.)’	əkúccəkət ‘be prepared, prepare oneself’	əkúccettat ‘be prepared’
əkəɾittət ‘make narrow, squeeze’	əkəɾittakət ‘be made narrow, hold arms against/around the body and legs together’	
əpəɾəttət tít ‘turn (tr.)’	‘be turned’, ‘turn oneself’ əpəɾəttakət tít ‘be surprised’	

ɔkkárəttɔ 'return (tr.)'	ɔkkárəttakɔ 'be returned', 'return (intr.)'	
ɔkkápərəttɔ 'return (tr.)'	ɔkkápərəttakɔ 'be returned', 'return (intr.)'	
aɾəntɔt 'collect'	aɾəntakɔt 'be collected', 'gather, come together'	
ɪllɔ 'divide in two, split (tr.)'	ɪllakɔ 'be divided in two', 'split (intr.)'	

Cf. the following examples showing the Passives of 'shave' **ɔkéko** (PASS1) and **ɔkétta** (PASS2). The example with PASS2 is unambiguous: someone else is doing the shaving. The second example is ambiguous as to who performs the action: it can be the speaker himself, but also somebody else.

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.ké-tta**
1-C-be:PR C-shave-PASS2:INCOMPL

I am being shaved (by somebody else)

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.ké-ko**
1-C-be:PR C-shave-PASS1:INCOMPL

I am shaving (i.e. I am shaving myself) / I am being shaved (by somebody else)

In order to clearly express that the shaving is done by the person himself the active verb is used in a reflexive construction:

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.ké** **ka** **k-m**
1-C-be:PR C-shave:INCOMPL body C-POSS1

I am shaving myself

Other interesting cases are found with the Passive derivations of **ɔmê** 'decorate, scarify'. **ɔmê** combines both with PASS1 and with PASS2. Both function as regular passives, but their meanings are different. **ɔmétta** 'be decorated', with PASS2, is used for objects (for example a calabash), PASS1 **ɔméko** 'be scarified' is used for the human body being decorated through scarification.

Examples of verbs derived with PASS1 that only have a middle-type meaning follow here (second column). Derivations with PASS2 are added in the third column for comparison.

Table 95 Derivations with PASS1 only having middle semantics

<i>base verb</i>	<i>Passive with PASS1</i>	<i>Passive with PASS2</i>
ɛrɛt ‘talk about’	ɛrɛkət ‘grumble in oneself’	ɛrɛttat ‘be talked about’
ɔmɛt ‘rub at’	ɔmekət ‘wash oneself’	ɔmɛttat ‘be rubbed’
ɔtʃɛ ‘stretch, make straight’	ɔtʃɛkət ‘stretch oneself out’	ɔtʃɛtta ‘be stretched out, be made straight’

Table 96 contains verbs with middle semantics that have a suffix (V)**kə** rather than PASS1 (**a**)**kə**. In the first two cases, the final or last vowel **ɔ** has not changed into **a** but remained **ɔ** or changed into **i**, in the third case, **ɛ** has changed into **i**. Regular passives are presented in the third column. In the first two cases, a regular derivation with PASS1 (**a**)**kə** exists next to the middle verbs with (V)**kə**.

Table 96 Verbs derived with (V)**kə** having middle semantics

<i>base verb</i>	<i>derived verb with middle meaning</i>	<i>regular Passive</i>
ɔɽɔ ‘apply on sb.’	ɔɽəkə ‘apply on oneself’	ɔɽákə, ɔɽútta / ɔɽetta, ɔɽúra ‘be applied on sb.’
ɔccɔt ‘receive at’	ɔccɛkət ‘hear, listen’ ɔccɔkət ‘catch’ (receive at body)	ɔccákət, ɔccóttat / ɔccəttat, ɔccórat ‘be received at’
aɽɛ ‘hang (tr.)’	aɽikə ‘stay longtime, hang out (intr.)’	aɽetta ‘be hung’

Evidence for a historical middle marker **kə** also comes from verbs that lack a base verb. The verbs below have meanings within the semantic range of middle marking as identified by Kemmer (1993, p. 267-270), i.e. in domains involving the proper body, such as grooming, change in body posture, position of the body, translational motion (including negative motion), cognition and perception.

ilakkɔ	‘wash one’s hands or feet’
ɔpákkɔ	‘wash one’s body, take shower’
ɔɲíríkɔ	‘blow one’s nose’
akɔ	‘wear’
urəkɔ	‘get up, stand up, start’
apəɽilakɔ	‘hang (intr., of human or animal, from the hands)’
accakɔ	‘get soaked’
appəɽíkɔ	‘get loose’
aɽəkɔ	‘float, swim’
ɔkkɔ̌	‘pass, arrive’
ɔɽuŋkɔ	‘set (of the sun)’
ikkɔ cɪk	‘sit, stay’
ɪɽíkɪttakɔ	‘hurry (intr.)’
aɽəntakɔ	‘dream’
ɔkwárikɔt	‘recall’
ɔkkɔnakɔ	‘smell’ (intr.)
ɔkkɔnakɔt	‘smell’ (tr.)
accakɔ	‘get soaked’
appəɽíkɔ	‘get loose’

It is therefore likely that the current productive Passive suffix **(a)kɔ** has developed from a morpheme **kɔ** which functioned as a middle marker: a marker of actions initiated by a subject and involving that subject’s proper body.

Derivations with -tta with deviating semantics

The far majority of verbs ending in **tta** are regular passives. There are however a few such verbs with different semantics, notably middle-type semantics. Such verbs are far fewer than verbs with middle semantics ending in **(a)kɔ** and development of PASS2 from a middle marker does not seem likely. Two verbs of this type, ‘tear’ and ‘break’, are presented in the table below. Note that the verbs with **tta** and middle semantics are not cases of regular attachment of the PASS2 suffix. It is therefore unclear if these cases should be regarded as cases of PASS2 or perhaps as something different.

Active (transitive) verbs of ‘break’ and ‘tear’ are given in the first column, regular Passives in the second, verbs ending in **-tta** in the third. The fourth column presents some more unexpected forms: one verb with **tta** and PASS1 (**ၪၪၳၳၳၳ**), and a verb with PASS3 + PASS1 (**ၪၪၳၳၳၳ**). Both function as passives. **ၪၪၳၳၳၳ** has the same meaning as the regular Passive in the second column, the meaning of **ၪၪၳၳၳၳ** is slightly different from its regular Passive counterpart.

Table 97 Verbs of ‘break’ and ‘tear’

<i>active transitive verb</i>	<i>regular Passive derivation</i>	<i>verb with middle semantics</i>	<i>verb with passive semantics</i>
ၪၪၳၳ ‘break in two’ (tr., object is sth. hard)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘be broken in two’ (subject is sth. hard)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘break in two’ (intr., subject is sth. hard)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘be cancelled, be broken off’
ၪၪၳၳ ‘break in two’ (tr., object is sth. bendable)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘be broken in two’ (subj. is sth. bendable)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘break (loose)’ (intr., subj. is sth. bendable)	
ၪၪၳၳ ‘tear off from a tree’ (the object is sth. light: a leaf, twig or small branch)	ၪၪၳၳ, ၪၪၳၳ ‘be torn off from a tree’ (subject is sth. light: a leaf, twig or small branch)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ/ ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘break off, come down’ (break down from point of attachment and fall down)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘be torn from a tree’ (subject is sth. light: a leaf or a twig)
ၪၪၳၳ ‘tear from a tree’ (object is part for which force is needed: bark, small branch)	ၪၪၳၳၳၳ ‘be torn from a tree’ (subject is part for which force is needed: bark, small branch)		

Some sentential examples:

attı	kwóɽen	k-ına	ɔcɔ́t-akɔ
I hope_that	piece_of firewood	C-know:INCOMPL	break-PASS1:INCOMPL

I hope this piece of firewood can be broken (the speaker wants to break it, but it looks like it will be difficult to do this)

tɔ́ɽək	t-ɔmo.ttâ.t
rope	C-break:COMPL

the rope has broken

The ‘break’ verbs ending in **tta** express a process from inside. The oblique in the example below is not a wilful agent. **Lottı** is only instrumental to the breaking: he has unintentionally caused it.

tɔ́ɽək	t-ɔmo.ttâ.t	ɔ-lóttı	ı́.ım
rope	C-break:COMPL	PERS-Lottı	with:ABS

the rope has broken through **Lottı**’s weight (The sentence evokes the situation that **Lottı** tried to hang himself, but the rope broke. The breaking of the rope is not due to an action of **Lottı** that was intended to break the rope).

An animal breaking loose from a rope can function as subject:

ımjı	w-ɔmo.ttâ.t
goat	C-break:COMPL

the goat has broken loose

Two more series of related verbs follow here. The first column has the base verb, the second the regular passive verb. The third and fourth columns contain verbs with **kɔ** and with **a** (or **tta**?) and **ta** that are clearly related to the base verb, but not regularly derived from it. These verbs have middle-type meanings. The verb in the fifth column, with **PASS1** attached after **ta**, functions as a regular passive.

Some of the earlier mentioned pairs of base verbs and Passives that have an irregular form, namely **ɔno** ‘build’/ **ɔnta** ‘be built’, **ərrɔ** ‘push, shoot’ / **ərra** ‘be pushed, be shot’, and **ɔkátte** ‘trade’ / **ɔkátta** ‘be traded’ are formally comparable with **ɔno** / **ɔnta** and **ɔrəttɔ** /

urætta respectively. Semantically, however, they are different. As can be seen in table 98, **urætta** and **unta** have middle-type semantics.

Table 98 Derivations of ‘wake up (tr.)’ and ‘pour’

<i>active transitive verb</i>	<i>regular Passive</i>	<i>verb with kə and middle semantics</i>	<i>verbs with a (or tta?) and ta and middle semantics</i>	<i>verb with passive function</i>
urætto ‘wake up (tr.)’	urəttako ‘be woken up’	urəko ‘get up, start (intr.)’	urætta ‘wake up (intr.)’	
uno ‘pour’			unta ‘spill over, fall down, collapse’	untako ‘be poured’

Combinations of Passive suffixes

One verb that appears to have two passive suffixes was already mentioned above: **ɔŋárako** ‘be torn from a tree’ (PASS 3 + PASS1). Two further cases of PASS3 + PASS1 are presented below. PASS1 always comes last. The first functions as a regular passive, the second has middle semantics.

Table 99 Combination of PASS3 and PASS1

<i>base verb</i>	<i>with PASS3</i>	<i>with PASS3 and PASS1</i>
ɔllâ ‘wipe (away)’	ɔllára ‘be wiped (away), be swept’	ɔllárako ‘be wiped (away), be swept’
ɔtɕ ‘pull’	ɔtúra ‘be pulled’	ɔtúráko ‘stretch oneself (out)’

Other combinations have not been attested, unless the above mentioned verbs **ɔcótta** ‘be cancelled, be broken off’ and **untako** ‘be poured’, should be regarded as cases of PASS2 + PASS1. In any case, these forms do not involve regular PASS2-derivation.

14.5. The Reciprocals

Lumun has two Reciprocal suffixes: **(a)rɔ** (REC1) and **ttɔ** (REC2). I refer to verbs that contain one of these suffixes and that occur next to a non-derived base verb as Reciprocal verbs or Reciprocals. Reciprocals can be derived from transitive verbs, but also from certain verbs which realize the other participant in a prepositional phrase.

Forms, attachment and distribution

The suffixes have different distributions. REC1 **(a)rɔ** replaces a final or last vowel **ɔ** or comes after a final or last vowel **a**, REC2 **ttɔ** is typically attached to stems with a final or last **ɛ**. Benefactive verbs, which end in **(i)ne** or **(i)nɛt**, form Reciprocals with REC1 or REC2 preceding the benefactive suffix. A stem-final **t** (the locative-applicative suffix) always remains in final position.

Attachment of REC1 **(a)rɔ** to **ɔ(t)**- and **a(t)**-final stems gives the following results:

ɔ(t) + arɔ > arɔ(t)

a(t) + rɔ > arɔ(t)

Some examples:

akkarɔ	‘call’	akkar-arɔ	‘call e.o.’
ɔmíccɔ	‘greet’	ɔmícc-arɔ	‘greet e.o.’
ɔɲwɔ̌	‘kill (PLUR)’	ɔɲw-árɔ	‘kill e.o.’
ɔccɛ́kɔt	‘hear’	ɔccɛ́k-arɔ-t	‘hear e.o.’
angwɔt	‘guard’	aɲw-arɔ-t	‘guard e.o.’
ittarɔt	‘help’	ittar-arɔ-t	‘help e.o.’
imma	‘see’	imma-rɔ	‘see e.o.’
ina	‘know’	ina-rɔ	‘get to know e.o.’
ɔmmâ	‘not know’	ɔmmá-rɔ	‘not know e.o.’
ɔkwáriccat	‘search’	ɔkwáricca-rɔ-t	‘search e.o.’

In the case of **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** ‘eat’, the root-final consonant **k** is geminated in the Reciprocal verb:

ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ ‘eat from a person’ (‘eat from a person’s plate or portion’)
ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ ᵛᵛᵛ ‘eat from e.o.’ (‘eat from e.o.’s plates or portions’)

Attachment of REC2 **ttᵛ** to **ε**- and **εt**-final stems:

ε(t) + ttᵛ > εttᵛ(t)

Some examples:

acce	‘lick’	acce-ttᵛ	‘lick e.o.’
ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘feed’	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-ttᵛ	‘feed e.o.’
ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘make sb. kill (PLUR)’	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-ttᵛ	‘make e.o. kill’
ikkεt	‘give (PLUR)’	ikkε-ttᵛ-t	‘give e.o.’
ᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘save’	ᵛᵛᵛᵛ-ttᵛ-t	‘save e.o.’

If a Benefactive suffix is present, the Reciprocal suffix is attached before this suffix. Benefactive stems that are based on **ᵛ** or **a**-final verbs typically form Reciprocals with REC1 **(a)rᵛ**. The suffix sequences **(a)rᵛ + mε**, or **(a)rᵛ + mᵛᵛᵛᵛ**, are respectively realized as **(a)rᵛmε** and **(a)rᵛmᵛᵛᵛᵛ**. Some examples:

apᵛ	‘open’	apᵛ-mε	‘open for’	apᵛ-ar-ᵛmε	‘open for e.o.’
aᵛa	‘pray’	aᵛa-nε	‘pray for’	aᵛa-r-ᵛnε	‘pray for e.o.’
ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘hear’	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-mᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘listen to’	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-ar-ᵛmᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘listen to e.o.’
ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘do, make’	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-mᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘do for, make for’	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-ár-ᵛmᵛᵛᵛᵛ	‘do for e.o., make for e.o.’

In case of a Benefactive stems that is based on an **ε**-final verb, the Reciprocal suffix is always REC2. An example:

εε	‘speak’	εε-nε	‘talk to’	εε-tt-mε	‘talk to e.o.’
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Reduplicated Reciprocal suffixes

Several (perhaps all) Reciprocals allow for a reduplicated reciprocal suffix. REC1 (a)rɔ can also be (a)rɔrɔ, REC2 ttɔ can also be ttɛttɔ, reduplicating the vowel *ɛ* of the stem that precedes the double suffix.

Some examples:

akkar-arɔ	‘call e.o.’	akkar-ar-arɔ	‘call e.o.’
ɔmícc-arɔ	‘greet e.o.’	ɔmícc-ar-arɔ	‘greet e.o.’
ɔŋw-árɔ	‘kill e.o.’	ɔŋw-ár-arɔ	‘kill e.o.’
ɔccɪk-arɔ-t	‘hear e.o.’	ɔccɪk-ar-arɔ-t	‘hear e.o.’
ittar-arɔ-t	‘help e.o.’	ittar-ar-arɔ-t	‘help e.o.’
imma-rɔ	‘see e.o.’	imma-r-arɔ	‘see e.o.’
ɔmmá-rɔ	‘not know e.o.’	ɔmmá-r-arɔ	‘not know e.o.’
ɔkwáricca-rɔ-t	‘search e.o.’	ɔkwáricca-r-arɔ-t	‘search e.o.’
accɛ-ttɔ	‘lick e.o.’	accɛ-tt-ɛttɔ	‘lick e.o.’
ɔɾákɪɛ-ttɔ	‘feed e.o.’	ɔɾákɪɛ-tt-ɛttɔ	‘feed e.o.’
ɪkke-ttɔ-t	‘give e.o.’	ɪkke-tt-ɛttɔ-t	‘give e.o.’

Reciprocals with a double suffix tt-arɔ

There are also Reciprocals with a sequence of REC2 and REC1, realized as tt-arɔ. Some examples follow here. Note that tt-arɔ is not only attached after a vowel *ɛ*, but also after *a* (fourth example below). The arɔ-part of the suffix can again be reduplicated:

ɔmé-tt-arɔ-t ‘tell e.o.’, ɔmé-tt-ar-arɔ-t ‘tell e.o.’
 < ɔmêt ‘tell sb.’
 also: ɔmé-ttɔ-t, ɔmé-tt-ɛttɔ-t ‘tell e.o.’

ɔttɛ-tt-arɔ nán ‘leave e.o.’, ɔttɛ-tt-ar-arɔ nán ‘leave e.o.’
 < ɔttɛ nɔ-pôl ‘leave a person’
 also: ɔttɛ-ttɔ nán ‘leave e.o.’, ɔttɛ-tt-ɛttɔ nán ‘leave e.o.’

ere-tt-ar-əne ‘say to e.o.’, **ere-tt-ar-ar-əne** ‘say to e.o.’

< **ere-ne** ‘say to sb.’ < **ere** ‘speak’

also: **ere-tt-me**, **ere-tt-ett-me** ‘say to e.o.’

ɔʔia-tt-ar-əne cik ‘fear e.o.’, **ɔʔia-tt-ar-ar-əne cik** ‘fear e.o.’

< **ɔʔia-ne cik** ‘fear sb.’ < **ɔʔia cik** ‘become afraid’

also: **ɔʔia-r-əne cik**, **ɔʔia-r-ar-əne cik** ‘fear e.o.’

The following irregular derivational verb also seems to contain both REC2 and REC1. The combined suffix now comes directly after the verb root and a vowel **u** occurs before the suffix. Note that the verb root has undergone a vowel change (the base verb is **ɔllɔ** ‘run’)

ull-utt-ar-əne ‘run against e.o. (in a race)’, **ull-utt-ar-ar-əne** ‘run against e.o. (in a race)’

< **ull-me** ‘run because’ < **ɔllɔ** ‘run’

NB: the forms ***ull-ár-əne**, ***ull-ár-ar-əne** ‘run because of e.o. (from fear)’ were rejected, after some doubt. ‘Run because of/from e.o.’ is expressed by the verb **ɔpállɛ-tt-ar-əne** (< **ɔpállɛne** ‘fear sb., run from sb. (out of fear)’ < **ɔpállɛ** ‘fear, run out of fear’)

I analyse the suffix **(u)tt** in the sequence **(u)tt-ar** as REC2 **ttɔ**, but, judging from the form alone, it could also be the PASS2 **(V)tta**. It is, however, unlikely that Reciprocals with **(u)tt-ar** are Reciprocals based on Passives. A Passive derivation reduces the valency of a verb. Since the Reciprocal derivation is also a valency reducing operation and must be based on verbs that can have two arguments referring to the same kind of animate entity, it is unlikely that Reciprocals are based on Passives. Doubling of the same reciprocal suffix, on the other hand, is generally possible. Such doubling of the reciprocal suffix does not mean that the derivation takes place twice (the valency of the verb is not reduced twice), but rather seems with processes of (double) Pluractional formation. A sequence of REC2 + REC1 is therefore the more likely analysis of the sequence **(u)tt-ar**.

Argument structure of verbs serving as a base for Reciprocals

The (agent) participants in a reciprocal event are participants that act upon each other. Therefore, they combine the semantic role of agent with another semantic role, for example patient, recipient or beneficiary. Lumun Reciprocal verbs can be derived from transitive verbs, but also from verbs that mark the relevant non-subject argument with a preposition.

Verbs may need a Benefactive or a Locative-applicative derivation in order to accommodate for a person as the object. For example, the verb **ɔkkɔt** ‘do, make’ is a transitive verb but does not easily take a person as object and cannot serve as the direct basis for a Reciprocal derivation. The Benefactive **ɔkkínɬet** ‘do for’ however can serve as a basis for the Reciprocal **ɔkkárənɬet** ‘do for e.o.’:

n-ɔkk-ár-ənɬet	lón	í-l-ɔpərɔt
2-do-REC1-BEN:DEPINCOMPL	words	RES-C-good

do good things for each other!

Another example is **akɔ** ‘wear’. Its Benefactive derivation **akínɛ** ‘wear for, wear instead of sb.’ serves as a basis for the Reciprocal stem **akarəne**:

ɔ-kín	ɬ-á.ík	ɬ-ák-ar-əne	ərét
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-wear-REC1-BEN:INCOMPL	cloths

they are wearing each other’s clothes (lit.: they are wearing the clothes instead of each other)

The object of the verb **ipittɔ** ‘ask (about)’ refers to what is asked or what is asked about. A Reciprocal can be formed from it, denoting ‘greet e.o.’ (lit.: ask about each other). The verb **ipittɔt** ‘ask sb.’, with Locative-applicative **t**, has the addressee as object. The Reciprocal verb ‘ask e.o.’ is based on this verb.

ipittɔ	‘ask (about)’	ipittarɔ	‘greet e.o.’
ipittɔt	‘ask sb.’	ipittarɔt	‘ask e.o.’

As mentioned above, Lumun Reciprocals can also be derived from certain verbs that co-occur with a prepositional phrase. This prepositional phrase realizes the other participant needed for the Reciprocal. Upon Reciprocal derivation, the PPC remains *in situ* taking on in its absolute form. The following pairs contrast the base verb + PPC (first example) with the Reciprocal verb + absolute preposition (second example). In the second example, however, it was also considered possible to leave *tít* out.

a-cumpóran **ścint.at** **ɪ-papê**
 CONJ-monkey(sp.) wrestle:DEPPRFV in-fish
 and the *cumpuran*-monkey wrestled with the fish

a-kín **ścint-ar.at** **tít**
 CONJ-3A wrestle-REC1:DEPPRFV in:ABS
 and they wrestled with each other

pul **em-p-əɹé** **p-aɹɔ.t** **m-parɪ** **p-âŋ**
 person DEM-C-DIST C-spend_night:COMPL with-wife C-POSS2
 that man has slept with your wife

ɔ-kín **t-aɹ-aró.t** **ŋ.ŋm**
 PERS-3A C-spend_night-REC1:COMPL with:ABS
 they have slept with each other

ukul **w-a.ɪk** **w-a.llɔ-t** **t-a-kukkô**
 child C-be:PR C-run-LOCAPP:INCOMPL up_on-PERS-Kukku
 the child is running to Kukku (facing him)

ɔ-kín **t-á.ík** **t-á.ll-áɹɔ-t** **tán**
 PERS-3A C-be:PR C-run-REC1-LOCAPP:INCOMPL up_on:ABS
 they are running to each other

Reciprocals based on Pluractional stems

Several verbs have different stems for reference to one (simple) event and for reference to an event that is composed of multiple sub-events. In some cases, the Reciprocal verb must be based on the Pluractional stem of the verb. Some examples follow here:

၁၇၁ ‘kill (PLUR)’

၁၇၁-ာ / **၁၇၁-ာ-ာ** ‘kill e.o.’

၁၇၇ ‘push (PLUR)’

၁၇၇-တ / **၁၇၇-တ-တ** ‘push e.o.’

၁၇၉ ‘find (PLUR)’

၁၇၉-တ ‘find e.o., meet’

၁၇၉ ‘give (PLUR)’

၁၇၉-တ / **၁၇၉-တ-တ** ‘give e.o.’

၁၇၉ ‘beat (PLUR)’

၁၇၉-တ ‘beat e.o.’

There are also cases in which the Reciprocal derivation can be based on both the non-Pluractional and the Pluractional verb. An example follows here. The Reciprocals have different meanings:

၁၇၉ ‘tie’

၁၇၉-ာ / **၁၇၉-ာ-ာ** ‘hug e.o.’

၁၇၉၇ ‘tie (PLUR: several objects or one object tied with several windings)’

၁၇၉၇-ာ / **၁၇၉၇-ာ-ာ** ‘tie e.o.’

Two reciprocal suffixes: REC1 and REC2

The forms of the reciprocal suffixes (**၁**)**ာ** and **တ** are reminiscent of the forms of the PASS3 (**၁**)**ာ** and the PASS2 (**၁**)**တ**: in both cases one can be regarded as a geminated version of the other (with **ာ** as the intervocalic allophone of **တ**). The main difference between the reciprocal suffixes and the two Passives is the final vowel. Moreover, REC2 and PASS2 have a comparable distribution: both are typically used after a final or last vowel **ာ**. It is likely then, that historically REC2 is a gemination of REC1, in the same way as PASS2 may well be a gemination of PASS3 (see 14.4), and that the geminated suffix reflects “agreement” with the inherently plural semantics of

Pluractionals and Causatives base verbs: verbs that typically have a final or last vowel *ε*.

Semantic differences

There seem to be no semantic differences between REC1 and REC2, just like no apparent semantic differences were found between PASS2 and PASS3.

There is most probably some semantic difference between Reciprocals with a single and Reciprocals with a reduplicated reciprocal suffix. Where the choice of REC1 or REC2, seems related to plural semantics of the base verb (at least historically), the use of a single or a reduplicated suffix relates to the participants of the reciprocal event itself. Verbs with a single Reciprocal suffix can cover the whole range of events with two participants, one group of multiple participants, and multiple groups of two or more participants acting upon each other. Verbs with a reduplicated Reciprocal, on the other hand, typically refer to reciprocal events with participants in more than one group. According to my consultant (JS), double Reciprocals cannot be used in case of just two participants. This points towards the doubling of the reciprocal suffix as a process of Pluractional formation.

The following examples contrast a Reciprocal with a single suffix and one with a reduplicated suffix.

luk	l-a.ɪk	l-ácce-ttɔ
dogs	C-be:PR	C-lick-REC2:INCOMPL

the dogs are licking each other (the participants can be two dogs, or a group of for example a mother and some puppies, or separate groups of dogs)

luk	l-a.ɪk	l-ácce-tt-ettɔ
dogs	C-be:PR	C-lick-REC2-REC2:INCOMPL

the dogs are licking each other (the participants are imagined as separate groups of dogs)

In addition, the reduplicated suffix possibly has an expressive quality, drawing special attention to the plurality of the event. However, since attestations in texts are very rare, the actual use of Reciprocals with a reduplicated suffix is not entirely clear.

It is unclear whether and to what extent the combination of REC2 and REC1 (**ttarə**) expresses different semantics from the single and the reduplicated suffixes.

Use of Reciprocals as anti-passives

The reduced valency of the verb, as compared to its base verb, does not only give an ‘each other’-reading, but also a non-reciprocal reading with a human object that is not (nominally or pronominally) referred to, i.e. an antipassive.

When the Reciprocal functions as an anti-passive, the subject can refer to a singular referent. Here are some examples of Reciprocals with REC1 with an anti-passive reading. In the examples, there is actually an understood object, but the Reciprocal verb does not allow for its expression. The antipassive is thus of the implicit argument type: the object is entirely removed from the syntactic structure (Kulikov 2011, p. 380).

pul	p-ə-nəppət	p-a.ɪk	p-árək-əmák-aro.t
person	C-of-Nəppət	C-be:PR	C-as_always:INCOMPL-follow-REC1:DEPINCOMPL

n-ṭə-cəkên
with-at-lower_back

the person of Nəppət is surely following (her) from behind (lit.: following each other from behind) (fr. written story)

tue	t-əká.t	t-ónó	ɲərɪ	ɲ-əppət
river	C-be:COMPL	C-have	water	C-many

ɪ-a.nék-aro	tíat-tiak
RES-(C-)take-REC1:INCOMPL	very-REDUP

there was a river that had a lot of water and that took many people’s lives (lit.: that took each other very).

The following example, about the rite of passage of **ṭapəɾɛttǎ** ‘beating people while they run’, contains a Passive and a Reciprocal with REC2 that is used as an antipassive. It is certain that the second verb has an antipassive interpretation, because **ṭapəɾɛttǎ** involves no reciprocity: one group beats, the other group (those being initiated) get beaten.

ana ʊl w-á.éś í-á.kkwé-tta
and people C-go:INCOMPL RES-(C-)hit.PLUR-PASS2:INCOMPL

ana ɪ-a.kkwé-ttɔ
and RES-(C-)hit.PLUR-REC2:INCOMPL

and people who will be beaten, and who will do the beating will go

Some further examples of Reciprocals used as anti-passives will be given in the section ‘Combinations of derivational suffixes’.

Naturally reciprocal events

Some verbs with naturally reciprocal semantics are listed below. They allow for the formation of a Reciprocal with REC1 as well as with a reduplicated REC1.

ɔṭáttɔ (tít) ‘fight’ **ɔṭáttarɔ tít, ɔṭáttararɔ tít** ‘fight with e.o.’
ɔcínɔ (tít) ‘wrestle’ **ɔcínarɔ tít, ɔcínararɔ tít** ‘wrestle with e.o.’
ɔkétɔ (tít) ‘run into’ **ɔkéttarɔ (tít), ɔkéttararɔ (tít)** ‘run into e.o.’
ɔcúrɔt (tít) ‘meet’ **ɔcúrarɔt (tít), ɔcúrararɔt (tít)** ‘meet e.o.’

Some examples with **ɔcúrɔt (tít)** ‘meet’ follow here. With a plural subject and without prepositional phrase **ɔcúrɔt** ‘meet’ has a reciprocal reading (first example). With **ɪ-** + noun, or with **tít**, it has a non-reciprocal reading (second and third example):

ɪn-t-ɔcúrɔtɛ ‘we (EXCL) met (e.o.)’
ɪn-t-ɔcúrɔtɛ ɪ-kəllân ‘we (EXCL) met with the old woman’
ɪn-t-ɔcúrɔtɛ tít ‘we (EXCL) met with it’ (for example a cow)

With a plural subject, reciprocal **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘meet’ can be used both with and without **tít**. With **tít** the reciprocity of the event is more strongly expressed.

ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘we (EXCL) met each other’
ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ tít ‘we (EXCL) met each other’

Both **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** (**tít**) ‘meet’ and reciprocal **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** (**tít**) allow for a singular subject, in which case the other participant must be realized in a prepositional phrase:

m-p-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘I met the old woman’
***m-p-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ**
m-p-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘I and the old woman met e.o.’
***m-p-ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ**

By contrast, the reciprocal derivation of ‘wrestle’, **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ tít**, does not allow for a singular subject. Compare:

a-cumpúraᄃ **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ**
 CONJ-monkey(sp.) wrestle:DEPPRFV in-fish
 and the *cumpúraᄃ*-monkey wrestled with the fish

***a-cumpúraᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ**
 CONJ-monkey(sp.) wrestle-REC1:DEPPRFV in-fish

14.6. Combinations of derivational suffixes

A verb stem can contain more than one derivational suffix. The Locative-applicative suffix **t** always comes in final position, and in derivations based on lexicalized **t**-final verbs, the final position of **t** is maintained. In the absence of the **t**-suffix, the Benefactive suffix (**ᄃᄃᄃᄃ**) comes last. If a verb contains both, they combine to (**ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ**). Any other derivational suffix (Causative, Passive, Reciprocal) precedes a Benefactive and/or Locative-applicative suffix. Some examples:

Causative **ᄃᄃ** + Benefactive (**ᄃᄃᄃᄃ**):
ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘make work’ **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘make work for’

Passive **akɔ** + Benefactive (**i**)**nɛ**:

un-akɔ ‘be poured’ **un-ak-ɪnɛ** ‘be poured for’

Passive (**V**)**tta** + Benefactive (**i**)**nɛ**:

ɛɛ-tta ‘be said’ **ɛɛ-tta-nɛ** ‘be said to’

Final **t** + Benefactive (**i**)**nɛ**:

ɔccɔkɔt ‘catch’ **ɔccɔk-ɪntɛt** ‘catch for sb.’

+ Causative **ɛ**:

ɔccɔk-ɪntɛt ‘catch for sb.’ **ɔccɔk-ɛ-ɪntɛt** ‘make catch for sb.’

Final **t** + Reciprocal (**a**)**rɔ** + Benefactive (**i**)**nɛ**:

ɔccɪkɔt ‘hear, listen’ **ɔccɪk-ar-ɪntɛt** ‘listen to each other’

In combinations of a Causative suffix and a Passive suffix, the Causative suffix precedes the Passive suffix. Since the Causative suffix has a final **ɛ**, the Passive suffix that follows is most commonly PASS2 (**V**)**tta**, but combinations with PASS1 (**a**)**kɔ** are also attested.

Causative **ɛ** + Passive (**V**)**tta**:

ɔccɛɪ-ɛ ‘make stand, make wait’ **ɔccɛɪ-ɛ-tta** ‘be made to stand, be made to wait’

Causative **ɛ** + Passive (**V**)**tta**:

ɔn-ɛ ‘make build’ **ɔn-ɛ-tta** ‘be made to build’

Causative **ɛ** and final **t** + Passive (**V**)**tta**:

ɔkk-ɛ-t ‘make do, make make’ **ɔkk-ɛ-tta-t** ‘be made to do, be made to make’

Causative **ɛ** + Passive (**V**)**tta** or (**a**)**kɔ**:

ɛɪta, ɪɪta ‘become cool’ **ɛɪetta, ɛɪekɔ, ɪɪetta, ɪɪekɔ** ‘be made cool, be blessed’

A sentential example of ‘build’ with Causative, Passive and Benefactive suffix follows here:

m-p-ɔká.t **cɪk** **a-n-ún-ɪe-tta-nɛ** **ʈɔmɔccɔ** **mǎn**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-build-CAUS-PASS2-BEN:DEPINCOMPL old_man house

I was made / forced to build a house for the old man

When a Causative suffix is attached to a verb that ends in **kɔ(t)** that is not a Passive (such verbs often have middle semantics), the suffix replaces the final or last vowel **ɔ**, e.g.,

apəʈɪlakɔ ‘hang (subject is human or animal, from the hands)’ /
apəʈɪlak-ɪe ‘make hang (a human or animal, from the hands)’

A Passive suffix can also be attached:

apəʈɪlak-ɪe-tta ‘be made to hang (from the hands)’

A Causative and a Reciprocal suffix can be combined in two ways. The Reciprocal suffix **(a)rɔ** (REC1) can precede the Causative suffix **ɪe**, and the Causative suffix **ɪe** can precede the Reciprocal suffix **(V)ttɔ** (REC2). First an example of REC1 **(a)rɔ** followed by the Causative suffix:

ɔ-kukkó **p-á.ɲw-ár-ɪe** **ôl**
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR-REC1-CAUS2:INCOMPL people

Kukku will make the people kill each other

When the Causative suffix precedes the REC2 suffix **(V)ttɔ**, the REC2 suffix functions as an anti-passive. The unexpressed objects are translated with ‘us’ since the person who utters the sentence is included.

ɔ-kukkó **p-á.ɲw-ɪe-ttɔ**
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL

Kukku will make us kill e.o.

ɔ-kukkó **p-á.ɲw-ɪe-ttɔ** **ôl**
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL people

Kukku will make the people kill us

lɔn i-l-a.pír-ɛ-ttɔ

words RES-C-make_good-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL

nɔ-kâ

on-body

things which make us happy / things which make people happy

A sequence of REC1, CAUS2 and REC2 is also possible. The derivation in the example below is based on the Pluractional verb ɔŋwɔ̌ ‘kill’. The REC1 suffix turns the verb into a Reciprocal, the REC2 suffix expresses the anti-passive. The person who utters the sentence is included in the event (hence the translation with ‘us’).

ɔ-kukkó p-á.ŋw-ár-ɛ-ttɔ

PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR-REC1-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL

ôl

people

Kukku will make people kill us and us kill people

A last example shows a Causative and Reciprocal verb (with REC2 (V)ttɔ and anti-passive reading) that is based on the non-Pluractional stem of ‘kill’ ɔkkwɔ̌t:

cupó

fruit(k.o.)

c-á.kkw-íɛ-ttɔ.t

C-kill-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL

píca

thirst

the *cupu*-fruit makes people very thirsty / the *cupu*-fruit makes you very thirsty (lit.: the *cupu*-fruit makes thirst kill us / makes thirst kill people)

15. čĭk ‘place(s)’: noun and grammaticalizations

There is a noun **čĭk** ‘place(s)’, functioning as a common noun, and there are grammaticalizations of this noun. I distinguish two grammaticalizations: 1) a “vague-reference” particle **čĭk** and 2) a pragmatic marker **čĭk-** ‘just, exactly’ which is proclitic to locative constituents.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the noun **čĭk** ‘place(s)’, then the “vague-reference particle” **čĭk**, then the locative proclitic **čĭk-**. I’ll end with a few remarks on the lexical item **ȳčĭk**.

15.1. The noun **čĭk** ‘place(s)’

čĭk ‘place(s)’ functions as a regular noun. It can have modifiers agreeing with it (first and second example below), and it can function as subject (first example), object (second example), or be preceded by a prepositional proclitic (third example).

čĭk **éŋ-c-í** **c-š-ȳčĭk**
place DEM-C-NEARSP C-of-dog

this is the place of the dog (the place where the dogs always stays, for example in a corner of the compound)

a-áppó **šŋ-í.at** **čĭk** **c-šnnókkwakŋ.ε** **appĭk**
CONJ-Tocho IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV place C-be_closed.PLUR:COMPL all

and the Tocho found all places closed (fr. written story)

ul **w-š-nč-čĭk** **ĭ-c-šnó** **kəŋan** **ittĭ** **ȳčĭk**
people C-of-on-place RES-C-have name that ȳčĭk

people of the place which is called ȳčĭk

čĭk ‘place(s)’ can often be replaced by the more commonly used noun **kəŋən/aŋən** ‘place’:

š-kín **ȳ-akkakáŋε** **nč-čĭk** **ĭ-c-éllá** **táčó nán**
PERS-3A C-come:PST on-place RES-C-not_have:INCOMPL grass on:ABS

they came to a place where there was no grass (which does not have grass on it)

ɔ-kín ʔ-akkakáʔe nɔ-kaʔən í-k-éllá tácó nán
PERS-3A C-come:PST on-place RES-C-not_have:INCOMPL grass on:ABS

they came to a place where there was no grass (which does not have grass on it)

cík can be directly preceded by **ń-** in its reading ‘(away) from’, which is only possible for locative constituents (see 16.5):

ámmá w-ész.t ana w-íʔt úl ɲ-cík áppík
if PRO.C-go:COMPL and PRO.C-find:INCOMPL people with-place all

when they go they will find people from everywhere (i.e. from all places) (fr. written story)

Unlike **cík** ‘place’, **kaʔən/aʔən** ‘place(s)’ cannot be immediately preceded by **ń-** expressing ‘from’. In order for **ń-** to express ‘from’, a PPC must precede **kaʔən/aʔən** turning it into a locative phrase first:

ámmá w-ész.t ana w-íʔt úl n-n-aʔən áppík
if PRO.C-go:COMPL and PRO.C-find:INCOMPL people with-on-places all

and when they go (lit.: have gone) they find people from all places

cík relates here paradigmatically to the prepositional phrase **n-aʔên** ‘on places’, not to the noun. The reference of **cík** seems somewhat more abstract than the reference of **(k)aʔən**. The translation ‘everywhere’ versus ‘from all places’) tries to reflect this.

cík lacks a singular/plural opposition, but can have singular or plural reference, as shown in the example with **ń-** interpreted as ‘from’. It has also plural reference in the earlier given example about the Tocho, as can be seen from the Pluractional verb modifying **cík**. Replacement of **cík** in this clause is by the plural noun **aʔən**:

a-áppó ʔí.at aʔən w-ɔnnókkwakɔʔ.ɛ áppík
CONJ-Tocho find:DEPPRFV places C-be_closed.PLUR:COMPL all

and the Tocho found that all places were closed

In the examples below, the English translations have an expletive subject where Lumun has **cík**. Replacement by **kaʔən** is not possible

here. Though perhaps slightly vaguer, the reference of **čik** is still close to the notion of ‘place’ or also ‘time’:

m-p-əkɪɲá.t	ana	čik	c-a.ɪk	c-íɾɪmat
1-become_tired:COMPL	and	place	C-be:PR	C-become_dark:INCOMPL

I am tired and it is getting dark (i.e.: the place is getting dark)

čik	c-ǎnn-ǒká	c-ǎŋkɔ	ɪppa	nɔ.ppan-ĩ
place	C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL	C-be_hot:INCOMPL	hotly	inside-Q

is it not terribly hot inside? (i.e.: is the place not terribly hot inside?)

čik	c-ɛɔ.t	ana	m-p-əkɪɲá.t
place	C-go:COMPL	and	1-C-become_tired:COMPL

it is late and I am tired (lit.: the time has gone)

Unlike English expletive ‘it’, **čik** cannot be used in other contexts. For example, English ‘it is raining’ does not make use of **čik** in Lumun, but is expressed as **kapɪk kɪk káɔ** ‘the rain is falling’. I therefore regard the sentences above as containing the noun **čik** ‘place(s)’, not the vague reference particle.

15.2. The vague-reference particle **čik**

Morpho-phonologically and tonally, the vague-reference particle deviates from the noun. The particle will be referred to as ‘VREF **čik**’.

*Morpho-phonology and tone of VREF **čik***

After a vowel-final verb (or adjective) the initial consonant of VREF **čik** can be articulated as a soft palatal fricative, which is regular, but it can also be entirely omitted, which is not regular. The latter realization is represented below:

mpallá čik	‘I will sweep’	[mbal:á-ɪkʰ]
mpaɾəkɔ čik	‘I will eat’	[mbaɾʰɔɔ-ɪkʰ]
ɔɾɛku čik	‘eat!’	[ɔɾʰɔɔ-ɪkʰ]
mpɔɾɛkkáɛ čik	‘I ate’	[mbɔɾʰkáɛ-ɪkʰ]

In case of adjacent **r**’s a small glide is inserted after **r**:

ikkɪ cɪk ‘sit down!’ [ɪkɪ-ɪkʰ]

Elision of **c** is particularly common in frequently occurring items, such as **ɔká cɪk** ‘be’ and **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’. In the Present of ‘be’, **c-aɪk**, **c** can no longer be realized. Its remnant (**ɪk**) has become a fixed part of the verb.

Tone

The particle is tonally irregular, as will be exemplified below. Because of this, I represent it without tone. The absence of tone marking does not imply that I regard it as a low-toned item.

In the citation form with the verb, **cɪk** is realized with a low tone, e.g. **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’ and **ɔká cɪk** ‘be’. In the case of **ikkɔ cɪk** this is unexpected, since the incomplete TAM-stem **ikkɔ** has a floating high tone. It may, however, point at a rising tone, since, in final position a rising tone may be realized low (see 3.2.2). In other environments, **cɪk** can receive a high tone from a preceding element (resulting in a prepausal falling tone). This is compatible only with a low tone:

ɔ-kakká p-ɪcéɛ.ɛ ɔ-lótti cɪk
PERS-Kakka C-lay_down:COMPL PERS-Lótti VREF

Kakka has laid Lótti down

pɔɾɔpé p-ɔɾɛ cɪk
bird C-red VREF

the bird is reddish

Apart from cases like afore-mentioned **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’, there are other cases in which **cɪk** does not receive a high tone from a preceding verb with floating high tone. For example:

k-kw-ɔ́ɪɪɔɪ-ín ɔ́ɛ́kka itti á-imma cɪk
3-C-send:COMPL-O1 become:DEPINCOMPL that SUBJ-(2-)see:DEPINCOMPL VREF

he sent me so that you will be able to see (Acts 9:17)

čik itself brings a high tone to a following element. The high tone on **akká** comes from **čik**:

ɔ-kín	t̪-á-ík	t̪-íkkɔt	pól	čik	ákka	p-óηó
PERS-3A	C-be-VREF	C-sit_up_with:INCOMPL	person	VREF	that	C-sick

they sit up with the man because he is ill

čik modifying an adjective can have a prepausal falling tone, as shown above, but also a prepausal high tone:

ɔ-paŋ	ɪ-p-óparɪ	ɪ-p-ótte	čík
PERS-sibling	RES-C-female	RES-C-small	VREF

the youngest sister (i.e. the youngest of three or more sisters)

There is no underlying tone pattern that can account for all these different tonal realizations. I therefore represent VREF **čik** without tone.

Environments of VREF čik

VREF **čik** occurs in two environments:

- in combination with a verb;
- in combination with an adjective.

In combination with a verb, three types can be distinguished:

1. **čik** as fixed part of the verb, functioning as part of the verbal lexeme. These combinations typically have lexicalized semantics as compared to the verb without it, but a notion of 'place' (or 'time') can often still be recognized;
2. In combination with certain transitive verbs with which an object is expected, **čik** functions as a non-referential element that marks that the verb is used without object;
3. In combination with verbs which are expected to co-occur with a locative constituent, **čik** functions as a non-referential element that changes the focus of the clause (that is, the part which is understood as the main new information) from the locative

constituent to the verb itself. There can still be a locative constituent in the clause, but this constituent is now somewhat more “backgrounded”.

In combination with an adjective **cɪk** functions as a modifier. It tends to make the reference of the adjective somewhat vaguer, semantically comparable to the English suffix ‘-ish’. In one case it makes the reference more precise or absolute. Only a few adjectives can co-occur with **cɪk**.

Whether or not a verb or adjective can or must co-occur with **cɪk** is lexically determined. In fact, with verbs, the boundary between **cɪk** as common noun denoting ‘place’ and **cɪk** as VREF particle is not always so clear-cut.

15.2.1. **cɪk** as part of the verbal lexeme

In several cases, **cɪk** is part of the verbal lexeme. Next to a verb with **cɪk** there is often a verb without it, and the verb with **cɪk** has acquired lexicalized semantics. A notion of ‘place(s)’ (or time) can in several cases still be recognized, but synchronically **cɪk** as fixed part of the verb is better regarded as VREF particle, also because it is tonally different from the noun. **cɪk** as part of the noun can paradigmatically relate to different constituents. Some examples with **cɪk** paradigmatically relating to an object of the verb without it follow here:

ɔllâ	‘wipe (something) away’
ɔllâ cɪk	‘sweep’ (combines with a locative phrase, not an object)

ɔccô	‘take, receive (something)’
ɔccô cɪk	‘be late’ (lit.: take time)

m-p-ɔccô.t	kəran	ittĩ ...
1-C-receive:COMPL	name	that

I have received the name ... (my name is ...)

m-p-əccə.t **čik** ...

1-C-receive:COMPL VREF

I am late

In other cases, **čik** paradigmatically relates to a locative phrase:

əkkə 'pass' (typically followed by a locative phrase)

əkkə čik 'be/remain alive, survive'

m-p-a.kkə **ɪ-kaʔər**

1-C-pass:INCOMPL in-road

I will pass through the road

m-p-a.kkə **čik**

1-C-pass:INCOMPL VREF

I will survive

In again other cases, the counterpart without **čik** is an intransitive verb, which can easily occur alone. Note in the third example that the verb with **čik** has the locative-applicative **t**, but not its counterpart without it.

ɪrrə 'jump, fly'

ɪrrə čik 'bow'

aŋkə 'be hot, boil' (INTR.)

aŋkə čik 'be silent'

ura 'escape'

urat čik 'become lost'

The following verb with **čik** is a passive derivation, relating to a transitive verb without it. Compare:

əkuccət 'prepare (something)'

əkuccəttat 'be prepared' (by somebody)

əkuccəkət čik 'be ready, be prepared' (by one's own doing)

In a few cases the verbs with and the verb without it have developed quite different semantics (assuming that there is a relationship, which is actually not certain):

ɪt	‘find’
ɪt cɪk	‘disappear’
ɪkkə	‘may’
ɪkkə cɪk	‘sit, stay’

Finally, some verbs with **cɪk** have no counterpart without it:

ɪntat cɪk	‘disappear’
ɔccɔkkət cɪk	‘get leprosy’

cɪk as part of the verbal lexeme does not always immediately follow the verb. In derivations of verbs with increased valency the added object comes between the verb and **cɪk**. Compare the two examples below. In the second, which was given earlier in this chapter but is repeated here, the verb **ɪkkə cɪk** has the locative-applicative derivation (t) which introduces an extra argument (**pɔl**). This argument comes before **cɪk**.

ɔ-kín	t-á.ík	t-íkkə	cɪk	ɪ-cuʔé	c-ɔ-pɪra
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF	in-buttock	C-of-tree

they are sitting under the tree

ɔ-kín	t-á.ík	t-íkkət	pɔl	cɪk	ákka	p-ɔ́ŋɔ́
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-sit_up_with:INCOMPL	person	VREF	that	C-sick

they sit up with the man because he is ill

15.2.2. **cɪk** marking the absence of an expected object

With transitive verbs, the absence of an overt object establishes object reference to something or someone mentioned earlier in the text or otherwise understood from the context. In combination with some verbs with which an object is expected, the vague reference particle **cɪk** marks that the verb is used without an object.

Compare the following three examples with **ma** ‘know’, and also the next three with **ɔɾəkô** ‘eat’:

kəllán	k-ma	lón	l-ɔppót
old_woman	C-know:INCOMPL	words	C-many

the old woman knows many things

kəllán	k-má
old_woman	C-know:INCOMPL

the old woman knows it / these things

kəllán	k-ma	cík
old_woman	C-know:INCOMPL	VREF

the old woman is wise

m-p-a.ík	p-a.ɾəkó	pa-p-ɔɾek
1-C-BE:PR	C-eat:INCOMPL	thing-C-some

I am eating something

m-p-a.ík	p-a.ɾəkô
1-C-BE:PR	C-eat:INCOMPL

I am eating it

m-p-a.ík	p-a.ɾəkó	cík
1-C-BE:PR	C-eat:INCOMPL	VREF

I am eating

The verb **mma** ‘see’ implies an object. With **cík**, **mma** refers to the ability to see, as opposed to being blind (whether literally or metaphorically):

k-kw-ɔ́tɔ́t-ín	ɔ́təkka	ittí	á-mma	cík
3-C-send:COMPL-O1	become:DEPINCOMPL	that	SUBJ-(2-)see:DEPINCOMPL	VREF

he sent me so that you will be able to see (Acts 9:17)

cík is not used for substitution of an argument that is introduced through the (valency-increasing) application of a Benefactive or Causative derivation. These derivations imply the presence of a beneficiary or a causee, respectively – whether overtly mentioned or

understood from the context. In such cases the use of **cɪk** marking that the verb lacks this additional object would be contradictory to the application of the derivation. The second object in these derivations (the object required by the non-derived verb), however, can be replaced by **cɪk**. An example:

k-kw-ímmíɛ.t **pul** **cɪk**
 3-C-make_{see}:COMPL person VREF

s/he made the person see (the person was blind before)

Some verbs which can take an object can also be used alone. These verbs typically have a certain object by default. An example is **ɛrɛ** ‘speak’. Its default object **lon** ‘words’ can, but needs not be mentioned:

k-kw-á-ík **p-éɛ**
 3-C-be-VREF C-speak:DEPINCOMPL

s/he is speaking

Other examples are **ɔrâ** ‘cultivate’ and **ɔkákɔ** ‘grind’. **ɔrâ** can be combined with different objects (for example onions, tobacco), but its object by default is **mɪl** ‘sorghum’. **mɪl** is also the default object of **ɔkákɔ**, though other things can be ground, particularly also **məkal** ‘sesame’. With both verbs **mɪl** can be explicitly mentioned, but also left out: in the latter case it is still understood as the object. Several examples of **ɔrâ** can be found in ‘The story of the jackal’. The animals cultivate in that story, but what they cultivate (sorghum) is, throughout the story, never explicitly mentioned.

... a-kɪn **ɔrâ**
 CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

and they cultivated (the usual crop, namely sorghum) (‘The story of the jackal’)

ɔrâ can also take the noun **cɪk** ‘place(s)’ as object. **ɔrá cɪk** does not mean ‘cultivate’ (the action alone), but ‘cultivate the piece of land’:

... **a-kin** **ɔrá** **ɕik**
 CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL place
 and they cultivated the piece of land

15.2.3. **ɕik** marking the absence of an expected locative constituent

Locative ‘be’ (**ɔká**) co-occurs with a locative constituent. When VREF **ɕik** replaces the locative constituent, **ɔká** takes on an existential reading. Compare the following examples:

pul **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-ɔká.t** **i-pirâ**
 person C-of-Nɔppət C-be:COMPL in-tree
 the person of Nɔppət was in the forest

pul **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-ɔká.t** **ɕik**
 person C-of-Nɔppət C-be:COMPL VREF
 the person of Nɔppət existed

***pul** **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-ɔká.t**
 person C-of-Nɔppət C-be:COMPL

In the following clause with the Past TAM of **ɔká** ‘be’ **ɕik** gives an existential reading of the verb (first example below). Here, however, **ɕik** can also be absent. In that case, ‘be’ rather functions as a copular verb, with the clause introduced by **ámmakka** as the predicate complement of the copula (second example below):

ɛl-l-i **l-ɔka.káɛ** **ɕik** **ámm.akka** **pól** **p-iɽɛ.t**
 DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:PST VREF like person C-say:COMPL
 these things happened just like the man had said

ɛl-l-i **l-ɔka.káɛ** **ámm.akka** **pól** **p-iɽɛ.t**
 DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:PST like person C-say:COMPL
 these things happened just like the man had said

In chapter 12 on verbal inflection it was shown that the auxiliary verb ‘be’ can also be combined with **ɕik**. For example, TAMs expressing continuous action typically have **ɕik**. They draw the hearer’s attention towards the action having some duration:

kəllán **k-ɔká.t** **cɪk** **a-k-ɔkəɬaccê-k**
 old_woman C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-C-watch:INCOMPL-O3

the old woman was watching him / the old woman was there, watching him

In some cases, there seems to be a pragmatic difference between absence and presence of **cɪk** in combination with **ɔká**. Compare the following examples. The first, with **cɪk**, is a general (unsolicited) piece of information, the second a confirmative answer:

ɬ-ɔkwarəttikɔt **kápík** **ɬ-á.ká** **cɪk** **nɔ-kamɔɬě**
 NOM-remember.PLUR God C-be:INCOMPL VREF on-celebration

there will be remembering God at the celebration (general information about what will happen at the (Christmas) celebration) (fr. written essay)

ɬ-ɔkwarəttikɔt **kápík** **ɬ-á.ká** **nɔ-kamɔɬě**
 NOM-remember.PLUR God C-be:INCOMPL on-celebration

remembering God will be there at the celebration (answer to the question if God will be remembered at the celebration)

ɔɬɔ ‘land, alight’ is another verb that must co-occur with a locative constituent but can take **cɪk** instead:

puɬupé **p-ɔɬɔ.t** **nɔ-pɪrâ**
 bird C-land:COMPL on-tree

the bird has alighted in the tree

puɬupé **p-ɔɬɔ.t** **cɪk**
 bird C-land:COMPL VREF

the bird has alighted

Unlike Benefactives and Causatives, productively applied Locative-applicative derivations can take VREF **cɪk**. Apart from conveying an awareness that there is a spatial component to the action, there seems to be no difference between a clause with underived verb and a clause with derived Locative-applicative and **cɪk**. Compare the following examples with **ɔɬɪa** ‘become red, ripe’ (the first) and its Locative applicative derivation **ɔɬɪat** ‘become red, ripe at’ (the second and third). **nɔ-pɪrâ** ‘on the tree’ is replaced by **cɪk**:

aɽəpu w-ɽɽiá.t	'the fruits have become ripe'
aɽəpu w-ɽɽiá.ɽɽ nɔ-pɽiá	'the fruits have become ripe on the tree'
aɽəpu w-ɽɽiá.ɽɽ cɽk	'the fruits have become ripe'

The next examples contrast the transitive verbs **uttɛ** 'vomit' and **uttet** **cɽk** 'vomit at'. The third example contains a spatial notion though it remains unspecified.

ɔkɔl	w-a.ɽk	w-úttɛ	ɽɽɽɽt
child	C-be:PR	C-vomit:INCOMPL	food
the child is vomiting the food			

ɔkɔl	w-a.ɽk	w-úttet	ɽɽɽɽt	nɔ-capó
child	C-be:PR	C-vomit_at:INCOMPL	food	on-ground
the child is vomiting the food on the ground				

ɔkɔl	w-a.ɽk	w-úttet	ɽɽɽɽt	cɽk
child	C-be:PR	C-vomit_at:INCOMPL	food	VREF
the child is vomiting the food				

The content of the stomach is the object of **uttɛ** understood by default. This means that the verb can be used without object and that the object cannot be replaced by **cɽk**.

ɔkɔl	w-a.ɽk	w-úttɛ
child	C-be:PR	C-vomit:INCOMPL
the child is vomiting		

*ɔkɔl	w-a.ɽk	w-úttɛ	cɽk
child	C-be:PR	C-vomit:INCOMPL	VREF
the child is vomiting			

Whether or not verbs allow for replacement of the object or a locative constituent by **cɽk** is lexically determined.

15.2.4. **cík** modifying adjectives

As mentioned in chapter 10 on adjectives, certain colours can be combined with **cík**. Colours with **cík** refer to a resembling colour. In such cases, **cík** paradigmatically relates to adverbs. Compare:

poʃopé	p-ɔʃe	ittɪǎŋ
bird	C-red	very

the bird is very red

poʃopé	p-ɔʃe	cík
bird	C-red	VREF

the bird is reddish

cík can also be combined with at least some verbs related to colour terms, for example with **ɔpuka** ‘become white’, which is related to the adjective C-**ɪpuk** ‘white’:

pul	ɪ-p-ɔká.t	p-ɔpukát.ɛ	cík
person	RES-C-be:COMPL	C-become_white_at:COMPL	VREF

a man who was whitish (for example from disease)

ɔttê / **ɔttê** ‘small’ is another adjective that can be collocated with **cík**. In this case, **cík** makes the adjective more precise or absolute. The combination with **cík** refers only to the youngest sibling. Compare:

ɔ-paŋ	ɪ-p-ɔparɪ	ɪ-p-ɔttê
PERS-sibling	RES-C-female	RES-C-small

a small sister / a younger sister (i.e. the youngest of two sisters, or a younger, but not the youngest in a family with more sisters)

ɔ-paŋ	ɪ-p-ɔparɪ	ɪ-p-ɔttê	cík
PERS-sibling	RES-C-female	RES-C-small	VREF

the youngest sister

In the next example, the sentence in which **cík** is absent expresses that the person is still relatively young (for a certain purpose, for example for marriage). The second sentence, with **cík**, makes a statement in a more absolute sense: ‘s/he is still a child’.

k-kw-árə̀tək **p-ə̀ttê**
 3-C-be_still C-small

s/he is still young (implication for example: she can still get married)

k-kw-árə̀tək **p-ə̀ttê** **čík**
 3-C-be_still C-small VREF

s/he is still a child

p-ə̀ttê 'small' forms part of the expression **papə̀ttê** 'a little, a little time', which derives from **papu pə̀ttê** 'small thing'. **papə̀ttê** can be used with and without **čík**. In the first example below, without **čík**, it denotes a period of time of short duration. In the second, with **čík**, it refers to a moment shortly before (or after) the moment of speech.

m-p-a.ík **p-â.ŋəkə** **pá.p.ə̀ttê**
 1-C-be C-rest:INCOMPL short_time

I am resting a little

m-p-aa.t **pá.p.ə̀ttê** **čík**
 1-C-come:COMPL short_time VREF

I just arrived

15.3. Locative proclitic **čík**- 'just, precisely'

Proclitic **čík**- can be attached to a prepositional phrase or a noun with locative semantics. It typically functions as a confirmative particle, expressing that something (indeed) happens or happened on that very spot. The use of proclitic **čík**- presupposes that the place is known (identifiable) for the hearer. Proclitic **čík**- can also be used when the locative constituent is a further precision of a preceding statement or question. Examples will be given after some remarks about morpho-phonological and tonal properties of the proclitic.

*Morpho-phonological and tonal properties of proclitic **čík**-*

The realization of proclitic **čík**- is determined by the initial sound of the word to which it is attached. It assimilates to a following consonant resulting in a (short) voiceless plosive or a short sonorant,

or is realized as a soft fricative/approximant before a vowel: this is all fully regular. For example:

cɪ-nɔ̌-pərrɔ̌k ‘on the very chair’ (glossed: LOC-on-chair)

The clitic differs from the noun and the vague reference particle when it comes to slow or careful (cut up) speech: the final **k** of the clitic will not be pronounced as [k̚]. The clitic is either rendered as [cɪ] or, when followed by the prepositional proclitic **ɪ-**, as [cɪɪp], showing its clitic nature. Before **a** some speakers fully elide **k**:

cɪ-akkómân ‘since (precisely) then’

Proclitic **cɪk-** brings a high tone to a following element, but cannot itself receive a high tone unless through tone bridge, which is compatible with either a rising or a high tone. Unlike the noun **cɪk** it has no prepausal realization. As I do in such cases (see 3.8), I assign it a high tone.

cɪk- procliticizes to locative phrases. Its use assumes that the place is identifiable for the hearer and it tends to convey a sense of ‘precisely’, ‘especially’ or ‘only’ at that place. In the example below, it is assumed that the hearer knows the chair of the speaker:

m-p-a.ɪk	p-ɪkkɔ̌	cɪk	cɪ-nɔ̌-pərrɔ̌k	p-m
1-C-be:PR	C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF	LOC-on-chair	C-POSS1

I am sitting on this very chair of mine (in a telephone conversation, the chair is known to the addressee)

The difference between presence and absence of the clitic is generally subtle and can be rather difficult to capture in English translation. ‘Just’, ‘precisely’ or ‘the very’ actually tend to be somewhat too strong.

A typical situation in which **cɪk-** will be used is the following:

ŋ-kw-a.ɪk p-a.ɛ́ **karə-ʈa** / **m-p-a.ɪk p-a.ɛ́** **tɔumân** /
 2-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL where-QW 1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL Tɔumân
kəren **tɔumân** / **cɪ-ʈə-niméri-ŋ**
 where Tɔumân / LOC-at.PERS-Nimeri-PL

where are you going? / I am going to Tɔumân / where in Tɔumân? / to Nimeri's house

Two further examples follow here:

... a-kw-ɪɽɪkɔ.t **cɪ-nɔ́-cúɽân**
 CONJ-3-tie_at:DEPINCOMPL LOC-on-stick(k.o.)

and she tied it onto the stick (In the story, the stick has already been introduced. **cɪk-** draws extra attention to the ornament being put in place)

arriɽɛ.ɛ **wɛk** **w-əɽɛk** **cɪc-cénəkɛt** **ána** **w-əɽɛk** **cɪc-cénəkɛt**
 make_cross:IMP leg C-some LOC-there_not_far and C-some LOC-there_not_far

put one foot just there and the other one just there! (the speaker points at the places, the addressee should put his feet precisely at those places) (fr. written story)

cɪk- can be used on a constituent that has a locative role in a certain context, though it lacks prepositional marking or inherently locative semantics. Compare the following examples:

k-kw-ɔ́kkuttá.t **círí** **c-ɔ́-wék**
 3-C-be_hit:COMPL joint C-of-leg

s/he was hit at the ankle

k-kw-ɔ́kkuttá.t **cɪc-círí** **c-ɔ́-wék**
 3-C-be_hit:COMPL LOC-joint C-of-leg

s/he was hit precisely at the ankle

The presence of VREF **cɪk** does not stand in the way of addition of **cɪk-** to the locative phrase:

m-p-a.ɪk **p-ɪkkɔ** **cɪk** **cɪc-cənɛ́**
 1-C-be:PR C-sit:INCOMPL VREF LOC-here

I am sitting right here

ɔ-kín t-ɔʔəkk.áʔe cik ci-nóʔá w-ɔ-káncāŋ
 PERS-3A C-eat:PST VREF LOC-on_top C-of-big_flat_stone

they ate right on the big flat stone (the hearer is assumed to know the stone)

cík- cannot be used before a question word. The knowledge that **cík-** presupposes on the part of the hearer is incompatible with the question word. Compare:

n-t-ɔká.t kárə-tá máí
 2A-C-be:COMPL where-QW just_before

where have you (PL) been just now?

***n-t-ɔká.t cik-kárə-tá máí**
 2A-C-be:COMPL LOC-where-QW just_before

cík- can be proclitic to a temporal prepositional phrase (first example below), but not to every time-adverbial word (third example below):

k-kw-ānn-aŋkət itti k-kw-ítta ci-nə-tupót én-t-í
 3-C-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL that 3-C-get_married:INCOMPL LOC-on-year DEM-C-NEARSP

she does not want to get married this year

m-p-aa.t máí
 1-C-come:COMPL just_before

I have just arrived

***m-p-aa.t ci-máí**
 1-C-come:COMPL LOC-just_before

Prepositional **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ can precede locative phrases, expressing ‘from’. In such cases **ń-** comes before proclitic **cík-**:

m-p-ɪcántet mɛccɪn ɲ-cík-i-cɪŋkɪ
 1-C-lie_down_for:PST yesterday with-LOC-in-sun

I slept yesterday from sunrise

m-p-ɪcántet mɛccɪn *ci-n.ti-i-cɪŋkɪ
 1-C-lie_down_for:PST yesterday LOC-from-in-sun

Proclitic **cík-** is a fixed part of the following adverbs:

cɪt.tó.kít ‘firstly, at first’ (< **cík-** + **tó** ‘up at’ + **kít** ‘eyes’)
cɪn.nó.môn ‘firstly, at first’ (< **cík-** + **nó** ‘on’ + ?)
cɪt.tán ‘far, far away’ (< **cík-** + **tán** ‘there’ (see 16.6 and 17.1.2))

Two examples:

ana	kɪt	k-akkakáɛ	cɪt.tó.kít
and	wild_chicken	C-come:PST	firstly

and the wild chicken arrived first

ɛɛ	kɔɪ	cɪt.tán
stab:IMP	cry	far

cry out loudly!

15.4. The lexical item **ɲɪk**

There is an item **ɲɪk** consisting of prepositional **ɲ-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ and VREF **ɪk**. It behaves like a single low-toned item, not like clitic **ɲ-** + another element, since **ɲ-** cannot receive a high tone, but here it can. **ɲɪk** is part of fixed lexical combinations. Lacking a clear meaning, but often still containing some notion of ‘place’, I gloss it as a single lexical item ‘from_VREF’. **ɲɪk** must be distinguished from **ɲ-ɪk** ‘from place(s)’. An example with **ɲɪk** is given in chapter 16.5. Some examples with **ɲɪk** follow here:

ɔkóɛ	man	ɲ.ɪk
make_move_up:DEPINCOMPL	house	from_VREF

to make a house rise up from nothing (when the building was started there was nothing)

ɔkóɛ	kɪt	ɲ.ɪk
make_move_up:DEPINCOMPL	wild_chicken	from_VREF

to make a wild chicken appear from nothing (typical situation: the chicken could not be seen, you throw something to where you think it is, then it suddenly flies up and appears as if from nowhere).

ŋ-kw-a.kkwín-ǝk kunu ʝ.cɪk
 2-C-hit_for:INCOMPL-O3 ear from_VREF

you fix your ear to him/her (you must listen to him/her carefully. Lit.: you hit for him/her the ear (...). The picture is that somebody holds his ear turned to the sound, concentrating to catch it)

m-p-ǝkwɛɾǝ.t kuŋku ʝ.cɪk
 1-C-graze:COMPL knee from_VREF

I have grazed my knee (through quick contact with a rough place)

16. Prepositional proclitics

Lumun has five basic prepositional proclitics (PPCs). They can be attached to a noun, including a noun with the persona prefix, a full personal pronoun, an independent possessor, an independent demonstrative or an independent modifier. Four proclitics are locative:

ɪ-	‘in’
ɲɔ-	‘on, at’
tɔ-	‘up on, up at’
tɔ̃-	‘at’

The fifth marks instrumental role, comitative role, or agent role in a passive construction. It can also function in a locative context; there it expresses ‘(away) from’:

ɲɪ-	‘with, by, (away) from’
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In this chapter, I first present the tonal, morpho-phonological and morphological properties of the PPCs and then discuss their semantics, specific collocations and collocational restrictions. I also discuss complex prepositions and the “absolute” forms of the PPCs, which I call “absolute prepositions”. I will present different syntactic environments in which they are used. In the last section of the chapter, I provide some examples of attachment of **ɲɪ-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ to a different constituent than expected on grounds of the role that it expresses.

16.1. Tone

ɪ-, **ɲɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **tɔ̃-** impose a specific tone pattern on the nouns to which they are attached. Since these patterns deviate from what can be expected on the basis of the general tone roles, I represent **ɪ-**, **ɲɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **tɔ̃-** without tone.

ɲɪ-, on the other hand, behaves tonally as expected from a monomoraic element with a high or rising tone. There are, however,

no cues that allow for a choice between these patterns: the element cannot be realized in isolation, nor does it have additional morae that might (or might not) receive a high tone from another element. As set out in 3.8 on tone, I assign a high tone in such cases.⁴

When **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ʈɔ-** precede a L-noun, a H tone comes on the second mora of the noun, followed by a L-tone. This results in a falling tone on the second mora when the noun is bimoraic. When the L-noun is monomoraic, **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ʈɔ-** generate a falling tone on the first mora. When **ń-** precedes an all-low noun, the Tone Shift Rule is applied, bringing a falling tone on the first mora of the noun. Then Contour simplification is applied, unless the falling tone is in prepausal position.

Table 100 Tonal effects of the PPCs on low-toned nouns

	<i>ul</i> ‘person’	<i>əlla</i> ‘cats’	<i>cəɽɔkɪ</i> ‘gourd (k.o.)’	<i>əɽəmɛkkʊ</i> ‘bats (sp.)’
ɪ- (also nɔ- , tɔ- , and ʈɔ-)	ɪ-ʊl ‘among the people’	ɪ-əllâ ‘among the cats’	ɪ-cəɽɔkɪ ‘in the gourd’	ɪ-əɽəmɛkkʊ ‘among the bats’
ń-	n-ʊl ‘with the people’	n-əlla ‘with the cats’	ɲ-cəɽɔkɪ ‘with the gourd’	n-əɽəmɛkkʊ ‘with the bats’

L-toned nouns with a long vowel preceded by **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ʈɔ-** also get the H-tone on the first vowel:

ɪ-cáa ‘in the grape’

ɪ-éɛ ‘in the poison’ (< **ɪ-** + **ɲɛɛ**)

One L-noun has a different tonal realization when preceded by one of the proclitics **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ʈɔ-**. With **cattak/mattak** ‘calabash (k.o.)’ all prepositional proclitics give a H-tone on the first mora:

⁴ There are attestations of a high tone realized on the initial nasal in the word **ɲɪk** (**ɲɪkɪ**). I regard **ɲɪk** in these cases as a lexicalized item. Though the PPC **ń-** is clearly historically a formative here, synchronically I regard the initial nasal no longer as the PPC in this word (see also 15.4).

ɪ-cáttak ‘in the calabash (k.o.)’

When **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ɬɔ-** precede a noun with a H-tone, whether or not as part of a contour, the tone pattern of the noun does not change. When preceded by **ń-**, sub-Rules 1 to 4 apply (see 3.3.3).

Table 101 Tonal effects of the PPCs on nouns containing a H-tone

	ɪ-, nɔ-, tɔ-, ɬɔ-	ń-
ɬök ‘dog’ waɪ ‘cow’ kəɾɪttǎŋ ‘knife’ ɬennekkettǎ ‘test’	nɔ-ɬök tɔ-waɪ nɔ-kəɾɪttǎŋ ɪ-ɬennekkettǎ	n-ɬök n-naɪ ŋ-kəɾɪttǎŋ n-ɬennekkettǎ
kɪt ‘eye’ ɔpá ‘piece of meat’ aɾankál ‘bed’ mɪmǎnterɪ ‘hedgehogs’	ɪ-kɪt nɔ-ɔpá ta-aɾankál ɪ-cɪmǎnterɪ	ŋ-kɪt n-ɔpá n-áɾankál ɲ-cɪmǎnterɪ
mɪl ‘sorghum’ kurrôŋ ‘stick’ ŋaɬɬɔkkôl ‘calabash (k.o.)’ ŋaɬɬərəpê ‘rabbit’	ɪ-mɪl nɔ-kurrôŋ ɪ-aɬɬɔkkôl ta-aɬɬərəpê	m-mɪl ŋ-kurrôŋ ŋ-ŋaɬɬɔkkôl ŋ-ŋaɬɬərəpê
ɬəróma ‘ram’ lómóttu ‘bull (k.o.)’ ŋaccəpápa ‘tool (k.o.)’ aləppaɬúra ‘tomato’ ɪɾɪmaníɾɪman ‘spiders’	tɔ-ɬəróma tɔ-lómóttu na-accəpápa ɪ-aləppaɬúra ɪ-ɪɾɪmaníɾɪman	n-ɬəróma l-lómóttu ŋ-ŋaccəpápa n-áləppaɬúra n-íɾɪmaníɾɪman

The above description of tonal realizations of prepositional proclitics and nouns does not account for all tonal phenomena that relate to the prepositional proclitics, and a couple of attestations defy a clear analysis. **nɔ-** and **tɔ-** (and probably also **ɬɔ-**) can be realized with a high tone outside situations of tone bridge, and there are even attestations of **nɔ-** realized with a high tone where a preceding element providing this high tone appears to lack. **mart** ‘beans’ in the example below is an entirely low noun:

pul **p-ɔɾəkóɬ.ɛ** **mart** **nɔ-capó**
person C-eat_at:COMPL beans on-ground

the man has eaten the beans on the ground (i.e. while sitting on the ground)

ɪ-, on the other hand, never receives a high tone from a preceding element, nor is it ever realized high apparently ‘out of the blue’.

The following minimal pair also testifies to **nɔ-** and **ɪ-** having different tonal effects. The verb preceding the PPC is realized differently:

kwɔk	k-a.ɪk	ɪ-wék
shoe	C-be:PR	in-leg

the shoe is on the foot

kwɔk	k-a.ík	nɔ-wék
shoe	C-be:PR	on-leg

the shoe is on the foot

16.2. Morpho-phonology and morphology

Vowel assimilation and coalescence

When **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** or **ɬɔ-** is prefixed to an **ɔ**-initial noun, the resulting vowel tends to retain some length. A difference is audible between minimal pairs such as **nɔ-ɔpá** ‘on the piece of meat’ and **n-ɔpá** ‘with the piece of meat’. I therefore use a double vowel in the spelling in case of attachment of **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ɬɔ-** before **ɔ** or an initial vowel to which the PPC assimilates, as far as this vowel is the initial vowel of a common noun. Before the persona prefix (**ɔ-**) no length seems to be retained, nor for a demonstrative starting with **ɛ**.

The vowel of **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ɬɔ-** assimilates to a following **a** or **ɛ**:

nɔ- + aɾəpu	> na-aɾəpu ‘on the things’
nɔ- + ɛpu	> nɛ-ɛpû ‘on the mushrooms’

The same happens before independent possessors and demonstratives. Concord **ɬ** in the examples below agrees, for example, with **ɬuk** ‘dog’.

nɔ- + **áɬaŋ** > **n-áɬaŋ** ‘on yours’
nɔ- + **enɬí** > **n-enɬí** ‘on this one’

An exception is the following, in which **ɛ** of the noun assimilates to preceding **ɔ**:

nɔ- + **ɛɾəkê** > **nɔ-ɾəkê** ‘on the stirring spoons’

Attachment before one of the other vowels (**i**, **u**, **ɪ**, **ʊ**, **ə**) results in a diphthong.

Initial **ŋ** is (regularly) deleted between vowels. In such cases some length of the vowel tends to be more audible than upon direct adjacency of the vowels. The same assimilations take place, e.g.,

nɔ- + **ŋɛɾɪŋkâ** > **nɛ-ɛɾɪŋkâ** ‘on the donkey’

Attachment to (pro)nouns with the persona prefix

Upon attachment of **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** or **ɬɔ-** to a noun with the persona prefix (**ɔ-**) there is full coalescence, resulting in a short vowel. Recall that **ɪ-**, **nɔ-** and **tɔ-** cause the persona prefix to change into **á-**, but **ɬɔ-** does not (see 4.10.1):

k-kw-ɔɬɬé.t **nɔ-kəmən** **ána** **n-a-paŋón** **ana** **nó-ɪmít**
 3-C-leave_behind:COMPL on-houses and on-PERS-sibling.PL and on-goat
 s/he left the house and his/her siblings and the goat behind

ɬɔkukúón ‘at the house of Kukku and his family’

A short vowel **a** also results upon attachment of **nɔ-** and **tɔ-** to a personal pronoun (**ɬɔ-** cannot occur in that position), i.e.:

na-âk ‘on him/her’ (< **nɔ-** + **ɔâk**)

Full paradigms are given in chapter 6.1.4.

ATR harmonization

The vowels of the prepositional proclitics may undergo some influence of a +ATR noun to which they are attached, but do not fully harmonize with the +ATR noun. I therefore spell ‘in’ as **ɪ-** (instead of **ĩ-**) in for example:

ɪ-cərúk ‘in the opening’

Homorganic nasal

Lumun consonant clusters are always homorganic and the general rule is that the first consonant of a cluster adapts—at least—for place of articulation to the second. **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ is no exception. It assimilates for place of articulation to a following obstruent consonant, e.g.,

ŋ-kurrŋ ‘with the stick’

It fully assimilates to following **l**:

l-lŋn ‘with words’

A following **w**, however, assimilates to **ń-**:

n-naĩ ‘with the cow’ (< **ń-** + **waĩ**)

Long initial consonants that are due to attachment of prepositional **ń-** tend to be pronounced with some length.

*Irregular assimilation of **t** or **k** before **ń-** and before **nɔ-** attached to a (pro-)noun with the persona prefix*

Deviating from the general rule, **ń-** does not cause the final **t** or **k** of a preceding word to become nasal. Instead, it causes lenition of **t** to **r**, and of **k** to **ɰ**. The absolute counterpart of **ń-**, **ŋŋɪn**, has the same effect. **nɔ-** and its absolute counterpart **nán**, on the other hand, have the regular effect of eliding a preceding word-final **t** or **k**.

Unexpectedly, however, when **nɔ-** is attached to a noun or pronoun with the persona prefix it causes lenition of a preceding **t** to **r**, and of a preceding **k** to **ɸ**. Examples of these different assimilations are provided in 2.1.1.

*Allomorph **rɪ-** of **ɪ-** ‘in’*

ɪ- ‘in’ has an allomorph **rɪ-**, which is applied when ‘in’ is preceded by the connexive **C-ɔ** ‘of’, e.g.,

ɔkukkú kórítt̪t̪k ‘Kukku of in the field’ (i.e., Kukku born from an unmarried mother) < **k-ɔ** ‘of’ + **rɪ-** ‘in’ + **kərək** ‘farming field’

Assuming that **r** is the intervocalic allophone of **t** here, the same **t** preceding **ɪ-** is found in the absolute form of **ɪ-**, **tít**, and in the combination of **ń-** + **ɪ-**, realized as **ntɪ ɪ-**, with **ntít** as its absolute form (see 16.6). This suggests an older form of **ɪ-** with **t** preceding it (***tɪ-**), which has been retained in some words/environments.

*Allomorph **na-** of **nɔ-***

nɔ- has an allomorph **na-** which occurs when the PPC is used in a comparative construction before an independent modifier:

ɪ-c-ípe	akk-ɔpərót	ná-í-c-íé
RES-C-old	FOC-good	on-RES-C-new

the old one is better than the new one

*Changed shape of certain nouns after **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** or **t̪ɔ-***

It is mentioned here also that certain nouns occur, or can occur, in a changed phonological shape upon prefixation of **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** or **t̪ɔ-**. One example is:

nɔ- + **pət̪ək** ‘stone’ > **nɔ-t̪t̪k** ‘in the country’

Further cases are listed in chapter 4.4. Some nouns occur both in original as in changed shape after a PPC and have developed different meanings. Such cases are presented in the subsections of 16.3.

16.3. Semantics and use of **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ʈɔ-**

All four locative proclitics (**ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ʈɔ-**) can be used both in static expressions and in movement expressions⁵.

16.3.1. **ɪ-** ‘in’

ɪ- typically expresses a notion of being (or becoming) enclosed or enveloped or surrounded. It can often be translated as ‘in’ or ‘into’ or through (that is, moving through something) and with a plural noun as ‘among’ or ‘between’.

mart	m-a.ɪk	ɪ-cakkəlɔk
beans	C-be:PR	in-calabash(k.o.)

the beans are in the calabash

ɔppɔt.ɛ	máɪt	ɪ-én-c-í
put_at:IMP	beans	in-DEM-C-NEARSP

put the beans in this one! (in this *cakkəllək*)

ɔccu	ʈɔrək	én-t-í	á-ɪɪke	ɪ-cərúk
receive:IMP	rope	DEM-C-NEARSP	SUBJ-(2-)make_pass_entrance:DEPINCOMPL	in-opening

take this rope and pass it through the opening (lit.: in order to pass it ...)

aɾəpu	w-ɔɾɪát.ɛ	ɪ-paŋ-k-ên
things	C-become_red_at:COMPL	in-sibling-C-of:ABS

the fruits have become ripe between the other fruits (lit.: between their siblings)

Some nouns can occur in a changed form after the PPCs **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **ʈɔ-** (see chapter 4.4). Next to this form, a regular form is often

⁵ Examples of the use of the prepositions in static situations are provided in Smits (2007), which contains short locative sentences, elicited with the help of pictures designed by Melissa Bowerman (1993). The sentences answer the question ‘where is X’.

possible as well. In some cases, the form with gemination and the regular form have different meanings. Examples with **ɾ-** are:

- pəɽək** ‘stone’
ɾ-pəɽək ‘under a stone’ (typically in a (small) hole that has been dug and that has been closed by a stone)
ɾ-ttək ‘in the cavity under stones that touch each other’ (typically shaped by nature)
- kərək** ‘farming field’
ɾ-kərək ‘in the bigger farming field away from the house’
ɾ-ttək ‘in the small farming field immediately around the house’
- pərɪt** ‘granary’
ɾ-pərɪt ‘in the space between the actual storehouse and the wall of a room in which it is located’
ɾ-ttɪt ‘in the granary (i.e. in the actual storehouse)’

ɪkkwâ (< **ɾ-** + **ka** ‘body’) is a comparable case because of the gemination of the consonant. The regular form **ɾ-ká** is part of a complex preposition (see section 16.4):

- ka** ‘body’
ɾ-ká kə ‘in the centre/middle part of’ (in the sense of not at the edge)
ɾ-kkwâ ‘in the body’

‘The shoe is on the foot’ can be expressed with **ɾ-** (example given in 16.1), and **ɾ-** is used in the following situation:

ɟ-nənní	p-á.ík	p-á.kə	cuccú	ɾ-cəlâk
PERS-Nenni	C-be:PR	C-wear:INCOMPL	bead	in-neck

Nenni is wearing a necklace around her neck

The use of **ɾ-** for temporal expressions is limited to forming a fixed part of the word for the early part of the dry season (roughly October till January): **ɪcəpâ**.

ɪ-cəpɔ̌ **ul** **w-á.kɪɔ̌** **mɪl**
 in-first_part_of_dry_season people C-cut:INCOMPL sorghum
 in the beginning of the dry season the people cut the sorghum

ɪ- is also used outside the locative (and temporal) domain. For example, engagement in hunting activities is expressed with **ɪ-**:

ul w-ɔ-rɪ-apê ‘people of in fish’ (that is, people engaged in fishing)

Some more examples of this type were provided in chapter 4.8.1.

A few verbs are obligatorily collocated with a prepositional phrase with **ɪ-**, for example **ɔ̌tɪt tít** ‘answer (to it)’. Such verbs have the absolute preposition **tít** when cited alone.

16.3.2. **nɔ-** ‘on, at’

nɔ- typically expresses surface contact, often at the side of something, but it may also be on a high (or the highest) point of something. If there is an element of height, **nɔ-** does not draw attention to it (in order to do that, **tɔ-** is used). **nɔ-** often translates as ‘on’ or ‘at’.

ɲuccók **ɲ-á.ík** **nɔ-kəɽittǎŋ**
 blood C-be:PR on-knife
 there is blood on the knife

It can also be used in a directional way:

m-p-a.ík **p-a.ẽ** **nɔ-kəɽén** **k-əɽek**
 1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL on-place C-some
 I am going to some place

nɔ- does not express envelopment, nevertheless it is a formative of **nɔppǎn** ‘inside’ (**nɔ-** + **tɔpan** ‘room’).

The location of holes and cracks is expressed with **nɔ-**:

cəruk	c-a.ɪk	nə-kərét
opening	C-be:PR	on-cloth

the hole is in the cloth (answer to: where is the hole?)

A case in which **nə-** preceding a noun in its regular form and in its changed form (see 4.4) have different meanings is the following:

pəṭək	‘stone’
nə-pəṭək	‘on the stone’
nə-tṭək	‘in the country’

nə- can be used in the temporal domain, where it is typically optional. In fact, not using it seems often the preferred option. The example below easily goes without it:

k-kw-ânn-aṅkət	ittɪ	k-kw-ítta	(nə-)ṭopút	én-ṭ-í
3-C-NEG-want:DEP COMPL	that	3-C-be_married:INCOMPL	(on-)year	DEM-C-NEARSP

she does not want to get married this year

nə- is applied also in non-locative domains, expressing notions such as ‘about’ or ‘concerning’:

m-p-a.ɪk	p-a.ṭ-ére	nó-kammrâ
1-C-be:PR	C-IT:INCOMPL-talk	on-singing whip

I am going to talk about the singing whip (App. II, 2)

lən	ɪ-l-a	k-kw-ókkəṭ.é	nə-pûl
words	RES-C-COP	3-C-do:COMPL	on-person

the things s/he did to the person

A few verbs are obligatorily collocated with a prepositional phrase with **nə-**, for example **ṭṭe nán** ‘leave sb./sth. (behind)’. Such verbs have the absolute preposition **nán** when cited alone.

Comparative constructions

nə- is further used in comparative constructions. In such constructions it has an allomorph **na-**. The allomorph **na-** is applied

before independently used modifiers. Adjectives and verbs describing properties can serve as the predicate of comparison.

əlla **w-acókw-cəkət** **nə-lök**
 cats C-fast-REDUP on-dogs
 cats are faster than dogs

tök **t-a.kípa** **nə-pəllâ**
 dog C-become_tired:INCOMPL on-cat
 the dog will get more tired than the cat

The allomorph **na-** is used in the next example because of attachment to an independently used modifier (a connexive). The example comes from an (unpublished) Lumun dictionary (Kuku et al. 2006):

pul **i-p-ópari** **p-ənó** **cúré** **c-érík** **ná-c-ó-púl** **í-p-ócura**
 person RES-C-female C-have buttock C-big on-C-of-person RES-C-male
 a woman has a bigger bottom than a man (lit.: a woman has a bottom that is big on that of a man)

Which allomorph is applied in the next examples is not apparent, since in all three cases ‘on’ precedes a vowel **a** (in the first two examples the allomorph **á** of the persona prefix after a PPC; in the last the pronominal base **a** that forms part of the independent possessor pronoun).

ə-kín **t-əpərât**⁶ **n-a-nîñ**
 PERS-3A C-good on-PERS-1A
 they are better than we (are)

lotti **η-kw-ənó** **itti** **η-kw-a.rəkə** **turít** **t-əppət**⁷ **n-a-tuttô**
 Lotti 2-C-have that 2-C-eat:INCOMPL food C-many on-PERS-Tuttu
 Lotti, you must eat more than Tuttu

⁶ The final **t** of **təpərât** is realized here as **r** (cf. chapter 2.1.1).

⁷ The final **t** of **təppət** is realized here as **r** (cf. chapter 2.1.1).

á-t-aŋ **ákk-ɔpərɔt**⁸ **n-á-t-in**
 PROB-C-POSS2 FOC-good on-PROB-C-POSS1

yours is better than mine (for example **tök** ‘dog’)

Also the verb **ɔllɔ** ‘run’ allows for the comparative construction. The example clearly shows that non-locative use of **nɔ-** does not trigger the Locative-applicative derivation.

pəlla **p-a.llo** **nɔ-tök**
 cat C-run:INCOMPL on-dog

a cat runs (faster) than a dog

16.3.3. **tɔ-** ‘up on, up at’

Unlike **r-** and **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** is not used outside of the locative domain. **tɔ-** typically expresses a vertical dimension: something is, or moves towards, a high point or the highest point of something. Compare the following sentences:

puɾupé **p-ɔɾɔ.t** **nɔ-pirâ**
 bird C-land:COMPL on-tree

the bird has alighted in the tree

puɾupé **p-ɔɾɔ.t** **tɔ-pirâ**
 bird C-land:COMPL up_on-tree

the bird has alighted in the top of the tree

In the following examples **nɔ-** and **tɔ-** describe the same situation. The use of **tɔ-** expresses that the location has a certain height, while **nɔ-** gives no information relating to height.

ŋattɔkkɔl **ŋ-á.ík** **nɔ-cénâ**
 calabash(k.o.) C-be:PR on-grinding_table

the *ŋattɔkkɔl*-calabash is on the grinding table

ŋattɔkkɔl **ŋ-á.ík** **tɔ-cénâ**
 calabash(k.o.) C-be:PR on-grinding_table

⁸ The final **t** of **ákkɔpərɔt** is realized here as **r** (cf. chapter 2.1.1).

the *ηαττῶκκῶλ*-calabash is on the grinding table (attention is paid to the grinding table having a certain height)

A human being, unlike a living tree and a grinding table, can assume different positions with respect to the ground. The following sentence can be said when the speaker is in upright position (the frogs will climb onto his head), but also when he is lying on the floor (the frogs are all over him).

nəllapók	n-á.úrət	ta-ôn
frogs	C-crawl_at:INCOMPL	up_on.PERS-1

the frogs will crawl on me (different positions of the body possible, the frogs reach the highest point)

The body parts of the upper half of the human body tend to be associated with **tə-** (a few more examples are given in table 102).

k-kw-ónək.áte	tə-cəlâk
3-C-put:PST	up_on-neck

s/he put it on his neck

For the position on the back of a donkey, **tə** is used:

k-kw-árrót.ε	tə-εrɪŋkâ	(< tə- + <i>ηερɪŋkâ</i>)
3-C-cross:COMPL	up_on-donkey	

s/he has mounted the donkey

With motion verbs, **tə-** can also be used in order to express that a distance has to be covered without giving information about height of the location. In the example below it is used irrespective of the location of the church (on the mountain or in the valley):

m-p-a.ɪk	p-a.εñ	tə-man	m-ó-kapɪk
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	up_on-house	C-of-God

I am going to the church (the speaker has to cover a distance)

By contrast, when the church is near, **tə-** is used:

m-p-a.ɪk	p-a.ɛ̃	ṭə-man	m-ṣ-kapɪk
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	at-house	C-of-God

I am going to the church (the church is near)

Both sentences above do not provide any information about the ‘path’ of movement, i.e. whether the agent has to climb the mountain, descend, or remain more or less at the same level to reach the church.

Farming fields, apart from some fields directly around the house, are traditionally situated in higher places on the hills, often at considerable distance from people’s houses. Although people have in more recent times started to cultivate in the valleys as well, the traditional high location and the element of distance of the fields is reflected in the combination **ṭəpɔ̃n** (< **ṭə-** + **əpɔ̃n** (probably), see also 4.4) which is used regardless of the location of the field with respect to people’s homes on a vertical axis:

ń-ṭ-ú.ɪ	ṭə.pɔ̃n
3A-C-descend:COMPL	at_farming_field

they have descended to the field

kəpɔ̃n can also be marked with **ɪ-**. Use of **ɪkkwɔ̃n** (**ɪ-** + the contracted form of **kəpɔ̃n**, see 4.4) as compared to **ṭəpɔ̃n** conveys that the farming field is near (perhaps easily visible from the house), whereas the use of **ṭəpɔ̃n** conveys that a distance has to be covered.

m-p-a.ɪk	p-a.ɛ̃	ɪ-kkwɔ̃n
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	in-farming_field

I am going to the farming field (which is near)

nəkkwɔ̃n and **ṭəkkwɔ̃n** also exist, but have specific meanings: **nəkkwɔ̃n** ‘near the field’ and **ṭəkkwɔ̃n** ‘at the side of the field’.

16.3.4. **ṭə-** ‘at’

ṭə-, like **ṭə-**, functions only as a locative marker. **ṭə-** can generally best be captured by ‘at’. It collocates with some nouns that share a

notion of being situated in a low(er) place on a vertical axis, but probably rather involves the semantic notion of a non-high location (as opposed to a high location) than of a low-lying location as such. Collocations with some body parts, contrasting **ṭə-** and **tə-** are given in the table. **kucúl** ‘back’ occurs in its contracted form.

Table 102 Body parts collocated with **ṭə-** and/or **tə-**

	ṭə-	tə-
kucúl ‘back’	ṭə-ccúl ‘at the back’	tə-ccúl ‘between the shoulders’
carók ‘belly’	ṭə-carók ‘at the belly’	
kuṅko ‘knee’	ṭə-kuṅkô ‘at the knee’	
cəkên ‘lower back’	ṭə-cəkên ‘at the lower back’	
marró ‘kidneys’	ṭə-marró ‘at the kidneys’	
cələk ‘neck’		tə-cələk ‘at the neck’
cərěṅ ‘chest’		tə-cərěṅ ‘at the chest’

In a few other fixed collocations an element of lower altitude can be recognized. Water tends to be found at lower places, which is probably why going to the well (**tók**) is expressed with **ṭə-**, irrespective of whether one actually goes down or up the mountain in order to reach it.

m-p-a.ık

1-C-be:PR

p-a.εś

C-go:INCOMPL

ṭə-rók

at-waterplace

I am going to the well (no information about going up or down the mountain)

A place where water gathers in a hole in a big stone, on the other hand, is expressed with **tə-**: **təkkú** (**tə-** + **kupú** ‘hole in rock where water gathers’). Such places are typically found higher up in mountains.

Places belonging to **muttô** ‘Arabs’ are indicated with **ṭə-**, reflecting that such places are not on the mountains, but on the low plains in between or further away.

ɔ-kumán **p-á.ík** **ɬɔ-múttô**
PERS-Kumaŋ C-be:PR at-Arabs

Kumaŋ is in Arab country

Combinations of **ɬɔ-** and words with the persona prefix are restricted to plurals of kinship terms and personal names, and the noun **ɔpattôn** ‘people, folk’. Such expressions refer to the living place or household of a person and his/her family or group, not to the people themselves:

m-p-a.ɛ̃ **ɬɔ-kakkâ-n**
1-C-go:INCOMPL at.PERS-Kakka-PL

I will go to the place of Kakka and her family (the sentence contains no information about the location of Kakka’s house)

k-kw-ânn-ítta **ɬɔ-patt-ôn**
3-C-NEG-be_married:DEPINCOMPL at.PERS-person-PL

she will not be married into the household of those people

ɬɔ- cannot be combined with a pronoun, whether singular or plural. Pronominal replacement of **ɬɔ-kakkân** ‘at the place of Kakka and her family’ and **ɬɔ-pattôn** ‘at the house of those people’ in the examples above is by the absolute form of **ɬɔ-**, **ɬán** ‘at, there’ (see 16.6), not by ***ɬɔ-kín** ‘at them’ (or ***ɬakín**).

ɬɔ may historically be a formative of the word **ɬəpət** (also **ɬəpút**) ‘outside’. There is also **ɬɔ-ɬəpút** ‘place outside which people use as toilet’⁹.

16.3.5. Place names

All indigenous place names contain one of the prepositions **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **ɬɔ-** or **ɬɔ-** as a formative. Places with **ɬɔ-** are mostly located higher up the mountain, but there are counter-examples. For example, **ɬó** is a

⁹ Especially in the rainy season, when all the land around the house is being used for growing crops, and the pigs, who eat the human excrements, are locked inside, there is a place assigned for use as a toilet, often near a big stone.

place in the valley in Saraf Jamous. Some examples of place names follow here (some were also listed in chapter 4.7); there are many more. The noun involved is not always synchronically attested.

iär	lit. 'In the mud'	< ḡär 'mud'
icapó	lit. 'In the ground'	< capó 'ground'
nəṭupərǝ	lit. 'In the valley'	< ṭupərǝ 'valley'
nəkɪtɪn	?	< ?
təpərɪncɪn	lit. 'Up the <i>pərɪncɪn</i> -tree'	< pərɪncɪn 'tree (sp.)'
təcamarāṅ	lit. 'Up at the free fight'	< camarāṅ 'free fight'
ṭammó	lit. 'At <i>ammó</i> '	< ammó (name of person)
ṭərək ṭápê	lit. 'At the waterplace of fish'	< tók ṭápê 'waterplace of fish'

ṭə is part of the name for the place where the spirits of dead people reside. **ṭɪɪn** (or **ṭɪɪn**) is not attested as a noun on its own:

ṭəṭɪɪn 'The place where the spirits of dead people reside'

Place names are not combined with one of the prepositions **ɪ-**, **nə-**, **tə-** or **ṭə-**. They can only be combined with **ń-**, expressing 'from'. Compare:

m-p-a.ɪk **təṭəmaṭɪn**
1-C-be:PR Təṭəmaṭɪn

I am in Təṭəmaṭɪn

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.éʃ** **təṭəmaṭɪn**
1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL Təṭəmaṭɪn

I am going to Təṭəmaṭɪn

m-p-aat **n-təṭəmaṭɪn**
1-C-come:COMPL with-Təṭəmaṭɪn

I come from Təṭəmaṭɪn (i.e. I have just come from Təṭəmaṭɪn)

Foreign place names are treated in the same way as indigenous place names and can only be combined with **ń-**:

m-p-ḳnó **man** **m-a** **m-p-ḳeró.t** **kátúkəli**
 1-C-have house C-be:COP 1-C-trade:COMPL Kadugli

I have a house which I bought in Kadugli

cárit **éś** **kéccók** **ír-ḳṭ-ḳkkə¹⁰** **ḡépak**
 12HORT go:DEPINCOMPL market (SUBJ-)12-IT:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL beer

let's go to the market and drink beer

k-kw-áa.t **ḡ-kárəṭúm**
 3-C-come:COMPL with-Khartoum

s/he comes from Khartoum (i.e. s/he has just come from Khartoum)

16.4. Complex prepositions

Fixed collocations of one of the prepositions **ɪ-**, **nə-**, **tə-** and **ṭə-**, a noun (mostly a body part), and the connexive **C-ḳ-** 'of' function as what I will call 'complex prepositions'. The connexive is proclitic to a noun. A list follows here:

ɪ-cuṛé C-ḳ-	'under, at the bottom of'	(cuṛé 'buttock')
ɪ-carək C-ḳ-	'inside'	(carək 'belly, stomach')
ɪ-poṛut p-ḳ-	'in the middle of (on a vertical axis)'	(poṛut 'waist')
ɪ-ká k-ḳ-	'in the centre part of'	(ka 'body')
ɪ-ṭəṛəkṭ ṭ-ḳ-	'among, between, in the middle of'	(ṭəṛəkṭ 'space between two things')
ɪ-ccík k-ḳ-	'near (no contact)'	(cík 'place(s)')
nə-kuṭút k-ḳ-	'at the edge of, at the side of'	(kuṭút 'lip')
tə-kṭ k-ḳ-	'before, in front of'	(kṭ 'eyes')
ṭə-ccul k-ḳ-	'behind'	(kucúl 'back')
ṭə-cəkén C-ḳ-	'behind, under'	(cəkén 'lower back')
ṭə-carək C-ḳ-	'in front of'	(carək 'belly, stomach')

¹⁰ The subjunctive particle **â-** is underlyingly present, as can be seen from the high tone on the 12 pronoun clitic.

The formative **ṛá** in the following complex prepositions is probably related to **cá** ‘head’:

ṇṇ-ṛa w-ṣ-, **ṇṛṣ-** ‘on top of, over, above of’
ṭṭ-ṛa w-ṣ-, **ṭṛṣ-** ‘on top of, over, above of (element of height expressed)’

All body parts in the complex prepositions listed above are singulars, except **kṛt** ‘eyes’. However, prepositions can in principle also be formed with the plurals of these nouns, namely when referring to several locations:

ṛ-mṛṛé **m-ṇ-mṛṇṇ**
 in-buttocks C-of-mountains

at places at the bottom of the mountains

m-p-ṇká.t **cṛk** **a-n-ṣṛllṭ** **ṛ-lṛṛəkṛt** **l-ṣ-kəṃán**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-run_at:DEPINCOMPL in-spaces_in_between C-of-houses

I was running between the houses (passing through spaces between several houses)

By contrast, the next sentence has the complex preposition with the singular noun **ṭṛṛəkṛt**.

m-p-ṇká.t **ṛ-ṭṛṛəkṛt** **ṭ-ṣ-ṭl**
 1-C-be:COMPL in-space_in_between C-of-people

I was between the people

A special case of a complex preposition is **ṭṛṛṛṭán** ‘behind, beyond’ which probably contains the absolute preposition **ṭán** ‘at’ as a formative. **ṭṛṛṛṭán** is unusual as a complex preposition because it immediately precedes the noun, without a connexive:

ṇṛukṛ **ṭṛṛṛṭán** **páa**
 hide:IMP behind vine

hide behind the vine!

16.5. **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’

ń- ‘with, by, (away) from’ can mark the instrumental role of the noun, the comitative role, and the agent role in a passive construction. In combination with the verb ‘be’ it can express ‘have’. With locative constituents **ń-** functions as an ablative marker, expressing ‘from, away from’.

*Examples of **ń-** marking the instrumental role of the noun:*

m-p-a.ccíe **ṭík** **ṇ-kurúṭta**
 1-C-ignite:INCOMPL fire with-rubbing_stick

I will make a fire with a rubbing stick

ɔ-paṭṭi **p-ɔkkottát.ɛ** **ṇ-kəṛṭṭāṇ**
 PERS-person C-be_killed:COMPL with-knife

the person was killed with a knife

*Examples of **ń-** marking the comitative role of the noun:*

k-kw-áa.t **m-pól** **p-ɛn**
 3-C-come:COMPL with-person C-DEM

s/he has come with that person (i.e. the person that we talked about)

... a-n-ɔṅkat **l-lɪcək** **cɪk-ɪpəriaṇ**
 CONJ-1-go:DEPPRFV with-goats LOC-ɪpəriaṇ

... and I went with the goats to ɪpəriaṇ

k-kw-áa.t **m-máṭṭák** **m-én**
 3-C-come:COMPL with-calabash(k.o.) C-POSS3A

s/he has arrived with their plates

Example of ‘be’ + **ń-** expressing ‘have’:

ń- cannot be attached to a (pro)noun with the persona prefix (**ɔ-**). Such (pro)nouns in a comitative role need an entirely different construction, which makes no use of a prepositional element (see chapter 6.7).

ń- marking the agent role in a passive construction

ń- can mark non-animate and animate agents in passive constructions:

ɔ-paṭṭi **p-ɔkkottáṭ.ɛ** **n-tóllérák** **tɔ.pɔn**
 PERS-person C-be_killed:COMPL with-thunder_and_lightening at_farming_field
 the person was killed by lightening in the farming field

ɔ-paṭṭi **p-ɔkkottáṭ.ɛ** **n-tők**
 PERS-person C-be_killed:COMPL with-dog
 the person was killed by a dog

k-kw-ɔkkottáṭ.ɛ **p-cuttô**
 3-C-be_killed:COMPL with-Arab_person
 s/he was killed by the Arab

Agents in a passive construction that have the persona prefix (ɔ-) use a construction with the absolute counterpart of ń-, **ɲɲm**. Examples are provided in 14.4 and 16.6.

ń- as ablative ‘(away) from’

ń- preceding a locative phrase takes up ablative meaning. ń- can precede one of the locative prepositional proclitics, giving the following forms. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the formative **ti** in **nti i-** is possibly an older form of the PPC **i-**.

nti i- (< ń- + i-)
n-nɔ- (< ń- + nɔ-)
n-tɔ- (< ń- + tɔ-)
n-tɔ- (< ń- + tɔ-)

Some examples:

ŋ-kw-a.ná lɔn n.tɪ ɪ-cá
 2-C-bring:INCOMPL words from in-head

you will bring words from in your head (i.e. you must come up with an idea)

k-kw-á.kwɔ lɔn í-l-ókwɪtak n-nɔ-kâ
 3-C-blow:INCOMPL words RES-C-bad with-on-body

s/he will blow the bad things away from the body

ɔll.ɔ n-t-a-ôn
 run:IMP with-up_on-PERS-1

get away from me! (the suggestion is that the speaker is lying down and the addressee is on top of him/her)

m-p-aa.t n-tɔ-mɪʊk p-átt-ɔŋáɛɔ
 1-C-come:COMPL with_at-bush C-ITVEN:COMPL-urinate:DEPINCOMPL

I come from the bush, having gone to urinate

ntɪ ɪ- can be used in a superlative expression:

ɬupəɬɔ ɬ-ɔ-ɬɔcurák ɬ-úkwɪt n.tɪ ɪ-lupəɬɔ áppɪk tɔrrô
 valley C-of-ɬɔcurák C-long from in-valleys all Lumun_country

the valley of ɬɔcurák is the deepest of all valleys in the Lumun area

ń- can also precede complex prepositions. Some examples:

n.tɪ ɪ-ccɪk kɔ- from near
n-nɔ-kuɬút kɔ- from at the edge of, at the side of
n-tɔ-kɪt kɔ- from before, in front of
n-tɔ-cəkén cɔ- from behind, under

ɔll.ɔ n.tɪ ɪ-ccɪk k-úŋ
 run:IMP from in-place C-POSS3

get away from him/her! (the addressee is near the person, not on him/her)

Words that inherently denote a place, such as the question word ‘where’, place deictics and place names can be directly preceded by ablative **ń-**, as can the noun **cɪk** ‘place(s)’:

ŋ-kw-aa.t
2-C-come:COMPL

ŋ-kárə̀ta
with-where

m-p-aa.t
1-C-come:COMPL

ŋ-kárə̀ttôm
with-Khartoum

where have you come from? I have come from Khartoum

ɲ-cínâɲ

with-there_where_you_are

from there, *also*: from then onwards

ana

and

w-íɬt

PRO.C-find:INCOMPL

ul

people

ɲ-cɪk

with-place

áppɪk

all

and they (the people) will find people from everywhere (lit. from all places)

cɪk- as pro-clitic pragmatic marker of a locative phrase (see chapter 15.3) can also be preceded by **ń-**:

m-p-aa.t

1-C-come:COMPL

ɲ-cɪk-kéccôk

with-LOC-market

I come from the very market

m-p-ɪcát.ɛ

1-C-lie_down:COMPL

mɛccɪn

yesterday

ɲ-cɪk-ɪ-cɪŋkɪ

with-LOC-in-sun

I slept early yesterday (lit.: I slept yesterday from in the sun (but not necessarily when it was still light))

ń- is furthermore a formative of the lexical item **ɲcɪk** which tonally differs from a combination of **ń-** + **cɪk** (or **ń-** + **cɪk**), because **ɲ**, as the initial mora of this low-toned item, can receive a high tone from a preceding element. **ń-** as a PPC is not able to receive a high tone from a preceding element. Some examples with **ɲcɪk** can be found in 15.4.

16.6. Absolute prepositions

All PPCs have absolute counterparts, which I call absolute prepositions. This is the list:

i-	> tít	‘in’
nɔ-	> nán	‘on, at’
tɔ-	> tán	‘up there’ (‘up on, up at’)
ɬɔ-	> ɬán	‘there’
ń-	> ɲɲm	‘with, by’

ɲɲm is a tonally irregular item. In isolation it is realized as an element with a rising tone (i.e. without downglide), but in context initial **ɲ** sometimes receives a high tone from a preceding element, which is not compatible with a rising tone. **ɲɲm** seems to fluctuate between an element with rising tone and with low tone. I therefore represent it without tones.

The absolute prepositions all have a formative relating to the corresponding PPC. **nán**, **tán** and **ɬán** contain a same formative **an** or probably rather **n**, which may well be the same element as occurs in the absolute connexive **c-ên** ‘of’. **ɲɲm** contains the formative **ɲm** ‘what’, which is also part of the question word **ɲín-ɬa** ‘what’ and the related words **akkaín/akaín**, **akkaínɬa/akaínɬa** ‘why’ (lit. ‘that what’, see 20.1.2).

The absolute prepositions do not include pronominal reference to their complement, which appears from their ability to co-occur with their complement in the same clause. Constructions where this happens are presented in 16.6.1.

There are, however, also situations in which the absolute prepositions can be translated as preposition and pronoun with non-human reference (‘in it’, ‘on it’, etc.). This is not surprising since, in Lumun, non-humans other than subjects cannot be pronominally referenced. In such cases the absolute preposition relates to PPC + non-human noun in the same way as PPC + pronoun to a human noun.

16.6.1. Syntactic constructions involving the absolute prepositions

Some verbs must be used together with a prepositional phrase (either a phrase with **ɪ-** or a phrase with **nə-**). In the absence of such a constituent an absolute preposition is used. Examples follow here with **ɔ́córɔt** (**tít**) ‘meet sb.’ (which must be combined with a prepositional phrase when the subject has singular reference, see chapter 14.5) and **ɔ́tte nán** ‘leave behind’.

ɔt̪t̪ɛ nɔ-t̪ʊk
 leave:IMP on-dog
 leave the dog behind!

ɔ̃t̃t̃e **nán**
 leave:IMP on:ABS

leave it behind! (i.e. the dog, or other things or animals, but not people)

***ɔ̃t̃t̃e**
 leave:IMP

ɔ̃t̃t̃ɔ̃t **tít** ‘answer (to it)’ is a verb that is commonly used with absolute preposition, since what is answered (the question) is typically stated, in one way or another, in the preceding discourse. For example:

ámamá **m-p-ípíttɔ̃t.é** **nón** **lón** **ɔ̃-nɔ̃n** **t̃-ǎnn-ɔ̃t̃t̃ɔ̃t-in** **tít**
 if 1-C-ask:COMPL O2A words PERS-2A C-NEG-answer:DEPINCOMPL-O1 in:ABS
 when I ask you something, you will not answer me

ɔ̃p̃ər̃əttakɔ̃t **tít** ‘be surprised, be amazed’ (related to **ɔ̃p̃ər̃əttakɔ̃** ‘turn oneself’) cannot occur without **tít**, at least not without acquiring a different meaning. **tít** cannot be replaced by **ɪ-** + noun (phrase). If what people are surprised or amazed about is present in the clause, this constituent is marked by **nɔ̃-**:

ɔ̃k.kw.í-ón **í-t̃-ɔ̃ccíkkɔ̃t-ɔ̃k** **t̃-ɔ̃ká.t** **cɪk**
 the_one-PL RES-C-hear:COMPL-O3 C-be:COMPL VREF
a-kín **ɔ̃p̃ər̃əttakɔ̃t** **tít** **nó-t̃-ma** **cɪk** **t̃-óŋ**
 CONJ.PERS-3A turn_oneself:DEPINCOMPL in:ABS on-NOM-know VREF C-POSS3
 those who heard him were amazed at his wisdom (Luke 2:47)

Non-human complements

A non-human complement of a PPC is not pronominally expressed. In such cases an absolute preposition is used. Examples:

... a-kín **ɪll.at** **ɪ-kəpa** **a-kín** **ónókke.kat** **nó-t̃ɪk**
 CONJ.PERS-3A divide_in_two:DEPPRFV in-meat CONJ.PERS-3A put:DEPPRFV on-fire
kurek-kurek **m-marro** **tít**
 each-REDUP with-kidneys in:ABS

... they divided the meat in two and they each put (his part of the meat) on the fire, with the kidneys in (it) (fr. written story)

... a-kín ónék.at túttórúk á-kín óínkat η.ηm cı̣t.tán
 CONJ.PERS-3A take:DEPPRFV pig CONJ.PERS-3A go:DEPPRFV with:ABS far

... and they took the pig and they went far away with (it) (fr. written story)

The understood complement can be an afore-mentioned noun with non-human reference, but also a whole clause, as in the next case:

ana túsı̣r t-əmmá.t nán
 and hyena C-not_know:COMPL on:ABS

and the hyena was not aware of (it) (i.e. of the lamb being near the opening in the fence)

tə ‘up at’ and tə ‘at’ always refer to a place. Their absolute counterparts (tán and tán) function as locative adverbs, ‘(up) there’ and ‘there’ respectively. Compare:

n-t-əká.t tərəmatón-ı
 2A-C-be:COMPL Tərəmatón-Q
 ın-t-əká.t tán máı
 1A-C-be:COMPL up_on:ABS a_short_while_ago

have you been in Tərəmatón? we have just been there some hours ago

n-t-əká.t t-ə-kakká-n-ı
 2A-C-be:COMPL at.PERS-Kakka-PL-Q
 ın-t-əká.t tán máı
 1A-C-be:COMPL at:ABS a_short_while_ago

have you been at Kakka’s place? we have just been there some hours ago

n-əkkwe ı-attâl
 2A-beat:DEPINCOMPL in-palms_of_hands

n-əpákkot tán
 2A-return:DEPINCOMPL at:ABS

clap your hands! do it again! (lit.: go back there!)

Absolute prepositions are further used in grammatical constructions in which PPC and noun are separated. This is the case in passive constructions with subjects that, in a corresponding active

construction, are marked with a PPC. It is also found in constructions in which a prepositional phrase is relativized.

Absolute prepositions in passive constructions

In the first example below, with the passive verb **oretta** ‘be forgotten’, the complement (‘these things’) of **no** ‘on, at’ is present in the clause but, as the subject, stands before the verb. Functioning as subject, it cannot be marked by **no-**. The verb, however, still requires the prepositional phrase, which is realized as **nán**. A corresponding active sentence is given in the second example.

lon	el-l-i	l-a.ka	l-oretta	nán
words	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-be:INCOMPL	C-be_forgotten:INCOMPL	on:ABS

these things will be forgotten

ul	w-óre	no-lón	él-l-í
people	C-forget:INCOMPL	on-words	DEM-C-NEARSP

the people will forget these things

The next example has **wək** ‘shoes’ in instrument role, first as subject in a passive construction with **ηηm**, then in a corresponding active sentence. Some further examples of this construction can be found in chapter 14.4 on Passives.

wək	en-n-i	w-a.llóra	η.ηm
shoes	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-be_run:INCOMPL	with:ABS

these shoes are for running (lit.: these shoes are run with)

ul	w-a.llə	n-nók	én-n-í
people	C-run:INCOMPL	with-shoes	DEM-C-NEARSP

people run with these shoes (people use these shoes for running), *also*:
people will run away with these shoes (a warning that they will steal them)

It was shown earlier in this chapter that **ń-** can mark common nouns with agent role in passive constructions. Agents, however, with the persona prefix, i.e. kinship terms, personal names and personal

pronouns, need a construction with **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**. In such constructions the agent (pro)noun comes after the verb and is then followed by **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**.

k-kw-ᓴkkottáṭ.ε **ᓴ-kukkó** **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**
 3-C-be_killed:COMPL PERS-Kukku with:ABS
 s/he was killed by Kukku

k-kw-ᓴkkottáṭ-ᓴk **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**
 3-C-be_killed:COMPL-O3 with:ABS
 s/he was killed by him / her

ᎡᎡᎡᎡ does not always follow the agent immediately:

mén **m-á.ík** **m-á.cúraṭ-ᓴk** **nᓴ-kwεε** **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**
 palm_fruits C-be:PR C-be_impaled_at:INCOMPL-O3 on-pointed_stick with:ABS
 the palm fruits are being impaled on a stick by him/her

Human agents lacking the persona prefix allow for both the construction with **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ** and the construction with **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**:

k-kw-ᓴkkottáṭ.ε **Ꭱ-cuṭṭó**
 3-C-be_killed:COMPL with-Arab_person
 s/he was killed by the Arab

k-kw-ᓴkkottáṭ.ε **cuṭṭó** **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**
 3-C-be_killed:COMPL Arab_person with:ABS
 s/he was killed by the Arab

A comparable construction with an instrument after the verb followed by **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ** was initially rejected, but on a later occasion considered possible, though not preferred. The construction in the second example, with **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**, is the common expression.

***/?k-kw-ᓴkkottáṭ.ε** **kεṭṭan** **k-ᓴ-kukkó** **ᎡᎡᎡᎡ**
 3-C-be_killed:COMPL knife C-of.PERS-Kukku with:ABS
 s/he was killed with Kukku's knife

k-kw-ókkottát.ε **η-kəɽittan** **k-ó-kukkô**
 3-C-be_killed:COMPL with-knife C-of.PERS-Kukku
 s/he was killed with Kukku's knife

Absolute prepositions in reciprocal constructions

Reciprocal formation is another operation that can lead to the use of an absolute preposition, since reciprocals can be based on verbs that realize the other participant in the event in a prepositional phrase. Compare the following clauses:

ámmá **m-p-ápó.t** **ná-átəərəpé ...**
 if 1-C-grab:INCOMPL on-rabbit
 when I grab the rabbit ...

ámmá **ó-nín** **t-áp.árs.t** **nán** **ó-nín** **átərəpé ...**
 if PERS-1A C-grab.REC1:INCOMPL on:ABS PERS-1A PERS.rabbit
 when the rabbit and I grab each other ... (when we grab each other, I and the rabbit ...)

Some further examples were given in chapter 14.5 (on Reciprocals).

Relativized prepositional phrases

An absolute preposition is used in relativized prepositional phrases, irrespective of whether the head is human or not:

ɔ-kukkú **í-k-á** **m-p-ócorót.é** **tít**
 PERS-Kukku RES-C-COP 1-C-meet:COMPL in:ABS
 Kukku, whom I met with in the way, ...

caɽɪ **i-c-a** **k-kw-á.t-ɔnɔ** **nán**
 day RES-C-COP 3-C-IT:INCOMPL-build:DEPINCOMPL on:ABS
 the day on which he will go and build

aɽəpu **i-ónta** **η.ηm**
 things RES-(C-)be_built:INCOMPL with:ABS
 building materials (lit.: things which are built with)

The question word ‘where’ and place names, which can be used in combination with **ń-**, are relativized with **ńá** ‘where’ (11.3). Thus:

k-kw-ákənn-ɪɛ **na** **k-kw-áa.t** **ń.ɲɪn**
 3-C-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL where:REL 3-C-come:COMPL with:ABS
 s/he did not say where s/he came from

tɔumáŋ **na** **k-kw-áa.t** **ń.ɲɪn**
 Tɔumáŋ where:REL 3-C-come:COMPL with:ABS
 Tɔumáŋ, where s/he came from

In constructions with a location as subject and ‘have’

Preposition and noun are also separated in constructions with **C-ɔnô** ‘have’ in a locative interpretation. The prepositional phrase cannot function as subject, so that the PPC occurs in its absolute form. Compare the first with locative ‘be’ and a locative phrase with the second example:

cɛtəna **c-ɔ-tərɔma** **c-a.ɪk** **nɔ-kurrɔŋ**
 ornamental_tail C-of-ram C-be:PR on-stick
 the ram’s tail is on the stick

kurrɔŋ **k-ɔnô** **cɛtəna** **c-ɔ-tərɔma** **nán**
 stick C-have ornamental_tail C-of-ram on:ABS
 the stick has a ram’s tail on it

Two absolute prepositions figure in the next sentence. The complement of **ɬɔ** (realized as **ɬán**) is the place name **ɬaɬu**, which functions as the subject of a clause with ‘have’. The complement of **ń-** (realized as **ɲɲɪn**) are the three big roads:

ɬáɬú **ɬ-ɔnô** **aɬər** **w-əɬapóruk** **ɪ-íttí~íttík**
 ɬaɬu C-have roads C-three RES-(C-)PLR~(C-)big
ɪ-íɬɪkako **ɲ.ɲɪn** **ɬán**
 RES(-C)-be_entered:INCOMPL with:ABS at:ABS
 ɬaɬu has three big roads for entering it (with which it can be entered into)

16.6.2. Absolute prepositions preceded by **ń-**

The absolute prepositions can be preceded by **ń-**:

n-tít	‘from, out of’
n-nán	‘away from’
n-tán	‘away from up’, ‘fully’, ‘towards the deictic centre’
n-ťán	‘away from’

Some examples:

et-in	aún	cəné	á-n-ɔ́ɔ	ɲəre	n.tít
give:IMP-01	bees	here	SUBJ-1-pull:DEPINCOMPL	honey	from:ABS

Give me the honeycombs here, so that I suck the honey out of them (App. IV, 90)

m-p-aá.t	n.tít
1-C-come:COMPL	from:ABS

I have just now arrived

appentíná	w-árə́tâ
groundnuts	C-where

ɔ-cɛccé	p-á.ík	p-á.cáɔ	áɔl	n-nán
PERS-Cɛccé	C-be:PR	C-peel:INCOMPL	shells	with-on:ABS

where are the groundnuts? Cɛccé is peeling them (lit.: peeling the shells from on)

ul	w-a.nókɔ	áɔpú	á-kín	ókétte
people	C-take:INCOMPL	things	SUBJ.PERS-3A	trade.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL

á-kín	ɾɔt	âkúccɪ	n-nán
SUBJ.PERS-3A	find:DEPINCOMPL	money	with-on:ABS

the people carry things in order to sell them, so that they make money from them

puɔpé	p-ɔká.t	tɔ-pirá
bird	C-be:COMPL	up_on-tree

méná	á-p-írr.at	n-tán
until	CONJ-C-jump:DEPPRFV	with-up_on:ABS

the bird was in the tree top, then it flew away from there

n-tán does not always have an ablative interpretation. It can express ‘fully’, ‘to the bottom’, as in the following sentence:

ikk.i n-tán
 drink:IMP with-up_on:ABS

drink it all! (i.e. drink it to the bottom, finish it!)

It can also express rather the opposite from ablative meaning: ‘towards, facing the deictic centre’, as in the following example. Note that unlike in the second example, the Locative-applicative derivation is not used:

oll.u n-tán
 run:IMP with-up_on:ABS

run to me/here!

ollot.e n-a-ôn
 run_at:IMP on-PERS-1

run to me!

In the following sentence, **ntán** expresses ‘towards the deictic centre’. It is as if the storyteller positions himself up in the tree, so that the tortoise climbed towards him:

akka k-kw-ókut.t.é n-tán a-kəɽɔl ɔt-íat
 that 3-C-move_up:COMPL with-up_on:ABS CONJ-tortoise IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV
ittı mén m-ellâ
 that palm_fruits C-be_absent:INCOMPL

when he_i had climbed up, the tortoise_i found there were no palm fruits (anymore) (App. IV, 118-119)

ntán in the sense of ‘towards the deictic centre’ has become a fixed part of the irregular Dependent Incompletive and Incompletive variants of the verb **aɔ** ‘come’, respectively **ântán** and **C-ântán**.

16.7. Attachment of **ń-** to an argument that is not its complement

Interestingly, in certain constructions **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’, can be attached to a noun that is not its complement. This happens when the complement is dislocated and an object argument follows the verb. **ń-** can attach to this object argument. In the first example below the complement is dislocated as the head of a relative clause, in the second as subject of a passive clause, and in the third as the head of a predicative adjectival phrase with a passive verb.

lɔn **ɪ-l-a-kín** **ʒɔ́kkɪɛ** **ɲ-ɲókúl**
 words RES-C-COP.PERS-3A make_grow:DEPINCOMPL with-children

pápénnan **ittĩ ...**
 well that

things with which they bring up the children in a good way are ...

kəɽɪttan **éŋ-k-í** **k-ʒ-t-ʒkɛccɛtta** **n-tũn**
 knife DEM-C-NEARSP C-of-NOM-be_cut with-onion

this knife is for cutting onions (lit.: this knife is of being cut with onions)

kəɽɪttan **é.ŋk.í** **k-á.kɛccɛtta** **n-tũn**
 knife DEM-C-NEARSP C-be_cut:INCOMPL with-onion

this knife is for cutting onions / this knife is for onions to be cut with. (lit.: this knife will be cut with onions)

The construction is also possible when the instrument is the object of the preceding clause:

pɔl **p-úmmɔ** **korĩn**
 person C-take:INCOMPL awl

á-kw-ɔkurɔ **ɲ-cakkóŋ** **lɔn** **l-ʒpáttərə́**
 SUBJ-3-engrave:DEPINCOMPL with-calabash(k.o.) words C-very_good

the person takes an awl, in order to engrave the calabash with it very nicely (App. III, 4-5)

Alternatively, constructions with **ŋŋm** are possible:

lən **ɪ-l-a-kín** **ʒcɔkkɪɛ** **ɲókól**
 words RES-C-COP.PERS-3A make_grow:DEPINCOMPL children

pápénnaŋ **ɲ.ɲɪn** **ittĩ ...**
 well with:ABS that

things with which they bring up the children well are ...

kəɽɪttaŋ **éŋ-k-í** **k-á.kéccetta** **tún** **ɲ.ɲɪn**
 knife DEM-C-NEARSP C-be_cut:INCOMPL onion with:ABS

this knife is for cutting onions / this knife is for onions to be cut with (lit.: this knife will be cut with onions)

The same type of construction is not possible with any of the other absolute prepositions. The first sentence, with **tít**, is fine, the second was rejected.

pərit **p-íttat** **mɪl** **tít**
 granary C-be_put:INCOMPL sorghum in:ABS

the granary is for storing sorghum (lit.: the granary is stored sorghum in)

***pərit** **p-íttat** **ɪ-mɪl**
 granary C-be_put:INCOMPL in-sorghum

the granary is for storing sorghum (lit.: the granary is stored sorghum in)

When the arguments are reversed, a grammatical sentence results:

mɪl **m-íttat** **ɪ-ttĩt**
 sorghum C-be_put:INCOMPL in-granary

the sorghum is put in the granary

17. Adverbs, discourse markers and interjections

In this chapter I list adverbs and adverbial expressions of time and place, manner adverbs and adverbs with miscellaneous semantics, and discuss their morphological structure. I also present enclitic discourse markers and a few interjections.

17.1. Adverbs

Morphology

Adverbs can be morphologically simple or complex. Typical adverbial morphology consists of an initial vowel **ɪ** or **a** followed by a geminated consonant: **ɪCC**, **aCC**. In some cases an adverb and an adjective are formed on the basis of the same root, for example:

ɪk-kítak ‘badly’	c-ɔkítak ‘bad’
ɪt-tíɔt ‘tastily, with flavour’	c-ɔtíɔt ‘tasty’

The shared root of these items is preceded in the adjective by a concord and the vowel **ɔ**, while in the adverb the root-initial consonant is geminated and preceded by **ɪ**. Note in the second case that the H-tone on the root part has changed position. Another example is the adverb **ɪppáppat** ‘lightly, easily’, which relates in the same way to the Completive verb **c-ɔpappât** (< **ɔpáppa** ‘be(come) light’). **c-ɔpappât** can be used as a modifier ‘light, easy’.

In other cases there is no root or stem that is attested elsewhere as well. **a** + gemination of the first consonant is probably a formative of **accuŋkõr** ‘straight ahead’, but ***cuŋkõr** does not exist as a word on its own or as a formative of another word. Some further examples which do not contain a root or stem that occurs elsewhere as well include:

ɪppu, -ppu	‘really, seriously (intensifying)’
aŋŋəna	‘very, very much’
aŋŋəriŋ	‘completely’

Another morphological feature found in adverbs is reduplication. Adverbs with full reduplication sometimes have an inserted schwa followed by a geminated consonant, in order to retain the same sound, for example **təŋ-əttəŋ** ‘tightly’.

A case of partial reduplication and gemination is **ŋəʔɔ́llət** ‘the day after tomorrow’. Recall that **ɾ** does not geminate as **ɾɾ** but, often, as **ll** (see examples in 13.1). Recall also that the process of partial reduplication and gemination was also found in Pluractional verbs (see 13.1) and in adjectives (see 10.2.7). An example of partial reduplication and gemination in a related adverb and adjective is **ik-kítəttak** ‘very badly’ vs. **c-ɔ́kítəttak** ‘very bad’.

In two cases of adverbs that are related through reduplication, the unreduplicated form contains an adverbial formative comparable to **ɪ** + geminated consonant, namely **a** + geminated consonant:

aɿ-təman ‘quickly’	təman-təman ‘quickly’
ac-cəkət ‘quickly’	cəkəc-cəkət ‘quickly’

The tones of an adverb with (partial) reduplication can be different from what is expected on the basis of the composing parts, and in some cases of (partial) reduplication a non-reduplicated form is lacking.

(Partial) reduplication in adverbs can express:

- intensification (**mâ** ‘now’, **má-ínâ** ‘just now’)
- repetition (**cɿŋkɿ-cɿŋkɿ** ‘every day’, lit.: ‘sun-sun’)
- duration (**nɔ́cɿŋkɿ-nɔ́cɿŋkɿ** ‘the whole day’ (lit. ‘on sun-on sun’)

Nouns or noun phrases preceded by a prepositional proclitic (PPC), as well as the absolute prepositions, can function adverbially. Some nouns can function adverbially without PPC, and some can function adverbially with as well as without PPC. In some cases, what is historically —probably— a PPC has become a fixed part of the adverb.

17.1.1. Adverbs and adverbial expressions of time

Deictic time adverbs and adverbial expressions include the following:

inâ	‘now’
inâ-inâ	‘just now’ (REDUP)
in-enní	‘today, now’ (probably < inâ ‘now’ + enní ‘this’)
ácca	‘now’ (< Sudanese Arabic <i>hassa</i> ^c)
mæccín	‘yesterday’
mamân	‘this morning’
mæle-mæla	‘just a moment ago’ (REDUP)
maí	‘just recently’
mɛɲcɛn	‘some time ago’
maɹɔt	‘a long time ago’
ɲorrɔt	‘tomorrow, the next morning’
ɲɔɹ-ɔll-ɔt	‘the day after tomorrow’ (P.REDUP + G)
mæccin ɲórrɔt	‘yesterday morning’

Some further time adverbials:

pa-p-ɔtté-ík / pa-p-ɔtté-ík	during a short time, after a while (< papu ɔtté cik / papu ɔtté cik lit.: thing short)
kəppák	during a short time
póccúk	(continuing) for some time

póccúk is often used in combination with **mənɔ** expressing ‘until’, as in the following example:

a-kw-ɛ́təkka.kat	méník	póccúk	mónó
CONJ-3-become:DEPPRFV	like_this	for_some_time	until
a-kw-ɛ́təkka.kat	p-inakó.t	ɲ-ɲóɹɛ	pəɹɪn
CONJ-3-become:DEPPRFV	C-be_known:COMPL	with-laziness	finally

he became like this continuing for some time (i.e. Aməntacı continued to be like this for some time) until he finally became known for his laziness (App. 1, 30-31)

Time adverbials can be formed with the nouns **caŋí** ‘day’ and **ɬuput** ‘year’, as well as with nouns for parts of the day. These nouns can be modified by a demonstrative or a connexive construction. In some cases a PPC must be used, in others a PPC is optional, in again others the noun lacks a PPC when used adverbially. Examples:

(nɔ-)caŋí cɔ́-mɛccín	‘the day before yesterday (lit.: (on) the day of yesterday)’
(nɔ-)caŋí cɛn	‘that time, that day’
ɬuput ɛntí / nɔ-ɬupút ɛntí	‘this year’
(nɔ-)cipín	‘in the evening, in the afternoon ’
(nɔ-)cipín ɛncí	‘this evening, this afternoon’
ɲɲírɪmak	‘before daybreak: from ca. 4.00h till dawn (lit.: with darkness)’
ɲkɔŋá	‘in the night’
ɲkɔŋá ɛɲɲí	‘tonight, this night’

ɲɲírɪmak consists **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ and the noun **ɲírɪmak** ‘darkness’. **ɲkɔŋá** ‘(in the) night’ is most probably historically made up of the preposition **n-** and a noun ***kɔŋá** (which is also recognizable in **nɔkɔŋɔkkɔŋá** ‘the whole night’), but this noun is synchronically not attested.

The year is divided into four seasons. On two seasons a PPC is optional (**ɬɔ-** resp. **nɔ-**), on one **ɪ-** must be used, while the fourth is used without a PPC:

Table 103 Seasons

kərrən / ɬɔ-kərrən	(in) the beginning of the wet season (ca. end of April-June)
cukku / nɔ-cukku	(in) the height and end of the wet season (ca. July-beginning of October)
ɪ-cəpɔ́	(in) the first part of the dry season (ca. end of October-January)
pəŋú	(in) the last part of the dry season (ca. February-April)

A few reduplicated adverbs were already listed above. Some others follow here. **no-** ‘on, at’ is a formative of **no-kkó-no-kkí** and **no-kə́ɔ́-kkə́ɔ́**, but no synchronically attested noun is recognized in these words.

no-kkó-no-kkí	‘in the daytime, during the day, the whole day’
no-cɨ́ŋkí nɔ́-cɨ́ŋkí	‘the whole day (lit.: at sun-at sun)’
no-kə́ɔ́-kkə́ɔ́	‘in the night, during the night, the whole night’
no-cókkó no-cókkó	‘during the whole wet season’
no-uɾu nɔ́-uɾú	‘during the whole dry season’

ɛppɪn-ɛppɪn /appɪn-appɪn	‘always, every day’
kɨ́ɾi-kɨ́ɾí	‘every moment, all the time’

Clock-time is expressed with **no-cɨ́ŋkí** ‘on sun’ and a numeral. The period of the day can be added:

no-cɨ́ŋkí	c-ə́ɾapóro	cɨ́pɪn
on-sun	c-three	afternoon

at three o’clock in the afternoon

17.1.2. Adverbs and adverbial expressions of place

All locative adverbs can be preceded by the locative proclitic **cí** ‘just, precisely’ (see 15.3). Deictic adverbs relating to the location of the speaker are the following:

Table 104 Deictic adverbs

cə́né	here, at a place near the speaker
cə́nékɛt, cə́nekɛt	there, at a place not far from the speaker, within sight
té́ntɨ́ɛ	over there, at a place at some distance from the speaker. Typically out of (clear) sight, but not really far.
té́ntə́ɛ	over there, at a place away from the speaker (but still belonging to a larger space to which the speaker belongs as well). Often not in sight.

téntərə is possibly related to the demonstrative **en-c-ərê** ‘away from speaker and addressee’.

The deictic adverbs can express location as well as direction, and can be used gesturally as well as anaphorically. Some examples:

m-p-a.ɪk **cənέ**
1-C-be:PR here

I am here

ɔʔɔʔ.ε **korret** **cənέ**
pull_at:IMP line here

pull a line up to here!

pəlla **p-a.ɪk** **cənέket**
cat C-be:PR there_not_far

the cat is there (in sight, at a little distance from the speaker)

ʔ-ɔʔáεɔt **cənέket** / **cənέket**
IT:IMP-urinate_at:DEPINCOMPL there_not_far there_not_far

go and urinate there! (at a place somewhat away from the speaker)

ʔ-ʂʔurakɔt **téntʔtε**
IT:IMP-stretch_oneself_at.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL there_out_of_sight

go and stretch yourself out somewhere else! (not where I am)

ɔ-patt-ʂn **téntʔtε** **ɪ-cáama¹¹** **ʔ-ɔpərɔt**
PERS-person-PL there_out_of_sight in-university C-fine

the people here in the university are fine (in skype conversation Leiden-Khartoum, while the speaker is in Leiden, but not at the university)

nuʔʔaruk **n-a.ɪk** **téntərə**
pigs C-be:PR there_at_distance

the pigs are over there (at a distance) (fr. written story)

There are also deictic adverbs relating to the place of the addressee:

¹¹ From Sudanese Arabic *jaam’a* ‘university’

cínân ‘there where you are (on or near that spot)’
ṭénṭiṭaṇ ‘there, near the place where you are (but typically out of your (clear) sight)’

cínân and **ṭénṭiṭaṇ**, respectively, contain **cāné** and **ṭénṭiṭe** combined with the 2SG possessor morpheme **-āṇ**. No such adverbs exist on the basis of **cānéket**, **cāneket** or **téntərə**. Examples:

ṇ-kw-ṣṇṭa akka a-ikkō cik cínán ákkómân
 2-C-why that CONJ-(2-)sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF there_where_you_are since
 why are you still sitting there (where you are)?

ipittī ṣ-paṭṭ-ṣṇ appik ṭénṭiṭaṇ
 ask:IMP PERS-person-PL all there_near_you
 greet all the people there with you (i.e. in different places in your environment)

The deictic adverbs can also be used in relation to third persons, as in the next example:

k-kw-ikkō.t ṇṇápák í-ṣṇṇ
 3-C-drink:COMPL beer RES-(C-)bitter
á-kw-í.at cínán noṭok
 CONJ-3-die:DEPPRFV there_where_you_are for_no_reason
 he had drunk strong liquor and then just died there (at that place where he was) for nothing (fr. written essay)

There is no adverb based on **téntərə** in combination with the 2SG possessor **-āṇ**. A place that is distant from the addressee, but part of his/her larger space, is referred to through **ṭán** ‘there’ by a speaker whose actual location is not considered part of that larger space. This meaning of **ṭán** is a semantic development from **ṭán** ‘at’ as the absolute form of the PPC **ṭ** ‘at’. The following question was asked by JS in Khartoum to the researcher in Leiden when talking about her family in Zwolle:

ɔ-patt-ón ʔan ʔ-ɔpərɔr-i
PERS-people-PL there C-fine-Q

are the people there fine? (the people are nearer to the addressee than to the speaker, but not in the immediate vicinity of the addressee)

ʔéntərə is appropriate in the answer, since for the researcher, Zwolle belongs to the same space as where she is, but it is at a distance:

ɔ-patt-ón ʔéntərə tuan ʔ-ɔpərɔt
PERS-people-PL far_from_speaker home C-fine

the people there in their house are fine

When consultant and researcher are both in Khartoum and talk about their family in ʔɔɽɿ and Zwolle, **ʔán** is used in both cases. Seen from Khartoum, both places belong to a different space.

ʔán as an adverb referring to a space outside the space of the speaker is also a formative of **ɕɿʔʔán** ‘far, far away’, which further contains the locative proclitic **ɕík-** ‘just, precisely’:

ɔ-kín ʔ-ákənn-ónɔ ɕɿʔ.ʔan n.ti i-ccík k-ɔ-ʔʔan p-ɔ-kkɔl
PERS-3A C-NEG-build:DEPINCOMPL far from in-place C-of.PERS-father C-of-child

they will build not far from the place of the father of the boy (lit.: they will not build far from ...) (fr. written description)

ʔɽəʔán ‘behind’, which has **ʔán** as a formative, can be used as a preposition but also as an adverb.

Some further adverbial expressions with place semantics follow here:

nɔppăn	‘inside’ (< nɔ- ‘on, at’ + tupan ‘room’)
tuăn	‘at the house, at home’ (possibly < tɔ- ‘up at’ + măn ‘room’)
ʔəpət, ʔəpút	‘outside’ (possibly contains ʔɔ- ‘at’ as a formative)
ʔəkkun wɔ́kúré	‘on the left side’ (lit.: at hand of left side)
ʔəkkun wɔ́ʔarí	‘on the right side’ (lit.: at hand of right side)

napəttôt, nəpəttôt ‘near’ (related to C-**uttôt** ‘short’)
napəttúttôt, nəpəttúttôt ‘very near’ (related to C-**uttúttôt** ‘very short’)

Some of the preposition-and-noun combinations that form part of a complex preposition (see chapter 16.4) also function as adverbs. As adverbs, they lack the connexive phrase introduced by C-**ə** ‘of’:

nɛcəkên ‘from behind’ (< **n** ‘from’ + **tə** ‘at’ + **cəkên** ‘lower back’)
təkít ‘firstly, as the first’ (< **tə** ‘up at’ + **kít** ‘eyes’)
cittókít ‘firstly, at first’ (< **cík-** + **tə** ‘up at’ + **kít** ‘eyes’)

17.1.3. Manner adverbs

məník ‘so, like this/that’ is a deictic manner adverb:

ɔkkɔt.ɛ **məník**
 do:IMP like_this
 do it like this!

It can also be used in inquiries after somebody’s health or other problems, if the speaker knows there have been certain problems:

k-kw-ícca **p-a.ík** **məník-î**
 3-C-still C-be:PR like_this-Q
 is s/he still in the same state?

k-kw-á.ík **məník**
 3-C-be:PR like_this
 s/he is still the same / there is no change

The conjunction word **ittiná** ‘so, like this’ (see chapter 18.7) can also function as a deictic manner adverb:

ukul **w-a.ík** **w-ápukkwə** **ittiná** **eppin-eppin**
 child C-be:PR C-fall.PLUR:INCOMPL so always-REDUP
 the child is falling like this all the time

ṭóma ḡuṣol ḡ-ṭ-ín-ṭa-ppu éḡ-ḡ-í ḡírrók ítínâ
 friend sauce C-of-what-QW-really DEM-C-NEARSP sweet so

friend, what, really, is this sauce that is so sweet made of? (App. IV, 28)

m-p-ṣn-ṭa akka m-p-ṭḡákṭ.ε ittínâ ittī ...
 1-C-why-QW that 1-C-be_loved:COMPL so that

why am I so loved, that ... ? (Luke 1:43)

Some further manner adverbs include the following, several of which have typical adverbial morphology:

kiccé	‘properly, completely’
kiccε-kiccé	‘carefully, softly, slowly; also: later’
papēnnaḡ	‘properly’ (< papu ‘thing’ + p-ēnnaḡ ‘properly sized’)
ip-párəṭṭərə	‘very well’ (related to C-ṭpárəṭṭərə ‘very good’)
ik-kítak	‘badly’ (related to C-ṭkítak ‘bad’)
ik-kítəṭṭak	‘very badly, seriously’ (related to C-ṭkítəṭṭak ‘very bad’)
ip-páppat	‘lightly, easily’ (related to Completive C-ṭpappât ‘be light, have become light’)

ikkítəṭṭak ‘very badly, seriously’ can be used as an intensifier. In the example below it intensifies its cognate adjective:

ṭ-paṭṭi p-ṭkítak ikkítəṭṭak
 PERS-person C-bad very_badly

the person is extremely bad

The noun phrases **lən ləpərət** lit.: ‘words are good’, **lən ləpəṭṭərə** lit.: ‘words are very good’, **lən ləkítak** lit.: ‘words are bad’ and **lən ləkítəṭṭak** lit.: ‘words are very bad’ can be used adverbially:

m-p-ṭcát.ε lən l-ṭpərət
 1-C-lie_down:COMPL words C-good

I slept well

Yet a few more manner adverbs, several of which (probably) have typical adverbial morphology, as indicated by the segmentation:

aṭ-ṭəman	‘quickly’
ṭəman-ṭəman / ṭəmən-ṭəmən	‘quickly, hurriedly’
ac-cəkkət	‘quickly, earlier (than expected)’
cəkəc-cəkət	‘quickly’
kucək-kucək	‘quickly’
pərrá	‘slowly’ (< Sud. Arabic <i>be-raaḥa</i>)

it-ṭíṭ	‘sweetly, tastily’ (related to C-ṭíṭ ‘sweet, tasty’)
ip-pá	‘hotly’ (related to C-íppá ‘hot’)
təṭ-əttəṭ	‘tightly’ (probably related to əttəṭ ‘again’)
kəṭṭəṭ-kəṭṭəṭ	‘seriously, with dedication’
cunḵut cunḵut	‘groupwise, group by group’ (lit.: group group)

17.1.4. Some adverbs with miscellaneous semantics

Intensifying adverbs include the following. Typical adverbial morphology has been indicated by segmentation:

cannán	‘very, a lot’
aṭ-ṭəna	‘very, very much’
ṭiṭ-ṭiṭ	‘very’
aṭ-ṭəṭṭ	‘completely’
kír-əkkír	‘completely, very; with negation: never’
aṭ-ṭíṭ	‘with negation: at all, never’
pəṭṭin	‘finally, completely, enough; with negation: not anymore’
ip-pu, -p.pu	‘really, seriously (intensifying)’

A morphologically intensified adjective can be still further intensified by an intensifying adverb:

kurróṭ	k-úṭṭ~úṭṭót	cannán
stick	C-INTS~short	very
the stick is <i>very</i> short		

kırəkkír expresses ‘completely, very’ (first example below). In combination with a negated verb it expresses ‘never’ (second example below).

in-t-əpərsót **ana** **ətte**¹² **p-əŋə** **kır-əkkír**
 1A-C-good and your_father C-ill completely-REDUP
 we are fine but our father (lit.: your father) is very ill

k-kw-ānn-ípə **pól** **ém-p-í** **kír-əkkír**
 3-C-NEG-obtain:DEPINCOMPL person DEM-C-NEARSP completely-REDUP
 s/he can never marry this person

əttík combines with a negated (or inherently negative) verb expressing ‘never’:

lən **əl-l-ı** **l-akənn-əcərs** **əttík**
 words DEM-C-NEARSP C-NEG-stop:DEPINCOMPL at_all
 these things will never stop

In combination with a negated verb **pərim** expresses ‘not anymore’:

m-p-ānn-aŋkət **ittı** **ə-rıt** **t-əppoṭa** **pərim**
 1-C-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL that PERS-12 C-play:INCOMPL finally
 I don’t want to play with you (SG) anymore (I don’t want us to play anymore)

ıppu, or its enclitic variant **-ppu** is an intensifying adverb that can be used, for example, with ‘one’ expressing ‘(really) only one’. It is glossed ‘really’:

ukul **ən-n-ı** **w-ulukkū-ppu**
 child DEM-C-NEARSP C-one-really
 this child is (really) the only one

¹² ‘Your father’ is the polite way to refer to an older male family member who is related to both the speaker and the addressee. The person can, for example, be the father of the speaker and the uncle of the addressee.

Question words ending in the question morpheme **-ta** can also be intensified with this adverb. The adverbs in the example below convey that the questions are urgent and important for the boy asking them:

caṛi	c-əṛək	c-əka.káṭe	cik	a-laló	əmentet	ól	itti
day	c-some	c-be:PST	VREF	CONJ.PERS-Lalu	tell.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL	people	that
ṭépá	ṭ-árát-ta-ppo	ana	ṭ-ṭ-úṇkwó.t	ṇín-ta-ppo			
lion	c-how-Q-really	and	PRO-C-resemble:COMPL	what-QW-really			
ana	ṭ-ṭ-íkkó	cik	kárá.ṭa-ppo				
and	PRO-C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF	where:QW-really				

there was a time that Lalo was all the time asking the people ‘seriously, how is a lion (i.e. how big), and what does he look like and where does he live?’ (fr. written story)

Some colour adjectives have special, cognate, adverbs for intensification. Some were already mentioned in chapter 10.2.7 in the context of intensified adjectives, notably **ṇṇí** ‘very (black)’, **ippök** ‘very (white)’ and **ittóló** ‘very grey, yellow’. Examples with **ṇṇí** modifying the (non-related) verb **ṇṇiṭ** ‘make black, dirty’, and with **ippök** modifying the (related) verb **úpukie** ‘make white’) follow here:

m-p-a.ik	p-ṇṇiṭ	péṭək	ṇṇí
1-C-be:PR	C-make_black:INCOMPL	stone	very

I am making the stone very black

m-p-a.ik	p-úpukie	péṭək	ippök
1-C-be:PR	C-make_white:INCOMPL	stone	very

I am making the stone very white

This construction cannot be made with an adjective:

*m-p-a.ik	p-úpukie	péṭək	p-ípók / p-ípókippök
1-C-be:PR	C-make_white	stone	C-white / C-very_white

The adverb **ittuǎŋ** ‘very’ is used for intensification of C-**ɔɽě** ‘red’ and **ɔɽia** ‘become red’. Alternatively, a variant **ittiaŋ** may be used. It tends to fuse with C-**ɔɽě** ‘red’ to C-**ɔɽettiǎŋ** ‘very red, very ripe’:

pɪra	p-ɔɽe	ittuǎŋ / p-ɔɽe-ttiǎŋ
tree	C-red	very / C-red-very

the fruits are very ripe (lit.: the tree is very red)

‘Spottedness’, which is typically a colour of birds, is intensified by **pɪr**, which is typically pronounced with a long trill:

puɽupé	p-ɔɽeret	pîr
bird	C-spotted	very

the bird is very spotted

Some further adverbs with miscellaneous semantics include:

əttəŋ	‘again’
noʔuk	‘for no reason, in vain’
kapɪk	‘upright’
məna	‘even’
tullúk	‘only, just’
təruk	‘nevertheless’
ɪʔən	‘together’
təʔən	‘together’

The adverbs **tullúk** and **təruk** share their roots with the respective adjective C-**ullúk** ‘only, just’ and C-**əruk** ‘only, just’. Examples with the adjectives are given in 10.4.4. Examples with the adverbs follow here.

m-p-ɔnó	ɲokul	ɲ-əɽapóruk	tullúk
1-C-have	children	C-three	only

I have only three children

ɲ-kw-ɔnó	təruk	ɪtti	ɲ-kw-a.ccɪkət
2-C-have	only	that	2-C-hear:INCOMPL

you must nevertheless listen / still you must listen

ɪ̥t̪ʊn ‘together’ and **t̪ɔ̥t̪ʊn** ‘together’ respectively contain the prepositions **ɪ-** ‘in’ and **t̪ɔ̥-** ‘up on, up at’; a noun ***t̪ʊn** is (synchronically) not attested on its own. The tonal behaviour of **t̪ɔ̥t̪ʊn** shows that the word (still) functions as PPC and noun, not as a single unit. Unlike proclitic **ɪ-** and unlike nouns with a rising tone, **t̪ɔ̥-** can receive a high tone from a preceding element. **ɪ̥t̪ʊn** typically expresses that people put their hands together, for example for eating from a shared plate or for doing certain work which requires joint manual effort. **t̪ɔ̥t̪ʊn** is used rather for being (physically) together. Examples:

ɔ̥-nɪn **t̪ɔ̥-ɔ̥t̪ək̪ɔ̥.t̪** **kəpa** **ɪ̥.t̪ʊn**
 PERS-1A C-eat:COMPL meat together

we have eaten meat together (picture of people eating from one plate)

a-úl **áppík** **éʃ̌** **á-t̪ɔ̥ccóɾɪnɛ** **ɪ̥.t̪ʊn**
 CONJ-people all go:DEPINCOMPL SUBJ-IT:DEPINCOMPL-run_for:DEPINCOMPL together

and all the people will be ready to give a hand (lit.: and all people go in order to go and run for it together)

n-íkkɔ̥-ɪk **t̪ɔ̥.t̪ʊn**
 12A-do:DEPINCOMPL together

stay together!

ɔ̥-nɪn **t̪ɔ̥-ɔ̥ccɔ̥t̪ɔ̥-ɔ̥k** **t̪ɔ̥.t̪ʊn**
 PERS-12 C-stand_at:COMPL-O3 together

we stood together with him/her (i.e. we supported him/her)

17.2. Discourse particles

Lumun has a few enclitic discourse particles. The particles **-a**, **-na**, **-tɪ**, **-mé** and **-mɛ** are discussed in this section. Enclitic discourse particles that turn a statement into a question are discussed in chapter 20. Deviating from regular assimilation patterns, the initial consonants of **-na**, **-tɪ** and **-mé** assimilate to the place of articulation of a preceding consonant, as can be seen in some examples given here. Two further examples of this assimilation are provided in chapter 2.1.3 (one with **-na** and one with **-mé**).

17.2.1. The particle -a

The particle **-a** is a particle with which the hearer’s attention is claimed (hence the gloss ATT).¹³ It has a low tone and does not coalesce with a preceding vowel. It is typically used in the final sentences of a story, when the story moves towards or reaches its climax. In this context the use of **-a** co-occurs with an acceleration of the narrative: descriptive details, which may be abundant in the beginning of a story, are omitted now. The use of the particle **-a**, asking for heightened attention, is part of this accelerated style. This is an example from the final stage of the ‘The story of the jackal’:

... a-kín	ṣṭákkar.at	a-kín	ikk.at	cík
CONJ.PERS-3A	move_aside:DEPPRFV	CONJ.PERS-3A	sit:DEPPRFV	VREF
a-kín	ṣṭáatto	ménik-â		
CONJ.PERS-3A	fight:DEPINCOMPL	like_this-ATT		

they moved aside and continued to fight like that (‘The story of the jackal’)

Another example comes from the final stage of ‘The story of the tortoise’:

akka	ṣpa	w-aa.r-â		
that	piece_of_meat	C-come:COMPL-ATT		
a-k-ó.at	í-kəṣál	en-k-ərík	k-əttê	
CONJ-C-descend:DEPPRFV	in-small_water_spot	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-small	

when the wild animal came, he (tortoise) moved down into that small pool
(App. IV, 153-154)

The particle is also typically used by adults or older children when talking to young children, and in songs (not just children’s songs). In speech to children it is a way to make the message sound friendlier.

An example from speech to a child follows here. The situation is that a person has arrived at the house of a neighbour to whom she has lent a rope; she has come to take the rope back home. However, she finds only a child in the compound and the child does not know

¹³ There is also a question particle **-a** for recovery of information, see 20.2.3.

which rope is the borrowed one. The child invites the visitor to wait for her mother, and the visitor does this, but after a while decides to leave without the rope. The use of the particle makes the message that she is leaving sound softer:

ɔnnɛ p-ícca p-ɔccɔ́.t cɪk ána m-p-éí p-á.éɔ́-a
 your_mother C-be_still C-catch:COMPL VREF and 1-C-be_here C-go:INCOMPL-ATT
 your mother continues to be late and now I am leaving

An example from a song is the following. It has the particle three times, illustrating that it may be used in different positions in the sentence. Most typically though, it comes in the end. I have not written tone in this sentence, since it is sung on a melody. In speech the discourse particles would be absent.

kukku ana ɔ-lɔtti-a
 Kukku and PERS-Lɔtti-ATT
m-p-ɔɔɔ́.t.ɛ itti n-t-erɛnt-m i-mɔpail-a m-m-a
 1-C-like:COMPL that 2A-C-talk_to:INCOMPL-O1 in-mobile_phone-ATT C-POSS1-ATT
 Kukku and Lɔtti, I want you to talk to me in my mobile phone

17.2.2. The particle -na

The particle **-na** is a particle that is attached as an enclitic to an Imperative or another verb form that (mildly) urges the addressee to do something. The nasal turns a preceding obstruent into a nasal, but adapts to its place of articulation. The resulting nasal is realized short. Unlike Imperatives and commands without the particle, a verb with the particle does not convey the desire of the speaker, but expresses allowance for the addressee to do something. The allowed action has often (explicitly or implicitly) been requested by the addressee in the first place, but can also be suggested by the speaker in the addressee's interest.

ɪptt.i-ná á-n-ítɛt-óŋ
 ask:IMP-ALLOW SUBJ-1-tell:DEPINCOMPL-O2
 ask it, so that I tell you!

aṭṭ-ṇá

come:IMP-ALLOW

á-ṭ-ikkine

SUBJ-(2-)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-sit_for:DEPINCOMPL

ᵛ-íáia

PERS-my_mother

cik

VREF

pá.póttê

short_time

come and wait a little for my mother! (the addressee needs the mother and maybe the mother will come after some time) (fr. written dialogue)

ant-éś-na

can:DEPINCOMPL-go:DEPINCOMPL-ALLOW

okay, you go now (for example after accompanying somebody on his way to a certain place. The speaker now takes leave and the addressee will continue on his road alone).

17.2.3. The particle -ṭi

The particle -ṭi ‘you know’ adapts to the place of articulation of the preceding consonant, after **l** it turns to its intervocalic allophone **r**.

The particle is used in unsolicited explanations for situations or behaviour that is unexpected or unusual, expressing that no offence is intended. The following may be said when there is visitor and the speaker feels very sleepy (first example) or as an excuse for being late (second example). The particle has a flavour of confidentiality:

m-p-ᵛká.t

1-C-be:COMPL

cik

VREF

a-n-ṭcat

CONJ-1-lie_down

cik

VREF

ná-aṭṭkal-rî

on-bed-you_know

I was lying down on the bed, you know

m-p-ᵛká.t

1-C-be:COMPL

cik

VREF

a-n-ᵛṭəkə

CONJ-1-eat:DEPINCOMPL

ṇuṭú-rî

asida-you_know

I was eating asida, you know

-ṭi also functions as a question particle. Such questions often start with **ékkəre** or **íkkəre** ‘perhaps’. Here too, the particle conveys that no offence should be taken. In the translations I have used ‘perhaps’. The question is typically answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’.

íkkære ŋ-k-urét nán ítí
 perhaps 2-C-forget:COMPL on:ABS that
ś-rít t-á.ík t-á.t-ípcettət mēnní-rí
 PERS-12 C-be:PR C-IT:INCOMPL-meet_each_other:DEPINCOMPL today-you_know
 did you perhaps forget that we were going to meet today?

íkkære ŋ-kw-ɪt̪ɪ.ɛ pəlla ittɪ p-p-ânɬan-tí
 perhaps 2-C-tell:COMPL cat that PRO-C-come:INCOMPL-you_know
 did you perhaps tell the cat to come? ('The story of the jackal')

Possibly, this **-tɪ** is the same as the formative **tĩ** in the complementizer **ittĩ** 'that' (see 18.7) and in the defective verbs **attĩ** 'I hope that' and **ɔpərĩ** 'say, think' (see 12.21).

17.2.4. The particle **-mé**

The particle **-mé** turns a statement into a proposal for action. It can also be used on an imperative clause or on a polite command with **ant** 'can'. It can have an encouraging flavour, like 'just do it, trust me!' A clause with **-mé** is often introduced by **ana** +H 'and' and typically continues on already communicated intentions, wishes or agreements. The solicited reaction is **ij** 'yes'. **-mé** is attached at the end of the clause and can be used with all persons. The **m** of the particle turns a preceding obstruent into a nasal, but adapts to its place of articulation. Some examples follow here; **-mé** is glossed as PROP, from proposal:

ana m-p-ákkarə-mé
 and 1-C-call:INCOMPL-PROP
 so let me call (you) then

apelle ŋucol-é
 pour_some:IMP sauce-PROP
 pour some sauce! (App. IV, 70)

aɽɪŋ-ŋé (< aɽík + -mé)
 come:IMP-PROP
 now come!

catch:IMP-01-PROP

17.2.5. The particle -mε

catch:IMP-01-URG

17.3. Interjections

Interjections include the following:

ii	‘yes’
εε	‘yes (eager confirmation)’
ipé	‘sure (a confident yes)’
ɔɪ	‘confirming response when you are called’
akwa	‘okay, let’s leave it here (signalling a switch to another subject or that the conversation is finished)’
á-a/ǎ-ǎ/m-m	‘no’
ɨcát	‘true!, indeed!’
ɔkwǎ/ɔkwĩ	‘goodness!, oh!’ (conveys surprise)
ɔkwɔɪ	‘oh!’ (conveys shock, sadness)
éε	‘hey!’ (call for attention)
n̥tɛɛ	‘no!, nonsense!’ (ɛ can be held on extra long)
mpa/mpaa/mpaak	‘no!, nonsense!’ (a can be held on extra long)
təll	‘yuck!, ick! (expressing disgust)’
ɲáaí	‘conveys uncertainty’
cɔɲ	‘conveys uncertainty’
káttra	‘say’ (often introducing a question or

order/command. It can be followed by an encouragement from the hearer to the speaker to say what she wants to say)

Some examples:

a-pari-ón	ómékat	itti	n̄t̄e	ɲæ	ɲ-ó-ín-í
CONJ-wife-PL	say:DEPPRFV	that	nonsense	urine	C-of-what-Q

His wife and children said, nonsense, urine for what?? (App. IV, 52)

ana	m-p-a.kkət	tát-ṭa	coŋ
and	1-C-do:INCOMPL	how-Q	UNCERT

and what will I do?

káṭṭa	et-m	cáṭṭak
say	give:IMP-O1	calabash(k.o.)

say, give me the calabash!

Stories can typically contain sound symbolic interjections. They may involve sounds that do not belong to the Lumun sound inventory. Examples include:

appəɾət	sound of cutting open lungs filled with air (App. IV, 158)
attáp	sound of palmfruit hitting the bottom of the tortoise (App. IV, 108)
attəpək	sound of bird landing on a tree (fr. written story)
attol	sound of spear or small axe killing a bird (fr. written story)
kucək	sound of something falling into the water from a height (App. IV, 130)
u u	sound of bird coming down, sound of wind blowing (fr. written story)

There are also specific expressions to call or chase away animals. Some involve unusual sounds. Examples:

ku	sound for chasing a chicken away
kírr	sound for calling a chicken (r is held long)
ṭur	sound for chasing a pig away

ŋên	sound for calling a pig
ca, cak	sound for chasing a goat
ala, alala	sound for calling a goat
na	sound for calling a young goat
ía, sîŋ	sound for chasing a dog
sîla	sound for calling a dog
hau	sound for chasing a cow
arre	sound for calling a cow

18. Conjunctions

This chapter discusses conjunction words and particles. Conjunction words and particles join phrases and/or clauses. Certain conjunction words and particles can (or must) be combined.

Lumun has the following conjunction words and particles: **ana** +H ‘and’, **á-** ‘and, while’, **â-** ‘so that, in order to’, **ámma** +H ‘if, when’, **akka** +H ‘that, when, because’, **mənɔ/məna** ‘until’ (always followed by **á-**), **ittĩ** ‘that’, **ere** +H ‘like’ and **ámma** ‘like’.

Tone

The representation of underlying tones of conjunction words and particles is not without problems. For most I nevertheless propose underlying tones. In addition I describe some tonal realizations that do not follow from the rules. A tonal feature that virtually all conjunctions share is that they have the ability to bring a high tone to a following element. At the same time, most can receive a high tone themselves, so that their own high tone is either a final high or a floating high tone (not a rising tone). In isolation, these conjunction words are realized with a final low tone. Though their isolated production is artificial—they do not occur in prepausal position since they always introduce a new phrase or clause—I nevertheless represent them for this reason with a floating high tone (+H).

ittĩ ‘that’ cannot itself receive a high tone from a preceding element, for which reason I represent it with a rising tone. Also **á-** ‘and, while’ cannot receive a high tone from a preceding element. Since **á-** is monomoraic, a high and a rising tone would both be possible. As explained in 3.8, I assign a high tone in such cases.

18.1. **ana** +H ‘and’

ana +H ‘and’ is used for the conjunction of noun phrases as well as clauses. When joining noun phrases, **ana** +H is realized with an

initial high tone when preceded by an element with final high or rising tone:

tʊulɪ ána pəlla ‘the hyena and the cat’ (< **tʊulí ana** H **pəlla**)

In an enumeration **ana** +H is used between all enumerated elements:

aɾəpu w-ɔ-rua w-ɔká.t itti
 things C-of-hair C-be:COMPL that
tʊk ána túttərʊk ana pápəkɪra ana ʊmaɾɔn
 dog and pig and leopard and elephant
 the animals were the dog, the pig, the leopard and the elephant

ana +H is also a clause linker. An example of coordination of two clauses, both with an adjectival predicate, follows here:

t-ikkɔ cɪk kárəttóm t-ɔpərɔt ana t-t-ɔkɪɾak
 NOM-sit VREF Khartoum C-good and PRO-C-bad
 staying in Khartoum is good and bad (lit.: and it is bad)

A clause introduced by **ana** +H often contains a non-dependent verb. Its subject can be co-referent with (first example below) or different from the subject of the preceding clause (second and third example). Before **ana** +H linking clauses, a prosodic boundary can be realized (and will be if the preceding clause is an **ámma** +H or **akka** +H -clause). In that case, a preceding high tone is not realized on **ana** +H and a preceding falling tone is realized as falling. In the third example there is a prosodic boundary before **ana** +H (‘outside’ has itself a L.H pattern).

m-p-ikkɔ.t cɪk ána m-p-ɔkɪɾá.t
 1-C-sit:COMPL VREF and 1-C-become_tired:COMPL
 I have been waiting and I am tired

ɔ-kakká p-ɔɲí ana ɔ-nənní p-ɪpók
 PERS-Kakka C-black and PERS-Nenni C-white
 Kakka is black and Nenni is white

ɔ-llé **p-in** **p-ɔtɔt-ín** **təpút** **ana**
 PERS-husband C-POSS1 C-send:COMPL-O1 outside and

ŋ-kw-a.t-ɔkkɔt **ŋín**
 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL what

my husband has sent me away and what are you going to do? (fr. written story)

The non-dependent verbs in the clauses linked through **ana** +H do not need to be in the same TAM, for example:

ɲokul **ɲ-ɔká.t** **cɪk** **a-ɲ-ícat** **cɪk**
 children C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-PRO-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL VREF

ana **ɲ-ɔtatt.áɛ**
 and PRO.C-fight:PAST

the children were lying down and (then) they fought

Though the verb in a linked clause introduced by **ana** +H is typically a non-dependent main verb, it can also be a Dependent Incompletive. In such cases the second clause lacks overt reference to the subject. Its understood subject is co-referent with the subject of the preceding clause. The following sentence has two variants. The first has a linked clause with an overt subject and a non-dependent (Incompletive) verb, the second lacks an overt subject and has a Dependent Incompletive verb.

kərrən **ana** **cókkú** **ɔl** **w-ɛé**
 early_wet_season and height_of_wet_season people C-plant_sorghum:INCOMPL

ana **w-á.ra** / **ana** **ɔrâ**
 and C-cultivate:INCOMPL and cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

In the early wet season and at the height of the wet season people plant sorghum and cultivate (second variant from calendar)

In such constructions, the non-dependent verb in the first clause is not necessarily an Incompletive, it can also be a Completive:

m-p-icát.ε **mεccm** **ɲ-cik-i-cɨŋkí**
 1-C-lie_down:COMPL yesterday with-LOC-in-sun

ana **úrəkə** **a-cɨŋkí** **c-εɔ̌.t** **cik-i-tɨt̪ɔ̌t**
 and get_up:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-sun C-go:COMPL LOC-in-sky

I slept early yesterday and got up when the sun was up in the sky (*ɲcɨkɨcɨŋki*, lit. ‘from in the sun’ expresses ‘earlier than normal’)

ana + H can be used for expressing a contrast, translating as ‘but’. In both examples there is a prosodic boundary before ‘and’:

ɔ̌-íáɪa **akk-má¹⁴**
 PERS-my_mother FOC-know:INCOMPL

ana **m-p-ɔ̌mma** **ɔ̌-ón**
 and 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL PERS-1

my mother knows, but I myself, I don’t know (fr. written dialogue)

ɔ̌-lɔ̌tti **p-á-áiné.t** **nón** **ana** **k-kw-ɔ̌ka.ká̌t̪e** **p-ɔ̌ɲɔ̌**
 PERS-Lɔ̌tti C-IRR-come_to:COMPL O2A and 3-C-be:PST C-ill

Lɔ̌tti would have come to you, but he fell ill

In order to convey contrastive meaning more strongly, the adverb **tərúk** ‘only’ is added to **ana** + H, forming **anarrúk** ‘but’ (first example below). Alternatively, adjectival **C-ərúk** ‘only, just’ modifies the contrasted subject noun (second example below).

ɪ̌n-t̪-ɔ̌pərɔ̌t **ana / ana.rruk** **ɔ̌-t̪t̪e¹⁵** **p-ɔ̌ɲɔ̌** **kɪr-ək̪kír**
 1A-C-good and / but PERS-your_father C-ill completely-REDUP

we are fine, but our father is very ill

ɪ̌n-t̪-ɔ̌pərɔ̌t **ana** **ɔ̌-t̪t̪e** **p-ərúk** **p-ɔ̌ɲɔ̌** **kɪr-ək̪kír**
 1A-C-good and PERS-your_father C-only C-sick completely-REDUP

we are fine, but our father is very ill (lit.: your father is very ill)

¹⁴ The Incompletive of **ma** ‘know’ is tonally irregular. It has a high tone on the second instead of the first mora.

¹⁵ Polite form.

ana +H can introduce a new sentence, linking that sentence to preceding discourse, for example:

ana **ɔ-nɔn** **t-éɛ** **tăt**
and PERS-2A C-speak:INCOMPL how

and what do you (PL) have to say?

ana +H can be used sentence-initially in combination with **ámma** +H, **akka** +H, **mɔnɔ** and **məna**. It merges with **ámma** +H to **anámma** +H, and with **akka** +H to **anákká** +H. **ana** +H is also attested immediately before the conjunctive particle **á-**. These combinations function like **ámma** +H, **akka** +H, **mɔnɔ**, **məna** and **á-** alone.

ana +H is also part of the constructions **ámma** +H ... **ana** +H ‘if ... then’ and **akka** +H ... **ana** +H ‘when ... then’. These constructions will be discussed under **ámma** +H and **akka** +H, respectively.

18.2. Conjunctive **á-** and subjunctive **â-**

Conjunctive **á-** ‘and, while’ and subjunctive **â-** ‘so that, in order to’ are clause-linkers, they do not join phrases. I distinguish between a conjunctive particle **á-** and a subjunctive particle **â-**. Compare the particles attached to the verb ‘eat’ in the examples below:

k-kw-ɔká.t **cɪk** **a-kw-ɔkkót** **túrít** **a-kw-ɔɾəkɔ** **cɪk**
3-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-3-do:DEPINCOMPL food CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL VREF

she was cooking food and eating (at the same time)

k-kw-ɔká.t **cɪk** **a-kw-ɔkkót** **túrít** **â-kw-ɔɾəkɔ** **cɪk**
3-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-3-do:DEPINCOMPL food SUBJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL VREF

she was cooking food in order to eat (to have something to eat)

In practice, it can be difficult to decide which of the two particles is involved. The conjunctive particle can be realized with a high tone due to tone bridge. Compare the following alternative realizations of the same sentence, the first without, the second with tone bridge:

ɔ-ʊn p-ε.káɬ-ɔk ɲəpak a-kw-ɪkk.at
 PERS-1 C-give:PST-O3 beer CONJ-3-drink:DEPPRFV

I gave him beer and he drank it

ɔ-ʊn p-ε.káɬ-ɔk ɲópák á-kw-ɪkk.at
 PERS-1 C-give:PST-O3 beer CONJ-3-drink:DEPPRFV

I gave him beer and he drank it

A further complicating factor is that, at least in some cases, tonal realizations are possible that cannot (just) be ascribed to the application or non-application of tone bridge. An example follows here. The verbs in this sentence refer to consecutive events, so that the conjunctive particle is expected in both cases. On the verb ‘produce’ the high tone can be ascribed to tone bridge, but not on the verb ‘get married’.

ʊkul w-a.cókká á-ɪtta.kát
 child C-grow:INCOMPL CONJ-(PRO-)get_married:DEPPRFV

á-kwón.at ɲókul
 CONJ-(PRO-)produce:DEPPRFV children

the girl will grow up and get married and give birth to children

In the texts in the appendices, I am not always sure about whether the conjunctive or the subjunctive particle is used. This happens when I would expect the one, but the tones rather seem to point to the other. In such cases I gloss the particle as the one I expect.

18.2.1. The conjunctive particle **á-** ‘and, while’

The conjunctive particle **á-** introduces a clause that contains a Dependent Incompletive, Dependent Perfective or Completive verb, or the Present of ‘be’. It can also contain a complex verb of which the first auxiliary is the Present of ‘be’ or a Completive verb. The verb in a clause introduced by **á-** is not an Imperative, nor an Incompletive or a Past. **á-** procliticizes to the (pro)nominal subject of the verb. It is mainly used:

- for the expression of actions or events that happen (more or less) at the same time, or that, together, can be viewed as part of the same event. This includes use in certain complex verbal constructions;
- for linkage with a time-adverbial phrase or clause;
- for the conjunction of consecutive events;
- as complementizer.

á- is furthermore used in **ámma** + H ... **á-** ‘if ... then’ and **akka** + H ... **á-** ‘when ... then’ constructions, and after **məno** ‘until’ and **məna** ‘until’. These constructions will be discussed under **ámma** + H, **akka** + H, and **məno** and **məna**.

Actions that happen —more or less— at the same time and actions that can be viewed as part of the same event

á- before a Dependent Incompletive verb expresses that something happens at the same time as the event in the preceding clause. The subject of the second clause can be co-referent with the subject of the first clause (first and second example below), but also with its object (third example).

k-kw-áṣkáṣé á-kw-íṣet kín itti ...

3-C-go:PST

CONJ-3-tell:DEPINCOMPL

O3A

that

s/he left while telling them (that) ... (situation: somebody is walking away while still speaking to the people staying behind)

ana ɔ-un cəne a-n-ɔṣíkət kín

and

PERS-1

here

CONJ-1-wait:DEPINCOMPL

O3A

and I am here, waiting for them

k-kw-áṣṣ-ɔt ɔ-nenni a-kw-ɔṣəkə kəpá

3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL

PERS-Nenni

CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL

meat

s/he found Nenni eating meat

In the following example, **ana á-** is used. It could be translated as ‘and at the same time’. It is from a story at the point that it reaches a series of events that rapidly take it to its (violent) climax:

ana a-lík ôḡəttat n-a-âk
 and CONJ-fires break_down_on.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL on-PERS-3

and (at the same time) bundles of fire break down (falling) on him (fr. written story)

The conjunctive particle is also used when two verbs together describe one (main) action, as in the next example from an instruction how to make a ‘singing whip’ (‘take’ and ‘polish’). The verb preceded by **á-** is a Dependent Incompletive:

ḡ-kw-ómmə kupu a-ccəṭa kiccé
 2-C-take:INCOMPL piece_of bamboo CONJ-(2-)polish:DEPINCOMPL carefully

you take a piece of bamboo and you polish it carefully (App. II, 4)

Likewise, **ikkə cik** ‘sit, stay’ can be followed by **á-** introducing a clause with the (semantic) main verb, expressing ‘start to x’ (see 12.9):

a-kín ikk.at cik a-kín órâ
 CONJ.PERS-3A sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

and they started to cultivate (‘The story of the jackal’)

The same construction can be made with the verb **apəṭa**, based on Sudanese Arabic *bada* ‘start, begin’:

akka ɔ-kín ṭ-apəṭá.t á-kín órá ittiná ...
 that PERS-3A C-start:COMPL CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL so

when they had started to cultivate like this ... (‘The story of the jackal’)

á- is also part of certain complex TAMs with an auxiliary of ‘be’ (see 12.7.5). The examples have a Past Continuous (first one) and a Past Completive (second one):

m-p-əká.t cik a-n-əkəṭacce
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-watch:DEPINCOMPL

I was watching it

k-kw-ṣká.t **a-k-kw-âkkarṣ.t**

3-C-be:COMPL CONJ-3-C-call:COMPL

s/he had (already) called me

Linkage with a time-adverbial phrase or clause

The typical opening formula of a story **caṛi cəṛek cəkát cık** ‘once upon a time’ or ‘one day’ is followed by **á-**:

caṛi **c-əṛek** **c-ṣká.t** **cık**

day C-some C-be:COMPL VREF

a-puṭúṇ **p-áṭṭ-ıṭ** **ṇərrṣṇ ...**

CONJ-marten(?) C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL squirrel

one day a marten(?) found a squirrel ...

A comparable case is the following:

ṇ-kw-ṣká.t **cık** **maṛṣt**

2-C-be:COMPL VREF long_time_ago

â.mpəppəne **lɛcək** **âka.ín.ṭa**

CONJ.(2.)loose.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL goats why

why was it that in the past you were always losing the goats? (lit.: you were long ago and you were always losing the goats why?)

When the clause expressing the time of the event is not the first of the sentence, conjunctive **á-** introduces the time adverbial clause:

m-p-ıcát.ε **məccm** **ṇ-cık-i-cıṇkí** **ana** **úrəkə**

1-C-lie_down:COMPL yesterday with-LOC-in-sun and get_up:DEPINCOMPL

a-cıṇkí **c-εṣ.t** **cık-i-ṭıṛṣt**

CONJ-sun C-go:COMPL LOC-in-sky

I went to bed early yesterday and got up when the sun was up in the sky (lit.: and the sun had gone up in the sky)

The examples above with time-adverbial clauses can actually be regarded as events happening at the same time. The conjunctive particle can, however, also be used when a time-adverb is placed in sentence-initial position:

meɪncén a-ŋ-kw-ɔrənnâ.t ana ménní ŋ-kw-ittát.ɛ
 some_time_ago CONJ-2-C-become_thin:COMPL and today 2-C-become_fat:COMPL
 last time you were thin, but now you are fat

Conjunction of consecutive events

á- is used for the conjunction of consecutive events in narratives. It is typically used to narrate a ‘flow’ of events: ‘and then ... and then ... and then ...’. In this context, clauses introduced by **á-** typically have a Dependent Perfective verb:

ana kɪt k-á.k-k-ɔná.t kaɬuk n-ɔkón
 and wild_chicken C-be:COMPL-C-bring:COMPL spear with-hand
a-kɪt ɔcéɛ.kat kaɬuk ɔɬé c-ɔ-pɪra
 CONJ-wild_chicken make_stand.LOC:DEPPRFV spear bottom C-of-tree
a-kw-ɪkk.at ŋópak
 CONJ-3-drink:DEPPRFV beer

and the wild chicken was holding a spear in his hand and the wild chicken made the spear stand against the bottom of the tree and drank beer (‘The story of the jackal’)

A sequence of events can also be placed in the future: this will happen, then this, then this. Here too, the verbs in the clauses introduced by **á-** are Dependent Perfectives:

an-ámmá k-kw-íɔtɛ k-kw-a.pɪra nɔ-ká
 and-if 3-C-find:COMPL 3-C-become_good:INCOMPL on-body
á-kw-ɔlləkke.kat tɔ-cəlók a-kw-ɔpákk.at ŋ.ŋɪn tuan
 CONJ-3-put_down:DEPPRFV up_on-neck CONJ-3-return:DEPPRFV with:ABS home
 and when he will have found it, he will be happy and he will put it on his shoulders and return home with it (Luke 15:5)

The conjunctive introducing a complement clause

With sensory verbs, **á-** introduces a complement clause, as in the two examples below. In the second example, pronominal **ɲ** refers to **ɲukul** ‘children’ (here: ‘girls’).

akka a-kín órá íttíná a-kín imma
 that CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL so CONJ.PERS-3A see:DEPINCOMPL

a-tépa t-aá.t
 CONJ-lion C-come:COMPL

when they were cultivating like this, they saw that the lion had come ('The story of the jackal')

ámma ᵐ-óccikót.é á-páᵐᵐón εε ...
 if PRO.C-hear:COMPL CONJ-sibling.PL swing:DEPINCOMPL

as soon as they hear (lit.: have heard) their sisters swing them (their singing whips), ... (App. II, 27)

In this context, too, the combination **ana á-** is found:

ámma ᵐ-nón t-óccikót.ε lón l-ᵐ-tᵐrák
 if PERS-2A C-hear:COMPL words C-of-war

ana a-cík c-ᵐkittákᵐ.t ...
 and CONJ-place C-be_destroyed:COMPL

when you hear messages about war and that the place has been destroyed ... (Luke 21:9)

18.2.2. The subjunctive particle **â-** 'so that, in order to'

A clause introduced by the subjunctive particle **â-** 'so that, in order to' contains a Dependent Incomplete or a Completive verb. The Dependent Perfective is possible, but seems rather uncommon in this environment. Subjunctive **â-** is used:

- for the conjunction of a two clauses, with the second expressing the purpose of the first;
- for the conjunction of two clauses, with the second expressing a command to a first, second or third person

â- is used in **ámma** +H ... **â-** 'if ... then' constructions. In these constructions the clause introduced by the subjunctive particle typically expresses a (mild) command to second or third person.

The subjunctive particle has the special tonal effect of lowering the high tone that is induced by the 3SG subject clitic and the common noun pronominal subject clitics. This can be seen, amongst others, in the first and second example below.

Introducing a clause expressing the purpose of the preceding clause.

Examples of the subjunctive clitic introducing a clause that expresses the purpose of the preceding clause follow here. The verb in the clause introduced by the subjunctive marker is typically a Dependent Incompletive:

m-p-εε.kát-ók	ηópák	á-kw-ìkkò
1-C-give:PST-O3	beer	SUBJ-3-drink:DEPINCOMPL

I gave him/her beer to drink

pul	p-εó.t	á-p-ιtɛt	kín	ittĩ ...
person	3-C-go:COMPL	SUBJ-PRO-tell:DEPINCOMPL	O3A	that

the person left (in order) to tell them (that) ...

m-p-a.ík	p-a.έ	á-n-ɔt-ítto	ua	nɔ-pirâ
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	SUBJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL	fruit(sp.)	on-tree

I am going to pick *ua*-fruits in the tree

untɛ	ηəɾɪ	á-n-ɔnékò	makkálók
pour:IMP	water	SUBJ-1-take:DEPINCOMPL	calabashes(k.o.)

pour the water away so that I take (collect) the (empty) calabashes

Also the final high tones of L.HL/L.L.HL verbs are lowered by the subjunctive particle: **â + η + ɔrəpô** > **á-rəpò** and **â + kw + ɔrəkô** > **á-kw-ɔrəkò**. After this, tone bridge is applied:

aləpaccóṭ w-ɪɛ.káɛ nɔ-cɪkɪt c-ʊŋ itti
 jackal C-say:PST on-heart C-POSS3 that

k-kw-á.mikkət ɲərrón
 3-C-deceive:INCOMPL squirrel

á-rəpó ṇ-tó-pírá á-kw-ɔ́ɛkɔ́-kôk
 SUBJ-(PRO-)move_down:DEPINCOMPL with-up_on-tree SUBJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL-O3

the jackal said in his heart that he is going to trick the squirrel so that it comes down from the tree so that he (the jackal) can eat it (fr. written story)

In these constructions, subjunctive **â-** can alternatively be preceded by **ɔ́ɛkka itti** (literally ‘become that’) or just by **itti** ‘that’ (the complementizer **itti** is discussed in 18.7):

topu i-r-a k-kw-á.k-kw-ɪɪkɔ́.t¹⁶ n-tan ɲ-ɲíɪmak
 hole_in_ground RES-C-COP 3-C-be:COMPL-C-pass_entrance:COMPL with-up_on:ABS with-darkness

á-kw-aṭ-ɪpət ɔ́ɛkka itti
 SUBJ-3-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-dig:DEPINCOMPL become:DEPINCOMPL that

á-paṭṭ-ón en-t-əɪɪk á-apət ɲán ...
 SUBJ-person-PL DEM-C-NEARADD VEN:DEPINCOMPL-fall_at:DEPINCOMPL there

the hole in the ground which he had entered when it was still dark in order to dig it (out deeper), so that those persons would come and fall into it ...
 (‘The story of the jackal’)

Conjunction of two clauses, with the second expressing a command to a second or third person

A second clause introduced by **â-** can express a command to second or third person:

ana ʃabááh¹⁷ á-ɪɲa
 and morning SUBJ-(2-)cook:DEPINCOMPL

and in the morning you must cook (asida) (App. IV, 40)

¹⁶ The expected form would be **k-kw-á.p-p-ɪɪkɔ́.t** (< **k-kw-ɔ́ká.t p-ɪɪkɔ́.t**). Here, however, the verb was realized as **k-kw-á.k-kw-ɪɪkɔ́.t**.

¹⁷ Sudanese Arabic word.

ana **ók.kw.í** **í-p-órrót** **ɔ-pán**
 and the_one RES-C-beat:DEPINCOMPL PERS-sibling

á-kw-ónókə **kəpa** **áppík**
 SUBJ-3-take:DEPINCOMPL meat all

and the one who beats his brother, let him take all the meat

The subjunctive particle can be followed by a Dependent Perfective verb. The action/event is then explicitly presented as consecutive:

ámma **k-kw-éś.t** **á-kw-ɪɛ.kat** **kín** **ittĩ ...**
 if 3-C-go:COMPL SUBJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV o3A that

after s/he has arrived (lit.: has gone), s/he must then tell him/her (that) ...

18.3. **ámma** + H ‘if, when’

In context, **ámma** + H is always realized with two high tones. This is due to tone bridge spanning from its own initial high to the first high on a following item.

ámma + H ‘if, when’ introduces a temporal or conditional clause. The **ámma** + H -clause is typically used in irrealis statements. A first clause with **ámma** + H can be followed by a clause introduced by **ana** + H, by conjunctive **á-**, or by subjunctive **â-** in a construction ‘if, when ... then’. A conjunction morpheme can also be absent from the second clause. There is prosodic boundary before the second clause, so that **ana** + H cannot receive a high tone from a preceding element in this construction. An initial **ámma** + H clause can have a pragmatic high tone (boundary tone) on its last mora (see 3.6). To the same effect, and in spite of the following prosodic boundary, an underlying final falling tone on the last mora of the **ámma** + H clause is generally realized as high.

The verb in an **ámma** + H clause is very often a Completive, but can also be a Present. The verb can also be a Dependent Incompletive; in such cases **ámma** + H is often immediately followed by the conjunctive particle **á-**, but not necessarily so. Incompletives, Pasts and Dependent Perfectives are not attested in clauses introduced by **ámma** + H.

Examples with the constructions **ámma** + H ... **ana** + H, **ámma** + H ... **á-** and **ámma** + H ... **â-** follow here.

ámma + H ... **ana** + H ... ‘if/when ... then ...’

ámmá **m-p-á.p-p-má.t** **ana** **m-p-á-akkwəṭ-úŋ**
 if 1-C-be:COMPL-C-know:COMPL and 1-C-IRR-kill:COMPL-O2
 if I had known, I would have killed you

ámma + H ... **á-** ... ‘if/when ... then ...’

ámmá **m-p-úlló.t** **cəruk** **á-n-íŋke** **ṭəṛək** **tít**
 if 1-C-pierce:COMPL opening CONJ-1-make_enter:DEPINCOMPL rope in:ABS
 when I have made a hole, then I pass a thread through it

ámma + H ... **â-** ... ‘if/when ... then ...’

ámmá **ŋ-k-úlló.t** **cəruk** **á-ŋke** **ṭəṛək** **tít**
 if 2-C-pierce:COMPL opening SUBJ-(2-)make_enter:DEPINCOMPL rope in:ABS
 when you have made a hole, you must pass a thread through it

ámmá **k-kw-éó.t** **á-kw-ŋet** **kín** **ittĩ ...**
 if 3-C-go:COMPL SUBJ-3-tell:DEPINCOMPL O3A that
 when s/he arrives (lit.: has gone), s/he must tell them (that) ...

A conjunction word or clitic introducing the second clause is absent in the following case:

ámmá **ŋ-kw-ŋé.t** **meník**
 if 2-C-say:COMPL like_this
ɔ-nɪn **ṭ-a.ŋállənt-ɔŋ** **ɪ-ləntərɔ̌**
 PERS-1A C-urinate_for:INCOMPL-O2 in-calabashes(k.o.)

if you say so, we will urinate for you in the calabashes (App. IV, 53-54)

The next example illustrates that a Completive is also used in the **ámma** + H-clause when the clause does not express a finished action and/or a resulting state or situation. The final high tone on **cənéket**

ámámá k-kw-óppó.t cónékét ana t̩ t̩-íkkə t̩-a.ccókw̩t̩-òk
if 3-C-pass:COMPL there and thorn C-may C-catch:INCOMPL-O3
when s/he passes there, a thorn may catch him/her

ámámá	á-cɨŋkɨ	ókko	cɨk-i-tɨtɔt	
if	CONJ-sun	pass:DEPINCOMPL	LOC-in-sky	
á-kw-ikkɔ	cɨk	i-cuɾɛ	c-ɔ-pira	
SUBJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	in-bottom	C-of-tree	

ámma +H is typically used in situations that have not (yet) happened: counterfactuals, hypothetical situations or situations that can or will happen in the future. In storytelling, however, it is also used in realis descriptions, creating expectation and tension that something is going to happen next. The verb in the **ámma** +H clause is a Dependent Incomplete. Here, **ámma** +H is not immediately followed by the conjunctive particle, because, in connected speech, **a** and **ɔ** coalesce here to **ɔ** (**ámm-ɔ́-kín**):

when they were drinking beer like this ... ('The story of the jackal')

kəllán **k-á.ɾəkɔ** **túɾít** **ámma** **k-k-íamâ.t**
 old_woman C-eat:INCOMPL food if PRO-C-become_hungry:COMPL
 the old woman will eat food when she is hungry

m-p-á-anane.t kín tórit ámma m-p-íná.t itti t-t-éllâ.t
 1-C-IRR.bring_for:COMPL O3A food if 1-C-know:COMPL that PRO-C-be_absent:COMPL
 I would have brought them food if I had known that it was not there

With a Present verb in the **ámma** + H clause:

n-íttararət ámma ηθή η-ətek η-a.ik η-əntómat
 2A-help_each_other:DEPINCOMPL if work C-some C-be:PR C-hard
 you must help each other when there is some difficult job

With **ámma á-** and Dependent Incompletive:

ka k-úrəttá ámma á-rít óréko
 body C-be_woken_up:INCOMPL if CONJ.PERS-12 work:DEPINCOMPL
 the body will be woken up when we work (we feel sleepy now, but if we start working we will become awake)

aṛṇá áṭ-ikkme¹⁸ ɔ-íáia cik pá.p.ótté
 come:IMP.ALLOW CONJ.(2.)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-wait_for:DEPINCOMPL.PERS-mother VREF short_time

ámma á-kw-ántán
 if CONJ-3-come:DEPINCOMPL
 come and wait a little time for my mother, if she comes (i.e. maybe she will come) (fr. written story)

Finally, verbless **ámma** + H-clauses were found, but considered not really grammatical by my consultant (JS). It concerns **ámma** + H clauses with a prepositional phrase (first example below). The clause with verb was preferred (second example below). Both have a clause-final pragmatic high tone on ‘four’.

?ámma ná-ánók w-óćóín a-úl ...
 if on-moons C-four CONJ-people
 when on four months (in April), the people ... (fr. written text)

¹⁸ The conjunctive particle **á** seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic **ḡ** is deleted between vowels. Derivation: **á + ḡ + aṭ-ikkme > aáṭikkme > áṭikkme > áṭikkme**.

ámmá **ánók** **w-aa.t** **w-ḫcḫín** **a-ól ...**
 if moons C-come:COMPL four CONJ-people

when the months have reached four (when it is April), the people ...

18.4. akka + H ‘that’

akka + H ‘that’ can join clauses and also noun phrases. It can function as a complementizer and it can introduce clauses with a temporal or causal interpretation. Whereas a clause introduced by **ámma** + H and a Completive verb typically has an irrealis reading, a cause introduced by **akka** + H with a Completive verb typically has a realis reading. Followed by the conjunctive particle **á-**, **akka** + H can have a negative interpretation (‘and not x’, ‘and so that not x’). Joining noun phrases it expresses ‘or’.

18.4.1. akka + H as complementizer

akka + H can also be used as a complementizer:

l-ḫpərót **akka** **m-p-akénn-elikkə**
 PRO.C-good that 1-C-NEG-release:DEPCOMPL

it is good that I did not release it

m-p-ḫəṭ.é **akka** **kéccók** **k-ín** **k-ónú** **aṭəpə** **cík** **áppík**
 1-C-like:COMPL that market C-POSS1A C-have things VREF all

I like (it) that our market has everything (fr. written story)

The previous examples have a non-dependent verb in the **akka** + H clause, the next a dependent verb (a Dependent Incomplete). The first example below has a two-clause construction with **ámma** + H ... **ana** + H ... ‘if/when ... then ...’ as its complement.

ana **ól** **w-ḫəṭ.é** **cannan** **áḡḡəna** **akka**
 and people C-like:COMPL very very that

ámmá **w-ḫót** **ana** **w-íṭ** **ól** **p-cík** **áppík**
 if PRO.C-go:COMPL and PRO.C-find:INCOMPL people with-place all

and the people like it very much that, when they go (lit.: have gone), they find people from everywhere (fr. written story)

m-p-ɔmmá akka ɔ-un¹⁹ ɔkkôṭ
 1-C-know_not:INCOMPL that PERS-1 do:DEPINCOMPL

I don't know what to do (lit.: that I do (it))

m-p-ɔmmá akka ɔ-un²⁰ ákɔ
 1-C-know_not:INCOMPL that PERS-1 wear:DEPINCOMPL

I don't know how to wear it (lit.: that I wear (it) (for example a tobe²¹))

In the next case, **akka** + H complements **tákít** 'before':

mɛncén tó.kít akka t-ɔkurro éñ-t-í
 some_time_ago before that NOM-engrave DEM-C-NEARSP
t-órrən-ɔɾəkkétta.t cɪc-cənɛ t-áɾú a-tuɾít t-á.t-t-ɔpərôṭ
 C-just_now-be_put:COMPL LOC-here Təɾu CONJ-food C-be:COMPL-C-good

some time ago, before (that) this writing workshop was organized right here in Təɾu, there was enough food (fr. written story)

akka + H as complementizer is also part of the constructions **ilên akka** + H 'that's why' (see 8.2.4), **ɲimpén akka** + H 'that's what, that's why' and **tat akka** + H 'that's how' (20.1.2 and 20.1.4). It is furthermore applied in non-subject focus constructions (see 19.2) and in constructions with question words questioning non-subject constituents (see 20.1). These constructions involve left-dislocation of the focussed constituent or the question word, followed by **akka** + H.

18.4.2. **akka** + H with temporal or causal reading

When the first clause of a sentence is introduced by **akka** + H, the second is generally introduced by the conjunctive particle **á-** 'and, while' or by **ana** + H 'and'. This first **akka** + H clause contains a non-dependent verb —often a Completive—, or an adjective, and expresses a realis situation. It can have a temporal or a causal interpretation. The first pair contrast a (realis) **akka** + H clause with an (irrealis) **ámma** + H clause. Note that completiveness of the verb

¹⁹ Realized in connected speech as **mpɔmmá-kk-ɔun**.

²⁰ Realized in connected speech as **mpɔmmá-kk-ɔun**.

²¹ Large cloth worn by many Sudanese women. It is wrapped around the body in a specific fashion.

is established by the auxiliary ‘again’ and that there is no prosodic boundary before **ana** in the first example:

akka **ŋ-kw-áppér-ómóŋe** **ána** **ŋ-kw-íɔ**
 that 2-C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL and 2-C-die:INCOMPL
 now that/because you have stolen again, you will die

ámmá **ŋ-kw-áppér-ómóŋe** **ana** **ŋ-kw-íɔ**
 if 2-C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL and 2-C-die:INCOMPL
 if you steal again, you will die

Some examples with a temporal reading of the first clause follow here. In the first, the subjects of the joined clauses are different, in the second and third they are co-referent. The verb in the second clause with co-referent subject is typically a Dependent Perfective, also when the action is not consecutive (last example below).

Note that the final high of **mpaát** ‘I have come’ in the first example shifts (and gets deleted), whereas **kkwáát** ‘s/he had come’ in the second example retains the high tone on its last mora.

akka **m-p-aa.t** **a-k-kw-óká.t** **á-kw-ókə́taccê-k**
 that 1-C-come:COMPL CONJ-3-C-be:COMPL CONJ-3-watch:DEPINCOMPL-O3
 when I arrived, s/he was watching him/her

akka **k-kw-áá.t** **a-kw-ířekát** **kín** **ittĩ ...**
 that 3-C-come:COMPL CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV o3A that
 when s/he arrived, s/he told them ...

mařót **akka** **m-p-otté** **cík** **a-n-élíkk.at** **lɪcɔk**
 long ago that 1-C-small VREF CONJ-1-release:DEPPRFV goats
 long ago, when I was small, I released the goats

A particular **akka** +H clause can have both a temporal and a causal reading:

akka	mə́ɾɛ	m-ɔ́ká.t	cík
that	cultivating_party	C-be:COMPL	VREF
a-pól	ant-íkkɔ		ŋópak
CONJ-person	can:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL		beer

when/because there was a cultivating party, the man could drink beer

In the following example, the **akka** +H clause, with Present Continuous verb, has a causal reading:

akka	m-p-a.ík	p-a.ẽ	nɔ-karón
that	1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	on-place
ana	ɔ-rít	ɬ-íkkɔ	ɬ-a.kónn-ɔrékɔ
and	PERS-12	C-may	C-NEG-work:DEPINCOMPL

now that/because I am going to that place, we may not be able to do work

The clause introduced by **akka** +H can also be the second clause. The first example below, with Completive verb in **akka** +H clause has a temporal reading:

m-p-ɔ́ká.t	p-órrən-áo	ákka	k-kw-íó.t
1-C-be:COMPL	1-C-just_now-come:DEPINCOMPL	that	3-C-died:COMPL

I had just arrived after s/he had died (I was just too late)

Some examples of second **akka** +H clauses with causal reading follow here. Note that in the first, there is a prosodic boundary realized before **akka**. The sentence can also be said without prosodic boundary, in which case ‘tree’ is realized with a final high tone:

m-p-a.ík	p-a.ẽ	á-n-ɔ́ɬ-íttɔ			
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	SUBJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL			
ua	nɔ-pirâ	akka	w-élla	nɔ-uɾi	w-ɔ́-nɔ-capú
fruits(k.o.)	on-tree	that	PRO.C-be_absent:INCOMPL	on-branches	C-of-on-ground

I am going to collect *kua*-fruits up in the tree because they are not there on the branches near the ground

ɔ-kín t-á.ík t-íkkɔt pól cík ákka²² p-p-óηó
 PERS-3A C-be:PR C-sit_at:INCOMPL person VREF that PRO-C-ill

they are sitting with the person now that/because he is ill

A conjunction morpheme linking the clauses is absent if the second clause has a hortative pronoun on the verb:

akka k-kw-áá.t tír-éê
 that 3-C-come:COMPL HRT12-go:DEPINCOMPL

now that/because s/he has arrived, let's go

18.4.3. akka + H introducing a noun phrase

akka + H does not always introduce a full clause. In the next examples, where it expresses 'because', it is followed by just a noun phrase. In these cases there is never a prosodic boundary before **akka** + H:

η-kw-a.pállen-in akka tacɔk t-în-í²³
 2-C-fear_for:INCOMPL-O1 that legs C-POSS1-Q

are you afraid of me because of my feet?

ɔ-kukkó p-á.ík p-ímmakɔ akka kápík
 PERS-Kukkú C-be:PR C-shelter:INCOMPL that rain

Kukkú is sheltering because of the rain

18.4.4. anakka + H 'and when, and after' and mənnakka + H 'and when, and after'

akka + H introducing a first clause can be preceded by **ana** + H 'and', forming **anakka** + H. It can have a reading as 'and when' or as 'and because'. Examples:

²² **akka** can also be realized here with low tones. In that case there is a prosodic boundary before it.

²³ **í** was pronounced with some length and a falling tone, for which I have no explanation.

an-ákka **k-kw-árə̀tək** **íllə** **ɪ-ruʈtərúk**
 and-that 3-C-still divide_in_two:DEPINCOMPL in-pig

a-kw-ómpun.at **nómámá** **í-n-ó̃pôn**
 CONJ-3-roast:DEPPRFV inside_of_pumpkin RES-C-bitter

and when he was still to divide the pig in two, he roasted the bitter inside of a pumpkin (and before he divided the pig in two ...) (fr. written story)

an-ákka **m-p-ənú** **nə́ɛ** **n-ɔ̃-pəllá**
 and-that 1-C-have fear C-of-cat

ana **m-p-a.kkət** **kát-ʈa** **cəŋ**
 and 1-C-do:INCOMPL how-QW UNCERT

and because I am afraid of the cat, what am I going to do?? ('The story of the jackal')

mənnákkă consists of **mənnă** 'even' and **ákka** + H. The combination expresses 'when, after' and introduces a clause preceding the main clause. **mənnákkă** can itself again be preceded by **ana** + H 'and'. In the first two examples the second clause is introduced by **á-** and has a Dependent Perfective verb. The last example lacks a conjunction between the two clauses, and has a Past verb in the main clause.

mənn.ákka **k-kw-óná.t** **ŋáák**
 when 3-C-bring:COMPL oil

a-kw-íp.anʈet **ʈakə̀tək** **ɪ-ʊtəccô**
 CONJ-3-dig_for:DEPPRFV chicken in-feathers

when/after he had brought the oil, he applied it between the feathers of the chicken

mənn.ákka **k-kw-ímmá.t** **pá-p-én** **á-p-úrəkə** **nə-kəʈən**
 when 3-C-see:COMPL thing-C-DEM CONJ-PRO-get_up:DEPINCOMPL on-place

ŋ-ká **appik** **a-nə́ɛ** **óccók.aʈ-ôk**
 with-body all CONJ-fear catch:DEPPRFV-O3

when he saw that thing getting up from the place with its whole body, fear took hold of him (fr. written story)

mənn.ákka **ɔ-nɪn** **ʈ-ɔrekɔ.t** **maɾɪ** **m-ɔtté** **cɪk**
 when PERS-1A C-work:COMPL days C-small VREF

ɔ-nenní **p-ɔtəkkán-ín** **ééré** **ɔ-páj-k-ín**
 PERS-Nenni C-become_for:COMP-O1 like PERS-sibling-C-POSS1

ana **m-p-ɔtəkkán-ɔk** **ééré** **ɔ-páj**
 and 1-C-become_for:COMPL-O3 like PERS-sibling

when/after we had worked for some days, Nenni had become like a sister to me and I had become like a sister to her (fr. letter)

18.4.5. akka + H + á- introducing a negative purpose clause

akka + H directly followed by conjunctive **á-** can express a negative purpose ‘so that not’:

ana **ɔ-nɔn** **ʈ-ellá** **ʈok** **ákka** **a-ʈ-ɔkəɾɔ-kín-í**
 and PERS-2A C-not_have:INCOMPL dog that CONJ-PRO-bite:DEPINCOMPL-O1-Q

and you do not have a dog, so that it will not bite me? (fr. written story)

εε **kuɾɪ** **cɪ.ʈán** **á-ol** **aʈ-ɔntɔ-kɔk** **n-n-a-ún**
 stab:IMP cry far SUBJ-people VEN:DEPINCOMPL-pull:DEPINCOMPL-O3 with-on-PERS-1

akka **a-n-íɔ**
 that CONJ-1-die:DEPINCOMPL

cry out loudly so that people will come and pull him away from me, so that I do not die (fr. written story)

ɔ-nɪn **ákk-əŋkwɔt** **kamuʈe** **k-árrô**
 PERS-1A FOC-guard:INCOMPL celebration C-of.Lumun_people

akka **a-k-úrat** **cɪk** **ʈúput** **ʈ-əɾek**
 that CONJ-PRO-become_lost:DEPINCOMPL VREF year C-some

we are the ones that take care of the Lumun celebration, so that it will not be lost some year (we are the ones who organize it every year) (fr. song text)

t̪-ɟat **pəɽɪn á-ʊrəkɔ** **ŋ-ŋɪɾɪmak**
 IT:IMP-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL finally SUBJ-(2-)get_up:DEPINCOMPL with-darkness
akka a-t̪-ɔccɔ²⁴ **nó-ńt̪é á-ɔré ɔkɪttakɔ**
 that CONJ-(2-)IT:DEPINCOMPL-receive:DEPINCOMPL on-sleep SUBJ-work spoil:DEPINCOMPL
 go and lie down now, so that you can get up early in the morning and do
 not sleep late (and do not take on sleep), so that the work will not be spoilt
 (fr. written skype conversation)

However, **akka** + H immediately followed by **á-** does not always have a negative purpose reading. In the sentence below the constructions draws attention to the action as a process with some duration:

m-p-immá.t **pul** **akka** **a-p-éɔ̃** **ń-túán**
 1-C-see:COMPL person that CONJ-PRO-go:DEPINCOMPL with-home
 I saw the man while he was busy leaving the house

m-pimmá.t **ɔ-kukkú** **akka** **a-kw-ɔmɔɲe** **im̩t̪**
 1-C-see:COMPL PERS-Kokku that CONJ-3-steal:DEPINCOMPL goat
 I saw Kokku while he was busy stealing a goat

In this construction it is, in principle, possible to leave **akka** + H (not **á-**) out. The action is then conveyed as a simple action, not as a process:

m-p-immá.t **púl** **á-p-éɔ̃** **ń-túán**
 1-C-see:COMPL person CONJ-PRO-go:DEPINCOMPL with-home
 I saw the man leaving the house

When **akka** + H functions as complementizer, a combination with the conjunctive particle **á** appears to be used before a pronoun clitic, (not before full pronouns though, as demonstrated by examples in 18.4.1):

²⁴ **a-t̪-ɔccɔ** (< **á-** + **ŋ** + **ɔt̪** + **ɔccɔ**)

m-p-amma akka a-n-akkót kın
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL that CONJ-1-do:DEPINCOMPL o3A

I do not know what to do with them

It must be remarked, that, like after **amma** +H, some uncertainty remains about presence or absence of the conjunctive particle immediately after **akka**, due to coalescence of the **a**'s across the word boundary.

18.4.6. **akka** +H 'or' linking noun phrases

akka +H can also link noun phrases, expressing 'or'. According to my consultant (JS) this is found particularly in the speech of elderly people. Younger people generally use the Arabic loan word **ala** +H 'or' (< Sudanese Arabic *wala*). Two examples follow here.

lókka akka/ala ɔ-lóttí á.pəllım ântán
 Lókka that/or PERS-Lótti SUBJ.PERS-one_from_group come:DEPINCOMPL

Lókka or Lótti, one of you must come

ıcat akka/ala karră
 true that/or lie

it is true or false

18.5. **amma**, **ammakka** +H and **ere** +H '(just) like, as if'

amma and **ere** +H are used for linking a clause and a noun phrase, expressing 'like'. Note that **amma** 'like' is tonally different from **amma** +H 'if, when'. There is also **ammakka** +H 'like', which is a combination of **amma** and **akka** +H. Some examples follow here.

aun w-ıcat amma kwa
 rats C-be_abundant:INCOMPL like chaff

the rats are many like chaff

ŋ-kw-ɔn-t-akka ŋ-kw-ɔttékállán éré tórék
 2-C-why-QW-that 2-C-thin like rope

why are you thin like a rope?

ere **ámm.akka** **ól**
 speak:IMP like people

Speak like people! (i.e. ‘speak like everybody’, ‘speak normally’)

ól **w-a.rá** **arəpu** **ámm.akka** **tún** **ana** **áttópâ**
 people C-cultivate:INCOMPL things like onion and tobacco

the people cultivate things such as onions and tobacco

The example below has the copula C-**á**, preceded by the 3SG pronoun clitic, attached to **ámmakka**:

k-kw-ámm.akka **pól** **í-p-íná** **cík**
 3-C-COP.like person RES-C-know:INCOMPL VREF

he is like a wise man (Matthew 7:24)

ámmakka + H and **ere** + H can also link two clauses:

lən **ɪ-l-a.kérənnə** **pól** **á-p-óká** **pól**
 words RES-C-let:INCOMPL person CONJ-PRO-be:DEPINCOMPL person

ámm.akka **p-p-óhət.é**
 like PRO-C-like:COMPL

things that allow a person to be the person s/he wants (lit.: while s/he is the person in the way s/he wants)

tər **t-əkkwət-ín** **éré** **m-p-á.řókó** **kópá**
 appetite C-kill:INCOMPL-O1 like 1-C-eat:INCOMPL meat

appetite kills me like (as if) I will eat meat (meaning: I am craving for meat)

In some cases **ámmakka** rather translates as ‘how, the way in which’ than as ‘like’:

m-p-a.ík **p-a.ř-ére** **nó-cákkōh**
 1-C-be:PR C-IT:INCOMPL-speak:DEPINCOMPL on-calabash(k.o.)

ámm.akka **ól** **əkurro** **makkōh**
 how people engrave:DEPINCOMPL calabashes(k.o.)

I am going to talk about the calabash, how the people decorate calabashes (App. III, 2-3)

ana l-el-l-i ámm.akka l-érét-ók l-ókítak
 and C-DEM-C-NEARSP like PRO.C-speak_about:COMPL-O3 C-bad

and these (words), the way they (the words) spoke about him, were bad (i.e. the words were bad)

18.6. **məno** ‘until’, **məna** ‘until’

məno and **məna**²⁵ both express ‘until’. It seems that they can be used interchangeably. They are immediately followed by the conjunctive particle **á-** and the clause they introduce contains a Dependent Perfective or Dependent Incomplete verb. They are (probably) both low-toned, but are often realized high due to tone bridge. A case of **məno** with high tones which cannot be ascribed to tone bridge is presented here as well. The first high tone there is from regular tone shift, while the second (probably) is a boundary tone of the same type as can be found at the end of a first **ámma** + H or **akka** + H-clause (see chapter 3.6). Some examples with **məno**:

a-tómóccó óném.at kaṭok i-tón t-ó-pá-p-én
 CONJ-old_man press:DEPPRFV spear in-mouth C-of-thing-C-DEM

mónó á-p-í.at
 until CONJ-PRO-die:DEPPRFV

and the old man pressed the spear into the mouth of that animal (the leopard) until it died (fr. written story)

ámmá árró w-ó.t i-cəkérék t-ó-í
 if Lumun_people C-descend:COMPL in-price T-ó-í
mónó á-kín iḱkə ɣəɽi n.ti i-rók...
 until CONJ.PERS-3A drink:DEPINCOMPL water from in-water_place

when the Lumun people have descended to the market in T-ó-í until they drink water from the well (then ...)(situation: the Lumun descend to the market, reach the Tocho area in the valley and drink water from the well of the Tocho people, when this happens then ...)

məno and **məna** are often used in combination with **póccok** ‘for some time’. The combination generally translates just as ‘until’:

²⁵ There is also **məna** ‘even’ (mentioned in 17.1.4).

ɲɔkul **ɲ-ɔppɛ́t.ɛ** **ɬɔntərrɔ** **ɲæ** **póccók**
 children C-fill:COMPL calabash(k.o.) urine for_some_time

mónó **á-ɲkat**²⁶ **ɪ-pɔʔút**
 until CONJ-(PRO-)go:DEPPRFV in-middle

the children filled the calabash with urine until it was half-full (i.e. until the urine went half-way)

The next example has the aforementioned boundary tone. Interestingly, the across-word boundary sequence **k-m** (**lɪcək mónó**) was not pronounced as the expected [m] (with full deletion of the final obstruent before the nasal), but as [ɲ], with the nasal adopting the place of articulation of the preceding (deleted) obstruent: [lɪjo-ɲónó]. The nasal discourse enclitics **-na** and **-mé** (see under 17.2) display the same type of assimilation.

a-n-úɛ.kat **nó-lɪcək** **mónó**
 CONJ-1-forget:DEPPRFV on-goats until

a-l-ɔʔəkkanɬet **pól** **p-əʔɛk** **mɪl**
 CONJ-PRO-eat_for:DEPPRFV person C-some sorghum

and I forgot about the goats until they ate somebody's sorghum

In the following construction **mónó** is not followed by **á-** but immediately by a Dependent Incompletive verb. The **mónó**-clause here is part of a complex two-clause construction introduced by **ámma** + H:

ámma **ɔ-rón** **ɬ-éɔ.t** **mónó** **ɔʔ-íɔt** **ana ...**
 if PERS-12A C-go:COMPL until IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL and

when we will have found it, then ... (lit.: when we have gone until going and finding (it), then ...)

²⁶ The high tone is due to deletion of pronominal **ɲ** (which causes the high tone to change from **ɪ** to **ɔ**) followed by vowel assimilation and vowel shortening (**á-** + **ɲ-** + **ɔɲkat** > **á-** + **ɲɔɲkat** > **aɔɲkat** > **aáɲkat** > **áɲkat**)

18.7. The complementizer **ittĩ** ‘that’

The common complementizer, typically used with verbs of speech but also in other contexts, is **ittĩ** ‘that’. **ittĩ** contains a formative **tĩ**, which also occurs, amongst others, in the defective verb **attĩ** ‘I hope’ (see 12.21). **ittĩ** can also serve as a purposive conjunction between two clauses expressing ‘so that, in order to’. As such it can alternate with **ɔtǎkka ittĩ** ‘so that, in order to’ (literally: ‘become that’).

With some verbs the use of **ittĩ** introducing the complement clause is obligatory, with some others it is optional. **ittĩ** is not used with sensory verbs. As described earlier in this chapter, such situations are construed with the conjunctive particle **á-** ‘and, while’: ‘I saw X, while s/he ...’.

A clause introduced by **ittĩ** contains a subject and a non-dependent verb:

m-p-änn-anjət	ittĩ	m-p-ítta
1-C-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL	that	1-C-get_married:INCOMPL
I do not agree to get married		

Examples of **ittĩ** in different contexts follow here.

***ittĩ** introducing the complement of a speech verb*

Verbs of speech and speech content are connected through **ittĩ**, independent of whether the speech content is direct speech or indirect speech. An example with direct speech and one with indirect speech follow here:

ittiná	k-kw-ákkar.áɛ	ɔ-íáia	ittĩ
so	3-C-call:PST	PERS-my_mother	that
so s/he called my mother: “mother, please come”			

íáia	ant-áo
mother	can:DEPINCOMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL

m-p-ṵká.t **cík** **a-n-ṵmentet-ṵk** **ittí**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-tell.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL-O3 that

k-kw-á.kərənno **karrä**
 3-C-let:INCOMPL lie

I was always telling him/her that s/he should not lie

Complement clauses with an embedded question are linked to a preceding clause with a speech verb through **ittí** (first example below); not, however, when the locative relative **ná** ‘where’ is used (second example).

ṵ-kín t-ṵṵṵṵ.é **tít** **íttí ṵímpén** **akka** **ṵ-kín** **ṵkkōt**
 PERS-3A C-answer:COMPL in:ABS that what that PERS-3A do:DEPINCOMPL

they answered saying what they would do

k-kw-á.kənn-ṵṵ **na** **k-kw-áa.t** **ṵ.ṵm**
 3-C-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL where:REL 3-C-come:COMPL with:ABS

s/he did not say where s/he came from

Complementing ṵṵṵṵ ‘like, want’

The verb **ṵṵṵṵ** ‘like, want’ and its clausal complement can be linked through **ittí** but also through **akka** + H. With **ittí**, the verb expresses desire (‘want’), with **akka** + H appreciation (‘like’). Compare:

m-p-ṵṵṵṵ.é **ittí** **kéccók** **k-ín** **k-ṵnó** **aṵəpə** **cík** **áppík**
 1-C-like:COMPL that market C-POSS1A C-have things VREF all

I want our market to have everything

m-p-ṵṵṵṵ.é **akka** **kéccók** **k-ín** **k-ṵnó** **aṵəpə** **cík** **áppík**
 1-C-like:COMPL that market C-POSS1A C-have things VREF all

I like it that our market has everything

Compare also the following examples. ‘I like meat’ is expressed with a nominal phrase as complement and without complementizer. ‘I want meat’, on the other hand, is expressed with a verbal complement clause and **ittí**.

m-p-ṽṽṽ.é **kəpá**
 1-C-like:COMPL meat

I like meat

m-p-ṽṽṽ.é **ittı** **m-p-a.ṽṽṽ** **kəpá**
 1-C-like:COMPL meat 1-C-eat:INCOMPL meat

I want to eat meat (I want meat)

Complementation of some other verbs: optional use of ittı

With some verbs **ittı** is optional when introducing a verbless clause or a clause with non-dependent verb. Examples are **ṽṽṽṽṽṽṽṽ** ‘recall, remember’ and **ıṽ** ‘find’:

ant-ṽṽṽṽṽṽṽṽ (**ittı**) **ṽṽṽṽṽ** **ém-p-ı**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-remember:DEPINCOMPL that who-QW DEM-C-NEARSP

please (try to) recall who this is!

akka **k-kw-ṽṽṽṽṽ.é** **n-tán**
 that 3-C-move_up:COMPL with-up_on:ABS

a-kṽṽṽ **ṽṽṽṽṽ.ıṽ** (**ittı**) **mén** **m-ellá**
 CONJ-tortoise VEN:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV that palm_fruits C-be_absent:INCOMPL

when he climbed up, tortoise found that the palm fruits were finished (App. IV, 118-119)

Compare also the following cases with **ıṽ** ‘find’ with and without **ittı**. In the second, with Dependent Incompletive verb, **ittı** cannot be used:

... a-n-ıṽṽṽ.ıṽ **cık** **pá.p.ṽṽṽṽ** **a-n-ṽṽṽ.ıṽ** (**ittı**)
 CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF short_time CONJ-1-find:DEPPRFV that

m-p-a.ıṽ **p-ıṽṽṽṽṽ** **n.ıṽ** **ı-kıṽ**
 1-C-be:PR C-become_dark:INCOMPL from in-eyes

... I sat for a while and found (experienced) that I was getting blind

... **a-n-íkk-at** **cík** **pá.p.ótté** **a-n-ṵtí.at**
 CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF short_time CONJ-1-find:DEPPRFV

a-n-íṭimat **n.tí** **í-kít**
 CONJ-1-become_dark:DEPINCOMPL from in-eyes

... I sat for a while and found (experienced) that I was getting blind

C-ṵnó ittĩ ‘must’

ittĩ is obligatory in the expression **C-ṵnó ittĩ** ‘must’ (‘have that’):

ṅ-kw-ṵnó **ittĩ** **ṅ-kw-a.ccíkət**
 2-C-have that 2-C-hear:INCOMPL

you must listen

With evaluating adjectives

ittĩ complements evaluation adjectives such as ‘good’ and ‘forbidden’. In the first example the pronominal proclitic **1** refers to **lən** ‘words, matters’, in the second **pa** is short for **papū** ‘thing’.

1-ṵpərót **ittĩ** **ṅ-kw-aá.t**
 PRO.C-good that 2-C-come:COMPL

it is good that you have come

pa-p-ṵṭún **ittĩ...**
 thing-C-forbidden that

it is forbidden that ...

ittĩ complementing **ittinâ** ‘so, like this’

When **ittinâ** ‘so, like this’ is complemented, **ittĩ** must be present:

m-p-ṵnṭa **akka** **m-p-ṵṇakót.ε** **ittinâ** **ittĩ ...**
 1-C-why that 1-C-be_loved:COMPL so that

why I am so loved that ...

ittĩ complementing **ámma** + H ‘if, when’

ámma + H ‘if, when’ can be complemented by a clause with **ittĩ**:

an-ámmá **ittĩ** **η-η-ókkwó.r-ín** **η-cík**
and-if that PRO-C-hit:COMPL-O1 with-VREF

á-εέ **kurĩ** **cík-r-tĩrót**
SUBJ-(PRO-)stab:DEPINCOMPL cry LOC-in-sky

and if it will be so that he (the rabbit *ηatt̩ərəpɛ*) has hit me down, you must cry out in the sky (fr. written story)

ittĩ introducing the complement of a noun phrase

ittĩ can also introduce an elaboration on generic nouns, including **lɔn** ‘words, matters’ and **papo** / **arəpɔ** ‘thing / things’.

ɔ-nennĩ **p-íccá** **p-ónó** **lɔn** **ittĩ** **k-kw-ânṭan-ĩ**
PERS-Nenni C-still C-have words that 3-C-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nenni still planning to come?

ana **árəpɔ** **w-ɔ-rua** **w-ɔká.t** **ittĩ** **túk** **ána** **tút̩t̩ərək**
and things C-of-hair C-be:COMPL that dog and pig

ana **pá-p-ɔ-kira** **ana** **umaṭṭṓn**
and thing-C-of-trees and elephant

and the animals were the dog, the pig, the leopard and the elephant

The noun **kəɾan** ‘name’ is complemented by **ittĩ**:

η-kw-ɔccó.t **kəɾan** **ittĩ** **ót̩-ta**
2-C-receive:COMPL name that PERS.3-QW

what is your name?

m-p-ɔnó **kəɾan** **ittĩ** **ɔ-kumân**
1-C-have name that PERS-Kumanj

my name is Kumanj

ɔṭ̩kka ittĩ ‘so that, in order to’ / **ittĩ** introducing a purpose clause

ɔṭ̩kka ittĩ (literally ‘become that’) expresses ‘so that, in order to’. In these cases, alternatively, just **ittĩ** can be used:

ᵛ-kukkú	p-á.ík	p-á.líkine	ᵛ-kakká	cík
PERS-Kukku	C-be:PR	C-stop:INCOMPL	PERS-Kakka	VREF
(ᵛᵗᵒkka)	ittĩ	ᵛ-kín	ᵗ-íkkᵛ	cík
become:DEPINCOMPL	that	PERS-3A	C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF

Kukku is stopping Kakka in order to sit together

m-p-ᵛká.t	p-ᵛᵗ.t	ittĩ	m-p-a.ᵗ-ícat
1-C-be:COMPL	C-go:COMPL	that	1-C-IT:INCOMPL-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL
a-n-ᵛccᵗk.at	pól	p-ᵛᵗek	a-p-ᵛᵛ
CONJ-1-hear:DEPRFV	person	C-some	CONJ-PRO-cry:DEPINCOMPL

I had just left (in order) to go and sleep when I heard a person cry

As mentioned in the section on the subjunctive particle **â-**, **ᵛᵗᵒkka** **ittĩ**, or just **ittĩ** can be followed by **â-**. In such cases the verb is a Dependent Incompletive:

ᵛ-kukkú	p-á.ík	p-á.líkine	ᵛ-kakká	cík
PERS-Kukku	C-be:PR	C-stop:INCOMPL	PERS-Kakka	VREF
(ᵛᵗᵒkka	ittĩ / ittĩ)	á-kín	íkkᵛ	cík
become:DEPINCOMPL	that that	SUBJ.PERS-3A	sit:DEPINCOMPL	VREF

Kukku is stopping Kakka in order to sit together

***ittĩ** introducing the phrasal complement of a question word*

ittĩ introduces the complement of the fronted question word **ᵗínᵗa** ‘what’ if this complement is a noun phrase. By contrast, a clausal complement of **ᵗínᵗa** is introduced by **akka** + H. The next example contains both:

ḡín-ṭa	rtti	ṭ-ṣmekṵ		
what-QW	that	NOM-be_scarified		
ána	ḡín-ṭa	akka	ól	ṣmékine
and	what-QW	that	people	be_scarified_for:DEPINCOMPL

what is scarification and why (lit. for what) are people being scarified?

***ittĩ** preceding the question word ‘how’*

‘How’-questions generally involve **ittĩ**:

ŋ-kw-a.ɪk **p-a.ɛ̃** **ɪtti** **kát-ɬa / táɬ-ɬa**
 2-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL that how-QW / how-QW
 how will you be going (i.e. by which road or path)

Some further examples with question words are given in chapter 20.

19. Focus

This chapter discusses subject focus marking and constructions for focusing constituents other than subjects.

19.1. Subject focus marking

Subject focus constructions involve the focus marker **akk-** or alternatively, a marker that is (synchronically) analysable as **a-C-C-**, having a double concord agreeing with the subject. Both **akk-** and **a-C-C-** may have developed from an earlier form ***ak-C-** (related to **ɔkâ** ‘be?’). In this scenario the form would historically not involve double concord. The only other case in the language that might involve double concord is the associative marker **attot/áttót** (see 6.8) (including the associative + numeral **at-C-ut-NUM/át-C-út-NUM**, see 10.4.2). Here too, a development from **at-C-ut**, rather than a historical form with double concord, seems the more likely possibility.

The construction **a-C-C-** is mainly used in Tɔɾəmaɾɔn, whereas in Tɔɾu and Tɔɾɪ mostly **akk-** is used. **akk-/a-C-C-** is attached to a non-dependent verb (an Incompletive, a Completive, or the Present of ‘be’) or adjective, replacing its concord. The focus marker can receive a high tone from a preceding element. It cannot be excluded that it has a floating high tone of its own, however, if such a tone were there it would not have an opportunity to be realized, because the verbs to which the focus marker can be attached always have a high tone. I therefore consider **akk-/a-C-C-** as low-toned. Compare the two pairs of examples below. The second example of each pair has (contrastive) subject focus.

takəɾuk	t-aa.t	n-tɛ-ttɔk
chicken	C-come:COMPL	with-at-fenced_place_for_livestock
the chicken came out of the animal shelter		

takəɾuk ákk-aa.t / á-t-t-aa.t n-tɛ-ttŏk
 chicken FOC-come:COMPL FOC-C-C-come:COMPL with-at-fenced_place_for_livestock
 the *chicken* came out of the animal shelter (it was the chicken who came out of the animal shelter)

ɔ-íáíá p-íná
 PERS-my_mother C-know:INCOMPL
 my mother knows it

ɔ-íáíá ákk-íná / a-p-p-íná
 PERS-my_mother FOC-know:INCOMPL / FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL
 my mother knows it (it is my mother who knows it)

In the next example the focus marker is attached to an adjective:

ɛm-p-ɪ ákk-ɔpərŏt
 DEM-C-NEARSP FOC-good
 this one is good (also: this one is the best)

In a focus-construction the full form of the subject pronoun is used instead of the pronominal proclitic:

ŋ-kw-á.mente itti ɔ-ʊn ákk-a.ɲóle kappentína
 2-C-say.PLUR:INCOMPL that PERS-1 FOC-eat.PLUR:INCOMPL groundnut_paste
 you are always saying that it is me who is always eating groundnut paste (but now it is you who has been eating groundnut paste)

In some constructions of auxiliary and main verb the focus marker can precede the main verb, the auxiliary or both:

ɔ-kín ákk-íra t-a.nán-ʊŋ lón appík
 PERS-3A FOC-should C-bring_to:INCOMPL-O2 words all
 it is them that should explain everything to you

ɔ-kín t-íra ákk-a.nán-ʊŋ lón appík
 PERS-3A C-should FOC-bring_to:INCOMPL-O2 words all
 it is them that should explain everything to you

ɔ-kín **akk-íra** **akk-a.nán-ɔŋ** **lón** **appík**
 PERS-3A FOC-should FOC-bring_to:INCOMPL-O2 words all

it is them that should explain everything to you

This is not the case in verbal complexes with an auxiliary of ‘be’. They have the focus marker on the auxiliary:

ɔ́t-ɬa **akk-a.ɪk** **p-a.kək-óŋ**
 PERS.3-QW FOC-be:PR C-shave:INCOMPL-O2

who is shaving you?

Question words replacing the subject use the same focus markers **akk-/a-C-C-** (example above). More examples are provided in chapter 20.1.1 and 20.2.2.

Contrastive negative focus of the subject (‘it is/was not X’) is expressed by Dependent Incompletive negated ‘be’ (‘not being’) preceding the subject and **akk-/a-C-C-** on the verb:

ɔ́kérónn-ɔ́ká **pa-p-ɔ-kíra** **akk-ɔ́kɪccé.r-óŋ**
 NEG:DEP-be:DEPCOMPL thing-C-of-trees FOC-chase:COMPL-O2

it was not a leopard that chased you (‘A boy and a goat’)

19.2. Non-subject focus marking

Constituents other than the subject are contrastively focussed through left dislocation followed by **akka** + H ‘that’ and the rest of the clause. Two examples with focussed objects follow here:

íkkərə **lɪcɔk** **ákka** **ŋ-kw-immâ.t**
 perhaps goats that 2-C-see:COMPL

it seems you saw *goats* (it was goats that you saw (and not a leopard)) (‘A boy and a goat’)

a-a **kəllán** **akka** **ɔ-kukkú** **p-ɪp.ánɬét** **áôn**
 no-REDUP old_woman that PERS-Kukku C-collect_for:PST bees

no, Kukku collected honey for the *old woman* (it is for the old woman that Kukku collected honey)

Unlike the subject focus marker **akk-**, **akka** +H has no variant that can agree with the element on which it puts focus. **akka** +H in non-subject focus constructions functioning as complementizer seems to be the same element as the conjunction word **akka** +H. If and how **akka** +H and the focus markers **akk-/a-C-C-** (which replace the verbal or adjectival concord) historically relate to each other is not clear.

The possessor noun from a connexive construction is focused in the first example below, the noun from a prepositional phrase in the second. The connexive (first example) and preposition (second example) remain in place in their absolute form.

takəɽuk akka m-p-ɔɽəkɔ.t tɨŋkɛ t-ɛn
 chicken that 1-C-eat:COMPL liver C-of:ABS

I ate the liver of the *chicken* (it was of the chicken that I ate the liver)

kaɽər k-ɔ-tɔɽɨ²⁷ akka m-p-ɔkəttɔ.t ɪ-a-kumən tɨt
 road C-of-Tɔɽɨ that 1-C-run_into:COMPL in-PERS-Kuman in:ABS

it was on the road to Tɔɽɨ that I ran into Kuman

In coordinated clauses locative adjuncts can also be contrasted without **akka** +H, namely through fronting of the adjunct in the second clause. ‘Khartoum’ in the first clause can be left-dislocated as well, but the sentence as given below was preferred. It was elicited with ‘in Khartoum the water ..., but in Lumun country the water ...’.

ɨəɽɨ ɨ-á.ɽəŋkwət nɔ-capu kâɾəttôm
 water C-remain:INCOMPL on-ground Khartoum
ana.rruk tɔrró ɨ-ɨ-ɨntat cɪk cɔkɔc-cəkət
 but Lumun_country PRO-C-disappear:INCOMPL VREF quickly-REDUP

in Khartoum the water remains on the ground, but in Lumun country it disappears quickly

²⁷ Several paths go to Tɔɽɨ, coming from different places, as well as taking a different course. Which road is meant must be understood from the context.

20. Question words and particles

In this chapter I discuss pronominal, adverbial, clausal and modifying content question words, as well as the marking of polar questions.

20.1. Content question words

Lumun has pronominal, adverbial, clausal and modifying content question words. Modifying question words always have a concord. The pronominal, adverbial and clausal question words are listed in table 105, the modifying question words in table 106. Question words can be divided into those ending in the question word marker **-ta** (first columns of both tables), the same forms without **-ta** (second columns), and question words containing the (concord and) demonstrative pronominal base (C)-**en** (third columns).

Table 105 Content question words

	<i>ending in -ta</i>	<i>without -ta</i>	<i>ending in (C)-en</i>
<i>pronominal</i>	ṣtta/ṣttân ‘who’		ṣkkwên/ṣkkwéṇṣn ‘who’
	ṇinta ‘what’		ṇimpên ‘what’
<i>clausal</i>	akkaínta, akaínta ‘why’	akkaín, akaín ‘why’	
<i>adverbial</i>	karəṭâ, karəṭa ‘where’		kəren ‘where’
	acínta ‘when’	acín ‘when’	
	táṭta, káṭta ‘how’	tât, kât ‘how’	
	akkáratṭa ‘what time’	akkárat ‘what time’	

Table 106 Modifying content question words

<i>ending in -ṭa</i>	<i>without -ṭa</i>	<i>ending in (C)-en</i>
C-ṣṭṭa/C-ṣṭṭân 'whose'		C-ṣṭṭwên/ C-ṣṭṭwēṇôn 'whose'
C-ṣṭṭa 'what kind of'	C-ṣṭṭ 'what kind of'	C-ṣṭṭpên 'what'
C-árṭa 'where'		C-áren 'where'
C-aráṭṭa 'how'	C-arat 'how'	
C-ṣṭṭṭa 'for what purpose, why'	C-ṣṭṭṭ 'for what purpose, why'	
C-ṣṭṭa 'why'		
C-ṣṭṭṭṭa 'how many'	C-ṣṭṭṭṭ 'how many'	
C-iaṭṭa 'which'	C-ia 'which'	

Morphophonology

Before **akka** + H and before the subject focus marker (**akk-** or **a-C-C-**, see 19.1), the final **a** of the question word marker **-ṭa** is deleted and the question word and the complementizer/focus marker fuse together, e.g.,

ṣṭṭa akka [ṣṭakʰ]
ṭṭṭa akka [ṭṭṭṭaka]

Use of the question words

Question words ending in **-ṭa** are typically used in neutral questions for information. They can be employed rhetorically. The question words lacking **-ṭa** are used in:

- 1) quick and informal (interruptive) inquiries after a further detail;
- 2) questions that solicit no answer, communicating a negative view of the speaker. Some emotion is typically involved.

Some of the question words without **-ṭa** are used in complement clauses. In that environment they are used in a neutral way.

Question words ending in **-ṭa** have their own intensifying adverb **ṭṭṭṭ**, or **-ṭṭṭṭ**, which gives a sense of urgency to the question. An example was provided in 17.1.4.

Because one way of question formation involves left-dislocation of the content (non-subject) question word, the word order in neutral affirmative statements is recalled here: S V O Adj.

Position in the clause and question constructions

Question words can be used alone. With a verbal or adjectival predicate, they occur in one or two of the following positions or constructions:

- in situ. Subject question words, which always remain in situ, are followed by the focus marker **akk-** replacing the subject concord;
- left-dislocated before the subject. In these constructions the question word is followed by **akka** + H ‘that’ or, in case of ‘where’, by the locative relative **ná**;
- at the right edge of the clause, preceded by **ittĩ** ‘that’.

Next to being used in situ, several of the question words in the first column of table 105 allow for a clause-initial construction with **akka** + H, as do **ṭṭkwên** ‘who’ and **ṭṭmpên** ‘what’ (third column). The forms without **-ṭa** (second column) are not used clause-initially with **akka** + H. **karṭṭâ** ‘where’ can be used clause-initially, but is then followed by the locative relative **ná** (see 11.3).

A question with a question word in situ and the same question with an **akka** + H -construction follow here.

ṭkul	w-a.ṭəkṭ	ṭín-ṭa
child	C-eat:INCOMPL	what-QW
what will the child eat?		

ŋín-ṭa akka úkól ʒəkô
 what-QW that child eat:DEPINCOMPL

what will the child eat?

The verb in a clause introduced by the complementizer **akka** + H or the locative relative **ná** is either a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, or a complex verb of which the (first) auxiliary verb is a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, or the Present of ‘be’. By contrast, the focus marker **akk-** precedes a non-dependent verb. An example of the latter:

ʒṭ-ṭa akk-a.ʒəkô
 PERS.3-QW FOC-eat:INCOMPL

who will eat it?

Modifying question words come after the noun or noun phrase they modify. C-**ʒnta** ‘why’ modifies subjects, which it directly follows, and precedes a clause introduced by **akka** + H (see 20.1.7).

Several modifying question words can modify personal pronouns: C-**ʒtta**, C-**ʒttân** ‘whose’, C-**ɔkkwên**, C-**ɔkkwéŋôn** ‘whose’, C-**árəṭa** ‘where’, C-**âren** ‘where’, C-**arátta** ‘how’, C-**arât** ‘how’, C-**ʒnta** ‘why’, C-**ɔrənʒtta** ‘how many’, C-**ɔrənʒk** ‘how many’ (examples are given in this chapter).

Examples illustrating the meaning and use of question words as well as constructions in which they occur are provided in sections 20.1.1 to 20.1.9. The question words are grouped together mainly on the basis of shared lexical formatives. This gives the following clusters:

- **ʒtta**, **ʒttân** ‘who’, **ɔkkwên**, **ɔkkwéŋôn** ‘who’, C-**ʒtta**, C-**ʒttân** ‘whose’, C-**ɔkkwên**, C-**ɔkkwéŋôn** ‘whose’;
- **ŋínṭa** ‘what, why’, **akaínṭa/akkaínṭa** ‘why’, **akaîn/akkaîn** ‘why’, **ŋimpên** ‘what’, C-**ɔínṭa** ‘what kind of’, C-**ɔîn** ‘what kind of’, C-**ɔimpên** ‘what’;
- **karəṭâ /karəṭa**, **kəren**, C-**árəṭa** ‘where’, C-**âren** ‘where’; **acínṭa** ‘when’, **acîn** ‘when’;
- **tátta/kátta** ‘how’, **tát/kát** ‘how’, C-**arátta** ‘how’, C-**arât** ‘how’;

- **akkárat̃ta** ‘what time of the day’, **akkárat** ‘what time of the day’;
- C-**ɔ́t̃éñta** ‘for what purpose, why’, C-**ɔ́t̃éñ** ‘for what purpose, why’, C-**ɔ́nt̃a** ‘why’;
- C-**ɔ́rəñɔ́t̃ta** ‘how many’, C-**ɔ́rəñɔ́k** ‘how many’;
- C-**ɪat̃â** ‘which’, C-**ɪa** ‘which’

20.1.1. ‘who’ and ‘whose’

ɔ́t̃ta/ɔ́t̃tân ‘who’, **ɔ́kkwên/ɔ́kkwéŋôn** ‘who’, C-**ɔ́t̃ta**, C-**ɔ́t̃tân** ‘whose’ and C-**ɔ́kkwên**/C-**ɔ́kkwéŋôn** ‘whose’ share a formative (based on) **ɔ́k** ‘s/he’ (including the persona prefix). Though in these forms the sequence **ɔ́** has been shortened to **ɔ́**, I will gloss the formative as PERS.3

ɔ́t̃ta/ɔ́t̃tân ‘who’

ɔ́t̃ta is made up of a formative based on **ɔ́k** ‘s/he’, including the persona prefix (**ɔ́-**), and the question word marker **-t̃a**. It has a plural which is formed through attachment of the plural suffix **-ŋôn** of nouns with the persona prefix: **ɔ́t̃ta** + **-ŋôn** > **ɔ́t̃tân**.

ɔ́t̃ta/ɔ́t̃tân is used in different syntactic functions: subject, object, as part of a prepositional phrase. The syntactic function determines which construction(s) is/are possible. In the examples below, it functions as the subject of a verbless clause:

ɔ́t̃-t̃a **p-én**
PERS.3-QW C-DEM

who is it? (i.e. whom are you talking about?)

ɔ́t̃.t̃á-n **én-t̃-í**
who-PL DEM-C-NEARSP

who are they? (lit.: who are these? For example about people who are present, or while pointing at people in a picture)

When **ṣṭṭa/ṣṭṭân** replaces the subject of a verbal or adjectival clause, a focus construction with **akk-is** is required, or alternatively, with **app-** for the singular and **att-** for the plural (see 19.1):

ṣṭ-ṭa **a-p-p-ərîk**

PERS.3-QW FOC-C-C-big

who is the biggest?

ṣṭ-ṭá-n **á-ṭ-ṭ-aá.t**

PERS.3-QW-PL FOC-C-C-come:COMPL

who (PL) came?

ṣṭ-ṭa **akk-a.kkót** **ṇəre**

PERS.3-QW FOC-do:INCOMPL work

who will do the work?

As an object, **ṣṭṭa/ṣṭṭân** can be used in situ (first and second example below) or fronted in a construction with the complementizer **akka** + H (third example below):

ṣ-kín **ṭ-ṭṭ.é** **ṣṭ.ṭá-n** **nṣ.ppan**

PERS-3A C-find:COMPL who:QW-PL inside

who(PL) did they find inside?

ṇ-kw-a.ík **p-a.llíné** **ṣṭ-ṭa**

2-C-be:PR C-run_for:INCOMPL PERS.3-QW

whom are you running from?

ṣṭ-ṭa **akka** **ṇ-kw-a.ík** **p-a.llíné**

PERS.3-QW that 2-C-be:PR C-run:INCOMPL

whom are you running from?

After a preposition, the initial vowel **ṣ** of **ṣṭṭa/ṣṭṭân** changes into **a**, in the same way as the persona prefix **ṣ-** in pronouns, personal names and kinship and relational terms (see 4.10.1). The question word can be used in situ, but can also be fronted followed by **akka** + H. In the latter case, preposition and question word are separated: the preposition remains in place adopting its absolute form (second example below).

၁-ကိၣ် **တ-၁တတဲ.တ** **ၣ်-၁တ.တ-ၣ်**
 PERS-3A C-leave:COMPL on-who-PL

who (PL) did they leave behind?

၁တ-တ-ၣ် **akka** **၁-ကိၣ်** **တ-၁တတဲ.တ** **ၣ်-၁**
 PERS.3-QW-PL that PERS-3A C-leave:COMPL on:ABS

who (PL) did they leave behind?

A special use of **၁တတဲ** is found in a question about names. This requires a construction with the complementizer **တတိ**:

ၣ်-က-၁၁၁.တ **kaʔan** **တတိ** **၁တ-တ**
 2-C-receive:COMPL name that PERS.3-QW

what is your name? (lit.: you have received the name that who?)

၁တတဲ/၁တတဲၣ် can, apparently, be used in complement questions, at least in some cases. The following sentence was not rejected:

ၣ်-ပ-၁မ္မာ **တတိ** **၁တ-တ** **akk-aa.တ** **ငါ.တ.ကိတ**
 1-C-not-know:INCOMPL that PERS.3-QW FOC-come:COMPL firstly

I do not know who came first

Commonly, however, **၁kkwêṇ/၁kkwéṇṇ** ‘who’ is applied in complement clauses (unless the complement clause represents direct speech).

၁kkwêṇ/၁kkwéṇṇ ‘who’

၁kkwêṇ ‘who’ contains a formative based on **၁၁k** ‘s/he’, including the persona prefix **၁-**, and the concord **p-** (agreeing with **၁၁k**) + demonstrative pronominal base **en** (see 8.1). As elsewhere, the realization of the sequence of pronominal **k** and concord **p** deviates from general phonological rules, being realized as [kʷ] instead of as [p]. The plural of **၁kkwêṇ** is formed with **-ၣ်**: **၁kkwéṇṇ**.

Though **၁kkwêṇ/၁kkwéṇṇ** already contains **p-en** as a formative, in a verbless construction it can still be predicated by **pen** (or plural **တၣ်**):

ɔk.kw.én p-én
 who C-DEM

who is this about? (i.e. whom are you talking about?)

ɔkkwên implies a speech context; unlike **ɔtta**, it is not used inthetic questions. The following examples contrast **ɔtta** and **ɔkkwên**. **ɔtta** can be used in context as well as “out-of-the-blue”; the use of **ɔkkwên** in the second example below conveys the speaker’s assumption or awareness that the people were already talking about the person who died when s/he joined the conversation:

ɔtta a-p-p-íó.t
 PERS.3-QW FOC-C-C-die:COMPL

who died?

ɔk.kw.én a-p-p-íó.t
 who:DEM FOC-C-C-die:COMPL

who died? (for example upon joining a group of people at a funeral who are talking about the deceased)

Furthermore, **ɔkkwên/ɔkkwénɔn** is typically used in complement clauses. Two examples follow here, the first with ‘who’ as subject of the complement clause, the second with ‘who’ as object.

m-p-ɔmma itti ɔk.kw.én akk-ɔkkɔt.ê
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL that who:DEM FOC-do:COMPL

I do not know who did it

ɔ-kín t-érét-ε itti ɔk.kw.én-ɔn akka ɔ-kín akkarɔ
 PERS-3A C-speak_about:COMPL that who:DEM-PL that PERS-3A call:DEPINCOMPL

they talked about who (PL) they would invite

Note that the example above ‘I do not know who did it’ is different from a construction with **ɔkkwí í-** (see 6.1.5):

m-p-ɔmma ɔk.kw.í í-p-ɔkkɔt.ê
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL the_one RES-C-do:COMPL

I do not know the one who did it

C-ṣṭṭa/C-ṣṭṭân ‘whose’ and C-ṣkkwên/C-ṣkkwéḡṣn

The nominal modifiers C-ṣṭṭa/C-ṣṭṭân ‘whose’ and C-ṣkkwên/C-ṣkkwéḡṣn have the connexive C-ṣ ‘of’ as a formative. The difference in meaning between the two is similar to that of the pronominal forms. The first question below can, for example, be asked when two people are passing by a grave. The one puts the question to the other, who may or may not know the answer. The second question can be used when walking into a group of people who are gathered around a grave: it is assumed that these people have been talking or are talking about the dead person and know who he or she is.

tupu	t-ṣṭ-ṭá	én-t-í
hole_in_ground	C-of.PERS.3-QW	DEM-C-NEARSP

whose grave is this?

tupu	t-ṣk-kw-én	én-t-í
hole_in_ground	C-of.PERS.3-C-DEM	DEM-C-NEARSP

whose grave is this?

In a context where something was missed C-ṣkkwên is used upon asking for clarification. However, C-ṣkkwên is sometimes also used without such a conversational context, as an alternative to C-ṣṭṭa.

ṣ-céccé	c-ṣk-kw-én
PERS-Céccé	C-of.PERS.3-C-DEM

whose Céccé are you? / whose Céccé are you? (or: in a comparable way as in the previous example: whose Céccé is this about?)

ṣ-céccé	c-ṣṭ-ṭa
PERS-Céccé	C-of.PERS.3-QW

whose Céccé are you?

A pronominal proclitic can be attached to the connexive construction:

ḡ-kw-ṣk-kw-én
2-C-of.PERS.3-C-DEM

whose (son/daughter) are you? / whose (son/daughter) are you?

ŋ-kw-ɔ̌t-ta

2-C-Of.PERS.3-QW

whose (son/daughter) are you? / *whose* (son/daughter) are you?

20.1.2. ‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘what kind of’

The question words **ŋínta** ‘what’, **akaínta/akkaínta** ‘why’, **akaín/akkaín** ‘why’, **C-ɔ́nta** ‘what kind of’, **C-ɔ́n** ‘what kind of’ and **ŋimpên** ‘what’ all share the formative based on **ŋín** ‘what’. Most question words are compatible with **ŋín** having a falling tone, except **ŋimpên**, the latter suggests a high or rising tone. I represent it with a high tone, since in the one example I have where it is not preceded by an element with high tone, it is realized as high.

ana ŋ-kw-a.t-ɔ̌kkɔt

and 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL

ŋín

what

and what will you do about it?! (lit. go and do)

ŋínta ‘what’

ŋínta, containing **ŋín** ‘what’ and **-ta** as formatives, can be used in a verbless clause. The concord **p-** in the first example, which is a fixed expression, is implicitly understood to agree with **papu** ‘thing’.

ŋín-ta

what-QW

p-en

C-DEM

what is it? (what is this that you are talking about?)

ŋínta can be used in a verbless clause with complementizer **ittĩ** ‘that’:

ŋín-ta

what-QW

ittĩ

that

t-ɔ̌mekɔ̌

NOM-scarify

what is scarification?

As the subject of a verb, **ŋínta** is followed by the focus marker **akk-**, or alternatively by **app-** (not **aŋŋ-**). **app-** is used in **Tɔ̌rəmaɔ̌ɔ̌n** and, for my consultant, implicitly agrees with **papu** ‘thing’.

ḡín-ṭa **akk-a.îk**

what-QW FOC-be:PR

what is happening? (what is (it)?)

ḡín-ṭa **a-p-p-ṭkkwṭ.ê**

what-QW FOC-C-C-kill:COMPL

what has destroyed it? (lit.: killed)

ḡín-ṭa **akk-ṭnó** **ittí** **pái**

what-QW FOC-have that par

what does *par* mean?

ḡínṭa as object can be in situ or left-dislocated followed by **akka** + H:

ókól **w-a.ṭəkə** **ḡín-ṭa**

child C-eat:INCOMPL what-QW

what will the child eat?

ḡín-ṭa **akka** **ókól** **ṣṭəkḥ**

what-QW that child eat:DEPINCOMPL

what will the child eat?

ḡínṭa can be in situ preceded by a preposition. Alternatively, it can be left-dislocated, with an absolute preposition remaining in place:

ḡ-kw-aa.t **ḡ-ḡín-ṭa**

2-C-come:COMPL with-what-QW

by what did you come here? (i.e. by what means of transport)

ḡín-ṭa **akka** **ḡ-kw-aa.t** **ḡ.ḡm**

what-QW that C-come:COMPL with:ABS

by what did you come here? (i.e. by what means of transport)

ḡín ‘what’

ḡín, without the question morpheme **-ṭa**, does not function as a neutral question word. In the earlier cited example, repeated here, it already implies the speaker’s negative view: you can do nothing.

ana η-kw-a.ṭ-ṵkkət ḡín
 and 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL what

and what will you do about it?! (lit. go and do) (implied: nothing!)

In combination with a Benefactive verb **ḡínṭa** is interpreted as ‘why’ (‘for what’). Compare:

η-kw-a.ík p-a.łłət tṵ-ín-ṭa
 2-C-be:PR C-run_to:INCOMPL up_on-what-QW

what are you running to?

η-kw-a.ík p-a.łłíne ḡín-ṭa
 2-C-be:PR C-run_for:INCOMPL what-QW

why are you running? (lit.: you are running for what?)

In case of two objects, **ḡínṭa** in situ as the first (benefactive) object of a Benefactive verb, gives the reading ‘why’:

ana m-p-a.ṭṵkine ḡín.ṭá ḡúrú η-ḡəṭi
 and 1-C-eat_for:INCOMPL what:QW asida with-water

and why would I eat asida with water? (lit.: and I will eat for what asida with water?)

Alternatively, the reason object is left-dislocated in a construction with **akka** + H:

ana ḡín-ṭa akka a-n-ṵṭṵkine ḡurú η-ḡəṭi
 and what-QW that CONJ-1-eat_for:DEPINCOMPL asida with-water

and why would I eat asida with water? (lit.: and I will eat for what asida with water?)

As a second (patient) object, **ḡínṭa** in situ gives the reading ‘what’:

m-p-a.nékine ṵ-kakká ḡín-ṭa
 1-C-take_for:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka what-QW

what can I take to Kakka?

In such a case, that is with a verb that takes both a beneficiary and a patient object, a construction with **ŋínta akka** + H is ambiguous:

ŋín-ṭa akka a-n-ɔnékɛ ɔ-kakkâ
 what-QW that CONJ-1-take_for:DEPINCOMPL PERS-Kakka

what can I take to Kakka? / why do I bring it to Kakka?

akkaínta / akaínta ‘why’

The use of the combination **akkaínta** or **akaínta** ‘why’ (< **akka** + **ŋínta**), which comes after the verb phrase, avoids such ambiguity. Whereas a clause with (fronted) **ŋínta akka** + H as ‘why’, or with **ŋínta** in situ as ‘why’, requires a verb in benefactive derivation, the equivalent clause with **akkaínta/akaínta** has a non-benefactive verb:

ŋ-kw-a.ɪk p-a.lló aka.ín-ṭa
 2-C-be:PR C-run:INCOMPL why-QW

why are you running?

m-p-a.nékɛ ɔ-kakká aka.ín-ṭa
 1-C-take_for:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka why-QW

why will I take it to Kakka?

akkaîn / akaîn ‘why’

akkaîn and its variant **akaîn**, which lack the question morpheme **-ṭa**, are typically used as quick remarks, interrupting the speaker. Rather than like real questions, they function like exclamations, expressing that something is considered unusual:

ɲokul ɲ-ellâ
 children C-be_absent:INCOMPL

akka.în
 why

I have no children (lit.: children are lacking). why?!

C-ɔínta ‘what kind of’, **C-ɔîn** ‘what kind of’

C-**ᵛínᵛa** ‘what kind of’ and C-**ᵛín** ‘what kind of’ contain the connexive C-**ᵛ** and **ᵛínᵛa** or **ᵛín**. They function as modifiers of a noun phrase:

ᵛ-pari	p-aṅ	p-a.kkóttet	ᵛóćól	ᵛ-ᵛ-ín-ᵛa
PERS-wife	C-POSS2	C-do.PLUR:INCOMPL	sauce	C-of-what-QW

what kind of sauce does your wife always make? (App. IV, 12)

k-kw-ᵛkwónᵛ.t	óćól	w-ᵛ-ín-ᵛa
3-C-produce:COMPL	child	C-of-what-QW

what child did she give birth to? (a girl or a boy?)

The next example has C-**ᵛín**, without **-ᵛa**. It is not really a question, but conveys that the people don’t want to hear the **tit tit** of the boy:

ana	tit	tit	t-ᵛᵛek	t-ᵛ-ín
and	tit	tit	C-some	C-of-what

and what kind of “*tit tit*” (is this now)?! (“*tit tit*” is a sound made out of fear. Context: a small boy went into a cave to find a porcupine, but now he is afraid and wants to get out. The people outside want the boy to stay inside and get the porcupine). (fr. written story)

ᵛimpên ‘what, why’

ᵛimpên contains the formative **ᵛín** ‘what’ and the demonstrative base **ên** ‘that’. The concord is again **p**. Like **ᵛkkwên**, **ᵛimpên** is not used thetically, but needs a (speech) context; it refers to a matter that is (assumed to be) already being discussed. The question below stands in a context of people knowing that they should do something, but they don’t know what. **ᵛimpên** can be used in situ or in a fronted construction with **akka** + H:

ana	ᵛ-nᵛin	t-a.kkᵛt	ᵛim-p-ên
and	PERS-1A	C-do:INCOMPL	what-C-DEM

but what can we do?

ana	ᵛim-p-ên	akka	ᵛ-nᵛin	ᵛkkᵛt
and	what-C-DEM	that	PERS-1A	do:DEPINCOMPL

but what can we do?

Like **ɔkkwên**, **ɲimpên** is also used in complement clauses, whether in situ (first example below), or fronted within the complement clause preceding **akka** + H (second example). In the second example, **ɲínta** was considered acceptable as well; in the first this was less clear.

ɔ-kín **ɿ-erettárəne.t** **ittɿ** **ɔ-kín** **ɿ-á.kkót** **ɲím-p-ên**
 PERS-3A C-talk_to_each_other:COMPL that PERS-3A C-do:INCOMPL what-C-DEM
 they discussed amongst each other what they would do

ɿk.ɿ **n-tán** **á-n-ánt-ɔkə́ta**
 pass_entrance:IMP with-up_on:ABS SUBJ-1-can:DEPINCOMPL-look_at:DEPINCOMPL
ɲím-p-én **akka** **ɔ-ppénná** **ɔ́kkínt-úŋ**
 what-C-DEM that PERS-Penna do_for:DEPINCOMPL-O2
 come inside to me, so that I can see what Penna is doing to you

ɲimpén akka has the reading ‘why’ when it functions as first object of a Benefactive verb. Note that in the previous example **-úŋ** ‘you’ is understood as the first object of **ɔ́kkíntet** ‘do for’, so that **ɲimpên** is understood as the second (patient) object. In the example below the natural interpretation is the other way round: **ɲimpên** is understood as the first object of Benefactive **ɔmmakíntet** ‘follow for’ (< **ɔmmakot** ‘follow’), giving a ‘why’ reading. Enclitic **-ɔk** ‘him, her’ functions as second (patient) object:

ɔ-kín **ɿ-erét.ɛ** **ittɿ** **ɲím-p-én** **akka**
 PERS-3A C-speak_about:COMPL that what-C-DEM that
k-kw-á.ík **p-á.mmakínt-ɔ́k**
 3-C-be:PR C-follow_for.PLUR:INCOMPL-O3
 they spoke about why she is always following him

ɲimpên is also used in questions to which no answer is expected:

ana **ɲ-kw-ápp-ɔ́tunc.aṭ-in** **ɲím-p-ên**
 and 2-C-again:INCOMPL-throw_at.PLUR:DEPPRFV-1:O what-C-DEM
 and what will you throw at me again?! (implication: there is nothing left to throw at me) (App. IV, 116)

ɲɔrɛ **ɪ-a** **k-kw-ɔ́nó** **ɲ-á.mét** **ɲím-p-ên**
 laziness RES-(C-)COP 3-C-have C-tell:INCOMPL what-C-DEM

the laziness that he has tells (us) what?! (i.e. it is beyond words!) (App. I, 22)

20.1.3. ‘where’

karə́t̪á / **karə́t̪a**, **kə́rɛn**, **C-á-rə́t̪a** and **C-â-rɛn** ‘where’ share a formative that vacillates between **(k)ər** and **(k)ar**. **karə́t̪á** and **karə́t̪a** are sometimes pronounced with a first vowel **ə** rather than **a**. The initial vowel **a** of **C-á-rə́t̪a** and **C-â-rɛn** comes from the copula (**C-á** ‘be’) rather than being part of the formative. Whether or not there is a relationship with the noun **kaɾən** ‘place’ is unclear.

karə́t̪á/**karə́t̪a** ‘where’

karə́t̪á or **karə́t̪a** ‘where’ can be used in situ. In this position, the two tonal alternatives are equivalent, as shown in the following. The first realization is based on **karə́t̪á**, the second on **karə́t̪a**.

lɪccít **l-á.ík kárə́-t̪á** / **lɪccít** **l-á.ík** **karə́-t̪a**
 threshing_floor C-be:PR where-QW threshing_floor C-be:PR where-QW

where is the threshing floor?

karə́t̪á / **karə́t̪a** can precede an adjunct of time (or manner):

ɲ-kw-ɛ́ɔ.t **kárə́-t̪á** **mɛccín**
 2-C-go:COMPL where-qw yesterday

where did you go yesterday?

Alternatively, ‘where’ can be fronted. In this construction only the tonal variant **karə́t̪á** is used. Fronted **karə́t̪á** is not followed by **akka** + H, but by locative relative **ná** (discussed in 11.3):

karə́-t̪á **na** **lɪccít** **l-á.ík**
 where-QW where:REL threshing_floor C-be:PR

where is the threshing floor?

In complement clauses **karəṭa/karəṭâ** and **kəren** are not used, only the locative relative **ná**:

m-p-əmma	na	k-kw-ónu	kəmə́n
1-C-not_know:INCOMPL	where:REL	3-C-have	house

I don't know where s/he has his/her house he lives (I don't know where s/he lives)

Like other locative constituents **karəṭa/karəṭâ** can be preceded by **ń**- 'with, by, (away) from', but not by any of the other proclitic prepositions:

l̥ɛcək	l-aa.t	ŋ-káro-ṭâ /	ŋ-káro-ṭa
goats	C-come:COMPL	with-where-QW	with-where-QW

where have the goats come from?

kəren 'where'

kəren probably contains the demonstrative pronominal base **en** as a formative (see 8.1), but there seems to be no trace of a concord. Like **ŋimpên** and **ɔkkwên**, **kəren** is used in questions which are not really questions, but imply a negative statement. For example, the speaker is telling somebody that some of his goats escaped and says 'and where were you?!', implying: I needed you then to search with me, but you didn't show up:

a-ŋ-kw-ɔká.t	kəren
CONJ-2-C-be:COMPL	where

and where were you?! (you didn't show up!)

In the example below, somebody has just said that s/he has a threshing floor, but as far as the hearer knows this is not the case:

l̥iccít	l-á.fk	kəren
threshing_floor	C-be:PR	where

where is (this) threshing floor?!

kəren with proclitic **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ is a standard expression in answer to the greeting **tátta** ‘how is it?’. It is an evasive answer, communicating an unwillingness to give further details:

tát-ta

how-QW

ŋ-kəren

with-where

how are you? fine (but don’t ask further questions!)

C-árəta ‘where’ and **C-âren**

The related nominal modifiers are **C-árəta** ‘where’ and **C-âren** ‘where’. **C-árəta** is used in order to obtain information about the whereabouts of somebody or something:

ɔɾɪn

PERS.ŋɔɾɪn

p-árə.ta

C-where

where is ŋɔɾɪn?

appentíná

groundnuts

w-árə.ta

C-where

where are the groundnuts?

a-ŋ-kw-árə.ta

CONJ-2-C-where

and where are you?

By contrast, **C-âren** in the next example is not a neutral inquiry after somebody’s whereabouts. It implies that the person was expected to be present, but is not:

k-kw-ířé.t

3-C-say:COMPL

ittɪ

that

k-kw-á.kkappərtakə

3-C-return:INCOMPL

ána

and

k-kw-âren

3-C-where

s/he said that s/he would come back, but where is s/he?!

In the example below, the chicken saw the cat coming, but now does not see it anymore, which is worrying. The chicken asks the jackal:

ana pólá p-âren
and cat C-where

and where is the cat now?! ('The story of the jackal')

The following example is not a neutral question after the whereabouts of the addressee's children (**ɲokul**), but departs from the knowledge that the addressee does not have children and conveys that this is not really how it should be:

ana á-ɲ-án ɲ-âren
and PROBS-C-POSS2 C-where

and where are yours?! (you should get serious and have a child!)

20.1.4. 'how'

tátta, **táttarátta**, **tăt** and **C-arátta** all share the formative **tăt** 'how' (as do **akkárátta** and **akkárat** 'what time', see 20.1.5). **kátta** and **kăt** share the variant of **tăt**, **kăt**.

tátta/kátta 'how'

tátta 'how' and **kátta** 'how' are generally preceded by the complementizer **ittĩ** 'that'. The combination **ittĩ kátta** / **ittĩ tátta** is used in situ:

ɲ-kw-a.kkót ɲóré éɲ-ɲ-í ittĩ kăt-ɬa / tát-ɬa
2-C-do:INCOMPL work DEM-C-NEARSP that how-QW / how-QW

how will you do the work?

In the next example **tátta/kátta** is not preceded by **ittĩ**, but the defective verb **-ópəri** contains the same formative **-ti** as **ittĩ**:

k-kw-ópəri tát-ɬa / kăt-ɬa
3-C-say how-QW / how-QW

what did s/he say?

In the next case **ittĩ** is absent. The expression is a fixed formula, a greeting upon seeing somebody who has just got up:

ŋ-kw-ɨcát.é **tát-ṭa / kát-ṭa**

2-C-lie_down:COMPL (that-)how-QW / (that-)how-QW

how did you sleep? (greeting in the morning)

tátṭa and **kátṭa** ‘how’ are very common greetings:

tát-ṭa / kát-ṭa

how-QW / how-QW

m-p-ɔpərɔt

1-C-good

how are you? I am fine

itti kátṭa (or **itti tátṭa**) is also used in complement clauses:

m-p-ɔpərɔt.é **itti ɔ-nɔn ɬ-ánt-ɔkəne-n** **itti**

1-C-like:COMPL that PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 that

ɔ-nɔn ɬ-a.ra **tún** **itti kát-ṭa** **cəné**

PERS-2A C-cultivate:INCOMPL onion that how-QW here

could you show me how you (PL) grow onions here? (lit.: I want that you (PL) can show me ...) (fr. written text)

tátṭa/kátṭa cannot be left-dislocated.

tátṭa can be reduplicated to **tátṭárátṭa**. The reduplication has an intensifying effect. A how-question with **tátṭárátṭa** is not a neutral question for information, but expresses that something is thought to be (have been) very difficult. Which part is the reduplicated part is not clear. In the example I have glossed the second part as the reduplicated part:

ŋ-kw-aa.t **tátṭá-rátṭa**

2-C-come:COMPL how~INTS

how did you manage to come? (for example when there were no buses)

tăt/kăt ‘how’

The short forms **tăt/kăt** ‘how’ are used in expressions that function as exclamations rather than as real questions. The example below has the implicit connotation of ‘you probably have nothing to say’:

ana ɔ-nɔn ʈ-ére tăt
and PERS-2A C-speak:INCOMPL how

and what do you (PL) have to say?! (lit.: and how will you speak?!)

Comparable to **ɔkkwên** and **ɲimpên**, and like **ittɪ káṭṭa/ittɪ táṭṭa**, the short forms **tăt/kăt** are furthermore used in complement clauses. The following example functions as complement of ‘they talked about’:

... **ana ɔ-llé p-ɔkɪccé.r-ɔk n-tuan kăt**
and PERS-husband C-chase:COMPL-O3 with-home how

...and how her husband had chased her from the house (from wr. story)

Unlike **ittɪ káṭṭa / ittɪ táṭṭa** the short forms require some context; they are not easily used ‘out of the blue’. The first sentence below can, for example, be used in a conversation between two people who are walking through an onion field, and one of which is known or assumed to have knowledge about the cultivation of onions:

m-p-ɔŋɔṭ.é ittɪ ɔ-nɔn ʈ-ánt-ɔkóne-n ittɪ
1-C-like:COMPL that PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 that

ɔ-nɔn ʈ-a.ra ʈún tat cəné
PERS-2A C-cultivate:INCOMPL onion how here

could you show me how you grow onions here? (lit.: I want that ...)

In a complement clause **tăt/kăt** can be left-dislocated followed by **akka** + H:

m-p-ɔŋɔṭ.é ittɪ ɔ-nɔn ʈ-ánt-ɔkóne-n tat akka
1-C-like:COMPL that PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 that that

ɔ-nɔn ʈ-a.ra ʈún cəné
PERS-2A C-cultivate:INCOMPL onion here

could you show me how you grow onions here? (lit.: I want that ...)

C-arátta ‘how’, *C-arât* ‘how’

The modifying word *C-arátta* ‘how’ contains the copula *C-á* and *tátta* (*tât* ‘how’ + the question word marker *-ta*) as formatives. Some examples:

nenní ŋ-kw-a.rát-ta
Nenni 2-C-how-QW

Nenni, how are you?

ɔ-nenní p-a.rát-ta
PERS-Nenni C-how-QW

how is Nenni?

lon l-a.rát-ta
words C-how-QW

what is going on?

In the example below *C-arátta* modifies an object pronoun:

ɔ-nɔn t-imma.kát-ɔk p-á.rát-ta
PERS-2A C-see:PST-O3 C-how-QW

how was s/he when you (PL) saw him/her? (lit.: you saw him/her being how?)

The short form is *C-arât* is used in quick questions for further details:

pəlla p-ellâ | ana p-p-éllá p-árât
cat C-be_absent:INCOMPL and PRO-C-be_absent:INCOMPL C-how

the cat is not here. and how come it is not here?

20.1.5. ‘what time’

akkáratta contains **akka** + H ‘that’ and **tátta** ‘how’ as formatives, but has developed a tone pattern of its own. **akkáratta** is used in order to inquire after the time of the day that something happened or is expected to happen.

ŋ-kw-έ.t **tuán** **akkáraṭ-ṭa** | **m-p-έ.t** **cipín**
 2-C-go:COMPL home what_time-QW 1-C-go:COMPL evening

at what time did you go home? I went in the evening

akkáraṭṭa can be left-dislocated, followed by **akka** + H:

akkáraṭ-ṭa **akka** **ŋ-kw-έ.t** **tuán**
 what_time-QW that 2-C-go:COMPL home

at what time did you go home?

The short form can be used as a quick way of asking more precise information:

ɔ-íára **p-a.ɪk** **p-ânṭán** | **akkarat**
 PERS-mother C-be:PR C-come:INCOMPL what_time

my mother is coming. what time? (the assumption is that the mother will come today)

akkáraṭṭa is not used for asking after the (clock) time of the present moment. The expression for this is:

cɪŋkɪ **c-ia-ṭâ**
 sun C-which-QW

what's the time? (lit. the sun is which?)

20.1.6. 'when'

While **akkáraṭṭa** 'what time' inquires after the time of the day that something happened or is expected to happen, **acínṭa** 'when' is used in case of a larger time frame. A question with **acínṭa** conveys no knowledge (or assumption) on the part of the speaker about the day of the event.

ŋ-kw-aa.t **kárəṭṭóm** **ácín-ṭa**
 2-C-come:COMPL Khartoum when-QW

when did you arrive in Khartoum?

The short form **acîn** needs a (speech) context and typically has an expressive value. The example below, is not a neutral question inquiring after the time or day that the speaker and addressee will fight, but conveys an eagerness to fight and perhaps the suggestion that the addressee may want to escape from it. The addressee replies that they will fight now.

ana	ɔ-rit	ʔ-a.ʔáttɔ	acîn		ɔ-rit	ʔ-a.ʔáttɔ	ácca
ana	PERS-12	C-fight:INCOMPL	when		PERS-12	C-fight:INCOMPL	now

and when will we fight?! we will fight now!

In the next example **acîn** is used as a quick interruption to ask when something is going to take place:

ɔ-íáia	p-a.ík	p-ântán		acîn
PERS-mother	C-be:PR	C-come:INCOMPL		when

my mother is coming. when? (no knowledge/assumption about the time frame is conveyed)

The example below with **acîn** is not a real question. It is asked after the eggs of the bird got broken and the implied answer is ‘never’:

ana	puʔupé	p-ápp-ɔkwónɔ	acîn
and	bird	C-again:INCOMPL -produce:INCOMPL	when
akka	p-p-úkkwá.t	pəʔin	
that	PRO-C-become_old:COMPL	finally	

and when will the bird produce (eggs) again? because it will be old (implied answer: never)

The form **acîn** is further used in a complement clause. **acínʔa** is possible as well. Both are used only in final position:

m-p-ɔmma	ittɪ	ɔ-kín	ʔ-ântan	acîn / acín-ʔa
1-C-not_know:INCOMPL	that	PERS-3A	C-come:INCOMPL	when / when-QW

I do not know when they will come (lit.: I do not know that they will come when)

20.1.7. ‘for what purpose’ and ‘why’

C-ṣṭénṭa ‘for what purpose, why’ and *C-ṣṭên* ‘for what purpose, why’

C-ṣṭénṭa modifies a noun and expresses ‘for what purpose’ or ‘why’. The long form is used in neutral questions. In the example below it functions as predicate:

pṣṭen **p-ṣṭén-ṭa**
 basket(k.o.) C-for_what_purpose-QW
 for what is the basket?

In the next example *C-ṣṭénṭa* modifies an object noun. The object noun phrase remains in situ:

n-ṭ-a.ppóre **kamor** **k-ṣṭén-ṭa**
 2A-C-put_at.PLUR:INCOMPL sand C-for_what_purpose-QW
 why are you collecting sand?

The noun phrase can be fronted in a cleft construction with the copula:

təré **t-ṣṭén-ṭá** **t-á** **ḡ-kw-ṣnô**
 fear C-for_what_purpose-QW C-COP 2-C-have
 why are you afraid? (lit.: fear for what purpose it is you have?)

ṭakurít **ṭ-ṣṭén-ṭá** **ṭ-á-kkôṭ** (< **ṭ-a** + **ḡ-** + **ṣkkôṭ**)
 style_of_young_man C-for_what_purpose-QW C-COP-(2-)do:DEPINCOMPL
 why do you dress up like a young man? (lit.: style for what purpose it is you make?)

C-ṣṭénṭa and *C-ṣṭên* can be used in a complement clause. In this environment there seems to be no difference between the long and the short form:

m-p-ṣmma **itti** **pṣṭen** **p-ṣṭén-ṭa** / **p-ṣṭên**
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL that basket(k.o.) C-because_of_what-QW C-because_of_what
 I do not know what the basket is for

In a main clause, the short form conveys a negative judgement:

pəʔən **p-əʔən**
basket(k.o.) c-because_of_what

for what is the basket?! (we don't need it, you should not have brought it)

c-ʒn̄ta ‘why’

c-ʒn̄ta ‘why’ modifies a subject (pro)noun. It is used in a construction with **akka** + H, often in combination with **ittinâ** ‘so, like this’. Questions with **c-ʒn̄ta** are not neutral inquiries, but convey that it would be better if the situation were different, they express some worry, disappointment or disapproval.

ukul **w-ʒn̄ta** **akka** **w-íkko** **cík**
child c-why that PRO-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF

cínáŋ **ákkómân**
there_where_you_are since

why is the child still sitting here?

ɔ-rɔn **ʔ-ʒn̄ta** **akka** **ɔ-rɔn** **ɔkwónta** **ittinâ**
PERS-12A c-why that PERS-12A be_born:DEPINCOMPL so

why were we born like this?

In the following example pronominal **t** refers to a pig (**tuttərək**):

t-t-ʒn̄ta **akka** **t-t-á.ík** **t-ʒɔ**²⁸ **ittinâ**
PRO-C-why that PRO-C-be:PR C-cry:INCOMPL so

why is it (the pig) crying like this?

The following is an example of **c-ʒn̄ta** without the connecting **akka**. **pənan**, which is related to **ɔnnân** ‘mother’, is an abusive term.

k-kw-ʒn̄ta **ant-áme** **pənan**
3-C-why can:DEPINCOMPL-come_to:DEPINCOMPL mother

why, on his/her mother, let him/her come back (in anger, as a threat)

²⁸ Irregular Incompletive (< ɔɔ ‘cry’).

20.1.9. ‘which’

The nominal modifier **C-iaṭâ** expresses ‘which’. An object noun phrase with **C-iaṭâ** can be used in situ, but can also be fronted. When fronted, it is followed by a relative construction with **ɪ-C-a**:

ŋ-kw-akkó.t **ṭákúrít** **ṭ-íá-ṭâ**
 2-C-do:INCOMPL style_of_young_man C-which-QW

in which young man’s style will you dress?

ṭakuṛít **ṭ-íá-ṭâ** **í-ṭ-ákkô.t**
 style_of_young_man C-which-QW RES-C-COP.(2-)do:DEPINCOMPL

in which young man’s style will you dress? (lit.: the young man’s style is which that you will do?)

Modifying question words, like other modifiers, can be used independently. In the next example, pronominal **p-** has implicit reference to **papu** (thing).

íáia **ana** **p-ia-ṭâ** **í-p-á** **ŋ-kw-ókkóṭ.é**
 my_mother and C-which-QW RES-C-COP 2-C-do:COMPL

mother, and what is it that you have made? (can refer to food)

The short form (**C-ia**) is commonly used in complement clauses, but in the examples below **C-iaṭâ** was considered acceptable as well.

cɪk **c-írrúk** **ṭáɽu** **aŋŋəna**
 place C-cold Ṭaɽu very

ŋ-kw-əmma **ittɪ** **pəɽu** **p-íá**
 2-C-not_know:INCOMPL that dry_season C-which

ana **cókku** **c-ia**
 and rainy_season C-which

Ṭaɽu is a very cool place. You will not know which is the dry season and which is the rainy season (i.e. in both periods it is cool) (fr. written story)

ŋáaí	lɔɾək	l-a.ɪk	l-ɔppɔt		
I_don't_know	ropes	C-be:PR	C-many		
ána	m-p-ɔmma	ittɪ	t-ɔtté	t-ía	n.tít
and	1-C-not_know:INCOMPL	that	C-of.your_father	C-which	from:ABS

I don't know, there are many ropes and I do not know which one among them is your father's (lit.: I do not know that your father's (is) which among (them)) (fr. written dialogue)

The short form is also used to shortly ask 'which one'?

ɛt-m	aɾám
give:IMP-O1	book

w-ia
C-which

give me the book! which one?

20.2. Question particles

20.2.1. The question particle -ɪ

Attachment of the enclitic question particle -ɪ turns a statement into a (neutral) polar question. Such a question solicits a response that starts with **ij** 'yes', or **á ā** / **é ē** / **ĩ m** 'no'. Questions marked by -ɪ can be used thetically, they require no specific context.

The tonal realization of questions evolves from the tonal properties of the element to which the question particle is attached; questions do not seem to have a specific intonation pattern. The particle functions largely as a regular low-toned item, except after an element with a rising (LH) tone. After a rising tone, application of the Tone Shift Rule (see 3.3.1) would be expected, resulting in a falling tone on the question particle. Instead, the particle can be tonally realized in two ways: as rising or as low. The paradigm follows here:

after L	ŋkwɔnú pəlla-ɪ	(pəlla + -ɪ)	'do you have a cat?'
after H	ŋkwɔnú ɬakəɾɔk-ɪ	(ɬakəɾɔk + -ɪ)	'do you have a chicken?'
after LH	ŋkwɔnú ɬɔk-ĩ	(ɬɔk + -ɪ)	'do you have a dog?'

after LH **ŋkwɔ́nú tók-ɪ** (tók + -ɪ) ‘do you have a dog?’
 after HL **ŋkwɔ́nú pɔ́rɔpɛ́-ɪ** (pɔ́rɔpɛ́ + -ɪ) ‘do you have a bird?’

When the particle is attached after a final vowel with a H tone, the LHL tone that would result on the long vowel is simplified to HL, and realized over the long vowel or diphthong. Though the same effect is found upon attachment of the prepositional pro-clitics **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **tɔ-** to low-toned nouns with long vowels, and in one case of a diphthong (apart from **ɪ-maít** ‘in the beans’, there is also **ɪ-máit**, see 3.1.2), this does not seem to be a general tone rule of the language. LHL tones are attested on long vowels and diphthongs, though not very often. Examples are: **tɔ́ŋ** ‘shovel’, **ɛ́ɛ** ‘stab, blow’, **ɔ́k** ‘s/he’, **naák** ‘on him/her’, **ɔ́ɛ** ‘instrument(k.o.)’, **kuá** ‘digging tool’, **cuál** ‘sack’, **cuán** ‘rat (sp.)’, **ɛ́ɛ** ‘go’, **kaón** ‘bee’, **naón** ‘on me’, **naón** ‘on you’. Two examples with tone simplification follow here:

ŋkwɔ́nú mətɛ́-ɪ (< mətɛ-ɪ < mətɛ́ + -ɪ) ‘are you sleepy?’ (lit.: do you have sleep?)
ŋkwɔ́nú parí-ɪ (< parí-ɪ < parí + -ɪ) ‘do you have a wife?’

Some examples of polar questions with answers follow here.

ŋ-kw-ina	ókurrɔ	kárrú-ɪ
2-C-know:INCOMPL	engrave:DEPINCOMPL	mother_tongue-Q

ij **m-p-ina**
 yes 1-C-know:INCOMPL

can you write Lumun? yes, I can

ɔ-ttɛ	p-a.ík-ɪ
PERS-your_father	C-be:PR-Q

a-a	ɔ-ŋappá	p-íó.t
no-REDUP	PERS-my_father	C-die:COMPL

is your father still alive? no, my father died

In answer to a negative question, **ij** ‘yes’ is applied for confirmation of the negative situation:

ŋ-kw-ǎnn-ittā-ɪ

2-C-NEG-get_married:DEPCOMPL-Q

ij m-p-ǎnn-ittā

yes 1-C-NEG-get_married:DEPCOMPL

are you not married? / no, I am not (lit.: yes, I am not married)

In speech, a single question sometimes has more than one question particle. The example below has a question particle, with tone as in prepausal position, after the possessor pronoun. **ntít** is therefore like an afterthought. It does, however, belong to the question, so that it must take the question particle as well. When elicited, this sentence would only have the question particle at the end, after **ntít**.

ŋ-kw-ɔmma

2-C-not_know:INCOMPL

lɔɛk

ropes

l-ɔn-î

C-POSS2A-Q

n.tir-î

from:ABS-Q

do you not recognize your ropes among them? (fr. written dialogue)

Another example is the following. The question particle is obligatory after the first clause, but not after the second, which is not really part of the question. Still, it is possible to use it there:

ŋ-kw-íccá p-á.ík-ɪ akka m-p-ɔká-t p-ellâ-t / p-ellâ-r-ɪ

2-C-still C-be:PR-Q that 1-C-be:COMPL C-be_absent:COMPL C-be_absent:COMPL-Q

are you still there? because I was not there ...

Combinations of a question word lacking **-ta** (see 20.1) and the question particle **-ɪ** are possible. An example follows here. **ŋɔm** ‘for what’ retains its rethorical flavour suggesting here that there is no good reason for collecting urine, while at the same time **-ɪ** questions that supposition:

a-pari-ɔn

CONJ-wife-PL

ómékat

say:DEPPRFV

ittɪ

that

nɛɛ

nonsense

ŋae

urine

ŋ-ɔ-ín-í

C-of-what-Q

his wife and children said, nonsense, urine for what?! (i.e. urine is good for nothing, or is it?) (App. IV, 52)

20.2.2. The tag question word **pái** ‘is it?’

The tag question word **pái** ‘is it’ consists of the (non-person) pronoun clitic **p-** (implicitly referring to **papu** ‘thing’), the concord + copula **p-á**, and the question particle **-i**. The tag question word can be used after a positive but also after a negative statement. It solicits confirmation (**ij** ‘yes’) by the addressee.

ɔ-rɪt	ʔ-a.ɪk	ʔ-a.réko	ménni	p-á-i
PERS-12	C-be:PR	C-work:INCOMPL	today	PRO.C-COP-Q

you and I are going to do some work today, aren’t we?

cɪk	c-íppá	p-á-i
place	C-hot	PRO.C-COP-Q

it is hot, isn’t it

It can also be used after a negative statement:

ɔkérénn-óká	íttínâ	p-á-i
NEG:DEP-be:DEPCOMPL	so	PRO.C-COP-Q

it is not so, is it?

20.2.3. The particle for information recovery **-a**

Tonally, the particle **-a** behaves in the same way as **-i**. It does not coalesce with a preceding vowel. The particle **-a** is used for recovery of information or for confirmation that (the implication of) what has just been said has been correctly understood. It is employed, for example, when part of the conversation was missed. The particle can be used on a content question (first example below) or on a statement (second example below). In the latter case it solicits a yes/no answer.

ʃt-ʔa	akk-aa.r-â
PERS.3-QW	FOC-come:COMPL-RECOV

who did you say has come?

k-kw-áar-â | **ij**
 3-C-come:COMPL-RECOV yes

do I understand correctly that s/he has come? (are you saying that s/he has come?) yes

20.2.4. The particle for informal information recovery -ε

The question particle -ε behaves tonally in the same way as -ɪ and -a, and like those particles, does not coalesce with a preceding vowel. Like -a, -ε is used in a conversational context for recovery of information or for confirmation that (the implication of) what has just been said has been correctly understood. It can be used on a statement or a content question. -ε differs from -a in that it is typically used in informal situations, for example by somebody who is not really following the conversation between friends or family, but picks up a detail about which s/he wants to make sure (first example below) or collect some missed information (second and third examples):

k-kw-áar-ê | **ij**
 3-C-come:COMPL-RECOVINF yes

did you say s/he has come? yes

ɔkkwén **akk-ɔ̃.r-ê**
 who FOC-die:COMPL-RECOVINF

who died?/who is it that died? (conveying no particular interest in the rest of the conversation)

ŋ-kw-ɪ̃t **kar-ě**
 2-C-say:COMPL how-RECOVINF

what did you say? (conveying no particular interest in the rest of the conversation)

-ε is also used on informal greeting questions between friends. For example, somebody has asked his/her friend how s/he is and then has greeted the other people. Then s/he returns to the friend and resumes the earlier question:

kar-ě

how-RECOVINF

and how is it?

20.2.5. Absence of question marking

Question marking is entirely absent in verbless questions. Such questions follow on a statement and ask whether the same is true for someone or something else. The question just consists of **ana** + H ‘and’ and a personal pronoun (whether a participant or a third person) or a noun (phrase). Its predication is understood to be the same as that of the preceding statement, which may have been uttered by the speaker but also by the addressee. These questions do not invite a response starting with ‘yes’ or ‘no’, merely a confirming or denying statement.

m-p-ɔpərɔt ana ɔ-óŋ

1-C-good

and

PERS-2

m-p-ɔpərɔt

1-C-good

I am fine, and you? I am fine

m-p-a.ɪk p-a.ɛ̃ ana ɔ-óŋ

1-C-be:PR

C-go:INCOMPL

and

PERS-2

m-p-ǎnn-ɛ̃

1-C-NEG-go:DEPINCOMPL

I am going, and you? I am not going

ɔ-kukkú p-ɔŋɔ

PERS-Kokku

C-ill

ana ɔ-lalú

and

PERS-Lalu

ɔ-lalú p-ɔpərɔt

PERS-Lalu

C-good

Kokku is ill. And Lalú? Lalú is fine

Appendices

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

Texts

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

Parentheses () signify:

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

Square parentheses [] signify:

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

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

Appendix I

The story of Aməntacı

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

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

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

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

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

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

When he decides he will build, build a house,

16. **karrəŋ** **k-əɾək** **k-ətté** **cɪk** **nóʔok**
 wall C-some C-small VREF for_nothing

(he will build) just some useless small wall

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

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

18. **ámmá** **á-káɾɪk** **apə** **a-kw-ɪkkə** **cɪk**
 if CONJ-rain fall:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF
a-kw-ɪkkə **cɪk** **ɪ-kəɾúk** **k-ən**
 CONJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF in-sheltered_spot C-of:ABS

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

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

because even if he has built it (the wall)

20. **məná** **á-kw-óná.kat** **uɕɕe** **ŋ-kəɾen** **məna**
 even CONJ-3-bring:DEPPRFV grass with-where even

where will he even bring the grass from?

21. **lən** **el-l-əɾɪk** **məna³¹** **l-əʔen**
 words DEM-C-NEARSP even C-of_what

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

22. **ŋəɾe** **ɪ-a** **k-kw-ónó** **ŋ-á.mét** **ŋímpən**
 laziness RES-(C-)be 3-C-have C-tell:INCOMPL what

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix II

The singing whip

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix III

Decorating calabashes

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

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

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

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

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

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

- ## Appendix IV

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

- ⁴¹ **taik** can also be left out.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27. **a-kw-ómmē.kat a-kw-óme.kat itti ókwōĩ**
 CONJ-3-move:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that goodness
 And he (the tortoise) moved it (i.e. he dipped the asida in the sauce and brought it to his mouth) and said: “Goodness,
28. **ṭóma ḡucól ḡ-ṭ-ín-ṭa-ppu éḡ-ḡ-í ḡ-írrók íttínâ**
 friend sauce C-of-what-QW-really DEM-C-NEARSP C-cold so
 friend, what, really, is this sauce that is so sweet made of?”
29. **a-kw-ócca.kat ḡuṛú i-carək púccók**
 CONJ-3-scoop:DEPPRFV asida in-belly for_some_time
 And he scooped the asida into his stomach for some time
30. **a-kw-óṭəka.kat a-kw-óme.kat itti ṭóma**
 CONJ-3-become_satisfied:DEPPRFV CONJ-3-say:DEPPRFV that friend
 and he got satisfied and he said: “Friend,
31. **ṭ-pari p-án p-á.kkəttet ḡucól ḡ-ṭ-ín-ṭá éḡ-ḡ-í íttínâ**
 PERS-wife C-2POSS C-do.PLUR:INCOMPL sauce C-of-what-QW DEM-C-NEARSP so
 what does your wife always make this sauce of like this? (i.e. what is the secret ingredient making it so sweet?)
32. **ant-əkəné-n á-n-əkəkót**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 SUBJ-1-do:DEPINCOMPL
 Please show it to me,
33. **ḡucól éḡ-ḡ-í í-ṭṭíṭ cəkərúk**
 sauce DEM-C-NEARSP RES-(C-)sweet also
 so that I can make this sweet sauce too”.
34. **(a-kəṛól) äṭṭəṭṭápé ómé.kəṭ-ók itti**
 CONJ-tortoise CONJ.bird tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that
 (And the tortoise) And the ḡäṭṭəṭṭápé-bird said to him:
35. **ḡkə áṭ-əmet ṭ-pari p-án**
 go:IMP CONJ.(2.)IT:DEPINCOMPL-tell:DEPINCOMPL PERS-wife C-2POSS
 “Go and tell your wife

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

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

⁴⁷ From Sudanese Arabic *ayyi* ‘any’.

⁴⁸ Sudanese Arabic word *ṣabaah* ‘morning’.

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

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

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

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

⁵² Sudanese Arabic word *ʃabaah* ‘morning’.

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

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

⁵⁵ Sudanese Arabic interjection.

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

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

⁵⁷ Sudanese Arabic word *la* ‘no’.

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

⁵⁹ = **ɔŋkat**.

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

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

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

⁶⁰ = **cəřı** ‘wait!’

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

⁶¹ = **akwśŋuncat**.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

or *plop* into the river!”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But he (the tortoise) waited in the river

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

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

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

⁶⁶ = **ɔŋkat**.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

151. **khalas**⁶⁸ **akka** **árəpu** **w-ıkkó.t** **ɲərı**
 that's_it that things C-drink:COMPL water
- So then, when the animals had drunk the water,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lumun word list

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

English	Lumun
all	appík
animal	papu / aɾəpu 'thing'
ant	cɪpît / mɪpît
arm	cəmən / kəmən ʊkún / ɲaún 'forearm, hand'
ash(es)	mucúk
back (n.)	kucúl / ucúl
bad	C-ɔkítak
bark (n.)	təmmâk / nəmmâk
belly	carók / kərók
big	C-ittík
bird	puɾupê / uɾupê
bite (v.)	ɔkəɾɔ (also 'burn')
bitter	C-ɔpún
black	C-ɔɲî
blood	ɲɔccók (/ ɲɔccók), ɲiccók (/ ɲiccók)
blow (v.)	ɔkwɔ
blunt	C-ɔrrô
bone	cumɪan / mumɪam
branch	kuɾĩ / uɾĩ
breast	cɪmmɪk / kɪmmɪk
breath	cɔkwâ / mɔkwâ
brother	ɔpáɲ / ɔpaɲɔn 'sibling' (also: ɔpaɲ ɪ-p-ɔcɔra 'male sibling')
burn (tr.)	ɔkəɾɔ (also 'bite')
carry	ɔnékɔ (also 'take')
child	ʊkɔl / ɲukɔl
claw	kaɾĩ / aɾĩ (also 'nail, louse')

clean (<i>adj.</i>)	C-ṽṛě
clothing	kəréṭ / əréṭ
cloud	tuṭṭe / nuṭṭe
cold	C-írrúk
(multi) coloured	C-ṽṛerěṭ ‘spotted’ (pattern)
come	aṵ
cook (<i>v.</i>)	ṛṭa
count	ṽṇante
cow	waṽ / kié
crush	ṵkákkəṛṵt
cry	ṵṵ
cut (<i>v.</i>)	ṵkṛṵ
dance (<i>v.</i>)	ṵkkwṵ, also ṵkkṵ
day (counting unit)	caṽṛ / maṽṛ
die	ṛṵ
dig	ṛṵṵt
dirty	ṽṇkṵṭ (<i>v.</i>) ‘become dirty’
do	ṵkkṵṭ (also ‘make’)
dog	ṭṵk / lök
drink	ṽṇkkṵ
dry	C-ṽṇṭṵmât
dust (blown by wind)	kuṽṛṵpâṇ, also tuṽṛṵpâṇ (unpaired nouns)
ear	kunú / unú
earth	capú
eat	ṽṛəkṵ
egg	cîn / mîn
empty	ṇ-cəṛúk (lit. ‘with opening’)
eye	cṽṭ / kṽṭ
fall (<i>v.</i>)	apṵ
far	cṽṭṭán
fat (<i>n.</i>)	ṇaák
father	ṽṭṭân ‘his, her father’
fear (<i>v.</i>)	ṽṭṭía
feather	kuṽṛəccô / uṽṛəccô (also ‘wing’)
few	C-ṽṭṭê, C-ṽṭṭê
fight (<i>v.</i>)	ṽṭṭátṵ
field	kəṛṵṇ / əṛṵṇ
finger	caún / maún

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

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

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

small	C-ṣtté, C-ṣtté
smell (v.)	ṣkkunakət (intr.)
smoke	kucúk
smooth	C-ṣpərá (also ‘soft, infertile (of a man)’)
snake	pɪnɪl / nɪl
soil	nuntú ‘fine-grained soil’ (unpaired noun)
speak	ere
spear	kaʃók / atók
spit (v.)	ṣtúkkwə ŋók (also ṣtúkkə ŋók) (lit. ‘throw saliva’)
split	illə
squeeze	ṣkártət
stab	eê
stand	ṣcərə
star	cəttət / məttət (also ‘hail stone’)
stick	kurrôŋ / urrôŋ
stone	pəʃək / məʃək
straight	accuŋkūr ‘straight ahead’
suck	ako
sun	cɪŋkɪ / mɪŋkɪ
sweet	C-ṣttót
swell	ṣtákat cık
swim	aʃəkə (of fish, also: ‘float’) ṣttuṣtta
tail	kuttík / uttík
take	ənékə (also ‘carry’)
thick	C-ittátə ‘be thick’
thigh	cɪn / mɪn
thin	C-ṣttákárân or C-ṣttákálân
thing	papu / aʃəpu
think	ṣkwárəttıktət cık
this	en-C-í
thorn	tı́ / lı́
throw	ṣrrê
tie	iʃıko
tongue	tʊʀe / lʊʀe
tooth	cɪnıt́ / kɪnıt́
tree	pıra / kıra

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

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

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit proefschrift beschrijft de grammatica van het Lumun, een Kordofaanse taal van de Talodi-groep uit het zuidelijk deel van de Nuba Bergen in Soedan. Het Lumun heeft ca. 15.000 sprekers.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft beknopte informatie over de sprekers en hun woongebied, en over de positie en classificatie van het Lumun. Het vermeldt eerdere publicaties over het Lumun en publicaties over andere talen van de Talodi-groep, en noemt ook een aantal recente studies over talen van de Heiban- en Katla-groepen in de Nuba Bergen. In de inleiding wordt ook ingegaan op de manier waarop het onderzoek is uitgevoerd en de verslaglegging daarvan in deze studie.

Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt het klanksysteem van het Lumun. Het Lumun heeft consonanten op de bilabiale, dentale, alveolaire, post-alveolaire, palatale, velaire en labio-velaire articulatieplaatsen. Voor de obstruenten geldt dat hoe zij precies gearticuleerd worden (als stemloze plosief, stemhebbende plosief of als stemhebbende fricatief/approximant) afhangt van hun positie in het woord en naastliggende klanken, ook over de woordgrens heen. Opvallend is dat stemloze fricatieven in de taal helemaal niet voorkomen. Het Lumun heeft acht klinkers, waaronder een schwa die verschillende gedaanten kan aannemen. Hij wordt veelal gecoarticuleerd met een klinker in een naastliggende lettergreep en is vaak zeer kort. Er zijn echter ook woorden waarin geen andere klinkers dan schwa's voorkomen en ook een zeer korte schwa kan de drager zijn van een hoge toon. In de hoge klinkers is er ATR contrast (–ATR **ɪ** en **ʊ** tegenover +ATR **i** en **u**). Behalve in (bijna) minimale paren is het echter vaak moeilijk uit te maken tot welke set een woord behoort, ook voor de sprekers zelf, en het lijkt erop dat deze oppositie aan het verdwijnen is.

Hoofdstuk 3 presenteert het toonsysteem van het Lumun. Er worden vier tonemen onderscheiden: hoog, laag, dalend en stijgend, met de mora als de toondragende eenheid. Anders dan de naamgeving wellicht suggereert wordt een geïsoleerd woord met stijgende toon niet stijgend uitgesproken maar op een vlak blijvende toonhoogte.

Deze toon wordt iets hoger ingezet dan een lage toon en anders dan in een geïsoleerd woord met lage toon ontbreekt aan het einde van het woord een toondaling. Het (onderliggend) stijgende karakter van deze toon wordt vooral duidelijk in context, onder meer wanneer er een woord volgt dat zelf geheel laag is. Dit lage woord ontvangt nu een hoge toon van het woord met stijgende toon. Op zelfstandig naamwoorden worden vier grote toonpatronen onderscheiden die overeenkomen met de vier tonemen, die met elkaar contrasteren op de laatste mora van het zelfstandig naamwoord. Op werkwoorden en werkwoordsvormen is het beeld iets beperkter: daar wordt de stijgende toon niet gevonden. Toonveranderingen in context worden gedomineerd door twee processen. Het eerste betreft shift van een finale hoge toon (waaronder ook vallen het hoge deel van een finale stijgende toon en een zwevende hoge toon): een woord-finale hoge toon in niet-prepausale positie verandert in een lage toon, terwijl op de eerste mora van het volgende woord een dalende toon verschijnt, tenminste voor zover de toonstructuur van dat woord dat toelaat. Het tweede proces is vereenvoudiging van een contour toon (typisch een dalende toon) op een enkele mora in niet prepausale positie. De dalende toon wordt in dat geval gerealiseerd als hoog. Er is nog een derde proces dat van invloed is op de uiteindelijke tonale realisatie: toonbrug, d.w.z. dat alle lage tonen tussen twee hoge tonen (of tussen een hoge en een dalende toon) hoog worden. Toonbrug is soms verplicht en soms facultatief. Wanneer toonbrug precies toegepast moet of kan worden is nog grotendeels onduidelijk. Tenslotte zijn er grammaticale morfemen die specifieke tooneffecten hebben. Vier clitische voorzetsels zijn daarvan een voorbeeld, alsook bepaalde clitische onderwerpsvoornaamwoorden (de 3e persoon enkelvoud alsook onderwerpsclitica die verwijzen naar woorden uit de verschillende naamwoordklassen).

Hoofdstuk 4 gaat in op zelfstandig naamwoorden, die geordend zijn in een systeem van naamwoordklassen. Het hoofdstuk presenteert de toonpatronen van de zelfstandig naamwoorden en beschrijft hun morfologie. Elk (gewoon) zelfstandig naamwoord valt binnen een naamwoord klasse, die op het naamwoord gemarkeerd is door een naamwoordklasse prefix. Naamwoordklassen komen typisch voor in paren waarbinnen enkelvoudige vs. meervoudige referentie

uitgedrukt wordt. Enkelvoudige dan wel meervoudige referentie krijgt dus gestalte via het naamwoordklasse prefix, waarbij opvalt dat enkele prefixen enkelvoud aanduiden in het ene klassepaar en meervoud in het andere. Naamwoorden met bepaalde betekenisaspecten hebben (in meerdere of mindere mate) een neiging zich te groeperen in een specifiek klassepaar. Per klassepaar wordt een beeld gegeven van de semantische noties die in dat paar meer geconcentreerd voorkomen, maar aandacht wordt ook besteed aan naamwoorden met andere betekenissen. In het hoofdstuk komen verder afgeleide naamwoorden aan de orde, alsook samengestelde (complexe) naamwoorden, leenwoorden en verwantschapstermen en persoonsnamen. Verwantschapstermen en persoonsnamen vallen, in elk geval gedeeltelijk, buiten het naamwoordklasse systeem. Meervoudige referentie wordt uitgedrukt door een suffix op de enkelvoudige term. Verder hebben verwantschapstermen en persoonsnamen een specifiek prefix wanneer ze referentieel gebruikt worden; bij vocatief gebruik is dit prefix afwezig.

Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en sommige telwoorden, bezittelijke voornaamwoorden en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden congrueren met de naamwoordklasse van het (gewone) zelfstandig naamwoord dat zij bepalen. Hoofdstuk 5 geeft een overzicht van de prefixen die deze congruentie markeren. Dezelfde prefixen worden ook gebruikt om de naamwoordklasse van het onderwerp te markeren op het (niet-afhankelijke) werkwoord. Op vergelijkbare wijze is er congruentie tussen verwantschapstermen en persoonsnamen enerzijds en modificeerders en (niet-afhankelijke) werkwoorden anderzijds. Daarbij wordt enkelvoudige en meervoudige referentie van het naamwoord onderscheiden. Congruentie is er ook tussen vrije en clitische voornaamwoorden (of die nu verwijzen naar verwantschapstermen en persoonsnamen of naar gewone zelfstandig naamwoorden) en modificeerders en (niet-afhankelijke) werkwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 6 geeft een overzicht van persoonlijke voornaamwoorden en van al dan niet clitische voornaamwoorden die gewone naamwoorden substitueren. Er zijn acht persoonlijke voornaamwoorden: ik; jij; hij/zij; ik + jij (2 personen); ik + één of

meer anderen (wij ‘exclusief’); ik + jij + één of meer anderen (wij ‘inclusief’); jullie; zij (meervoud). De persoonlijk voornaamwoorden hebben zowel een vrije (volledige) vorm als vormen waarin zij optreden als clitisch onderwerp, clitisch object, tweede (vrije) object en als complement van een clitisch voorzetsel. ‘Ik + jij’ en ‘ik + jij + één of meer anderen’ hebben bovendien vormen voor gebruik in hortatieve uitdrukkingen, en ‘jullie’ voor gebruik in gebiedende uitdrukkingen. Ingegaan wordt ook op het gebruik van de vrije persoonlijk voornaamwoorden in comitatieve constructies. Daarnaast is er een serie clitische onderwerpsvoornaamwoorden die verwijzen naar de naamwoorden uit de specifieke naamwoordklassen.

Hoofdstuk 7 presenteert de verbindingsmarkeerder in constructies die bezit uitdrukken (genitief constructies). Deze proclitische markeerder is vastgehecht aan de bezitter en congrueert met de naamwoordklasse van het voorafgaande naamwoord dat refereert aan wat bezeten wordt. Ook andere semantische relaties dan strikte bezitsrelaties worden met behulp van deze constructie uitgedrukt.

Hoofdstuk 8 behandelt de demonstratieven. In de demonstratieven wordt een drievoudig deictisch onderscheid gemaakt in de ruimte: bij de spreker, bij de geadresseerde en op afstand van zowel spreker als geadresseerde. Deze demonstratieven zijn opgebouwd uit een (enkele of verdubbelde) congruentiemarkeerder, een voornaamwoordelijk basiselement en een deictisch element. Bij afwezigheid van het deictische element verwijst het voornaamwoordelijke basiselement (met congruentiemarkeerder) naar een eerder genoemde persoon of zaak (anaforische verwijzing).

Hoofdstuk 9 introduceert de ‘restrictor’. De restrictor is een proclitisch element dat vastgehecht is aan een bijvoeglijk naamwoord of een verbale zin. Aanhechting van de restrictor verandert het bijvoeglijk naamwoord of de verbale zin van predicatief in attributief met beperkende werking.

Hoofdstuk 10 gaat in op bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en telwoorden. In het Lumun vormen bijvoeglijke naamwoorden een zelfstandige woordklasse en het hoofdstuk behandelt overeenkomsten en

verschillen met zowel werkwoorden als naamwoorden. Van een aantal bijvoeglijk naamwoorden is duidelijk dat zij afkomstig zijn uit het werkwoordelijke dan wel het naamwoordelijke domein. Een aantal bijvoeglijke naamwoorden heeft een (gedeeltelijk) gereduplicateerde vorm. Deze (gedeeltelijke) reduplicatie drukt in een aantal gevallen geïntensiveerde betekenis uit, in enkele andere gevallen echter congrueert de gereduplicateerde vorm met meervoudige referentie van het hoofdwoord. Deze meervoudsmarkering, die beperkt is tot 'klein', 'groot' en 'lang', wordt ook in een aantal andere Kordofaanse talen aangetroffen. In het geval van 'groot' en vooral van 'klein' kan de niet-gereduplicateerde vorm echter ook gecombineerd worden met naamwoorden met meervoudige of niet-telbare referentie. In dat geval verschuiven zij naar het kwantitatieve domein en drukken 'veel' dan wel 'weinig, een beetje' uit.

In hoofdstuk 11 komen relatief zinnen aan de orde. Daarbij wordt onderscheid gemaakt tussen onderwerpsrelatiefzinnen en niet-onderwerpsrelatief-zinnen. Bij onderwerpsrelatief-zinnen fungeert het hoofd (of antecedent) van de relatief zin uit de matrix-zin als het onderwerp van de relatief zin. In niet-onderwerpsrelatief-zinnen heeft het hoofd (of antecedent) van de relatief zin uit de matrix zin een andere functie dan onderwerp in de relatiefzin. Het kan daar fungeren als object, maar ook als complement van een voorzetsel. Bij beide typen relatief zinnen wordt onderscheid gemaakt tussen restrictieve relatief zinnen (ingeleid door de restrictor) en niet-restrictieve relatief zinnen (zonder de restrictor). De syntactische constructie die gebruikt wordt in een niet-restrictieve niet-onderwerpsrelatief-zin kan ook zelf als hoofdzin-predicaat functioneren. Deze constructie maakt gebruik van een koppelwerkwoord en topicaliseert een andere constituent dan de agens. De constructie wordt typisch in het Engels vertaald met een passief werkwoord, maar anders dan in een passief constructie, wordt in deze constructie de agens niet naar de achtergrond geschoven.

Hoofdstuk 12 biedt een gedetailleerd overzicht van de complexe werkwoordsvervoeging van het Lumun. Werkwoorden in hun basisvorm vallen in drie toongroepen en eindigen ofwel in een

klinker ofwel in een *t*. Deze factoren zijn van invloed op de vervoeging, evenals de eerste en laatste klinker van het werkwoord (ongeacht of er nog wel of niet een *t* volgt). Werkwoorden kennen vijf basisvervoegingen voor wat betreft tijd/aspect, waarvan er vier in twee paren gegroepeerd kunnen worden met elk een variant die als onafhankelijk werkwoord wordt gebruikt en een variant die voorkomt in contexten waarin een afhankelijk werkwoord wordt geselecteerd. De zesde basisvervoeging is de gebiedende wijs. Met behulp van vormen van het werkwoord 'zijn' worden nadere tijd/aspect onderscheidingen uitgedrukt, terwijl een reeks van hulpwerkwoorden, al dan niet proclitisch op het hoofdwkwoord, zorgt voor de uitdrukking van modaliteiten en verdere aspectuele noties. Deze hulpwerkwoorden hebben in veel gevallen een beperktere inflectie dan de hoofdwkwoorden; in een aantal gevallen is een proces van grammaticalisatie goed waarneembaar. Dat geldt zeker voor de uitdrukking van ontkenning: een ontwikkeling van hulpwerkwoord naar grammaticaal morfeem tekent zich daar duidelijk af. Verder kunnen irrealis en richting ('komen' en 'gaan') op het werkwoord worden uitgedrukt.

Hoofdstuk 13 beschrijft diverse processen van formatie van pluractionele werkwoorden. Pluractionele werkwoorden geven uitdrukking aan verschillende soorten van meervoudigheid. Veel werkwoorden hebben een habituele interpretatie maar een pluractioneel werkwoord kan ook uitdrukking geven aan herhaling binnen een handeling of aan meervoudigheid door meervoudige deelnemers.

Hoofdstuk 14 behandelt werkwoordsderivatie. Het begint met een discussie over hoe een object gedefinieerd kan worden in het Lumun en beschrijft vervolgens de formatie van benefactieve, locatief-applicatieve, causatieve, passieve en wederkerige werkwoorden. Bij de causatieve werkwoorden wordt onderscheid gemaakt tussen directe en indirecte causatie. Passieve werkwoorden kunnen gevormd worden met behulp van drie verschillende achtervoegsels. Eén daarvan heeft zich naar alle waarschijnlijkheid ontwikkeld uit een mediale vorm. Voor de vorming van wederkerige werkwoorden zijn er twee verschillende achtervoegsels. Het hoofdstuk laat ook een

aantal voorbeelden zien van werkwoorden met combinaties van derivationele achtervoegsels.

Hoofdstuk 16 behandelt het naamwoord **cĭk** 'place(s)' en twee grammaticalisaties van dit naamwoord: het partikel **cĭk** dat 'vage referentie' aangeeft en het proclitische **cĭk-** dat gebruikt wordt voor een locatieve constituent. Het vage-referentie partikel kan gecombineerd worden met een werkwoord en met een bijvoeglijk naamwoord en heeft verschillende functies. Bij sommige transitieve werkwoorden markeert het de afwezigheid van een object, bij sommige werkwoorden die verplicht samengaan met een locatieve bepaling de afwezigheid van een locatieve bepaling. Het locatieve proclitische **cĭk-** is een pragmatische markeerder die een locatie nader preciseert of aangeeft dat iets juist op die bepaalde locatie plaats vindt. Gebruik van het locatieve proclitische **cĭk-** veronderstelt kennis van de locatie bij de hoorder.

Hoofdstuk 16 geeft een overzicht van prepositionele clitica. Vier daarvan hebben een locatieve betekenis ('in', 'aan/op' (contact makend), 'op' (element van hoogte) en 'bij'); de vijfde heeft een instrumentele, comitatieve of agentieve interpretatie ('met, door') en in combinatie met een locatieve constituent een ablatieve interpretatie ('uit'). Lumun plaatsnamen bevatten één van prepositionele clitica als vast element.

Hoofdstuk 17 gaat over bijwoorden. Het hoofdstuk gaat in op morfologische aspecten, waaronder partiële of gehele reduplicatie. Het hoofdstuk geeft verder een overzicht van bijwoorden van plaats, tijd en manier, waarbij aandacht wordt besteed aan deictische bijwoorden. Tussenwerpsels en enclitische communicatieve partikels die een zin of zinsdeel modifieren komen eveneens aan de orde.

Hoofdstuk 18 behandelt voegwoorden: 'en', 'indien/als', 'toen/wanneer/(om)dat', 'totdat' en 'zoals'. Ook gaat het hoofdstuk in op de complementeerder 'dat' en bespreekt het twee clitische voegwoorden: 'en, terwijl' en 'opdat'. In enkele van deze constructies kan een grenstoon worden toegepast aan het eind van het eerste zinsdeel. De voegwoorden gaan typisch samen met bepaalde

vervoegingen van werkwoorden; in bepaalde gevallen kan de lezing van het voegwoord daardoor worden bepaald.

Het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 19 is focusmarkering. Focus op het onderwerp komt eerst aan de orde, dan focus op andere zinsdelen dan het onderwerp. De markeerder van onderwerpsfocus heeft twee vormen, die in vrije variatie kunnen worden gebruikt. De ene vorm congrueert met het onderwerp dat in focus wordt gebracht, de andere vorm is een vaste vorm. Beide onderwerpsfocusmarkeerders zijn proclitisch en worden vastgehecht aan het (niet-afhankelijke) werkwoord of het bijvoeglijk naamwoord, waarbij zij de congruentiemarkeerder vervangen. Bij niet-onderwerpsfocus betreft het in focus gebrachte zinsdeel de linkerpositie in de zin, d.w.z. de positie die gewoonlijk wordt ingenomen door het onderwerp (de zinsvolgorde van het Lumun is onderwerp – werkwoord – object). Dit links gepositioneerde zinsdeel wordt gevolgd door een complementeerder die de rest van de zin introduceert. Deze complementeerder is waarschijnlijk hetzelfde woord als het woord dat functioneert als het voegwoord ‘toen/wanneer/(om)dat’.

Het laatste hoofdstuk (20) gaat in op vraagwoorden en vraagconstructies. Het behandelt de vraagwoorden ‘wie’, ‘wat’, ‘waarom’, ‘waar’, ‘wanneer’, ‘hoe’ en ‘hoe laat’. Verscheidene van deze vraagwoorden hebben een langere en een kortere vorm. De langere wordt gebruikt in neutrale vragen om informatie; ook in thetische vragen wordt de lange vorm toegepast. De korte vorm wordt niet altijd ingezet als echte vraag. Gebruik van de korte vorm kan uitdrukking zijn van een negatieve verwachting of veronderstelling. Het hoofdstuk behandelt als laatste enkele enclitische vraagpartikels. Deze partikels veranderen een bepalende zin in een vragende zin. Daarbij zijn er twee speciale partikels voor het opnieuw vragen van reeds verstrekte informatie.

In de bijlagen, tenslotte, worden vier oorspronkelijke gesproken teksten aangeboden. De teksten zijn getranscribeerd, geglosst en voorzien van een Engelse vertaling. Als laatste is een woordenlijst van ca. 250 woorden bijgevoegd, waaronder de 100 woorden van de Leipzig-Jakarta lijst.

Curriculum vitae

Heleen Smits was born in Den Helder, The Netherlands, on 30 June 1963. She graduated with an MA equivalent in Dutch Language and Literature at Leiden University in 1989. After that she worked as a documentalist for the Dutch section of the International Commission of Jurists (NJCM) in Leiden, while attending evening classes in Library and Information Science at Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences. From 1993 to 2007 she was employed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Ministry of Justice in The Hague and Rijswijk. From 1999 she studied at Leiden University again, obtaining an MA in African Linguistics in 2007. Subsequently, she held a PhD position at LUCL (Leiden University Centre for Linguistics) until 2012. Since 2013 she has been working as an information specialist at the library of the African Studies Centre Leiden.