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10. Adjectives

Lumun adjectives consist of a concord and an adjectival stem:

C-ADJ

All adjectival stems are vowel-initial. Otherwise, there are no phonological restrictions other than those that apply to all words in the language. There are also no specific restrictions on the tone patterns.

10.1. Adjectives as predicates, attributes and independent forms

In its basic form (C-ADJ) the adjective functions as a predicate, for example:

pul p-ittík

person C-big

the person is big

pul p-ɔká.t p-ímmìn

person C-be:COMPL C-heavy

the person was heavy

Adjectival predicates can occur in any TAM through the addition of an inflected copular verb **ɔká** ‘be’ or **ɔtókka** ‘become’. Adjectives are also used in secondary predication (or depictive) constructions. In the first three examples below the depictive is subject-oriented, in the last it is object-oriented:

ŋəɽi ŋ-aa.t ŋ-ɔttê

water C-come:COMPL C-little

a little water has come (the water came little)

ul w-illé.t w-ɔppót

people C-die,PLUR:COMPL C-many

many people have died (the people have died many)

m-p-ĩcát.ɛ **p-ɔpərɔt**

1-C-lie_down:COMPL C-good

I slept well

a-kw-ĩmma.kat **pápəɾɛk** **ɪ-kaɾɛr** **p-ɔɾɛɾɛt**

CONJ-3-see:DEPPRFV

something

in-road

C-spotted

and he saw something spotted in the road (and he saw something in the road (as) spotted) ('A boy and a goat')

The adjective 'good' is also attested in situations in which it seems to modify a verb:

m-p-a.ɪk **p-aɲáɾɔ** **p-ɔpərɔt**

1-C-be:PR

C-walk:INCOMPL

C-good

I am walking well (implying: I had difficulty walking before)

ɔ-kakká **p-á.ɪk** **p-ére** **p-ɔpərɔt**

PERS-Kakka

C-be:PR

C-speak:INCOMPL

C-good

Kakka is speaking well (implying: she had difficulty speaking before, perhaps because of a sour throat)

It is, however, not actually modifying the verb, but providing information about the state of the subject, functioning not as an adverb, but as a depictive secondary predication. 'Good' agreeing with the subject can, for example, not be used in the next case, irrespective of whether the understood object **ɲuɾú** 'asida' is explicitly mentioned. 'Good' can only modify the object (second example below):

***ɔ-kakká** **p-íɬa** **p-ɔpərɔt**

PERS-Kakka

C-cook:INCOMPL

C-good

Kakka cooks (asida) well

ɔ-kakká **p-íɬa** **ɲuɾú** **ɲ-ɔpərɔt**

PERS-Kakka

C-cook:INCOMPL

asida

C-good

Kakka cooks the asida good (i.e. she cooks good asida)

Also a noun phrase with **lɔn** 'words' modified by an adjective can function adverbially:

m-p-ĩcáṭe **lɔn** **l-ɔpərɔt**
 1-C-lie_down:COMPL words C-good

I have slept well

When used attributively, adjectives are typically preceded by the restrictor **ĩ-**:

pul **ĩ-p-ittík** **p-aát**
 person RES-C-big C-come:COMPL

the big person has come

kəreṭ **ĩ-k-ípé** **ĩ-k-ɔ́térét**
 cloth RES-C-old RES-C-spotted

the old spotted cloth

The restrictor is also present when the adjective is used independently:

cattak **c-a.ɪk** **ĩ-c-ɔ́rɪk** **ana** **ĩ-c-ɔ́ttɛ**
 calabash(k.o.) C-be:PR RES-C-big and RES-C-little

ana.rrúk **ĩ-c-ɔ́ttɛ** **c-ɔ́kəttát.ɛ**
 but RES-C-little C-be_broken:COMPL

there is a calabash which is big and one which is small, but the small one is broken (there is a big calabash and a small one, but the small one is broken)

10.2. Adjectives as a word class

Lumun adjectives are neither nouns nor verbs, but a word class in their own right.

Lumun adjectives are different from nouns because they must be preceded by the restrictor **ĩ-** in order to be used independently. Nouns, on the other hand, are never preceded by the restrictor **ĩ-**, cf.:

ĩ-c-ɔ́ttɛ ‘the small one’ (for example a small **cattak** ‘calabash (k.o.)’
korê ‘left-handed person’

Moreover, there is a difference in predicating constructions of the type ‘X is Y’. A noun X can be juxtaposed with a noun Y or with an adjective Y, but there is an alternative construction with the copula C-á ‘be’ that is possible with nouns, but not with adjectives; and an alternative construction with the Present of ‘be’ C-aík (containing the formative **cík**) that is possible between a noun and an adjective, but not between nouns. Cf.:

pul **pɪɲɲít** / **pul** **p-a** **pɪɲɲít**
 person singer / person C-be:PR singer
 the person is a singer

***pul** **p-a.ík** **pɪɲɲít**
 person C-be:PR singer

pul **p-ərɪk** / **pul** **p-a.ík** **p-ərɪk**
 person C-big / person C-be:PR C-big
 the person is important

***pul** **p-a** **p-ərɪk**
 person C-be:PR C-big

Adjectives resemble verbs more than nouns. Like verbs, adjectives function basically as predicates. The first example has a Completive verb, the second an adjective.

ɔ-laló **p-ɔkɪnâ.t**
 PERS-Lalo C-become_tired:COMPL
 Lalo is tired

ɔ-laló **p-ɔpərɔt**
 PERS-Lalo C-good
 Lalo is fine

Verbs and adjectives can both occur with a subject pronominal clitic. In the first example the pronominal clitic is attached to a verb, in the second to an adjective:

k-kw-áá.t

3-C-come:COMPL

s/he has come

k-kw-ímmìn

3-C-heavy

s/he is heavy

Adjectives and verbs can both be preceded by the restrictor:

pul ɪ-p-érík p-aát

person RES-C-big C-come:COMPL

the person who is important has come (i.e. the important person has come)

pul ɪ-p-áŋkəne p-aát

person RES-C-teach:INCOMPL C-come:COMPL

the person who teaches (i.e. the teacher) has come

In the same way as verbs, several adjectives allow for the derivation of an abstract noun through replacement of the concord by the noun class prefix **ɿ** and adoption of the tone pattern L*.LH (see 4.6.3). Two examples:

C-ɿpərât ‘good’ vs. **ɿpərât** ‘goodness’C-ɿpók ‘white’ vs. **ɿpók** ‘whiteness’

However, the regular processes of verb-to-verb derivation cannot be applied to adjectives. For example, it is not possible to have a Benefactive derivation with adjectives, while this derivation can be made on the basis of (virtually) all verbs.

A further important difference with verbs is that adjectives cannot inflect. Verbs have inflectional morphology marking the basic TAMs (see 12.5) and they can occur together with auxiliaries. On adjectives, on the other hand, TAMs must be expressed with the help of an inflected copular verb (**ɿkâ** ‘be’ or **ɿtákkâ** ‘become’). Compare the verbal and the adjectival predicate:

ɔ-laló **p-á.kíɲa**
 PERS-Lalu C-become_tired:INCOMPL

Lalu will become tired

ɔ-laló **p-á.tókka** **p-ɔpərɔt**
 PERS-Lalu C-be:INCOMPL C-good

Lalu will become good

Some further examples with **ɔkâ** and **ɔtókka** and an adjective follow here.

kəɽittan **k-ɔká.t** **k-ɔrrô**
 knife C-be:COMPL C-blunt

the knife was blunt

tacɔ **t-ɔtəkká.t** **t-ɔppɔt** **cókɔc-cəkɔt**
 grass C-become:COMPL C-many quickly-REDUP

the weeds have quickly become abundant

takəɽok **t-ɔtəkká.katɛ** **t-ɔɲərâ**
 chicken C-become:PST C-smooth

the chicken became fat

Certain auxiliaries precede a verbal TAM-stem without concord. Adjectival predicates with such an auxiliary make use of a copular verb on which the auxiliary is expressed. Compare the first two examples with the negation auxiliary C-**akónn**. The first has a verbal predicate, the second an adjectival:

ɲəpak **ɲ-akónn-ɔkkəttat**
 beer C-NEG-be_done:DEPCOMPL

the beer is not done (i.e., the beer is not ready)

ɲəpak **ɲ-akónn-ɔká** **ɲ-írrók**
 beer C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-cold

the beer is not cold

Compare also the following examples with the irrealis marker (see 12.18). The first has a verbal predicate, the second an adjectival:

ɔ-ttán **p-á-íó.t**
 PERS-father C-IRR-die:COMPL

his/her father would have died

ɔ-ttán **p-á-aká.t** **p-ɔpərôt**
 PERS-father C-IRR-be:COMPL C-good

his/her father would have been fine

There is no reason to analyse adjectives as defective verbs. Even though they share the obligatory presence of the concord with the Non-dependent basic TAMs (Incomplete, Complete and Past), all segmental and tonal characteristics of these verbal TAMs are lacking in the adjective.

10.2.1. Semantic grouping

This section presents adjectives in semantic groups, largely following the semantic types specified in Dixon (2010, p. 73-74). Instead of ‘human propensity’ I use ‘spiritual property’. Some adjectives have a dimensional interpretation with singular head nouns and a quantifying interpretation with plural and mass nouns (C-**ərík** and C-**ttê**, C-**ttê**). This is discussed in section 10.2.6 of this chapter, as are the different plural forms of some of the dimensional adjectives. C-**ttê** and C-**ttê** have a dimensional interpretation (‘small, little’) as well as an age interpretation (‘young’); their reduplicated plurals refer to small size. The plural C-**arran** refers in the first place to young age of living creatures (people, animals, plants). There is an adjective for old age of things (C-**ípe**), but old age of living creatures is expressed with the Complete of the verb **ukkwa** (or **ukka**) ‘become old’ (C-**ukkwât** or C-**ukkât**). An example is found in chapter 9.

Tonally, the adjectives are represented here as they occur as predicates of an all-low noun. However, as remarked in chapter 9, use of the restricator causes unexpected tonal changes in at least some adjectives. Compare:

pul pəkítak ‘the person is bad’
pul ɪ-pókítak ‘the bad person’

dimension, shape

C-ərɪk ‘big, important’ (SG)

C-ittik ‘big’ (SG)

C-ottê, C-ottê ‘small, little, young’ (SG)

C-úkwit ‘long, tall, deep’ (SG)

C-uttôt ‘short’

C-énnaŋ ‘properly sized’

C-ápe ‘wide’

C-əɾulókkuɪ ‘round’

plural form

/ C-ittí-C-ittik, C-ittittik (PL)

/ C-ittí-C-ittik, C-ittittik (PL)

C-ottó-C-ottê, C-ottóttê

/ C-úkwit-C-úkwit (PL)

age

C-íé ‘new’ (i.e. young age of things)

C-ottê, C-ottê ‘small, little, young’ / C-árran (PL) ‘young’

C-ípe ‘old’ (of things)

value

C-əpəɾt ‘good’

C-əkítak ‘bad’

C-íccɪɾɪɪ ‘marvellous, superb’

C-ərɪk ‘big, important’ (SG) / C-ittí-C-ittik, C-ittittik (PL)

colour

C-əɾɪ ‘black’

C-ɪpók ‘white’

C-əɾě ‘red, ripe’

C-əɾəlɔ ‘grey, yellowish’

C-íccí ‘green’

C-əɾəmít ‘light brown, towards green’

C-əɾəɾəŋ ‘grey and brown mixed’

C-əɾərrô ‘striped’

C-əɾəɾət ‘spotted’

C-əɾəɾət ‘spotted (with big spots)’

*physical property*C-**ímmīn** ‘heavy’C-**íppappat** ‘light, easy’⁵⁸C-**íán** ‘wet’C-**íppá** ‘hot, warm’C-**írrók** ‘cold’C-**ṁṁṁmat** ‘hard’C-**ṁṁṁrâ** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’C-**akérakkérâ** ‘rough’C-**ṁṁṁṁ** ‘rough’C-**ṁṁṁú** ‘blunt’C-**ṁṁṁṁ** ‘sharp’C-**akírakkír** ‘dim’C-**ípm** ‘not well cooked’C-**ṁṁṁṁ** ‘tasty, sweet’C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘sour’C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘salty’C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘bitter’C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘clean, stingy’C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘sick’C-**áíṁṁṁ** ‘crippled’C-**ṁṁṁ** (SG)/C-**ṁṁṁ** (PL) ‘female’C-**ṁṁṁ** (SG)/C-**ṁṁṁ** (PL) ‘male’*spiritual property*C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘forbidden’*speed*C-**akókakkók** ‘fast’C-**akókukkók** ‘fast’*similarity*C-**ṁṁṁ** ‘such, like this/that’

⁵⁸ According to JS, younger people tend to use C-**íppappat** while older people tend to use the Completive verb C-**ṁṁṁ** (< **ṁṁṁ** ‘be(come) light’).

*quantification*C-**ṣppôṭ** ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)C-**ərīk** ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)C-**ṣttê**, C-**ṣttê** ‘few, a little’ (PL or mass)C-**ərĕk** ‘some, other’C-**ullúk** ‘only, just’C-**ərúk** ‘only, just’C-**arît** ‘half, half full’*cardinal numbers*

The numerals ‘one’ up to ‘ten’ are adjectives (‘five’, ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ have an invariable form as well). They are discussed in 10.4.1.

Alamin Mubarak (2002, p. 47) remarks that in Acheron an adjective of size (‘big’) and an adjective of age (‘old’) cannot be combined (i.e. *the big old house). In Lumun (which has cognate items for ‘house’, ‘big’ and ‘old’), this is not a problem. The adjectives can be used in either order:

man	ī-m-ittīk	ī-m-īpe	/	man	ī-m-īpé	ī-m-ittīk
house	RES-C-big	RES-C-old	/	house	RES-C-old	RES-C-big

the big old house

10.2.2. Origins of adjectives

Several adjectives are underived, but there are also adjectives that are derived from verbs, nouns or adverbs. There are also cases in which there is a derivational relationship but in which the direction of the derivation is unclear. In some cases it seems likely that the adjective has served as basis for the derivation.

10.2.3. Verbal origins

C-**ṣṭōmat** ‘hard’ is a clear case of development from the Completive C-**ṣṭōmât** of the verb **ṣṭōma** ‘become dry’. The Completive C-**ṣṭōmât** itself is used for the expression of the quality of being ‘dry’, as the result of the process of drying:

kəret **k-ɔ̃n̄təmâ.t**
 cloth C-become_dry:COMPL

the cloth has dried / the cloth is dry

ɲərə **ɲ-ɔ̃n̄tɔ̃mat**
 work C-hard

the work is hard

The adjective C-**íppappat** ‘light’ can be understood as a development from the adverb **íppáppat** (see 17.1.3 for its adverbial morphology), which relates to the Completive verb C-**ɔ̃pappât** (< **ɔ̃páppa** ‘be(come) light’). An example with the adjective is given first, then an example with the adverb, then an example with the Completive verb.

pul **ɪ-p-ɔ̃ká.t** **p-íppappat**
 person RES-C-be:COMPL C-light

a person who was light

ukul **w-ɔ̃kkɔ̃t.é** **ɲərə** **íppáppat**
 child C-do:COMPL work lightly

the child did the work easily

pul **ɪ-p-ɔ̃ká.t** **p-ɔ̃pappâ.t**
 person RES-C-be:COMPL C-become_light:COMPL

a person who had become light / who was light

The segmental and tonal form of C-**ɔ̃pərɔ̃t** ‘good’ suggest an origin in the Completive form of a verb ***ɔ̃pərɔ̃**, but this verb (irrespective of its tones) does not exist. There is, however, a verb **ɔ̃píra** ‘be(come) good’:

pul **p-a.píra**
 person C-become_good:INCOMPL

the person will get well (s/he is ill now, but shows signs of recovery)

There is surely a historical relationship between C-**ɔ̃pərɔ̃t** ‘good’ and **ɔ̃píra**, but how exactly they relate is not clear.

There are other adjectives that are related to (inchoative) state verbs, which typically —though not in all cases— have a final or last vowel

a. It is not evident which form is derived from which:

C-**ɔkɪ̃tak** ‘bad’ vs. **ɔkɪ̃taka** ‘become bad’

C-**ɪpók** ‘white’ vs. **ɪpóká** ‘become white’

C-**ɔttót** ‘short’ (SG) vs. **ɔttórat** ‘become short’

C-**ípe** ‘old’ vs. **ipa** ‘become old’ (of things)

C-**ɔrě** ‘red, ripe’ vs. **ɔria** ‘become red, ripe’

C-**ɔrě** ‘clean’ vs. **ɔria** ‘become clean’

C-**ɔɲó** ‘sick’ vs. **ɔɲa** ‘become sick’

C-**ɔppôt** ‘many, a lot’ vs. **ɔppât** ‘become full’

C-**ɔɲərâ** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’ vs. **ɔɲéra** ‘become smooth’

C-**ɔpôn** ‘bitter’ vs. **ɔpía** ‘become bitter’

C-**ɔrró** ‘blunt’ vs. **ɔrróttat** ‘become blunt’

C-**ɔrrê** ‘sharp’ vs. **ɔrréttat** ‘become sharp’

C-**ápe** ‘wide’ vs. **apekət cik** ‘become wide’

There can be subtle meaning difference between an adjective and the Completive of the related (inchoative) state verb. Compare the examples below. Whereas C-**ípe** ‘old’ reports on a state or property of a non-living thing in a neutral way (in the examples below sorghum that has been stored), the Completive C-**ipât** (< **ipa** ‘become old’), the Completive more strongly evokes a picture of showing signs of age:

mɪl

sorghum

old sorghum

ɪ-m-ípe

RES-C-old

mɪl

sorghum

ɪ-m-ipâ.t

RES-C-become_old:COMPL

sorghum which has become old (picture that comes to mind: it has holes from being eaten by ants, it has probably been stored for several years)

10.2.4. Nominal origins

Some other adjectives have nominal origins. They have developed either from the copula C-á ‘be’ and a noun, or from the connexive (C-ə ‘of’) and a noun. Some examples derived with C-á and noun:

C-**áířilla** ‘crippled’ (< C-á + **ířilla** ‘cripple’)

C-**arurǎŋ** ‘grey and brown’ (< and C-á + **turǎŋ** ‘snake sp., with mixed grey and brown colour’)

C-**akérǝkkǝrǝ** ‘rough’ (< C-á + **kérǝkkǝrǝ** ‘rough spot’)

C-**akírǝkkır** ‘dim’ (< C-á + **kırǝkkır** ‘twilight’)

C-**acallerǝ** ‘spotted (with big spots)’ (< C-á + (probably) **calle** ‘ball’ (final **rǝ** (or **tǝ**) is not identified)

Evidence that these adjectives are indeed adjectives and not copulas + nouns comes from the possibility to make constructions with the Present of ‘be’ C-**áik**. Cf.:

pul	p-a	ířilla
person	C-COP	cripple

the person is a cripple

pul	p-áířilla
person	C-crippled

the person is crippled

pul	p-a.ık	p-áířilla
person	C-be:PR	C-crippled

the person is crippled / there is a crippled person

In some, there is clear semantic specialization:

ımıt	w-arurǎŋ
goat	C-grey_and_brown

the goat is grey and brown

pıřıl	p-a	turǎŋ
snake	C-COP	snake(sp.)

the snake is a *turǎŋ*

In other adjectives the connexive C-ɔ̌ and a noun can be recognized. Adjectives of this type are similar to normal connexive + noun constructions (see chapter 7.1), but there are differences. In the first place, there are cases with segmental or tonal changes, as in both examples below where the tones of the adjective are not expected on the basis of the composing parts. One also finds semantic specialization in the same examples (the composing nouns function metaphorically):

C-ɔ̌lɔrrô ‘striped’ (< C-ɔ̌ + lɔrrɔ ‘ears of maize’)

C-ɔ̌tɛrɛt ‘spotted’ (< C-ɔ̌ + tɛrɛt ‘corn cob’)

A fundamental syntactic difference between adjectives and constructions of connexive + noun has to do with the restrictor. Connexive + noun constructions are not preceded by the restrictor, but adjectives have the restrictor when used as restrictive attributes. This is the case even though some adjectives that are derived from the connexive and a noun may also lack the restrictor as restrictive attributes. An example of this is C-ɔ̌tɛrɛt ‘spotted’. In the example below the restrictor is present, but it could also be absent (second example):

cattak **i-C-ɔ̌tɛrɛt** **C-ɔ̌kəttát.ɛ**

calabash(k.o.) RES-C-spotted C-break:COMPL

the spotted calabash has broken

cattak **C-ɔ̌tɛrɛt** **C-ɔ̌kəttát.ɛ**

calabash(k.o.) C-spotted C-break:COMPL

the spotted calabash has broken

The possibility to use C-ɔ̌tɛrɛt ‘spotted’ as a restrictive attribute without the restrictor shows that C-ɔ̌tɛrɛt ‘spotted’ does not fully behave as an adjective. Partly it (still) patterns with connexive + noun constructions.

However, like other adjectives, C-ɔ̌tɛrɛt ‘spotted’ must have the restrictor in order to be used independently:

ɪ-c-ɔ̃t̪er̪et **c-ɔ̃kətt̪ət̪.ɛ**
 RES-C-spotted C-break:COMPL

the spotted one has broken

The adjectives ‘female’ and ‘male’ have different stems for singular/plural, containing singular and plural nouns, though in the case of ‘male’ the composing nouns are not synchronically attested. These adjectives do not allow for attributive use without the restrictor.

C-ɔ̃**parí** (SG)/C-**aarí** (PL) ‘female’ (< C-ɔ̃ + **parí** ‘wife’/ C-ɔ̃ + **arí** ‘wives’)

C-ɔ̃**cura** (SG)/C-ɔ̃**mura** (PL) ‘male’ (< C-ɔ̃ + ***cura** / C-ɔ̃ + ***mura**)

Two examples:

ɪ-t̪aməlá **ɪ-t̪-ɔ̃parí**
 camel RES-C-female.SG

a female camel

ɪ-laməlá **ɪ-l-áarí**
 camels RES-C-female.PL

female camels

The following example contrasts the adjective -ɔ̃**parí** ‘female’ and the noun **parí** ‘wife’ in an equative relative construction:

pul **ɪ-p-ɔ̃parí** **ɪ-p-a** **parí**
 person RES-C-female.SG RES-C-COP wife

the woman who is a wife

10.2.5. Adverbial origins

One example of derivation of an adjective from an adverbial was mentioned earlier: C-**íppappat** ‘light’. Two others that contain C-**á** ‘be’ and an adverb are:

C-**acókcccəkət** ‘fast’ (< C-**á** + **cəkcccəkət** ‘quickly’)

C-**akúcukkkucuk** ‘fast’ (< C-**á** + **kucukkkucuk** ‘quickly’)

10.2.6. Singular and plural forms

Some adjectives have different forms for singular and plural. ‘Male’ and ‘female’, which are based on singular vs. plural nouns, were mentioned above. A few adjectives obligatorily occur in (partial) reduplicated form when modifying a noun which refers to a plural entity. In the case of ‘big’ the final consonant does not participate in the reduplication; in the case of ‘small’, the first part has a changed final vowel. For this reason, I regard the first part as the reduplicated part. Note also that in ‘big’ and ‘small’, the reduplication can involve or not involve the concord. In the case of ‘long, tall, deep’, the concord always participates in the reduplication. In analogy to the other adjectives, I regard the first part here as the reduplicated part.

C-**ərɿk** / C-**ittí**-C-**ittík** or C-**ittí**-**ittík** ‘big’

C-**ittík** / C-**ittí**-C-**ittík** or C-**ittí**-**ittík** ‘big’

C-**əttê** / C-**əttó**-C-**əttê** or C-**əttó**-**əttê** ‘small’,

or: C-**əttê** / C-**əttó**-C-**əttê** or C-**əttó**-**əttê** ‘small’

C-**úkwît** / C-**úkwít**-C-**úkwît** ‘long, tall, deep’

Some examples follow here.

man **ɪ-m-ittík**

room RES-C-big

a big room

kəmən **ɪ-k-ittí~k-ittík** / **ɪ-k-ittí~ittík**

rooms RES-C-PLR~C-big / RES-C-PLR~big

big rooms

pəɾak **ɪ-p-ittí~p-ittík** / **ɪ-p-ittí~ittík**

group_of_people RES-C-PLR~C-big / RES-C-PLR~big

a group of adults (a group of people who are big)

karí í-k-úkwî
 nail RES-C-long

a long nail

kira í-k-úkwîk~k-úkwî
 trees RES-C-PLR~C-long

tall trees

In the next example ‘long’ is used in an object-oriented secondary predication:

ṭ-ṭkorranno áí í w-úkwîr~úkwî ṭ-ṭkítak
 NOM-let nails C-PLR~(C-)long C-bad

leaving your nails long is bad (i.e.: not cutting your nails is bad)

In **wúkwîrúkwî** ‘long’, in the example above, the segment **r** is the regular outcome of the underlying sequence **t-w** (< **wúkwî-t-wúkwî**).

C-ṭṭê ‘small, little, young’ and **C-ṭṭê**, and their reduplications, are alternative forms. The form with **ṭ** is used in case of **ṭ**-concord (first example below), or when the preceding qualified noun contains a **ṭ** in non-initial position (second example below). The forms with **ṭ** and **t** are both possible in case of **l**-concord or in case of the preceding qualified noun containing an **l** in non-initial position. In other cases the forms with **t** tend to be used.

ṭún ṭ-ṭṭê
 onion C-small

the onion is small

naṭa n-ṭṭṭ~ṭṭê
 leaves C-PLR~small

the leaves are small

The modifier of plural nouns **C-ârran** ‘young’ is used with living creatures:

appentína **w-ârran**
groundnuts C-young

the groundnuts are young/small (they are still on the plant, not yet fully grown)

ɲokul **ɲ-ârran**
children C-young

the children are young/small

When the children are small-sized for their age C-ɔttɔ-ɔttê or C-ɔttɔ-ɔttê is used:

ɲokul **ɲ-ɔttɔ~ɔttê**
children C-PLR~small

the children are (too) small (suggesting they do not get good food, or not enough)

It is not impossible to use C-ârran ‘young’ outside of its normal domain:

mətɔk **m-ârran**
stones C-young

the stones are small (elic.)

Interestingly, the singular forms C-ərɪk ‘big’, and C-ɔttê and C-ɔttê ‘small’ can also be used in combination with a plural noun, but then take on quantifying instead of dimensional meaning. C-ərɪk then expresses ‘many’ or ‘a lot’; C-ɔttê and C-ɔttê then expresses ‘few’:

ul **w-ərɪk**
people C-big

the people are many

maɾɪ **m-ɔttê**
days C-small

a few days

C-ɔttê (C-ɔttê) also takes on quantifying meaning in combination with a mass noun, namely as ‘a little’:

ḡucol **ḡ-ṱṱê**
sauce C-small

the sauce is (too) little

Reduplication of ‘small’, ‘big’ and ‘long’ (or a subset of these) in case of modification of a plural noun also occurs in some other languages from the Talodi and Heiban groups, including Tocho, Dengebu and Jomang (Schadeberg 1981b, p. 20, 32, 38, 132, 148) as well as Ebang (Schadeberg 1981a p. 23, 47) and Otoro (Schadeberg 2009, p. 202). The use of the non-reduplicated dimensional adjective as a quantifier of plural nouns, too, is found in other Talodi and Heiban languages. Schadeberg (1981b) reports ‘small’/‘few’ for Ngile, Dengebu and Tocho (p. 148), and ‘big’/‘many’ for Dengebu (p. 132). Stevenson mentions ‘small’/‘few’ in Otoro (Schadeberg 2009, p. 202). In Tocho ‘many’ is applied as the (suppletive) plural of ‘big’ (Schadeberg 1981b p. 132).

10.2.7. Intensified forms

Some adjectives have a counterpart with (partial) reduplication and/or an added geminate expressing intensification. In the first and second example below it is unclear in which direction the reduplication has gone. The third and fourth examples are cases of partial reduplication occurring to the left of the root; the fifth has an added geminate to the right of the root. The sixth has an added geminate to the right of the root as well as a changed ending.

C-ṱpún ‘bitter’ vs. C-ṱ-pom-pún ‘very bitter’

C-íccí ‘green’ vs. C-íccí-íccí ‘very green’

C-ṱṱôt ‘short’ vs. C-ṱṱó-C-ṱṱôt or C-ṱṱó-ṱṱôt ‘very short’

C-ôpuré ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’ vs. C-ô-pu-puré ‘very clean (in spiritual sense), holy’

C-ṱkítak ‘very bad’ vs. C-ṱkít-ṱṱ-ak ‘very bad’

C-ṱpərât ‘good’ vs. C-ṱpər-ṱṱəréré or C-ṱp-ṱṱəréré ‘very good, very nice’

Certain colour adjectives co-occur with a dedicated cognate adverb that intensifies their meaning. These adverbs have the adverbial morphology of gemination of the first consonant of the stem,

preceded by the vowel **ɪ** (see 17.1). The intensifying adverbials tend to fuse with the adjective to an intensified adjective. Some examples:

C-**ɔŋɪ** ‘black’ vs. C-**ɔŋɪ ɪŋɪ** or C-**ɔŋɪŋɪ** ‘very black’

C-**ɪpók** ‘white’ vs. C-**ɪpók ɪppók** or C-**ɪpókɪppók** ‘very white’

C-**ɔtəlɔ** ‘grey, yellowish’ vs. C-**ɔtəlɔ ɪttəlɔ** ‘very grey, yellow’

See 17.1.4 for examples of **ɪŋɪ** ‘very (black)’ and **ɪppók** ‘very (white)’ modifying a verb.

C-**ɔɽɛ** ‘clean, stingy’ has a different intensified form, which involves reduplication and gemination of **ɽ** to **ll**: C-**ɔɽɪllɪr** ‘very clean, pure (especially of water)’.

The intensified form of C-**ɔŋərə** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’ has the adverbial morphology of a reduplicated first stem consonant preceded by the vowel **ɪ**:

C-**ɔŋərə** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’ vs. C-**ɪŋŋərə** ‘very smooth, soft’

C-**íccɪncɪn** ‘marvellous, superb’ is a reduplicated form and has an “intense” meaning, but a non-reduplicated form is not attested.

C-**ɔɽɛ** ‘red, ripe’ has a specific intensifying adverbial —which does not seem to be cognate— that may fuse with the adjective:

C-**ɔɽɛ ɪttuǎŋ** or C-**ɔɽɛttɪǎŋ** ‘very red, very ripe’

10.3. Other ways of expressing spiritual property

Lumun has adjectives in diverse semantic fields, but adjectives —as well as verbs and nouns — in the field of spiritual property or human propensity (including emotions) are virtually lacking. C-**ɔɽɛ** ‘clean’, which is listed under physical property, can be counted here since it also expresses ‘stingy’, possibly as an extension of ‘clean’, as well as some other adjectives which can be used with reference to human behaviour, notably C-**ɔpərɔt** ‘good’ and C-**ɔkítak** ‘bad’. Generally,

however, concepts in this field are described rather than expressed by a single word. The expressions for ‘happy’ and ‘angry’ involve a verb and the noun **ka** ‘body’:

m-p-ɔpɪrá.t **nɔ-kâ**
 1-C-become_good:COMPL on-body
 I am happy (lit.: I am good on body)

k-k-úá **kâ**
 3-C-rise:INCOMPL body
 s/he is angry (lit.: s/he rises as to the body)

Some concepts in this field are expressed with C-**ɔnô** ‘have’ (or a form of C-**ɔnâ** ‘bring, have’) and a noun:

ɲ-kw-ɔnó **ɲɔɾɛ**
 2-C-have laziness
 you are lazy

ɔ-lótɪ **p-ɔnó** **tukɔŋkôn**
 PERS-Lótɪ C-have trouble_making
 Lótɪ is a troublemaker

Being stingy can be expressed with the adjective C-**ɔɾɛ**, but also with ‘have’ and the noun **nɔɾɛ** ‘stinginess’:

ɔ-nɛnní **p-ɔnó** **nɔɾɛ**
 PERS-Nenni C-have stinginess
 Nenni is stingy

The same construction is also used for the expression of properties in other semantic fields, for example:

ɲ-kw-ɔnó **míŋâ**
 2-C-have speed
 you are fast

10.4. Numerals and quantifiers

Some numerals consist of a concord and a stem, others have an invariable form. Some invariable numerals are nouns, because they co-occur with modifiers which agree with them; other invariable forms are more difficult to assign to a word class since they do not combine with modifiers. Certain numerals have an adjectival and as well as an invariable form.

10.4.1. Numerals

The numerals ‘one’ up to ‘ten’ have one or more adjectival forms. ‘five’, ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ also occur as invariable elements. The numerals 1-10 are tonally represented below as in an isolated noun phrase, preceded by an all-low noun, as in **papʊ pulukkû** ‘one thing’, etc.

Table 44 Numerals

	<i>Adjectival numeral</i>	<i>Invariable numeral</i>
one	C- ulukkô	
two	C- ɛɾá	
three	C- ɛɾapóruk	
four	C- ɔcɛɾɪn	
five	C- úkúlúk , C- ukulúk	ukulúk
six	C- ɛɾâkkoruk , C- ɛɾárəporuk	
seven	C- êɾɛ -C- ɛɾapóruk , C- êɾɛɾapóruk , C- ɔcɛɾa -C- ɛɾapóruk	
eight	C- amórəmər	mɔrəmər
nine	C- ɔkullácɛɾɪn , C- ókullácɛɾɪn	ɔkullácɛɾɪn
ten	C- áttol	attol

Schadeberg (1981b, p. 154) mentions “one hand” as the proto-Talodi expression for ‘five’. He reconstructs the proto-Talodi nouns ***tsugwin** / ***ɲugwin** ‘hand / hands’ and the numeral *-**VlIVg** ‘one’, in which V stands for “some vowel”. The Lumun expression for ‘one hand’ is **ɔkun wulukkû**. It can be seen that the invariable **ukulúk** ‘five’, like the items for ‘five’ in other Talodi languages, finds its origin in “one hand”. The adjectives C-**úkúlúk** and C-**ukulúk** can be

assumed to have developed from C-**á** + **ukulúk** (C-**úkúlúk**), and from the connexive C-**ɔ** + **ukulúk** (C-**ukulúk**).

The word for ‘three’ C-**əɽapóruk** and the words for ‘six’, C-**əɽâ-kkuruk** and C-**əɽârəporuk**, seem to be related, but it is not clear how exactly. The full form C-**éɽe**-C-**əɽapóruk** ‘seven’, which has a repeated concord, and its shortened form C-**éɽəɽapóruk** are built up as C-two-two-(C-)three. An alternative way of expressing ‘seven’ has a repeated concord as well: C-**ɔcɔɽa**-C-**əɽapóruk** (C-four-C-three).

‘Four’ C-**ɔcɔɽɪn** and ‘eight’ **mɔrəmɔr**, C-**amóɽəmɔr** seem related through a (unattested) plural noun from the **c-/m-** class pair, which occurs as a reduplicated form in ‘eight’. C-**ɔcɔɽɪn** ‘four’ seems to contain the connexive C-**ɔ** preceding this C-initial noun. The adjectival form of ‘eight’ C-**amóɽəmɔr** contains the Present of ‘be’ C-**á**. C-**ɔkullácɔɽɪn** ‘nine’ is a compound of ‘five’ and ‘four’.

Four, five, eight and nine find their origins in nouns, but whether or not the invariable variants of five, eight and nine must synchronically be regarded as nouns is less clear, since no examples where they induce concord on a modifier (or verb) were found.

Invariable **attul** ‘ten’ functions as a noun, since ‘twenty’ can be expressed as **attul w-ɛɽá** (lit.: two tens). Its adjectival form, with initial high tone, appears to contain C-**á**.

The adjectival and the invariable form do not communicate precisely the same. The adjectival form is used in case of an exact (i.e. precisely counted) number of items. The invariable form does not suggest meticulous counting, and though it is likely to be accurate (the numbers are small) one more or one less would not be impossible:

ɭɛcɔk mɔrəmɔr	‘(ca.) eight goats’
ɭɛcɔk lámóɽəmɔr	‘eight goats’
ɭɛcɔk ɭɔkát mɔrəmɔr	‘there were (ca.) eight goats’
ɭɛcɔk ɭɔkát lámóɽəmɔr	‘there were (precisely) eight goats’

The numerals eleven up to nineteen are expressed as additions to ten:

attul (C- áttul) ana ikkén cúlúkkû	‘eleven’
attul (C- áttul) ana ikkén keṛá	‘twelve’
attul (C- áttul) ana ikkén kəṛapəruk	‘thirteen’
etc.	

My consultant (JS) associated the word **ikkên** with **cýt/kýt** ‘eye/eyes’, in this context referring to coins. If **ikkên** is indeed based on ‘eye/eyes’, these expressions probably developed only with the emergence of trade involving money.

The word for ‘twenty’, **arriál**, is a noun. It comes from Arabic *riyal* — today the name of the currency of, amongst others, Saudi Arabia— which is itself based on the old Spanish currency *real*. ‘Forty’ is expressed as **arriál w-eṛá** (lit.: two twenties).

The Lumun counting system beyond twenty is based on twenties and an additional **áləkaɪrê** ‘ten’ (not **attul** or C-**áttul**). The origin of **áləkaɪrê** is unknown.

arriál ana áləkaɪrê	‘thirty’ (twenty and ten)
arriál weṛá	‘forty’ (two twenties)
arriál weṛá ana áləkaɪrê	‘fifty’ (two twenties and ten)
arriál wəṛapəruk	‘sixty’ (three twenties), etc.

kaṭər ‘road’ (plural: **aṭər** ‘roads’) is used for ‘hundred’, but sometimes also for ‘thousand’.

The format for abstract counting and for counting on the fingers is PRO-C-numeral ‘it is one’, ‘they are two’, etc.. Counting on the fingers starts with the digital finger of the right hand touching the little finger of the left hand and moving from there to the thumb (1 to 5), and is continued with the digital finger of the left hand moving from the little finger of the right hand to the thumb (6-10). ‘1’ is preceded by pronominal **c-** and concord **c-**, the other numbers by pronominal **m-** and concord **m-**, referring to **caún/maún** ‘finger/fingers’. For the numbers up to 19 the adjectival form is used:

ccúlukkú '1', mmêṛá '2', mməṛapəruk '3', mmóɔɔɔɔ '4',
mmúkukúk '5', mməṛâkkorok, mməṛârəporok '6',
mmêṛéməṛapəruk, mmêṛéṛapəruk, mmóɔɔɔaməṛapəruk '7',
mmáməɔɔmər '8', mmókulláɔɔɔɔ '9', mmáttul '10', mmáttul ana
ikkén cúlukkú '11', mmáttul ana ikkén keṛá '12', ..., arriâl '20',
etc.

Pronominal reference changes when items are counted that are referred to with nouns from other noun classes. In the first clause of the example below, 'three' is a numeral modifier of the noun **ɲokul** 'children'. In the second and third clause, the instances of 'three' consist of pronominal **ɲ-** (+ H-tone), referring to **ɲokul** 'children', and the concord **ɲ**.

k-kw-ónu **ɲokul** **ɲ-əṛapóruk**
3-C-have children C-three

ɲ-əṛapóruk **tulluk-î**
PRO.C-three only-Q

ij **ɲ-əṛapóruk** **tullúk**
yes PRO.C-three only

s/he has three children. only three? yes, only three

Adjectival numerals are generally used without the restrictor:

ṭáɽú **ṭ-ónú** **aṭər** **w-əṛapóruk** **ɪ-íttí~íttík**
Ṭaɽu C-have roads C-three RES-(C-)PLR~big

Ṭaɽu has three big roads

ɛṭ-in **mátták** **m-áttul**
give:IMP-O1 bowls C-ten

give me ten bowls

It is, however, possible to use the restrictor with an adjectival numeral. Reference is then made to a specific group consisting of that number of items:

εῑ-ḡn	máṭṭák	í-m-áṭṭol
give:IMP-O1	calabashes(k.o.)	RES-C-ten

give me the ten bowls, give me the group of ten bowls (lit.: give me the bowls which are ten)

The restrictor cannot be combined with a nominal adjective:

εῑ-ḡn	máṭṭak	attol
give:IMP-O1	calabashes(k.o.)	ten

give me (ca.) ten bowls

*εῑ-ḡn	máṭṭák	í-áṭṭol
give:IMP-O1	calabashes(k.o.)	RES-ten

Adjectival and invariable numerals can both be used predicatively with a copular verb ('be' or 'become'). For Present TAM the form of 'be' is C-**aḡk**, not only for adjectival numerals but also for the invariable numerals. Thus, the invariable numerals behave here like adjectives instead of like nouns (in case of nominal behaviour not C-**aḡk** but the copula C-**á** would be used).

máṭṭak	m-a.ḡk	m-áṭṭol
calabashes(k.o.)	C-be:PR	C-ten

there are ten bowls

máṭṭak	m-a.ḡk	attol
calabashes(k.o.)	C-be:PR	ten

there are (ca.) ten bowls

A specific group of a number of items, with the number expressed by a nominal numeral, can be referred to through a construction with C-**aḡk**, preceded by the restrictor:

εῑ-ḡn	máṭṭak	ḡ-m-a.ḡk	attol
give:IMP-O1	calabashes(k.o.)	C-be:PR	ten

give me the (ca.) ten bowls, give me the group of (ca.) ten bowls

Numerals, like adjectives, can be used as secondary predication (cf. 10.1). In the next example the numeral modifies both the object

noun (**mên**) and the verbal complex. The example has a concordial numeral, but an invariable numeral would be possible as well:

ɔ-kukkó p-á.ík p-á.cót mên nɔ-kwəɾɛ m-ɔcɔɾɪn
PERS-Kukku C-be:PR C-string_at:INCOMPL palm_fruits on-pointed_stick C-four

Kukku is stringing four palm fruits on a stick

Plural numbers generally modify a plural noun, but not when clock time is expressed:

cɪŋkɪ c-əɾapóɾok
sun C-three

it's three o'clock (lit.: the sun is three)

Numerals can also be used independently. An example follows here. The concord **k** agrees with **kaun** 'bee, honeycomb'.

n-ánt-ɔrrɛn-in n-tan k-ulukkû
2A-can:DEPINCOMPL-throw_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1 with-up_on:ABS C-one

"please throw to me one (honeycomb) for me!" (App. IV, 87)

10.4.2. **at-C-ut**, **át-C-út** and numeral

The associative marker **attut** (or **áttút**) can be combined with the plural suffix **-ɲɔn** (cf. chapter 6.8), but also with a numeral. Attachment of a numeral shows that **attut/áttút** involves nominal agreement and can (probably) be analysed as **at-C-ut/át-C-út**. The associative marker is combined with a numeral in the following way:

at-C-ut-C-NUMERAL, át-C-út-C-NUMERAL

or shortened:

at-C-NUMERAL, át-C-NUMERAL

t assimilates largely regularly to the following concord, and the resulting (underlyingly) geminated consonants are —as is regular— pronounced without length. When preceded by an all-low noun,

there are two tonal alternatives: **at-C-ut** and **át-C-út**, in the latter case there is tone bridge unto the high tone on the numeral:

ɲukul aɲɲɔɲ-ɲɛɾá, ɲukul áɲɲóɲ-ɲɛɾá	‘both children’
ɲukul aɲɲɔɲ-ɲɛɾapóɾok, áɲɲóɲ-ɲɛɾápóɾok	‘all three’
ɲukul aɲɲɔɲ-ɲɔ́ɕɛɾɪn, áɲɲóɲ-ɲɔ́ɕɛɾɪn	‘all four’
ɲukul aɲɲɔɲ-ɲukulúk, áɲɲóɲ-ɲúkúlúk	‘all five’
etc.	

Some examples with different concords follow here, each time the shortened form is given as well. In isolation **kamár** ‘trees (sp.)’ and **lɔ́ɾək** ‘ropes’ have a final high tone, **ɲóɲ** ‘digging tools (k.o.)’ a final falling tone.

kamar ák-k-ók-k-ɛɾá	‘both <i>pamar</i> -trees’
kamar ák-k-ɛɾá	‘both <i>pamar</i> -trees’

lɔ́ɾək ál-l-úl-l-úkúlúk	‘all five ropes’
lɔ́ɾək ál-l-úkúlúk	‘all five ropes’

ɲóɲ án-n-ón-n-ɔ́ɕɛɾɪn	‘all four <i>tuun</i> -digging tools’
ɲóɲ án-n-ɔ́ɕɛɾɪn	‘all four <i>tuun</i> -digging tools’

With all concords, **at-C-ut** gives the expected outcome, except with the concord **w**. A sequence **t-w** is expected to be realized as **r** ([r]), but **at-C-ut-C-NUMERAL** is realized as **a-or-NUMERAL**, instead of expected ***ar-or-NUMERAL**. The shortened form **at-C-NUMERAL** can, as expected, be realized as **ar-NUMERAL** before, but also as **a-u-NUMERAL**:

aɾɐɐu á-úr-ɛɾá ‘both things’	< át-w-út-w-ɛɾá	(not expected)
aɾɐɐu ár-ɛɾá ‘both things’	< át-w-ɛɾá	(expected)
aɾɐɐu á-ú-ɛɾá ‘both things’	< át-w-ɛɾá	(not expected)

aɾɐɐu a-or-ɛɾapóɾok ‘all three things’	< a-or-ɛɾapóɾok	(not expected)
aɾɐɐu ar-ɛɾapóɾok ‘all three things’	< ar-ɛɾapóɾok	(expected)
aɾɐɐu a-u-ɛɾapóɾok ‘all three things’	< a-u-ɛɾapóɾok	(not expected)

This raises some doubt whether the underlying form should indeed be analysed as **at-C-ut**, and not rather as **a-C-C-ut**. I rejected this analysis because there is only one possible other case of double concord in the language, namely in the variant **a-C-C-** of the subject focus marker **akk-** (see 19.1), and which may have developed from **ak-C-** rather than from double concord.

Use and semantics

at-C-ut-C-NUMERAL (**át-C-út-C-NUMERAL**) can modify a preceding plural (pro) noun. In such cases it expresses ‘all’ (and in case of two: ‘both’). The notion of ‘added item’ is not so clear here, but there is no doubt that the same formative as used in comitative constructions is involved, as shown further below.

nokul **áp-n-úp-n-érá** (< **át-n-út-n-érá**)
 children ASS-C-ASS-C-two
 both children (all two children)

o-kín **át-t-út-t-érá**
 PERS-3A ASS-C-ASS-C-two
 both of them

at-C-ut-C-NUMERAL (**át-C-út-C-NUMERAL**) does not convey information about togetherness. In the example below, the persons that were found may have been found together, but also in different places:

m-p-ı̣t.é **kín** **át-t-út-t-érá**
 1-C-find:COMPL O3A ASS-C-ASS-C-two
 I found both of them (in the same place or in different places)

at-C-ut-C-NUMERAL, **át-C-út-C-NUMERAL** can be used in a comitative construction comparable to the one described in chapter 6.7. In that construction the associative marker **attut** (or **áttút**) expresses that one person is added in order to get the final group, **attun̄n** (or **áttún̄n**) that more persons are added. In constructions with **at-C-ut-C-NUMERAL** (**át-C-út-C-NUMERAL**) the numeral does not express the

number of added persons, the number of people of which the group finally consists. Examples:

ɔpakkoʔ.ɛ tuan ɔn-áʔ-t-éʔá
 return:IMP home 2A-ASS-C-two

go back home with her! (i.e. being two persons in total: you (Ruth) and Orpah) (Ruth 1:15)

kəʀənnɔ-n ɪr-ɛʔ ɪr-áʔ-t-éʔá
 let:IMP-O1 12-go:DEPINCOMPL 12-ASS-C-two

let me go with you! (i.e. being two persons in total: I (Ruth) and you (Naomi)) (Ruth 1:16)

ana ɔ-lót p-ɔɪ.káʔɛ ɔ-kín áʔ-t-éʔá
 and PERS-Lot C-go:PST PERS-3A ASS-C-two

and Lot went with him (Genesis 12:4)

10.4.3. Ordinal numbers

There is no morphological process to derive ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers. ‘First’ as an adjective can be expressed in more than one way. The first two expressions below are made up of the connexive C-ɔ, a preposition (**nɔ-** ‘on, at’, **tɔ-** ‘up on, up at’) and a noun. The third expression suggests the same make-up but a noun ***môn** is not attested.

C-ɔ-rɔ-kít ‘first’ lit.: ‘of up on eyes’
C-ɔ-nɔ-tʔn ‘first’ lit.: ‘of on mouth’
C-ɔ-nɔ-môn ‘first’ lit.: ‘of on ?’

All three expressions can be collocated with **caʔi** ‘time, day’:

caʔi cónókít, caʔi cónótʔn, caʔi cónómôn ‘the first time, the first day’

For translating ordinals higher than one, the numerals listed above can be used in different constructions. The first example, which has the restrictor preceding the numeral, presents a translation of ‘the

second day’, the second, which has the numeral in extraposition, of ‘April’, i.e. ‘the fourth month’.

a-l-óka.kat **maɾɪ** **ɪ-m-εɾá**
 CONJ-PRO-be:DEPPRFV times RES-C-two

and it was the second day (lit.: and it (**lɔn** ‘words, matters’) was days which were two) (Genesis 1:8)

ámma **ánók** **w-aa.t** **w-óćóɾín ...**
 if moons C-come:COMPL C-four

when the moons/months have reached four (i.e. in April)

10.4.4. Quantifiers

Most quantifiers are adjectives, but some have an invariable form. The adjectival quantifiers, mentioned also in section 10.2.1, are repeated here:

C-ɔppôt ‘many’
C-ərɪk ‘many, a lot of’
C-ɔttê / C-ɔttê ‘few, a little’
C-ərúk ‘only, but’
C-ullúk ‘only, just’
C-arît ‘half, half full’

The following quantifiers have an invariable form (a form which is reminiscent of the shape of certain adverbs, starting with a vowel and a geminate).

appɪk ‘all, whole’
attel ‘many’

Two examples follow with **appɪk** ‘all, whole’:

ɲokul **appɪk** **ɲ-εɔ̃.t**
 children all C-go:COMPL

all children have left

a-kuṭu	ɔll.at	n-nɔ	ká	appik
CONJ-skin	run:DEPPRFV	with-on	body	all

and the whole skin came off from the body / and the skin came off from the whole body

A special case are the items **pəllék/ṭəllék** ‘alone, different’ (also **pərék/ṭərék**). They function as adjectives, stating a quality of the head noun, but are morphologically different from adjectives, since their only attested forms are **pəllék** and **ṭəllék**. Initial **p** and **ṭ** do not agree with the noun class of the head noun, as can be seen in the examples below, but agree with its singular or plural reference:

kálam	k-aŋ	k-a.ɪk	p-əllék
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone

your pen is different

álam	w-aŋ	w-a.ɪk	ṭ-əllék
pens	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone

your pens are different

pəllék and **ṭəllék** could, on the basis of their morphology, be nouns from the **p**- and **ṭ**- noun classes in singular-plural opposition. They do not, however, function like nouns. **C-aík** ‘be’, as in the examples above, cannot be used in equations of nouns. Moreover, **pəllék** and **ṭəllék** never function as the subject or object argument of a verb. All in all, **pəllék** and **ṭəllék** resemble adjectives more than nouns. Note that initial **p**- and **ṭ**- have a parallel in the **p**-concord of singular (pro)nouns with the persona prefix **ɔ**- and the **ṭ**-concord of nouns that are marked with the associative plural marker **-ŋɔn** (see 5.2 and 5.3).

Notes on the use of some quantifiers

C-ullúk ‘only, just’

C-ullúk ‘only, just’ has an invariable adverbial counterpart with initial **t**: **tullúk** ‘only, just’. An example with **tullúk** ‘only, just’ is given in 17.1.4. An example with the adjective **C-ullúk** follows here:

compóran **c-ulluk** **ákk-ɔká.t** **l.ccífk** **k-ɔ-mǎn**
 monkey c-only FOC-be:COMPL near c-of-house

the monkey only was the one who was near the house (i.e.: it was only the monkey who was near the house)

C-ərúk ‘only, just’

Like **C-ullúk**, **C-ərúk** has an invariable adverbial counterpart with initial **t**: **tərúk** ‘only, just’. The adverb is typically used together with the conjunction word **ana** ‘and’, forming the contrasting conjunction word **anarrúk** ‘but’. Adjectival **C-ərúk** is typically used in clauses introduced by **ana** ‘and’. It conveys the same notion of contrast, but follows the noun that it modifies. Note in the second example below that the verb in the clause introduced by **ana** is a dependent perfective, however, a (non-dependent) past—which is generally much more common in clauses introduced by **ana**—would be possible here as well. Alternatively, instead of **ana** conjunctive **ǎ** could be used; the verb will then be a dependent perfective.

ana **ól** **w-ərúk** **w-ella.káte** **pəɾɪn**
 and people c-only c-be_absent:PST finally

... but people were only completely absent (i.e. nobody was there)

k-kw-ɔtj.áte **turumpíl** **n-tán** **a-t-ɔnek.at** **áɾok**
 3-C-send:PST car with-up_on:ABS CONJ-PRO-take:DEPPRFV bags

ana **ól** **w-ərúk** **ɔɪŋkat** **n-tacók**
 and people c-only go:DEPPRFV with-legs

s/he sent the car there and it took their bags, but the people (themselves) went on foot

10.5. The adjective **C-ərěk** ‘some, other’

C-ərěk ‘some, other’ is used for the expression of an unspecified time, place or person (‘some time’, ‘somewhere’, ‘somebody’)

၁-၇၇	ák-k-áṇwət	kamət	k-árró	
PERS-1A	FOC-guard:INCOMPL	celebration	C-of.Lumun_people	
akka	a-k-órat	cík	túpót	t-əṛək
that	CONJ-PRO-become_lost	VREF	year	C-some

we are the ones who keep the Lumun celebration so that it does not get lost
some day

m-p-a.ík	p-a.əṣ	nə-karə́n	k-əṛək
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	on-place	C-some

I am going somewhere

līcək	l-a.ṛəkíne	pól	p-əṛək	mīl
goats	C-eat_for:INCOMPL	person	C-some	sorghum

the goats will eat somebody's sorghum

In combination with **papu** ‘thing’, generally shortened to **papəṛək** or **papəṛək**, it expresses an unspecified thing (‘something’) or animal:

paʊn	p-ānn-əṛəkə	pap.əṛək
rat	C-NEG-eat:DEPCOMPL	something

the rat did not eat anything

C-əṛək is a fixed part of the opening clause of many stories ‘once upon a time ...’ or ‘one day ...’. Following this opening clause, the character(s) introduced in the same sentence are not modified with **C-əṛək**:

caṛi	c-əṛək	c-əká.t	cík	a-puṭún	p-aṭṭ-íət
time	C-some	C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-marten(?)	C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL
ṇərrón	á-ṇ-ṇ-á.ík	áppuṭa ⁵⁹		nóṛá	w-ṣ-pira
squirrel	CONJ-PRO-C-be:PR	(CONJ-PRO-)play:DEPINCOMPL		on top	C-of-tree

one day a marten(?)⁶⁰ found a squirrel playing in the tree top

⁵⁹ underlyingly the verb is: **a-ṇ-ṇ-á-ík a-ṇ-áppuṭa**

⁶⁰ Described as a furry animal with a hole in the ground. It can be grey or brown and sometimes has white on its back.

As mentioned by Stirtz (2012) C-**əṛĕk** ‘some, other’ can be used for the introduction of a new character, as in the next example:

caṛi c-én a-kəllán k-əṛĕk k-əká.t cık
 day C-DEM CONJ-old_woman C-some C-be:COMPL VREF
a-k-ókəṭaccé-k n.ti i-əṛĕn
 CONJ-PRO-watch:DEPINCOMPL-O3 from in-firewood

that day, some old woman was watching him while she was collecting firewood (fr. written story)

C-**əṛĕk** cannot be preceded by the restrictor (í-). It can, however, be used independently, as in the earlier given example, which is repeated here. The high-toned **a** preceding (w)**əṛĕk** (agreeing with **ul** ‘persons’) is probably the same pronominal base as found in independent possessors (see 7.3.7), I have therefore given it the same gloss:

á-əṛĕk w-a.fk kəren i-ókullácəṛm
 PROBS-(C-)some C-be:PR where RES-(C-)nine

where are the other nine? (Luke 17:17)

In the example below, C-**əṛĕk** functions independently without this **a**. In the chapter on possessor pronouns a comparable example was given of an independent possessor without the pronominal base (‘look at my feet and yours’).

arriṛṛ.ə wək w-əṛĕk cı-c-énəkət ána w-əṛĕk cı-c-énəkət
 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! (fr. written story)

As shown in the previous example C-**əṛĕk** ... C-**əṛĕk** expresses ‘one ..., the other ...’, or ‘some ..., other ...’. Another example:

ul w-əṛĕk w-ənó ɔ-purukó-n ɬ-əppót
 people C-some C-have PERS-friend-PL C-many
á-əṛĕk w-ənó ɔ-purukó-n ɬ-əttê
 PROBS-(C-)some C-have PERS-friend-PL C-little
 some people have many friends, others have few friends

10.6. Some remarks on syntax

Adjectives with the restrictor (i.e. adjectives as attributive modifiers) typically come after other modifiers in the noun phrase:

[tʊk	t-ín	én-t-í	í-t-ʒkɪtak] _{NP}	t-ʒkəɔ.t	úkul
dog	C-POSS1	DEM-C-NEARSP	RES-C-bad	C-bite:COMPL	child

this bad dog of mine has bitten a child

There can be more than one attributive adjective with restrictor in the noun phrase. No conjunction is used between them:

[takəɾuk	ɪ-t-ʒtté	í-t-ʒɾe] _{NP}	t-aá.t
chicken	RES-C-small	RES-C-red	C-come:COMPL

the little red hen has come

Attributive adjectives can occur outside the noun phrase, as in the first example below, where **ɪnârran** ‘young’ comes after the verbal predicate, in apposition to **ɲukul** ‘children’. In the second example it is positioned within the noun phrase. In both cases, the invariable quantifier **appik** ‘all’ is positioned outside the noun phrase.

ɲukul	ɲ-ʒnó	ittɪ	ɲ-á.ɲotta	ɪ-ɲ-ârran	appik
children	C-have	that	PRO.C-be_killed.PLUR:INCOMPL	RES-C-young	all

all little children must be killed (Matthew 2:16)

ɲukul	ɪ-ɲ-árrán	ɲ-ʒnó	ittɪ	ɲ-á.ɲotta	áppik
chickens	RES-C-young	C-have	that	PRO.C-be_killed.PLUR:INCOMPL	all

the little children must all be killed

There is a difference in informational value between the sentences. The first states the properties of the children that must be killed (it concerns small children and it concerns all of them), the second refers to an already identified group of children.

Another example is the following. In the text, ‘male’ lacks the restrictor, but it could also be present:

a-áppə ákkakat w-ómora⁶¹ ana i-áari n-ə́tən
 CONJ-Tocho come:DEPPRFV C-male.PL and RES-female.PL with-baskets(k.o.)
 and the Tocho, male and female, came with baskets (fr. written story)

An earlier mentioned example with a numeral placed outside of the noun phrase is the following:

á-ə́ɾek w-a.ík kəren i-ʊkollácəɾɪn
 PROBS-(C-)other C-be:PR where RES-(C-)nine
 where are the other nine? (Luke 17:17)

⁶¹ In the written text, the concord is absent, but this is because it is not audible: after t (realized as r) w is regularly deleted.

