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ɔ-ttán **p-ɔ-kkɔl**
PERS-father C-of-child

the father of the child

In these nouns, the non-geminated consonant following the first vowel becomes geminated, while the first vowel and the initial consonant of the noun (if present) are deleted. The tone pattern of the resulting word can be different from what is expected on the basis of the composing parts. A list of these nouns, which can also occur in changed form after the prepositional proclitics **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **tɔ-**, is provided in chapter 4.4.

7.1.2. Semantics

The connexive expresses a possessor-possessee relationship between two nouns. The first element (X in the formula X C-ɔ-Y) is the possessee, the proclitic connexive is attached to the possessor (Y):

campal **c-ɔ-púl** **í-p-ɔ-parí**
stick(k.o.) C-of-person RES-C-female

the *campal*-stick of the woman

kəɽittan **k-ɔ-kukkô**
knife C-of.PERS-Kukku

the knife of Kukku

The connexive construction can also express other than possessor relationships between nouns. Some examples follow here.

part of whole:

tacɔk **t-ɔ-pərrək**
legs C-of-chair

legs of a chair

made of, consisting of:

cə́tə́na c-ɔ́-təróma

tassel C-of-ram

tassel of ram's hair (lit.: tassel of ram)

for the purpose of:

kɪrək k-ɔ́-t-ɔra ɪ-ttók nɔ́-tampân

hoe C-of-NOM-cultivate in-farming_field on-flat_open_space

hoe for cultivating in a field on the plains (the ground there is less stony than on the slope of the mountain and requires a different type of hoe)

laɪ ɪ-ɔ́-kéccók

tamarind C-of-market

tamarind for the market (i.e. for selling at the market)

occupations:

pul p-ɔ́-tɔ́rək

person C-of-war

warrior, soldier

pul p-ɔ́-kəməɪ

person C-of-hunting_party

hunter

ownership, association:

ul w-ɔ́-lɪcók

people C-of-goats

the owners of the goats

place where somebody lives:

pul p-ɔ́-karəttôm

person C-of-Khartoum

person from Khartoum

‘child of’ in personal names:

ɔ-lɔtti l-ɔ-maɬari
PERS-Lɔtti C-of.PERS-Maɬari

Lɔtti (son) of Maɬari

In these cases the concord **p-** (the general concord of singular nouns with the persona prefix) is not used. Instead, the name without persona prefix is interpreted as containing a noun class prefix, and agreement is with this noun class prefix (**l-** in the example above).

Foreign names with an initial sound that is not part of the Lumun inventory of sounds occurring word-initially are not reanalysed as containing a noun class prefix. In such cases the concord **ŋ-** is used:

ɔ-rómia ŋ-aɬərít ‘Rumia (daughter) of Aɬərít’
ɔ-ióɲic ŋ-alemin ‘Younis (son) of Alemin’
érəmía⁵² ŋɔ-ómar ‘Jeremiah (son) of Umar’

ŋ- possibly comes from agreement with the noun class prefix **ŋ-** of a historical noun ***ŋokul** ‘child’ (today **okul** ‘child’). A historical noun ***ŋokul** is conceivable, since it would give a regular singular-plural pair (***ŋokul/ɲokul**). Moreover, words for the young of animals also typically come in this class pair (see chapter 4.3.5).

agent of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ɬ-ɔŋwɔ **ɬ-ɔ-píŋɲít**
NOM-sing C-of-singer

the singing of the singer

undergoer of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ɬ-ɔ **ɬ-áɬəpu** **w-əɬek** (< **ɬ-ɔ** + **əɬəpu**)
NOM-die C-of.things C-some

the dying of some animals

⁵² The persona prefix **ɔ-** is regularly elided before **ɛ**, see chapter 4.10.1.

patient of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ṭ-ṭkkwət ṭ-áṭəpʊ w-əṭək (< **ṭ-ṭ** + **áṭəpʊ**)

NOM-kill C-of.things C-some

the killing of some animals

Leaving out the connexive in the example above (with a patient of the action) above gives a result that is still grammatical (see also chapter 4.6.1).

Readings of connexive constructions of the type X C_x-ṭ-PREP-Y follow here:

place where somebody lives:

ʊl w-ṭ-nṭ-ṭṭək p-árrô

people C-of-on-stone C-of.Lumun_people

the people of Lumun country (lit.: people of on stone of Lumun people)

(**ʊl** + **w-ṭ** + **nṭ** + **ṭṭək** + **p-ṭ** + **árrô**)

occupation:

pʊl p-ṭ-rɪ-ṭkwêl (< **pʊl** + **p-ṭ** + **rɪ** + **kəmɛl**)

person C-of-in-hunting_party

person who joins in a hunting party (lit. person of in the hunting party)

ʊl w-ṭ-rɪ-ṭmân

people C-of-in-porcupines

people hunting porcupines (lit.: people of in porcupines)

for use in a certain environment:

kuppəɾʊṅ k-ṭ-nṭ-əṭɪ

bed_plank C-of-on-water

boat

7.1.3. Attributive and predicative use

Connexive constructions often function attributively but can also be used as predicates. The first example below illustrates attributive use, the second predicative use:

kəɾɛt k-ʒ-kkɔl k-ɪé
 cloth C-of-child C-new
 the shirt of the child is new

k-kw-ʒká.t p-ʒ-məkənta m-ɪn
 3-C-be:COMPL C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1
 she was (one) of my supporting girls
 (i.e. girls that support a man during certain initiation rites: they fetch water, prepare food for guests, accompany the man on his visits, sing and dance)

In a predicative construction, a subject clitic can be attached to the connexive:

ʒ-ʒk p-ʒ-məkənta m-ɪn / k-kw-ʒ-məkənta m-ɪn
 PERS-3 C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1 3-C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1
 she is (one) of my supporting girls

ʒ-ʒk p-ʒ-karəttôm / k-kw-ʒ-karəttôm
 PERS-3 C-of-Khartoum 3-C-of-Khartoum
 s/he is from Khartoum

7.1.4. Independent use of a connexive construction

A connexive + noun can be used independently. In the first example, the concord **ɲ-** in **ɲ-ʒ-tuuli** agrees with **ɲəɾɪ** ‘water’; in the second example, the concord **k-** in **k-ʒ-cəccé** agrees with **kálam** ‘pen’.

a-əɾɪ ⁵³	ŋ-uŋ	ŋ-ɔká.t	ŋ-ɛtɪá.t	ana
CONJ-water	C-POSS3	C-be:COMPL	C-become_cool:COMPL	and
ŋ-ɔ-tuɔɪɪ	ŋ-ɔká.t	ŋ-árɔ́tɔk	ŋ-áŋko	ɪppa
C-of-hyena	C-be:COMPL	C-still	C-be_hot:INCOMPL	hotly

and his water (i.e. of the cat) had become cold, but hyena's (water) was still very hot (fr. written story)

kálam	k-aŋ	k-a.ɪk	p-əllék
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone
ana	k-ɔ-cɛccɛ	k-á.ɪk	p-əllék
and	C-of.PERS-Cɛccɛ	C-be:PR	C-alone

your pen is different from Cɛccɛ's (pen) (lit.: your pen is alone and Cɛccɛ's (pen) is alone)

The following phrase allows for two interpretations. It can refer to the marriage of Kukku and the marriage of Kakka (two different marriages), but also to their marriage to each other, because in case of coordinated “possessors” the connexive is used on both:

ɪpa	ɪ-ɔ-kukkú	ana	ɪ-ɔ-kakkâ
marriage	C-of-Kukku	and	C-of-Kakka

the marriage of Kukku and the one of Kakka (the marriage of Kukku and Kakka)

7.2. The absolute connexive

There is also an absolute form of the connexive: C-**ɛn**. The absolute connexive is homonymous with the demonstrative with anaphoric reference C-**ɛn** ‘that’. It seems likely that both contain the pronominal base **ɛn** (for **ɛn** and C-**ɛn** ‘that’, see chapter 8). Possibly, the absolute connexive C-**ɛn** historically derives from the Connexive C-**ɔ** + **ɛn** ‘of that’.

The absolute connexive is used in relativized possessor phrases:

⁵³ < á- + ɲəɾɪ

takəɾuk **ɪ-t-a** **m-p-ɔɾəkɔ.t** **túnke** **t-ɛn**
 chicken RES-C-COP 1-C-eat:COMPL liver C-of:ABS

the chicken of which I ate the liver

It is also used for pronominal reference to non-humans in possessor role, irrespective of whether they are singular or plural. In such cases it translates as ‘its’ (or ‘their’):

ɲ-kw-íɔt **kəmən** **na** **jókúl** **í-p-ârran** **ɔkurro**
 2-C-find:INCOMPL rooms where:REL children RES-C-young engrave:DEPINCOMPL

kəɬət **k-én** **k-á.ɲɔt** **ɔpákkɔt**
 door C-of:ABS C-open:INCOMPL return:DEPINCOMPL

na **cíŋki** **ɔmmɔt** **ɲ.ɲm**
 where:REL sun come_up:DEPINCOMPL with:ABS

you will find a house where little children are writing (a school). Its door opens to where the sun comes up (the east)

ana **tɔɛ** **t-á.kkunakɔ** **ana**
 and river C-smell:INCOMPL and

muccirɪn **mænna** **m-akénn-íkkɔ** **ɲəɾɪ** **ɲ-én**
 Egyptians even C-NEG-drink:DEPINCOMPL water C-of:ABS

and the river will stink and even the Egyptians will not drink its water (Exodus 7:18)

ɔɾək.ɔ **appənɕína** **n-áɾɔl** **w-én**
 eat:IMP groundnuts with-shells C-of:ABS

eat the groundnuts with their shells!

7.3. Possessor pronouns

There are eight possessor pronouns corresponding to the eight personal pronouns. The possessor pronouns start with a concord that agrees with the noun that they modify. In the list below, the full subject personal pronouns are given between parentheses for comparison. How the 1 and 2 possessor pronouns should tonally be (best) represented is not clear.

1	C- ĩn , C- in , C- ín	‘my’	(ɔ́n)
12	C- ɔ́rit + H	‘our (of you (SG) and me)’	(ɔ́řt)
2	C- ǎŋ , C- aŋ , C- áŋ	‘your (SG)’	(ɔ́ŋ)
3	C- úŋ	‘his/her’	(ɔ́k)
1A	C- ín	‘our (EXCL)’	(ɔ́ín)
12A	C- ɔ́nnón	‘our (INCL)’	(ɔ́rón/ɔ́rón)
2A	C- ón	‘your (PL)’	(ɔ́ón)
3A	C- én	‘their’	(ɔ́kín)

There is little indication that the connexive is a formative of the personal pronouns.

7.3.1. Tone

The possessor pronouns are largely tonally regular, but the tonal behaviour of ‘my’ and ‘your (SG)’, as well as of ‘our (of you (SG) and me)’ is not fully compatible with any of the tones. In prepausal position modifying an all-low noun or a noun with a final falling tone, ‘my’ and ‘your (SG)’ can be realized with a rising tone or with a low tone, apparently in free variation, which is compatible with a rising tone. For example: **pəlla pín** ‘my cat’ and **pəlla pɪn** ‘my cat’ (**pəlla** ‘cat’ is all-low). After a high or rising tone, ‘my’ and ‘your (SG)’ are realized with a falling tone, which could point at a low tone, for example: **túk t̥ín** ‘my dog’ (**túk** ‘dog’ has a rising tone). There are, furthermore, instances of ‘my’ and ‘your (SG)’ that have a high tone in prepausal position, which is not compatible with a low tone, nor with a rising tone, only with a high tone. An example is provided in 7.3.3. The possessor pronoun functions predicatively there. Throughout the book some other examples can be found of prepausal predicative 1 and 2SG possessor pronouns with a high tone, however, cases with low tone are attested as well.

The 12 possessor pronoun is realized with a (final) low tone in prepausal position. In context, however, it receives a high tone from a preceding item on its first mora and brings a high tone to the next item, which points to an underlying L pattern with floating high tone:

tuk t-órit ána pállá p-úŋ
 dog C-POSS12 and cat C-POSS3

our dog (of you and me) and his/her cat

Examples of the possessor pronouns preceded by possessee nouns with various tones follow here.

Possessor pronouns preceded by low and falling tones: **ŋərə** ‘work’ and **kuʔút** ‘lip, side’

1	ŋərə ŋ-ín/ŋ-in	‘my work’	kuʔút k-ín/k-in	‘my lip’
12	ŋərə ŋ-ɔrit	‘our work’	kuʔút k-ɔrit	‘our lip’
2	ŋərə ŋ-ǎŋ/p-aŋ	‘your work’	kuʔút k-ǎŋ/k-aŋ	‘your lip’
3	ŋərə ŋ-úŋ	‘his/her work’	kuʔút k-úŋ	‘his/her lip’
1A	ŋərə ŋ-ín	‘our work’	kuʔút k-ín	‘our lip’
12A	ŋərə ŋ-ɔnnón	‘our work’	kuʔút k-ɔnnón	‘our lip’
2A	ŋərə ŋ-ón	‘your work’	kuʔút k-ón	‘your lip’
3A	ŋərə ŋ-én	‘their work’	kuʔút k-én	‘their lip’

Possessor pronouns preceded by high and rising tones: **tɔrək** ‘rope’ and **ŋərɪ** ‘water’:

1	tɔrək t-ín	‘my rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-ín	‘my water’
12	tɔrək t-órit	‘our rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-órit	‘our water’
2	tɔrək t-ǎŋ	‘your rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-ǎŋ	‘your water’
3	tɔrək t-úŋ	‘his/her rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-úŋ	‘his/her water’
1A	tɔrək t-ín	‘our rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-ín	‘our water’
12A	tɔrək t-ɔnnón	‘our rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-ɔnnón	‘our water’
2A	tɔrək t-ón	‘your rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-ón	‘your water’
3A	tɔrək t-én	‘their rope’	ŋərɪ ŋ-én	‘their water’

Recall that for non-human possessors the absolute connexive **C-en** is used (see 7.2.), which contrasts tonally with the 3A possessor **C-én**.

ŋərə ŋ-en ‘its work’
kuʔút k-en ‘its side’
tɔrək t-én ‘its rope’
ŋərɪ ŋ-én ‘its water’

7.3.2. Morpho-phonology

Phonological effects at the boundary of noun and possessor are regular. This means that in the examples above with **ɲəre** the concord **ɲ** of the possessor is deleted, and in the examples with **ɬɔ́ɔ́k** final **k** fully assimilates to the concord **ɬ** of the possessor. Incidentally, however, the process of assimilation deviates from what is expected. This is the case with the items **páj** ‘item of the same kind’ and **ɔ́páj** ‘sibling’. Compare the first (irregular) example with **ɔ́páj** ‘sibling’ with the second (regular) example with **parantáj** ‘gourd’. After **ɔ́páj** (and **páj**) the concord **p** changes to **k**:

ɔ́pájkín ‘my sibling’
parantáj pín ‘my gourd’ [parandam bîn]

7.3.3. Possessor pronouns as predicates

Like the connexive construction, possessor pronouns can function as predicates. In the example below, the predicative 1SG possessor pronoun in prepausal position is represented with a high tone. It is, however, also possible to realize it with a low tone (without tonal changes in the sentence otherwise).

ɬok **én-ɬ-í** **ɬ-á.ká** **ɬ-ín**
 dog DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:INCOMPL C-POSS1
 this dog will be mine

Compare also the following two examples. The last element functions as the predicate:

pəɬək **p-in** **ém-p-í**
 stone C-POSS1 DEM-C-NEARSP
 my country is this one (for example while pointing at a country on a map)

pəɬək **em-p-i** **p-ín**
 stone DEM-C-NEARSP C-POSS1
 this country is mine

7.3.4. Reference

The personal possessor pronouns refer to humans: speech participants and third persons. With respect to third persons there is no difference between reference to nouns with the persona prefix and common nouns referring to humans. In the following example, **kén** ‘their’ refers to two human beings denoted by common nouns: **ókul** ‘child’ and **pari pókul** ‘the wife of the child’. The sentences come from a description of main events in the life of a boy/man.

ɔ-ttán	p-ɔ-kkul	ana	ókúl		
PERS-father	C-of-child	and	child		
ɬ-ónne	pari	p-ɔ-kkul	kəmən	k-én	
C-build_for:INCOMPL	wife	C-of-child	rooms	C-POSS3A	

the father of the boy and the boy will build for the boy’s (future) wife their
(the boy and his wife’s) house (fr. written description)

Animal characters in stories are referred to by personal possessor pronouns. An example from a story called **tuuli ana pálla** ‘the hyena and the cat’:

... a-tuuli	ɔccíkat	lón	l-ón
CONJ-hyena	hear:DEPPRFV	words	C-POSS3

and the hyena listened to his (the cat’s) words (fr. written story)

7.3.5. Semantics

The personal possessor pronouns typically express possession, including of body parts. Kinship and relational terms are also typically used in combination with a possessor pronoun. For an overview of these terms, see chapter 4, and also Smits (2012). It is recalled here that the terms for father and mother (as well as for maternal uncle) have different forms for (kinship) relations with a first person, a second person and a third person. The terms indicating a kinship relation with a third person, for example **ɔttán** ‘(his, her) father’, can be modified by a connexive construction which states the related person:

ᵛ-ᵗᵗán **p-ᵛ-nennî**
 PERS-father C-of-Nennî

the father of Nennî

It is possible to add a plural possessor pronoun to a kinship term that is inherently possessed:

ᵛ-ᵗᵗappá **p-ᵛnnón**
 PERS-my_father C-POSS12A

our(INCL) father (i.e. father of me and other people who are not my siblings (typically said about God))

Occasionally the personal possessor pronouns also express other semantic relations, as in the following example:

ámamá	ᵗ-kw-ónó	nᵗᵗé	n-ón
if	2-C-have	fear	C-POSS3

á-ẽ	ᵗ-cᵗᵗé	c-ᵛ-pírá	ém-p-ᵗᵗé
SUBJ-(2-)go:DEPINCOMPL	in-buttock	C-of-tree	DEM-C-DIST

If you are afraid of him (lit. if you have his fear), you go under that tree over there ('The story of the jackal')

The non-human possessor pronoun often expresses a part-whole relationship, as in the examples above ('the door of the house', 'the water of the river').

7.3.6. Unexpressed possessors

Possessors of body parts can be unexpressed when they can be easily understood from the context:

m-p-a.ík **p-íllakkᵛ** **tacók**
 1-C-be:PR C-wash:INCOMPL feet

I am washing my feet

ᵛᵗᵗe **okón**
 make_pull:IMP hand

stretch out your hand!

A person's stick is typically an item which is not shared with other people. Therefore there is no problem in identifying its possessor in the next example:

ant-əkwarikət na ŋ-kw-ənəkkét.é kúrrŋ
 can:DEPINCOMPL-remember:DEPINCOMPL where:REL 2-C-put_down:COMPL stick
 please try to remember where you have put your stick

It is possible, though not very common, to explicitly mention the possessor of a body part, even though the possessor is perfectly clear:

lən el-l-ɪ a-kəllán k-əká.t á-k-éret
 words DEM-C-NEARSP CONJ-old_woman C-be:COMPL CONJ-PRO-speak_at:DEPINCOMPL
nə-čikjət c-úŋ
 on-heart C-POSS3
 these words, the old woman was saying them in her heart (fr. written story)

A construction with **ka** 'body' and a co-referent possessor pronoun is automatically interpreted as a reflexive (see 6.9); when the possessor pronoun is absent, **ka** more specifically refers to the body. The body in the second example below is the own body. Compare:

a-kw-ɔ́tup.at ká k-úŋ í-láí í-l-ərrákɔ.t
 CONJ-3-smear:DEPPRFV body C-POSS3 with-tamarind RES-C-be_pushed:COMPL
 and s/he painted himself/herself with pounded tamarind

a-kw-ɔ́tup.at ká l-lai ɪ-l-ərrákɔ.t
 CONJ-3-smear:DEPPRFV body with-tamarind RES-C-be_pushed:COMPL
 and s/he_i painted his/her_i body with pounded tamarind

When the person who does the painting and the owner of the body are not co-referential, the owner is expressed as object of the verb, followed by **ka** 'body'. In this construction, there is no possessor pronoun.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Constructions of this type, which can be called "possessor raising" are described in chapter 14.

a-kw-ṣṭup.aṭ-ṣk **ka** **l-lai** **ɪ-l-ərrákɔ.t**
 CONJ-3-smear:DEPPRFV-O3 body with-tamarind RES-C-be_pushed:COMPL
 and s/he_i painted his/her_j body with pounded tamarind

7.3.7. Independent possessor pronouns

The possessor pronouns have independent forms. These forms consist of a pronominal base **a**, realized with a high tone, a concord expressing agreement with the pronominalized possessed noun, and the possessor:

á-C-POSS

The forms below refer, for example, to **kálam** ‘pen’:

á-k-m	á-k-m k-ṣpərôt ‘mine is good’
á-k-aŋ	á-k-aŋ k-ṣpərôt ‘yours (SG) is good’
á-k-úŋ	á-k-úŋ k-ṣpərôt ‘his/hers is good’
á-k-ɔrit	á-k-ɔrit k-ṣpərôt ‘ours (of you SG and me) is good’
á-k-ín	á-k-ín k-ṣpərôt ‘ours (EXCL) is good’
á-k-ɔnnɔn	á-k-ɔnnɔn k-ṣpərôt ‘ours (INCL) is good’
á-k-ón	á-k-ón k-ṣpərôt ‘yours (PL) is good’
á-k-én	á-k-én k-ṣpərôt ‘theirs is good’

In the first example below, the concord of the independent possessor pronoun agrees with **kálam** ‘pen’. In the next two, the concord **ɲ** agrees with (earlier mentioned) **ɲukul** ‘children’.

kálam	k-aŋ	k-a.ɪk	p-əllék
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone
ana	á-k-m	k-a.ɪk	p-əllék
and	PROB-C-POSS1	C-be:PR	C-alone

your pen is different from mine (lit.: your pen is alone and mine is alone)

ana	á-ɲ-aŋ	ɲ-a.ɪk	kəren
and	PROB-C-POSS2	C-be:PR	where

and where are yours?!

á-p-m

PROB-C-POSS1

p-ellâ

C-be_absent:INCOMPL

mine are lacking (i.e. I do not have children)

A last example has **á-úŋ** (< **á-w-úŋ**), which agrees with the earlier mentioned **ápê** ‘fish (PL)’ (tonally realized here as **ápê**⁵⁵).

ók.kw.í

the_one

í-p-á.nókə

RES-C-take:INCOMPL

lɔɾək

ropes

l-ín

C-POSS1

ɔ-ók

PERS-3

p-á.ŋwó

C-kill.PLUR:INCOMPL

ápê

fish(PL)

ana k-kw-á.nán-m

and

3-C-bring_for:INCOMPL-O1

cɪt.tó.kít

firstly

áná

and

ánt-úmmín-ók

can:DEPINCOMPL-take_for:DEPINCOMPL-O3

á-úŋ

PROBS-(C-)POSS3

who takes my ropes will catch fish, and he must bring them to me first (lit. up at eyes) and then he can take his (i.e. the fish that remain after the owner of the rope has been given his share of the fish) (fr. written story)

Independent possessor pronouns can be preceded by a prepositional proclitic. The independent demonstrative in the example below refers to a **kaɾək** ‘goatskin bag’.

mart

beans

m-a.ɪk

C-be:PR

ɪ-á-k-m-ɪ

in-PROB-C-POSS1-Q

are the beans in mine?

However, C-POSS allows for independent use as well:

ant-ɔkəta

can:DEPINCOMPL-look:INCOMPL

tacək

legs

t-ín

C-POSS1

ana

and

t-ǎŋ

C-POSS2

please look at my feet and yours (fr. written dialogue)

7.3.8. ‘My home’, ‘our home’, etc.: irregular forms

‘My home’, ‘your home’, etc. are expressed through fixed collocations of the locative noun **tuǎn** ‘(at, to) home’ followed by a word that

⁵⁵ The realization **ápê** (its own tones are **ápê**) deviates from the tone rules. I have no explanation for this.

contains the prepositional proclitic **ṭə-** ‘(down) at’ and a pronominal possessor, as well as a formative **an**. **an** is most likely a remnant of a noun, perhaps of **kaṛən** ‘place’. Specific forms collocating with **tuǎn** are attested for all personal possessors pronoun, except **C-ṛit**: ‘our home’ (i.e. of you and me) is just **tuān t-ṛit**.

The list with the other possessors follows here, together with alternative expressions using the noun **kaṛən** ‘place’. The forms with **kaṛən** ‘place’ are not commonly used.

tuān ṭ-an-ǎn	‘my home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kɪn	‘the home at my place’
tuān ṭ-an-ǎŋ	‘your home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kaŋ	‘the home at your place’
tuān ṭ-an-óŋ	‘his/her home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kúŋ	‘the home at his/her place’
tuān ṭ-en-ín	‘our (1A) home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən kín	‘the home at our (1A) place’
tuān ṭ-an-ṛnnón	‘our (12A) home’
tuān ṭə kaṛən k-ṛnnón	‘the home at our (12A) place’
tuān ṭ-an-ón	‘your (PL) home’
tuān ṭə kaṛən k-ón	‘the home at your place’
tuān ṭ-an-én	‘their home’
tuān ṭə-kaṛən k-én	‘the home at their place’

7.3.9. Position in the noun phrase

Attributive possessor pronouns generally precede other modifiers:

pəṭək	p-in	p-ṛ-maṛṛt
stone	C-POSS1	C-of-long ago
my country of long ago		

papu	p-in	ém-p-í	í-p-á	n-ḡkorro	n.tít
thing	C-POSS1	DEM-C-NEARSP	RES-C-COP	1-engrave:DEPINCOMPL	from:ABS
tuon	ṭ.an-ín				
home	at place-POSS1				

this thing of mine from which I write in my house (refers to the laptop of the speaker, ‘writing from’ refers in this context to the sending of messages, for example through e-mail)

C-ulluk ‘only’ is a modifier that can follow but also precede the possessor pronoun:

ṭ-pari	p-ín	p-ulluk	á-p-p-ma	lón	él-l-í
PERS-wife	C-POSS1	C-only	FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL	words	DEM-C-NEARSP
only my wife knows these things					

ṭ-pari	p-ulluk	p-ín	a-p-p-ma	lón	él-l-í
PERS-wife	C-only	C-POSS1	FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL	words	DEM-C-NEARSP
only my wife knows these things					

8. Demonstratives

In this chapter I present the three spatial demonstratives of Lumun, as well as demonstrative C-**en** and the manner adjective C-**ená** ‘such, like this/that’. They all share the pronominal base **en** as a formative.

The spatial demonstratives consist of the pronominal base **en** (or C-**en**) and a space-deictic suffixal element that agrees with the head noun. They can be used gesturally, but also anaphorically. Also in the latter case a deictic notion is involved. Demonstrative C-**en**, without space-deictic element, functions anaphorically; it does not allow for a deictic interpretation. For this reason I call it an anaphoric demonstrative. The pronominal base **en**, however, is not intrinsically anaphoric, since it is also part of the spatial demonstratives, which can be used gesturally. I gloss the formative **en** in the demonstratives as DEM (demonstrative).

en (or C-**en**) is (most probably) also a formative of the manner-deictic adjective C-**ená** ‘such, like this/that’ (see 8.2.5). C-**en** is furthermore part of **ɔ́kwên** ‘who’ (< **ɔ́k** ‘s/he’ + **p-en**) and **ɲimpên** ‘what’ (< **ɲm** ‘what’ + **p-en**), which are discussed in 20.1.1 and 20.1.2.

All demonstratives and also C-**ená** can function as nominal modifiers but also independently.

8.1. The spatial demonstratives

The spatial demonstratives consist of the demonstrative pronominal base **en**, a concord and a deictic suffix. These are the spatial demonstratives:

en-C-í	‘this, these’: near the speaker
en-C-ərík	‘this, that, these, those’: near the addressee
en-C-ərê	‘that, those’: away from the speaker and the addressee

The spatial demonstratives can have two concords:

- C-**en**-C-**í** ‘this, these’: near the speaker
 C-**en**-C-**ərík** ‘this, that, these, those’: near the addressee
 C-**en**-C-**ərê** ‘that, those’: away from the speaker and the addressee

As modifiers, the spatial demonstratives with both an initial and a word-medial concord seem to be rarely used. According to my consultant (JS), especially elderly people may (still) employ them this way. He gave the following sentence as a case in which they might use **pempí** instead of **empí**:

pul **p-em-p-i** **p-ś-káré-ṭâ**
 person C-DEM-C-NEARSP C-of-where-QW

where does this person come from?

The forms with two concords are more commonly used as independent demonstrative pronouns. Whereas the form with one concord functioning independently tends to imply a contrast with another entity of the same type, the independent demonstrative with two concords signals the absence of such a contrast (this will be exemplified below). In the example with **pempí** given above, there is no contrast with another man. For many speakers, the modifying spatial demonstratives have lost this opposition, and it seems that, as modifiers, the forms with two concords are on their way to disappear.

The three deictic suffixes are related to the deictic verbs (chapter 12.8), as shown in table 42:

Table 42 Deictic suffixes

<i>deictic suffix</i>	<i>deictic verb</i>
- í ‘near-speaker’	C- éí ‘be here (near speaker)’
- ərík ‘near-addressee’	C- êrík ‘be here, be there (near addressee)’
- ərê ‘distal’	C- érê ‘be there (away from both speaker and addressee)’

8.1.1. Phonological realizations and tone

In table 43 I give examples of the three spatial demonstratives preceded by nouns from different noun classes and with different tone patterns. The **n** before the concord assimilates to the concord for place of articulation; it fully assimilates when the concord is **l**. The concord **w**, on the other hand, assimilates to the preceding nasal. Resulting geminated nasals and geminated **l** can be pronounced with some length.

Tonally, the spatial demonstratives display specific behaviour which does not go against the tone rules, but is also not in full detail predicted by them (recall that neither the occurrence of a high tone on a first mora due to high tone shift, nor the occurrence of tone bridge is phonologically predictable). All spatial demonstratives get a high tone on their first mora in case of a preceding high or rising tone. This includes **en-C-í**, which itself has a high tone on its second mora. Furthermore, there is tone bridge between a noun which, in isolation, has a final falling tone and **en-C-í** or **en-C-ər̥é**, but not between a noun with a final falling tone and **en-C-ər̥ík**.

Table 43 Nouns and demonstratives

<i>noun</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>en-C-í</i> <i>near speaker</i>	<i>en-C-ər̥ík</i> <i>near addressee</i>	<i>en-C-ər̥é</i> <i>distal</i>
pərrək ‘chair’	p	pərrək empí	pərrək empərík	pərrək empər̥é
t̥ök ‘dog’	t̥	t̥ök éntí	t̥ök éntərík	t̥ök éntər̥é
toppóŋ ‘mushroom (k.o.)’	t	toppóŋ éntí	toppóŋ éntərík	toppóŋ éntər̥é
cəpók ‘arrow’	c	cəpók éncí	cəpók encərík	cəpók éncər̥é
ka ‘body, corpse’	k	ka ɛŋkí	ka ɛŋkərík	ka ɛŋkər̥é
maṭṭak ‘calabashes (k.o.)’	m	maṭṭak emmí	maṭṭak emmərík	maṭṭak emmər̥é

naṭám ‘books’	n	naṭam énní	naṭam énnərík	naṭam énnə́ɾê
ɲəṭṭari ‘monkeys (sp.)’	ɲ	ɲəṭṭari ɛɲɲí	ɲəṭṭari ɛɲɲərík	ɲəṭṭari ɛɲɲə́ɾê
ɲaṭṭək̀kól ‘calabash (k.o.)’	ɲ	ɲaṭṭək̀kól éɲɲí	ɲaṭṭək̀kól ɛɲɲərík	ɲaṭṭək̀kól éɲɲə́ɾê
lök ‘dogs’	l	lök éllí	lök éllərík	lök éllə́ɾê
ɔkul ‘child’	w	ɔkul enní	ɔkul ennərík	ɔkul ennə́ɾê

8.1.2. Morpho-phonological aspects

In connected speech, the final vowel of a preceding noun is deleted before the initial *ɛ* of the demonstrative, except when the noun is monomoraic (last example below):

ɲəṭṭar.ɛɲɲí (< **ɲəṭṭari ɛɲɲí**) ‘these monkeys (sp.)’
pap.empí (< **papɔ empí**) ‘this thing’
pɪr.empí (< **pɪra empí**) ‘this tree’
ka ɛɲkí ‘this body’

8.1.3. Use of the spatial demonstrative modifiers

Deictic use of the spatial demonstrative modifiers may be accompanied by a pointing gesture, but not necessarily so. They can also be used anaphorically or cataphorically, in which case some deictic notion will also be present (otherwise, for anaphoric reference, **c-ɛn** is used). A storyteller can “play” with the deictic centre to make his story become more alive: he can change it from one participant to another, but he can also sometimes put it with himself or with the audience. Spatial demonstratives can also modify independent personal pronouns. Some examples of use of the spatial demonstratives as nominal modifiers follow here.

ɛn-c-í ‘near the speaker’:

tuk **en-t-i** **t-əpərət**
 dog DEM-C-NEARSP C-good

this dog is good (a dog is sitting next to the speaker, the speaker strokes it)

k-kw-éréné.t **kín** **lón** **él-l-í**
 3-C-speak_to:COMPL O3A words DEM-C-NEARSP

s/he told them these things (reference to a preceding or following stretch of discourse)

In the next example, the spatial demonstrative modifies the second person singular pronoun:

ant-əpəri **ŋ-kw-a.kkət** **ŋín-ṭa**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-say:DEPINCOMPL 2-C-do:INCOMPL what-QW
ə-uŋ **ém-p-í** **p-óttê** **cík**
 PERS-2 DEM-C-NEARSP C-little VREF

please say what you will do, you (here) who are small (lit.: this you who is small. Implying: you cannot do anything)

en-C-ərík ‘near the addressee’:

ikkét-ín **áṭəpə** **en-n-ərík** **áppík**
 give.PLUR:IMP-O1 things DEM-C-NEARADDR all

give me all those things! (the addressee has things with him/her, the speaker points at them)

The next example is from ‘The story of the jackal’. The leopard and the lion are fighting, and the jackal is trying to direct them towards a trap (a hole in the ground) that he has dug for them. The ‘near addressee’ demonstrative draws the audience into the story: it makes them feel as if they are near that trap.

a-káṛən **en-k-ərík** **ɪ-k-a** **áləpaccút** **w-əŋəṭ.é** **ittɪ**
 CONJ-place DEM-C-NEARADDR RES-C-COP jackal C-like:COMPL that

w-á.ṭəkkarət **kín** **nán ...**
 C-make_move_aside:INCOMPL O3A on:ABS

and that place, to which the jackal wants to make them move, ...

en-C-əɾɛ ‘away from both speaker and addressee’ (distal):

ámmá	ŋ-kw-ónó	nəɾɛ	n-a-ák	
if	2-C-have	fear	on-PERS-3	

á-ẽ	ɪ-cuɾɛ	c-ɔ-pírá	ém-p-əɾɛ	cənékɛt
SUBJ-(2-)go:DEPINCOMPL	in-buttock	C-of-tree	DEM-C-DIST	there_not_far

if you are afraid of him, go under that tree over there (situation: there is a tree in the distance, the speaker points at it)

The next example is from ‘The story of the tortoise’. The distal demonstrative is used here cataphorically:

akka ɔpa	én-n-əɾɛ	w-ɔ-rɪ-pírá	w-aa.t	ɪ-əɾɪk	ɪkê ...
when piece_of_meat	DEM-C-DISTAL	C-of-in-tree	C-come:COMPL	RES-(C-)big	giraffe

when that big wild animal of the forest, the giraffe, came ... (App. IV, 155)

8.1.4. The spatial demonstratives as independent forms

The spatial demonstratives can be used as independent forms. Their reference—and thus the choice of concord—must be clear from the context, whether textual or extra-textual. Reference can also be made to a stretch of speech or a situation that was just described or that appears from the extra-textual context. In such cases **l**-concord is used, agreeing with implicit **lən** ‘words, matters’. For reference to a situation also **p**-concord can be used, agreeing with implicit **papu** ‘thing’. Examples are given below.

Independent demonstratives with one concord can imply a contrast between two entities of the same kind. Demonstratives with two concords cannot be used that way. In the second example below the demonstratives necessarily refer to entities of a different kind.

ém-p-ɪ	p-în	ana	ém-p-í	p-áj
DEM-C-NEARSP	C-POSS1	and	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-POSS2

this one is mine and that one is yours (both demonstratives can refer to the same kind of thing, for example **pərrək** ‘chair’)

p-ɛm-p-i **p-ín** **ana** **p-ém-p-í** **p-áj**
 C-DEM-C-NEARSP C-POSS1 and C-DEM-C-NEARSP C-POSS2

this one is mine and that one is yours (both demonstratives cannot refer to the same kind of thing. Instead, the first refers, for example, to **pərrək** ‘chair’, the second, for example, to **pərrət** ‘picture’).

Some further examples with independent demonstratives with one concord follow here. They cannot be replaced by demonstratives with two concords.

kūrret **éŋ-k-í** **k-ánn-ɔŋkə** **éŋ-k-í**
 line DEM-C-NEARSP C-NEG-resemble:DEPCOMPL DEM-C-NEARSP

this stripe does not look like this one (referring here to the different colours of the stripes of a cloth)

a-kw-ápp-ɔmé.kat-ók **ittɪ** **á-a** **ɛŋ-k-əŋê**
 CONJ-3-again:DEPINCOMPL-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that no-REDUP DEM-C-DIST

ittɪn-in **éŋ-k-əŋê** **í-k-óŋe**
 pick_for:IMP-O1 DEM-C-DIST RES-C-red

and he said to her again: no, that one! pick that ripe one for me! (the demonstratives refer to a *kice*-fruit that is at some distance from the addressee, who is in the tree, picking fruits; the speaker is under the tree. The addressee wanted to pick a fruit nearby, but is told to pick one for which she must reach further)

In the next example, **enní** ‘this one’ agrees with **ɔkul** ‘child’:

en-n-i **ákk-ɔkwəntá.t** **tó.kít**
 DEM-C-NEARSP FOC-be_produced:COMPL firstly

this one is the one who was born first (implying that there is another one who came second) (Genesis 38:28)

An element of contrast is also present in the following example. It is an answer to the question “did you [...] sell the land for this price?” The concord **c-** agrees with **ɛkerek** ‘price’. The price is indeed that price, not a different one:

ij **i-c-én** **én-c-í**
 yes RES-C-DEM DEM-C-NEARSP

yes, the one (the price) is this (Acts 5:8)

Demonstratives with one concord do not need to express contrast:

ót-ta **em-p-ərík** **nə-pirâ**
 PERS.3-QW DEM-C-NEARADDR on-tree

who is that in the tree? (two persons are involved: the speaker and the addressee who is in the tree)

Some examples with two concords follow here. In the first, **p**-concord of **pempí** implicitly agrees with the **papu** ‘thing’, which refers to the situation that was just described:

ə-llé **p-m** **p-ət̪ət̪-ín** **təpút** **ana**
 PERS-husband C-POSS1 C-send:COMPL-O1 outside and

ŋ-kw-a.t̪-əkkət **ŋm** **ákka**⁵⁶ **p-ém-p-í** **í-p-ók̪it̪ak**
 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL what that C-DEM-C-NEARSP RES-C-bad

my husband has sent me away and what are you going to do, (because) this (thing, situation) is one which is bad

The concord **l-** in the example below is understood to agree with implicit **lən** ‘words, matters’:

l-el-l-i **ám̩m.akka** **l-érét̪-ók** **l-ók̪it̪ak**
 C-DEM-C-NEARSP like C-speak_about-o3 C-bad

these things that were said about him/her were bad (lit.: these words, like they spoke about him/her, were bad)

In the following example from ‘The story of the tortoise’, **pempərê** refers to **pul pənəppət** ‘the person of Nəppət’, who is under the tree. The bird and the tortoise are together up in a tree, where they are collecting honey. The person of Nəppət has just asked to throw down some honey for him, but the tortoise is unwilling:

⁵⁶ It is unclear where the high tone on **akka** comes from.

ŋ-kw-a.rréne **p-ém-p-ǎré** **áón** **w-ǎ-ín**
 2-C-throw_for:INCOMPL C-DEM-C-DIST bees C-of-what

for what will you throw (down) honeycombs for that (person)? (App. IV, 89)

In the next example, **p-** agrees with the implicit noun **papu** ‘thing’. ‘This (thing) from which I write’ refers to a laptop from which the speaker sends e-mails or other messages:

m-p-ǎná.t **p-ém-p-í** **í-p-á** **n-ǎkorrǎ** **n.tít**
 1-C-bring:COMPL C-DEM-C-NEARSP RES-C-COP 1-engrave:DEPINCOMPL from:ABS

I brought this thing from which I write (a laptop)

Independent demonstratives can be preceded by a prepositional proclitic. The independent demonstrative in the example below refers to a **kaɽok** ‘goatskin bag’.

mart **m-a.ík** **í-éŋ-k-í-í**
 beans C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARSP-Q

are the beans in this one?

The following examples have two tonal realizations of the (prepausal) demonstrative. The final high or falling tone of the demonstrative can be realized (with tone bridge spanning over the whole demonstrative), or the own final high or falling tone of the demonstrative can become low:

appentíná **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-í** / **appentíná** **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-í**
 groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARSP groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARSP

the groundnuts are in this one

appentíná **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎrík** / **appentíná** **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎrík**
 groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARADDR groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-NEARADDR

the groundnuts are in that one (near you)

appentíná **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎré** / **appentíná** **w-á.ík** **í-éŋ-k-ǎré**
 groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-DIST groundnuts C-be:PR in-DEM-C-DIST

the groundnuts are in that one (away from us)

8.2. The anaphoric demonstrative C-**en**

8.2.1. Tonal properties

When the demonstrative pronominal base **en** is only preceded by the concord, and no deictic element is attached to it, it takes on an anaphoric interpretation. I will call this element (C-**en**) an anaphoric demonstrative, though the demonstrative base **en** is not intrinsically anaphoric. C-**en** has a low tone and is tonally regular in prepausal position:

pul	‘person’	pul pen	‘that person’
ṭŏk	‘dog’	ṭok t̃en	‘that dog’
toppóŋ	‘mushroom (k.o.)’	toppoŋ t̃en	‘that mushroom (k.o.)’
cəpók	‘arrow’	cəpók c̃en	‘that arrow’

However, in non-prepausal position before an element with a low tone, the Contour Simplification Rule tends not to apply when C-**en** is preceded by the restrictor **í**:-

kálám	k-ŏkítak	ana	í-k-ēn	k-in
pen	c-bad	and	RES-C-DEM	C-POSS1

the pen is bad, but it is mine

This may point towards a historically long vowel that has become short, or perhaps the historical loss of a tone bearing unit. A long vowel is actually attested in C-**ēná** ‘such, like this/that’.

8.2.2. C-**en** as attributive modifier

C-**en** as attributive modifier is part of a noun phrase which also contains its nominal head; the head precedes C-**en**. C-**en** functions as anaphoric demonstrative, referring to a preceding noun phrase or to a clause or stretch of clauses. ‘The story of Amuṭa’ opens with the following clauses: ‘One day, Amuṭa left from home to go stealing in Ṭṛəmo and he saw the goats of Aləlen grazing in the field. Amuṭa jumped quickly to catch the goats’. Then follows the sentence with C-**en**:

caɾɪ c-én a-kəllán k-əɾɛk k-əká.t cɪk
 day C-DEM CONJ-old_woman C-some C-be:COMPL VREF

a-k-ɔkəɾaccé-k n.tɪ ɪ-ɔɾɛn
 CONJ-PRO-watch:DEPINCOMPL-O3 from in-firewood

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

The next example is from Luke 2:19. **lən lən appɪk** ‘all those words’ refers to what the shepherds have heard from the angels and have come to tell:

ana.rrúk ɔ-mériɔm p-ɔccɔ.káɾɛ lən ɪ-ɛn appɪk nɔ-cɪkɪt c-úŋ
 but PERS-Mary C-catch:PST words C-DEM all on-heart C-POSS3

but Mary kept all those words in her heart (Luke 2:19)

8.2.3. C-**en** used independently

C-**en** can be used independently, i.e. without head in the same noun phrase. The absence of a high (or falling) tone on independently used C-**en** shows that the initial consonant of independent C-**en** is a concord, not a pronominal proclitic.

In the following fixed expression, the **p**-concord of **pɛn** implicitly agrees with the noun **papu** ‘thing’.

ŋín-ɬa p-ɛn
 what-QW C-DEM

what you are talking about? (more lit.: what that (thing)?)

By analogy, the concord of the independent demonstrative in the following example implicitly agrees with **pul** ‘person’, agreement is not with **ɔtɬa** ‘who’:

ɔtɬa p-ɛn
 PERS.3-QW C-DEM

who is it? (Used in a speech environment, for example when somebody announced himself, but you did not hear his name, or in the sense of ‘whom are you talking about’).

8.2.4. **c-ên** preceded by the restrictor **í-**

c-ên can be preceded by the restrictor **í-** (which will be discussed in chapter 9). **í-c-ên** functions independently and can be translated as ‘the one(s)’. An example was already given earlier in this chapter. In the first example below, the concord **w-**, which is deleted between vowels (**í-w-ên** > **í-ên**), agrees with **aṛəpu** ‘things’; in the second, **irên** refers to a pig (**tuttəruk**) that has been causing damage before, and that has come again; in the third, **k** refers to the Holy Spirit (**kənánj í-k-ôpuṛé**).

aṛəpu	w-ə-páppá	áppík	í-ên	w-in
things	C-of.PERS-father	all	RES-(C-)DEM	C-POSS1

all the things of the Father are the ones that are mine (John 16:15)

a-púl	í-p-šcúrá	ští.at	ittu	í-r-ên	t-š-máí
CONJ-person	RES-C-male	find:DEPPRFV	that	RES-C-DEM	C-of-some_time_ago

and the man found that it was the one of before

ana	í-k-ên	í-k-a	ə-rən	t-immá.t	ménní	ana	əccíktə
ana	RES-C-DEM	RES-C-COP	PERS-12A	C-see:COMPL	today	and	hear:DEPINCOMPL

and (it is) the one which we have seen and heard today (Acts 2:33)

í-c-ên can be followed by a focus construction with **akka** ‘that’ (realized as **akk** before the initial vowel of a verb). The example below can also be stated just with **akka** or **akk-**, but the combination **í-c-ên akka** makes the focus stronger.

pəṭək	í-p-a	ól	í-ónə	w-əṛá.t
stone	RES-C-COP	people	RES-(C-)build:INCOMPL	C-refuse:COMPL

í-p-ên	akk-əṭəkká.t	cillaŋ
RES-C-DEM	FOC-become:COMPL	big_stone_as_fundament_of_wall

the stone which the builders rejected is the one that has become the fundament (Luke 20:17)

Two examples with **í-c-ên akka(a)** and a transitive verb follow here. In the first, **k** of **ikên** agrees with **kəṛan** ‘name’. Note in the second that the subject comes after the verb.

၁-၁၁၁ တ-၁၁၁ **၁-က-၁၁** **akka** **m-p-a.ik** **p-၁၁၁**
 PERS-2A C-not_know:INCOMPL RES-C-DEM that 1-C-be:PR C-talk_to:INCOMPL
၁၁၁ **၁၁၁** **၁-၁၁**
 O2A words C-of:ABS

you (PL) do not know that it is the one (i.e. ‘the name’) I am telling you of (Acts 17:23)

တု၁၁၁ **၁-တ-၁၁** **akk-၁၁၁** **ပု၁** **၁-p-၁၁၁** **၁၁၁** **၁၁-၁၁၁**
 food RES-C-DEM FOC-have person RES-C-black here on-ground

food is what a human being needs here on earth

၁၁၁ akka +H is a fixed expression for ‘that’s why’. The concord **၁** agrees with the implicit noun **၁၁၁** ‘words, matters’:

၁-၁၁ **akka** **a-n-၁၁၁၁-၁၁** **၁၁၁၁-၁၁၁၁**
 RES-C-DEM that CONJ-1-speak_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL-O2 always-REDUP

that’s why I always talk to you

၁၁၁, just by itself, is a fixed expression for ‘that’s it!’ The concord **p** agrees with the implicit noun **၁၁၁** ‘thing’:

၁-p-၁၁
 RES-C-DEM

that’s it! (i.e. that’s what I had in mind, that’s what I wanted to say)

8.2.5. The manner-deictic adjective **C-၁၁၁** ‘such, like this/that’

It is very likely that **C-၁၁၁** ‘such, like this/that’ contains the pronominal base **၁၁** as a formative, as was mentioned earlier in this chapter. **C-၁၁၁** has anaphoric reference and can be used as a modifier (first example below), but also independently (second example below). Like most adjectives **C-၁၁၁** is preceded by the restrictor **၁**- when it functions as an attribute.

á-pól í-p-ééná ókórənn-ɔmə⁵⁷ ittĩ ...
 SUBJ-person RES-C-such NEG:DEP-say:DEPINCOMPL that

let such a person not say that ...

pól ɛm-p-ɪ p-ééná ana ɛm-p-í p-ééná
 person DEM-C-NEARSP C-such and DEM-C-NEARSP C-such

this person is like this and the other one (lit. this one) is like that

⁵⁷ The falling tone of ɔmə ‘say’ becomes low in this context.

9. The restrictor

The “restrictor” (the proclitic element *í-*) turns adjectival and verbal predicates into attributive modifiers that restrict the reference of the head noun to a subgroup with the properties or qualities expressed by the adjectival or verbal predicate. Verbal predicates with the restrictor function as restrictive relative clauses (see chapter 11).

The restrictor brings a high tone to a following verb in the way described by the rules of Tone Shift (and Tone Reappearance sub-Rules) and Contour Simplification, cf:

pul **p-ɔparí**

person C-female

the person is female

pul **ɪ-p-ɔparí**

person RES-C-female

the woman (the person who is female)

It cannot itself receive a high tone from a preceding element, but it can have a high realization due to tone bridge. In view of these properties I represent it with a high tone: *í-* (a rising tone would have been possible as well, see 3.8). It has no prepausal realization.

A least some adjectives, however, have a tonal realization that is different from what would be expected, when preceded by the restrictor. Examples include **C-ɔɲí** ‘black’, **C-ɔttê** (or **C-ɔttê**) ‘small, little, young’, **C-ərɪk** ‘big, important’ and **C-ɔkɪtak** ‘bad’. The restrictor brings a high tone to their initial mora replacing their own tone pattern, as, for example in **pul ɪ-p-ərɪk** ‘person who is important’. This is, however, not the case for all adjectives (nor for all adjectives with a L.HL or L.H.L tone pattern).

Morpho-phonologically the restrictor behaves in a regular way: when attached to an adjective or verb with +ATR vowels, its realization may change slightly in the direction of a +ATR realization. Preceding an *ɪ*-initial element a little length is generally retained.

An example with an adjective and a verb phrase preceded by the restrictor follow here:

kəɾet **ɪ-k-ípe** **k-á.ík** **cóné**
 cloth RES-C-old C-be:PR here
 the old cloth is here

tók **ɪ-t-úkkwá.t** **t-á.ík** **cóné**
 dog RES-C-become_old:COMPL C-be:PR here
 the old dog is here

The following examples concern modification of object nouns through modifiers with and without the restrictor, and placed inside and outside the noun phrase.

cɔɾâŋ ‘stick’ in the first example below in principle allows for a definite as well as an indefinite reading. This is the same when the ‘stick’ is modified by an adjective or verb phrase with the restrictor, provided that this modifier is positioned within the noun phrase, i.e. used attributively (second example below):

k-kw-ʒtúk-w.áté **cúɾáŋ** **n.tɪ** **ɪ-wét**
 3-C-grab:PST stick from in-horizontal_bamboos_of_roof
 s/he grabbed a/the stick from the inside of the roof

k-kw-ʒtúk-w.áté **cúɾáŋ** **í-c-ʒɲɪ** **n.tɪ** **ɪ-wét**
 3-C-grab:PST stick RES-C-black from in-horizontal_bamboos_of_roof
 s/he grabbed a/the black stick from the inside of the roof

It is different when the adjective with restrictor is positioned at the end of the clause, outside of the noun phrase. Now, the adjective (**ɪcɔɲɪ** ‘black’) gives a definite reading to the noun (**cɔɾâŋ** ‘stick’), identifying it as the black one among other sticks:

k-kw-ǵúkw.ǵé **cúráŋ** **n.ti** **i-wet** **i-c-ǵni**
 3-C-grab:PST stick from in-horizontal_bamboos_of_roof RES-C-black

s/he grabbed the black stick from the inside of the roof (implies that there are one or more other sticks: it is the black one that is taken)

The first example below is syntactically comparable to the example above, but lacks the restrictor on the adjective (**c-ǵé** ‘red’). Providing some information about the necklace (**cuccú**), namely that it is red, the adjective establishes an indefinite reading of it. Unlike its counterpart with restrictor, an attributive adjective or verb phrase without restrictor is not placed inside the noun phrase, but comes at the end (second example below).

k-kw-ákó.t **cuccú** **i-cəlók** **c-ǵé**
 3-C-wear:COMPL bead in-neck C-red

she has put a red necklace around her neck

***k-kw-ákó.t** **cuccú** **c-ǵé** **i-cəlók**
 3-C-wear:COMPL bead C-red in-neck

Two examples contrasting a clause with and without the restrictor modifying an object noun follow here. The first is the opening line of a story, introducing the main character, the second identifies a certain jackal amongst others:

m-p-a.ik **p-a.t-éret** **ǵlapaccút**
 1-C-be:PR C-IT:INCOMPL-speak_about:DEPINCOMPL jackal

w-ǵná.t **məre**
 C-bring:COMPL cultivating_party

I am going to talk about a jackal who organized a cultivating party (‘The story of the jackal’)

m-p-a.ik **p-a.t-éret** **ǵlapaccút**
 1-C-be:PR C-IT:INCOMPL-speak_about:DEPINCOMPL jackal

i-ǵná.t **məre**
 RES-(C-)bring:COMPL cultivating_party

I am going to talk about the jackal who organized a cultivating party (implies that there are other jackals who did not organize such a party)

Adjectives which are used independently have the restrictor. In the example below the concord **c** agrees with **corân** ‘stick’:

ɛt-in **i-c-ɔ̃nɪ**
 give:IMP-O1 RES-C-black
 give me the black one!

The earlier given example with **icɔ̃nɪ** at the end of the clause in fact allows for a reading like this as well (‘s/he grabbed the stick from the inside of the roof, the black one’).

The use of the restrictor on adjectives (and numerals) and on relative clauses is further exemplified in the chapters 10 and 11. The restrictor is not used on connexive constructions, possessors and demonstratives, with the exception of the anaphoric demonstrative **c-ɛn**. **i-c-ɛn** ‘the one’ was discussed in chapter 8.2.4.

The restrictor furthermore forms a fixed combination with **ɔ̃kkwí**, giving **ɔ̃kkwí í-** ‘(the one) who’ (see chapter 6.1.5).

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-ɔɾɛrɛt**

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-ɔkɪɲâ.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.kəɽe** **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-**ipe**), 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 restricor 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-ərulókkul ‘round’

plural form

/ C-ittí-C-ittik, C-ittittik (PL)

/ C-ittí-C-ittik, C-ittittik (PL)

/ C-ottó-C-ottê, C-ottóttê,

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-əpərôt ‘good’

C-əkítak ‘bad’

C-íccɪɪɪ ‘marvellous, superb’

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

colour

C-əɲɪ ‘black’

C-ɪpók ‘white’

C-əɹě ‘red, ripe’

C-əɹəlō ‘grey, yellowish’

C-íccí ‘green’

C-ələmít ‘light brown, towards green’

C-arorōŋ ‘grey and brown mixed’

C-əlōrrō ‘striped’

C-əɹerēt ‘spotted’

C-acallerō ‘spotted (with big spots)’

*physical property*C-**ímmīn** ‘heavy’C-**íppappat** ‘light, easy’⁵⁸C-**íán** ‘wet’C-**íppá** ‘hot, warm’C-**írrók** ‘cold’C-**ṇṭṣomat** ‘hard’C-**ṇṇērâ** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’C-**akérakkērō** ‘rough’C-**ṇṇērê** ‘rough’C-**ṇṇrú** ‘blunt’C-**ṇṇrê** ‘sharp’C-**akírakkír** ‘dim’C-**ípm** ‘not well cooked’C-**ṇṇṭṣót** ‘tasty, sweet’C-**ṇṇér** ‘sour’C-**ṇṇrâ** ‘salty’C-**ṇṇôn** ‘bitter’C-**ṇṇě** ‘clean, stingy’C-**ṇṇó** ‘sick’C-**áṇṇilla** ‘crippled’C-**ṇṇarí** (SG)/C-**aarí** (PL) ‘female’C-**ṇṇura** (SG)/C-**ṇṇura** (PL) ‘male’*spiritual property*C-**ṇṇurê** ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’C-**ṇṇôn** ‘forbidden’*speed*C-**acókaccəkət** ‘fast’C-**akúcukcuk** ‘fast’*similarity*C-**ṇṇná** ‘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-**ṇṇappât** (< **ṇṇáppa** ‘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-ittîk	ī-m-îpe	/	man	ī-m-îpé	ī-m-ittîk
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-ɔ̃ŋtəmâ.t**
 cloth C-become_dry:COMPL

the cloth has dried / the cloth is dry

ŋərə **ŋ-ɔ̃ŋtómât**
 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** **ŋərə** **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-ɔ ‘of’) and a noun. Some examples derived with C-á and noun:

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

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

C-**akérakkəɔ** ‘rough’ (< C-á + **kəɔkkəɔ** ‘rough spot’)

C-**akířakkır** ‘dim’ (< C-á + **kırakkır** ‘twilight’)

C-**acallerŋ** ‘spotted (with big spots)’ (< C-á + (probably) **calle** ‘ball’ (final **ɔ** (or **tɔ**) 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	řilla
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:

imɪt	w-arurŋ
goat	C-grey_and_brown

the goat is grey and brown

pɪɪl	p-a	turŋ
snake	C-COP	snake(sp.)

the snake is a *turŋ*

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 **í-t̪-ɔ̃parí**
 camel RES-C-female.SG

a female camel

ɪ-laməlá **í-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-ṭkorrənno 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-**ɔtɕ** ‘clean, stingy’ has a different intensified form, which involves reduplication and gemination of **tɕ** to **ll**: C-**ɔtɕillɪr** ‘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-**ɪŋərə** ‘very smooth, soft’

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

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

C-**ɔtɕ ɪttuǎŋ** or C-**ɔtɕettiǎŋ** ‘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-**ɔtɕ** ‘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-**ɔkɪtak** ‘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** / ***ɟugwin** ‘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-**əɾapóruk** and the words for ‘six’, C-**əɾâ-kkuruk** and C-**əɾârəporuk**, seem to be related, but it is not clear how exactly. The full form C-**éɾɛ-C-əɾapóruk** ‘seven’, which has a repeated concord, and its shortened form C-**éɾɛɾapóruk** are built up as C-two-two-(C-)three. An alternative way of expressing ‘seven’ has a repeated concord as well: C-**ɔcɔɾa-C-əɾapóruk** (C-four-C-three).

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

lɪcɔk mɔrəmɔr	‘(ca.) eight goats’
lɪcɔk lamóɾəmɔr	‘eight goats’
lɪcɔk lɔkát mɔrəmɔr	‘there were (ca.) eight goats’
lɪcɔk lɔkát lámóɾəmɔr	‘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 **áləkaire** ‘ten’ (not **attul** or C-áttul). The origin of **áləkaire** is unknown.

arriál ana áləkaire	‘thirty’ (twenty and ten)
arriál weṛá	‘forty’ (two twenties)
arriál weṛá ana áləkaire	‘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',
mmúkulúk '5', mməṛâkkorok, mməṛâraporok '6',
mmêṛéməṛapəruk, mmêṛéṛapəruk, mmóɔɔɔaməṛapəruk '7',
mmáməɔɔmər '8', mmókulláɔɔɔɔ '9', mmáttul '10', mmáttul ana
ikkén cúlúkkú '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

εṭ-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-ἰν	μάτῑάκ	ἰ-ἢ-άττολ
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-ἰν	μάτῑάκ	άττολ
give:IMP-O1	calabashes(k.o.)	ten

give me (ca.) ten bowls

*εῑ-ἰν	μάτῑάκ	ἰ-άττολ
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-**αῖκ**, 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-**αῖκ** but the copula C-**ά** would be used).

μάτῑάκ	ἢ-α.ῖκ	ἢ-άττολ
calabashes(k.o.)	C-be:PR	C-ten

there are ten bowls

μάτῑάκ	ἢ-α.ῑκ	άττολ
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-**αῖκ**, preceded by the restrictor:

εῑ-ἰν	μάτῑάκ	ἰ-ἢ-α.ῑκ	άττολ
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** **mén** **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-úk-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**:

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

aɾɐɐ a-or-ɛɾapóɾok ‘all three things’	< a-or-ɛɾapóɾok	(not expected)
aɾɐɐ ar-ɛɾapóɾok ‘all three things’	< ar-ɛɾapóɾok	(expected)
aɾɐɐ 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** **ɔɲkat** **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

l̥ɛ́cək	l-a.ṛəkíne	pól	p-əṛək	m̥l̥
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-ɪt
time	C-some	C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-marten(?)	C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL
ṇərrón	á-ṇ-ṇ-á.ík		áppuṭa ⁵⁹		nóṛá
squirrel	CONJ-PRO-C-be:PR		(CONJ-PRO-)play:DEPINCOMPL		on top
					w-ṣ-pira
					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’).

arriṛt.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 ə-purukó-n ɬ-əppót
 people C-some C-have PERS-friend-PL C-many
á-əṛĕk w-ənó ə-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-ókitak] _{NP}	t-ókəɔ.t	ókul
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:

[takəɔk	í-t-ótté	í-t-óre] _{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 **jukul** ‘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.

jukul	j-ɔnó	ittɪ	j-á.ɲotta	ɪ-j-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)

jukul	ɪ-j-árrán	j-ɔnó	ittɪ	j-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.

11. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are clauses that function as modifiers of a noun or pronoun in the matrix clause. Lumun has subject and non-subject relative clauses, and different constructions for a restrictive and a non-restrictive relative clause. Restrictive relative clauses restrict the reference of their head to a subgroup with certain properties; non-restrictive relative clauses just provide additional information.

Relative clauses contain a concord that agrees with the (pro)noun in the matrix clause that they modify. This (pro)noun from the matrix clause functions as subject in a subject relative clause and as a something other than subject in a non-subject relative clause. A locative relative clause uses the (fixed) locative relative **ná** ‘where’.

Restrictive relative clauses, whether subject, non-subject or locative relative clauses have the restrictor (**í**-, see chapter 9), non-restrictive relative clauses lack the restrictor.

A special use of non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses is in cleft constructions. Such constructions are discussed in 11.2.4.

11.1. Subject relative clauses

A subject relative clause contains a non-dependent verb. The concord on the verb agrees with the head in the matrix clause. In a restrictive subject relative clause the concord is preceded by the restrictor **í**:-

C-verb (non-restrictive)

I-C-verb (restrictive)

The verb in a subject relative construction can be an Incomplete, a Complete, the Present of ‘be’, the copula **C-á** or a complex verb starting with an auxiliary in non-dependent TAM. One non-dependent TAM, the Past, is not used in subject relative clauses. The Past, like its dependent counterpart the Dependent Perfective, is a narrative TAM that must be preceded in the discourse by another verb, if only a verb that provides “background” information about a

state or situation. This is not compatible with use in a relative clause. A verb in a relative clause typically provides background information itself, either as additional information or in order to restrict the reference of its head.

11.1.1. Restrictive subject relative clauses

Restrictive subject relative clauses typically function as attributive modifiers. Examples follow here:

pul i-p-aẽ	‘the person who will go’
pul i-p-əkát cənέ	‘the person who was here’
pul i-p-aṭ-əṭəkō	‘the person who will come and eat it’

Restrictive subject relative clauses can modify (pro)nouns from the matrix clause in different syntactic functions. In the first example below **əkīn** ‘they’ is modified; in the second **əkakkā** ‘Kakka’; in the third a **maṭi** ‘days’.

ámmá	ó-kín	í-t-á.póko	t-əppóṭ.ε	ṇacək	i-cá ...
if	PERS-3A	RES-C-be_beaten:INCOMPL	C-put_on:COMPL	amounts_of_mud	in-head
as soon as those who are beaten have put mud on their heads ... (fr. written story)					

ṇ-kw-ɪṭ.έ	ə-kakká⁶²	í-p-ére	íṇkəlísɪ
2-C-find:COMPL	PERS-Kakka	RES-C-speak:INCOMPL	English
did you meet the Kakka who speaks English?			

ə-kukkó	p-aa.t	maṭi	m-εṭa	i-m-ε̃.t
PERS-Kukku	C-come:COMPL	days	C-two	RES-C-go:COMPL
Kukku arrived two days ago (two days which have gone)				

The next is an example with the copula C-á ‘be’:

⁶² When the first born child is a girl she is called Kakka. There are therefore many people called Kakka.

pul **ɪ-p-a** **párɛʈan**
 person RES-C-COP rich_person

a person who is a rich

Syntactic position

In case of more attributive modifiers, a relative clause comes last:

ɲokul **ɛɲ-ɲ-ɪ** **ɪ-ɲ-árrán** **í-ɲ-á.ík** **ɲ-áppuʈa**
 children DEM-C-NEARSP RES-C-young RES-C-be:PR C-play:INCOMPL

these small children who are playing

A restrictive subject relative clause can also be placed outside the noun phrase, after the predicate. This is typically done when the relative clause is rather long. In the next example it happens twice: the first relative clause is a modifier of the subject of the matrix clause **nɪɪ** ‘leaders’, the second of **ul** ‘people’, which functions as object in the first relative clause. Postposition of the relative clauses makes the sentence easier to follow:

a-nɪí **n-ʒ-móʈʈú** **ɪat** **kín**
 CONJ-leaders C-of-Arabs find:DEPPRFV o3A

[í-n-álíkɪɛ **úl** **cɪk** **ɪ-aʈər]**
 RES-C-stop:INCOMPL people VREF in-roads

[ɪ-úra **ɔkúʈɛ** **tórrô]**
 RES-(C)-escape:INCOMPL move_up:DEPINCOMPL Lumun_country

and the Arab leaders who stopped the people in the roads who were escaping going up to Tórrô (Lumun homeland) found them (fr. written description)

Independent use of the restrictive relative construction

Like adjectives with the restrictor, and like the anaphoric demonstrative (C-**en**) with the restrictor, a verb phrase with the restrictor can function independently. In the example below, the relative clause **ɪpɛlɪkkákɔt** ‘who was released’ modifies the unexpressed object **pul** ‘the person’ of the matrix clause

akwókarənnə ‘while s/he let’. The object of the matrix clause is understood from the preceding clause.

k-kw-é-eliká.áťé pól ém-p-í a-kw-ókarənnə ɪ-p-elikáká.t
 3-C-IRR-release:PST person DEM-C-NEARSP CONJ-3-let:DEPINCOMPL RES-C-be_released:COMPL

s/he should have released this person and not the one who was released (i.e. and leave the one who was released)

11.1.2. Non-restrictive subject relative clauses

A non-restrictive subject relative clause does not restrict the reference of its head but provides additional information about it. It functions as a predicative modifier:

k-kw-ócoróť.é ɪ-pól p-óccó.t kəʔan itti ɔ-ťóťťô
 3-C-come_across:COMPL in-person C-receive:COMPL name that PERS-ťóťťô

s/he came across a person called ťóťťô

Compare also the following examples, in which the object noun from the matrix clause is modified. The first has a non-restrictive subject relative clause, the second a restrictive:

m-p-ócumə.t márt m-untáť.é nə-capó
 1-C-take.PLR:COMPL beans C-be_poured_on:COMPL on-ground

I have picked up some beans, which had fallen on the ground

m-p-ócumə.t márt ɪ-m-untáť.é nə-capó
 1-C-take.PLR:COMPL beans RES-C-be_poured_on:COMPL on-ground

I have picked up the beans that had fallen on the ground

In the following example the presence of a preceding main verb, the absence of a pronoun (clitic) on the verb, and the lack of a conjunction word or clitic between the clauses provide the cue that we are dealing with a modifier of the subject pronoun of the matrix clause, and not an additional main clause. The non-restrictive relative clause comes after the full matrix clause:

m-p-aa.t **n-t̥ɔ-mɪɾuk** **p-átt̥-ɔŋáẽɔ**
 1-C-come:COMPL with-at-bush C-ITVEN:COMPL-urinate:DEPINCOMPL
 I come from the bush, having gone to urinate

11.2. Non-subject relative clauses

Non-subject relative clauses are introduced by the copula **C-á**. The same distinction that is found in subject relative clauses between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause is found in non-subject relative clauses. In case of a restrictive non-subject relative clause, the restrictor precedes the copula. The concord of **C-á** agrees with the noun in the matrix clause that is modified. **C-á** (which is realized low in context) is followed by a (pro)nominal subject and verb which, depending on the verbal TAM, has or lacks a concord:

C-a SUBJ (C)-*verb* (non-restrictive non-subject relative clause)
I-C-a SUBJ (C)-*verb* (restrictive non-subject relative clause)

The verb in a non-subject relative clause is a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, or a complex verb starting with one of these. So, while a subject relative clause takes the non-dependent Incompletive, the non-subject relative clause takes its dependent counterpart. Compare:

pul **i-p-a.ɾəkɔ** **t̥ɪt̥ɪt̥**
 person RES-C-eat:INCOMPL food
 the person who eats the food

t̥ɪt̥ɪt̥ **í-t̥-á** **pól** **ɔɾák̥ɔ**
 food RES-C-COP person eat:DEPINCOMPL
 the food which the person eats

Predicates with the same structure as the non-restrictive non-subject relative clause (**C-a** SUBJ (C)-*verb*) will be discussed in 11.2.4.

11.2.1. Morpho-phonology and constructions with personal pronouns

Across a morpheme boundary there is often assimilation between adjacent **a** and **ɔ**, either to **a** or to **ɔ** (see, for example, 2.2.8). After

c-á, however, whether with or without the restrictor, a sequence a-ɔ is generally realized as a diphthong: a remains, ɔ —though to a lesser extent— tends to remain audible as well (first example below). The persona prefix ɔ-, on the other hand, typically coalesces with the vowel of (ɪ-)C-á (second example). An example is further given with non-geminated ŋ after (ɪ-)C-á, which is regularly deleted (third example).

aɾəpu ia ɔcaŋ ɔɾəkô ‘things which the lizards(sp.) eat’

aɾəpu ia-kumánɣ ɔɾəkô (< **ia ɔkumánɣ**) ‘things which Kumanɣ eats’

aɾəpu ia ŋərrɔŋ ɔɾəkô ‘things which the squirrel eats’

A singular personal pronoun follows (ɪ-)C-á in its clitic form, a plural personal pronoun either in its clitic or its full form. The clitic form of the 3PL pronoun is not used in this environment. Unlike the initial ɔ of a common noun, the persona prefix of the full personal pronouns coalesces with the a of (ɪ-)C-á to short a. For this reason I write the relative marker and the full plural pronouns connected (as I do in case of the 2SG clitic).

The table below presents the paradigm of personal pronouns as part of a restrictive non-subject relative clause with a Dependent Incomplete verb. The geminated allomorph of the 2PL pronoun clitic (**nn-** ‘you’) is used before the vowel-initial verb in this environment. Some length of the nasal is indeed audible here (and mentally experienced by the speakers), disambiguating the 2PL form from the 1SG form.

Table 45 Restrictive non-subject relative clauses with personal pronoun and Dependent Incomplete

	<i>with full pronoun</i>	<i>with clitic pronoun</i>
things which I eat		aɾəpu ia n-ɔɾəkô
things which you eat		aɾəpu iaɾəkô (ia ŋ-ɔɾəkô > ia ɔɾəkô > iaɾəkô)
things which s/he eats		aɾəpu ia kw-ɔɾəkô

things which we (12) eat	arəpu iarit ɟəkəʃ (< ia ɟrɪt)	arəpu ia ir-ɟəkəʃ
things which we (1A) eat	arəpu ianin ɟəkəʃ (< ia ɟnɪn)	arəpu ia in-ɟəkəʃ
things which we (12A) eat	arəpu iarun ɟəkəʃ (< ia ɟrún) arəpu iarən ɟəkəʃ (< ia ɟrón)	arəpu ia un-ɟəkəʃ
things which you (PL) eat	arəpu ianən ɟəkəʃ (< ia ɟnón)	arəpu ia-nn-ɟəkəʃ
things which they eat	arəpu iakín ɟəkəʃ (< ia ɟkɪn)	

The modified noun from the matrix clause can have different syntactic functions in a non-subject relative clause; this function is not related to its syntactic function in the matrix clause. Examples of different syntactic functions in restrictive and non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses (as well as in the matrix clause) follow here.

11.2.2. Restrictive non-subject relative clauses

The modified noun from the matrix clause can be object in the relative clause. Two examples follow here. In the first, **lon** ‘words’ functions as object in the relative clause, in the second, **urrêt** ‘lines’.

m-p-ellá.t	lɔn	nɔ-ɕikɨt	ɪ-l-a	n-ɤkúccet	caɾɪ	c-ên
1-C-not have:COMPL	words	on-heart	RES-C-COP	1-prepare:DEPINCOMPL	day	C-DEM

I lacked matters in my heart that I do that day (i.e. I did not plan anything that day)

... á-kw-ʒt-ómmɔ	ɲaak	á-kw-ʒtʃt
... SUBJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL	oil	SUBJ-3-rub at:DEPINCOMPL

í-úrrét	ên-n-ərik	ɪ-a	k-kw-ókurro.t	ŋ-kurɪn
in-lines	DEM-C-NEARADDR	RES-(C-)COP	3-C-engrave:COMPL	with-awl

... she must go and take the oil to rub it into those grooves that she has drawn with the awl (App. III, 9-11)

When the relativized noun is part of a prepositional phrase, an absolute preposition is used (see 16.6). Cf. the following pairs of examples. Each time, the second has the non-subject relative clause:

m-p-ɔ̌cʊrárɔ̌t.ɛ **ɪ-úl** **én-n-í** **ɬɔ̌ɾɪ**
 1-C-come_across_each_other:COMPL in-people DEM-C-NEARSP ɬɔ̌ɾɪ
 I met with these people in ɬɔ̌ɾɪ

ul **ɪ-a** **m-p-ɔ̌cʊrárɔ̌t.ɛ** **tít** **ɬɔ̌ɾɪ**
 people RES-(C-)COP 1-C-come_across_each_other:COMPL in:ABS ɬɔ̌ɾɪ
 the people with whom I met in ɬɔ̌ɾɪ

m-p-ɪcáɬ.ɛ **na-aɾaŋkal** **én-n-í** **méccín**
 1-C-lie_down:COMPL on-bed DEM-C-NEARSP yesterday
 I slept on this bed yesterday

aɾaŋkal **ɪ-a** **m-p-ɪcáɬ.ɛ** **nán** **méccín** **w-ɔ̌cɔ̌ttá.t**
 bed RES-(C-)COP 1-C-lie_down:COMPL on:ABS yesterday C-break:COMPL
 the bed on which I slept yesterday has broken down

In the second example below the relativized noun is part of a comitative construction. The relative construction makes use of the associative marker **áɬɬút**. Compare:

k-kw-ɔ̌ká.t **p-ɔ̌nú** **ɪttɪ** **k-kw-ápəɾəɬɬa**
 3-C-be:COMPL C-have that 3-C-be_beaten_while_running:INCOMPL
ɔ̌-kín **ɔ̌-paɬɬ-ɔ̌n**
 PERS-3A PERS-person-PL

she should have been beaten while running together with those people (lit.: she had had to be beaten while running together with those people)

ɔ̌-paɬɬ-ɔ̌n **í-t-á** **k-kw-ɔ̌ká.t** **p-ɔ̌nú** **ɪttɪ**
 PERS-person-PL RES-C-COP 3-C-be:COMPL C-have that
k-kw-ápəɾəɬɬa **ɔ̌-kín** **áɬ-t-út** **t-á.ccɪrɔ̌-k** **ŋ.ŋm**
 3-C-be_beaten_while_running:INCOMPL PERS-3A ASS-C-ASS C-laugh:INCOMPL-O3 with:ABS

the people together with whom she should have been beaten while running will laugh at her because of it (because she is pregnant without having undergone the rite of passage of being beaten while running) (fr. written description)

Possessors can also be relativized. In the second example, with relative clause, the possessor pronoun **C-én** ‘their’ expresses the possessor relation. Compare:

l̥ɛk **l-ɔ-ɔl** **l-ɔɾəttâ.t**
 goats C-of-people C-be_eaten:COMPL
 the goats of the people have been eaten

ɔl **ɪ-a** **l̥ɛk** **l-ɛn** **l-ɔɾəttâ.t**
 people RES-(C-)COP goats C-POSS3A C-be_eaten:COMPL
 the people whose goats have been eaten (lit.: the people which their goats have been eaten)

There are other ways to relativize possessor-noun constructions, as illustrated in the following examples. In the first example the possessor relation is expressed through a benefactive verb, in the second through the verb ‘have’. In the first, the semantic possessor is encoded as object of a benefactive verb in the non-subject relative clause; in the second the possessor is modified by a subject relative clause. The verb **l̥ɔɾəttâ** functions as a non-restrictive subject relative clause, adding information about the goats.

ɔl **ɪ-a** **l̥ɛk** **l-ɔɾəttâne.t**
 people RES-(C-)COP goats C-be_eaten_for:COMPL
 people whose goats have been eaten (lit.: people who the goats have been eaten to)

ɔl **ɪ-ɔnu** **l̥ɛk** **l-ɔɾəttâ.t**
 people RES-(C-)have goats C-be_eaten:COMPL
 people whose goats have been eaten (lit.: people who have the goats eaten)

11.2.3. Non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses

The modified noun from the matrix clause can be object in the relative clause. Two examples follow here. In the first, **pul** ‘person’ functions as object in the relative clause, in the second, **măn** ‘house’. In the matrix clause they function as subject and as object. Like in non-restrictive subject relative clauses, the relative clause comes after the matrix clause, but is not another main clause:

pul **p-ɪ.t** **p-a** **tuk** **t-ɔkkwɔt.ê**
 person C-die:COMPL C-COP dog C-kill:COMPL

the man died, killed by a dog (the man died whom the dog killed)

m-p-ɔnô **man** **m-a** **m-p-ɔkerɔ.t** **kátókəlɪ**
 1-C-have house C-COP 1-C-trade:COMPL Kadugli

I have a house, which I bought in Kadugli

Interestingly, in the next example the relative clause has a reason reading, suggesting that the verb **ɔkéréllɔ** ‘bite’ takes a double object: the person bitten (‘I’) as well as the result of the biting (the marks).⁶³

m-p-ɔnô **nepilá** **n-á** **ɔték** **w-ɔkéréllɔ.r-m**⁶⁴
 1-C-have marks C-COP ants(sp.) C-bite:COMPL-O1

I have marks because the ants (sp.) have bitten me

The following sentence also makes use of a non-restrictive non-subject relative clause. **nɔténtá** ‘of what’ is the predicate, **na ɪkwɔnô** ‘that you have’ modifies the (plural) noun **nɔtê** ‘fear’ from the matrix clause:

nɔtê **n-ɔténtá** **n-á** **ɪ-kw-ɔnô**
 fear C-of_what C-COP 2-C-have

the fear that you have is for what? (i.e. why are you afraid?)

The construction in the first example below relativizes a possessor phrase (compare the second example below which contains a possessor phrase modifying **tɔrɪt** ‘food’). The concord on C-á is **t**, agreeing with **tɔrɪt** ‘food’. The antecedent, however, is in fact the whole preceding clause ‘the food got spoilt just like that’. The possessor element is subsumed in absolute connexive C-**en**, which actually establishes the reference to the antecedent, while the concord (only) establishes grammatical agreement:

⁶³ The sentence forms a tonal minimal pair with an example given in 11.3, which is interpreted as containing the locative relative **ná**.

⁶⁴ Alternative realization: **wɔkéréllɔrín** (with tone bridge). Both realizations don’t need anything to follow.

tuṛít t-ɔkíták.aṭe nuṭok t-a-rɔn t-ɔmma lɔn l-en
 food C-get_spoilt:PST for_no_reason C-COP.PERS-12A C-not_know:INCOMPL words C-of:ABS
 the food got spoilt just like that, the reasons of which we do not know (lit.:
 ‘the food that got spoiled just like that, which we do not know the words
 of’) (fr. written text)

ɔ-rɔn t-ɔmma lɔn l-ɔ-tuṛít í-t-ɔkíták.aṭe nuṭok
 PERS-12A C-not_know:INCOMPL words C-of-food RES-C-get_spoilt:PST for_no_reason
 we do not know why the food got spoilt just like that (lit.: ‘we do not know
 the words of the food which got spoilt just like that’)

A temporal phrase is relativized in a variant of the standard opening of Lumun stories ‘once upon a time ...’. The variant with relative clause (first example below) lacks the conjunctive particle **á-**. Compare:

caṛi c-əṛək c-ɔká.t cɪk c-a-áṭəṛəpé ana cɪməntəri ...
 day C-some C-be:COMPL VREF C-COP-rabbit and hedgehog
 once upon a time, the rabbit and the hedgehog ... (more lit.: there was some
 day on which the rabbit and the hedgehog ...) (fr. written story)

caṛi c-əṛək c-ɔká.t cɪk a-áṭəṛəpé ana cɪməntəri ...
 day C-some C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-rabbit and hedgehog
 once upon a time, the rabbit and the hedgehog ... (more lit.: there was some
 day, and the rabbit and the hedgehog ...)

The following is also an interesting case, relativizing a comitative construction:

m-p-árəṭok p-a-rɔn t-a.ík
 1-C-still C-COP.PERS-12A C-be:PR

I am still (staying) with you (for example in answer to the question ‘when will you be going?’, more lit.: ‘I am still being we are’)

11.2.4. Cleft constructions: topicalization of a patient, instrument or comitative constituent

Non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses also function in cleft constructions. This cleft-construction topicalizes the patient of an

action by putting it into subject position, however, unlike a construction with a passive verb, without downplaying the agent of the action. The construction focuses the topic (or theme). The construction can also be applied to constituents with instrument role or in comitative construction. Such constituents are typically grammatically encoded as adjuncts, but now function as subject of the copula. The copula is the main verb, linking the subject with a clausal constituent.

The sentences below are full statements answering the questions ‘what happened to the man’ and ‘what happened to the goat’, respectively. My consultant (JS) translated the Lumun expressions into English with a passive construction. The topicalized argument is part of the core of the sentence, and not in extraposition: ‘C-a SUBJ verb’ is not a grammatical format for a main clause. Moreover there is regular assimilation across the word boundary, which would not be the case if the ‘person’ and the ‘goat’ in the examples below were extraposed. Note also the absence of an object pronoun on the verb ‘kill’ in the first example below. It is not possible for the topicalized argument to be pronominally referenced in the embedded clause.

The verb used in the embedded clause is a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, or a complex verb starting with one of these. The examples following here have a Completive verb, the last the Present of ‘be’.

pul	p-a	tuk	t-ɔkkwɔt.ê	[pul ʔβa ðu tɔkʷɔðê]
person	C-COP	dog	C-kill:COMPL	

the man was killed by a dog (lit.: the man is the dog killed)

imɨt	w-a	tuk	t-ɔkkwɔt.ê	[imir a ðu tɔkʷɔðê]
goat	C-COP	dog	C-kill:COMPL	

the goat was killed by a dog (lit.: the goat is the dog killed)

The following sentence could be a reply to someone who says that he likes to have a certain dog. The answer, which makes use of the patient-topicalizing cleft, communicates that the dog cannot be given away because Lalo already gave it to somebody else.

tuk t-a-laló p-étet ɔ-lóttí
 dog C-COP.PERS-Lalu C-give:COMPL PERS-Lótti

the dog has (already) been given to Lótti by Lalu (lit.: the dog is Lalu has given to Lótti)

In the next example a constituent with instrumental role is topicalized, taking up subject function. The sentence can be a reply to the question ‘what was done with this stick?’

kurrón ɛ-ŋ-kí k-á píɲil p-ɔkkottát.ɛ ŋ.ŋm
 stick DEM-C-NEARSP C-COP snake C-be_killed:COMPL with:ABS

with this stick a snake was killed (lit.: this stick is a snake was killed with)

In this example a comitative constituent is topicalized. It can be an answer to ‘where is your brother?’:

ɔ-paŋ-k-ín p-á-nín t-á.ík ín-át-t-út
 PERS-sibling-C-POSS1 C-COP.PERS-1A C-be:PR 1A-ASS-C-ASS

my brother is with me

11.3. The locative relative **ná** ‘where’

Non-subject relative clauses modifying a noun with locative semantics and expressing that something takes place at that location make use of a different construction. In such cases the locative relative marker **ná** (realized low) is used: **na** SUBJ-(C)-*verb*. **ná** selects the same TAMs as the marker of non-subject relative clause (ɪ-)C-á (a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, a defective verb, or a complex verb starting with an auxiliary in non-dependent TAM). I represent **ná** with a high tone since its behaviour is compatible with that of a monomoraic element with a high or a rising tone (it cannot receive a high tone from a preceding element; it can only be realized with a high tone due to tone bridge). The choice between a high and a rising tone is arbitrary because the element has no prepausal realization.

The exact phonological and morphological make-up of **ná** ‘where’ is not clear. Instead of assimilating to **n**, as would be expected (see

2.1.1 in the chapter on phonology), a preceding word-final **t** or **k** undergoes lenition before **ná**, as it would before a vowel-initial word (some examples of this are given in section 2.1.1). Lenition of a preceding **t** and **k** suggests that the locative relative is actually **n-ná**, with a moraic initial nasal. Moreover, at least one speaker spelled it as <ina>, but the presence of a vowel before the nasal was rejected by JS. Writing a vowel might then also point at an underlying form **n-ná**. Length of the nasal is, however, not audible, nor was it intuitively acceptable for my consultant (JS). For this reason I represent the element as **ná**.

In addition, it is not clear whether the element **ná** is itself morphologically complex or not. **ná** could be a realization of **C-á**, which introduces a non-restrictive non-subject relative clause. An argument in favour of this is that **ná** selects the same TAMs as (1-)C-á. However, if **ná** historically is a realization of **C-á**, it is unclear what the concord **n** would have agreed with. Would Lumun have had locative nouns, like the Bantu languages, perhaps with a **n**-initial locative prefix, relating to the current preposition **nɔ**- ‘on, at’? Since a convincing analysis is lacking, I just represent the element as **ná** and gloss it as a single unit.

Like the non-subject relative, the locative relative fuses with the persona prefix (ǝ-) of a following personal pronoun, kinship term or personal name (first example below). It does not fuse with the initial vowel ɔ of a common noun:

k-kw-á.ík	ná-lálô
3-C-be:PR	where:REL.PERS-Lalu

s/he is (at the place) where Lalo is

m-p-ɔnó	nɛpɪlâ	na	ɔ́ɛ́ék	w-ɔ́káréllɔ.r-m ⁶⁵
1-C-have	marks	where:REL	ants(sp.)	C-bite:COMPL-O1

I have marks where the ants (sp.) have bitten me

⁶⁵ Alternative realization: **wɔ́káréllórín** (with tone bridge). Both realizations don't need anything to follow. Tonal minimal pair with an example given in 11.2.3, with non-restrictive non-subject relative construction.

Another example with the locative relative follows here.

m-p-ɔká.t ʔáɽu na m-p-ɔkwɔntá.ɛ
 1-C-be:COMPL ʔáɽu where:REL 1-C-be_born_at:COMPL

I was in ʔáɽu, where I was born

In the following example, the relative clause introduced by **ná** modifies the noun **kaɽən** ‘place’. **kaɽən** cannot be left out here, since the benefactive verb **ɔ́ɪnɛ** ‘go to’ is used: the verb needs an object noun expressing the goal-argument:

... a-kw-ɔ́ɪɲ.kantɛt káɽən na k-kw-á.ɪk p-á.kkwót karran
 CONJ-3-go_to:DEPPRFV place where:REL 3-C-be:PR C-construct:INCOMPL wall

and then he goes to the location where he is constructing the wall

In combination with the non-benefactive **ɛ́ɔ** ‘go’ the locative phrase **nɔ-kaɽən** ‘at place’ can be present, but also absent:

... a-kw-ɔ́ɪɲkat (nɔ-káɽən) na k-kw-á.ɪk p-á.kkwót karran
 CONJ-3-go:DEPPRFV on-place where:REL 3-C-be:PR C-construct:INCOMPL wall

and then he goes to the location where he is constructing the wall

ná is commonly used without antecedent:

na ɪkkɔ cɪk m-p-ɪkkɔ cɪk
 where:REL (2-)sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF 1-C-sit:INCOMPL VREF

where you will stay, I will stay

(Ruth 1:16)

k-kw-á.ɪk ná kɔ́pá k-á.ɪk
 3-C-be:PR where:REL meat C-be:PR

s/he is (at the place) where the meat is (this expression can be used in the market: the person is in the part of the market where the meat is sold).

Note in the following example that a Present of ‘be’ is absent in the clause introduced by **ná**. An other example of this was presented above (**kkwáɪk náɺálô** ‘s/he is where Lalô is’). In both cases the subject of the relative clause is human.

m-p-a.nékɔ kómmok na kəllân
 1-C-take:INCOMPL pot where:REL old_woman

I will take the pot to where the old woman is

In order to express ablative ‘from where’, the absolute preposition **ŋŋm** ‘with, by, from’ is added:

k-kw-á.kənn-ɪɛ na k-kw-áa.t ŋŋm
 3-C-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL where:REL 3-C-come:COMPL with:ABS

s/he did not say where s/he came from

12. Verbs

This chapter discusses verbal inflection: the morphological marking of verbs for mood, tense and aspect, modality, negation, irrealis and deixis, as well as verbal complexes.

In section 12.1 I present some terminology I use in this chapter. Section 12.2 mentions the form for citing a verbal lexeme; 12.3 presents the morphological structure of the verbal word. In 12.4 I give the base forms of verbs and their segmental and tonal characteristics. Section 12.5 discusses the so-called ‘basic TAMs’ and in 12.6 I make some general remarks about verbs with defective inflection. 12.7 is devoted to the verb *ɔkâ* ‘be’, a verb that has an extra TAM-stem and a basic TAM based on this TAM-stem. ‘Be’ can function as copular verb, as main (locative/existential) verb, or as auxiliary verb. Auxiliary verbs other than *ɔkâ* are discussed in 12.8 to 12.20. Some defective verbs are discussed in 12.21 and 12.22. The final section of this chapter (12.23) presents some combinations of auxiliary verbs.

12.1. TAMs and TAM-stems

In order to describe Lumun verbal inflection, I distinguish between “TAM-stems” and “TAMs”. In “TAM-stems”, TAM is short for tense-aspect-mood and refers to inflectional morphology expressing these grammatical categories. In addition, the inflectional morphology of TAM-stems reflects “dependency” versus “non-dependency”, so that TAM-stems (and also TAMs) can be divided into dependent and non-dependent ones. TAM as in “TAMs” refers to the inflectional structure of a whole verbal word or even a whole verbal complex, involving also negation, irrealis, deixis and categories of modality.

TAM-stems are building stones of verbal words. A verbal word contains at least one TAM-stem. Some TAM-stems can themselves form a complete verbal word, other TAM-stems are obligatorily combined with a concord (i.e. a marker of agreement with the verbal subject).

When a verbal word contains just one TAM-stem I call it a simple verbal word, when it contains more than one TAM-stem I call it a complex verbal word. In a complex verbal word a least one TAM-stem is of an auxiliary verb, while at most one TAM-stem is of a main verb. An example of a complex verbal word is the following. It contains three TAM-stems: a TAM-stem of the negation auxiliary, a TAM-stem of the auxiliary ‘again’ and a TAM-stem of the main verb ‘drink’:

m-p-änn-ápp-íkkɔ

1-C-NEG-again:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL

I will not drink it again

A verbal word can also consist of one or more TAM-stems of auxiliary verbs only; in such cases the verbal word forms part of a verbal complex and the TAM-stem of the main verb is part of a separate verbal word within that complex. In a verbal complex there is one main verb TAM-stem. The following is an example of a verbal complex consisting of two verbal words. The first verbal word contains one TAM-stem of an auxiliary verb (‘be’), the second has two TAM-stems, one of the negation auxiliary and one of the main verb ‘lie down’:

m-p-a.ík

1-C-be:PR

p-änn-ícat

C-NEG-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL

I am not lying down

Whereas TAM-stems are building stones of verbal words and complex verbs, I use the notion TAM to name the inflectional structure of a verbal word as a whole. The inflectional structure (‘TAM’) of a complex verbal word can thus involve more than just the categories expressed by TAM-stems (tense-aspect-mood and dependency); this is the case when an auxiliary verb is present that expresses another notion, such as, e.g., negation, possibility or deixis. The TAM of the verb in the example below is Negative Incompletive (consisting of a concord, a TAM-stem of the negation auxiliary and a TAM-stem of the main verb ‘work’). Note that I use small letters for the names of TAM-stems and initial capitals for the names of TAMs.

ʊkʊl w-ǎnn-ɔrékɔ
 child C-NEG-work:DEPINCOMPL
 the child does not work

In some cases I also give a name to the inflectional structure (TAM) of a whole verbal complex. I only do this for certain common types of verbal complexes. The verbal complex in the example ‘I am not lying down’ (see above) is a case of a verbal complex which, as a whole, can be called a Negative Present Continuous. The Negative Present Continuous is composed of the Present TAM of ‘be’ and the Negative Incompletive TAM of ‘lie down’.

Verbs typically have seven separate TAM-stems, which can be divided into three groups: the non-dependent TAM-stems (i.e. the incompletive, completive and past TAM-stem), the dependent TAM-stems (i.e. the dependent incompletive, dependent completive and dependent perfective TAM-stem), and the imperative TAM-stem. The dependent incompletive TAM-stem is the base form (i.e. the uninflected form) of the verb. The other TAM-stems are described in terms of changes applied to this base.

Based on the TAM-stems, verbs typically have six ‘basic TAMs’ (see 12.5.2-12.5.7). One of the TAM-stems, the dependent completive, has a status that is different from the others, and no basic TAM is based on it. Using data presented in the sections 12.14 to 12.16, I argue in 12.17 (on negation) that after a negation auxiliary main verbs have an additional TAM-stem, which can be called a dependent completive TAM-stem. Data presented in 12.14 to 12.16 lead to the analysis that this dependent completive TAM-stem is a development of the dependent incompletive TAM-stem, brought about by inflectional reduction (grammaticalization) of a historical Completive auxiliary. The auxiliary discussed in 12.14 actually still has this Completive form, alongside a reduced variant, demonstrating its tonal effects on the main verb TAM-stem. The auxiliaries discussed in 12.15 and 12.16 have a partly reduced Completive auxiliary, next to a more fully reduced variant. The various stages of grammaticalization of these different auxiliaries show how the dependent completive TAM-stem has developed from the dependent incompletive TAM-stem.

One verb has an eighth TAM-stem: ‘be’ has an additional present TAM-stem (see 12.7.1).

There are two positions for inflectional morphology, determining the TAM-stem: the TAM1-position, replacing the initial vowel of the stem, and the TAM2 position, replacing the final (or last) vowel of the stem or following it. In addition, the TAM-stems are marked by tone patterns. Verbs inflect differently depending on their segmental, tonal and morphological make-up (section 12.5). In order to give an idea at this stage, the seven TAM-stems of the verb **ɔrékɔ** ‘work’ are presented here. The segments marking the different TAM-stems are underlined. +H denotes a floating high tone. This tone does not manifest itself in prepausal position. In context, however, it can surface on a following element.

TAM-stems of ɔrékɔ ‘work’:

ɔrékɔ +H	dependent incomplete TAM-stem
arékɔ +H	incomplete TAM-stem
ɔrékátɛ	past TAM-stem
ɔrékat +H	dependent perfective TAM-stem
ɔrékôɛ	completive TAM-stem
ɔrékɔ +H	dependent completive TAM-stem
ɔrékí	imperative TAM-stem

12.2. Citing the verb as lexeme

When referring to a verb as a lexeme, I use its base form: the dependent incomplete TAM-stem. This TAM-stem functions without any addition as Dependent Incomplete TAM and can thus be cited in isolation without problem. It displays the segmental and tonal structure of the verb. It is noted, however, that several dependent incomplete TAM-stems have a floating high tone. This high tone can surface on a next element, but if there is no such element, it leaves no trace. Using the citation form as an isolated form, I therefore do not represent an (eventual) floating high tone.

The base form of the verb will often just be called “the verb”. Thus, for example, **ɔɾékí** and **wakénnɔɾéko** are TAMs of the verb **ɔɾéko** ‘work’ (respectively Imperative and Negative Incompletive). In this chapter, the verb will sometimes be presented between parentheses next to the example that contains a form (TAM) of it.

12.3. Morphological structure of verbal words

In its shortest form, a Lumun verbal word consists of just a TAM-stem – and TAM-stems themselves are morphologically marked (through segments and/or tone) as compared to the base form (the dependent incomplete TAM-stem). A verbal word can also be longer than just a TAM-stem: a number of clitic morphemes can precede the TAM-stem and some can follow it. There are three slots for auxiliaries (other than irrealis) in the scheme below, though it is not impossible that longer strings could be constructed. They would, however, be uncommon in natural speech.

slot 1: conjunctive **á-**, subjunctive **â-**, the restrictor **í-**, focus marker (**akk-** or **a-c-c**-⁶⁶)

slot 2: subject pronominal

slot 3: concord (nb. concord in Lumun is always subject concord)

slot 4-6: auxiliary (TAM-stem)

slot 7: irrealis auxiliary

slot 8: main verb TAM-stem

slot 9: object pronominal, vague reference clitic **-ik**

slot 10: clitic adverbial particles **-a**, **-na**, **-ti**, **-mé**, **-mɛ**, clitic question particles **-i**, **-ɛ**, **-a**.

Certain auxiliaries can be proclitic to the main verb. They have a reduced set of TAM-stems: some have just one (non-dependent) TAM-stem, others have a non-dependent vs. a dependent TAM-stem, again others have a three way distinction: an incomplete, a dependent incomplete and a complete TAM-stem.

⁶⁶ **a** followed by double concord.

There are restrictions on combinations of morphemes occupying different slots. Some observations:

1. if slot 1 contains a focus marker, slots 2 and 3 are empty;
2. non-dependent TAM-stems are immediately preceded by the focus marker (slot 1), a concord (slot 3), or the irrealis auxiliary (slot 7).
3. dependent TAM-stems are not immediately preceded by a concord. If the main verb is a non-dependent TAM-stem, slot 3 can only be filled if slot 4 contains a non-dependent auxiliary.

Some verbs must be combined with the vague reference particle **cɪk**. In principle **cɪk** is a separate word. In the Present of ‘be’, however, it only occurs as enclitic **-ɪk** (slot 8). In certain other cases it can alternatively be realized as a separate word or as enclitic **-ɪk** (see chapter 15.2 about **cɪk**).

TAMs can consist of more than one verbal word. This is the case for auxiliary + main verb constructions, whether or not containing the conjunctive marker **á**, e.g.,

pul	p-ɔká.t	cɪk	a-p-ɔ́ɾəkɔ	kəpá
person	C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-PRO-eat:DEPINCOMPL	meat

the person was eating meat

pul	p-a.ɪk	p-a.ɾəkɔ	kəpá
person	C-be:PR	C-eat:INCOMPL	meat

the person is eating meat

The sections in this chapter on basic and complex TAMs present the minimal structure of these TAMs. The basic TAMs either consist of just the TAM-stem (the imperative TAM-stem and the dependent TAM-stems), or of concord + TAM-stem (the non-dependent TAM-stems). As stated before, TAMs which have the concord can only lack it when it is replaced by a focus marker.

The tones of TAM-stems —whether of main verbs or of auxiliaries— are represented in the way they surface in an environment where

they do not undergo tonal influence from other elements. Non-dependent TAM-stems are presented as if only preceded by a low-toned noun (for example **pul** ‘person’) and a concord; dependent TAM-stems of low verbs as if preceded by the conjunctive particle **á** and a low noun (for example **á-** + **pul**, giving **a-pôl**), dependent TAM-stem of verbs with a high (or falling) tone by the conjunctive particle **á** and a noun with final high tone (for example **á-** + **parí**, giving **a-parí**): in these cases no high tone will be added to the verb, nor will a verbal high tone be changed to low. In practice, tones will often surface differently, due to various influences of the environment.

All TAM-stems form the basis of a basic TAM, except the dependent completive TAM-stem. This TAM-stem only occurs after a negation auxiliary (see 12.17).

12.4. Segmental and tonal shape of verbs

12.4.1. Segmental shape

Underived verbs (i.e. verbs in their base form) are predominantly bimoraic or trimoraic, derived verbs are often longer. An example of a long verb (seven morae) is **ɔkkápərəttakɪə** ‘make sb./sth. return’. Monomoraic verbs, that is verbs with only one tone-bearing unit, are not attested.

Verbs are vowel-initial and end in a vowel or in vowel + **t**. The initial vowel can be any vowel (**i**, **ɪ**, **u**, **ʊ**, **ɔ**, **ɛ**, **a** or **ə**), the last vowel, whether or not a final **t** still follows, is restricted to **ɔ**, **ɛ** or **a**. Initial **ə** is very rare. The vowel **ɔ** is very common, both initially and as last vowel. Of the vowels in last position, **ɔ** is the only “neutral” one, not having any association of its own with meaning. Both as initial vowel and as last vowel, **ɔ** can be replaced by another vowel in inflection, as last vowel it can also be replaced in derivation. This suggests that initial and last **ɔ** are, unlike other vowels in those positions, not part of the actual lexical root or stem, but default “fillers” to complete the structure of the verb.

The initial vowel, the last vowel and the presence or absence of a final **t** are elements that are relevant for the subdivision of verbs because they correlate with differences in the TAM-stems (and thus with different inflectional forms). Both for the initial vowel and for the last vowel of the verb, a distinction must be made between the vowel **ɔ** and the other vowels. Thus, for inflection, the following segmental differences between verbs are important:

- The vowel **ɔ** as initial vowel differs from other initial vowels in that it is subject to inflectional change, whereas the other initial vowels always remain the same. Initial **ɔ** changes into **a** in the incomplete TAM-stem.
- A final (or last) vowel **ɔ** is replaced by an inflectional morpheme in the imperative, past and dependent perfective TAM-stems. Other final (or last) vowels do not change: an inflectional element is only added after it.
- Presence or absence of a final **t** correlates with differences in the formation of imperative and complete TAM-stems. In the past and dependent perfective TAM-stems, the presence or absence of a final **t** is neutralized.

A distinction on grounds of differences in TAM-stem formation must also be made between benefactive verbs, ending in **me**, **ene** or **ane**, or in **intet**, **entet** or **antet**, versus non-benefactive verbs ending in **e** or **et** (this will be further explained in the section on basic TAMs).

Finally, passive verbs ending in **-akɔ(t)** or **-ekɔ(t)** and derived from verbs ending in **-a(t)** and **-e(t)** respectively, have a deviating past and dependent perfective formation.

12.4.2. Tone patterns

In their citation form, all verbs have a low tone on the first mora. The main (surface) tone patterns of verbs are L.L* (all morae have a low tone) and L.H.L* (the second mora has a high tone).⁶⁷ There are

⁶⁷ In the tonal representations of verbs (*) stands for ≥ 1 . For example, L.L* refers to verbs of any length (that is, of two morae or more) that are completely low.

two minor tone patterns: L.HL and L.L.HL (in both cases the final mora has a HL-contour).

L.L*	ɪmma ‘see’, ɛnɛkke ‘try’, ɔkkɔnakɔ ‘smell’
L.H.L*	ɔkɛrɔ ‘trade’, ɔpɔlle ‘fear’, ɔkwáɾɪccat ‘search’
L.HL	ɛɔ ‘go’, ɔrâ ‘cultivate’
L.L.HL	ɔɾəkɔ ‘eat’

These patterns can be divided into a low tone class (I) and a high tone class; the latter is again subdivided into the main pattern L.H.L* (IIA) and the smaller pattern L.HL/L.L.HL (IIB). These three groups correlate with inflectional differences.

I	L.L*
IIA	L.H.L*
IIB	L.HL/L.L.HL

In class IIB, most verbs with a final HL-contour consist of two morae only, L.L.HL is rare. This suggests that the pattern is basically the L.H.L (class IIA) pattern realized on two tone-bearing units instead of three or more. This is supported by longer derivations of L.HL verbs: the Low part of the falling tone is now realized on the following mora:

ɔllɔ ‘run’ vs. **ɔllíne** ‘run because of something’

The trimoraic verbs with a final HL-contour are a very limited set. All attested trimoraic verbs with a final HL-contour have the vowel **ə** as their second mora, and this **ə** either precedes or follows a rhotic sound. Possibly, these verbs were bimoraic L.HL verbs in an earlier stage of the history of the language and have only become trimoraic through **ə**-insertion, dissolving a disallowed consonant cluster.

ɔɾəkɔ	‘eat’
ɔɾəpɔ	‘move down’
ɔɾəpɛ	‘make move down, put down’

ᵛkəɾɛ̃	‘burn’
ᵛkəɾɔ̃	‘bite, get burnt; untie’

In longer derivations based on these verbs, the High tone surfaces on the second mora. These longer derivations are thus an exception to the general rule that derived verbs retain the tone pattern of the underived verb:

ɔɾəkɔ̃ ‘eat’ / ɔɾəkɪnɛ̃ ‘eat for’

12.4.3. Correlation between initial vowels and tone patterns

Any vowel can constitute the initial vowel of a verb, but there is a correlation between the initial vowel of the verb and its tone pattern. When the initial vowel is ɔ, the tones cannot be predicted:

ᵛkɪɔ	‘cut’	L.L
ɔɾáttɔ	‘fight’	L.H.L
ɔllɔ̃	‘run’	L.HL
ɔɾəkɔ̃	‘eat’	L.L.HL

Verbs with an initial vowel other than ɔ have a L.L* tone pattern:

ɪkkɔ̃	‘drink’	L.L
ɪttarɔ̃t	‘help’	L.L.L
unɔ̃	‘pour’	L.L
ʊrəkɔ̃	‘get up, start’	L.L.L
əɾa	‘refuse’	L.L
ɛɛ	‘speak’	L.L
akkarɔ̃	‘call’	L.L.L

There are a few exceptions, all starting with ɛ. These verbs have a L.HL pattern:

ɛɔ̃	‘go’	L.HL
ɛɛ̃	‘stab, blow’	L.HL
ɛɾɛ̃t	‘give’	L.HL

12.4.4. Overview of segmental and tonal properties relevant for TAM-inflection

Summarizing, the following divisions in verbs are relevant for TAM-inflection:

- the three tone patterns: L.L*, L.H.L* and L.HL/L.L.HL
- **ɔ**-initial versus non-**ɔ**-initial verbs
- vowel-final versus **t**-final verbs
- **ɔ**-final versus **ɛ** or **a**-final verbs, **ɔt**-final versus **ɛt** or **at**-final verbs
- benefactive verbs ending in **mɛ**, **ɛɛ**, **anɛ**, **mɛtɛt**, **ɛɛtɛt** or **anɛtɛt** versus non-benefactive verbs ending in **ɛ** or **ɛt**

The six basic TAMs (based on six of the seven TAM-stems), are discussed in the next section. A few verbs have partly irregular TAM-stems. Verbs that do not have the full paradigm of TAMs (some verbs have only one) are discussed in sections 12.8-12.22, which deal with auxiliaries and other verbs with defective inflection.

12.5. The basic TAMs

Lumun verbs have six basic TAMs:

- Imperative
- Incompletive
- Dependent Incompletive
- Past
- Dependent Perfective
- Completive

As remarked earlier, TAMs are built on the basis of TAM-stems. The dependent completive TAM-stem is only part of complex verbs with a negation auxiliary, it does not form a basic TAM. The Incompletive, the Past and the Completive contain a concord that agrees with the subject, the others do not. A list of the basic TAMs of the verb **ɔllɔ** ‘run’ follows here. The segmental marking in the TAM-stems is underlined. TAMs have basic tone patterns which correlate with the tone pattern of the verb.

<i>TAM</i>	<i>Structure of the TAM</i>	<i>example</i>
Imperative	= imperative TAM-stem	ɔllɔ
Incompletive	= concord + incompletive TAM-stem	C- allɔ̃
Dep. Incompletive	= dependent incompletive TAM-stem	allɔ̃
Past	= concord + past TAM-stem	C- alláɛ
Dep. Perfective	= dependent perfective TAM-stem	allát
Completive	= concord + completive TAM-stem	C- allɔ̃t

The Locative-applicative suffix and TAM-marking

Verbs with the Locative-applicative suffix have basic TAM-morphology that is different from the basic TAM-morphology of vowel-final verbs. The presence (or absence) of the Locative-applicative suffix can be recognized in Imperatives, Incompletives (both non-dependent and dependent) and Completives, but not in Pasts and dependent Perfectives. In the latter TAMs the difference between vowel-final and t-final verbs is neutralized. The examples below contrast TAMs of the verbs **ɔtɔ̃** ‘push’ and **ɔtɔ̃t** ‘send’ (see 14.2 for some remarks about the semantics of these related verbs):

Table 46 TAMs of **ɔtɔ̃** ‘push’ and **ɔtɔ̃t** ‘send’

	ɔtɔ̃ ‘push’	ɔtɔ̃t ‘send’
Imperative	ɔtɔ̃í	ɔtɔ̃tɛ
Incompletive	C- atɔ̃ (+ H)	C- atɔ̃t (+ H)
Dep. Incompletive	ɔtɔ̃ (+ H)	ɔtɔ̃t (+ H)
Completive	C- ɔtɔ̃t	C- ɔtɔ̃tɛ
Past	C- ɔtɔ̃áɛ	C- ɔtɔ̃áɛ
Dep. Perfective	ɔtɔ̃at (+ H)	ɔtɔ̃at (+ H)

12.5.1. Non-dependency versus dependency

Dependent TAMs or TAM-stems lack agreement with the subject, i.e. they are not preceded by a concord. If dependency is not mentioned in the gloss (irrespective of whether it concerns a main verb, an auxiliary or a copular verb), the TAM-stem is non-dependent. Likewise, I speak of Incompletive vs. Dependent Incompletive TAM and Past vs. Dependent Perfective TAM.

Dependent TAMs occur in specific syntactic environments, in which there is typically preceding discourse that allows for the lesser grammatical marking on the verb. The sections on the Dependent Incompletive and the Dependent Perfective specify such environments. Only when the subject is a speech participant (so that subject reference is clear from the extra-textual situation), preceding discourse can be absent, i.e. in hortatives and mild commands.

Arguably, the Imperative is a dependent TAM as well, and the imperative TAM-stem a dependent TAM-stem. However, since non-dependent counterparts are lacking, dependency does not need to be specified.

The six basic TAMs are discussed below.

12.5.2. The Imperative

Lumun Imperatives address a singular addressee. They consist of the imperative TAM-stem:

Imperative = imperative TAM-stem

Verbs that end in **a** or **ε** mark the imperative stem (and thus the Imperative) only through tone. Irrespective of the tone pattern of these verbs, their Imperative is completely low. This includes the tonally irregular verb **εε** ‘stab, blow’. The Imperative of **ɔ**-final verbs is marked both tonally and segmentally: the final **ɔ** changes into **í** or **ɔ**⁶⁸. The first group thus has a final high tone (pattern L*.H), the Imperatives in **ɔ** are completely low. There is some correlation between the tone pattern of an **ɔ**-final verb and the shape of its imperative stem:

- imperative stems based on an **ɔ**-final verb with all-low tone pattern

⁶⁸ In some +ATR items (i.e. with an **ĩ** and/or **u** in the verb root), harmonization effects were observed. The final vowel of the Imperative was articulated as [i], or towards [i] rather than as [ɪ]. In other such items however, harmonization effects were not perceived by the researcher, nor by her consultants. In all cases, **ɪ** is used in the spelling. +ATR items with an Imperative ending in **ɔ** are not attested.

mostly end in *í*;

- the great majority of imperative stems based on an *ɔ*-final verb with L.H.L* tone pattern end in *í*;
- the imperative stems of *ɔ*-final verbs with a L.HL/L.L.HL pattern all end in *ʊ*.

Verbs ending in *t* form imperative stems by changing the final *t* into *ʔé*, with a H tone on the final *ɛ* (pattern L.L*.H). Verbs ending in *-ne*, *-ene* or *-ane* (i.e. benefactive stems) form imperative stems by adding a final *t* and taking an all-low tone pattern. Verbs ending in *inʔet*, *enʔet* or *anʔet* do not change segmentally, but adopt an all-low tone pattern. The verb *ɛʔét* ‘give’ patterns with the verbs ending in *inʔet*, *enʔet* or *anʔet*.

The patterns of imperative stem formation are presented in the table below. If a kind of marking is rare for verbs with a certain shape and tone pattern this is mentioned in the third column.

Table 47 Imperatives

<i>verbal ending and tone pattern</i>	<i>verb examples</i>	<i>marking of imperative TAM-stem</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
<i>-ɔ</i> ; L.L*, L.H.L*	<i>ɪɔ</i> ‘die’ <i>ɔccɪɾɔ</i> ‘laugh’ <i>ɔrékɔ</i> ‘work’ <i>ɔmárəttɔ</i> ‘finish’	<i>-í</i> ; L*.H	<i>ɪ.í</i> <i>ɔccɪɾ.í</i> <i>ɔrek.í</i> <i>ɔmarətt.í</i>
<i>-ɔ</i> ; L.HL/L.L.HL	<i>ɔllɔ</i> ‘run’ <i>ɔʔəkɔ</i> ‘eat’	<i>-ʊ</i> ; L.L*	<i>ɔll.ʊ</i> <i>ɔʔək.ʊ</i>
<i>-ɔ</i> ; L.L*	<i>ɔllɔ</i> ‘move aside’	<i>-ʊ</i> ; L.L* (rare)	<i>ɔll.ʊ</i>
<i>-ɔ</i> ; L.H.L*	<i>ɔkókɔwɔ</i> ‘blow PLUR’ ⁶⁹	<i>-ʊ</i> ; L.L* (rare)	<i>ɔkukw.ʊ</i>

⁶⁹ This is the Pluractional form of *ɔkwɔ* ‘blow’, which (also) has an Imperative in *ʊ*. There may be more such cases. It is, however, not the case that Pluractionals with L.H.L* pattern ending in *ɔ* and based on L.HL/L.L.HL verbs always (or even generally) have *ʊ* in the Imperative. Compare: *ɔʔɪ* ‘pull!’ (< *ɔʔɪ*) vs. *ɔʔɪʔɪ* ‘pull repeatedly!’ (< *ɔʔɪʔɪ*), and: *ɔkəɾɪ* ‘bite!’ (< *ɔkəɾɪ*) vs. *ɔkəɾɪllí* ‘bite repeatedly!’ (< *ɔkəɾɪllɔ*).

-a, -e (except Benefactive stems); all tone patterns	ɔra 'escape' ɔkə́ta 'look' ɔccâ 'scoop' ere 'speak' ɔkə́ne 'show' ɔkê 'shave'	L.L*	ɔra ɔkə́ta ɔcca ere ɔkə́ne ɔkê
Benefactive stems (-me, -ene, -ane); all tone patterns	ɔpétine 'divide for' erene 'explain to' ɔnáne 'bring to'	-t ; L.L*	ɔpettine.t erene.t ɔnane.t
-t (except Benefactive + Locative-applicative stems); all tone patterns	ɔt 'find' eet 'arrange' ɔɾíkɔt 'wait'	-tɛ ; L.L*.H	ɔt.é eet.é ɔɾíkɔt.é
Benefactive + Locative-applicative stems (-intet, -entet, -antet); all tone patterns	ɔkkín̄tet 'do for' eren̄tet 'talk to sb. about' ɔkwáricc̄an̄tet 'search for sb' <i>also:</i> et̄et 'give'	L.L*	ɔkkin̄tet eren̄tet ɔkwaricc̄an̄tet et̄et

An example with the Imperative of ɔɾəkô 'eat' follows here, showing that there is no high tone involved. **mart** 'beans' is itself all-low and remains low:

ɔɾəku mart
 eat:IMP beans
 eat the beans!

An Imperative can in principle be formed from all verbs, except for a small set of defective verbs. Passive verbs are in principle open to Imperative formation. The Imperatives in the examples below refer to rites of passage involving getting beaten and scarification of the body.

apəɾetta **tɔpɔt** **ɛn-t-í** (< apəɾetta)
 be_beaten:IMP year DEM-C-NEARSP
 get beaten this year!

ɔmekɪ **tɔpɔt** **ɛn-t-í** (< ɔmekɔ)
 be_scarified:IMP year DEM-C-NEARSP
 get scarified this year!

‘Go’ and ‘come’ have an irregular Imperative:

Table 48 Imperatives of **ɛɔ** ‘go’ and **ɔɔ** ‘come’

<i>verb</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>type of irregularity</i>
ɛɔ ‘go’	ɲkɔ	suppletive form
ɔɔ ‘come’	aɾík	a + ɾík (related to cík ‘place(s)’ and/or the vague reference particle cík (chapter 15))

A few verbs allow for omission of the initial **ɔ** in the Imperative. This omission makes the Imperative more urging. In the Imperative of **ɔkəɾənnɔ** ‘let’ the initial **ɔ** is always left out.

Table 49 Imperatives with omission of initial **ɔ**

<i>verb</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Imperative with urge</i>
ɔcɔɾɔ ‘stand, wait’	ɔcɔɾí	cɔɾí
ɔkəɾɔ ‘look’	ɔkəɾa	kaɾa
ɔkəɾənnɔ ‘let’	kəɾənní	

Nothing can be attached before the Imperative, but clitics can be attached at the end of it. Some Imperatives undergo a change upon attachment of a vowel-initial object pronominal clitic. For example, final **ɪ** and **ʊ** change into **ɔ**, and the H-tone of final **ɪ** is deleted:

ɔmɪccɔ-k (< ɔmɪccí; verb: ɔmíccɔ)
 advise:IMP-O3
 greet him/her!

ɔccɔ-kɔk (< ɔccʊ; verb: ɔccɔ)
 receive:IMP-O3
 take him/her!

Forms and attachment of object pronominal clitics to specific TAM stems are discussed in detail in chapter 6.4.

Two Imperatives cannot be coordinated. Instead the second command is expressed by a Dependent Incompletive:

ɔllo	ana	írro
run:IMP	and	jump:DEPINCOMPL

run and jump!

Other commands (to first, second and third persons) are not based on the imperative TAM-stem but on the dependent incomplete TAM-stem.

12.5.3. The Incompletive

Form of the Incompletive

Incompletives consist of a concord and the incomplete TAM-stem:

Incompletive = concord + incomplete TAM-stem

Incompletive stems take different shapes depending on the initial vowel of the verb and its tone pattern. Incompletives are the only TAM-stems that, if segmentally marked, are marked in the TAM1-position.

A stem-initial vowel **ɔ** changes into **a**, and a high tone appears on the initial vowel of all-low stems. Some verbs with an all-low tone pattern have a falling tone on the initial vowel. Unless in careful speech, this falling tone can also be realized as high. Which verbs belong to this group is lexically determined. Some have a long nasal or a nasal and stop after the initial vowel, others a geminated (= voiceless) stop. The group does not seem to contain verbs with a single consonant after the initial vowel. It is possible that instances have been missed, since in normal speech the falling tone is not always realized.

Stems that are not ɔ-initial do not change their initial vowel, and stems with another tone pattern than L.L* retain their stem tones.

Incompletive TAM-stems (and thus Incompletives) have a floating high tone, except Incompletives of verbs with a final falling tone. Incompletives of such verbs lack the floating high tone also upon attachment of a third person pronoun clitic, which changes the tones of the verb. Compare the examples based on *ere* ‘speak’ and *ɔkɔ́ta* ‘look at’ with those based on *ɔkwɔ́* ‘blow away’ and *ɔɾəkɔ́* ‘eat’. The object nouns are themselves all-L:

mpére lɔn	‘I will speak words’
kkwére lɔn	‘s/he will speak words’
mpakɔ́ta máit	‘I will look at the beans’
kkwákɔ́ta máit	‘s/he will look at the beans’
mpakwɔ́ lɔn	‘I will blow matters away’
kkwákɔ́ lɔn	‘s/he will blow matters away’
mpaɾəkɔ́ máit	‘I will eat beans’
kkwáɾəkɔ́ máit	‘s/he will eat beans’

A floating high tone is represented as +H.

Table 50 Incompletives

<i>initial vowel and tones of the verb</i>	<i>verb examples</i>	<i>marking of incompletive TAM-stem</i>	<i>Incompletive⁷⁰</i>
ɔ, L.L*	ɔkɔ́ ‘cut’	a ; H.L* +H	C-á.kɔ́ +H
ɔ, L.H.L*	ɔkɔ́ta ‘look’	a ; +H	C-a.kɔ́ta +H
ɔ, L.HL	ɔllɔ́ ‘run’	a	C-a.llɔ́
ɔ, L.L.HL	ɔɾəkɔ́ ‘eat’	a	C-a.ɾəkɔ́
i, I, u, ʊ, ɛ, a, L.L*	ɪt ‘find’ ʊmmɔ́ ‘take, pick up’ ere ‘speak’ aɲkɔ́ ‘be hot’	H.L* +H	C-íɪt +H C-ómmɔ́ +H C-ére +H C-áɲkɔ́ +H

⁷⁰ The tones of the Incompletives are represented as in an environment that causes no tonal change, for example as in: **pul pákɔ́** ‘the person will cut it’.

L.L*	ɔŋkəne ‘teach (PLUR)’ ɪncet ‘find (PLUR)’ akkarɔ ‘call’ ekkɪe ‘measure’	a ; HL.L* + H / H.L* + H	C- â.ŋkəne + H / C- á.ŋkəne + H C- încet + H / C- íncet + H C- âkkarɔ + H / C- ákkarɔ + H C- êkkɪe + H / C- ékkɪe + H
ɛ, L.HL	ɛɛ ‘stab, blow’ ɛtɛt ‘give’	–	C- ɛɛ C- ɛtɛt

There are only few incomplete TAM-stems which show no marking at all as compared to the dependent incomplete TAM-stem (the citation form). This is because there are only few verbs which are both not **ɔ**-initial and containing a H-tone. The attested cases are given in the last row of the table).

Some examples with an Incomplete follow here. The first examples have forms of the verbs **ame** ‘come to’ and **ɔine** ‘go to’. The Incompletives of these verbs differ only tonally. When preceded by the 3rd person pronoun clitic and concord (third example below) their realization is identical. The verb **ɔɾəkɔ** ‘eat’ (last examples) lacks a floating high tone.

ɔ-kakká **p-áme** **úkɔl** (< **ame**)
 PERS-Kakka C-come_to:INCOMPL child

Kakka will come to the child

ɔ-kakká **p-a.íne** **úkɔl** (< **ɔine**)
 PERS-Kakka C-go_to:INCOMPL child

Kakka will go to the child

k-kw-áme / **k-kw-á.me** **úkɔl** (< **ame**, < **ɔine**)
 3-C-come_to:INCOMPL / 3-C-go_to:INCOMPL child

s/he will come to the child / s/he will go to the child

əlla **w-a.ɾəkɔ** **aun** (< **ɔɾəkɔ**)
 cats C-eat:INCOMPL rats

cats eat rats

w-á.ɾəkɔ **aʊn** (< ɔɾəkɔ)
 PRO.C-eat:INCOMPL rats
 they (the cats) will eat rats

The following verbs have an irregular Incompletive.

Table 51 Irregular Incompletives

<i>verb</i>	<i>Incompletive</i>	<i>type of irregularity</i>
aw ‘come’	C- â.nɾán (also regular: C- áo)	nɾán ‘towards the deictic centre’ is part of the verb
ɛɛ̃ ‘go’	C- a.ɛɛ̃	added a
ɔɔ ‘cry’	C- ɔɔ + H	no change of initial ɔ to a
ɔmmâ ‘not know’	C- ɔmmá	no change of initial ɔ to a + tonal irregularity
ina ‘know’	C- iná	tonal irregularity
ella ‘be absent, lack’ (intr.)	C- ellâ	tonal irregularity
ella ‘not have, lack’ (tr.)	C- ellâ	tonal irregularity

Meaning of the Incompletive

The Incompletive basically expresses that, at a certain moment in time, something will still happen. This moment in time can be prior to the moment of speech, at the moment of speech or after the moment of speech.

(< ɔkkɔt)

ɔ-kín **ɬ-erettáɾenɛ.t** **ittɪ** **ɔ-kín** **ɬ-á.kkɔt** **ɲím-p-ên**
 PERS-3A C-discuss:COMPL that PERS-3A C-do:INCOMPL what-C-DEM
 they discussed what they would do

(< ɔkkɔt)

ɲ-kw-a.kkɔt **ɲɔré** **éɲ-ɲ-í** **íttí** **kát-ɬa**
 2-C-do:INCOMPL work DEM-C-NEARSP that how-QW
 how will you do this work?

(< ɔɾəkɔ̌)

kəllán k-á.ɾəkɔ̌ túrít ámmá k-k-íammâ.t
 old_woman C-eat:INCOMPL food if PRO-C-become_hungry:COMPL
 the old woman will eat the food when she is hungry

Incompletives can give expression to a speaker's attitude in terms of necessity or desirability of an event that is still to happen, or to a readiness for it to take place.

ɲ-kw-a.ccɪkɔ̌ itti á-ina cɪk (< ɔccɪkɔ̌)
 2-C-hear:INCOMPL that SUBJ-(2-)know:DEPINCOMPL VREF
 you must listen so that you know

tuttəruk t-ápako (< apakǒ)
 pig C-be_roasted:INCOMPL
 the pig can be roasted (it is ready to be roasted)

The Incompletive sometimes allows for an irrealis reading:

m-p-a.cóməkkɪɛ ɲm-ɬa n-a-ôn (< ɔcóməkkɪɛ)
 1-C-disturb_for:INCOMPL what-QW on-PERS-1
 why would I disturb you? (I did not do that!)

Incompletives are used in general truth expressions and can express habitual aspect: something happened in the past and is expected to happen again.

ɲilláŋker ɲ-ónɔ nɔné nɔ-keɾɔ̌ɲ (< ɔnɔ)
 birds(sp.) C-build:INCOMPL nests on-palm_trees
 ɲilláŋker-birds build their nests in palm trees

(< ɔrâ)

ul w-a.rá aɾəpu ámm.akka tún ana áttópâ
 people C-cultivate:INCOMPL things like onion and tobacco
 the people cultivate crops such as onions and tobacco

12.5.4. The Dependent Incompletive

Form of the Dependent Incompletive

Dependent Incompletives consist of the dependent incompletive stem:

Dependent Incompletive = dependent incompletive TAM-stem

Dependent incompletive TAM-stems (and thus Dependent Incompletives) have a floating high tone unless the TAM-stem has a final HL-contour.

Table 52 Tone patterns of Dependent Incompletives

<i>tones of the verb</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>Dependent Incompletive</i>
L.L*, L.H.L*, L.HL	ɔkɪɔ 'cut' ɔkɔʔa 'look' ɔllɔ 'run'	ɔkɪɔ + H ɔkɔʔa + H ɔllɔ
L.L.HL	ɔʔəkɔ 'eat'	ɔʔəkɔ

Dependent Incompletives cannot take a concord. The examples below contrast an Incompletive (first example) and a Dependent Incompletive (second and third example).

ʔuk **ʔ-a.ʔəkɔ**
dog C-eat:INCOMPL

the dog will eat it

á-ʔuk **ɔʔəkɔ**
SUBJ-dog eat:DEPINCOMPL

and the dog must eat it / let the dog eat it

... a-ʔ-ɔʔəkɔ
CONJ-PRO-eat:DEPINCOMPL

... and/while it (the dog) eats it

Meaning and environments in which it is used

Typically the Dependent Incomplete is connected —through a conjunction word or particle, or also through juxtaposition—, to a preceding verb or verb phrase. In same-subject coordinations with **ană** ‘and’, the Dependent Incomplete adopts the tense/aspect and/or modality interpretation of the preceding verb. It can also be used for background information about an aspect of a larger event, such as an action performed simultaneously with the main action, the purpose of an action, or the way in which it is done. It can, however also be used alone, i.e. not in some kind of conjunction with another verb. In such cases it expresses a (mild) command.

Environments in which the Dependent Incomplete is used include the following:

- a) in a clause introduced by the subjunctive particle **â** ‘so that, in order to’;
- b) in a clause introduced by conjunctive particle **á** ‘and, while’;
- c) as the second verb coordinated through **ană** ‘and’ with another verb, sharing the same subject;
- d) as the second verb in a verb sequence expressing the way in which something is done, or expressing the “path” in a verb sequence of motion and path;
- e) as a complement of **əŕa** ‘refuse, insist’, **ma** ‘know’, **əmmâ** ‘not know’;
- f) In negative commands (with **əkórənnə** ‘let, leave, allow’);
- g) with a second person plural pronoun clitic expressing a mild command; with a hortative pronoun, expressing an obligation or duty of a first person;
- h) in constructions with fronted question words and in non-subject focus constructions with **akka** ‘that’;
- i) in non-subject relative constructions (see 11.2), topicalizing cleft constructions (11.2.4), and clauses introduced by the locative relative **ná** (11.3)

A verb in Dependent Incomplete TAM can furthermore be part of a complex TAM with the auxiliary verb **c-arə́tək** ‘be still’. More commonly, complex verb constructions involve the dependent

incompletive TAM-stem as part of a larger word with one or more auxiliaries. These cases are discussed in the sections on auxiliaries.

In the following, the environments mentioned above are exemplified and explained in some more detail.

*Ad a) in a clause introduced by the subjunctive particle **â** ‘so that, in order to’*

The subjunctive particle **â**- ‘so that, in order to’ links the action expressed by the Dependent Incompletive to the preceding action. The verb in the clause introduced by **â** typically denotes the purpose or goal of the action expressed in the preceding clause (see also chapter 18.2.2):

ɔ-rən	ʈ-a.rékɔ	káɾuŋ-kəɾuŋ	á-rən	íɔt	tuɾít
PERS-12A	C-work:INCOMPL	seriously-REDUP	SUBJ.PERS-12A	find:DEPINCOMPL	food

we must work hard so that we have food

*Ad b) in a clause introduced by conjunctive particle **á** ‘and, while’*

The conjunctive particle **á**, when introducing a clause with a Dependent Incompletive, expresses an action that happens or happened more or less at the same time as the previous action (see also chapter 18.2.1):

a-átúrán	śíŋkat	tuán	ʈán-en
CONJ-thieves	go:DEPPRFV	home	at_place-POSS3A

a-íɾet	ká	k-én	ítí ...
CONJ-(C-)tell:DEPINCOMPL	body	C-POSS3A	that

and the thieves went home, saying to themselves ...

The Dependent Incompletive preceded by **á** ‘and, while’ is part of some complex TAMs, for example of the Past Continuous (first example below) and of a complex TAM involving **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’ as an auxiliary expressing the start of an action (second example below):

m-p-óká.t **cık** **a-n-ómente** **ittĩ ...**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-say.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL that

I was saying all the time that ...

... a-n-íkk.at **cık** **a-n-ípət** **ńómporúŋ**
 CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ-1-dig:DEPINCOMPL potatoes

and I started digging potatoes

*Ad c) as the second verb coordinated through **ană** ‘and’ with another verb, sharing the same subject*

In constructions of two verbs with the same subject coordinated through **ană** ‘and’, the second can be a Dependent Incompletive. In the example below (which continues on the example above) it is coordinated with a Dependent Incompletive that is preceded by a subject pronoun:

... a-n-íkk.at **cık** **a-n-ípət** **ńómporúŋ**
 CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ-1-dig:DEPINCOMPL potatoes

ana **íkkə** **marĩ**
 and drink:DEPINCOMPL fruits(k.o.)

and I started digging potatoes and eating *marĩ*-fruits

An example with an Incompletive first verb follows here. The second verb can be a Dependent Incompletive, but also, just like the first, an Incompletive. The actions are not presented as consecutive, but just as both taking place:

ul **w-íkkə** **ńópak** **eppin-eppin**
 people C-drink:INCOMPL beer always-REDUP

ana **ńárə / w-a.ńárə** **n-əɽittăŋ**
 and walk:DEPINCOMPL / C-walk:INCOMPL with-knives

the people drink beer all the time and carry knives (fr. written essay)

This is an example with a Future Continuous TAM (see 12.7.5) coordinated with a Dependent Incompletive:

nɔ-caŋi c-én ul w-a.ka w-a.ŋwó ana ókkwɔ
 on-day C-DEM people C-be:INCOMPL C-sing:INCOMPL and dance:DEPINCOMPL
 on that day, the people will be singing and dancing

ană can also coordinate a Completive and a Dependent Incompletive verb with the same subject. The Dependent Incompletive adopts the same temporal/aspectual reference as the Completive:

ɪ-l-ên akka m-p-icánɬet mɛccɪn ɲ-cɪk ɪ-cɪŋkɪ
 RES-C-DEM that 1-C-lie_down_for:COMPL yesterday with-VREF in-sun
ana órəkɔ a-cɪŋkɪ c-ɛ́.t cɪk-ɪ-tɪɬɔt
 and get_up:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-sun C-go:COMPL LOC-in-sky
 and that is why I slept yesterday from sunrise and I got up (only) when the sun had left the sky

Two Imperatives cannot be coordinated. Instead, the second command is expressed by a dependent verb, in the example below a Dependent Incompletive:

ɔkaki mɪl ana ɔkkót ɲucul
 grind:IMP sorghum and do:DEPINCOMPL sauce
 grind the flour and make the sauce!

Ad d) as the second verb in a verb sequence expressing the way in which something is done, or expressing the “path” in a verb sequence of motion and path

l-ómma itti m-p-éren-ɔŋ ôkurro
 PRO.C-know_not:INCOMPL that 1-C-speak_to:INCOMPL-O2 engrave:DEPINCOMPL
 I don’t know how to explain this to you in writing (lit.: they (the words) do not know that I say it to you writing)

The second verb in a motion and path construction typically denotes whether the motion is upward, downward or remains at (more or less) the same height.

a-lótti ɔll.át ʊɔ ʈɔ-rɔk
 CONJ.PERS-Lotti run:DEPPRFV descend:DEPINCOMPL at-well

and Lotti ran down to the well

Ad e) as a complement of ʌɾa ‘refuse, insist’, ma ‘know’, ɔmmâ ‘not know’, ɔkárɛnnɔ ‘let, leave, allow’

The verbs ʌɾa ‘refuse, insist’, ma ‘know’, ɔmmâ ‘not know’ and ɔkárɛnnɔ ‘let, leave, allow’ can take a Dependent Incompletive as a direct complement, without a complementizer. There is no reference on the Dependent Incompletive to the subject.

kálám ɛŋ-k-í k-ʌɾá.t ɔkurɔ
 pen DEM-C-NEARSP C-refuse:COMPL engrave:DEPINCOMPL

this pen refuses to write

kálám ɛŋ-k-í k-íná ɔkurɔ
 pen DEM-C-NEARSP C-know:INCOMPL engrave:DEPINCOMPL

this pen works

m-p-ɔmma ɔkurɔ
 1-C-know_not:INCOMPL engrave:DEPINCOMPL

I cannot write

Ad f) In negative commands (with ɔkárɛnnɔ ‘let, leave, allow’)

Commands with ɔkárɛnnɔ can immediately be followed by a Dependent Incompletive. The construction functions as a prohibitive:

kɛrɛnn.ɪ ɔpélle
 let:IMP fear:DEPINCOMPL

don’t be afraid!

n-ɔkárɛnnɔ ʌŋɔkɔ
 2A-let:DEPINCOMPL rest:DEPINCOMPL

don’t rest! (to plural addressee)

Ad g) with a pronoun clitic expressing a mild command to ‘you (PLUR)’; with a hortative pronoun expressing an obligation or duty of a first person

Commands to a second person plural consist of one of the variants of the second person plural addressee pronoun (see 6.5) and a Dependent Incompletive. They are somewhat less pressing than Imperatives:

n-úrəkɔ

2A:get_up:DEPINCOMPL

stand up! (to plural addressee)

Commands to first persons, ‘I and you’ or ‘we (INCL)’, consist of a hortative pronoun (see 6.6) and a dependent incomplete stem:

tír-éś

HRT12-go:DEPINCOMPL

kéccôk

market

let us go to the market

Ad h) in constructions with fronted question words and in non-subject focus constructions with akka ‘that’

Dependent Incompletives are used in non-subject focus constructions, whether non-contrastive, with a content question word (first example below), or contrastive (second example below). More examples can be found in the chapters on question words and focus.

ŋín-ɬa

what-Q

akka

that

ɪn-ɔkkôt

1A-do:DEPINCOMPL

what should we do? / what can we do?

ɔ-śk

PERS-3

akka

that

ɔ-rɔn

PERS-12a

ɔnáne

bring_to:DEPINCOMPL

ɲorô

asida

he is the one to whom we bring asida

akka can also be combined with an Incompletive verb, as in the next sentence, which is structurally very similar to the previous sentence:

kəllán akka ɔ-kukkú p-ípɪɛ aôn
 old_woman that PERS-Kukku C-collect_for:INCOMPL. bees
 it is for the old woman that Kukku collects honey

Ad i) in non-subject relative constructions (see 11.2), topicalizing cleft constructions (11.2.4), and clauses introduced by the locative relative ná (11.3)

Topicalizing cleft constructions and non-subject relative constructions (with or without the restrictor í-) are introduced by the copula C-á. In the sentence introduced by the copula an incomplete verb occurs in the form of a Dependent Incomplete. The first example shows a non-subject relative construction; the second example a topicalizing cleft, which forms a full (topic- or theme-focussed) sentence (see 11.2.4).

aɾəpu i-a ɔ-un ɔɾəkɔ
 things RES-(C-)COP PERS-1 eat:DEPINCOMPL
 the things which I eat

kəpa k-a ɬok ɔɾəkɔ
 meat C-COP dog eat:DEPINCOMPL
 the meat will be eaten by the dog

A clause introduced by the locative relative **ná** ‘where’ can have a Dependent Incomplete verb:

na cɪŋkɪ ɔɾɔŋkɔ
 where:REL sun disappear:DEPINCOMPL
 where the sun sets / (in) the west

More details on relative constructions are provided in chapter 11.

12.5.5. The Past

Form of the Past

Pasts consists of a concord and the past TAM-stem:

Past = C + past TAM-stem

Past stems are segmentally marked in the TAM2 position: a past marker replaces the final vowel of the verb or is attached after it. Pasts are further marked by a special tone pattern.

Verbs which end in **ɔ(t)** are marked differently for Past than verbs which end in **ɛ(t)** or **a(t)**. In verbs which end in **ɔ** or **ɔt**, the final **ɔ** or **ɔt** is replaced by **aṭɛ**. Verbs which end in **ɛ** or **a** add a past marker **kaṭɛ**. In verbs which end in **ɛt** or **at**, the final **t** is replaced by **kaṭɛ**. In Passive derivations of **ɛ(t)** and **a(t)** final verbs ending, respectively, in **ɛkɔ(t)** and **akɔ(t)** final **ɔ(t)** is not replaced by **aṭɛ** but by **akaṭɛ**. This has the effect of disambiguating the Pasts of underived verb and those of their Passive derivations ending in **kɔ(t)**, for example:

imma ‘see’ C-**immakáṭɛ**
immakɔ ‘be seen’ C-**immakákáṭɛ** (instead of C-**immakáṭɛ**)

The Pasts of Locative-applicative derivations (ending in **t**) and their underived counterparts are, on the other hand, neutralized.

The Past imposes a tone pattern on the verb that is independent of the tones of the verb. A Past has a H-tone on the second mora, if there are three morae, and on the third mora if there are more than three. The Past does not generate a H-tone on a following constituent.

Table 53 Pasts

<i>final segment(s) of the verb</i>	<i>segmental marking of the past TAM-stem</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>Past</i>
ɔ, ɔt two morae	aṭɛ H on 2nd mora	ɪɔ ‘die’ ɪɔt ‘find’	C- ɪ.áṭɛ C- ɪ.áṭɛ
ɔ, ɔt three or more morae	aṭɛ H on 3rd mora	ɔkɪɔ ‘cut’ ɔṭórakɔ ‘stretch oneself’	C- ɔkɪ.áṭɛ C- ɔṭorák.aṭɛ

ε, ετ a, at	kaṭe, kaṭe H on 3rd mora	ere ‘speak’ eret ‘talk about’ ɔkóṭa ‘look’ ɔkwáriccat ‘search’	C-ere.káṭe C-ere.káṭe C-ɔkóṭá.káṭe C-ɔkwáricca.káṭe
Passives ending in eko(t), ako(t)	akaṭe H on 3rd mora	immako ‘be seen’ etiéko ‘be made cool, be blessed’	C-immak.ákaṭe C-etiék.akaṭe

An example illustrating that no H tone comes on the next constituent:

pul p-i.áṭe pəlla (**< iot**)
 person C-find:PST cat
 the man found the cat

Benefactive verbs inflect somewhat differently. In verbs ending in **ne**, the Past is formed by replacing **ne** by **anṭet**. In verbs ending in **ene** or **ane**, the final **ne** changes into **kantet**. In verbs ending in **inṭet** the **i** is replaced by **a**. In verbs ending in **enṭet** or **anṭet**, **ka** is inserted before the final **nṭet**. Like in non-benefactive verbs, the difference between non-t-final and t-final verbs is neutralized in the Past.

Tonally, Past of benefactive verbs behave the same as other Past verbs: there is a H-tone on the second mora in case of three morae, and on the third mora if the past stem is longer.

Table 54 Past of Benefactive derivations

<i>ending and length of the Benefactive derivation</i>	<i>marking of the past TAM-stem</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>Past</i>
ne, inṭet three morae	anṭet H on 2nd mora	ɔṇwíne ‘sing for’ ipmṭet ‘dig for’	C-ɔṇw.ánṭet C-ip.ánṭet
ne, inṭet more than three morae	anṭet H on 3rd mora	ɔrékine ‘work for’	C-ɔrék.ánṭet

ɛ.nɛ, ɛ.n̩tɛt a.nɛ, a.n̩tɛt three morae	kan̩tɛt kan̩tɛt , H on 2nd mora	ɛrɛnɛ ‘talk to’ ɛrɛn̩tɛt ‘talk to sb about’ ɔnánɛ ‘bring to sb’	C-ɛrɛ.kán̩tɛt C-ɛrɛ.kán̩tɛt C-ɔna.kán̩tɛt
ɛ.nɛ, ɛ.n̩tɛt a.nɛ, a.n̩tɛt more than three morae	kan̩tɛt kan̩tɛt H on 3rd mora	ɔkéccɛnɛ ‘cut for (PLUR)’ ɔkwáríccan̩tɛt ‘search sth for’	C-ɔkéccé.kan̩tɛt C-ɔkwarícca.kan̩tɛt

Some examples:

< **apintet** ‘open for somebody’

ᵛ-kakká p-aṇántet ukul kəṭát

PERS-Kakka C-open_for:PST child door

Kakka opened the door for the child

< ὀρέκινε ‘work for somebody’

ul w-ɔrekántét púl í-p-ə̀rɨk

people	C-work_for:PST	person	RES-C-big
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the people worked for the big man

A few verbs have an irregular Past:

Table 55 Irregular Past

<i>verb</i>	<i>irregular Past</i>	<i>type of irregularity</i>
ао ‘come’	C-akkakáŋte	suppletive form
aine ‘come to’	C-akkakánŋet	suppletive form
еџ ‘go’	C-ɔŋkáŋte	suppletive form
ɔíne ‘go to’	C-ɔŋ.kánŋet	suppletive form
ɔɾəkɔ ‘eat’	C-ɔɾək.káŋte	doubling of k
ɔɾəkɔt ‘eat at’	C-ɔɾək.káŋte	doubling of k
ɔɾəkíne ‘eat for’	C-ɔɾək.kánŋet	doubling of k
ɔɾəkínɛt ‘eat for at’	C-ɔɾək.kánŋet	doubling of k
ɛŋŋet ‘give’	C-ɛɛ.káŋte / C-ɛ.káŋte	replacement of ŋŋet by the past ending

Use of the Past

The Past is a TAM which in principle demands a context. It is not easily used in an isolated expression, since it has no implications for the situation at the time of the speech act. Pasts describe actions or events which have taken place before the moment of speech, but otherwise bear no relation to the time of speech. Pasts typically need a time anchor, which is usually set by a Completive or Past Completive verb preceding the Past verb at some place in the discourse. The Past refers to an action or event in its entirety, without drawing attention to aspectual notions such as completion or result. The sentence below describes how the speaker felt at the moment that he found a lost goat. The sentence gives no information about his feelings at the time of speech: he may, or may not be still happy about it.

an-ákka m-p-ɪt.é m-p-əpɪrá.káʔé nɔ́-kâ
 and-when 1-C-find:COMPL 1-C-become_good:PST on-body
 and when I found it, I was happy

I call these verbs Past and not Perfective because, unlike the Incompletive and the Completive, they refer to a moment that is necessarily anterior to the time of speech.

In the examples below a Completive verb provides the time anchor for the Past verb.

mən.ákka m-p-aa.t ɪccɪk k-úŋ ana k-kw-ɪrr.áʔe (< ɪrrɔ)
 when 1-C-come:COMPL near C-POSS3 and 3-C-jump:PST
 when I had come near him, he jumped

ɔ-lɔʔti p-ɔká.t tuan ana k-kw-ɔʔəkək.áʔé ŋúʔú (< ɔʔəkɔ)
 PERS-Lɔʔti C-be:COMPL home and 3-C-eat:PST asida
 Lotti was at home and ate asida

ʊʔɪt w-ɔkɪccé.t ŋurak ana w-ɔkkw.áʔe (< ɔkkwɔt)
 young_men C-chase:COMPL monkey and PRO.C-kill:PST
 the young men had chased the monkey and (then) they killed it

Pasts can be used in non-subject relative clauses (see 11.2), they were at least given in elicitation. Their nature of drawing attention to the action itself, however, tends to conflict with the information structure of the sentence as a whole. The example below aims to provide information about the ‘things’, stating that they were many, not about what the man did. A Completive would be better:

(?) **atəpu** **ɪ-a** **púl** **p-əkɛr.átɛ** **w-əká.t** **w-əppót**
 things RES-(C-)COP person C-trade:PST C-be:COMPL C-many

the things that the man traded were many

12.5.6. The Dependent Perfective

Form of the Dependent Perfective

Dependent Perfectives consist of the dependent perfective TAM-stem:

Dependent Perfective = dependent perfective TAM-stem

The dependent perfective TAM-stem is segmentally marked in the TAM2 position and has the basic tone pattern of the verb. Like the Dependent Incompletive, the Dependent Perfective can be directly preceded by a lexical or pronominal subject (the latter can be a free pronoun or a clitic).

Unlike the Past, the Dependent Perfective generates a H-tone on the following constituent, unless it is based on a verb with a final falling tone.

Table 56 Dependent Perfectives

<i>final segment(s) of the verb</i>	<i>marking of the dep. perf. TAM-stem</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>Dep. Perfective</i>
ɔ, ɔt	at	ɔkɪ ‘cut’ ɪt ‘find’ əkérɔ ‘trade’ ɔllɔ ‘run’	ɔkɪ.at + H ɪ.at + H əkér.at + H ɔll.ât

ε, ετ a, at	ε.kat a.kat	ερε ‘speak’ ερετ ‘talk about’ ɔkɔ́ʈa ‘look’ ɔkwáriccat ‘search’	ερε.kat + H ερε.kat + H ɔkɔ́ʈa.kat + H ɔkwáricca.kat + H
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In the table below, Dependent Perfective are contrasted to Pasts. Whereas Past forms end in **(k)áʈe**, Dependent Perfectives end in **(k)at**. The table below contrasts Dependent Perfectives and Pasts.

Table 57 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts contrasted

<i>verb</i>	<i>Dep. Perfective</i>	<i>Past</i>
ɔkɪɔ ‘cut’	ɔkɪ.at + H	C-ɔkɪ.áʈe
ɪɔt ‘find’	ɪ.at + H	C-ɪ.áʈe
ɔkéɪɔ ‘trade’	ɔkéɪ.at + H	C-ɔkéɪ.áʈe
ɔllɔ ‘run’	ɔll.át	C-ɔll.áʈe
ερε ‘speak’	ερε.kat + H	C-ερε.káʈe
ερετ ‘talk about’	ερε.kat + H	C-ερε.káʈe
ɔkɔ́ʈa ‘look’	ɔkɔ́ʈa.kat + H	C-ɔkɔ́ʈa.káʈe
ɔkwáriccat ‘search’	ɔkwáricca.kat + H	C-ɔkwáricca.káʈe

The irregular Pasts relate to the Dependent Perfectives in the same way:

Table 58 Irregular Pasts and Dependent Perfectives contrasted

<i>verb</i>	<i>Dep. Perfective</i>	<i>Past</i>
aɔ ‘come’	akkakat + H	C-akkakáʈe
aɪne ‘come to’	akkakanʈet + H	C-akkakánʈet
εɔ ‘go’	ɔɪŋkat + H	C-ɔɪŋkáʈe
ɔɪne ‘go to’	ɔɪŋ.kanʈet + H	C-ɔɪŋ.kánʈet
ɔʈəkɔ ‘eat’	ɔʈək.kât	C-ɔʈək.káʈe
ɔʈəkɔt ‘eat at’	ɔʈək.kât	C-ɔʈək.káʈe
ɔʈəkíne ‘eat for’	ɔʈək.kánʈet + H	C-ɔʈək.kánʈet
ɔʈəkínɛt ‘eat for at’	ɔʈək.kánʈet + H	C-ɔʈək.kánʈet
εʈɛt ‘give’	εε.kât / ε.kât	C-εε.káʈe / C-ε.káʈe

The Dependent Perfective and the Past of a benefactive verb are segmentally identical, but tonally different. Like other Dependent Perfectives, Dependent Perfectives of benefactive verbs have the basic tones of the verb.

Table 59 Dependent Perfectives of Benefactive derivations

<i>ending of Benefactive derivation</i>	<i>marking of the dep. perfective TAM-stem</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>Dep. Perfective</i>
inɛ, inɛt	anɛt	ɔŋw.íne ‘sing for’ ip.inɛt ‘dig for’	ɔŋw.ánɛt + H ip.anɛt + H
ɛ.ne, ɛ.nɛt a.ne, a.nɛt	ɛ.kanɛt a.kanɛt	ere.ne ‘talk to’ ere.nɛt ‘talk to sb about’ ɔpírane ‘thank’ ɔkwáriccanɛt ‘search sth for’	ere.kanɛt + H ere.kanɛt + H ɔpíra-kanɛt + H ɔkwáricca-kanɛt + H

The table below contrasts Dependent Perfectives and Pasts of benefactive verbs.

Table 60 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts of Benefactive derivations

<i>verb</i>	<i>Dep. Perfective</i>	<i>Past</i>
ɔŋwíne ‘sing for’ ip.inɛt ‘dig for’	ɔŋw-ánɛt + H ip-anɛt + H	C-ɔŋw-ánɛt C-ip-ánɛt
ere.ne ‘talk to’ ere.nɛt ‘talk to sb. about’ ɔpírane ‘thank’ ɔkwáriccanɛt ‘search for’	ere-kanɛt + H ere-kanɛt + H ɔpíra-kanɛt + H ɔkwáricca-kanɛt + H	C-ere-kánɛt C-ere-kánɛt C-ɔpírá-kanɛt C-ɔkwáricca- kanɛt

Absence of concord

Like Dependent Incompletives, Dependent Perfectives cannot be preceded by a concord. Compare the Past in the first example below, with the Dependent Perfectives in the second and third:

ṭmcccṭ ṭ-aṭəntá.kəṭe
old_man C-dream:PST

the old man dreamt

... a-ṭmcccṭ aṭəntakat
CONJ-old_man dream:DEPPRFV

... and (then) the man dreamt

... a-kw-áṭəntakat
CONJ-3-dream:DEPPRFV

... and (then) s/he dreamt

Use of the Dependent Perfective

The Dependent Perfective is the dependent counterpart of the Past. I call it Dependent Perfective, because it does not only denote actions or events that happened in the past, but also actions or events that are still to happen at the moment of speech or reference. While the Dependent Incompletive in a verbal complex typically denotes an action that forms part of a larger event, the Dependent Perfective typically denotes a consecutive action: an action that follows upon another in time.

The Dependent Perfective is used in the following environments:

- a) a clause introduced by the conjunctive particle **á** expressing ‘and, while’;
- b) a clause introduced by the subjunctive particle **â** ‘so that, in order to’;
- c) As a second command coordinated through **ană** ‘and’ with an Imperative.

A verb in Dependent Perfective TAM can furthermore be part of a complex TAM with the auxiliary verb C-**arəkât** ‘as always’. More

commonly, complex verb constructions involve the dependent perfective TAM-stem as part of a larger word with one or more auxiliaries. These cases are discussed in the sections on auxiliaries.

Ad a) Clauses introduced by the conjunctive particle á ‘and, while’

Attestations of the conjunctive particle á ‘and, while’ introducing a clause with the Dependent Perfective are abundant. The first verb, which sets the time anchor, is usually in Completive TAM (see 12.5.7). The Dependent Perfective is typically used for telling what happened next. The sentence below states that the man saw the hyena in the well, but does not present this as the purpose for which the man was taken along; it is just something that happened next.

m-p-ɔ̃nekó.t pól a-p-ɔ̃t-ɔ̃kə́ta.kat ɲaŋkór i-rɔ́k
 1-C-take:COMPL person CONJ-C-go-look_at:DEPPRFV hyena in-well

I took the man along and (then) he saw the wild dog in the well

á + Dependent Perfective is typically used in narratives, expressing consecutive actions or events as in English ‘and then ... and then ... and then ...’. In the example below, **mɔ̃ɔ̃** ‘until’ is followed by the conjunctive particle á (realized with a H-tone through tone bridge) and a Dependent Perfective. Pronominal **p** refers to **papɛn** ‘that thing’ (< **papɔ̃ p-ɛn**), which itself refers to the leopard (**papɔ̃kɪra** < **papɔ̃ p-ɔ̃-kɪra** ‘thing of the forest’):

(< ɔ̃tɔ̃mɔ̃t ; < ɔ̃nɛ́mɔ̃ ; < ɪɔ̃)

a-pápɔ̃kɪra ɔ̃tɔ̃m.at t̥ɔ̃mɔ̃ccɔ̃
 CONJ-leopard attack:DEPPRFV old_man
a-t̥ɔ̃mɔ̃ccɔ̃ ɔ̃nɛ́m.at kaɬok i-t̥ɔ̃n t̥-ɔ̃-pá-p-ɛn
 CONJ-old_man press:DEPPRFV spear in-mouth C-of-thing-C-DEM
mónɔ̃ á-p-í.at
 until CONJ-PRO-die:DEPPRFV

and the leopard attacked the old man, and the old man pressed the spear into the mouth of that thing (the leopard), until it (the leopard) died (fr. written story)

The examples below show that in some environments the conjunctive **á** + Dependent Perfective and **ană** ‘and’ + Past can be used alternatively. **á** cannot be combined with a Past, nor can **ană** be combined with a Dependent Perfective. In both sentences Lottu was not at home for the purpose of eating asida: it is just something that happened (the eating of asida as a purpose would be expressed with the particle **â** and a Dependent Incompletive).

ɔ-lɔtti p-ɔká.t toan a-kw-ɔʔəkk.at ɲurû
 PERS-Lottu C-be:COMPL home CONJ-3-eat:DEPPRFV asida

Lottu was at home and he ate asida

ɔ-lɔtti p-ɔká.t toan ana k-kw-ɔʔəkk.áʔé ɲurû
 PERS-Lottu C-be:COMPL home and 3-C-eat:PST asida

Lottu was at home and he ate asida

The conjunctive particle with a Dependent Perfective verb can also be used as the second command after an Imperative. The use of the Dependent Perfective in the example below conveys that the washing must be done after the sweeping. **ană** + Past verb is not an option here.

ɔlla cɪk nɔ-ppan a-íme.kat ərét
 sweep:IMP VREF on-house CONJ-wash:DEPPRFV cloths

sweep the room and then wash the clothes!

*Ad b) Clauses introduced by the subjunctive particle **â** ‘so that, in order to’*

The use of **â** + Dependent Perfective in the example below conveys explicitly that the telling is regarded as a consecutive event:

ámmá k-kw-és.t á-kw-ɪʔe.kat kín ittĩ ...
 if 3-C-go:COMPL SUBJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV O3A that

when s/he has arrived (lit.: has gone), let him/her then tell them (that) ...

Dependent Perfectives occur in fewer environments than Dependent Incompletives. Their use is restricted by the notion of consecutiveness they convey. A Dependent Perfective cannot occur as the second verb in a sequence expressing (manner of) motion and path, nor as a complement of *əɽa* ‘refuse’, *ma* ‘know’, *ɔmmâ* ‘not know’ or *ɔkórənnɔ* ‘let, leave, allow’. It does not directly follow the conjunction words *mɔnɔ* ‘until’ and *məna* ‘until, then’. However, constructions of *mɔnɔ* ‘until’ and *məna* ‘until’ followed by the conjunctive particle *á* and a Dependent Perfective are abundant.

12.5.7. The Completive

Form of the Completive

Completives consists of a concord and the completive TAM-stem:

Completive = C + completive TAM-stem

Completives are segmentally marked in the TAM2 position. Vowel-final verbs get a final *t*, verbs which end in *t* change into *ɽe*, and *t*-final benefactives remain segmentally unchanged.

The Completive imposes a tone pattern on the verb which is independent of the basic tones of the verb, but which has some correlation with the final vowel of the verb and the length of the verb (counted in morae). The tendencies are described below.

Bimoraic and trimoraic verbs which end in *ɔ* have *t*-final Completives with either a final falling tone or a final H-tone. An apparently deviating Completive is C-*ɔŋɔ́kɔt* (< *ɔŋɔkɔ* ‘rest’). An explanation would be that this verb underlyingly has four morae. This is supported by the Incompletive of this verb, which is not *C-*áŋɔkɔ*, but C-*áŋɔkɔ*.

Bimoraic and trimoraic verbs which end in *a* or *ɛ* have *t*-final Completives with a final falling tone. A deviating case is the Completive of the pluractional verb *ɔkálɛ* ‘shave (PLUR)’, related to

ၪၵၵ ‘shave’. Its Completive has a H-tone on the second mora C-ၪၵၵၵၵ.

Completives of vowel-final verbs with four or more morae get the High tone on the third mora.

Bimoraic stems ending in **t** have trimoraic Completives ending in **ၵၵ**. If such Completives are based on a verb ending in **ၵၵ**, they have a final falling tone. Completives based on a bimoraic stem ending in **at** or **et** have a H-tone on the second (non-final) mora.

Completives based on a trimoraic or longer verb ending in **t** have, in most cases, a H-tone on the third (non-final) mora.

The Completives of the verbs ၪၵၵၵၵ ‘eat at’ and ၪၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ (also ၪၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ) ‘squeeze (PLUR)’ deviate from the main patterns. They are rare cases of, respectively, a HL contour on the fourth mora (C-ၪၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ) and a H-tone on the second (C-ၪၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ).

Table 61 Completives

<i>shape and length of verb</i>	<i>completive marking</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>Completive</i>
bi- or trimoraic, ၵ-final	ၵ-t	ၵၵ ‘land’ ၵၵၵ ‘build’ ၵၵၵၵ ‘hit’ ၵၵၵၵၵ ‘collect’ ၵၵၵၵ ‘eat’	C-ၵၵၵ-t C-ၵၵၵၵ-t C-ၵၵၵၵၵ-t C-ၵၵၵၵၵၵ-t C-ၵၵၵၵၵ-t
bi- or trimoraic, ၵ-final	ၵ-t	ၵၵၵ ‘open’ ၵၵၵၵ ‘run’ ၵၵၵၵၵ ‘call’ ၵၵၵၵၵၵ ‘fight’	C-ၵၵၵၵ-t C-ၵၵၵၵၵ-t C-ၵၵၵၵၵၵ-t C-ၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ-t

bi- or trimoraic, a- or ε-final	â-t ê-t	imma ‘see’ rama ‘be(come) hungry’ ɔʔəlla ‘be(come) weak’ ille ‘die (PLUR)’ ɔkɪccɛ ‘chase’ ɔkê ‘shave’	C-immâ-t C-ramâ-t C-ɔʔəllâ-t C-illê-t C-ɔkɪccê-t C-ɔkê-t
four morae or more, vowel-final	-t, H on third mora	apəɾɪlakɔ ‘hang’ ɔcɪmittɔ ‘advise’ ɔkəʔaccɛ ‘watch’	C-apəɾɪlakɔ-t C-ɔcɪmittɔ-t C-ɔkəʔaccɛ-t
bimoraic, ɔt-final	ɔ-tê	ɪɔt ‘find’ ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’	C-ɪɔt-ê C-ɔkkwɔt-ê
bimoraic, ending in at or et	á-tɛ é-tɛ	ittat ‘become fat’ ɔppêt ‘fill’	C-ittát-ɛ C-ɔppét-ɛ
trimoraic or longer, t-final	-tɛ, H-tone on third mora	ɔɾɪat ‘become red’ ɔnəkket ‘put down’ ɔkwárəttikɔt ‘recall’	C-ɔɾɪát-ɛ C-ɔnəkkét-ɛ C-ɔkwárəttikɔt-ɛ

The Completive does not generate a H-tone on a following constituent, as can be seen from example below.

pul **p-ɔkwarɪccaɪ.ɛ** **pəlla** (< ɔkwarɪccat)
 person C-search:COMPL cat
 the man has looked for the cat

The Completive is marked in Benefactive verbs which end in **-ɪnɛ**, **-ɛnɛ** or **-anɛ** through addition of a final **t** and a tone pattern which is different from other **ɛ**-final verbs. A H-tone surfaces on the second mora when the Completive has three morae, and on the third mora when the Completive is longer.

Completives based on verbs ending in **-ɪntɛt**, **-ɛntɛt** or **-antɛt** (Benefactive + Locative-applicatives derivations) are only tonally marked. Here too, the H-tone surfaces on the second mora in case of three morae, and on the third in case of four or more. In some cases the result is identical with the tones of the citation form.

Table 62 Completives of Benefactive verbs

<i>verb</i>	<i>ending and length of verb</i>	<i>completive marking</i>	<i>Completive</i>
erene ‘speak to’	vowel-final, trimoraic	H-tone on 2nd mora, final t	C-eréne-t
erentet ‘speak to sb. about’ akkintet ‘do for’	t-final, trimoraic	H-tone on 2nd mora	C-eréntet C-akkintet
ɔrékine ‘work for’ ɔɾékine ‘eat for’ ɔpíraɲe ‘thank sb.’	vowel-final, four morae or longer	H-tone on 3rd mora, final t	C-ɔrékine-t C-ɔɾékine-t C-ɔpíraɲe-t
ɔkwáriccantet ‘search for’	t-final, four morae or longer	H-tone on 3rd mora	C-ɔkwáriccantet

A few verbs have an irregular Completive, though in the first case below one might also say that it is rather the verb stem **aɔ** that is irregular, since usually adjacent **a** and **ɔ** assimilate:

Table 63 Irregular Completives

<i>verb</i>	<i>Completive</i>	<i>irregularity</i>
aɔ ‘come’	C-aá-t	change of final ɔ to a
et̚et̚ ‘give’	C-ét̚et̚	resemblance to benefactive verbs ending in int̚et̚ , ent̚et̚ or ant̚et̚ as to retaining the same segmental shape, but different tones

Meaning and use of the Completive

The Completive basically expresses that the action or event has just been completed: it has just stopped or ceased to occur. The second example has a pluractional verb which translates here as an habitual:

ɲokul ɲ-ɔ́tattɔ̌.t (**< ɔ́táttɔ̌**)
 children C-fight:COMPL
 the children have fought (but they have stopped)

ɔ̌-lɔ́ccɔ̌ p-ɔ́kǎkɛ.t ul (**< ɔ́kǎkɛ**)
 PERS-Lɔ́ccɔ̌ C-shave.PLUR:COMPL people
 Lɔ́ccɔ̌ used to shave people (but he has stopped)

The Completive often implies a resulting state:

m-p-ɔ́ccɔ̌.t kǎɾan itti ɔ̌-nɛnnɪ (**< ɔ́ccɔ̌**)
 1-C-receive:COMPL name that PERS-Nɛnnɪ
 my name is Nɛnnɪ (lit. I have received the name Nɛnnɪ)

ɬɪɾɔ̌ ɬ-ɔ́ɾɔ̌.t nɔ̌-máɪt (**< ɔ́ɾɔ̌**)
 mould C-land:COMPL on-beans
 there is mould on the beans (lit. mould has landed on the beans)

m-p-ɔ́ccɔ̌.t cik (**< ɔ́ccɔ̌**)
 1-C-receive:COMPL VREF
 I am late (lit.: I have taken time)

l-ɛ́kkɔ̌.t (**< ɛ́kkɔ̌**)
 PRO.C-fit:COMPL
 enough!

The action expressed by the Completive is not necessarily fully completed. In the following example it is just a period of eating that has passed by:

akka ɔ̌-kín ɬ-ɔ́ɾǎkɔ̌.t ɲuɾú póccók
 when PERS-3A C-eat:COMPL asida for_some_time
a-kw-ɔ́mɛ.kat̩-ɔ́k itti ant-ɔ́nɔ̌t
 CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that can:DEPINCOMPL-taste:DEPINCOMPL

when they had been eating the asida for some time, he said to him, “Please taste it (the sauce)” (App. IV, 25-26)

In the following expression, commonly said upon leaving, the Completive refers to a state in the immediate future:

m-p-εῶ.t (**< εῶ**)

1-C-go:COMPL

I am gone (i.e. I am leaving now)

Completives of (inchoative) verbs often have a stative interpretation:

m-p-ᾠνά.t **ana** **m-p-iamâ.t** (**< ᾠνά, < iama**)

1-C-become_tired:COMPL

and

1-C-become_hungry:COMPL

I am tired and I am hungry

This is especially clear in the following example, where the Completive verb does not imply that the child was not fat before:

υkul **w-ittât.ε** (**< ittât**)

child

C-become_fat:COMPL

the child is fat/healthy

In context, however, the Completive of an (inchoative) verb may also have a changed-state interpretation:

αῖρεψ **w-ᾠτά.τε** **ι-παῖ-k-ἐν** (**< ᾠτα**)

things

C-become_red_at:COMPL

in-sibling-C-of:ABS

the fruits have become ripe between their siblings (i.e. between other fruits)

Completives denoting a state can function syntactically in the same way as adjectives, for example with an auxiliary of ‘be’ denoting a future state, or with a negated auxiliary of ‘be’ negating a state. The examples below contrast clauses with tense/aspect and negation expressed on the main verb with clauses where tense/aspect and negation are marked on the auxiliary (as would be the case in an adjectival construction):

υkul **w-a.kίῃa**

child

C-become_tired:INCOMPL

the child will get tired

ʊkʊl **w-a.ka** **w-ɔkɪnâ.t**
 child C-be:INCOMPL C-tired:COMPL

the child will be tired

mart **m-a.kónnn-ɛkkɔ**
 beans C-NEG-fit:DEPCOMPL

the beans are not enough

mart **m-a.kónnn-êkkɔ**
 beans C-NEG-fit:DEPINCOMPL

the beans will not be enough

mart **m-ɔká.t** **m-a.kónnn-ɛkkɔ**
 beans C-be:COMPL C-NEG-fit:DEPCOMPL

the beans were not enough

mart **m-a.kónnn-ɔká** **m-ékkɔ.t**
 beans C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-fit:COMPL

the beans are not enough

mart **m-a.kónnn-ɔka** **m-ékkɔ.t**
 beans C-NEG-be:DEPINCOMPL C-fit:COMPL

the beans will not be enough

mart **m-ɔká.t** **m-á.kónnn-ɔká** **m-ékkɔ.t**
 beans C-be:COMPL C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-fit:COMPL

the beans were not enough

mart **m-a.ka** **m-êkkɔ**
 beans C-be:INCOMPL C-fit:INCOMPL

the beans may be enough (at some specific occasion which is still to come, for example a party, there may be enough beans (it is not sure))

mart **m-a.ka** **m-ékkɔ.t**
 beans C-be:INCOMPL C-fit:COMPL

the beans will be enough (at some specific occasion which is still to come, for example a party, there will (surely) be enough beans)

mart m-êkkə

beans C-fit:INCOMPL

the beans will be enough (for example upon buying a certain amount: this amount is all we need)

mart m-a.ɪk m-êkkə

beans C-be:PR C-fit:INCOMPL

the beans are turning out to be enough (for example while distributing portions to a group of people)

States of mind, emotional states and some sensory perceptions tend to be expressed with a Completive:

m-p-əŋəʔ.é itti ŋ-kw-ântán

1-C-like:COMPL that 2-C-come:INCOMPL

I want you to come

m-p-əʔá.t

1-C-refuse:COMPL

I don't want / no thanks (for example as a refusal of more food)

m-p-əpɪrá.t nɔ́-kâ

1-C-become_good:COMPL on-body

I am happy / I am grateful

m-p-əccɪkɔ́ʔ.ɛ

1-C-hear:COMPL

I understand / I hear / I have heard it

Also a state of 'resembling' takes a Completive:

ʔ-ʔ-úŋkwɔ́.t ŋín-ʔa

PRO-C-resemble:COMPL what-Q

what does it look like? (reference is to the lion, ʔɛpa)

In narratives, the Completive is typically used in backgrounded phrases, whereas the main action tends to involve a Past or

Dependent Perfective. The Completive can refer to a moment in the past, in the present or in the (relative) future. Some examples:

mən.ákka k-kw-óná.t ɲáák

when 3-C-bring:COMPL oil

a-kw-íp.anɬet ʔakəɽok ɪ-ʊɽəccô

CONJ-3-dig_for:DEPPRFV chicken in-feathers

after s/he had brought the oil, s/he applied it between the feathers of the chicken

akka k-kw-áá.t tón-é̃

that 3-C-come:COMPL HRT1.2A-go:DEPINCOMPL

now that s/he has arrived, let us go

ámma ɔ-nón ʔ-ɔccɪkɔʔ.e lɔn ɪ-ɔ-ʔɽák

if PERS-2A C-hear:COMPL words C-of-war

á-nn-ɔkəɽənnɔ ɔpəlle

SUBJ-2A-let:DEPINCOMPL be_afraid:DEPINCOMPL

when you hear about war, do not be afraid

Completives are also used in a number of environments requiring the dependent counterparts of the Incompletive and/or the Past. One such environment is the conjunctive particle **á** ‘and, while’. The particle can precede a Completive verb:

... a-kw-ímma.kat ɕɪpɪt á-c-c-óná.t cɪl

CONJ-3-see:PST ant CONJ-PRO-C-bring:COMPL grain_of_sorghum

and s/he saw the ant (just) having brought a grain of sorghum

The following example has the combination **akkă ... á** ‘when ... then’:

akka ɔ-ɾɪt ʔ-erét-ɔk a-k-kw-íɔ.t n.tít

that PERS-12 C-speak_about:INCOMPL-O3 CONJ-3-C-die:COMPL from:ABS

when we talked about him, he had already been dead for some time

The next example contains two clauses with **á** and a Completive. The first sets the time for the event, the second presents the going to the

market as anterior to the events that are going to be told, not as already part of it:

... **a-caŋɪ** **c-én** **c-ɔká.t** **cɪk** **a-m-p-ɛɔ.t** **ɬallattá** ...
 CONJ-day C-DEM C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-C-go:COMPL market
 ... and that day I had gone to the market

Completives are used in non-subject relative constructions:

lɔn **ɪ-l-a** **ɬómɔccɔ** **ɬ-ɔlləkkéntét** **ká** **k-úŋ**
 words RES-C-COP old_man C-put_down_for:COMPL body C-POSS3
 things which the old man promised himself

k-kw-érekántet **imɪt** **lɔn** **áppík** **ɪ-l-a** **k-kw-ɔkkɔt.ɛ**
 3-C-speak_to_about:PST goat words all RES-C-COP 3-C-do:COMPL
 she spoke to the goat about everything she had done (fr. written story)

The Completive commonly occurs in constructions with fronted question words and **akka** ‘that’:

ŋín-ɬa **akka** **ɪn-ɬ-ɔkkɔt.ɛ** (**< ɔkkɔt**)
 what-Q that 1A-C-do:COMPL
 what have we done?

I did not find Completives in combination with the subjunctive particle **â** ‘so that, in order to’.

12.6. Auxiliaries and other special verbs – defective inflection

Verbs typically function as main verb and have six basic TAMs as described in the previous section. Some verbs, however, (also) function as auxiliary verb, or as both auxiliary and copular verb. Many of these verbs have a defective inflection. Verbs with a defective inflection typically have:

- just one form (in this case I only gloss its meaning)
- non-dependent and a dependent TAM-stem (in this case I add DEP in the gloss of the dependent TAM-stem)

- three TAM-stems which can be viewed as non-dependent incompleted (glossed as INCOMPL), dependent incompleted (glossed as DEPINCOMPL) and completive (glossed as COMPL)
- four TAM-stems. In addition to the three afore-mentioned stems, there is also an imperative TAM-stem (glossed as IMP)

Several of these verbs have a deviating phonological shape. All have specific tonal characteristics, though an underlying pattern can often not be assigned.

Auxiliary verbs precede the main verb, either as a separate word, or as part of the same word as the main verb. In constructions with more than one auxiliary, an auxiliary can also form a word with another auxiliary. Examples of combinations of auxiliaries of ‘be’ are given in 12.7.5, examples of other auxiliary combinations elsewhere in chapter 12, including 12.23.

The (reconstructed) auxiliary verb **arəka* ‘as always’, discussed in 12.14, has inflectional forms from which tonal phenomena on the main verb can be understood. The same tonal phenomena on main verbs are found in combination with some auxiliaries that synchronically lack revealing surface forms. In those cases I use **arəka* as model for the analysis.

The auxiliaries, to different degrees, display loss of inflectional marking, due to loss of segments and/or tonal changes. In several cases variant forms exist next to each other and in one case (the negation auxiliary) a process of loss of functionality of the inflectional marking is clearly in progress.

A few verbs with a defective inflectional paradigm function only as main verb. They are discussed in 12.21 and 12.22.

12.7. ɔkâ ‘be’

The six basic TAMs of ɔkâ ‘be’ are entirely regular. It has, however, an additional basic TAM, which no other verb has: the Present. This is the paradigm:

Imperative	ɔka
Present	C-a-ík
Incompletive	C-a.kâ
Dep. Incompletive	ɔkâ
Past	C-ɔka.káɛ
Dep. Perfective	ɔká.kat + H
Completive	C-ɔkâ.t

The dependent completive TAM-stem of ɔkâ is ɔká. Furthermore, there is a copula based on ɔkâ: C-á.

12.7.1. The copula and the Present

The copula consists of a concord and the segment **a**, and it can generate a H-tone on a following element. It cannot itself receive a high tone from a preceding element, unless through tone bridge, so that, as a monomoraic element, it can have a high or a rising tone. It has no prepausal realization, so that both options remain. In such cases I assign a high tone (see 3.8): C-á.

The Present of ‘be’ has the copula and a remnant of the vague reference particle **ɪk** as formatives: C-a-ík⁷¹. The Present functions as locative/existential verb and as auxiliary verb, and can also function as copular verb.

Before discussing (common) copula clauses and the TAMs of ‘be’ as copular verb, locative/existential, and auxiliary verb, some remarks about syntactic constructions in which the Present and the copula appear follow here.

Syntactic environments in which the Present of ‘be’ can be used

In section 12.5 of this chapter it was shown that in certain syntactic environments the dependent counterpart of the Incompletive (i.e. the Dependent Incompletive) is selected, and in certain, partly different

⁷¹ In glossed Lumun text, I write the Present of ‘be’ as C-a.ík, not glossing **ík** separately.

environments, the dependent counterpart of the Past (i.e. the Dependent Perfective). In some environments in which a dependent TAM is selected, a Completive can occur as well. Such environments also allow for use of the Present, irrespective of whether it functions as main verb or as (initial) auxiliary. Like the Completive, the Present lacks a dependent counterpart. These environments include:

- Clauses preceded by the conjunctive particle **á-**:

ṭomcccə	ṭ-a.ṭəko	ṇuṭú		
old_man	C-eat:INCOMPL	asida		
á-ṭ-ṭ-á.ik	á-ṭ-íkkə	cík	nə.ppăn	
CONJ-PRO-C-be:PR	CONJ-PRO-sit:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	inside	

the old man eats asida while remaining inside

- Cleft constructions with **akka** ‘that’:

ṇ-kw-ónṭa	akka	ṇ-kw-a.ik	cí.nán	ṇ-cík-akkómân
2-C-why	that	2-C-be:PR	where_you_are	with-LOC-since

why are you just still there?

Environments in which the copula is used

The copula C-**á** has already been introduced in chapter 11 on relative clauses. Preceded by the restrictor **í-**, C-**á** introduces a restrictive non-subject relative clause, without restrictor a non-restrictive non-subject relative clause. In section 11.2.4 it was shown that the copula functions in topic constructions. In such constructions C-**á** links a topicalized patient or instrument subject to what is stated about it (11.2.4). The use of C-**á** in common copula clauses is discussed here.

Common copula constructions

Common copula constructions, i.e. constructions of the type ‘X is Y’ with X and Y both being a noun phrase, make use of the copula. In case of a pronominal subject, the full pronoun, but also the clitic can be applied (second example below).

၁-နဲnní ပ-ါ ပဲာ်နဲ ပ-မ
 PERS-Nenni C-COP name_sharer C-my

Nenni is my name-sharer (i.e. Nenni and I have the same name)

၁-ဟဲ ပ-ာ kwat ငဲnné / ဟဲ-kw-a kwat ငဲnné
 PERS-2 C-COP stranger here 2-C-be:PR stranger here

you are a stranger here

In common copula constructions (not in other constructions with the copula), the copula can also be left out. Such verbless clauses do not allow for use of a pronoun clitic:

၁-ဟဲ kwat ငဲnné
 PERS-2 stranger here
 you are a stranger here

12.7.2. ‘Be’ as copular verb

The TAMs of ‘be’, except the Present C-aĩk, can be used as copular verbs in nominal copula constructions. For example:

nuṭṭaruk n-၁ká.t cuṇkut င-၁ppót
 pigs C-be:COMPL crowd C-many
 the pigs were a large herd (Mark 5:11)

လၢ ၁-l-a.kónn-၁kérann၁ ပုလ
 words RES-C-NEG-let:DEPINCOMPL person
၁-p-၁ká ပုလ ámm.akka ပ-p-၁ဟဲ.ဲ
 CONJ-PRO-be:DEPINCOMPL person like PRO-C-like:COMPL
 things which do not allow a person to be the person s/he wants to be

‘Be’ as a copular verb has an inchoative counterpart **၁တဲkka** ‘become’:

ပုလ ၁m-p-၁ ပ-၁.တဲkka ပုလ ၁-p-၁.ဟဲkane
 person DEM-C-NEARSP C-become:INCOMPL person RES-C-show:INCOMPL
 this person will become a teacher

12.7.3. ‘Be’ in adjectival constructions

TAMs of ‘be’, including the Present, can be used in adjectival constructions. The copula (C-*á*) cannot be used in this environment.

attɪ ɔ-nɔn ʔ-a.ɪk ʔ-ɔpərɔt
 I_hope_that PERS-2A C-be:PR C-good
 I hope you (PL) are fine

ɪn-ʔ-ɔká.t ʔ-əɽapóruk
 1A-C-be:COMPL C-three
 we were three (i.e. there were three of us)

Referring to the present situation, the Present is often absent:

m-p-ɔpərɔt
 1-C-good
 I am fine

Other TAMs are more often stated explicitly. Yet, they too, can be absent. In the next example the TAM-interpretation of the adjectival predicate just follows from the preceding clause:

ɔ-kakká p-ɔnekɔ.t ɲəɽɪ ána ɲ-ɲ-ɪmmɪn
 PERS-Kakka C-take:COMPL water and PRO-C-heavy
 Kakka carried the water and it was heavy

The inchoative counterpart of ‘be’, **ɔtəkka** ‘become’, can be used in a construction with an adjective as well:

attɪ ɲ-kw-ɔtəkka.t p-ɔpərɔt pá-p-ɔttê
 I_hope_that 2-C-become:COMPL C-good thing-C-little
 I hope you feel somewhat better? (lit.: I hope you have become good a little)

12.7.4. ‘Be’ as a locative or existential verb

In locative constructions, a TAM of ‘be’ is normally present:

ηαττəkκóλ **η-á.ík** **νό-εónâ**
 calabash(k.o.) C-be:PR on-grinding_table
 the calabash is on the grinding table

m-p-əká.t **nə-ττək** **tórrô**
 1-C-be:COMPL on-stone Lumun_country
 I was in Lumun country

A presentative clause with a locative constituent can contain the Present of ‘be’, but also be verbless:

m-p-a.ík **cənέ** / **ə-un** **cənέ**
 1-C-be:PR here PERS-1 here
 I am here / here I am

In the absence of a locative phrase ‘be’ has an existential interpretation:

pul **p-ə-nəppət** **p-a.ík** **icat**
 person C-of-Nəppət C-be:PR really
 the person of Nəppət really exists

Other TAMs than the Present, when used existentially, co-occur with the vague reference particule **cík** (see 15.2). An example is the typical opening line of a story:

caɾɪ **c-əɾək** **c-əká.t** **cík ...**
 day C-some C-be:COMPL VREF
 once upon a time ...

12.7.5. ‘Be’ as auxiliary verb

The Present, the Incompletive and the Completive of ‘be’ can function as auxiliaries in complex TAMs. Some of these TAMs contain, or can contain, the vague reference particle **cík**. In general, **cík** makes the hearer dwell a little longer at the action or situation presented. Some complex TAMs contain the conjunctive particle **á-**, in such cases the TAM involves clause chaining.

When used after the conjunctive particle **á-** (an environment where a dependent TAM is selected) the auxiliary of ‘be’ changes to its dependent form (if such a form is available) and the main verb is preceded by **á-** as well. For some verbs this will involve no change because the main verb is already preceded by **á-**, for others **á-** is added but the main verb itself does not change because it has no dependent counterpart, for again others added **á-** before the main verb changes it to its dependent counterpart.

Some complex TAMs with ‘be’ are the following (for ease of reference I have given some of them a name):

1. C-**aɪk** C-verb:INCOMPL, or C-**ak**-C-verb:INCOMPL (*Present Continuous*)
a-C-**aɪk** a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL (*Dependent Present Continuous*)
2. C-**aka** C-verb:INCOMPL (*Future Continuous*)
a-C-**ɔká** a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL (*Dependent Future Continuous*)
3. C-**ɔkát** a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL, or
C-**ɔkát** **cɪk** a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL (*Past Continuous*)
4. C-**ɔkát** C-verb:INCOMPL, or C-**ɔkát** **cɪk** C-verb:INCOMPL
5. C-**ɔkát** C-verb:COMPL, or C-**át**-C-verb:COMPL (*Past Completive*)
C-**ɔkát** a-PCL-C-verb:COMPL (*Dependent Past Completive*)

Ad. 1. Present Continuous:

C-**aɪk** C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened:

C-**ak**-C-verb:INCOMPL

The Present Continuous consists of the Present of ‘be’ + Incompletive main verb: C-**aɪk** C-verb:INCOMPL. It describes an action or event that is going on at the time of speech or at the reference point in time:

m-p-a.ɪk

1-C-be:PR

I am grinding

p-a.kákɔ

C-grind:INCOMPL

ɔ-cɛccé

PERS-Cɛccé

Cɛccé is washing the bowls

p-á.ík

C-be:PR

p.íme

C-wash:INCOMPL

máttak

calabashes(k.o.)

The Present Continuous is also used for expressing that an action is about to begin at the moment of speech or at the time of reference. The example above could also express ‘I am about to grind’ and ‘Cεccε is about to wash the dishes’, respectively. An example with time reference point in the past is the following:

k-kw-átt-ıɔt

3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL

ɔ-kumán

PERS-Kuman

á-k-kw-á.ık

CONJ-3-C-be:PR

á-kw-ıřákó

CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL

kópá

meat

s/he found Kuman while she was eating meat / about to eat meat

The Present Continuous has a shortened form:

C-**ak**-C-verb:INCOMPL, whereby **ak** is what remains of **aık**. **k** of **ak** then assimilates to the concord on the main verb. Thus:

m-p-a.ık

1-C-be:PR

p-á.korrɔ /

C-engrave:INCOMPL

m-p-a.p-p-á.korrɔ

1-C-be:PR-C-engrave:INCOMPL

I am writing

In the Present Continuous C-**aık** can not be separated from the verbal word containing the main verb TAM-stem by another constituent. In the example below **mpaık** ‘I am’ is followed by another constituent, for which reason it does not function as part of the Present Continuous. A Present Continuous follows, on which the subject pronoun is not repeated:

m-p-a.ık

1-C-be:PR

cəne

here

p-a.ık

C-be:PR

p-úkkɔ

C-dance:INCOMPL

ıkkıřetřtak

very_badly

I am here, dancing the best I can (lit.: very badly) (fr. written story)

Dependent Present Continuous:

C-**aık** a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL

The Dependent Present Continuous is the dependent variant of the Present Continuous. It is attested in one specific environment, namely after the conjunctive particle **á**-. The subject of the clause

introduced by **á-** can be the same as the subject of the preceding clause, but can also be different. The Present auxiliary does not have a dependent counterpart, and thus remains the same, but **á-** is repeated before the main verb, so that it occurs as a Dependent Incompletive (not as an Incompletive). In the example below, the subject pronominal clitic **ḡ-** ‘you (SG)’ is deleted between the conjunctive particle and the initial vowel of the Dependent Incompletive main verb.

ḡ-kw-érekot	a-ḡ-kw-a.ik	a-ṛəkə	ḡurú
2-C-grumble_in_oneself:INCOMPL	CONJ-2-C-be:PR	CONJ-(2-)eat:DEPINCOMPL	asida

akaín-ṭa
why-Q
why are you grumbling while eating asida?

In the example below, there is a change of subject, from the leopard (**papəkira**) to the lion (**ṭəpa**), which is pronominally referred to:

papəkira	p-akkakáté	á-ṭ-ṭ-á.ík	á-ṭ-ḡḡəkə
leopard	C-come:PST	CONJ-PRO-C-be:PR	CONJ-PRO-rest:DEPINCOMPL

the leopard came while it (the lion) was resting

By contrast, in a non-subject relative clause (an environment which would select a Dependent Incompletive) the Present Continuous does not change to its dependent shape:

ṭurít	i-ṭ-a	m-p-a.ik	p-á.ṛəkə
food	RES-C-COP	1-C-be:PR	C-eat:INCOMPL

the food which I am eating

Ad. 2. Future Continuous:

C-aka C-verb:INCOMPL

The Future Continuous consists of the Incompletive of ‘be’ + Incompletive main verb. It expresses an action or event that will be going on at a later time than the time of speech or the time of reference. The action or event is expected with a high degree of certainty.

nə-caɾɪ **c-ɔ-kamoɟɛ**
on-day C-of-celebration

ul **w-a.ká** **cɪk** **w-a.pírane** **kápík** **nɔ-kâ**
people C-be:INCOMPL VREF C-thank:INCOMPL God on-body

on the day of the celebration, the people will be praising God

ámamá **ɲ-kw-ɔ́íne.t** **kín**
if 2-C-go_to:COMPL O3A

ɲ-kw-a.ka **p-a.ɬáttɔ** **ɪ-úl** **w-aɲ**
2-C-be:INCOMPL C-fight:INCOMPL in-people C-POSS2

if you join them (lit.: when you will have gone to them), you will be fighting against your (own) people

Dependent Future Continuous

After the conjunctive particle **á-**, the Incompletive auxiliary changes to its dependent form and **á-** is repeated on the main verb, which changes to the Dependent Incompletive as well:

ɲín-ɬa **akka** **a-kw-ɔ́ká** **á-kw-ɔ́táttme** **ɪ-úl** **w-úɲ**
what-Q that CONJ-3-be:DEPINCOMPL CONJ-3-fight_for:DEPINCOMPL in-people C-POSS3

why will he be fighting against his (own) people?

Ad. 3. Past Continuous:

C-ɔ́kát **a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL**, or

C-ɔ́kát **cɪk** **a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL**

The Past Continuous consists of the Completive of ‘be’ + **á** + Dependent Incompletive main verb. **cɪk** can be present or absent on the auxiliary. The Past Continuous has a clause chaining structure, i.e., consists of two separate clauses. It expresses an action or event that was going on in the past, but has stopped at the time of speech or the time of reference. The presence of **cɪk** draws more attention to the action having some duration.

m-p-ɔ́ká.t **á-n-íɾe** **ittĩ ...**
1-C-be:COMPL CONJ-1-say:DEPINCOMPL that

I was saying (that) ...

amóṭa **p-ṓká.t** **cík** **a-kw-ṓkijə** **lícók**
 PERS.Amoṭa C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-3-push:DEPINCOMPL goats

Amoṭa was pushing the goats together (fr. written story)

ṓ-kín **t-ṓká.t** **cík** **a-kín** **ṓmóttə** **aôn ...**
 PERS-3A C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ.PERS-3A break_in_two:DEPINCOMPL bees

they were breaking off the honeycombs ...

The clause chaining structure allows for an additional constituent in the first clause, coming before the conjunctive particle **á**:

ṓ-kw-ṓká.t **cík** **maṣót** **ă-mpəppəne** **lícək** **akaín-ṭa**
 2-C-be:COMPL VREF long_time_ago CONJ-(2-)miss.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL goats why-Q

why were you always losing goats in the past?

This is also possible when **cík** is absent. In the example below the Completive of ‘be’ in the first clause functions as copular verb, but the whole construction still functions as a Past Continuous:

nuṭṭəruk **n-ṓká.t** **cujkut** **c-əppət** **a-n-ṓṣəkə** **cík**
 pigs C-be:COMPL crowd C-many CONJ-PRO-eat:DEPINCOMPL VREF
í.ccík **k-ṓ-cəṣəṣ**
 near C-of-mountain

a large herd of pigs was feeding on the nearby hill (lit.: the pigs were a large crowd while feeding on the nearby hill) (Mark 5:11)

After conjunctive **á**- (or in any other environment that selects a dependent TAM if available) there is no change in the verbal complex, because the auxiliary has no dependent form and the main verb already is in its dependent form.

Ad. 4. ‘was about to’ (imminence in the past)

C-ṓkát C-verb:INCOMPL, or

C-ṓkát cík C-verb:INCOMPL

This verbal complex consists of the Completive of ‘be’ + Incompletive main verb. The Completive auxiliary can be followed by **cík**, but **cík** can also be absent. It expresses that an action was

about to take place at some time in the past. Unless stated otherwise or apparent from the context, it is understood that it eventually did not.

k-kw-śká.t **cɪk** **p-a.pśttɔt** **ókul** (**< ɔpśttɔt**)
 3-C-be:COMPL VREF C-beat:INCOMPL child
 s/he was about to beat the child

k-kw-śká.t **p-á.kákɔ** **ana** **k-kw-á.nn-śkák.at** (**< ɔkákɔ**)
 3-C-be:COMPL C-grind:INCOMPL and 3-C-NEG-grind:DEPPRFV
 she was about to grind, but then she did not

When the time reference point is the time of speech, the construction gives an interpretation as ‘was X-ing and completed this’: at the moment of speech, the action, which had some duration, has stopped. The example below can be a response to the question ‘do you know where Kakka is?’. The answer implies that she was here, grinding, but now she has gone.

k-kw-śká.t **p-á.kákɔ** (**< ɔkákɔ**)
 3-C-be:COMPL C-grind:INCOMPL
 she was grinding (just a moment ago, but not anymore now)

Ad. 5. Past Completive:

C-**ɔkát** C-verb:COMPL, or shortened:

C-**át**-C-verb:COMPL

The Past Completive consists of the Completive of ‘be’ + Completive main verb. The Past Completive is often shortened. It is then realized as C-**at**, with **t** assimilating to the following consonant:

k-kw-śká.t **p-εś.t** / **k-kw-á.p-p-εś.t**
 3-C-be:COMPL C-go:COMPL 3-C-be:COMPL-C-go:COMPL
 s/he had gone

lepa l-ɔká.t l-ɔɾumɔ́t̪.ɛ / lepa l-á.l-l-ɔɾumɔ́t̪.ɛ

lions C-be:COMPL C-attack:COMPL lions C-be:COMPL-C-attack:COMPL

the lions have/had attacked

In case of **w**-concord, there are two alternatives for the shortened Past Completive. The first example has the full form, the second the two short alternatives. **wáɾɔkâ.t** is the expected short form: **t** becomes **r** before concord **w**, then **w** is deleted between **r** and the following vowel. **wáwɔkâ.t** is somewhat unexpected, but appears to exist as well (recall that elision of concord **w** between vowels across a morpheme boundary is not obligatory, see 2.1.6).

ɔkɔl w-ɔká.t w-ɔká.t w-ulukkû-ppu

people C-be:COMPL C-be:COMPL C-one-really

the child was the only child

ɔkɔl w-á.r-ɔká.t / w-á-w-ɔká.t w-ulukkû-ppu

people C-be:COMPL-(C-)be:COMPL / C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL C-one-really

the child was the only child

The Past Completive refers to a completed action or event some time in the past. It can express that the action or event just stopped or ceased then, but it can also be that the resulting state continues up to the time of reference or the moment of speech. The latter is the case in the example below. The Past Completive implies that it is already some time ago that the addressee has put his stick somewhere. That action still bears relevance to the present: at the moment of speech they cannot find it. The pluractional verb **ɔkwáɾɛttikɔt** ‘think, remember’, as opposed to the more instantaneous non-Pluractional verb **ɔkwáɾikɔt** ‘recall’, corresponds with this longer time frame, expressing that remembering the place will take some repeated effort.

ant-ɔ́kwarɛttikɔt na

can:DEPINCOMPL-remember.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL where:REL

ɲ-kw-ɔká.t p-ɔnəkkét̪.é kúrrɔ̃ŋ

2-C-be:COMPL C-put_down:COMPL stick

please recall where you put your stick (then)

By contrast, a Completive used in the same sentence, implies that only a short time has elapsed between the action of putting the stick somewhere and the moment when the hearer is asked to recall where he put it (perhaps an hour or a day). The non-pluractional verb **ɔkwárikɔt** ‘recall’ corresponds to this short time frame, expressing that the place is expected to come to mind easily:

ant-ɔkwárikɔt **na**
 can:DEPINCOMPL-remember:DEPINCOMPL where:REL
ŋ-kw-ɔnəkkét.é **kúrrɔŋ**
 2-C-put_down:COMPL stick
 please recall where you have put your stick

The example below is the last sentence of an account describing the events during a period of hunger. The Past Completive conveys that the hunger has stopped and corresponds with the events having happened a considerable time ago.

lɔn **el-l-i** **l-ɔká.t** **l-ɔká.t** **nɔ-ɬupút** **2001**
 words DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:COMPL C-be:COMPL on-year 2001
 these things took place in the year 2001

The Past Completive often functions as a pluperfect. In the following example, the giving of the money has been anterior to the events in the past that are going to be told:

pul **p-əɬek** **p-á.p-p-étet** **ul** **w-ɛɾa** **ákúccɨ**
 person C-some C-be:COMPL-C-give:COMPL people C-two money
ittɨ **á-kín** **ant-áɬ-ɔkkárəttm-ɔk**
 that SUBJ-3A can:DEPINCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-return_to:DEPINCOMPL-O3
 a man had given two people money in order for them to come and give it
 back to him (later) (Luke 7:41)

Some verbs need a Completive in order to express an actual mental or emotional state, for example **ɔpíra** ‘become happy’ and **ɔŋɔt** ‘like, want, love’. With such verbs, the Past Completive is applied in order to express a state that existed at some time in the past:

m-p-á.p-p-əŋəʔ.é **ittɪ** **ɔ-nɪn** **t-áppuʔa** **ɔ-nɪn** **ɔ-ɕɕɕɕê**
 1-C-be:COMPL-C-like:COMPL that PERS-1A C-play:INCOMPL PERS-1A PERS-Cɕɕɕɕ

ana.rruk **m-p-ənn-ɪ.əʔ-ʔk**
 but 1-C-NEG-find:DEPPRFV-O3

I wanted to play with Cecce, but (then) I could not find her

ana **ákká** **k-kw-íəʔ.é** **k-kw-ʔká.t** **p-əpɪrá.t** **nó-ká**
 and when 3-C-find:COMPL 3-C-be:COMPL C-become_good:COMPL on-body
 and when s/he found it, s/he felt happy

In a clause introduced by **ámma** + H ‘if, when’, the Distant Completive is used as a counterfactual:

ámma **pól** **ém-p-í** **p-á.p-p-əká.t** **pól**
 if person DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL person
í-p-érente **lón** **l-ʔ-kápík** **ícát** **p-á-íná.t ...**
 RES-C-speak.PLUR:INCOMPL words C-of-God truly C-IRR-know:COMPL

if this man were a person who truly speaks the word of God, he would know ... (Luke 7:39)

Dependent Past Completive: C-əkáʔ a-PCL-C-verb:COMPL

When a Past Completive is used after the conjunctive particle **á-**, the particle is repeated on the main verb, so that the clauses become chained (recall that Completives have no dependent TAM as counterpart). Like in the Past Completive, **ɕɪk** cannot be present:

k-kw-áʔt-ɪəʔ **ɔ-nenní**
 3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL PERS-Nenni
a-k-kw-ʔká.t **a-k-kw-ʔəʔkə.t** **kəpá**
 CONJ-3-C-be:COMPL CONJ-3-C-eat:COMPL meat

s/he found Nenni while she had been eating meat (but she had just stopped)

Other complex verbs with an auxiliary of ‘be’

TAMs can contain complex auxiliaries of ‘be’. The following, which has the Completive + Present Continuous of ‘be’, is an example. Like

the Past Continuous it expresses ‘was X-ing’, but it suggests that the action was not continued or finished. It can for example be used in a situation where the speaker reports that he saw somebody coming towards his house, but the person suddenly turned around and did not come after all. **cık** can be present or absent. **cık** adds a subtle (further) notion of spatiality and/or duration to the clause.

pul	p-ɔká.t	p-á.fık	p-ânṭán
person	C-be:COMPL	C-be:PR	C-come:INCOMPL

the man was coming (suggestion: but then something happened so that he did not come)

pul	p-ɔká.t	cık	p-a.ık	p-ânṭán
person	C-be:COMPL	VREF	C-be:PR	C-come:INCOMPL

the man was coming (suggestion: but then something happened so that he did not come)

In general, when a TAM contains a Completive of ‘be’, a double Completive is possible as well. The double Completive can be shortened in the same way as happens in the Past Completive. Such constructions typically have a pluperfect reading. Some examples follow here.

Past Continuous with double Completive of ‘be’:

C-ɔkát C-ɔkát a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL, or shortend:
 C-át-C-ɔkát a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL;
 C-ɔkát C-ɔkát cık a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL, or shortened:
 C-át-C-ɔkát cık a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL

nɔ-caɾı	c-én	ɔ-cɛccé	p-á.p-p-ɔká.t	cık
on-day	C-DEM	PERS-Cɛccé	C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL	VREF

a-kw-ṣra
 CONJ-3-cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

On that day Cɛccé had been busy cultivating

‘be about to’ with double Completive of ‘be’:

C-**əkát** C-**əkát** C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened:

C-**át**-C-**əkát** C-verb:INCOMPL;

C-**əkát** C-**əkát** **cık** C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened

C-**át**-C-**əkát** **cık** C-verb:INCOMPL

ɔ-tottó **p-á.p-p-əká.t** **cık** **p-ântán** **ana**
 PERS-Tottó C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL VREF C-come:INCOMPL and

k-kw-áppər-əká.kat **p-ɔɔɔ**

3-C-again:COMPL-be:DEPPRFV C-ill

Tottó had been about to come, but he fell ill again

Past Completive with double Completive of 'be':

C-**əkát** C-**əkát** C-verb:COMPL, or shortened:

C-**át**-C-**át**-C-verb:COMPL

ɔparı **p-əká.t** **p-á.p-p-əkwnín-ək** **ɲukul**
 wife C-be:COMPL C-be:COMPL-C-produce_for:COMPL-O3 children

his wife had produced children for him

12.8. Deictic verbs

There are three deictic verbs. They always contain a concord and have only one form. They contain the formatives **ĩ**, **êrík** and **érê**, respectively, that also form part of the spatial demonstratives (see chapter 8.1). The deictic verbs are given in the first column of the table, the demonstratives, for comparison, in the second.

Table 64 Deictic verbs

C- ĩ	'be here (near speaker / deictic centre)'	en-C-ĩ	'this, these (near the deictic centre)'
C- êrík	'be there (near addressee)'	en-C-êrík	'that, those (near addressee)'
C- érê	'be over there (away from speaker/deictic centre and addressee)'	en-C-érê	'that, those (away from both, but in sight)'

The deictic verbs can function as main verbs, but also as auxiliaries. As main verbs, they typically function as presentatives:

m-p-ει **cənέ**

1-C-be_NEARSP here

I am here

a-m-p-êrik

CONJ-1-be_NEARADDR

a-n-ítto

CONJ-1-pick:DEPINCOMPL

kíce

kice-fruit

k-ərek

C-some

k-εί

C-be_NEARSP

k-óré ittouaη

C-red very

and I am here with you, picking this other very ripe *kice*-fruit here
(fr. written story)

appentína

groundnuts

w-êrík

C-be_NEARADDR

the groundnuts are there in front of you!

aṛík

come

núttəruk

pigs

n-ərek

C-some

n-érê

C-be_DIST

come, there are some pigs over there!

In a verbal complex, the deictic verbs can precede an Incompletive, a Present, a Present Continuous, or a Completive expressing a state:

m-p-εί

1-C-be_NEARSP

p-á.έό-a

C-go:INCOMPL-ATT

I am going!

m-p-εί

1-C-be_NEARSP

p-á.ík

C-be:PR

p-á.έό-a

C-go:INCOMPL-ATT

I am going!

m-p-êrik

1-C-be_NEARADDR

p-a.mákot

C-follow:INCOMPL

nən

O2A

n-ṭə-cəkên

with-at-lower_back

I will be near to you, following you (PL) from behind

mén **m-êrik** **m-ɔməttát.ɛ**
 palm_fruits C-be_NEARADDR C-be_finished:COMPL

the palm fruits there with you are finished (App. IV, 115)

ul **w-əɾek** **w-éɾé** **w-ântán**
 people C-some C-be_DIST C-come:INCOMPL

some people are over there, coming

12.9. **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’

The verb **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’ can function as a main verb, but also as auxiliary verb in a verbal complex. In such a complex auxiliary and main verb occur in separate clauses connected through the conjunctive particle **á**. Together the clauses express a continuing action or the start of an action. Examples of **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’ as main verb are given first. Presence of **cɪk** is obligatory.

ikkɪ **cɪk**
 sit:IMP VREF
 sit down!

ukul **w-ɔŋɔt.é** **ittɪ** **ɔ-nɪn** **t-íkkɔ** **cɪk**
 child C-like:COMPL that PERS-1A C-sit:INCOMPL VREF
 the child wants us to stay

As an auxiliary Completive C-**ikkɔt cɪk**, Past C-**ikkátɛ cɪk** and Dependent Perfective **ikkat cɪk** are used in clause chaining construction with the conjunctive particle **á** in the following ways:

C-**ikkɔt cɪk** + **á** + PRO-verb:DEPINCOMPL

C-**ikkátɛ cɪk** or **ikkat cɪk** + **á** + PRO-verb:DEPINCOMPL

The construction with Completive C-**ikkɔt cɪk** expresses that an action was going on at some time in the past, literally: ‘X sat/stayed doing Y’. Some examples:

akka **ɔ-kín** **ṭ-ikkó.t** **cík**
 that PERS-3A C-sit:COMPL VREF

a-kín **órá** **íttíná**
 CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL like_that

a-ṭok **ákkakat**
 CONJ-dog come:DEPPRFV

and when they were cultivating like that, the dog came ('The story of the jackal')

ṇattattápe **ṇ-ikkó.t** **cík** **a-íttitte** **aôn**
 bird(sp.) C-sit:COMPL VREF CONJ-(PRO-)collect.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL bees

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

The second construction, with Past C-**ikkáṭe** **cík** or Dependent Perfective or **ikkat** **cík** expresses that an action (or state) started (literally "sat down").

m-p-ikk.áṭe **cík** **a-n-ɔkíṇa**
 1-C-sit:PST VREF CONJ-1-become_tired:DEPINCOMPL

I started to feel tired

ana **ṭakəruk** **ɪ-ṭ-ótté** **í-ṭ-óṛe** **ṭ-ikk.áṭe** **cík**
 and chicken RES-C-little RES-C-red C-sit:PST VREF

a-ṭ-óṛnce **tɔ.pón** **appin-appin**
 CONJ-PRO-go_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL at_farming_field always-REDUP

and the little red hen started to go to the field every day (fr. written story)

... a-kkónacci **ikk.at** **cík** **a-kw-íttat** **moṭé**
 CONJ.PERS-Kunacci sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ-3-become_fat:DEPINCOMPL buttocks

n-ṭ-ɔəkén
 with-at-lower_back

... and Kunacci started to grow fat at the buttocks from behind (fr. written story)

Like auxiliaries of 'be', **ikkɔ** **cík** as auxiliary can itself co-occur with an auxiliary verb, as in the following example:

a-lón éi-l-í ánt-íkk.at cík a-l-éretta

CONJ-words DEM-C-NEARSP can:DEPINCOMPL-sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ-PRO-be_spoken:DEPINCOMPL

and these things started to be said (and the situation was there that these things started to be said)

12.10. C-íkkə ‘may’

The auxiliary verb C-íkkə, without cík, precedes an Incompletive main verb:

C-íkkə C-verb:INCOMPL

Unlike íkkə cík, C-íkkə ‘may’ cannot function as a main verb. It occurs only in this one form and always as an auxiliary: it does not inflect for Past or Completive, nor does it have a dependent counterpart.

The construction expresses that something *may* happen. There is an expectation or possibility, but no certainty that the stated action or will actually take place.

lón l-íkkə l-a.ka l-əppót

words C-may C-be:INCOMPL C-many

a lot of things may be going to be said now (For example after somebody has died: things that have been kept quiet are now perhaps going to be said openly)

C-íkkə cannot directly precede an adjective, it must always come before a verb. The first example has the Incompletive of the verb ɔŋa ‘become ill’, the second the Incompletive of the verb ɔ́ákkə ‘become’, followed by the adjective C-ɔ́ŋə ‘ill’. ɔ́ákkə cannot be left out.

papə p-íkkə p-á.ŋa

thing C-may C-become_ill:INCOMPL

the animal may become ill

papɔ **p-íkkɔ** **p-a.tókka** **p-ɔŋɔ**
 thing C-may C-become:INCOMPL C-ill

the animal may become ill

C-**íkkɔ** ‘may’ often precedes an Incompletive verb, but can also be combined with an auxiliary of ‘be’ that contains the Completive/ventive auxiliary C-**átt** (see the example below). C-**átt** has a modal interpretation in this context, as ‘may’ (see 12.20.2). It is this element C-**átt** that allows for the presence of C-**íkkɔ**. In the example C-**íkkɔ** can be left out without a change of meaning, but **páttóká** cannot be omitted.

ɔ-pəlɪn **p-íkkɔ** **p-átt-óká** **p-ákkárákɔ.t** **cakorok**
 PERS-somebody C-may C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL C-be_called:COMPL also

ɪ-p-érɪk **n-a-ŋ**
 RES-C-big on-PERS-2

somebody who is more important than you may have been invited as well
 (Luke 14:8)

Though C-**íkkɔ** normally conveys that something may happen, not that something is certain to happen, it is sometimes used in a way that expresses precisely the opposite. In the following example the Person of Nəppət is threatening the tortoise. With C-**íkkɔ** he communicates that the tortoise can be sure ‘to know him today ...’. **kəné** is a swear word variant of **ənné** ‘your mother’.

ŋ-kw-íkkɔ **p-ínane** **kəne** **ménni** **túllúk**
 2-C-may C-know_for:INCOMPL your_mother today just

ámmá **m-p-á.nn-ókípcót-ɔŋ** **ca** **cík**
 if 1-C-NEG-throw_stones_at.PLUR:DEPCOMPL-O2 head VREF

just today you will know (me), on your mother, I will crush your head with stones (lit.: you may know for your mother just today, if I will not have stoned your head)

Negation is expressed on the main verb, not on the auxiliary:

ɔ-rit **t-íkkɔ** **t-ǎnn-ɔrékɔ** **maɾi** **m-ɔppót**
 PERS-12 C-may C-NEG-work:DEPINCOMPL days C-many

we may not be able to do a lot of work for many days

12.11. C-**arótuk** + H ‘be still’

C-**arótuk** + H occurs in this form only. It can, for example, not be used without concord. C-**arótuk** + H ‘be still’ does not have the shape of a verb. Final **k** is not attested in verbs, unless in presents of ‘be’ (C-**aík**), where it is a remnant of the vague reference particle **cík**. Whether or not **k** of C-**arótuk** + H is perhaps itself a remnant of **cík** is unclear. There seems to be no other verb (or other word) to which it is related. In context, it can bring a high tone to the next element.

C-**arótuk** + H resembles adjectives in that it has a fixed form, must co-occur with a concord (or the focus marker **akk-** as a replacement of the concord) and can itself be combined with different TAMs of ‘be’ as auxiliaries. However, it does not express a quality, but functions typically as a verb: a locative/existential (main) verb, a copular verb and auxiliary verb. Some examples of C-**arótuk** + H as locative/existential verb follow here:

ŋ-kw-arótuk-i⁷²

2-C-be_still-Q

are you ready? / have you finished? (*lit.: are you still?*)

cík **c-arótuk** **áttík**
 place C-be_still ever

there is still endless time

As a main verb it can be preceded by an auxiliary of ‘be’:

⁷² In spite of C-**arótuk** having a floating high tone (+H), no high tone (realized as falling) is generated on the question particle.

ka **k-a.ɪk** **k-arə́tʊk** **ɪ-n̩tɛ**⁷³
 body C-be:PR C-be_still in-sleep

I am still asleep (lit.: the body is still in sleep)

ɔ-kín **t-ɔká.t** **t-árə́tʊk** **cɪk-i-ká** **k-ɔ-tampan**
 PERS-3A C-be:COMPL C-be_still LOC-in-body C-of-flat_open_space

they were still right in the middle of the flat open space

It can also be combined with **C-ícca** ‘be still, continue to’ as auxiliary verb. **C-ícca** is discussed in chapter 12.2.

m-p-íccá **p-árə́tʊk**
 1-C-be_still C-be_still

I am still not ready / I have still not finished

C-arə́tʊk + H can also function as a copular verb. In the first example it makes a connection between the subject and a noun; in the second and third between the subject and an adjective; in the fourth between the subject and connexive construction:

k-kw-árə́tʊk **ókól** **w-ón**
 3-C-be_still child C-POSS2A

s/he is still your child

ɲəɾɪ **ɲ-arə́tʊk** **ɲ-írrók**
 water C-be_still C-cold

the water is still cold

pul **p-arə́tʊk** **p-ɔŋɔ** **cānnan**
 person C-be_still C-ill very

the person is still very ill

cɪk **c-arə́tʊk** **c-ɔ-ɔrrət**
 place C-be_still C-of-tomorrow

it is still morning (maybe around 10.00 am)

⁷³ **m̩tɛ** is a contraction of **í** + **m̩tɛ́**, see 4.4.

C-**arə́tʊk** +H as auxiliary verb can be followed by a Dependent Incompletive main verb. Examples with **ɪmma** ‘see’, **akkarə** ‘call’, **ɔmúɲe** ‘steal’, **ɔkkwôt** ‘kill’ are given in the table. The floating high tone of C-**arə́tʊk** +H is realized on all-low dependent incomplete TAM-stems (first two examples in the table. The falling realization in the second example point towards an underlyingly long vowel).

Table 65 C-**arə́tʊk** +H and Dependent Incompletive

	<i>C-arə́tʊk +H + Dependent Incompletive</i>
ɪmma ‘see’	C- arə́tʊk ɪmma +H
akkarə ‘call’	C- arə́tʊk âkkarə +H
ɔmúɲe ‘steal’	C- arə́tʊk ɔmúɲe +H
ɔkkwôt ‘kill’	C- arə́tʊk ɔkkwôt

Followed by a Dependent Incompletive it expresses that something is still to happen or to be done. It can often be translated with ‘not yet’:

m-p-arə́tʊk **ɪkkə** **áləppón**
 1-C-be_still drink:DEPINCOMPL coffee

I am still to take coffee / I have not taken coffee yet

k-kw-árə́tʊk **áikət** **ɪ-a-paŋôn**
 3-C-be_still feel_at-ease:DEPINCOMPL in-PERS-sibling.PL

s/he does not yet feel at ease between his/her siblings (s/he is still to feel at ease between his/her siblings)

ʊkʊl **ɪ-ɔparɪ** **w-ɔnó** **ittɪ** **w-ápəɾɛ́tʰa**
 child RES-(C-)-female C-have that PRO.C-be_beaten:INCOMPL

a-w-árə́tʊk **ɔppêɾ**
 CONJ-PRO.C-be_still get_pregnant:DEPINCOMPL

a girl must be beaten before she gets pregnant (she must undergo the initiation rite of being beaten. Lit.: while being still to get pregnant ...)

an-ákka **k-kw-árə̀tək** **íllə** **ɪ-ruttə́rúk**⁷⁴ ...
 and-that 3-C-be_still cut_in_two:DEPINCOMPL in-pig

and before cutting the pig in two ... (lit.: and when s/he was still to cut the pig in two ...) (fr. written story)

C-arə̀tək + H can also be combined with a non-dependent verbal complex expressing continuous action. With the Present Continuous in the first example, it communicates that an action is still going on:

m-p-arə̀tək **p-a.ɪk** **p-íkkə́** **áləppón**
 1-C-be_still C-be:PR C-drink:INCOMPL coffee

I am still drinking coffee (I have not finished my coffee yet)

However, this type of expression more often seems to make use of a construction with **C-ícca** ‘be still’.

Negation is expressed on the main verb, not on **C-arə̀tək**:

k-kw-árə̀tək **p-ǎ.nn-aŋkət** **ittɪ** **k-kw-ítta**
 3-C-be_still C-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL that 3-C-be_married:INCOMPL

she still does not want to get married

12.12. **C-ícca** ‘be still’

The verb **C-ícca** ‘be still’ occurs only in this form, always with a concord. **C-ícca** can only be followed by a non-dependent verb or adjective. Therefore, whether or not it would itself have a floating high tone is of no consequence since there is no environment where such a tone could manifest itself. Non-dependent verb and adjectives always have a high tone themselves and will not receive a preceding high tone. **C-ícca** does not seem to be related to another verb (or other word).

Unlike **C-arə̀tək** + H, **C-ícca** cannot function as a main verb. As a copular verb with adjectival predicate it can be used interchangeably with **C-arə̀tək** + H.

⁷⁴ Clause-final boundary tone (see 3.6).

η-ιccá **η-írrók**
 water C-be_still C-cold

the water is still cold

p-ιccá **p-εηε** **cánnan**
 person C-be_still C-ill very

the person is still very ill

C-arétok and **C-ícca** can be used together, in either order:

p-ιccá **p-arétok** **p-εηε** **cánnan**
 person C-be_still C-be_still C-ill very

the person is still very ill

p-arétok **p-ιccá** **p-εηε** **cánnan**
 person C-be_still C-be_still C-ill very

the person is still very ill

C-ícca ‘be still’ cannot serve as a copular verb with a nominal predicate. In such a case **C-arétok** ‘be still’ must be present:

k-kw-íccá **p-arétok** **ókól** **w-ón**
 3-C-be_still C-be_still child C-POSS2A

she is still your child

C-ícca is commonly used as an auxiliary in verbal complexes with a Present of ‘be’, a Present Continuous, or a Completive denoting a state:

C-ícca C-aik

C-ícca C-aik C-incompletive TAM-stem

C-ícca C-completive TAM-stem

C-ícca expresses that something is still going on or is still in a certain state. Some examples:

η-kw-íccá **p-á.ík-ι**
 2-C-be_still C-be:PR-Q

are you still there?

ɔ-nɛnní p-íccá p-á.ík p-éret itti k-kw-ânɬan-î
 PERS-Nenni C-be_still C-be:PR C-talk_about:INCOMPL that 3-C-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nenni still saying that she will come?

C-ícca can precede a Present Continuous within a larger verbal structure. In the example below, the Completive of ‘be’ (+ **cík**) and the conjunctive particle **á** are followed by **C-ícca** and a Present Continuous.

ɲa-ɲa-ɬɔŋkwat ɲ-ɔká.t cík
 DIM-REDUP-sheep C-be:COMPL VREF
a-ɲ-íccá ɲ-á.ík ɲ-áppuɬa
 CONJ-PRO.C-be_still C-be:PR C-play:INCOMPL

the lamb was still playing

The Completive of **ɔccɔ́ cík** ‘take time’ is used for the state of being late (first example below). In the second example this Completive is combined with **C-ícca**.

m-p-ɔccɔ́.t cík
 1-C-receive:COMPL VREF

I am late (*upon arrival, as an apology*)

ɔ-nne p-ícca p-ɔccɔ́.t cík
 PERS-your_mother C-be_still C-receive:COMPL VREF

your mother has still not come (lit.: your mother is still taking time)

A present state of refusing something is expressed with the Completive of **əɾa** ‘refuse, insist’. The example shows that in an environment where a Dependent Incompletive would be selected instead of an Incompletive and a Dependent Perfective instead of a Past, both without concord, **C-ícca** retains its concord (like Completives and like the Present of ‘be’):

a-cíkɪt c-ícca c-əɾá.t ɔ́kkwɔ́t ka
 CONJ-heart C-be_still C-refuse:COMPL kill:DEPINCOMPL body

and the heart still refused to kill the body (the heart still refused to stop beating)

Unlike C-**arə́tʊk** + H, C-**ícca** does not precede a dependent verb, nor does it, in certain environments, allow for a reading as ‘not yet’.

12.13. C-**úrənn** + H ‘just now’

The auxiliary C-**úrənn** + H ‘just now’ has only one form and only combines with a dependent incomplete TAM-stem. C-**úrənn** brings a high tone on the initial mora of an all-low dependent incomplete TAM-stems (first two examples in the table - the falling realization in the second example points towards an underlyingly long vowel).

Table 66 C-**úrənn** + H and dependent incomplete TAM-stem

	<i>C-úrənn + H and dep. incompl. TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	C- úrənn-imma + H
akkarə ‘call’	C- úrənn-âkkarə + H
əmúɲɛ ‘steal’	C- úrənn-əmúɲɛ + H
əkkwôt ‘kill’	C- úrənn-əkkwôt

C-**úrənn** + H ‘just now’ + dependent incomplete TAM-stem expresses that something has just happened, or has just been carried out. Some examples:

ɔ-kukkó p-úrənn-eɔ̃
PERS-Kukku C-just_now-go:DEPINCOMPL

Kukku has just left

m-p-úrənn-ɔ̃ɲəkət ɪ-cʊɾé c-ɔ-pɪra
1-C-just_now-rest_at:DEPINCOMPL in-buttock C-of-tree

I have just taken a rest under the tree

C-**ánt** / C-**ántər** ‘can’ with dependent incomplete main verb TAM-stem, can also express that something just happened (see 12.15). If C-**ánt** / C-**ántər** is used in this sense, (virtually) no time has elapsed between the time of speech and the time of the event. When C-**úrənn** + H is used, a little time may have past. Compare:

m-p-úrrən-áo

1-C-just_now-come:DEPINCOMPL

I have just arrived (perhaps an hour or so ago)

m-p-ántər-aɔ

1-C-can:COMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL

I have just arrived (the moment of speech is the moment of arrival)

c-úrənn can be combined with an auxiliary of ‘be’. In the next example, the arrival was not shortly before but shortly after the time anchor:

m-p-əká.t

1-C-be:COMPL

p-úrrən-áo

1-C-just_now-come:DEPINCOMPL

ákka

that

k-kw-ís.t

3-C-die:COMPL

I had just arrived after s/he had died (I was just too late)

12.14. ***arəka** ‘as always’

The auxiliary ‘as always’ has three TAMs, based on a reconstructed verb ***arəka**:

Table 67 TAM-stems and TAMs of ***arəka**

<i>TAM-stem</i>		<i>TAM</i>	
dependent incompletive	arək + H	Dependent Incompletive	arək + H
incompletive	árək + H	Incompletive	C- árək + H
completive	arəkât shortened: arək	Completive	C- arəkât shortened: C- arək

A verb ***arəka** can be reconstructed, because of Completive C-**arəkât**, which would be the regular Completive of an **a**-initial, **a**-final, low-toned verb (***arəka**). Furthermore, a Dependent Incompletive form ***arəka** + H and an Incompletive form *C-**arəka** + H would be regularly expected. These verbs, however, can easily be seen to have lost their final vowel before the initial vowel of the dependent verb that must follow. Such loss of a verb-final vowel **a** before a vowel with which it does not necessarily coalesce is attested elsewhere in connected speech, for example in:

m-p-ɔmma **ittĩ ...** [mbɔm:-ĩtĩ]
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL that
 I don't know (that) ...

maṭṭa **ummi** **káppəɾi** **k-áŋ-ɛ** [maṭ-um:i]
 please take:IMP spoon C-2POSS-PROP
 please, do pick up your spoon! (App. IV, 74)

It is therefore not far-fetched to assume that the attested auxiliaries are remaining (shortened) TAMs of a verb ***arəka**.

Dependent Incompletive **arək** +H and Incompletive C-**árək** +H are followed by the dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb. This (vowel-initial) verb is attached to the auxiliary. In the table below the forms are given of **arək** +H and C-**árək** +H preceding dependent incomplete TAM-stems of the verbs **imma** 'see', **akkarɔ** 'call', **ɔmóŋɛ** 'steal' and **ɔkkwôt** 'kill'. The floating high tone of the auxiliary is realized or not realized on the dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb (see the Tone Shift Rule and Tone Reappearance sub-Rules, 3.3.1 and 3.3.3).

Table 68 **arək** +H and C-**árək** +H and dep. incomplete TAM-stem

	<i>arək +H + dep. incomplete TAM-stem</i>	<i>C-árək +H + dep. incomplete TAM-stem</i>
imma 'see'	arək-ímma +H	C- árək-ímma +H
akkarɔ 'call'	arək-âkkarɔ +H	C- árək-âkkarɔ +H
ɔmóŋɛ 'steal'	arək-ɔmóŋɛ +H	C- árək-ɔmóŋɛ +H
ɔkkwôt 'kill'	arək-ɔkkwôt	C- árək-ɔkkwôt

Completive C-**arəkât** can select more than one TAM of the main verb: a Completive, a Past, a Dependent Incompletive and a Dependent Perfective. Table 70 presents Completive C-**arəkât** followed by a Completive and by a Past:

Table 69 Completive *C-arəkât* with Completive and with Past

	<i>C-arəkât</i> + <i>Completive</i>	<i>C-arəkât</i> + <i>Past</i>
imma ‘see’	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-immât</i>	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-immakáɛ</i>
akkarɔ ‘call’	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-akkarôt</i>	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-akkaráɛ</i>
ɔmóɲɛ ‘steal’	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-ɔmɔɲê</i>	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-ɔmɔɲékáɛ</i>
ɔkkwôt ‘kill’	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-ɔkkwɔ́ɛ</i>	<i>C-arəkât</i> <i>C-ɔkkwáɛ</i>

When followed by a dependent verb, Completive *C-arəkât* and the dependent verb will fuse together to one word. I therefore regard the dependent main verb as TAM-stems rather than as TAMs.

Table 71 gives examples of *C-arəkât* with dependent TAM-stems of the verbs **imma** ‘see’, **akkarɔ** ‘call’, **ɔmóɲɛ** ‘steal’ and **ɔkkwôt** ‘kill’. Final **t** of *C-arəkât* is realized as its intervocalic allophone **r**. The falling tone of the auxiliary is realized as high (Contour Simplification Rule). When the main verb contains a high or falling tone, tone bridge occurs.

Before a dependent TAM-stem, Completive *C-arəkât* can be shortened to *C-arək*. Comparing Completive *C-arək* to *C-arəkât*, we see that the falling tone is lost, together with the segmental loss. However, after the shortened form *C-arək* the same tones are retained on the main verb as (regularly) occur after the full form *C-arəkât*: a low-toned main verb TAM-stem does not receive a high tone, and there is tone bridge in case of a main verb TAM-stem that has a high or falling tone itself.

Table 70 Completive *C-arəkât*/*C-arək* and dependent TAM-stem

	<i>C-arəkât</i> / <i>C-arək</i> and dependent incomplete TAM-stem	<i>C-arəkât</i> / <i>C-arək</i> and dependent perfective TAM-stem
imma ‘see’	<i>C-arəkár-imma</i> + H <i>C-arək-imma</i> + H	<i>C-arəkár-immakat</i> + H <i>C-arək-immakat</i> + H
akkarɔ	<i>C-arəkár-akkarɔ</i> + H	<i>C-arəkár-akkarat</i> + H

‘call’	C- arək-akkarə + H	C- arək-akkarat + H
ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	C- arəkár-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ + H	C- arəkár-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛkat + H
‘steal’	C- arək-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ + H	C- arək-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛkat + H
ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	C- arəkár-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	C- arəkár-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ
‘kill’	C- arək-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	C- arək-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ

*Meaning and use of *arəka*

When the auxiliary is followed by a dependent verb it expresses the assumption that something happened, happens or will happen, just like it always (or usually) does. Its use implies or suggests knowledge of the speaker about the way the subject typically behaves, or something that is happening all the time, whether this is common knowledge or private knowledge of the speaker. A specific type of source or evidence on which his assumption is based is not implied: it may be that the speaker has witnessed the same behaviour before, or that he bases his assumption on what he heard from other people. Expressions with a form of ***arəka**, expressing expected behaviour, typically have a pejorative flavour: the behaviour is disapproved of.

Examples with dependent incomplete and dependent perfective main verb TAM-stems follow here. The assumptions they express are rather strong, for which reason I translate the auxiliary with ‘surely’. The first example below has an Incomplete auxiliary and a dependent incomplete main verb. ‘As always’ precedes the main verb, not the auxiliary.

pul **p-ᵛ-nəppət** **p-a.ɪk** **p-árək-ᵛmákarət**
 person C-of-Nəppət C-be:PR C-as_always:INCOMPL-follow_each_other:DEPINCOMPL
n-ᵛ-cəkên
 with-at-lower_back

the person of Nəppət is surely following from behind (he always follows people at this hour) (fr. written story)

In the following two examples, the auxiliary is Dependent Incomplete:

a-kəllán **arək-əŋwō**

CONJ-old_woman as_always:DEPINCOMPL-sing:DEPINCOMPL

and the old woman will surely sing (it is her habit to sing, but now it is not really appropriate)

ə-kakká **p-á.ík** **kárəṭā**

PERS-Kakka C-be:PR where

akka **a-kw-árək-əka** **í-nṭé**
that CONJ-3-as_always:DEPINCOMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL in-sleep

where is Kakka? she is surely asleep! (many times, she sleeps at this unusual hour)

Completive C-**arəkât**/C-**arək** followed by a dependent incomplete main verb TAM-stem expresses an assumption that a certain event just happened before the time of speech or the time of reference. C-**arəkât** and C-**arək** can be used interchangeably. Some examples:

pul **p-arək-əməŋe** **ana** **ə-kín** **ṭ-əkkwé.r-ək**
person C-as_always:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL and PERS-3A C-beat.PLUR:COMPL-O3

the man has surely stolen, that is why they have beaten him (the man is know -by the speaker or generally- to have stolen before)

ə-kakká **p-arəká.r-əká** **í-nṭé**
PERS-Kakka C-as_always:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL in-sleep

Kakka was surely asleep (many times, she sleeps at this unusual hour)

C-**arəkât**/C-**arək** followed by a dependent perfective main verb expresses an assumption about what happened as the next thing at some moment in the past. In the second example the concord on the auxiliary is replaced by the focus marker **akk-**.

pul **p-arək-akkarat**
person C-as_always:COMPL-call:DEPPRFV

the man surely called (then) (this is what he does in such situations, but he actually shouldn't)

ɔ-laló akk-arəká.r-ómóɲe.kat ɨmít
PERS-Lalu FOC-as_always:COMPL-steal:DEPPRFV goat

it was surely Lalo who (then) stole the goat (he is known for stealing, by the speaker or generally)

The adverb **íkkəɛ** ‘maybe’ can be added to a clause with ‘as always’. **íkkəɛ** somewhat weakens the assumption:

íkkəɛ ɬok ɬ-a.ɪk ɬ-árək-íkkə nɨ
maybe dog C-be:PR C-as_always:INCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL pooh

maybe the dog is eating pooh again (the dog has a habit of eating pooh)

When the (Completive) auxiliary is followed not by a dependent main verb, but by a non-dependent main verb, it is not an assumption, but a factual statement. In this context I translate the auxiliary with ‘as expected’ (because the same is always, or often, the case). Compare these examples with a Past (the first) and a dependent perfective main verb (the second), which both express a consecutive event:

ɔ-laló p-arəká.t p-ómóɲé.katɛ ɨmít
PERS-Lalu C-as_always:COMPL C-steal:PST goat

Lalo, as expected, stole the goat (then)

ɔ-laló p-arəká.r-ómóɲe.kat ɨmít
PERS-Lalu C-as_always:COMPL-steal:DEPPRFV goat

Lalo surely stole the goat (then)

Another example with Dependent Perfective main verb is the following:

ɬok ɬ-arəká.t ɬ-ərək.k.áɛ ɲurú
dog C-as_always:COMPL C-eat:PST asida

the dog, as always, (then) ate the asida (the dog is always stealing asida if you don’t pay attention)

The combination with a Completive main verb expresses that something has just happened at the time of speech, or at the

reference time, as could be expected, because it always (or often) happens this way. The auxiliary has a pejorative connotation. Some examples:

ɔ-nenní **p-arəká.t** **p-aá.t**
 PERS-Nenni C-as_always:COMPL C-come:COMPL

Nenni has, as always, (already) arrived (she always comes exactly in time, she gives people no space)

ɬok **ɬ-ɔ-pattɪ** **t-arəká.t** **t-ɔkkwɔɬ.é** **ɲatərəpê**
 dog C-of-person C-as_always:COMPL C-kill:COMPL rabbit

the dog of that person has, as always, killed the rabbit (it is never my dog that kills the rabbit!)

a-pélla **p-arəká.t** **p-ɔɬɬié.t** **kɪt**
 CONJ-cat C-as_always:COMPL C-make_leave:COMPL eyes

the cat, as always, had quickly glimpsed around (it always does this, it is part of its unreliable nature)

Negation comes between the auxiliary and the main verb:

ɬok **ɬ-m** **ɬ-arəká.r-ɔkənn-ɔkkwɔɬ**
 dog C-POSS1 C-as_always:COMPL-NEG:DEP-kill:DEPCOMPL

as always my dog did not kill it (as always my dog did not make the kill)

12.15. *anta ‘can (possibility)’

The auxiliary *anta ‘can (possibility)’ has three TAMs, as given in table 72. These forms are based on a verb which can be reconstructed as *anta (see below).

Table 71 TAM-stems and TAMs of *anta

TAM-stem		TAM	
dependent incompletive	ant + H	Dependent Incompletive	ant + H
incompletive	ánt + H	Incompletive	C- ánt + H
completive	ántər shortened: ánt	Completive	C- ántər shortened: C- ánt

The initial **a** of the dependent auxiliary (and the absence of a form with **ɔ**) suggests development from an **a**-initial verb. The final vowel is less clear, but may well have been **a** as well, so that a possible reconstruction of the auxiliary is ***anta**.

The Dependent Incompletive and the Incompletive TAMs of the auxiliary (**ant** +H and **C-ánt** +H) are followed by a dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb. Examples are given in table 73, with **ant** +H and **C-ánt** +H preceding dependent incompletive **ɪmma** ‘see’, **akkarɔ** ‘call’, **ɔmúɲɛ** ‘steal’ and **ɔkkwôt** ‘kill’. The floating tone of the auxiliary is realized or not realized on the main verb in accordance with the Tone Shift Rule and the Tone Reappearance sub-Rules.

Table 72 **ant** +H and **C-ánt** +H and dep. incompletive TAM-stem

	ant + H + <i>dep.</i> <i>incompl TAM-stem</i>	C-ánt + H + <i>dep.</i> <i>incompl. TAM-stem</i>
ɪmma ‘see’	ant-ɪmma +H	C-ánt-ɪmma +H
akkarɔ ‘call’	ant-âkkarɔ +H	C-ánt-âkkarɔ +H
ɔmúɲɛ ‘steal’	ant-ɔmúɲɛ +H	C-ánt-ɔmúɲɛ +H
ɔkkwôt ‘kill’	ant-ɔkkwôt	C-ánt-ɔkkwôt

Completive **C-ántər** precedes dependent incompletive or dependent perfective TAM-stems of the main verb, generating the same tone patterns on the main verb as the Completive auxiliary **C-arəkât** ‘as always’. Though these tones cannot be regularly derived from the combination of **C-ántər** and dependent incompletive main verb, and though **C-ántər** is no longer a regular Completive (the regular Completive would have been ***C-antât**, regularly realized ***C-antár** or ***C-antar** before a vowel-initial main verb), I gloss the main verb as dependent incompletive (like after **C-arəkât**), and the auxiliary stem **ántər** as completive.

The second vowel of ***C-antât** most likely has been reduced to **ə** before developing the short variant **C-ánt**, which has the high tone now on the first mora. Probably under influence of this short form,

the high tone then moved to the first mora on the longer form **C-ántər** as well.

The short Completive auxiliary **C-ánt** is —apart from its tonal effect on the following verb stem— no longer distinct from the Incompletive **C-ánt** + H. However, since it is a free variant of **C-ántər**, and since it has the same tonal effect on the following dependent incomplete main verb as **C-ántər**, I will still consider it a reduced completive stem. Note also that **C-ántər** and **C-ánt** have no dependent counterparts, which also points at them being former Completives, in the first case still on the pathway of loosing the completive marking, in the second case already having lost it, except for its tonal effects on the following element.

Notably, a reconstruction as ***antə** (with Completive ***C-antət**) would be possible as well. Reduction and tonal change would in that case have followed the same pathway.

Table 75 presents the forms of Completive **C-ántər** / **C-ánt** followed by the dependent incomplete TAM-stem of a main verb. With **əmóɲe** ‘steal’ and **əkkwət** ‘kill’ there is tone bridge.

Table 73 **C-ántər** / **C-ánt** and dep. incomplete TAM-stem

	<i>C-ántər / C-ánt + dep. incomplete TAM-stem</i>
ɪmma ‘see’	C-ántər-ɪmma + H / C-ánt-ɪmma + H
akkarə ‘call’	C-ántər-akkarə + H / C-ánt-akkarə + H
əmóɲe ‘steal’	C-ántər-əmóɲe + H / C-ánt-əmóɲe + H
əkkwət ‘kill’	C-ántər-əkkwət / C-ánt-əkkwət

Completive **C-ántər** and **C-ánt** can also be followed by a dependent perfective main verb TAM-stem (just as can **C-arəkāt** and **C-arək**). A dependent perfective TAM-stem can, moreover, follow after Incompletive **C-ánt** + H and Dependent Incomplete **ant** + H. Preceded by Completive **C-ántər**/**C-ánt** the dependent perfective is all-low or has tone bridge until its own high or falling tone; preceded by Incompletive **C-ánt** + H and Dependent Incomplete **ant** + H the

presence of a floating high tone can be seen when the main verb is all-low. In table 75, Dependent Incompletive **ant** + H with dependent perfective main verb TAM-stem is presented in the first column, Incompletive **C-ánt** + H with dependent perfective main verb TAM-stem in the second, and Completive auxiliaries with dependent perfective main verb TAM-stems in the third:

Table 74 Forms of ***anta** with dependent perfective TAM-stem

	ant + H + dep. perfective TAM-stem	C-ánt + H + dep. perfective TAM-stem	C-ántər / C-ánt + dep. perfective TAM- stem
imma 'see'	ant-ímmakat + H	C-ánt-ímmakat + H	C-ántər-immakat + H C-ánt-immakat + H
akkarɔ 'call'	ant-âkkarat + H	C-ánt-âkkarat + H	C-ántər-akkarat + H C-ánt-akkarat + H
ɔmóɲe 'steal'	ant-ɔmóɲekat + H	C-ánt-ɔmóɲekat + H	C-ántər-ɔmóɲekat + H C-ánt-ɔmóɲekat + H
ɔkkwât 'kill'	ant-ɔkkwât	C-ánt-ɔkkwât	C-ántər-ɔkkwât C-ánt-ɔkkwât

I thus assume that, originally, **C-ántər** and **C-ánt** developed from a regular Completive ***C-antât**, like **C-arək** has developed from (still existing) **C-arəkât**. While the auxiliaries are loosing completive inflection and are probably moving towards just one (short) auxiliary form, the tone patterns regularly generated by the (formerly) full Completive auxiliary become associated with completive semantics of the verb as a whole. The same development can be seen in the auxiliaries of 'again', based on the reconstructed auxiliary verb ***appa** (or perhaps ***appɔ**) (see 12.16). Loss of completive inflection has gone furthest in the negation auxiliaries, where only the main verb TAM-stems still carry the (tonal) marking of a formerly Completive auxiliary, so that, in that context, it has become useful to speak of dependent completive main verb TAM-stems (see 12.17).

Meaning and use

Auxiliaries of ***anta** express an opportunity, a possibility or just that the moment is there for something to be done or to happen. The auxiliary is often rather difficult to translate in English. I gloss it with ‘can’, but it does not refer to personal skill or ability.

Some examples with (non-dependent) Incompletive **c-ánt** +H followed by a Dependent Incompletive main verb follow here. Only the tones on the main verb show that the auxiliary is an Incompletive (and not a Completive).

pul p-ánt-əmóne károk ana p-p-á.kənn-ənékə
 person C-can:INCOMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL bag and PRO-C-NEG-take:DEPINCOMPL
 the person can steal the bag, but he will not hold (keep) it

ə-rən ʔ-ánt-ímma cəɽəŋ ɣórɾət
 PERS-12A C-can:INCOMPL-see:DEPINCOMPL mountain tomorrow
 we will be able to see the mountain tomorrow (context: now we cannot see it because it is dark)

The following sentence is situated in the Past:

ana mənn.ákka m-p-aa.t i.ccík k-óŋ
 and when 1-C-come:COMPL near C-POSS3
ittɪ m-p-ánt-əkəʔá-k ana ...
 that 1-C-can:INCOMPL-look_at:DEPINCOMPL-O3 and
 and when I had come near him so that I could see him, (then) ...
 (fr. written story)

The auxiliary can have a politeness effect:

m-p-əŋəʔ.é ittɪ ə-nən ʔ-ánt-əkəne-n ittɪ
 1-C-like:COMPL that PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 that
ə-nən ʔ-a.ra tún ittɪ káʔ-ʔa cənέ
 PERS-2A C-cultivate:INCOMPL onion that how-Q here
 could you show me how you cultivate onion here? (lit.: I want that you can show me how you cultivate onion here) (fr. written text)

Dependent Incompletive **ant** +H with a dependent incomplete main verb TAM-stem is very common as a friendly command to a singular or plural addressee. When addressing a single person, there is no pronoun clitic. **ant** does not seem to be in Imperative TAM, since the Imperative of an **a**-final verb does not bring a high tone to the next element. In case of a plural addressee, the pronoun clitic ‘you (PL)’ is present in the form of **ń-** or **śn-**. I translate **ant** in these cases with ‘please’, though ‘please’ is perhaps a little strong.

Table 75 Commands with **ant** +H

	<i>sg. addressee</i>	<i>pl. addressee</i>	
ípittə ‘ask’	ant-ípittə	(ə)n-ánt-ípittə	please ask!
əcóŋə ‘stand’	ant-əcóŋə	(ə)n-ánt-əcóŋə	please wait!
əccíŋkət ‘hear, listen’	ant-əccíŋkət	(ə)n-ánt-əccíŋkət	please listen!
əllə ‘run’	ant-əllə	(ə)n-ánt-əllə	please make way!

Examples with Completive auxiliary, as shown by the tones on the main verb, follow here. Such constructions express that the opportunity for something to happen has come (or had come at a certain point in time), implying that, at the time of speech (or at the time reference point), the action has just been carried out and/or there is a resulting state.

m-p-ántər-aə

1-C-can:COMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL

I have arrived just now

m-p-ánt-ɪə

1-C-can:COMPL-die:DEPINCOMPL

pəŋm

finally

I am dead now / I am completely finished (said when something serious has happened)

inénní m-p-ántər-ərrət kɪnɪt t̪əpʊt pəɾɪm
 today 1-C-can:COMPL-push_to:DEPINCOMPL teeth outside finally

today the time has come for me to suffer very much (more lit.: today the moment has come to push out the teeth completely)

ka k-ántər-ókkót táɬ-ta
 body C-can:COMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL how-Q

how has the body been doing? (typically asked when the last time the speaker saw the addressee, the addressee was ill)

m-p-ántər-əṭəkka p-əpərət
 1-C-can:COMPL-become:DEPINCOMPL C-good

I had the chance to become well (i.e. I am fine now; answer to the question in the previous example)

The next example has a reference point in the past:

ə-nɪn t̪-ánt-ɪət áɬʊɾan pəɾɪm
 PERS-1A C-can:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL thieves finally

we could finally catch the thieves

Some examples with Dependent Incompletive **ant** and Incompletive C-**ánt** preceding a Dependent Perfective verb follow here. Such events are situated in the past, or, as a consecutive event, in the relative future.

akka móre m-əká.t cɪk
 that cultivating_party C-be:COMPL VREF

a-púl ant-ɪkk.at ɳəpak
 CONJ-person can:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPPRFV beer

because of the cultivating party, the man (then) could drink beer (he had the opportunity and he did it)

mənn-ákka **ʊkʊl** **w-ittát.ɛ** **kiccé**
 even-that child C-become_fat:COMPL properly
a-kakká **ant-ákkakat** **tʉan**
 CONJ.PERS-Kakka can:DEPINCOMPL-come:DEPPRFV home

only when the child was completely better, Kakka finally came to the house (implying: she came too late, she should have come during the child's illness).

an-ákka **maɾɪ** **m-ɔkkɔt.ɛ** **m-əɾɛ-m-əɾapórók**
 and-that days C-do:COMPL C-two-C-two.three
a-íke **ant-ákkakat** **nó-capú**
 CONJ-flood can:DEPINCOMPL-come:DEPPRFV on-ground

and when the seven days were done, the flood came over the earth (Genesis 7:10)

An example with Completive auxiliary C-**ántər**/C-**ánt** preceding a Dependent Perfective main verb follows here:

pʉl **p-ántər-ómóɲɛ.kat** / **p-ánt-ómóɲɛ.kat**
 person C-can:COMPL-steal:DEPPRFV / C-can:COMPL-steal:DEPPRFV

the person just (finally) got the chance and stole

12.16. *appa ‘again’

The auxiliary ‘again’ has three TAMs, as given in table 77. These forms are based on a verb which can be reconstructed as ***appa** (see further below).

Table 76 TAM-stems and TAMs of ***appa**

TAM-stem		TAM	
dependent incompletive	app + H	Dependent Incompletive	app + H
incompletive	ápp + H	Incompletive	C- ápp + H
completive	áppər shortened: ápp	Completive	C- áppər shortened: C- ápp

The initial **a** of the dependent auxiliary (and the absence of a form with **ɔ**) suggests development from an **a**-initial verb. The final vowel

is less clear, but may well have been **a** as well, so that a possible reconstruction of the auxiliary is ***appa**. **C-áppər**, like **C-ántər**, then probably developed from Completive ***C-appât** (regularly realized as ***C-appár** or ***C-appar** before a vowel-initial main verb TAM-stem). The second vowel **a** then reduced to **ə** before developing the short variant **C-ápp**, which had the high tone now on the first mora. Probably under influence of this short form, the high tone then also changed to the first mora on the longer form.

Notably, a reconstruction as ***appə** (with Completive ***C-appôt**) would be possible as well. Reduction and tonal change would in that case have followed the same pathway.

The Dependent Incompletive and the Incompletive TAMs of ‘again’ (**app** + H and **C-ápp** + H) are followed by a dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb.

Table 77 **app** + H and **C-ápp** + H and dep. incomplete TAM-stem

	app + H + <i>dependent incomplete</i>	C-ápp + H + <i>dependent incomplete</i>
ímma ‘see’	app-ímma + H	C-ápp-ímma + H
akkarə ‘call’	app-âkkarə + H	C-ápp-âkkarə + H
əmúɲɛ ‘steal’	app-əmúɲɛ + H	C-ápp-əmúɲɛ + H
əkkwôt ‘kill’	app-əkkwôt	C-ápp-əkkwôt

C-áppər precedes dependent incompletives or dependent perfectives of the main verb, generating the same tone patterns on main verbs as the Completive auxiliaries **C-arəkât**/**C-arək** ‘as always’ and **C-ántər**/**C-ánt**. Though these tones cannot be regularly derived from the combination of **C-áppər** and dependent incomplete main verb, I gloss the main verb as dependent incomplete and **C-áppər** as completive, assuming the same tonal process as after **C-arəkât**/**C-arək** ‘as always’ and **C-ántər**/**C-ánt**.

Like **C-ánt**, the short completive form **C-ápp** is no longer distinct from the incomplete form of the auxiliary, but, as a free variant of **C-áppər** is glossed as completive as well. Like completives, **C-áppər/C-ápp** has no dependency opposition. The whole process appears to be precisely analogous to the development of **C-ántər/C-ánt**. The Completive auxiliaries with dependent incomplete main verb TAM-stem are presented in table 79.

Table 78 **C-áppər/C-ápp** and dep. incomplete TAM-stem

	<i>C-áppər/C-ápp + dep. incomplete TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	C-áppər-imma +H C-ápp-imma +H
akkarə ‘call’	C-áppər-akkarə +H C-ápp-akkarə +H
əmúɲɛ ‘steal’	C-áppər-əmúɲɛ +H C-ápp-əmúɲɛ +H
əkkwôt ‘kill’	C-áppər-əkkwôt C-ápp-əkkwôt

Dependent perfectives TAM-stems can be preceded by Completive **C-áppər** and **C-ápp**, but also by Incomplete **C-ápp** +H and Dependent Incomplete **app** +H (just as they can be preceded by Completive **C-ántər/C-ánt**, and by Incomplete **C-ánt** +H and Dependent Incomplete **ant** +H). After **C-áppər/C-ápp** the dependent perfective stem is all-low or there is tone bridge until its own high; preceded by **app** +H the presence of the preceding high tone can be seen when the main verb itself is all-low. The forms are given in table 80.

Table 79 Forms of ***appa** with dependent perfective TAM-stem

	<i>app +H + dep. perfective TAM-stem</i>	<i>C-ápp +H + dep. perfective TAM-stem</i>	<i>C-áppər/C-ápp + dep. perfective TAM- stem</i>
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imma 'see'	app-ímmakat + H	C-ápp-ímmakat + H	C-áppər-ímmakat + H C-ápp-ímmakat + H
akkarə 'call'	app-âkkarat + H	C-ápp-âkkarat + H	C-áppər-akkarat + H C-ápp-akkarat + H
əməne 'steal'	app-əmənekət + H	C-ápp-əmənekət + H	C-áppər-əmənekət + H C-ápp-əmənekət + H
əkkwət 'kill'	app-əkkwāt	C-ápp-əkkwāt	C-áppər-əkkwāt C-ápp-əkkwāt

Commands with 'again' are formed with Dependent Incompletive **app** + H and the dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb. When addressing a singular second person no pronoun (clitic) is applied. When addressing a plural second person, these commands have the full 2PL pronoun **ənən**, or the clitics **ən-** or **ń-**. Examples with the latter are given in table 81.

Table 80 Commands with **app** + H

<i>verb</i>	<i>2SG addressee</i>	<i>2PL addressee</i>	<i>English</i>
akkarə 'call'	app-âkkarə	(ə)n-ápp-âkkarə	call again!
əcəրə 'stand'	app-əcəրə	(ə)n-ánt-əcəրə	wait again!
əccíkət 'hear'	app-əccíkət	(ə)n-ápp-əccíkət	listen again!
əllə 'run'	app-əllə	(ə)n-ápp-əllə	make way again!

The following two examples contrast a verb with Completive 'again' and dependent incomplete main verb with a verb with Completive 'again' and dependent perfective main verb. The first draws attention to the result of the action, another goat being dead, not so much to the action of the lion. It also implies that the event happened recently. The second draws attention to the action of the lion, not so

much to another goat being dead. The expression makes no claim about when the event occurred. Therefore, in athetic statement, addition of an adjunct of time is appropriate.

ṭepa ṭ-ápp-ṣkkwót ímít w-ṣṭek
 lion C-again:COMPL-kill:DEPINCOMPL goat C-some

the lion has again killed a goat (i.e.: another goat is dead from the lion)

ṭepa ṭ-ápp-ṣkkw.át ímít w-ṣṭek mæccm-tí
 lion C-again:COMPL-kill:DEPPRFV goat C-some yesterday-you_know

the lion killed a goat again yesterday, you know

The following is an example with Dependent Incompletive **app** + H preceding a dependent perfective main verb. The verb now denotes a future consecutive event:

ṣ-pəllm p-a.ṭṭe nṣ-ṭokól
 PERS-one_of_group C-leave:INCOMPL on-children
á-kw-á.nn-ápp-éṣ.kat pṣṭm itti m-p-a.íne ókol
 CONJ-3-NEG:DEP-again:DEPINCOMPL-speak:DEPPRFV finally that 1-C-go_to:INCOMPL child

a man will abandon his children and he will never again say ‘I go to my child’ (fr. written essay)

There is an adverb **əttəṅ** ‘again’. This adverb can be used instead of the auxiliary but can also be added to a clause that has a verb with the auxiliary ‘again’:

k-kw-ṣkkṣ.ṭé əttəṅ
 3-C-do:COMPL again

s/he has done it again

k-kw-ápp-ṣkkót
 3-C-again:COMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL
 s/he has done it again

k-kw-ápp-ṣkkót əttəṅ
 3-C-again:COMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL again
 s/he has done it again

12.17. Negation auxiliary

Negation is marked by TAMs of the verb **ɔkórənnɔ** ‘let, abstain’ functioning as auxiliary verb. As a main verb **ɔkórənnɔ** has a full inflectional paradigm, as an auxiliary verb its inflectional paradigm is reduced. As an auxiliary of negation it has two TAMs, both of which have shortened forms:

Dep. Incompletive **ɔkórənn** + H, shortened: **ɔkónn** + H, **ɔnn** + H
 Incompletive **C-akórənn** + H, shortened: **akónn** + H, **änn** + H

Main verb stems coming after a negation auxiliary can have the shape of a dependent incompletive TAM-stem or of a dependent perfective TAM-stem. Stems with the (segmental) shape of a dependent incompletive, however, come in two sets of tone patterns: the tone patterns that are expected on the basis of the composing parts, but also an unexpected set of tone patterns. The latter are the same tone patterns as found after the Completive auxiliaries **C-arəkât/C-arək**, **C-ántər/C-ánt** and **C-áppər/C-ápp** (sections 12.14-12.16). It seems then that the negation auxiliaries have grammaticalized to the extent that a former Completive auxiliary (which would have regularly generating the different tone patterns on the main verb stems) has adopted the shape of the Incompletive auxiliary. Moreover, it allows for absence of the concord, so that the formerly Completive auxiliary now has a dependent counterpart. Negated verbs still have the contrast incompletive-completive, but this is now only marked through the tones on the main verb, and no longer segmentally or tonally on the negation auxiliary itself.

Glossing

Synchronically, therefore, main verb stems after a negation auxiliary with tones as after (Completive) **C-arəkât/C-arək**, **C-ántər/C-ánt** and **C-áppər/C-ápp** will be regarded as dependent completive TAM-stems and glossed as **DEPCOMPL**. Their tones are the only markers of completiveness of the verb. The negation morphemes (synchronically) are no longer incompletives or completives, but only

have a dependency opposition. They will therefore be glossed as NEG vs. NEG:DEP.

Negation auxiliaries are always followed by a dependent TAM-stem: a dependent incomplete, a dependent perfective or a dependent completive. Examples with **imma** ‘see’, **akkaro** ‘call’, **omúne** ‘steal’ and **akkwôt** ‘kill’ follow here.

The longer and shorter forms are free variants. The longest forms, however, do not seem to be used so often. In the Təmətəŋ area the middle form is generally preferred, according to my consultant (JS), while in the Təŋ and Təŋ areas, the shortest forms are very common. In the tables, the names of the TAMs are given in italics.

Table 81 Dependent Negative Incomplete and Negative Incomplete

	<i>Dependent Negative Incomplete:</i> əkórənn + H/ əkónn + H/ ənn + H + <i>dep. incomplete main</i> <i>verb TAM-stem</i>	<i>Negative Incomplete:</i> C- a.kórənn + H/ C- a.kónn + H/C- ă.nn + H + <i>dep. incomplete main</i> <i>verb TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	əkórənn-imma + H əkónn-imma + H ənn-imma + H	C- a.kórənn-imma + H C- a.kónn-imma + H C- ă.nn-imma + H
akkaro ‘call’	əkórənn-akkaro + H əkónn-akkaro + H ənn-akkaro + H	C- a.kórənn-akkaro + H C- a.kónn-akkaro + H C- ă.nn-akkaro + H
omúne ‘steal’	əkórənn-omúne + H əkónn-omúne + H ənn-omúne + H	C- a.kórənn-omúne + H C- a.kónn-omúne + H C- ă.nn-omúne + H
akkwôt ‘kill’	əkórənn-akkwôt əkónn-akkwôt ənn-akkwôt	C- a.kórənn-akkwôt C- a.kónn-akkwôt C- ă.nn-akkwôt

Table 82 Dependent Negative Completive and Completive

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Dependent Negative Completive:</i> <i>ɔkórənn/ɔkónn/ǎnn + dependent completive main verb TAM-stem</i>	<i>Negative Completive:</i> <i>C-a.kórənn/C-a.kónn/C-ǎ.nn + dependent completive main verb TAM-stem</i>
imma 'see'	ɔkórənn-imma + H ɔkónn-imma + H ǎnn-imma + H	C-a.kórənn-imma + H C-a.kónn-imma + H C-ǎ.nn-imma + H
akkarɔ 'call'	ɔkórənn-akkarɔ + H ɔkónn-akkarɔ + H ǎnn-akkarɔ + H	C-a.kórənn-akkarɔ + H C-a.kónn-akkarɔ + H C-ǎ.nn-akkarɔ + H
ɔmóɲe 'steal'	ɔkórənn-ɔmóɲe + H ɔkónn-ɔmóɲe + H ǎnn-ɔmóɲe + H	C-a.kórənn-ɔmóɲe + H C-a.kónn-ɔmóɲe + H C-ǎ.nn-ɔmóɲe + H
ɔkkwɔt 'kill'	ɔkórənn-ɔkkwɔt ɔkónn-ɔkkwɔt ǎnn-ɔkkwɔt	C-a.kórənn-ɔkkwɔt C-a.kónn-ɔkkwɔt C-ǎ.nn-ɔkkwɔt

Table 83 Dependent Negative Perfective and Negative Perfective

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Dependent Negative Perfective:</i> <i>ɔkórənn/ɔkónn/ǎnn + dep. perfective TAM-stem</i>	<i>Negative Perfective:</i> <i>C-a.kórənn/C-a.kónn/C-ǎ.nn + dep. perfective TAM-stem</i>
imma 'see'	ɔkórənn-immakat + H ɔkónn-immakat + H ǎnn-immakat + H	C-a.kórənn-immakat + H C-a.kónn-immakat + H C-ǎ.nn-immakat + H
akkarɔ	ɔkórənn-akkarat + H	C-a.kórənn-akkarat + H

‘call’	၁ကေnn-akkarat +H ၁nn-akkarat +H	C-a.kေnn-akkarat +H C-၁.nn-akkarat +H
၁မုၤ ‘steal’	၁ကေၣ်nn-၁မုၤnekāt +H ၁ကေnn-၁မုၤnekāt +H ၁nn-၁မုၤnekāt +H	C-a.kေၣ်nn-၁မုၤnekāt +H C-a.kေnn-၁မုၤnekāt +H C-၁.nn-၁မုၤnekāt +H
၁kkwât ‘kill’	၁ကေၣ်nn-၁kkwât ၁ကေnn-၁kkwât ၁nn-၁kkwât	C-a.kေၣ်nn-၁kkwât C-a.kေnn-၁kkwât C-၁.nn-၁kkwât

The sets below illustrate the different non-dependent TAMs. **ပုၤ** ‘person’, **၁ကုၤ** ‘child’ and **ပုၤပုၤ** ‘snake’ are low-toned nouns. The TAMs in the first set are based on **akkar** ‘call’, in the second on **၁kkwât** ‘kill’. In both sets, the first example has a Negative Incompletive, the second a Negative Completive, the third a Negative Perfective.

ပုၤ ပ-a.kေnn-၁kkar **၁ကုၤ** ‘the man does/will not call the child’
ပုၤ ပ-a.kေnn-akkar **၁ကုၤ** ‘the man has not called the child’
ပုၤ ပ-a.kေnn-akkar.at **၁ကုၤ** ‘the man did not call the child’

ပုၤ ပ-a.kေnn-၁kkwât **ပုၤပုၤ** ‘the man does/will not kill the snake’
ပုၤ ပ-a.kေnn-၁kkwât **ပုၤပုၤ** ‘the man has not killed the snake’
ပုၤ ပ-a.kေnn-၁kkw.ât **ပုၤပုၤ** ‘the man did not kill the snake’

There are signs of still further grammaticalization of the negation auxiliary. Particularly among speakers who use the shortest form, there is a tendency to use **a** in the dependent form instead of **၁**, so that only **၁nn** (C-၁nn) remains.

Use and scope

To start with, some sentences will be presented with **၁ကေၣ်nn** ‘let’ as main verb. The verb can express ‘let’ in the sense of ‘allow’, as in the following examples:

pul **p-əkərənnə.t**
 person C-let:COMPL

the man allowed it

... a-túulɪ **əkərənn.aɬ-ɔk**
 CONJ-hyena let:DEPPRFV-O3

... and the hyena let him (do it) (fr. written story)

The verb can also express ‘let’ in the sense of ‘abstain from’:

m-p-əká.t **cɪk** **a-n-ɔ́mentɛ** **ɪttɪ** **n-əkərənnə** **karră**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-say.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL that 2A-let:DEPINCOMPL lie

I was saying all the time ‘do not lie!’

Negative commands (prohibitives) are formed with the Imperative **kərənnɪ** of **əkərənnə**:

kərənnɪ **ɔpálle**
 let:IMP be_afraid:DEPINCOMPL

do not be afraid!

kərənnɪ **ɔɾəkɔ**⁷⁵ **cɪk** **n-ukun** **w-ɔ́-kúrê**
 let:IMP eat:DEPINCOMPL VREF with-hand C-of-left_side

do not eat with your left hand!

For an advice not to do something the Dependent Incompletive auxiliary is used. The two expressions below, in which the 2SG subject clitic **ɲ**- ‘you’ is deleted between vowels, differ tonally, due to the use of the subjunctive particle **â**- (first example) vs. the conjunctive particle **á**- (second example). In the first example, the advice has immediate relevance; the addressee is about to begin eating. The advice in the second example is a general advice, for some time in the future.

⁷⁵ In this environment the final vowel of **ɔɾəkɔ** is realized as low.

á-kənn-ɔ̌ɔ̌kɔ̌⁷⁶

SUBJ-(2-)NEG:DEP-eat:DEPINCOMPL

cɪk

VREF

n-ɔ̌kɔ̌n

with-hand

w-ɔ̌-kúré

c-of-left_side

you must not eat with your left hand! (the addressee is about to eat)

á-kənn-ɔ̌ɔ̌kɔ̌⁷⁷

CONJ-(2-)NEG:DEP-eat:DEPINCOMPL

cɪk

VREF

n-ɔ̌kɔ̌n

with-hand

w-ɔ̌-kúré

c-of-left_side

you must not eat with your left hand (as a general advice)

If the eating has already started and the speaker wants to stop the addressee, the Dependent Incompletive auxiliary is used directly. Its long form can be glossed as the auxiliary but also as the verb **ɔ̌kə́rənnɔ̌**:

ɔ̌kə́rənn-ɔ̌ɔ̌kɔ̌⁷⁸

NEG:DEP-let:DEPINCOMPL-eat:DEPINCOMPL

cɪk

VREF

n-ɔ̌kɔ̌n

with-hand

w-ɔ̌-kúré

c-of-left_side

no eating with your left hand! (while catching the hand of the child)

Further examples illustrating the use of the negation auxiliaries follow here.

Just like the Completive can express a present state or a present sensory perception, a Negative Completive can express negation of a present state or a of present sensory perception:

ɔ̌-rɔ̌n t-ǎ.nn-imma

PERS-12A C-NEG-see:DEPCOMPL

mɔ̌ɔ̌ɔ̌

mountains

ákka

that

ɣíɣímák

darkness

ɣ-á.ɪk

C-be:PR

we cannot see the mountains because it is dark

An example of a Negative Perfective is the following. The sentence does not refer to an event that just happened, but forms part of a series of events that are set in the past.

⁷⁶ In this environment the final vowel of **ɔ̌ɔ̌kɔ̌** is realized as low.

⁷⁷ In this environment the final vowel of **ɔ̌ɔ̌kɔ̌** is realized as low.

⁷⁸ In this environment the final vowel of **ɔ̌ɔ̌kɔ̌** is realized as low.

ɔ-kín ʈ-á.nn-ókə́ta.kat⁷⁹ ʈépa
 PERS-3A C-NEG-look_at:DEPPRFV lion

they did not look at the lion

A Negative Perfective does not necessarily refer to an event in the past. It can also refer to a consecutive event in the future, as in the sentence below. Because of the conjunctive particle **á**, which selects a dependent verb, the auxiliary **ǎnn** instead of **ǎnn** is in principle expected here. This opposition, however, is not for all speakers functional anymore. The negation morpheme was given here with **a**; the speaker confirmed that some people would use **ɔ** here. Note further that there is a double auxiliary on the verb ‘speak’ (the example was also given in the section 12.6 on ‘again’).

ɔ-pəllm p-a.ʈte nɔ-ɲokól
 PERS-one_of_group C-leave:INCOMPL on-children

á-kw-á.nn-ápp-ére.kat⁸⁰ pə́ɾm itti m-p-a.íne ókul
 CONJ-3-NEG:DEP-again:DEPINCOMPL-speak:DEPPRFV finally that 1-C-go_to:INCOMPL child

a man will abandon his children and he will never again say ‘I go to my child’ (fr. written essay)

The following example was given with initial **ɔ** on the negation auxiliary. Here too, there is a double auxiliary on the main verb, but now the negation auxiliary is the second.

məna ɔ-nɔn ʈ-ánt-əkə́nn-əccíkwə́-ín ...
 even PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-NEG:DEP-hear:DEPINCOMPL-O1

even if you do not listen to me ... (John 10:38)

Lumun has no negative adverbs. Hence an English expression with ‘never’ is negated on the verb in Lumun:

⁷⁹ The tone on the negation morpheme is realized as high in this environment.

⁸⁰ After the 3rd person pronoun clitic **kw** the negation morpheme is realized with a high tone, not with a falling tone.

tɪk **ɛn-t-i** **t-ǎ.nn-íɔ** **áttík** (< ɪɔ)
 fire DEM-C-NEARSP C-NEG-die:DEPINCOMPL ever
 this fire will never die

In the English equivalent of the following example, negation is expressed on the verb ‘want’. In Lumun it is expressed on the verb **ɔkɪttɪnɛ** ‘destroy for’:

m-p-ɔŋɔt.é **ittɪ** **ól**
 1-C-like:COMPL that people
w-ǎ.nn-ɔkɪttɪnɛ **nɪn** **kéccók** **k-ín**
 C-NEG-destroy_for:DEPINCOMPL O1A market C-POSS1A

I do not want people to destroy our market (lit.: I want that people do not destroy for us our market)

Negation can, however, also be expressed on ‘want’, as in the next example. Combined with negation, the verb **ɔŋkɔt** ‘want, agree’ is used, not **ɔŋɔt** ‘like, want, love’.

m-p-ǎ.nn-ɔŋkɔt **ittɪ** **ɔ-rɪt** **t-áppuɬa** **pérɪn**
 1-C-NEG-want:DEPINCOMPL that PERS-12 C-play:INCOMPL finally

I don’t want to play with you (SG) anymore (I don’t want that you and I play anymore)

A negated construction with ‘be’ is used in order to establish scope over a noun phrase:

ɔkónn-ɔká **papókɪra** **akk-ɔkɪccé.r-ɔŋ**
 NEG:DEP-be:DEPINCOMPL leopard FOC-chase:COMPL-O2

it was not a leopard that chased you

Inherently negative verbs

A few verbs are inherently negative: **ɔmmâ** ‘not know’, **ella** (tr.) ‘not have, lack’, **ella** (intr.) ‘be absent, lack’ and **əɾa** ‘refuse, not want’. With a negation auxiliary these verbs express strong affirmation (assertive focus). Two examples in different TAMs (Negative

Incompletive and Negative Completive) are given with **əmmâ** ‘not know’. The Negative Completive expresses a present state.

m-p-a.kənn-əmmá **akka** **a-n-əkkót** **ɣərə**
 1-C-NEG-not_know;DEPINCOMPL that CONJ-1-do;DEPINCOMPL work

I *will* know how to do the work (lit.: I will not not know how to do the work. Conveying: I will find out, I will learn)

m-p-a.kənn-əmmá **akka** **a-n-əkkót** **ɣərə**
 1-C-NEG-not_know;DEPCOMPL that CONJ-1-do;DEPINCOMPL work

I *do* know how to do the work

12.18. Irrealis

Irrealis is marked by the auxiliary **ə̌**. The auxiliary occurs in two forms, a dependent form and a non-dependent form. The non-dependent form is always preceded by a concord (unless replaced by a focus marker), the dependent irrealis marker cannot be preceded by a concord:

ə̌ (dependent)
c-ə̌ (non-dependent)

The dependency value will only be marked on the dependent irrealis marker (IRR:DEP).

The irrealis morpheme precedes a (non-dependent!) completive or a past TAM-stem of the main verb. Thus, in combination with the irrealis marker, the completive and past TAM stems are not immediately preceded by a concord. Apart from focus constructions, in which the concord is replaced by a focus marker, this is the only (morpho-syntactic) environment where this happens.

Irrealis **ə̌** coalesces with the initial vowel of the completive of past TAM-stem of the main verb that follows. This results in **î, î, û, ô, ə̌**, or **â**. Irrealis **ə̌** before **ə** results in **ə̌ə**. Coalesced vowels with a contour can be pronounced with some length.

Irrealis **â** is realized as **á** before the vowels **ĩ**, **ɪ**, **u**, **ʊ** and **ə**, resulting in diphthong **ái**, **ái**, **áu**, **áu** and **áə**. The falling contour of the irrealis marker spreads over the vowel sequence. Irrealis **â** before **a** and **ɔ** is realized as **â**. **â** coalesces with an initial vowel **ɛ**, resulting in **ê**.

The **ɔ̃/â** opposition that functions as marker of dependency versus non-dependency shows that irrealis developed from an **ɔ**-initial verb. In such verbs the same opposition is found in the dependent inceptive TAM-stem versus the inceptive TAM-stem. The irrealis possibly developed from **ɔkâ** ‘be’. It lacks the segmental part **ka** of ‘be’, but the same goes for the copula **C-á** and the Present TAM of ‘be’, **C-aĩk**.

In environments that select a dependent TAM-stem, for example after a negation auxiliary, the irrealis marker in principle occurs as **ɔ̃**. When the irrealis marker is directly preceded by both a subject and a concord, only its non-dependent form **â** is possible.

Table 84 Dependent Irrealis Inceptive and Irrealis Inceptive

<i>verb</i>	<i>Dependent Irrealis Inceptive:</i> <i>ɔ̃ + inceptive TAM-stem</i>	<i>Irrealis Inceptive:</i> <i>C-â + inceptive TAM-stem</i>
ɪmma ‘see’	ĩmma.t	C-á-ĩmma.t
ʊnɔ ‘build’	ũnɔ.t	C-á-ũnɔ.t
ɔkkwɔ̃ ‘hit’	ɔkkwɔ̃.t	C-âkkwɔ̃.t
ɔkkwɔ̃t ‘kill’	ɔkkwɔ̃t.é	C-âkkwɔ̃t.é
ɛrɛ ‘speak’	êrê.t	C-êrê.t
ərrɔ ‘push’	ɔ̃-ərrɔ.t	C-á-ərrɔ.t
apɔ ‘fall’	âpɔ.t	C-âpɔ.t
aɔ ‘come’	âá.t	C-âá.t

Table 85 Dependent Irrealis Past and Irrealis Past

<i>verb</i>	<i>Dependent Irrealis Past:</i> <i>ê + past TAM-stem</i>	<i>Irrealis Past:</i> <i>C-â + past TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	îmma.káɛ	C-â-imma.káɛ
ɔnɔ ‘build’	ôn.áɛ	C-â-on.áɛ
ɔkkwô ‘hit’	â.kkw.áɛ	C-âkkw.áɛ
ɔkkwôt ‘kill’	â-kkw.áɛ	C-âkkw.áɛ
ere ‘speak’	êre.káɛ	C-êre.káɛ
ərrɔ ‘push’	ɔ-ərrá.ɛ	C-â-ərrá.ɛ
apɔ ‘fall’	âp.áɛ	C-âp.áɛ
ao ‘come’	C-âkka.káɛ	C-âkka.káɛ

Some speakers use **â** in morpho-syntactic contexts where (dependent) **ê** would be expected. An example is the following. The irrealis marker comes after the negation auxiliary, which selects a dependent verb form. Nevertheless, **â** was used:

pul **p-a.kónn-á-ɛê.t**
 person C-NEG-IRR:DEP-go:COMPL
 the man should not have gone

Another case is the following in which irrealis **ê** is expected, but in which **â** was considered possible as well. The initial vowel of the past TAM stem of the main verb is **ɔ** (the verb is **ɔmmâ** ‘not know’).

m-p-a.kónn-ɔ-ɔmma.káɛ / **m-p-a.kónn-â-amma.káɛ**
 1-C-NEG-IRR:DEP.not_know:PST / 1-C-NEG-IRR:DEP-not_know:PST
ɔɛkɔ **túrít** **ámmá** **ɔ-íára** **p-ɔká.t** **p-ɔɲkéné.r-ín**
 eat:DEPINCOMPL food if PERS-my_mother C-be:COMPL C-show:COMPL-O1
 I *would* have known how to eat food, if my mother had taught me (lit.: I would not have not known ...)

It seems then, that, at least in the speech of some speakers, the irrealis marker is in a process of further grammaticalization, losing its dependency/non-dependency distinction. The same process is witnessed, at least for part of the speakers, in the negation auxiliaries (see 12.17).

Meaning and use

The irrealis marker can express that an event did not happen, while conveying that this is regretted by the speaker:

ŋ-kw-é-ɛlɪkkó.t pól ém-p-í
 2-C-IRR-release:COMPL person DEM-C-NEARSP

you should have released this man (i.e. you did not release this man, but it would have been better if you had)

In sentences which contain a clause introduced by **ámma** + H ‘if, when’, the irrealis marker is not used on the verb in the **ámma** + H -clause, only on the verb in the main clause. In the examples below, the irrealis conveys that the event would have occurred if the situation had been different.

ámma ŋ-kw-óká.t p-áppór-ómóɲe ana ŋ-kw-á-ɪó.t
 if 2-C-be:COMPL C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL and 2-C-IRR-die:COMPL

if you would have stolen again, you would have died/be dead.

ɔ-nɪn t-á-aká.t cɪk tórró ínénní
 PERS-12 C-IRR-be:COMPL VREF Lumun_country today

ámma t-ɔ́ɔ́ák t-éllâ.t
 if war C-be_absent:COMPL

we would be in the Lumun area now, if the war had not been there

The following example has the dependent irrealis **ɔ̂**. It is the first verbal element in a clause introduced by the conjunctive marker **á**. In this environment the dependent form is selected:

ámmá m̐-p-á.p-p-íná.t a-n-ṣ-ṣkkwṣṣ-úṣ
 if 1-C-be:COMPL-C-know:COMPL CONJ-1-IRR:DEP-kill:COMPL-O2

if I had known, I would have killed you

In my corpus, the Irrealis Completive is more frequent than the Irrealis Past. It is often difficult to establish a clear difference in interpretation between the two. Generally speaking, the Irrealis Past tends to draw the attention more strongly to the action or event itself while the Irrealis Completive tends to focus rather on the resulting situation. The sentence below, with an Irrealis Past, was first given with an Irrealis Completive, but is fine with both.

k-kw-é-élikk.áté pól ém-p-í
 3-C-IRR-release:PST person DEM-C-NEARSP

a-kw-ṣkərənno ɪ-p-élikkákw.t
 CONJ-3-let:DEPINCOMPL RES-C-be_released:COMPL

s/he should have released this person, while leaving the one who was released (or: s/he should have released this person and not the one who was released)

Irrealis can alternatively be expressed with a Completive of the verb **ṣnâ** ‘bring’ (second example below) or with a Past Completive construction involving the defective verb **C-ṣnô** ‘have’ (third example below).

ṣ-kw-á-accíkṣṣ-ín
 2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

ṣ-kw-ṣná.t itti ṣ-kw-a.ccíkṣṣ-ín
 2-C-bring:COMPL that 2-C-hear:INCOMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

ṣ-kw-á.p-p-ṣnó itti ṣ-kw-a.ccíkṣṣ-ín
 2-C-be:COMPL-C-have that 2-C-hear:INCOMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

The above given constructions with **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** ‘bring’ and **C-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** ‘have’ can also be combined with an Irrealis Completive:

ᵛᵛ-kw-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ.t **rtti** **ᵛᵛ-kw-á-accᵛᵛᵛᵛ.t-ín**
 2-C-bring:COMPL that 2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

ᵛᵛ-kw-á.p-p-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ **rtti** **ᵛᵛ-kw-á-accᵛᵛᵛᵛ.t-ín**
 2-C-be:COMPL-C-have that 2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

C-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ ‘have’, which is undoubtedly related to **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** ‘bring’, is further discussed in section 12.22 of this chapter.

12.18.1. Combinations of irrealis with some other auxiliaries

In case of other auxiliaries forming part of the verbal complex, the irrealis auxiliary always comes closest to the main verb, selecting a (non-dependent) completive or perfective TAM-stem.

Some examples of negation and irrealis follow here:

pul **p-a.kᵛᵛnn-á-akkakáᵛᵛ** **pəᵛᵛᵛ** **ákka** **cᵛᵛ** **c-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ.t**
 person C-NEG-IRR:DEP-come:PST finally that VREF C-go:COMPL

the man should not have come anymore because it was too late

pul **p-a.kᵛᵛnn-í-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ.káᵛᵛ** **nᵛᵛᵛ** **ámmá ᵛᵛ-nᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛ-á.kᵛᵛnn-akkarᵛᵛ-k**
 person C-NEG-IRR:DEP-see:PST 1A:O if PERS-1A C-NEG-call:DEPCOMPL-O3

the man would not have seen us if we had not called him

k-kw-á.nn-ᵛᵛ-ᵛᵛᵛᵛnnᵛᵛ.t **pól** **á-p-āᵛᵛᵛᵛn**
 3-C-NEG-IRR:DEP-let:COMPL person SUBJ-PRO-come:DEPINCOMPL

s/he should not have allowed the person to come

ámmá **ᵛᵛ-p-á.p-p-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ.t** **á-n-ᵛᵛᵛᵛnn-ᵛᵛ-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-ᵛᵛk**
 if 1-C-be:COMPL-C-know:COMPL SUBJ-1-NEG:DEP-IRR:DEP-kill:COMPL-O3

if I had known, I would not have killed him

The following is an example of C-**ánt** ‘can’ and irrealis. C-**ánt** is probably completive here, but this cannot be seen from the tones. The clause expresses that the opportunity was there to call and the subject should have called according to the speaker, but he did not.

k-kw-ánt-á-akkarô.t (< k- + p- + ánt- + ô- + akkarô.t)

3-C-can:COMPL-IRR:DEP-call:COMPL

he should have called

The following statement combines C-**árək** and irrealis. C-**árək** is probably a completive form, though it cannot be seen from the tones. It is said just after finding a man in the house:

pul

person

p-árək-ô-omupé.t

C-as_always:COMPL-IRR:DEP-steal:COMPL

ámmá

if

pókul

children

p-ellâ.t

C-be_absent:COMPL

t.uan

at_house

the man would surely have stolen, if the children had not been at home (because the man always steals if he has the opportunity).

12.19. C-**íra** ‘should’

C-**íra** ‘should’, which is always preceded by a concord, has one form only. It can be combined with an Incompletive or an Irrealis Completive:

C-**íra** C-incompl stem

C-**íra** C-IRR-completive stem

Since it can only be combined with non-dependent verbs, it is of no consequence whether or not it would itself have a floating high tone. A non-dependent verb has a high (or falling) tone itself and a preceding high tone will not manifest itself on it.

In combination with an Incompletive, the construction expresses that something should (still) happen, in other words that the stated event did not yet take place and perhaps even will not take place, but that, according to the speaker, it would be better if it did:

ŋ-kw-íra p-élikkə pól ém-p-í
 2-C-should C-release:INCOMPL person DEM-C-NEARSP
 you should release this man

ɔ-kín ʔ-íra ʔ-a.nán-ʊŋ lón appík
 PERS-3A C-should C-bring_to:INCOMPL-O2 words all
 they should explain everything to you

At least in some cases in which an Irrealis Completive is used, C-**íra** can be added, apparently without change of meaning. Like their counterparts without C-**íra** (see chapter 12.18), the examples below express that something did not happen, while conveying the speaker's view that it would have been better if it had.

ŋ-kw-íra p-é-ɛlikkɔ.t pól ém-p-í
 2-C-should C-IRR-release:COMPL person DEM-C-NEARSP
 you should have released this man

ɔ-kín ʔ-íra ʔ-á-anán-ʊŋ⁸¹ lón appík
 PERS-3A C-should C-IRR-bring_to:COMPL-O2 words all
 they should have explained everything to you

C-**íra** can also serve as a main verb. It is then followed by **akka** 'that', functioning as a complementizer, and a Dependent Incompletive verb:

ŋ-kw-íra akka ɔccɪkɔt
 2-C-should that hear:DEPINCOMPL
 you should listen!

Negation is expressed on the main verb, not on C-**íra**:

⁸¹ The completive TAM-stem of the benefactive derivation **ɔnáne** 'bring to' is **ɔnánɛt**. Plural (consonant-initial) object pronominal clitics come after the TAM-stem (for example **ɔnánɛt-tón** 'brought for us'); singular (vowel-initial) object pronominal clitics, however, replace the ending **ɛt** of the completive TAM-stem of a benefactive verb, for example **ɔnán-úŋ** 'brought for you'.

k-kw-íra p-ǎ.nn-ǝkórənnǝ pól á-p-ânťán
 3-C-should C-NEG-let:DEPINCOMPL person SUBJ-C-come:DEPINCOMPL
 he should not allow the man to come

12.20. Itive and ventive

Lumun has an itive auxiliary **ǝť** and a ventive auxiliary **atť**. Both have a dependent incompleted TAM-stem, a (non-dependent) incompleted TAM-stem and a completive TAM-stem. In addition, ventive **ǝť** has an imperative TAM-stem. The forms are given in the table. The itive and ventive completive TAM-stems are precisely the same, also as to their tonal behaviour.

Table 86 Itive and ventive TAM-stems

<i>TAM-stem</i>	<i>itive</i>	<i>ventive</i>
dependent incompleted	ǝť	atť
incompleted	átť	atť
completive	âtť	âtť
imperative	ť	-

I represent the completive itive/ventive TAM-stem **âtť** with a falling tone, since, in context, it is always realized with a high tone and does not bring a high tone to the following element. The tonal representation of the dependent incompleted and incompleted TAM-stems is only tentative. Examples of their realization as part of verbal words are presented in the tables 87-90 and in the example sentences in this chapter.

The incompleted and completive TAM-stems are preceded by a concord, thus: itive incompleted C-**átť**, ventive incompleted C-**atť**, and itive/ventive completive C-**âtť**. The dependent forms (itive **ǝť**, ventive **atť**) occur in environments that would select a dependent incompleted or a dependent perfective TAM-stem. The dependency opposition in the itive and ventive auxiliaries is fully functional.

The dependent incompleted and incompleted itive and ventive auxiliaries select a dependent incompleted or a dependent perfective TAM-stem of the main verb. The completive auxiliary **âtť** (whether

receiving an itive or a ventive interpretation) selects a completive TAM-stem. **âtt** is further discussed in 12.20.1.

The tables below present dependent and non-dependent itive and ventive verbs. The tones are given as they would be when the verb is preceded by a subject that does not influence the tones of the verb, for example **pul** ‘person’.

Table 87 Dependent Itive Incompletive and Itive Incompletive

	<i>Dep. Itive Incompletive</i> <i>ʒt + dep. incompletive</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>	<i>Itive Incompletive</i> <i>C-á.t + dep. incompletive</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	ʒt-ímma + H	C-a.t-ímma + H
akkarɔ ‘call’	ʒt-âkkarɔ + H	C-a.t-âkkarɔ + H
ɔmóɲɛ ‘steal’	ʒt-ɔmóɲɛ + H	C-a.t-ɔmóɲɛ + H
ɔkkwôt ‘kill’	ʒt-ɔkkwôt	C-a.t-ɔkkwôt

Table 88 Dependent Itive Perfective and Itive Perfective

	<i>Dep. Itive Perfective</i> <i>ʒt + dep. perfective</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>	<i>Itive Perfective</i> <i>C-á.t + dep. perfective</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	ʒt-ímmakat + H	C-a.t-ímmakat + H
akkarɔ ‘call’	ʒt-âkkarat + H	C-a.t-âkkarat + H
ɔmóɲɛ ‘steal’	ʒt-ɔmóɲekat + H	C-a.t-ɔmóɲekat + H
ɔkkwôt ‘kill’	ʒt-ɔkkwât	C-a.t-ɔkkwât

Table 89 Dependent Ventive Incompletive and Ventive Incompletive

	<i>Dep. Ventive Incompletive</i> <i>at + dep. incompletive</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>	<i>Ventive Incompletive</i> <i>C-ât + dep. incompletive</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	at-imma + H	C-ât-imma + H

akkarɔ ‘call’	aṭ-akkarɔ + H	C-áṭ-akkarɔ + H
ɔmóɲe ‘steal’	aṭ-ɔmóɲe + H	C-áṭ-ɔmóɲe + H
ɔkkwât ‘kill’	aṭ-ɔkkwât	C-áṭ-ɔkkwât

Table 90 Dependent Ventive Perfective and Ventive Perfective

	<i>Dep. Ventive Perfective</i> <i>aṭ + dep. perfective</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>	<i>Ventive Perfective</i> <i>C-áṭ + dep. perfective</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	aṭ-immakat + H	C-áṭ-immakat + H
akkarɔ ‘call’	aṭ-akkarat + H	C-áṭ-akkarat + H
ɔmóɲe ‘steal’	aṭ-ɔmóɲekat + H	C-áṭ-ɔmóɲekat + H
ɔkkwât ‘kill’	aṭ-ɔkkwât	C-áṭ-ɔkkwât

Ventive *aṭ* may have developed from *aw* ‘come’, itive *ɔṭ* from *ɛṭ* ‘go’, but where *ṭ* has come from is not clear.

Use of the itive and ventive auxiliaries

The itive and ventive auxiliaries are used when an action takes place at a location that is different from where the performer of the action is at the time of speech (the performer has or had to go somewhere to perform the action) or, when the location where he performs the action is different from where he was or will be before (he will have to come, or has had to come, to the location first). Whether a movement is viewed as itive or ventive depends on the position of the deictic centre. In case of speech participants (first and second persons), the deictic centre lies with the speaker. In case of third persons, the storyteller will typically change the deictic centre from one participant to another, and he may put the deictic centre with himself, as if he himself were located somewhere in the scene. Generally, the use of an itive or ventive auxiliary is obligatory when an action involves movement to or from another place.

Itive and ventive with dependent incompletive TAM-stem

Two examples of itive **ṣṭ** combined with a dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb are given here. The first has the non-dependent incomplete TAM-stem **áṭ**, the second the dependent incomplete **ṣṭ**.

m-p-a.ṭ-ṣkákṣṭ

1-C-IT:INCOMPL-grind_at:DEPINCOMPL

ı-aləpapúr

in-mill

ḡṛṛṛṭ

tomorrow

I will go and grind at the mill tomorrow

m-p-a.éṣ

1-C-go:INCOMPL

a-n-ṣṭ-ṣkákṣṭ

CONJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-grind_at:DEPINCOMPL

ı-aləpapúr

in-mill

I must go and grind at the mill (I am going now)

Ventive **aṭ** is used in the following two examples. The second has two auxiliaries on the main verb, with the ventive as the second:

m-p-áṭ-ṣkákṣṭ

1-C-VEN:INCOMPL-grind:DEPINCOMPL

ḡṛṛṛṭ

tomorrow

I will come and grind tomorrow (the speaker is at the mill, maybe she came to check if it is working, she will go home and return tomorrow)

m-p-ápp-áṭ-ṣkákṣṭ

1-C-again:INCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-grind:DEPINCOMPL

ḡṛṛṛṭ

tomorrow

I will come and grind again tomorrow (the speaker is at the mill, she is (or has been) grinding there)

The following two examples contrast a non-dependent itive and ventive followed by a dependent incomplete TAM-stem.

ḡ-kw-a.ṭ-ṣṭəkṣṭ

2-C-IT:INCOMPL-eat:DEPINCOMPL

you (must) go and eat (the speaker is not at the place where the food is, the addressee must move away from the speaker)

ḡ-kw-áṭ-ṣṭəkṣṭ

2-C-VEN:INCOMPL-eat:DEPINCOMPL

you (must) come and eat (the speaker is at the place where the food is, the addressee must come to where the speaker and the food are)

The next two examples contrast a dependent itive and ventive followed by a dependent incomplete TAM-stem:

ɔmɛɬ.ɛ kɪn á-kɪn ʒɛ-ʒmɪccɔ ɔ-nnân
 tell:IMP O3A SUBJ.PERS-3A IT:DEPINCOMPL-greet:DEPINCOMPL PERS-mother
 tell them to go and greet their mother (the mother is not where the speaker is)

ɔmɛɬ.ɛ kɪn á-kɪn aɬ-ɔmɪccɔ ɔ-nnân
 tell:IMP O3A SUBJ.PERS-3A VEN:DEPINCOMPL-greet:DEPINCOMPL PERS-mother
 tell them to come and greet their mother (the mother is where the speaker is)

Itive and ventive with dependent perfective TAM-stem

In the following examples the consecutive action (that takes place at a location where the subject first had to go) is expressed with an itive auxiliary and a dependent perfective TAM-stem:

a-múɬá ʒrép.át ɬəmən-ɬəmən
 CONJ.PERS-Amoɬa jump_down:DEPPRFV quickly-REDUP

a-kw-ʒɛ-áukkwat lɛcɔk
 CONJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-drive_in_different_direction:DEPPRFV goats

Amoɬa moved down quickly (jumping down) and drove the goats in a different direction (fr. written story)

a-kw-ʒɪŋkat itti k-kw-á.éʒ t.óán
 CONJ-3-go:DEPPRFV that 3-C-go:INCOMPL at_house

a-kw-ʒɛ-íat pɪce p-ɔɛ pɛɪɪn
 CONJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV tree(sp) C-red finally

and she got on her way home and she found then a *pice*-tree with very ripe fruits (lit. a very ripe *pice*-tree) (fr. written story)

A clause with a form of the verb **ɛʒ** ‘go’ or **aw** ‘come’ often precedes a verb with an itive or ventive auxiliary, drawing stronger attention to the movement that is required in order to carry out the action at a different location than where the performer is (or was). The itive or ventive auxiliary cannot be omitted in such cases.

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.ẽ** **p-a.t-ítto** **ʊá**
 1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL C-IT:INCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL fruit(sp)
 I am going to pick *ʊa*-fruits

ɔ-nne **p-a.ɪk** **p-âkkarɔ**
 PERS-your_mother C-be:PR C-call:INCOMPL
ittɪ **ɲ-kw-ântan** **á-t-ɔrəkɔ** **ɲurû**
 that 2-C-come:INCOMPL SUBJ-(2-)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida
 your mother is calling you to come and eat asida

In the following example the deictic centre lies at the house of the man who performs the actions. He goes to the market to buy engine oil and comes back to his house to treat his chicken with the oil. The going is expressed with a main verb and with the itive auxiliary, the coming back only with the ventive auxiliary.

pul **p-ɔŋkáte** **tallat̪a**
 person C-go:PST market
á-p-ɔt-ɔkéro **ɲaak** **ɲ-ɔ-torompil**
 SUBJ-PRO-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL oil C-of-car
á-kw-aɬ-ɪpɪntet⁸² **takuruk** **ɪ-ɔræccô**
 SUBJ-3-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-dig_for:DEPINCOMPL chicken in-feathers
 the man went to the market to buy engine oil in order to put it between the feathers of the chicken (lit.: in order to come and put it ...) (fr. written story)

In the next example, *ẽ* ‘go’ itself has an itive auxiliary:

pul **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-ɔra.káte** **nɔ-ppan**
 person C-of-Nɔppət C-refuse:PST on-room
a-p-ɔt-é **í-mán** **m-ɔ-ttit**
 CONJ-C-IT:DEPINCOMPL-go:DEPINCOMPL in-house C-of-granary
 the person of Nɔppət did not go into the house but went into the granary (fr. written story)

⁸² A high tone is in principle expected on the dependent ventive auxiliary, because of the 3SG pronominal proclitic. It is not realized, however, due to the subjunctive particle *â*.

In a chain of clauses, the deictic centre does not need to stay fixed. In the following example, the perspective changes from the place from where the man left to the place where he arrived:

a-púl ɔ́ŋkat a-p-át-ɔ́kér.at
 CONJ-person go:DEPPRFV CONJ-PRO-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV
 and the man went and he came to buy it

The verb **ɔ́t** ‘find’ is a special because an itive or ventive auxiliary is often obligatory also when there is no spatial movement involved, as in the example below. The speaker is sitting at a place and not moving. It seems that whenever **ɔ́t** is not the first verb in a verbal sequence, an itive or ventive auxiliary is used.

... a-n-íkk.at cɪk pá.p.ɔ́tté a-n-ɔ́t-í.at
 CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF short_time CONJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV
a-n-íɾimat n.tɪ ɪ-kɪt
 CONJ-1-become_blind:DEPINCOMPL from in-eyes
 and I sat for a while and I found that I was getting blind

An example with ‘find’ and a (dependent) ventive auxiliary is the following:

ámámá ɔ́-rún ɬ-áá.t mənə aɬ-ɪ.at ...
 if PERS-12A C-come:COMPL until VEN:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV
 when we will find it ... (lit.: when we will have come to come find it ... :
 the speakers will come back to the place where they are now to try and find
 something they expect to be there)

Commands with an itive auxiliary

Itive **ɔ́t** has an imperative TAM-stem: **ɬ**. Imperative **ɬ** is followed by the dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb. Imperative **ɬ** comes with a high tone, as shown in the example below with the low-toned verb **ɔ́ŋkə** ‘rest’.

ṭ-ṣṇṇṇṇ

IT:IMP-rest:DEPINCOMPL

go and rest! (to singular addressee)

ṭ-íṭṇṇ-m

IT:IMP-pick_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1

mén

palm_fruits

á-n-áṭ-ṭṭṇṇ

SUBJ-1-VEN:INCOMPL-drink:INCOMPL

pick palm fruits for me so that I come and eat them!

The ventive auxiliary does not have an imperative TAM-stem. Commands to a singular addressee with ‘come’ are expressed with the Imperative of **ṇṇ** ‘come’ followed by the conjunctive particle **á** + main verb with ventive auxiliary:

ṇṇṇṇ

come:IMP

áṭ-ṭṭṇṇ⁸³

CONJ.(2.)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-wait_for:DEPINCOMPL

ṇ-íáṇ

PERS-mother

cṭṇ

VREF

pá.p.ṣṭṭṇ

short_time

come and wait a little time for my mother! (fr. written story)

A combination of the Imperative of **ṇṇ** ‘go’, the conjunctive particle **á** and a dependent incomplete itive auxiliary and main verb are possible as well when addressing a singular person:

ṇṇṇṇ

go:IMP

áṭ-ṇṇṇṇ⁸⁴

CONJ.(2.)IT:DEPINCOMPL-meet:DEPINCOMPL

ṇ-a-áṇ

in-PERS-3

go to meet him/her!

Commands to a plural addressee, whether itive or ventive, use a 2PL addressive pronominal proclitic or pronoun (see 6.5), followed by a dependent incomplete auxiliary and main verb, for example:

⁸³ The conjunctive particle **á** seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic **ṇ** is deleted between vowels. Derivation: **á + ṇ + ṇṇṇṇ** > **áṇṇṇṇ** > **ṇṇṇṇ** > **ṇṇṇṇ**.

⁸⁴ The conjunctive particle **á** seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic **ṇ** is deleted between vowels. Derivation: **á + ṇ + ṇṇṇṇ** > **áṇṇṇṇ** > **ṇṇṇṇ** > **ṇṇṇṇ**. In this analysis, the itive dependent incomplete stem receives a high tone.

၁၈-၁တံ-၁၈၁က

2A-IT:DEPINCOMPL-rest:DEPINCOMPL

go and rest! (to plural addressee)

၁၈-၁တံ-၁ကက-၁၈

2A-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-make_sit:DEPINCOMPL-O1A

၁က

VREF

come and make us sit together! (to family members, in order to mediate in a conflict)

12.20.1. The completive itive/ventive auxiliary C-**၁တံ**

The Completive auxiliary C-**၁တံ** can precede a dependent perfective TAM-stem of a main verb and a TAM-stem that has the segmental shape of a dependent incomplete with the tones that are found after the (completive) auxiliary verbs C-**၁ကက**, C-**၁ကတံ**, C-**၁ကပံ** (and their shortened variants) and after the negation auxiliaries when a completive tense is expressed. In the latter case, I call these stems ‘dependent completive’, as explained in 12.17. In the other cases they are simply dependent incomplete TAM-stems, since their tones follow regularly from the preceding (not-shortened) auxiliaries.

Also in the case of C-**၁တံ**, the tones are regularly generated: no tone on low stems, since verbs with a final falling tone do not bring a high tone to a next element, and tone bridge in case the verb has a high (of falling) tone itself. I therefore conclude that the completive auxiliary C-**၁တံ** combines with the dependent incomplete TAM-stem. As will be seen in the examples, this is also consistent with the meaning of these TAMs. The forms are given in the table below. I call the TAMs Itive/Ventive Completive and Itive/Ventive Past Perfective, respectively. The latter must be distinguished from the Itive Perfective and the Ventive Perfective.

Table 91 Itive/Ventive Completive and Itive/Ventive Past Perfective

	<i>Itive/Ventive Completive</i> <i>C-átt + dep. incomplete</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>	<i>Itive/Ventive Past</i> <i>Perfective</i> <i>C-átt + dep. perfective</i> <i>TAM-stem</i>
imma ‘see’	C-átt-imma + H	C-átt-immakat + H
akkarɔ ‘call’	C-átt-akkarɔ + H	C-átt-akkarat + H
ɔmúɲɛ ‘steal’	C-átt-ɔmúɲɛ + H	C-átt-ɔmúɲekat + H
ɔkkwât ‘kill’	C-átt-ɔkkwât	C-átt-ɔkkwât

Itive/ventive C-átt has probably developed along two lines, which have resulted in one and the same morpheme. The itive auxiliary is likely to have developed from the Completive TAM of **ɛ̃** ‘go’, the ventive from the Completive of **aa** ‘come’. The first example below has the itive/ventive auxiliary and allows for two interpretations, depending on the context. The second example gives the alternative way for expressing the itive variant, the third the alternative way for expressing the ventive variant:

pul **p-átt-ɔkéro**
 person C-ITVEN:COMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL
 the man has gone/come to buy it

pul **p-ɛɔ.t** **á-p-ɔt-ɔkéro**
 person C-go:COMPL SUBJ-C-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL
 the man has gone to buy it

pul **p-aa.t** **á-p-aɬ-ɔkéro**
 person C-come:COMPL SUBJ-C-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL
 the man has come to buy it

The construction C-átt + dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb has undoubtedly developed from these constructions, neutralizing the opposition itive-ventive in the resulting short form C-átt. C-átt retains the notion of movement from one place to another,

but the direction of the movement must be interpreted, according to the situation.

The examples also show that the TAM-stems of main verbs with L.H.L* or L.HL/L.L.HL tone patterns used after C-**âtt** have developed not from completive, but from incomplete TAM-stems. Synchronically, however, they can be regarded as completive TAM-stems. This is because stems with the same tone patterns occur in other environments where they minimally contrast with dependent incomplete TAM-stems: the tones on these stems have become the only elements signalling the TAM of the verb. This is, for example, the case in negated verbs: the negation auxiliaries (no longer?) have a distinction between Incomplete and Completive, only the tones on the main verb TAM-stems make the distinction. A process in the same direction is seen at work in auxiliaries of ***anta** ‘can’ and ***appa** ‘again’. The (longer) completive form of these auxiliaries is being shortened to the same forms as the incompletives. There too, when the short forms are used, only the tones on the dependent main verb can distinguish the TAMs.

The same process of shortening of constructions of the Completive of **ɛ̃** ‘go’ and the Completive of **aɔ** ‘come’ with a dependent perfective TAM-stem has given rise to the combination **âtt** + dependent perfective TAM-stem. Compare the following cases. In all three, the buying is just the next action. There is no purposerelation between the going or coming and the action expressed by the main verb.

pul **p-âtt-ɔ́kérat**

person C-ITVEN:COMPL-trade:DEPPRFV

the man went/came and bought it

pul **p-ɛ́ɔ.t** **a-p-ɔ́t-ɔ́kér.at**

person C-go:COMPL CONJ-PRO-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV

the man went and bought it

pul **p-aa.t** **a-p-át-ɔ́kér.at**

person C-come:COMPL CONJ-PRO-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV

the man came and bought it

c-âtt patterns with completive TAM-stems in that it cannot occur without a preceding concord.

Use and meaning

Some further sentential examples are given here to illustrate the use and meaning of Completive c-âtt:

m-p-âtt-ôccó **tík ana attı** **tík t-a.îk**

1-C-ITVEN:COMPL-receive:DEPINCOMPL fire and I_hope_that fire c-be:PR

I have come to get fire and I hope the fire is there (the speaker has arrived at the neighbour's place, where she hopes to get fire. The deictic centre lies where the speaker is while saying this sentence). (fr. written story)

m-p-aa.t **n-tş-mıřuk** **p-âtt-şıáẽ**

1-C-come:COMPL with_at-bush C-ITVEN:COMPL-urinate:DEPINCOMPL

I come from the bush, having gone to urinate (the deictic centre is where the speaker is while saying this sentence)

It was remarked before that the verb **ıřt** 'find' is very often combined with an itive or ventive auxiliary, and that, in combination with this verb, movement does not need to be involved. Also the example below does not express movement. c-âtt + dependent incomplete TAM-stem of **ıřt** does not express itive or ventive action in order to (try and) find (i.e. to search), but the end result of having found.

m-p-âtt-ıřt **ókúl kéccôk**

1-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL child market

I found the child in the market (*not*: I have gone to find the child in the market)

c-âtt + dependent perfective TAM-stem expresses a consecutive action or event, following upon a movement that has taken place. Two examples:

ɔ-ttán	p-átt-óccó.kat	im̩t	w-ittík	
PERS-father	C-ITVEN:COMPL-receive:DEPPRFV	goat	C-big	
ana	ɔ-kín	t-átt-akkar.at	kúrí	k-én
and	PERS-3A	C-ITVEN:COMPL-call:DEPPRFV	family	C-POSS3A
itti	ɔ-kín	t-átt-ettakə		
that	PERS-3A	C-VEN:INCOMPL-become_blessed:DEPINCOMPL		

the father (went and) caught a fat goat and they (went and) invited their family to come and get blessed

ana	ílí	kapík	w-ı̄ε.káté	pápé	itti
and	leader	God	C-tell:PST	fish	that
p-p-á.t-úttet		ɔ-ı̄onán	ci-nó-kútút	k-ó-rók	
PRO-C-IT:INCOMPL-vomit_at:DEPINCOMPL		PERS-Jonah	LOC-on-lip	C-of-water_place	
ana	p-p-átt-utte.kat-ók	cık			
and	PRO-C-ITVEN:COMPL-vomit_at:DEPPRFV-O3	VREF			

and the Lord God told the fish that it must (go and) vomit Jonah onto the water side, and it (went and) vomited him there. (Jonah 2:10)

The following examples have C-átt + dependent perfective TAM-stem. The verbs convey that a consecutive action can or may have happened, but there is no certainty about whether or not it actually did. In the first example C-átt precedes the dependent perfective stem of **imma** ‘see’, in the second the dependent perfective stem of **immakə** ‘shelter’.

ɔ-lótti	p-átt-imma.kat	ɔ-ttán	akka	k-kw-ész.t	kéccôk
PERS-Lótti	C-ITVEN:COMPL-see:DEPPRFV	PERS-father	that	3-C-go:COMPL	market

It is possible that Lótti saw his father when he went to the market

ɔ-laló	p-ellá.t	t.uan	ána	pól	p-átt-immak.at
PERS-Lalo	C-be_absent:COMPL	at_house	and	person	C-ITVEN:COMPL-shelter:DEPPRFV
ákka	kápík				
that	rain				

Lalo was not in the house, therefore the person may have sheltered (there) from the rain

12.20.2. Itive and ventive as markers of possibility/probability

In certain environments itive **ɔ̃t** and ventive **ãt** can have a modal interpretation expressing a possibility rather than a certainty. A Dependent Perfective without auxiliary can refer to a future consecutive event. The same is possible for a verb that contains an itive or ventive auxiliary and a dependent perfective TAM-stem. In a sentence that contains a clause introduced by **ámma** + H ‘if, when’, however, the itive or ventive auxiliary + dependent perfective TAM-stem does not convey that a consecutive event *will* happen, but that it *can* or *may* happen. It expresses a possibility, not a certainty.

ɔ̃-lótti p-a.t̃-ímma.kat ɔ̃-tt̃án ámma k-kw-é̃s.t kéccôk
 PERS-Lótti C-IT:INCOMPL-see:DEPPRFV PERS-father if 3-C-go:COMPL market

Lótti can/may see his father when he goes to the market (the deictic centre is placed with Lótti)

ɔ̃-lótti p-ãt-ímma.kat ɔ̃-tt̃án ámma k-kw-á̃a.t kéccôk
 PERS-Lótti C-VEN:INCOMPL-see:DEPPRFV PERS-father if 3-C-come:COMPL market

Lótti can/may see his father when he comes to the market (the deictic centre is placed with the father)

Completive **c-âtt̃** also allows for a modal interpretation, as in the following two examples:

k-kw-âtt̃-imma lők
 3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-see:DEPINCOMPL dogs

s/he came to see the dogs / s/he went to see the dogs / s/he may have seen the dogs (the speaker is not sure)

ɔ̃-kín t̃-âtt̃-añán
 PERS-3A C-ITVEN:COMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL

maybe they came (I am not sure, I don’t remember)

Particularly when used with **ɔ̃kâ** ‘be’, **c-âtt̃** obtains a modal reading, expressing that something is maybe or probably the case:

lɔn **l-átt-óká** **l-óppót**
 words C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL C-many

maybe a lot of things are said now (for example, somebody has died and bad things were whispered about the person before. Maybe these things are now said openly, but the speaker is not sure if this is actually happening)

mɪɔ **ém-m-í** **m-átt-óká** **m-óηwó.t** **ól** **w-ɔppót**
 disease DEM-C-NEARSP C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL C-kill.PLUR:COMPL people C-many

this disease has (by now) probably killed many people

pul **em-p-ɪ** **p-átt-óká** **p-ó-károṭā**
 person DEM-C-NEARSP C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL C-of-where

from where could this person be?

ɔ-ɕɛccé **p-átt-óká** **p-ákkarákɔ.t**
 PERS-Cɕcce C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL C-be_called:COMPL

Cecce may have been invited

Under this interpretation of the ventive/itive Completive, also a dependent form is attested (that is, a form without concord). This actually suggests that C-átt with modal reading is no longer perceived as a Completive verb, since a Completive would under all circumstances retain its concord. The clause from the Bible ‘it must have been an angel’ (Acts 12:15) is translated with (dependent) átt:

átt-óká **ɔɾupa** **w-ɔ-tɔṭillettāt**
 ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL spirit C-of-NOM.be_sent.PLUR

it must have been an angel (lit.: a spirit of being sent repeatedly)

C-átt can be used in combination with C-íkkɔ ‘may’:

ɔ-ɕɛccé **p-íkkɔ** **p-átt-óká** **p-ákkarákɔ.t**
 PERS-Cɕcce C-may C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL C-be_called:COMPL

Cɕcce may have been invited

12.21. Defective verbs with complementizer element **tĩ**

attĩ ‘I hope that’ contains the complementizing formative **tĩ** that is also part of the complementizer **ittĩ** ‘that’ (see 18.7). **tĩ** is also a formative of the defective verb **ɔpərĩ** ‘say, think’.

attĩ ‘I hope that’ is a fully frozen form. It is immediately followed by its complement, without the complementizer **ittĩ** ‘that’. It is used in greetings, and solicits a response. It is commonly translated with ‘I hope that’, but whether the first person singular subject has actually ever been part of it is unclear, since no remnant of ‘I’ can be recognized. Two examples:

attĩ ŋ-kw-a.ɪk p-ɔpərɔt
 I_hope_that 2-C-be:PR C-good

I hope you are fine?

at-tĩ ŋ-kw-ɪcáɬ.ɛ
 I_hope_that 2-C-lie_down:COMPL

I hope that you slept?

ɔpərĩ ‘say, think’, like **attĩ**, contains the complementizing element **tĩ**. Unlike **attĩ**, it can be followed by **ittĩ** ‘that’, but this is not necessary. It can inflect for Incompletive, in which case the initial vowel (regularly) changes to **a**. The Incompletive does (irregularly) not have a high tone on its initial vowel.

m-p-a.pərɪ k-kw-ânɬán
 1-C-say:INCOMPL 3-C-come:INCOMPL

I think she will come

m-p-a.pərɪ ittĩ k-kw-ânɬán
 1-C-say:INCOMPL that 3-C-come:INCOMPL

I think she will come

Apart from the base form (the dependent incomplete TAM-stem) **ɔpərĩ** and Incompletive C-**apərĩ**, a Completive C-**ɔpərĩ** attested. In the first example below, dependent incomplete **ɔpərĩ** follows the auxiliary **ant** ‘can’. The second example has Completive C-**ɔpərĩ**.

ant-ɔpəri

can:DEPINCOMPL-say:DEPINCOMPL

ŋ-kw-a.kkət

2-C-do:INCOMPL

ŋín-ɬa

what-QW

tell (me), what will you do?

ŋ-kw-ɔpəri **tát-ɬa**

2-C-say:COMPL how-QW

what did you say?/what have you just said?

12.22. C-ɔnô ‘have, must’

The verb C-ɔnô ‘have, must’ occurs in one form only. Its phonological shape is different from other verbs since it ends in **o**. It shares with adjectives that it is always preceded by a concord (unless replaced by the focus marker **akk-** or **a-C-C-**) and that it can be combined with different TAMs of **ɔkâ** ‘be’, including the Present of ‘be’. Nevertheless, I consider it a verb, since it needs not only a subject but also an (expressed or unexpressed) object. Some examples:

k-kw-ɔno **larɔ**

3-C-have twins

s/he has twins

kapík **akk-ɔnô**

God FOC-have

it is in God’s hands (it is God who has it)

áməntáci **p-ɔká.t** **p-ɔnú** **kapík**

PERS.aməntáci C-be:COMPL C-have rain

Aməntáci was holding the rain (i.e. had control over the rain) (App. I, 3)

Before C-ɔnô, the Completive of ‘be’ C-ɔkât can be shortened to C-ât, in the same way as happens in Past Completives (see 12.7.5). Thus:

áməntáci **p-á.p-p-ɔnú** **kapík**

PERS.Aməntáci C-be:COMPL-C-have rain

Aməntáci was holding the rain (Aməntáci had control over the rain)

C-**ṇô** is used in verbal constructions in which it paradigmatically relates to Completives expressing a state. For example, it can co-occur with the external auxiliary C-**ícca**.

ṇ-nenni p-íccá p-ṇó lôn itti k-kw-ânṭan-î
 PERS-Nenni C-be_still C-have words that 3-C-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nenni still planning to come?

C-**ṇô** is also found in combination with the Present of ‘be’. Completives preceded by the Present of ‘be’ are uncommon, but not entirely unattested, as shown in the second example below, which has the Completive of **ṇṇṇ** ‘like, want, love’. Co-occurrence with the Present of ‘be’ reveals a tendency of C-**ṇô** and C-**ṇṇṇ** towards becoming adjectives. However, particularly the combination with C-**ṇṇṇ** was not fully acceptable for my consultants.

pa-p-ṇṇek p-a.ík p-ṇó kṇan itti pḥlla
 thing-C-some C-be:PR C-have name that cat

some animal that is called cat/some animal having the name cat

? **k-kw-á.ík p-ṇṇṇ.é itti ...**
 3-C-be:PR C-like:COMPL that

s/he wants that ...

C-**ṇô** ‘have, must’ is undoubtedly related to the verb **ṇâ** ‘bring, carry’, though not by means of an otherwise attested derivational process. Cross-linguistically, a development from a verb ‘carry’ to a verb ‘have’ is well-attested (Payne 1997, p. 126). **ṇâ** ‘bring, carry’ can sometimes itself be used in the meaning ‘have’. The following examples contrast C-**ṇô** ‘have’ and **ṇâ** ‘bring, carry’: the first expresses a current state of ‘having’, the other a state of ‘having’ in the future.

m-pṇṇṇ.é akka kéccók k-ín k-ṇó aṇəpə cik áppik
 1-C-like:COMPL that market C-POSS1A C-have things VREF all

I like it that our market has everything

m-pəŋəʔ.é itti kéccók k-ín k-á.ná aʔəpʊ cik áppik
 1-C-like:COMPL that market C-POSS1A C-bring:INCOMPL things VREF all

I want our market to have everything

c-ɔnɔ does not only express possession, it also commonly expresses ‘must’:

k-kw-ɔnɔ itti k-kw-á.ccɪkət
 3-C-have that 3-C-hear:INCOMPL

s/he must listen

lɔtti ŋ-kw-ɔnɔ itti ŋ-kw-a.ʔəkɔ ʔʊʔit ʔ-əppət
 lɔtti 2-C-have that 2-C-eat:INCOMPL food C-many

Lɔtti, you must eat a lot of food

12.23. Combinations of auxiliaries

Some combinations of auxiliaries are presented here. Within the word, auxiliaries occur in a certain order. If present, a form of ***anta** ‘can’ comes as the first, itive/ventive as the last, except for the irrealis morpheme, which is the very last. Negation precedes a form of ***appa** ‘again’, but follows a form of ***arəka** ‘as always’. Some examples:

məna ɔ-nɔn ʔ-ánt-ɔkənn-ɔccɪkət-ín ...
 even PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-NEG:DEP-hear:DEPINCOMPL-O1

even if you do not listen to me ... (John 10:38)

cɪkɪt c-ərrɔ.r-ín itti m-p-ánt-át-ɔkəʔa ɔkul
 heart C-push:COMPL-O1 that 1-C-can:INCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-look_at:DEPINCOMPL child
 my heart pushed me to come and see the child (that I take the opportunity to come and see the child)

ʔuk t-m ʔ-arək-ɔkənn-ɔkkwət
 dog C-POSS1 C-as_always:COMPL-NEG:DEP-kill:DEPCOMPL

my dog surely did not kill anything (it never catches anything!)

m-p-ǎnn-ápp-íkkə **ḡópak**
 1-C-NEG-again:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL beer

I will not drink beer again

m-p-ápp-əṭ-əkákəṭ **ɪ-aləpapór** **ḡərrəṭ**
 1-C-again:INCOMPL-IT:DEPINCOMPL-grind_at:DEPINCOMPL in-mill tomorrow

I will again go and grind at the mill tomorrow

m-p-ǎnn-ápp-əṭ-íkkə **ḡópak**
 1-C-NEG-again:DEPINCOMPL-IT:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL beer

I will not go and drink beer again

12.23.1. Constructions with an auxiliary of ‘be’

Auxiliaries are attached to the main verb in some cases and to another auxiliary in other cases. In a Present Continuous (C-**aík** + Incompletive main verb), the negation auxiliary, and auxiliaries of ***anta** ‘can’ and ***appa** ‘again’ come on the main verb:

m-p-a.ík **p-akénn-ícat**
 1-C-be:PR C-NEG-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL

I am not lying down

k-kw-á.ík **p-ánt-úet** **ḡúcul**
 3-C-be:PR C-can:INCOMPL-prepare:DEPINCOMPL sauce

she is just starting to prepare the sauce (lit.: she is having the opportunity to prepare the sauce. As an answer to a question: has mother already prepared the food?)

m-p-a.ík **p-ápp-éren-əṭ** **ittĩ ...**
 1-C-be:PR C-again:INCOMPL-speak_to:DEPINCOMPL-O2 that

I am telling you again ...

In Past Completive constructions (C-**əkât** ‘was/were’ + Completive main verb) negation tends to come on the main verb as well. The negated construction can be shortened in the same way as the Past Completive (see 12.7.5):

m-p-ɔká.t **p-ákónn-ɨcat** / **m-p-á.p-p-ákónn-ɨcat**
 1-C-be:COMPL C-NEG-lie_down:DEPCOMPL 1-C-be:COMPL-C-NEG-lie_down:DEPCOMPL

I had not laid down

In the following example negation comes on the copular verb ‘be’, not on the auxiliary ‘be’:

pul **p-ɔká.t** **p-ákónn-ɔká** **piak**
 person C-be:COMPL C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL orphan

the man was not a poor person

However, in constructions with a Past Completive with a main verb expressing a state, negation comes on the auxiliary. Completives indicating a state pattern here with adjectives. For comparison, an example with an adjective is given last.

m-p-ǎnn-ɔká **p-íámâ.t**
 1-C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-become_hungry:COMPL

I was not hungry

m-p-ǎnn-ɔká **p-ɔŋɔ́.é** **ittĩ ...**
 1-C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-like:COMPL that

I did not want (that) ...

lɔn **el-l-i** **l-akónn-ɔka**⁸⁵ **l-ɔpərɔt**
 words DEM-C-NEARSP C-NEG-be:DEPINCOMPL C-good

these things will not be good

In complex verbs with a clause chaining structure, negation comes on the auxiliary of ‘be’.

m-p-akónn-ɔká **á-n-ɨcat**
 1-C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL CONJ-1-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL

I was not lying down (on the contrary: I was working)

⁸⁵ The falling tone of ɔká is realized here as low.

Also in the following example, the auxiliary is attached to the auxiliary of ‘be’:

m-p-ántór-óká

1-C-can:COMPL-be:INCOMPL

p-íó.t

C-die:COMPL

I am dead/I have just died (said in serious distress)