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A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

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ɔ-t̪t̪án **p-ɔ-kkʊl**
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-** an **t̪ɔ-**, 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-ɔ́-púl** **í-p-ɔ́parí**
stick(k.o.) C-of-person RES-C-female
the *campal*-stick of the woman

kəʈi̯ttaŋ **k-ɔ́-kʊkkô**
knife C-of.PERS-Kʊkkʊ
the knife of Kʊkkʊ

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

part of whole:

tacɔk **t-ɔ́-pərrɔk**
legs C-of-chair
legs of a chair

made of, consisting of:

cəʈ̪ána **c-ɔ-ʈ̪ərɔ́ma**
tassel C-of-ram
tassel of ram's hair (lit.: tassel of ram)

for the purpose of:

kɪrɛk **k-ɔ́-ʈ̪-ɔra** **ɪ-ttɔ́k** **nɔ-ʈ̪ampâŋ**
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 **l-ɔ́-kɛ́ccôk**
tamarind C-of-market
tamarind for the market (i.e. for selling at the market)

occupations:

pʊl **p-ɔ-ʈ̪ɔʈák**
person C-of-war
warrior, soldier

pʊl **p-ɔ-kəmɛl**
person C-of-hunting_party
hunter

ownership, association:

ʊl **w-ɔ-lị́cɔ́k**
people C-of-goats
the owners of the goats

place where somebody lives:

pʊl **p-ɔ-karəʈ̪ʈ̪ôm**
person C-of-Khartoum
person from Khartoum

'child of' in personal names:

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ **l-ɔ́-maṯarɪ**
PERS-Lɔttɪ C-of.PERS-Maṯarɪ
Lɔttɪ (son) of Maṯarɪ

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-rúmɪa ŋ-aṯəríṯ 'Rumia (daughter) of Aṯərɪṯ'
ɔ-ɪúnɪc ŋ-alɛmîn 'Younis (son) of Alemin'
ɛ́rəmía[52] **ŋɔ-ómar** 'Jeremiah (son) of Umar'

ŋ- possibly comes from agreement with the noun class prefix **ŋ**- of a historical noun ***ŋʊkʊl** 'child' (today **ʊkʊl** 'child'). A historical noun ***ŋʊkʊl** is conceivable, since it would give a regular singular-plural pair (***ŋʊkʊl/ɲʊkʊl).** 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:

ṯ-ɔŋwɔ **ṯ-ɔ́-píŋɲít**
NOM-sing C-of-singer
the singing of the singer

undergoer of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ṯ-ɪɔ **ṯ-áʈəpʊ** **w-əʈɛk** (< **ṯ-ɔ́** + **aʈəpʊ**)
NOM-die C-of.things C-some
the dying of some animals

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

patient of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

n̪-ɔkkwɔt **n̪-áɽəpʊ** **w-əɽɛk** (< **n̪-ɔ́** + **aɽəpʊ**)
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-**ɔ**-PREP-Y follow here:

place where somebody lives:

ʊl **w-ɔ-nɔ-n̪t̪ɔk** **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-ɔ-** + **nɔ-** + **pən̪t̪ɔk** + **p-ɔ-** + **arrô**)

occupation:

pʊl **p-ɔ-rɪ-ŋkwêl** (< **pʊl** + **pɔ-** + **ɪ-** + **kəmɛl)**
person C-of-in-hunting_party

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

ʊl **w-ɔ-rį̆-įmɔ̂n**
people C-of-in-porcupines

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

for use in a certain environment:

kuppəɽuŋ **k-ɔ-nɔ-əɽĭ**
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:

kərɛt **k-ɔ́-kkʊl** **k-ıé́**
cloth C-of-child C-new

the shirt of the child is new

k-kw-ɔ́ká.t **p-ɔ-mɔkənta** **m-în**
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:

ɔ-ɔ́k **p-ɔ-mɔkənta** **m-în** / **k-kw-ɔ́-mɔkənta** **m-în**
PERS-3 C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1 3-C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1

she is (one) of my supporting girls

ɔ-ɔ́k **p-ɔ-karəṯṯôm** / **k-kw-ɔ́-karəṯṯôm**
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 **ŋ-** in **ŋ-ɔ́-ṯʊʊlı** agrees with **ŋəʔǐ** ‘water’; in the second example, the concord **k-** in **k-ɔ́-cɛccé** agrees with **kálam** ‘pen’.

a-əʈɪ[53]	**ŋ-ʊŋ**	**ŋ-ɔká.t**	**ŋ-ɛn̪îâ.t**	**ana**
CONJ-water	C-POSS3	C-be:COMPL	C-become_cool:COMPL	and

ŋ-ɔ́-n̪ʊʊlɪ	**ŋ-ɔká.t**	**ŋ-árə̀n̪ʊk**	**ŋ-áŋkɔ**	**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-əllɛ́k**
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone

ana	**k-ɔ́-cɛccɛ́**	**k-á.ík**	**p-əllɛ̂k**
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 Kʊkkʊ 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:

n̪ɪpa	**n̪-ɔ-kʊkkʊ́**	**ana**	**n̪-ɔ́-kakkâ**
marriage	C-of-Kʊkkʊ	and	C-of-Kakka

the marriage of Kʊkkʊ and the one of Kakka (the marriage of Kʊkkʊ 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-** + **ŋəʈɪ̌**

ʈakəɽʊk	**ɪ-ʈ-a**	**m-p-ɔɽəkɔ.t**	**ʈúŋkɛ**	**ʈ-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’):

ŋ-kw-íɔt	**kəmən**	**na**	**ɲúkúl**	**í-ɲ-ârran**	**ɔkʊrrɔ**
2-C-find:INCOMPL	rooms	where:REL	children	RES-C-young	engrave:DEPINCOMPL

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

na	**cɟŋkɟ**	**ʊmmət**	**ŋ.ŋɪn**
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	**tʊɛ**	**t-á.kkʊnakɔ**	**ana**
and	river	C-smell:INCOMPL	and

mʊccɪrɪn	**mənna**	**m-akánn-ɟkkɔ**	**ŋəɽɪ**	**ŋ-ên**
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)

ɔɽək.ʊ	**appɛnʈína**	**n-áɽɔl**	**w-ên**
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-**ĭn**, C-**ɪn**, C-**ín**	‘my’	(**ɔ́n**)
12	C-**ɔrɪt** +H	‘our (of you (SG) and me)’	(**ɔrĭt**)
2	C-**ăŋ**, C-**aŋ**, C-**áŋ**	‘your (SG)’	(**ɔ́ŋ**)
3	C-**óŋ**	‘his/her’	(**ɔ̂k**)
1A	C-**i̱n**	‘our (EXCL)’	(**ɔni̱n**)
12A	C-**ɔnnɔ́n**	‘our (INCL)’	(**ɔrún/ɔrɔ́n**)
2A	C-**ɔ́n**	‘your (PL)’	(**ɔnɔ́n**)
3A	C-**ɛ́n**	‘their’	(**ɔkîn**)

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 pĭn** ‘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: **t̪ʊk t̪în** ‘my dog’ (**t̪ŏk** ‘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:

ṭʊk	**ṭ-ɔ́rɪt**	**ána**	**pə́llá**	**p-ʊ́ŋ**
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: **ŋərɛ** 'work' and **kʊṭôt** 'lip, side'

1	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ĭn/ŋ-ɪn**	'my work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ĭn/k-ɪn**	'my lip'
12	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ɔrɪt**	'our work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ɔrɪt**	'our lip'
2	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ăŋ/p-aŋ**	'your work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ăŋ/k-aŋ**	'your lip'
3	**ŋərɛ ŋʊ́ŋ**	'his/her work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ʊ́ŋ**	'his/her lip'
1A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ı́n**	'our work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ı́n**	'our lip'
12A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ɔnnɔ́n**	'our work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ɔnnɔ́n**	'our lip'
2A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ɔ́n**	'your work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ɔ́n**	'your lip'
3A	**ŋərɛ ŋ-ɛ́n**	'their work'	**kʊṭʊ́t k-ɛ́n**	'their lip'

Possessor pronouns preceded by high and rising tones: **ṭɔʧə́k** 'rope' and **ŋəʧĭ** 'water':

1	**ṭɔʧək ṭ-în**	'my rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-în**	'my water'
12	**ṭɔʧək ṭ-ɔ́rɪt**	'our rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-ɔ́rɪt**	'our water'
2	**ṭɔʧək ṭ-âŋ**	'your rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-âŋ**	'your water'
3	**ṭɔʧək ṭʊ́ŋ**	'his/her rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-ʊ́ŋ**	'his/her water'
1A	**ṭɔʧək ṭ-ı́n**	'our rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-ı́n**	'our water'
12A	**ṭɔʧək ṭ-ônnɔ́n**	'our rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-ônnɔ́n**	'our water'
2A	**ṭɔʧək ṭ-ɔ́n**	'your rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-ɔ́n**	'your water'
3A	**ṭɔʧək ṭ-ɛ́n**	'their rope'	**ŋəʧɪ ŋ-ɛ́n**	'their water'

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

ŋərɛ ŋ-ɛn	'its work'
kʊṭʊ́t k-ɛn	'its side'
ṭɔʧək ṭ-ên	'its rope'
ŋəʧɪ ŋ-ên	'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 **ŋərɛ** the concord **ŋ** of the possessor is deleted, and in the examples with **t̪ɔʈák** final **k** fully assimilates to the concord **t̪** of the possessor. Incidentally, however, the process of assimilation deviates from what is expected. This is the case with the items **páŋ** 'item of the same kind' and **ɔpáŋ** 'sibling'. Compare the first (irregular) example with **ɔpáŋ** 'sibling' with the second (regular) example with **parantáŋ** 'gourd'. After **ɔpáŋ** (and **páŋ**) the concord **p** changes to **k**:

ɔpaŋkîn	'my sibling'	
parantaŋ pîn	'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).

t̪ʊk	**én-t̪-í**	**t̪-á.ká**	**t̪-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:

pət̪ɔk	**p-ɪn**	**ém-p-í**
stone	C-POSS1	DEM-C-NEARSP

my country is this one (for example while pointing at a country on a map)

pət̪ɔk	**ɛm-p-ɪ**	**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, **kɛ́n** 'their' refers to two human beings denoted by common nouns: **ʊkul** 'child' and **parı pɔ́kkʊl** 'the wife of the child'. The sentences come from a description of main events in the life of a boy/man.

ɔ-t̪t̪án	**p-ɔ-kkʊl**	**ana**	**ókól**
PERS-father	C-of-child	and	child

t̪-únınɛ	**parı**	**p-ɔ́-kkʊl**	**kəmən**	**k-ɛ́n**
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 **t̪ʊʊlı ana pəlla** 'the hyena and the cat':

… a-t̪úʊlı	**ɔccíkat**	**lɔ́n**	**l-úŋ**
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 **ɔt̪t̪ân** '(his, her) father', can be modified by a connexive construction which states the related person:

ɔ-t̪t̪án **p-ɔ-nɛnnî**
PERS-father C-of-Nɛnnɪ

the father of Nɛnnɪ

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

ɔ-ŋappá **p-ɔnnɔ́n**
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:

ámmá **ŋ́-kw-ɔ́nú** **nə̀ɽé** **n-úŋ**
if 2-C-have fear C-POSS3

á-ɛ̃ **ɪ-cʊɽé** **c-ɔ́-pírá** **ém-p-ə́ɽê**
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.ɪk **p-íllakkɔ** **tacɔ́k**
1-C-be:PR C-wash:INCOMPL feet

I am washing my feet

ɔt̪ɪɛ **ʊkún**
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-ɔkwárɪkɔt	**na**	**ŋ-kw-ɔnəkkéṭ.é**	**kúrrôŋ**
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:

lɔn	**ɛl-l-ɪ**	**a-kəllán**	**k-ɔká.t**	**á-k-ɛ́rɛt**
words	DEM-C-NEARSP	CONJ-old_woman	C-be:COMPL	CONJ-PRO-speak_at:DEPINCOMPL

nɔ-cịkịt	**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-ɔ́ṭʊp.at	**ká**	**k-úŋ**	**Í-láí**	**í-l-ə́rrákɔ.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-ɔ́ṭʊp.at	**ká**	**l-laɪ**	**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-ɔ́n̪ʊp.at̪-ɔ́k	**ka**	**l-laɪ**	**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-ɪn	**á-k-ɪn k-ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘mine is good’
á-k-aŋ	**á-k-aŋ k-ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘yours (SG) is good’
á-k-ʊ́ŋ	**á-k-ʊ́ŋ k-ɔ́pərɔ̂t** ‘his/hers is good’
á-k-ɔrɪt	**á-k-ɔrɪt k-ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘ours (of you SG and me) is good’
á-k-ɻ́n	**á-k-ɻ́n k-ɔ́pərɔ̂t** ‘ours (EXCL) is good’
á-k-ɔnnɔ́n	**á-k-ɔnnɔn k-ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘ours (INCL) is good’
á-k-ɔ́n	**á-k-ɔ́n k-ɔ́pərɔ̂t** ‘yours (PL) is good’
á-k-én	**á-k-én k-ɔ́pərɔ̂t** ‘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) **ɲʊkʊl** ‘children’.

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

ana	**á-k-ɪn**	**k-a.ɪk**	**p-əllɛ̂k**
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.ík**	**kərɛn**
and	PROB-C-POSS2	C-be:PR	where

and where are yours?!

á-ɲ-ın	**ɲ-ɛllâ**
PROB-C-POSS1	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 **apɛ̂** 'fish (PL)' (tonally realized here as **ápɛ**[55]).

ɔ́k.kw.í	**í-p-á.nɔ́kɔ**	**lɔʈək**	**l-ín**	**ɔ-ɔ́k**	**p-á.ŋwɔ́**	**ápɛ**
the_one	RES-C-take:INCOMPL	ropes	C-POSS1	PERS-3	C-kill.PLUR:INCOMPL	fish(PL)

ana	**k-kw-á.nán-ın**	**cıt.tɔ́.kít**
and	3-C-bring_for:INCOMPL-O1	firstly

áná	**ánt-ómmın-ɔ́k**	**á-úŋ**
and	can:DEPINCOMPL-take_for:DEPINCOMPL-O3	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 **kaʈʊk** 'goatskin bag'.

maıt	**m-a.ık**	**ı-á-k-ın-ı**
beans	C-be:PR	in-PROB-C-POSS1-Q

are the beans in mine?

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

ant-ɔkə́t̪a	**tacɔk**	**t-ín**	**ana**	**t-ăŋ**
can:DEPINCOMPL-look:INCOMPL	legs	C-POSS1	and	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 **tʊ̆ăn** '(at, to) home' followed by a word that

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

contains the prepositional proclitic **ʈɔ-** '(down) at' and a pronominal possessor, as well as a formative **an**. **an** is most likely a remnant of a noun, perhaps of **kaɽən** 'place'. Specific forms collocating with **tʊǎn** are attested for all personal possessors pronoun, except C-**ɔrɪt**: 'our home' (i.e. of you and me) is just **tʊan t-ɔ́rɪt**.

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

tʊan ʈ-an-ĭn	'my home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaɽə́n kɪn	'the home at my place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ằŋ	'your home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaɽə́n kaŋ	'the home at your place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ú̀ŋ	'his/her home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaɽə́n kú̀ŋ	'the home at his/her place'
tʊan ʈ-ɛn-i̍n	'our (1A) home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaɽə́n ki̍n	'the home at our (1A) place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ɔ̂nnɔ́n	'our (12A) home'
tʊan ʈɔ kaɽə́n k-ɔnnɔ́n	'the home at our (12A) place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ɔ́n	'your (PL) home'
tʊan ʈɔ kaɽə́n k-ɔ́n	'the home at your place'
tʊan ʈ-an-ɛ́n	'their home'
tʊan ʈɔ-kaɽə́n k-ɛ́n	'the home at their place'

7.3.9. Position in the noun phrase

Attributive possessor pronouns generally precede other modifiers:

pəʈɔk	**p-ɪn**	**p-ɔ́-maɽɔ̂t**
stone	C-POSS1	C-of-long_ago

my country of long ago

papʊ	**p-ɪn**	**ɛ́m-p-í**	**í-p-á**	**n-ɔ̂kʊrrɔ**	**n.tít**
thing	C-POSS1	DEM-C-NEARSP	RES-C-COP	1-engrave:DEPINCOMPL	from:ABS

tʊan	**ṭ.an-ǐn**
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:

ɔ-parɪ	**p-ín**	**p-ulluk**	**á-p-p-ɪna**	**lɔ́n**	**ɛ́l-l-í**
PERS-wife	C-POSS1	C-only	FOC-C-C-know:INCOMPL	words	DEM-C-NEARSP

only my wife knows these things

ɔ-parɪ	**p-ulluk**	**p-ín**	**a-p-p-ɪna**	**lɔ́n**	**ɛ́l-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-**ɛn** and the manner adjective C-**ɛɛná** 'such, like this/that'. They all share the pronominal base **ɛn** as a formative.

The spatial demonstratives consist of the pronominal base **ɛn** (or C-**ɛn**) 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-**ɛn**, 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 **ɛn**, however, is not intrinsically anaphoric, since it is also part of the spatial demonstratives, which can be used gesturally. I gloss the formative **ɛn** in the demonstratives as DEM (demonstrative).

ɛn (or C-**ɛn**) is (most probably) also a formative of the manner-deictic adjective C-**ɛɛná** 'such, like this/that' (see 8.2.5). C-**ɛn** is furthermore part of **ɔkkwɛ̂n** 'who' (< **ɔ̂k** 's/he' + **p-ɛn**) and **ŋɪmpɛ̂n** 'what' (< **ŋɪn** 'what' + **p-ɛn**), which are discussed in 20.1.1 and 20.1.2.

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

8.1. The spatial demonstratives

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

ɛn-C-**í**	'this, these': near the speaker
ɛn-C-**ərík**	'this, that, these, those': near the addressee
ɛn-C-**əɽɛ̂**	'that, those': away from the speaker and the addressee

The spatial demonstratives can have two concords:

C-**ɛn**-C-**í** ‘this, these’: near the speaker
C-**ɛn**-C-**ərík** ‘this, that, these, those’: near the addressee
C-**ɛn**-C-**əɽê** ‘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 **pɛmpí** instead of **ɛmpí**:

pʊl	**p-ɛm-p-ɪ**	**p-ɔ́-kárə́-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 **pɛmpí** 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

deictic suffix	*deictic verb*
-í ‘near-speaker’	C-**ɛ́í** ‘be here (near speaker)’
-ərík ‘near-addressee’	C-**ɛ̂rík** ‘be here, be there (near addressee)’
-**əɽê** ‘distal’	C-**ɛ́ɽê** ‘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 **ɛn**-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 **ɛn**-C-**í** or **ɛn**-C-**əɽê**, but not between a noun with a final falling tone and **ɛn**-C-**ərík**.

Table 43 Nouns and demonstratives

noun	*C*	***ɛn-C-í*** *near speaker*	***ɛn-C-ərík*** *near addressee*	***ɛn-C-əɽê*** *distal*
pərrɔk ‘chair’	**p**	**pərrɔk ɛmpí**	**pərrɔk ɛmpərík**	**pərrɔk ɛmpəɽê**
t̪ŭk ‘dog’	**t̪**	**t̪ʊk éntí**	**t̪ʊk éntərík**	**t̪ʊk éntə́ɽê**
tʊppʊ́ŋ ‘mushroom (k.o.)’	**t**	**tʊppʊŋ éntí**	**tʊppʊŋ éntərík**	**tʊppʊŋ éntə́ɽê**
cɔpɔ̂k ‘arrow’	**c**	**cɔpɔ́k éncí**	**cɔpɔ́k ɛncərík**	**cɔpɔ́k éncə́ɽê**
ka ‘body, corpse’	**k**	**ka ɛŋkí**	**ka ɛŋkərík**	**ka ɛŋkəɽê**
maṯ̪tak ‘calabashes (k.o.)’	**m**	**maṯ̪tak ɛmmí**	**maṯ̪tak ɛmmərík**	**maṯ̪tak ɛmməɽê**

naa̱tám 'books'	**n**	**naa̱tam énní**	**naa̱tam énnərík**	**naa̱tam énnə́ɽê**
ɲəa̱̱tarı 'monkeys (sp.)'	**ɲ**	**ɲəa̱̱tarı ɛɲɲí**	**ɲəa̱̱tarı ɛɲɲərík**	**ɲəa̱̱tarı ɛɲɲəɽê**
ŋaa̱̱ɔkkôl 'calabash (k.o.)'	**ŋ**	**ŋaa̱̱ɔkkól éŋŋí**	**ŋaa̱̱ɔkkól ɛŋŋərík**	**ŋaa̱̱ɔkkól éŋŋə́ɽê**
lŏk 'dogs'	**l**	**lʊk éllí**	**lʊk éllərík**	**lʊk éllə́ɽê**
ʊkʊl 'child'	**w**	**ʊkʊl ɛnní**	**ʊkʊl ɛnnərík**	**ʊkʊl ɛnnəɽê**

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):

ɲəa̱̱tar.ɛɲɲí (< **ɲəa̱̱tarı ɛɲɲí**) 'these monkeys (sp.)'
pap.ɛmpí (< **papʊ ɛmpí**) 'this thing'
pır.ɛmpí (< **pıra ɛmpí**) 'this tree'
ka ɛŋkí '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, **ɔ-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-ɔ**-í** 'near the speaker':

ʈʊk	**ɛn-ʈ-ɪ**	**ʈ-ɔpərɔ̂t**
dog	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-good

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

k-kw-érɛ́né.t	**kín**	**lɔ́n**	**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-ɔpərɪ	**ŋ-kw-a.kkɔt**	**ŋín-ʈa**
can:DEPINCOMPL-say:DEPINCOMPL	2-C-do:INCOMPL	what-QW

ɔ-ʊŋ	**ém-p-í**	**p-ɔ́ʈʈê**	**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)

ɛn-C-ərík ‘near the addressee’:

ɪkkéʈ-ín	**áɽəpʊ**	**ɛn-n-ərɪk**	**áppɪk**
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-káɽən	**ɛŋ-k-ərík**	**ɪ-k-a**	**áləpaccúʈ**	**w-ɔŋɔʈ.é**	**ɪttɪ**
CONJ-place	DEM-C-NEARADDR	RES-C-COP	jackal	C-like:COMPL	that

w-á.ʈəkkarɛt	**kɟ́n**	**nán …**
C-make_move_aside:INCOMPL	O3A	on:ABS

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

ɛn-C-**əɽê** ‘away from both speaker and addressee’ (distal):

ámmá	**ŋ-kw-ɔ́nó́**	**nə́ɽɛ́**	**n-a-ák**
if	2-C-have	fear	on-PERS-3

á-ɛ̃	**ɪ-cʊɽɛ́**	**c-ɔ́-pírá**	**ɛ́m-p-əɽɛ́**	**cənɛ́kɛt**
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**	**ɛ́n-n-əɽɛ́**	**w-ɔ-rɪ-pɪrá**	**w-aa.t**	**ɪ-ərịk**	**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 **lɔn** ‘words, matters’. For reference to a situation also **p**-concord can be used, agreeing with implicit **papʊ** ‘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.

ɛm-p-ɪ	**p-în**	**ana**	**ɛ́m-p-í**	**p-áŋ**
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 **pərrɔk** ‘chair’)

p-ɛm-p-ɪ	**p-în**	**ana**	**p-ém-p-í**	**p-áŋ**
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 **pərrɔk** ‘chair’, the second, for example, to **pʊrrʊt** ‘picture’).

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

kʊrrɛt	**éŋ-k-í**	**k-ánn-ʊŋkɔ**	**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.kaṯ-ɔ́k	**ɪttɪ**	**á-a**	**ɛŋ-k-əʏê**
CONJ-3-again:DEPINCOMPL-tell:DEPPRFV-O3	that	no-REDUP	DEM-C-DIST

ɪṯ̈ṯ̈ɪn-ɪn	**éŋ-k-əʏé**	**í-k-ɔ́ʏɛ**
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 *kicɛ*-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, **ɛnní** ‘this one’ agrees with **ʊkʊl** ‘child’:

ɛn-n-ɪ	**ákk-ɔkwɔntá.t**	**tɔ́.kíʈ**
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 **cɛkɛrɛk** ‘price’. The price is indeed that price, not a different one:

i̱i̱	**ɪ-c-én**	**éɲ-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:

ɔ́t̪-t̪a	**ɛm-p-ərɪk**	**nɔ-pɪrâ**
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 **pɛmpí** implicitly agrees with the **papʊ** 'thing', which refers to the situation that was just described:

ɔ-llé	**p-ɪn**	**p-ɔt̪i̱ɔt̪-ín**	**t̪əpút**	**ana**
PERS-husband	C-POSS1	C-send:COMPL-O1	outside	and

ŋ-kw-a.t̪-ɔkkɔt	**ŋɪn**	**ákka**[56]	**p-ém-p-í**	**í-p-ɔ́kɪt̪ak**
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 **lɔn** 'words, matters':

l-ɛl-l-ɪ	**ámm.akka**	**l-érét̪-ɔ́k**	**l-ɔ́kít̪ak**
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', **pɛmpəʈ̪ê** refers to **pʊl pɔnɔppə́t** 'the person of Nɔppət', who is under the tree. The bird and the tortoise are together up in a tree, where they are collecting honey. The person of Nɔppət 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-ə̋ɽé**	**áǘn**	**w-ɔ́-în**
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 **papʊ** 'thing'. 'This (thing) from which I write' refers to a laptop from which the speaker sends e-mails or other messages:

m-p-ɔná.t	**p-ém-p-í**	**í-p-á**	**n-ɔ̂kʊrrɔ**	**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 **kaɽʊk** 'goatskin bag'.

maɪt	**m-a.ɪk**	**ɪ-ɛŋ-k-í-ɪ**
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:

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

the groundnuts are in this one

appɛn̪tína	**w-á.ík**	**í-éŋ́-k-ə́rík**	**/ appɛn̪tína**	**w-á.ík**	**í-éŋ-k-ərɪk**
groundnuts	C-be:PR	in-DEM-C-NEARADDR	groundnuts	C-be:PR	in-DEM-C-NEARADDR

the groundnuts are in that one (near you)

appɛn̪tína	**w-á.ík**	**í-éŋ́-k-ə̋ɽê**	**/ appɛn̪tína**	**w-á.ík**	**í-éŋ-k-əɽɛ**
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-**ɛn**

8.2.1. Tonal properties

When the demonstrative pronominal base **ɛn** 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-**ɛn**) an anaphoric demonstrative, though the demonstrative base **ɛn** is not intrinsically anaphoric. C-**ɛn** has a low tone and is tonally regular in prepausal position:

pʊl	'person'	**pʊl pɛn**	'that person'
ṭŭk	'dog'	**ṭʊk ṭɛ̂n**	'that dog'
tʊppʊ́ŋ	'mushroom (k.o.)'	**tʊppʊŋ tɛ̂n**	'that mushroom (k.o.)'
cɔpɔ̂k	'arrow'	**cɔpɔ́k cɛn**	'that arrow'

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

kálám	**k-ɔ́kíṭak**	**ana**	**ɪ-k-ɛ̂n**	**k-ɪn**
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-**ɛɛná** 'such, like this/that'.

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

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

caɣɪ	**c-én**	**a-kəllán**	**k-əɣɛk**	**k-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**
day	C-DEM	CONJ-old_woman	C-some	C-be:COMPL	VREF

a-k-ɔ́kən̪accé-k	**n.tɪ**	**ɪ-ɔɣê̞n**
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. **lɔn lɛn appɪk** ‘all those words’ refers to what the shepherds have heard from the angels and have come to tell:

ana.rrúk	**ɔ-mérɪɔm**	**p-ɔccɔ.kán̪ɛ**	**lɔn**	**l-ɛn**	**appɪk**	**nɔ-cịkịt**	**c-ú̱ŋ**
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-**ɛn** used independently

C-**ɛn** 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-**ɛn** shows that the initial consonant of independent C-**ɛn** is a concord, not a pronominal proclitic.

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

ŋín-n̪a	**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 **pʊl** ‘person’, agreement is not with **ɔ́n̪n̪a** ‘who’:

ɔ́n̪-n̪a	**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-**ɛn** preceded by the restrictor **í-**

C-ɛn can be preceded by the restrictor **í-** (which will be discussed in chapter 9). **ɪ-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 (**ɪ-w-ên** > **ɪ-ên**), agrees with **aɣəpʊ** 'things'; in the second, **ɪrên** refers to a pig (**tuṯṯəruk**) that has been causing damage before, and that has come again; in the third, **k** refers to the Holy Spirit (**kənáŋ ɪ-k-ûpʊɣé**).

aɣəpʊ	**w-ɔ-páppá**	**áppík**	**í-ên**	**w-ɪn**
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-ɔ́córá**	**ɔ́ṯí.at**	**ɪttɪ**	**ɪ-r-én**	**t-ɔ́-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	**ɪ-k-ên**	**ɪ-k-a**	**ɔ-rʊn**	**ṯ-ɪmmá.t**	**ɪnénní**	**ana**	**ɔccíkɔt**
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)

ɪ-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 **ɪ-C-ên akka** makes the focus stronger.

pəṯɔk	**ɪ-p-a**	**ól**	**í-únɔ**	**w-əɣá.t**
stone	RES-C-COP	people	RES-(C-)build:INCOMPL	C-refuse:COMPL

ɪ-p-ên	**akk-ɔṯəkká.t**	**cɪllaŋ**
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 **ɪ-C-ên akk(a) and** a transitive verb follow here. In the first, **k** of **ɪkên** agrees with **kəɣan** 'name'. Note in the second that the subject comes after the verb.

ɔ-nɔn	**n̪-ɔmma**	**ɪ-k-ê̞n**	**akka**	**m-p-a.ɪk**	**p-é̞rɛnɛ**
PERS-2A	C-not_know:INCOMPL	RES-C-DEM	that	1-C-be:PR	C-talk_to:INCOMPL

nɔn	**lɔ́n**	**l-ɛn**
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)

n̪ʊʈít	**ɪ-n̪-ê̞n**	**akk-ɔnó**	**púl**	**í-p-ɔ́ɲi̱**	**cənɛ**	**nɔ́-capó**
food	RES-C-DEM	FOC-have	person	RES-C-black	here	on-ground

food is what a human being needs here on earth

ɪlê̞n akka +H is a fixed expression for 'that's why'. The concord **l-** agrees with the implicit noun **lɔn** 'words, matters':

ɪ-l-ê̞n	**akka**	**a-n-é̞rɛntɛn-ʊŋ**	**áppɪn-appɪn**
RES-C-DEM	that	CONJ-1-speak_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL-O2	always-REDUP

that's why I always talk to you

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

ɪ-p-ê̞n
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-**ɛɛná** 'such, like this/that'

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

á-púl	**í-p-ɛ́ɛ́ná**	**ɔ́kárənn-ɔmɛ**[57]	**ɪttɨ̌ …**
SUBJ-person	RES-C-such	NEG:DEP-say:DEPINCOMPL	that

let such a person not say that …

pʊl	**ɛm-p-ɪ**	**p-ɛ́ɛ́ná**	**ana**	**ɛ́m-p-í**	**p-ɛ́ɛ́ná**
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 **ɔmɛ̂** ‘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:

pʊl **p-ɔparí**
person C-female

the person is female

pʊl **ɪ-p-ɔ́parí**
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 **ᴄ-ɔɲḭ̂** 'black', C-**ɔttɛ̂** (or C-**ɔẗ̪ẗ̪ɛ̂**) 'small, little, young', C-**ərḭ̂k** 'big, important' and C-**ɔkíṭak** 'bad'. The restrictor brings a high tone to their initial mora replacing their own tone pattern, as, for example in **pʊl ɪ-p-ərḭ̂k** '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:

kərɛt	**ɪ-k-ɟpɛ**	**k-á.ík**	**cə́nɛ́**
cloth	RES-C-old	C-be:PR	here

the old cloth is here

ṭʊk	**ɪ-ṭ-ʊkkwá.t**	**ṭ-á.ík**	**cə́nɛ́**
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.

cʊrâŋ ‘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-ɔ́ṭúkw.áṭɛ́	**cʊ́ɽáŋ**	**n.tɪ**	**ɪ-wɛ́t**
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-ɔ́ṭúkw.áṭɛ́	**cʊ́ɽáŋ**	**í-c-ɔ́ɲį**	**n.tɪ**	**ɪ-wɛ́t**
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 (**ɪcɔ́ɲį** ‘black’) gives a definite reading to the noun (**cʊrâŋ** ‘stick’), identifying it as the black one among other sticks:

k-kw-ɔ́ṯúkw.áṯé	**cúʏáŋ**	**n.tɪ**	**ɪ-wɛt**	**ɪ-c-ɔ́ɲị́**
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 (**cɔʏɛ̌** 'red'). Providing some information about the necklace (**cuccû**), 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-ákɔ́.t	**cúccú**	**ɪ-cələ́k**	**c-ɔʏɛ̌**
3-C-wear:COMPL	bead	in-neck	C-red

she has put a red necklace around her neck

***k-kw-ákɔ́.t**	**cúccú**	**c-ɔʏɛ**	**ɪ-cələ́k**
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.ɪk	**p-a.ṯ-ɛ́rɛt**	**áləpaccúṯ**
1-C-be:PR	C-IT:INCOMPL-speak_about:DEPINCOMPL	jackal

w-ɔná.t	**mərɛ**
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.ɪk	**p-a.ṯ-ɛ́rɛt**	**áləpaccúṯ**
1-C-be:PR	C-IT:INCOMPL-speak_about:DEPINCOMPL	jackal

ɪ-ɔná.t	**mərɛ**
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 **cʊrâŋ** ‘stick’:

ɛt̪-ɪn **ɪ-c-ɔ́ɲi̱**
give:IMP-O1 RES-C-black
give me the black one!

The earlier given example with **ɪcɔ́ɲi̱** 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**. **ɪ-C-ên** ‘the one’ was discussed in chapter 8.2.4.

The restrictor furthermore forms a fixed combination with **ɔ́kkwí**, giving **ɔ́kkwí 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:

pʊl **p-ɪttîk**
person C-big

the person is big

pʊl **p-ɔká.t** **p-ɟmmɟn**
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 **ɔkâ** 'be' or **ɔt̪ákka** '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:

ŋəɽɪ **ŋ-aa.t** **ŋ-ɔttê**
water C-come:COMPL C-little

a little water has come (the water came little)

ʊl **w-ɪllé.t** **w-ɔppɔ́t**
people C-die.PLUR:COMPL C-many

many people have died (the people have died many)

m-p-ịcáṭ.ɛ **p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
1-C-lie_down:COMPL C-good

I slept well

a-kw-ímma.kat **pápəɽɛk** **ɪ-kaṭər** **p-ɔṭɛrĕt**
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-aɲárɔ** **p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
1-C-be:PR C-walk:INCOMPL C-good

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

ɔ-kakká **p-á.ík** **p-ɛ́rɛ** **p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
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 **ŋuɽû** ‘asida’ is explicitly mentioned. ‘Good’ can only modify the object (second example below):

***ɔ-kakká** **p-íṭa** **p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
PERS-Kakka C-cook:INCOMPL C-good

Kakka cooks (asida) well

ɔ-kakká **p-íṭa** **ŋuɽú** **ŋ-ɔpərɔ̂t**
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-ị́cáṯɛ **lɔn** **l-ɔpərô̂t**
1-C-lie_down:COMPL words C-good

I have slept well

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

pʊl **ɪ-p-ɪttík** **p-aát**
person RES-C-big C-come:COMPL

the big person has come

kərɛt **ɪ-k-ɨ́pɛ́** **í-k-ɔ́ṯérɛ́t**
cloth RES-C-old RES-C-spotted

the old spotted cloth

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

caṯṯak **c-a.ɪk** **ɪ-c-ərɨ́k** **ana** **ɪ-c-ɔ́ṯṯɛ**
calabash(k.o.) C-be:PR RES-C-big and RES-C-little

ana.rrúk **ɪ-c-ɔ́ṯṯɛ** **c-ɔkəttáṯ.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 **í-** in order to be used independently. Nouns, on the other hand, are never preceded by the restrictor **í-**, cf.:

ɪ-c-ɔ́ṯṯɛ ‘the small one’ (for example a small **caṯṯak** ‘calabash (k.o.)’
kʊrê ‘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-**aîk** (containing the formative **cık**) that is possible between a noun and an adjective, but not between nouns. Cf.:

pʊl	**pɪɲɲît**	/	**pʊl**	**p-a**	**pɪɲɲît**
person	singer	/	person	C-be:PR	singer

the person is a singer

***pʊl**	**p-a.ık**	**pɪɲɲît**
person	C-be:PR	singer

pʊl	**p-ərĵk**	/	**pʊl**	**p-a.ık**	**p-ərĵk**
person	C-big	/	person	C-be:PR	C-big

the person is important

***pʊl**	**p-a**	**p-ərĵk**
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-lalʊ́	**p-ɔkɪɲâ.t**
PERS-Lalʊ	C-become_tired:COMPL

Lalʊ is tired

ɔ-lalʊ́	**p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
PERS-Lalʊ	C-good

Lalʊ 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-ɟmmɨn
3-C-heavy
s/he is heavy

Adjectives and verbs can both be preceded by the restrictor:

pʊl ɪ-p-ə́rɨ̰k p-aát
person RES-C-big C-come:COMPL
the person who is important has come (i.e. the important person has come)

pʊl ɪ-p-áŋkənɛ 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 **ṯ** and adoption of the tone pattern L*.LH (see 4.6.3). Two examples:

C-**ɔpərə̂t** 'good' vs. **ṯɔpərə̌t** 'goodness'
C-**ɪpʊ́k** 'white' vs. **ṯɪpʊ̌k** '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 (**ɔkâ** 'be' or **ɔṯə́kka** 'become'). Compare the verbal and the adjectival predicate:

ɔ-lalʊ́ **p-á.kíɲa**
PERS-Lalʊ C-become_tired:INCOMPL

Lalʊ will become tired

ɔ-lalʊ́ **p-á.n̪tə́kka** **p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
PERS-Lalʊ C-be:INCOMPL C-good

Lalʊ will become good

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

kəʈi̯ttaŋ **k-ɔká.t** **k-ɔ́rrʊ̂**
knife C-be:COMPL C-blunt

the knife was blunt

tacɔ **t-ɔn̪tə́kká.t** **t-ɔppɔt** **cɔ́kɔc-cɔkɔt**
grass C-become:COMPL C-many quickly-REDUP

the weeds have quickly become abundunt

n̪takəʈʊk **n̪-ɔn̪tə́kká.kan̪ɛ** **n̪-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-**akə́nn**. The first has a verbal predicate, the second an adjectival:

ŋəpak **ŋ-akə́nn-ɔ́kkə́ttat**
beer C-NEG-be_done:DEPCOMPL

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

ŋəpak **ŋ-akə́nn-ɔ́ká** **ŋ-írrʊ́k**
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-n̪t̪án **p-á-ɪɔ́.t**
PERS-father C-IRR-die:COMPL

his/her father would have died

ɔ-n̪t̪án **p-á-aká.t** **p-ɔpərốt**
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 (Incompletive, Completive 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-**ərɨ́k** and C-**ɔttê**, C-**ɔn̪t̪ê**). This is discussed in section 10.2.6 of this chapter, as are the different plural forms of some of the dimensional adjectives. C-**ɔttê** and C-**ɔn̪t̪ê** have a dimensional interpretation ('small, little') as well as an age interpretation ('young'); their reduplicated plurals refer to small size. The plural C-**ârran** refers in the first place to young age of living creatures (people, animals, plants). There is an adjective for old age of things (C-**ɨ́pɛ**), but old age of living creatures is expressed with the Completive of the verb **ʊkkwa** (or **ʊkka**) 'become old' (C-**ʊkkwât** or C-**ʊkkât**). 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:

pʊl pɔkín̪ak ‘the person is bad’
pʊl ɪ-pɔ́kɪn̪ak ‘the bad person’

dimension, shape	*plural form*
C-**ərîn̪k** ‘big, important’ (SG)	/ C-**ɪttí-**C-**íttîk**, C-**ɪttíttîk** (PL)
C-**ɪttîk** ‘big’ (SG)	/ C-**ɪttí-**C-**íttîk**, C-**ɪttíttîk** (PL)
C-**ɔttê**, C-**ɔn̪n̪tê** ‘small, little, young’ (SG)	/ C-**ɔttɔ́-**C-**ɔ́ttê**, C-**ɔttɔ́ttê**, C-**ɔn̪n̪tɔ́-**C-**ɔ́n̪n̪tê**, C-**ɔn̪n̪tɔ́ttê**
C-**ûkwît** ‘long, tall, deep’ (SG)	/ C-**ûkwít-**C-**ûkwît** (PL)
C-**ʊn̪n̪ôt** ‘short’	
C-**ênnaŋ** ‘properly sized’	
C-**ápɛ** ‘wide’	
C-**ərʊlókkʊl** ‘round’	

age
C-**ɪé** ‘new’ (i.e. young age of things)
C-**ɔttê**, C-**ɔn̪n̪tê** ‘small, little, young’ / C-**ârran** (PL) ‘young’
C-**ín̪pɛ** ‘old’ (of things)

value
C-**ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘good’
C-**ɔkín̪ak** ‘bad’
C-**íccɪɲcɪn** ‘marvellous, superb’
C-**ərîn̪k** ‘big, important’ (SG) / C-**ɪttí-**C-**íttîk**, C-**ɪttíttîk** (PL)

colour
C-**ɔɲî** ‘black’
C-**ɪpók** ‘white’
C-**ɔrɛ̌** ‘red, ripe’
C-**ɔn̪əlɔ̂** ‘grey, yellowish’
C-**íccí** ‘green’
C-**ɔləmít** ‘light brown, towards green’
C-**arʊrɔ̌ŋ** ‘grey and brown mixed’
C-**ɔlʊrrô** ‘striped’
C-**ɔn̪ɛrɛ̌t** ‘spotted’
C-**acallɛrɔ̌** ‘spotted (with big spots)’

physical property
C-**ɟ́mmɨ̨n** ‘heavy’
C-**íppappat** ‘light, easy’[58]
C-**ıán** ‘wet’
C-**íppá** ‘hot, warm’
C-**írrúk** ‘cold’
C-**ɔnʈ̚ómat** ‘hard’
C-**ɔɲərâ** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’
C-**akárɔkkərɔ** ‘rough’
C-**ɔrɛrê** ‘rough’
C-**ɔrrú** ‘blunt’
C-**ɔrrê** ‘sharp’
C-**akírəkkır** ‘dim’
C-**ípın** ‘not well cooked’
C-**ɔʈ̚ıɔ́t** ‘tasty, sweet’
C-**ɔʈár** ‘sour’
C-**ɨ̨râ** ‘salty’
C-**ɔpû̀n** ‘bitter’
C-**ɔʈ̌ɛ̌** ‘clean, stingy’
C-**ɔŋɔ́** ‘sick’
C-**aíʈılla** ‘crippled’
C-**ɔparí** (SG)/C-**aarí** (PL) ‘female’
C-**ɔcʊra** (SG)/C-**ɔmʊra** (PL) ‘male’

spiritual property
C-**ûpʊré** ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’
C-**ɔʈ̚ûn** ‘forbidden’

speed
C-**acɔ́kɔccɔkɔt** ‘fast’
C-**akúcʊkkʊcʊk** ‘fast’

similarity
C-**ɛɛná** ‘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-**ɔpappât** (< **ɔpáppa** ‘be(come) light’).

quantification
C-**ɔppôt** ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)
C-**ərɨ́k** ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)
C-**ɔttê**, C-**ɔn̪t̪ê** ‘few, a little’ (PL or mass)
C-**əɣ̌ěk** ‘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	**ɪ-m-íttík**	**í-m-ɨ́pɛ**	**/ man**	**ɪ-m-ɨ́pɛ́**	**í-m-íttîk**
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-**ɔnn̪ɔ́mat** ‘hard’ is a clear case of development from the Completive C-**ɔnn̪ɔmât** of the verb **ɔnn̪ɔma** ‘become dry’. The Completive C-**ɔnn̪ɔmât** itself is used for the expression of the quality of being ‘dry’, as the result of the process of drying:

kərɛt **k-ɔn̪ʈɔmâ.t**
cloth C-become_dry:COMPL

the cloth has dried / the cloth is dry

ŋərɛ **ŋ-ɔn̪ʈɔ́mat**
work C-hard

the work is hard

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

pʊl **ɪ-p-ɔká.t** **p-íppappat**
person RES-C-be:COMPL C-light

a person who was light

ʊkʊl **w-ɔkkɔʈ̪.é** **ŋərɛ** **ɪppáppat**
child C-do:COMPL work lightly

the child did the work easily

pʊl **ɪ-p-ɔká.t** **p-ɔpappâ.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-**ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘good’ suggest an origin in the Completive form of a verb *__ɔpərɔ__, but this verb (irrespective of its tones) does not exist. There is, however, a verb **ɔpíra** ‘be(come) good’:

pʊl **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-**ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘good’ and **ɔpíra**, 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-**ɔkíṭ̈ak** ‘bad’ vs. **ɔkíṭ̈aka** ‘become bad’
C-**ɪpúk** ‘white’ vs. **ʊpúka** ‘become white’
C-**ʊṭ̈ṭ̈ôt** ‘short’ (SG) vs. **ɔṭ̈ṭ̈órat** ‘become short’
C-**ɟ́pɛ** ‘old’ vs. **ɟ́pa** ‘become old’ (of things)
C-**ɔʈ̌ĕ** ‘red, ripe’ vs. **ɔʈɪa** ‘become red, ripe’
C-**ɔʈ̌ĕ** ‘clean’ vs. **ɔʈɪa** ‘become clean’
C-**ɔŋɔ́** ‘sick’ vs. **ɔŋa** ‘become sick’
c-ɔppôt ‘many, a lot’ vs. **ɔppât** ‘become full’
C-**ɔɲərâ** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man) vs. **ɔɲára** ‘become smooth’
C-**ɔpôn** ‘bitter’ vs. **ɔpía** ‘become bitter’
C-**ɔrrú** ‘blunt’ vs. **ɔrrúttat** ‘become blunt’
C-**ɔrrê** ‘sharp’ vs. **ɔrréttat** ‘become sharp’
C-**ápɛ** ‘wide’ vs. **apɛkɔt cɪk** ‘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-**ɟ́pɛ** ‘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-**ɟ́pât** (< **ɟ́pa** ‘become old’), the Completive more strongly evokes a picture of showing signs of age:

míɟ́l	**ɪ-m-ɟ́pɛ**
sorghum	RES-C-old

old sorghum

míɟ́l	**ɪ-m-ɟ́pâ.t**
sorghum	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-**aíɽɪlla** 'crippled' (< C-**á** + **ɪɽɪlla** 'cripple')
C-**arʊrŏŋ** 'grey and brown' (< and C-**á** + **tʊrŏŋ** 'snake sp., with mixed grey and brown colour')
C-**akárɔkkərɔ** 'rough' (< C-**á** + **kərɔkkərɔ** 'rough spot')
C-**akírəkkɪr** 'dim' (< C-**á** + **kɪrəkkɪr** 'twilight')
C-**acallɛrŏ** 'spotted (with big spots)' (< C-**á** + (probably) **callɛ** 'ball' (final **rɔ** (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-**aîk**. Cf.:

pʊl	**p-a**	**íɽɪlla**
person	C-COP	cripple

the person is a cripple

pʊl	**p-aíɽɪlla**
person	C-crippled

the person is crippled

pʊl	**p-a.ɪk**	**p-aíɽɪlla**
person	C-be:PR	C-crippled

the person is crippled / there is a crippled person

In some, there is clear semantic specialization:

ɟmɟt	**w-arʊrŏŋ**
goat	C-grey_and_brown

the goat is grey and brown

pɪɲɪl	**p-a**	**tʊrŏŋ**
snake	C-COP	snake(sp.)

the snake is a *tʊrɔŋ*

In other adjectives the connexive C-**ɔ** 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-**ɔlʊrrô** 'striped' (< C-**ɔ** + **lʊrrʊ** 'ears of maize')
C-**ɔn̪ɛrɛ̌t** 'spotted' (< C-**ɔ** + **n̪ɛrêt** '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-**ɔn̪ɛrɛ̌t** 'spotted'. In the example below the restrictor is present, but it could also be absent (second example):

ca̱t̪̱ak	**ɪ-c-ɔn̪ɛrɛt**	**c-ɔkəttáṇ.ɛ**
calabash(k.o.)	RES-C-spotted	C-break:COMPL

the spotted calabash has broken

ca̱t̪̱ak	**c-ɔn̪ɛrɛt**	**c-ɔkəttáṇ.ɛ**
calabash(k.o.)	C-spotted	C-break:COMPL

the spotted calabash has broken

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

However, like other adjectives, C-**ɔn̪ɛrɛ̌t** 'spotted' must have the restrictor in order to be used independently:

ɪ-c-ɔt̪ɛrɛt **c-ɔkəttáṭ.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-**ɔparí** (SG)/C-**aarí** (PL) ‘female’ (< C-**ɔ** + **parí** ‘wife’/ C-**ɔ** + **arí** ‘wives’)
C-**ɔcʊra** (SG)/C-**ɔmʊra** (PL) ‘male’ (< C-**ɔ** + ***cʊra** / C-**ɔ** + ***mʊra**)

Two examples:

ṭ̪aməlá **í-ṭ̪-ɔ́parí**
camel RES-C-female.SG

a female camel

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

female camels

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

pʊl **ɪ-p-ɔ́parɪ** **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-**acɔ́kɔccɔkɔt** ‘fast’ (< C-**á** + **cɔkɔccɔkɔt** ‘quickly’)
C-**akúcukkucuk** ‘fast’ (< C-**á** + **kucukkucuk** ‘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-**ərîk** / C-**ɪttí**-C-**íttîk** or C-**ɪttí-íttîk** ‘big’
C-**ɪttîk** / C-**ɪttí**-C-**íttîk** or C-**ɪttí-íttîk** ‘big’
C-**ɔttê** / C-**ɔttɔ́**-C-**ɔ́ttê** or C-**ɔttɔ́-ɔ́ttê** ‘small’,
or: C-**ɔn̪t̪ê** / C-**ɔn̪t̪ɔ́**-C-**ɔ́n̪t̪ê** or C-**ɔn̪t̪ɔ́-ɔ́ttê** ‘small’
C-**ûkwît** / C-**ûkwít-**C-**ûkwît** ‘long, tall, deep’

Some examples follow here.

man	**ɪ-m-íttîk**
room	RES-C-big

a big room

kəmən	**ɪ-k-íttí~k-íttîk**	/	**ɪ-k-íttí~íttîk**
rooms	RES-C-PLR~C-big	/	RES-C-PLR~big

big rooms

pəɽak	**ɪ-p-íttí~p-íttîk**	/	**ɪ-p-íttí~íttîk**
group_of_people	RES-C-PLR~C-big	/	RES-C-PLR~big

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

kaɪʔí **ɟ-k-ûkwɟt**
nail RES-C-long

a long nail

kɪra **ɟ-k-ûkwɟk~k-ûkwɟt**
trees RES-C-PLR~C-long

tall trees

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

t̪-ɔkɔrrənnɔ **áíʔí** **w-ûkwɟr~ûkwɟt** **t̪-ɔ́kít̪ak**
NOM-let nails C-PLR~(C-)long C-bad

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

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

C-**ɔttê** ‘small, little, young’ and C-**ɔt̪t̪ê**, and their reduplications, are alternative forms. The form with **t̪** is used in case of **t̪**-concord (first example below), or when the preceding qualified noun contains a **t̪** in non-initial position (second example below). The forms with **t̪** 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.

t̪ún **t̪-ɔ́t̪t̪ê**
onion C-small

the onion is small

naṯa **n-ɔt̪t̪ɔ́~ɔ́t̪t̪ê**
leaves C-PLR~small

the leaves are small

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

appɛnn̪ína **w-ârran**
groundnuts C-young

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

ɲʊkʊl **ɲ-ârran**
children C-young

the children are young/small

When the children are small-sized for their age C-**ɔttɔ́-ɔ́ttɛ̂** or C-**ɔnn̪ɔ́-ɔ́nn̪ɛ̂** is used:

ɲʊkʊl **ɲ-ɔttɔ́∼ɔ́ttɛ̂**
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:

mənn̪ɔk **m-ârran**
stones C-young

the stones are small (elic.)

Interestingly, the singular forms C-**ərîk** 'big', and C-**ɔttɛ̂** and C-**ɔnn̪ɛ̂** 'small' can also be used in combination with a plural noun, but then take on quantifying instead of dimensional meaning. C-**ərík** then expresses 'many' or 'a lot'; C-**ɔttɛ̂** and C-**ɔnn̪ɛ̂** then expresses 'few':

ʊl **w-ərîk**
people C-big

the people are many

maɽɪ **m-ɔttɛ̂**
days C-small

a few days

C-**ɔttɛ̂** (C-**ɔnn̪ɛ̂**) also takes on quantifying meaning in combination with a mass noun, namely as 'a little':

ŋʊcʊl	**ŋ-ɔt̪t̪ê**
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 occuring 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-**ɔpʊ́n** ‘bitter’ vs. C-**ɔ-pʊm-pʊ́n** ‘very bitter’
C-**íccí** ‘green’ vs. C-**íccí-íccí** ‘very green’
C-**ʊt̪t̪ôt** ‘short’ vs. C-**ʊt̪t̪ʊ́**-C-**ʊ́t̪t̪ôt** or C-**ʊt̪t̪ʊ́-ʊ́t̪t̪ôt** ‘very short’
C-**ûpʊrɛ́** ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’ vs. C-**û-pʊ-pʊrɛ́** ‘very clean (in spiritual sense), holy’
C-**ɔkíṭak** ‘very bad’ vs. C-**ɔkíṭ-ɛt̪t̪-ak** ‘very bad’
C-**ɔpərɔ̂t** ‘good’ vs. C-**ɔpə́r-ət̪t̪ərɛ́** or C-**ɔp-ə́t̪t̪ərɛ́** ‘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-**ɔɲî** 'black' vs. C-**ɔɲí ɟɲɲí** or C-**ɔɲîɲɲí** 'very black'
C-**ɪpúk** 'white' vs. C-**ɪpʊk ɪppŭk** or C-**ɪpʊkɪppŭk** 'very white'
C-**ɔn̪əlô** 'grey, yellowish' vs. C-**ɔn̪əlɔ́ ɪn̪n̪ólɔ** 'very grey, yellow'

See 17.1.4 for examples of **ɟɲɲí** 'very (black)' and **ɪppŭk** 'very (white)' modifying a verb.

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

The intensified form of C-**ɔɲərâ** 'smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)' has the adverbial morpholoy of a reduplicated first stem consonant preceded by the vowel **ɪ**:

C-**ɔɲərâ** 'smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)' vs. C-**ɪɲɲərâ** 'very smooth, soft'

C-**íccɪɲcɪn** 'marvellous, superb' is a reduplicated form and has an "intense" meaning, but a non-reduplicated form is not attested.

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

C-**ɔɽɛ ɪttʊăŋ** or C-**ɔɽɛttɪăŋ** '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-**ɔɽĕ** '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-**ɔpərôt** 'good' and C-**ɔkíṯak** '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-ǒa	**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:

ŋ-kw-ɔnó	**ŋɔrɛ**
2-C-have	laziness

you are lazy

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ	**p-ɔnó**	**t̪ʊkʊŋkô̰n**
PERS-Lɔttɪ	C-have	trouble_making

Lɔttɪ is a troublemaker

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

ɔ-nɛnní	**p-ɔ́nó**	**nɔʈɛ̆**
PERS-Nɛnnɪ	C-have	stinginess

Nɛnnɪ is stingy

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

ŋ-kw-ɔnó	**míɲâ**
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 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

	Adjectival numeral	*Invariable numeral*
one	C-**ulukkû**	
two	C-**ɛɽá**	
three	C-**əɽapórʊk**	
four	C-**ɔcɔɽɪn**	
five	C-**úkúlúk**, C-**ukulúk**	**ukulúk**
six	C-**əɽâkkʊrʊk**, C-**əɽárəpʊrʊk**	
seven	C-**êɽɛ**-C-**əɽapórʊk**, C-**êɽɛɽapórʊk**, C-**ɔ́cɔɽa**-C-**əɽapórʊk**	
eight	C-**amɔ́rəmɔr**	**mɔrəmɔr**
nine	C-**ʊkʊllácɔɽɪn**, C-**úkʊllácɔɽɪn**	**ʊkʊllácɔɽɪn**
ten	C-**áttʊl**	**attʊl**

Schadeberg (1981b, p. 154) mentions "one hand" as the proto-Talodi expression for 'five'. He reconstructs the proto-Talodi nouns ***tsugwiŋ** / ***ɲugwin** 'hand / hands' and the numeral ***-VllVg** 'one', in which V stands for "some vowel". The Lumun expression for 'one hand' is **ʊkʊn 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-**əʧapórʊk** and the words for 'six', C-**əʧâ-kkʊrʊk** and C-**əʧârəpʊrʊk**, seem to be related, but it is not clear how exactly. The full form C-**éʧɛ**-C-**əʧapórʊk** 'seven', which has a repeated concord, and its shortened form C-**éʧɛʧapórʊk** are built up as C-two-two-(C-)three. An alternative way of expressing 'seven' has a repeated concord as well: C-**ɔ́cɔʧa**-C-**əʧapórʊk** (C-four-C-three).

'Four' C-**ɔcɔʧɪn** and 'eight' **mɔrəmɔr**, C-**amɔ́rəmɔr** seem related through a (unattested) plural noun from the **c**-/**m**- class pair, which occurs as a reduplicated form in 'eight'. C-**ɔcɔʧɪn** 'four' seems to contain the connexive C-**ɔ** preceding this C-initial noun. The adjectival form of 'eight' C-**amɔ́rəmɔr** contains the Present of 'be' C-**á**. C-**ʊkʊllácɔʧɪn** '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 **attʊl** 'ten' functions as a noun, since 'twenty' can be expressed as **attʊl w-ɛʧá** (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:

lịcɔk mɔ́rəmɔr	'(ca.) eight goats'
lịcɔk lamɔ́rɛmɔr	'eight goats
lịcɔk lɔkát mɔrəmɔr	'there were (ca.) eight goats'
lịcɔk lɔkát lámɔ́rəmɔr	'there were (precisely) eight goats'

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

attʊl (C-**áttʊl**) **ana ɪkkén cúlúkkû**	'eleven'
attʊl (C-**áttʊl**) **ana ɪkkén kɛɽá**	'twelve'
attʊl (C-**áttʊl**) **ana ɪkkén kəɽapárʊk**	'thirteen'

etc.

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

The word for 'twenty', **arrɪâl**, 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 **arrɪál w-ɛɽá** (lit.: two twenties).

The Lumun counting system beyond twenty is based on twenties and an additional **aləkaɪrê** 'ten' (not **attʊl** or C-**áttʊl**). The origin of **aləkaɪrê** is unknown.

arrɪál ana áləkaɪrê	'thirty' (twenty and ten)
arrɪál wɛɽá	'forty' (two twenties)
arrɪál wɛɽá ana áləkaɪrê	'fifty' (two twenties and ten)
arrɪál wəɽapárʊk	'sixty' (three twenties), etc.

kaṯór 'road' (plural: **aṯór** '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:

ccúlukkû ‘1’, **mmêʈá** ‘2’, **mmáʈapárʊk** ‘3’, **mmɔ́cɔʈɪn** ‘4’, **mmúkulúk** ‘5’, **mmáʈâkkʊrʊk**, **mmáʈârəpʊrʊk** ‘6’, **mmêʈéməʈapárʊk**, **mmêʈéʈapárʊk**, **mmɔ́cɔʈaməʈapárʊk** ‘7’, **mmámərəmər** ‘8’, **mmúkʊllácɔʈɪn** ‘9’, **mmáttʊl** ‘10’, **mmáttʊl ana ɪkkén cúlúkkû** ‘11’, **mmáttʊl ana ɪkkén kɛʈá** ‘12’, …, **arrɪâl** ‘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 **ɲʊkʊl** ‘children’. In the second and third clause, the instances of ‘three’ consist of pronominal **ɲ-** (+ H-tone), referring to **ɲʊkʊl** ‘children’, and the concord **ɲ**.

k-kw-ɔ́nʊ	**ɲʊkʊl**	**ɲ-əʈapúrʊk**
3-C-have	children	C-three

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

ɨ̱ɨ̱	**ɲ-əʈapúrʊk**	**tullúk**
yes	PRO.C-three	only

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

Adjectival numerals are generally used without the restrictor:

ṯáʈú	**ṯ-ɔ́nú**	**aṯər**	**w-əʈapúrʊk**	**ɪ-íttí~íttík**
Ṯaʈʊ	C-have	roads	C-three	RES-(C-)PLR~big

Ṯaʈʊ has three big roads

ɛṯ-ɪn	**máṯṯák**	**m-áttʊl**
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:

ɛn̪-ɪn	**mán̪t̪ák**	**í-m-áttʊl**
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:

ɛn̪-ɪn	**mán̪t̪ak**	**attʊl**
give:IMP-O1	calabashes(k.o.)	ten

give me (ca.) ten bowls

***ɛn̪-ɪn**	**mán̪t̪ák**	**í-áttʊl**
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-**aîk**, 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-**aîk** but the copula C-**á** would be used.

man̪t̪ak	**m-a.ɪk**	**m-áttʊl**
calabashes(k.o.)	C-be:PR	C-ten

there are ten bowls

man̪t̪ak	**m-a.ík**	**attʊl**
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-**aîk**, preceded by the restrictor:

ɛn̪-ɪn	**mán̪t̪ak**	**ɪ-m-a.ík**	**attʊl**
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 (**mɛ̂n**) and the verbal complex. The example has a concordial numeral, but an invariable numeral would be possible as well:

ɔ-kʊkkʊ́	**p-á.ík**	**p-á.cɔ́t**	**mɛ́n**	**nɔ-kwəʅɛ**	**m-ɔ́cɔʅɪn**
PERS-Kʊkkʊ	C-be:PR	C-string_at:INCOMPL	palm_fruits	on-pointed_stick	C-four

Kʊkkʊ is stringing four palm fruits on a stick

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

cɻŋkɻ	**c-əʅapórʊk**
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 **kaʊn** 'bee, honeycomb'.

n-ánt-ɔrrɛn-ɪn	**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-**ʊt**, **át**-C-**ʊ́t** and numeral

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

at-C-**ʊt**-C-NUMERAL, **át**-C-**ʊ́t**-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-**ʊt** and **át-**C-**ʊ́t**, in the latter case there is tone bridge unto the high tone on the numeral:

ɲʊkʊl aŋɲʊɲ-ɲɛʈá, **ɲʊkʊl áŋɲʊ́ɲ-ɲéʈá**	‘both children’
ɲʊkʊl aŋɲʊɲ-ɲɛʈapórʊk, **áŋɲʊ́ɲ-ɲéʈápórʊk**	‘all three’
ɲʊkʊl aŋɲʊɲ-ɲɔ́cɔʈɪn, **áŋɲʊ́ɲ-ɲɔ́cɔʈɪn**	‘all four’
ɲʊkʊl aŋɲʊɲ-ɲukulúk, **áŋɲʊ́ɲ-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 **lɔʈák** ‘ropes’ have a final high tone, **nʊ̂ʊ̂n** ‘digging tools (k.o.)’ a final falling tone.

kamar ák-k-ʊ́k-k-éʈá	‘both *pamar*-trees’
kamar ák-k-éʈá	‘both *pamar*-trees’

lɔʈək ál-l-ʊ́l-l-úkúlúk	‘all five ropes’
lɔʈək ál-l-úkúlúk	‘all five ropes’

nʊʊ́n án-n-ʊ́n-n-ɔ́cɔʈɪn	‘all four *tʊʊn*-digging tools’
nʊʊ́n án-n-ɔ́cɔʈɪn	‘all four *tʊʊn*-digging tools’

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

aʈəpʊ á-ʊ́r-éʈá ‘both things’	<	**át-w-ʊ́t-w-éʈá**	(not expected)
aʈəpʊ ár-éʈá ‘both things’	<	**át-w-éʈá**	(expected)
aʈəpʊ á-ʊ́-éʈá ‘both things’	<	**át-w-éʈá**	(not expected)

aʈəpʊ a-ʊr-əʈapórʊk ‘all three things’	<	**a-ʊr-əʈapórʊk**	(not expected)
aʈəpʊ ar-əʈapórʊk ‘all three things’	<	**ar-əʈapórʊk**	(expected)
aʈəpʊ a-ʊ-əʈapórʊk ‘all three things’	<	**a-ʊ-əʈapórʊk**	(not expected)

This raises some doubt whether the underlying form should indeed be analysed as **at**-C-**ʊt**, and not rather as **a**-C-C-**ʊt**. 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-**ʊt**-C-NUMERAL (**át**-C-**ʊ́t**-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.

ɲʊkʊl	**áɲ-ɲ-úɲ-ɲ-éɽá**	(< **át-ɲ-út-ɲéɽá**)
children	ASS-C-ASS-C-two	

both children (all two children)

ɔ-kín	**án̪-n̪-ún̪-n̪-énd̪á**
PERS-3A	ASS-C-ASS-C-two

both of them

at-C-**ʊt**-C-NUMERAL (**át**-C-**ʊ́t**-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-ɪɔn̪.é	**kín**	**án̪-n̪-ún̪-n̪-énd̪á**
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-**ʊt**-C-NUMERAL, **át**-C-**ʊ́t**-C-NUMERAL can be used in a comitative construction comparable to the one described in chapter 6.7. In that construction the associative marker **atʈʊt** (or **átʈʊ́t**) expresses that one person is added in order to get the final group, **atʈʊŋɔ̂n** (**or átʈʊ́ŋɔ̂n**) that more persons are added. In constructions with **at**-C-**ʊt**-C-NUMERAL (**át**-C-**ʊ́t**-C-NUMERAL) the numeral does not express the

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

ɔpakkɔt̪.ɛ	**tʊan**	**ɔn-át̪-t̪-ɛ́ʈá**
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)

kərənnɔ-n	**ɪr-ɛ̃ɔ̃**	**ɪr-át̪-t̪-ɛ́ʈá**
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-lɔ́t**	**p-ɔɪŋ.kát̪ɛ**	**ɔ-kín**	**át̪-t̪-ɛ́ʈá**
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-kɻ́t**	‘first’	lit.: ‘of up on eyes’
C-**ɔ-nɔ-t̪ôn**	‘first’	lit.: ‘of on mouth’
C-**ɔ-nɔ-môn**	‘first’	lit.: ‘of on ?’

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

caʈı cɔ́rɔ́kɻ́t, caʈı cɔ́nɔ́t̪ôn, caʈı cɔ́nɔ́môn '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-ɔ́ka.kat	**maʧı**	**ı-m-ɛʧá**
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)

ámmá	**ánɔ́k**	**w-aa.t**	**w-ɔ́cɔ́ʧín …**
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-**ɔppô̱t** 'many'
C-**ərî̱k** 'many, a lot of'
C-**ɔttê** / C-**ɔ̱ṯṯê** '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).

appık 'all, whole'
attɛl 'many'

Two examples follow with **appık** 'all, whole':

ɲʊkʊ̀l	**appık**	**ɲ-ɛ̂.t**
children	all	C-go:COMPL

all children have left

a-kuṭu	**ɔll.at**	**n-nɔ**	**ká**	**appık**
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.ık**	**p-əllék**
pen	C-POSS2	C-be:PR	C-alone

your pen is different

álam	**w-aŋ**	**w-a.ık**	**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 **ɔ́**- and the **ṭ**-concord of nouns that are marked with the associative plural marker **-ŋɔ̂n** (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:

cʊmpúraŋ	**c-ulluk**	**ákk-ɔká.t**	**ɪ.ccík**	**k-ɔ-măn**
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 **ă-** could be used; the verb will then be a dependent perfective.

ana	**ól**	**w-əruk**	**w-ɛlla.kátɛ**	**pəɽɪn**
and	people	C-only	C-be_absent:PST	finally

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

k-kw-ɔ̰t̰ḭ.á̰tɛ	**t̰urumpḭl**	**n-tán**	**a-t̰-ɔ́nɛk.at**	**áɽʊk**
3-C-send:PST	car	with-up_on:ABS	CONJ-PRO-take:DEPPRFV	bags

ana	**ól**	**w-əruk**	**ɔíŋkat**	**n-tacɔ́k**
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-**əɽĕk** 'some, other'

C-**əɽĕk** 'some, other' is used for the expression of an unspecified time, place or person ('some time', 'somewhere', 'somebody')

ɔ-nį̣n	**ákk-áŋwɔt**	**kamʊ̱tɛ**	**k-árrʊ́**
PERS-1A	FOC-guard:INCOMPL	celebration	C-of.Lumun_people

akka	**a-k-úrat**	**cɪk**	**t̪úpʊt**	**t̪-əɽɛk**
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.ɪk	**p-a.ɛ̃ɔ̃**	**nɔ-kaɽə́n**	**k-əɽɛk**
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	on-place	C-some

I am going somewhere

li̱cɔk	**l-a.ɽə́kɪnɛ**	**pʊ́l**	**p-əɽɛk**	**mî̱l**
goats	C-eat_for:INCOMPL	person	C-some	sorghum

the goats will eat somebody's sorghum

In combination with **papʊ** 'thing', generally shortened to **papʊɽɛk** or **papəɽɛk**, it expresses an unspecified thing ('something') or animal:

paʊn	**p-ănn-ɔɽəkɔ**	**pap.əɽɛk**
rat	C-NEG-eat:DEPCOMPL	something

the rat did not eat anything

C-**əɽɛ̆k** 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-**əɽɛ̆k**:

caɽɪ	**c-əɽɛk**	**c-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**	**a-pu̱tú̱ŋ**	**p-a̱t̪̱-ɪɔt**
time	C-some	C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-marten(?)	C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL

ŋərrɔ́ŋ	**á-ŋ-ŋ-á.ík**	**áppʊ̱ta**[59]	**nɔ́ɽá**	**w-ɔ́-pɪra**
squirrel	CONJ-PRO-C-be:PR	(CONJ-PRO-)play:DEPINCOMPL	on_top	C-of-tree

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

[59] underlyingly the verb is: **a-ŋ-ŋ-á-ɪk a-ŋ-áppʊ̱ta**

[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-**əʈĕk** ‘some, other’ can be used for the introduction of a new character, as in the next example:

caʈɪ	**c-én**	**a-kəllán**	**k-əʈɛk**	**k-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**
day	C-DEM	CONJ-old_woman	C-some	C-be:COMPL	VREF

a-k-ɔ́kə̱ʈaccé-k	**n.tɪ**	**ɪ-ɔʈên**
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-**əʈĕk** 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**)**əʈĕk** (agreeing with **ʊl** ‘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-əʈɛk	**w-a.ík**	**kərɛn**	**ɪ-ʊkʊllácɔʈɪn**
PROBS-(C-)some	C-be:PR	where	RES-(C-)nine

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

In the example below, C-**əʈĕk** 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’).

arrɪɛ̱t.ɛ	**wɛk**	**w-əʈɛk**	**cɪc-cénəkɛt**	**ána**	**w-əʈɛk**	**cɪc-cénəkɛt**
make_cross:IMP	leg	C-some	LOC-there_not_far	and	C-some	LOC-there_not_far

put one foot just there and the other one just there! (fr. written story)

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

ʊl	**w-əʈɛk**	**w-ɔnʊ́**	**ɔ-pʊrʊkɔ́-n**	**ʈ̱-ɔppɔ́t**
people	C-some	C-have	PERS-friend-PL	C-many

á-əʈɛk	**w-ɔnʊ́**	**ɔ-pʊrʊkɔ́-n**	**ʈ̱-ɔttê**
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:

[ṯʊk	**ṯ-ín**	**én-ṯ-í**	**í-ṯ-ɔ́kɪṯak]**$_{NP}$	**t-ɔkəʧɔ.t**	**ɔ́kʊl**
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:

[ṯakəʧʊk	**ɪ-ṯ-ɔ́ṯṯé**	**í-ṯ-ɔ́ʧɛ]**$_{NP}$	**ṯ-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 **ɲânrran** 'young' comes after the verbal predicate, in apposition to **ɲʊkʊl** 'children'. In the second example it is positioned within the noun phrase. In both cases, the invariable quantifier **appɪk** 'all' is positioned outside the noun phrase.

ɲʊkʊl	**ɲ-ɔnɔ́**	**ɪttɪ**	**ɲ-á.ŋʊtta**	**ɪ-ɲ-ârran**	**appɪk**
children	C-have	that	PRO.C-be_killed.PLUR:INCOMPL	RES-C-young	all

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

ɲʊkʊl	**ɪ-ɲ-árrán**	**ɲ-ɔ́nɔ́**	**ɪttɪ**	**ɲ-á.ŋʊtta**	**áppɪk**
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-áppɔ	**ákkakat**	**w-ɔ́mʊra**[61]	**ana**	**ɪ-áarɪ**	**n-ɔt̪án**
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-əʈɛk	**w-a.ík**	**kərɛn**	**ɪ-ʊkʊllácɔʈɪn**
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)
ɪ-C-*verb* (restrictive)

The verb in a subject relative construction can be an Incompletive, a Completive, 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:

pʊl ɪ-p-aɛ̰̃	'the person who will go'
pʊl ɪ-p-ɔkát cənɛ́	'the person who was here'
pʊl ɪ-p-aṯ-ɔʈəkɔ̂	'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 **ɔkîn** 'they' is modified; in the second **ɔkakkâ** 'Kakka'; in the third a **maʈɪ̌** 'days'.

ámmá	**ɔ́-kín**	**í-ṯ-á.pɔ́kɔ**	**ṯ-ɔppɔ́ṯ.ɛ**	**ɲacɔk**	**ɪ-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)

ŋ-kw-ɪɔṯ.é	**ɔ-kakká**[62]	**í-p-ɛ́rɛ**	**íŋkəlísɪ**
2-C-find:COMPL	PERS-Kakka	RES-C-speak:INCOMPL	English

did you meet the Kakka who speaks English?

ɔ-kʊkkʊ́	**p-aa.t**	**maʈɪ**	**m-ɛʈa**	**ɪ-m-ɛ̰̂.t**
PERS-Kʊkkʊ	C-come:COMPL	days	C-two	RES-C-go:COMPL

Kʊkkʊ 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.

pʊl	**ɪ-p-a**	**páʈəʈ̪an**
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:

ɲʊkʊl	**ɛɲ-ɲ-ɪ**	**ɪ-ɲ-árrán**	**í-ɲ-á.ík**	**ɲ-áppʊʈ̪a**
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 **nılı** 'leaders', the second of **ʊl** 'people', which functions as object in the first relative clause. Postposition of the relative clauses makes the sentence easier to follow:

a-nılí	**n-ɔ́-mʊ́ʈ̪ʈ̪ʊ́**	**ɪat**	**kín**
CONJ-leaders	C-of-Arabs	find:DEPPRFV	O3A

[í-n-álıkınɛ	**ʊ́l**	**cık**	**ɪ-aʈ̪ər]**
RES-C-stop:INCOMPL	people	VREF	in-roads

[ɪ-úra	**ɔkʊ́ʈɔt**	**tɔ́rrʊ̂]**
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 Tɔrrʊ̂ (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-**ɛn**) with the restrictor, a verb phrase with the restrictor can function independently. In the example below, the relative clause **ɪpɛlıkkákɔt** 'who was released' modifies the unexpressed object **pʊl** 'the person' of the matrix clause

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

k-kw-é-ɛlɪkk.ą́ɛ́ pól ém-p-í a-kw-ɔ́kərənnɔ ɪ-p-ɛlɪkkákɔ.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-ɔ́cʊrɔ́ṭ.ɛ ɪ-pól p-ɔccɔ́.t kəɣan ɪttɪ ɔ-ṭʊṭ̈ṭ̈ô
3-C-come_across:COMPL in-person C-receive:COMPL name that PERS-Ṭʊṭ̈ṭ̈ʊ

s/he came across a person called Ṭʊṭ̈ṭ̈ʊ

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-ɔcʊmɔ.t máɪt m-untą́ṭ.ɛ nɔ-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-ɔcʊmɔ.t máɪt ɪ-m-untą́ṭ.ɛ nɔ-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-n̪ɔ́-mɪɽuk**	**p-áṯṯ-ɔ́ŋáɛ̃ɔ̃**
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)
ɪ-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:

pʊl	**ɪ-p-a.ɽəkɔ**	**n̪ʊɽît**
person	RES-C-eat:INCOMPL	food

the person who eats the food

n̪ʊɽít	**í-n̪-á**	**pʊ́l**	**ɔ́ɽə́kɔ̂**
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 **ɔ́**-, 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).

aʈəpʊ ɪa ɔcaŋ ɔʈəkɔ̂ 'things which the lizards(sp.) eat'
aʈəpʊ ɪa-kʊmáŋ ɔ́ʈákɔ̂ (<**ɪa ɔkʊmâŋ**) 'things which Kʊmaŋ eats'
aʈəpʊ ɪa ŋərrɔ́ŋ ɔ́ʈákɔ̂ '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 Incompletive 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 Incompletive

	with full pronoun	*with clitic pronoun*
things which I eat		**aʈəpʊ ɪa n-ɔʈəkɔ̂**
things which you eat		**aʈəpʊ ɪaʈəkɔ̂** (**ɪa ŋ-ɔʈəkɔ̂** > **ɪa ɔʈəkɔ̂** > **ɪaʈəkɔ̂**)
things which s/he eats		**aʈəpʊ ɪa kw-ɔ́ʈəkɔ**

things which we (12) eat	**aʈəpʊ ɪarɪt ɔʈəkɔ̂** (< **ɪa ɔrɪ̌t**)	**aʈəpʊ ɪa ɪr-ɔʈəkɔ̂**
things which we (1A) eat	**aʈəpʊ ɪanin̨ ɔʈəkɔ̂** (< **ɪa ɔnɪ́n̨**)	**aʈəpʊ ɪa i̧n-ɔʈəkɔ̂**
things which we (12A) eat	**aʈəpʊ ɪarʊn ɔʈəkɔ̂** (< **ɪa ɔrʊ́n**) **aʈəpʊ ɪarɔn ɔʈəkɔ̂** (< **ɪa ɔrɔ́n**)	**aʈəpʊ ɪa ʊn-ɔʈəkɔ̂**
things which you (PL) eat	**aʈəpʊ ɪanɔn ɔʈəkɔ̂** (< **ɪa ɔnɔ́n**)	**aʈəpʊ ɪa-nn-ɔʈəkɔ̂**
things which they eat	**aʈəpʊ ɪakín ɔ́ʈəkɔ̂** (< **ɪa ɔkîn**)	

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, **lɔn** 'words' functions as object in the relative clause, in the second, **ʊrrêt** 'lines'.

m-p-ɛllá.t	**lɔn**	**nɔ-cį̨kį̨t**	**ɪ-l-a**	**n-ɔkʊ́ccɛt**	**caʈɪ**	**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-ɔ́n̰-ʊ́mmɔ	**ŋaak**	**á-kw-ɔ́n̰ɔ́t**
… SUBJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL	oil	SUBJ-3-rub_at:DEPINCOMPL

í-ʊ́rrɛ́t	**ên-n-ərɪk**	**ɪ-a**	**k-kw-ɔ́kʊrrɔ.t**	**ŋ-kʊrĭn**
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-ɔcʊrárɔt̪.ɛ	**ɪ-ól**	**én-n-í**	**t̪ɔ́ɽî**
1-C-come_across_each_other:COMPL	in-people	DEM-C-NEARSP	T̪ɔɽî

I met with these people in T̪ɔɽî

ʊl	**ɪ-a**	**m-p-ɔcʊrárɔ́t̪.é**	**tít**	**t̪ɔ́ɽî**
people	RES-(C-)COP	1-C-come_across_each_other:COMPL	in:ABS	T̪ɔɽî

the people with whom I met in T̪ɔɽî

m-p-i̧cát̪.ɛ	**na-aɽaŋkal**	**én-n-í**	**méccín**
1-C-lie_down:COMPL	on-bed	DEM-C-NEARSP	yesterday

I slept on this bed yesterday

aɽaŋkal	**ɪ-a**	**m-p-ɪcát̪.é**	**nán**	**méccín**	**w-ɔ́cɔ́ttâ.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 **á̪t̪ót**. Compare:

k-kw-ɔ́ká.t	**p-ɔ́nó**	**ɪttɪ**	**k-kw-ápəɽə̪t̪̪a**
3-C-be:COMPL	C-have	that	3-C-be_beaten_while_running:INCOMPL

ɔ-kín	**ɔ-pa̪t̪̪-ɔ̂n**
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)

ɔ-pa̪t̪̪-ɔ́n	**í-t̪-á**	**k-kw-ɔ́ká.t**	**p-ɔ́nó**	**ɪttɪ**
PERS-person-PL	RES-C-COP	3-C-be:COMPL	C-have	that

k-kw-ápəɽə̪t̪̪a	**ɔ-kín**	**á̪t̪-t̪-ót**	**t̪-á.ccɨɾɔ́-k**	**ŋ.ŋɪn**
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:

lị́cɔk	**l-ɔ́-ʊl**	**l-ɔɽəttâ.t**
goats	C-of-people	C-be_eaten:COMPL

the goats of the people have been eaten

ʊl	**ɪ-a**	**lị́cɔk**	**l-ɛn**	**l-ɔɽəttâ.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 **lɔɽəttât** functions as a non-restrictive subject relative clause, adding information about the goats.

ʊl	**ɪ-a**	**lị́cɔk**	**l-ɔɽəttánɛ.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)

ʊl	**ɪ-ɔ́nʊ**	**lị́cɔk**	**l-ɔɽəttâ.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, **pʊl** '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:

pʊl	**p-ɪɔ.t**	**p-a**	**ʈ̪ʊk**	**ʈ̪-ɔkkwɔʈ̪.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-ɔnó	**man**	**m-a**	**m-p-ɔkɛrɔ́.t**	**káʈ̪úkəlɪ**
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 **ɔkárɛllɔ** 'bite' takes a double object: the person bitten ('I') as well as the result of the biting (the marks).[63]

m-p-ɔnó	**nɛpɪlá**	**n-á**	**ɔ́ʈ́ék**	**w-ɔ́kárɛ́llɔ.r-ɪn**[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. **nɔʈ̪énʈ̪a** 'of what' is the predicate, **na ŋkwɔnô** 'that you have' modifies the (plural) noun **nəʈ́ê** 'fear' from the matrix clause:

nəʈ́é	**n-ɔ́ʈ̪énʈ̪á**	**n-á**	**ŋ-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 **ʈ̪ʊʈ́ît** 'food'). The concord on C-**á** is **ʈ̪**, agreeing with **ʈ̪ʊʈ́ît** '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-**ɛn**, which actually establishes the reference to the antecedent, while the concord (only) establishes grammatical agreement:

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[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: **wɔ́kárɛ́llɔ́rín** (with tone bridge). Both realizations don't need anything to follow.

ṯʊʈít ṯ-ɔkɟtták.aṯɛ nʊṯʊk ṯ-a-rʊn ṯ-ɔmma lɔ́n l-ɛn
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-rʊn ṯ-ɔmma lɔ́n l-ɔ́-ṯʊ́ʈít í-ṯ-ɔ́kɟtták.aṯɛ nʊṯʊk
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:

caʈı c-əʈɛk c-ɔká.t cık c-a-áṯərəpɛ́ ana cɟməntɛrɟ …
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)

caʈı c-əʈɛk c-ɔká.t cık a-áṯərəpɛ́ ana cɟməntɛrɟ …
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-árəṯʊk p-a-rɔn ṯ-a.îk
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'.

pʊl	**p-a**	**n̪ʊk**	**n̪-ɔkkwɔn̪.ɛ̂**	[pʊl ᵃβa ðʊ n̪ɔkʷɔðɛ̂]
person	C-COP	dog	C-kill:COMPL	

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

ŋ̀mŋ̀t	**w-a**	**n̪ʊk**	**n̪-ɔkkwɔn̪.ɛ̂**	[imiɾ a ðʊ n̪ɔkʷɔðɛ̂]
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 Lalʊ already gave it to somebody else.

ʈʊk	**ʈ-a-lalʊ́**	**p-ɛ́ʈɛt**	**ɔ-lɔ́ttí**
dog	C-COP.PERS-Lalʊ	C-give:COMPL	PERS-Lɔttɪ

the dog has (already) been given to Lɔttɪ by Lalʊ (lit.: the dog is Lalʊ has given to Lɔttɪ)

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?'

kurrɔ́ŋ	**é-ŋ-kí**	**k-á**	**píɲɪl**	**p-ɔkkʊttáʈ.ɛ**	**ŋ.ŋɪn**
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-nɟ́n**	**ʈ-á.ík**	**ɟ́n-áʈ-ʈ-ót**
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 (**ɪ**-)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 (**ɔ́**-) 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-Lalʊ

s/he is (at the place) where Lalʊ is

m-p-ɔnó	**nɛpɪlâ**	**na**	**ɔ́ʈɛ́k**	**w-ɔ́kárɛ́llɔ.r-ɪn**[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: **wɔ́kárɛ́llɔ́rín** (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	**ṯáɣʊ**	**na**	**m-p-ɔkwɔntáṯ.ɛ**
1-C-be:COMPL	Ṯaɣʊ	where:REL	1-C-be_born_at:COMPL

I was in Ṯaɣʊ, where I was born

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

… a-kw-ɔ́ŋ.kanṯɛt	**káɣən**	**na**	**k-kw-á.ík**	**p-á.kkwɔ́t**	**karraŋ**
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 **ɛ̃́** 'go' the locative phrase **nɔ-kaɣə̂n** 'at place' can be present, but also absent:

… a-kw-ɔ́ŋkat	**(nɔ-káɣən)**	**na**	**k-kw-á.ík**	**p-á.kkwɔ́t**	**karraŋ**
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	**íkkɔ**	**cík**	**m-p-íkkɔ**	**cık**
where:REL	(2-)sit:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	1-C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF

where you will stay, I will stay
(Ruth 1:16)

k-kw-á.ík	**ná**	**kə́pá**	**k-á.îk**
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 (**kkwáík nálálô** 's/he is where Lalʊ is'). In both cases the subject of the relative clause is human.

m-p-a.nɛ́kɔ	**kʊ́mmʊk**	**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 **ŋŋɪn** ‘with, by, from’ is added:

k-kw-á.kənn-ɪɽɛ	**na**	**k-kw-áa.t**	**ŋ́ŋɪn**
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-ănn-ápp-ɟkkɔ
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.ık **p-ănn-ɟcat**
1-C-be:PR 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 **ᴡ-ănn-ɔrɛ́kɔ**
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 **ɔrɛ́kɔ** '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 **ɔrɛ́kɔ** 'work':*

ɔrɛ́kɔ +H	dependent incompletive TAM-stem
arɛ́kɔ +H	incompletive TAM-stem
ɔrɛkáṯɛ	past TAM-stem
ɔrɛ́kat +H	dependent perfective TAM-stem
ɔrɛkɔ̂t	completive TAM-stem
ɔ́rɛ́kɔ +H	dependent completive TAM-stem
ɔrɛkí	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 incompletive TAM-stem. This TAM-stem functions without any addition as Dependent Incompletive 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 incompletive 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, **ɔrɛkí** and **wakánnɔrékɔ** are TAMs of the verb **ɔrékɔ** ‘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 incompletive 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 **-ɪk**
slot 10: clitic adverbial particles **-a**, **-na**, **-tɪ**, **-mɛ́**, **-mɛ**, clitic question particles **-ɪ**, **-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 incompletive, a dependent incompletive and a completive 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.,

pʊl	**p-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**	**a-p-ɔ́ɽəkɔ**	**kəpá**
person	C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-PRO-eat:DEPINCOMPL	meat

the person was eating meat

pʊl	**p-a.ɪk**	**p-a.ɽəkɔ**	**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 **pʊl** '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-** + **pʊl**, giving **a-pʊ̂l**), 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 **ɔkkápərəttakɪɛ** '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 (**ị**, **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 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 incompletive 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 completive 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 **ɪnɛ**, **ɛnɛ** or **anɛ**, or in **ɪn̪ɛt**, **ɛn̪ɛt** or **an̪ɛt**, versus non-benefactive verbs ending in **ɛ** or **ɛt** (this will be further explained in the section on basic TAMs).

Finally, passive verbs ending in -**akɔ**(**t**) or -**ɛkɔ**(**t**) and derived from verbs ending in -**a**(**t**) and -**ɛ**(**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’, **ɛnɛkkɛ** ‘try’, **ɔkkʊnakɔ** ‘smell’
L.H.L*	**ɔkɛ́rɔ** ‘trade’, **ɔpə́llɛ** ‘fear’, **ɔkwárɪccat** ‘search’
L.HL	**ɛ̂** ‘go’, **ɔrâ** ‘cultivate’
L.L.HL	**ɔɽəkô** ‘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:

ɔllô ‘run’ vs. **ɔllínɛ** ‘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.

ɔɽəkô	‘eat’
ɔrəpô	‘move down’
ɔrəpê	‘make move down, put down’

ɔkəɽê ‘burn’
ɔkəɽô ‘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:

ɔɽəkô ‘eat’ / **ɔɽákɪnɛ** ‘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:

ɔkɪɔ	‘cut’	L.L
ɔt̪áttɔ	‘fight’	L.H.L
ɔllô	‘run’	L.HL
ɔɽəkô	‘eat’	L.L.HL

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

i̧kkɔ	‘drink’	L.L
ɪttarɔt	help’	L.L.L
unɔ	‘pour’	L.L
ʊrəkɔ	‘get up, start’	L.L.L
əɽa	‘refuse’	L.L
ɛrɛ	‘speak’	L.L
akkarɔ	‘call’	L.L.L

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

ɛô	‘go’	L.HL
ɛɛ̂	‘stab, blow’	L.HL
ɛt̪êt	‘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 **ɪnɛ**, **ɛnɛ, anɛ, ɪn̪ɛt**, **ɛn̪ɛt** or **an̪ɛt** 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 **ɔllɔ̂** ‘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.

TAM	*Structure of the TAM*	*example*
Imperative	= imperative TAM-stem	**ɔllʊ̲**
Incompletive	= concord + incompletive TAM-stem	C-**a̲llɔ̂**
Dep. Incompletive	= dependent incompletive TAM-stem	**ɔllɔ̂**
Past	= concord + past TAM-stem	C-**ɔlla̲ta̲ɛ**
Dep. Perfective	= dependent perfective TAM-stem	**ɔllâ̲t**
Completive	= concord + completive TAM-stem	C-**ɔllɔ̂t̲**

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 **ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔ** 'push' and **ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔt** 'send' (see 14.2 for some remarks about the semantics of these related verbs):

Table 46 TAMs of **ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔ** 'push' and **ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔt** 'send'

	ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔ 'push'	***ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔt 'send'***
Imperative	**ɔ̱ʈ̱i̱**	**ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔ̱ʈ̱é**
Incompletive	C-**a̱ʈ̱ɔ** (+H)	C-**a̱ʈ̱ɔt** (+H)
Dep. Incompletive	**ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔ** (+H)	**ɔ̱ʈ̱ɔt** (+H)
Completive	C-**ɔ̱ʈ̱i̱ɔ́t**	C-**ɔ̱ʈ̱i̱ɔ̱ʈ̱ê**
Past	C-**ɔ̱ʈ̱i̱áʈ̱ɛ**	C-**ɔ̱ʈ̱i̱áʈ̱ɛ**
Dep. Perfective	**ɔ̱ʈ̱i̱at** (+H)	**ɔ̱ʈ̱i̱at** (+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 **ɛ** 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 **ɛɛ̂** 'stab, blow'. The Imperative of **ɔ**-final verbs is marked both tonally and segmentally: the final **ɔ** changes into **ɨ́** or **ʊ**[68]. The first group thus has a final high tone (pattern L*.H), the Imperatives in **ʊ** 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 **ɨ** 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 **ʊ** 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 **ṯé**, with a H tone on the final **ɛ** (pattern L.L*.H). Verbs ending in **-ɪnɛ**, **-ɛnɛ** or **-anɛ** (i.e. benefactive stems) form imperative stems by adding a final **t** and taking an all-low tone pattern. Verbs ending in **ɪnṯɛt**, **ɛnṯɛt** or **anṯɛt** do not change segmentally, but adopt an all-low tone pattern. The verb **ɛṯêt** 'give' patterns with the verbs ending in **ɪnṯɛt**, **ɛnṯɛt** or **anṯɛt**.

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

verbal ending and tone pattern	*verb examples*	*marking of imperative TAM-stem*	*Imperative*
-ɔ ; L.L*, L.H.L*	**ɪɔ** 'die' **ɔccịrɔ** 'laugh' **ɔrɛ́kɔ** 'work' **ɔmárəttɔ** 'finish'	**-í** ; L*.H	**ɪ.í** **ɔccịr.í** **ɔrɛk.í** **ɔmarətt.í**
-ɔ ; L.HL/L.L.HL	**ɔllɔ̂** 'run' **ɔɽəkɔ̂** 'eat'	**-ʊ** ; L.L*	**ɔll.ʊ** **ɔɽək.ʊ**
-ɔ ; L.L*	**ɔllɔ** 'move aside'	**-ʊ** ; L.L* (rare)	**ɔll.ʊ**
-ɔ ; L.H.L*	**ɔkúkwɔ** 'blow PLUR'[69]	**-ʊ** ; L.L* (rare)	**ɔkʊkw.ʊ**

[69] This is the Pluractional form of **ɔkwɔ̂** '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: **ɔṯʊ** 'pull!' (< **ɔṯɔ̂**) vs. **ɔṯʊṯí** 'pull repeatedly!' (< **ɔṯúṯɔ**), and: **ɔkəɽʊ** 'bite!' (< **ɔkəɽɔ̂**) vs. **ɔkəɽɛllí** 'bite repeatedly!' (< **ɔkárɛllɔ**).

-a, -ɛ (except Benefactive stems); all tone patterns	**ʊra** ‘escape’ **ɔkə́n̪a** ‘look’ **ɔccâ** ‘scoop’ **ɛrɛ** ‘speak’ **ɔkánɛ** ‘show’ **ɔkê** ‘shave’	L.L*	**ʊra** **ɔkən̪a** **ɔcca** **ɛrɛ** **ɔkənɛ** **ɔkɛ**
Benefactive stems (**-ɪnɛ**, **-ɛnɛ**, **-anɛ**); all tone patterns	**ɔpéttɪnɛ** ‘divide for’ **ɛrɛnɛ** ‘explain to’ **ɔnánɛ** ‘bring to’	**-t** ; L.L*	**ɔpɛttɪnɛ.t** **ɛrɛnɛ.t** **ɔnanɛ.t**
-t (except Benefactive + Locative-applicative stems) ; all tone patterns	**ɪɔt** ‘find’ **ɛɛt** ‘arrange’ **ɔɽíkɔt** ‘wait’	**-n̪é** ; L.L*.H	**ɪɔn̪.é** **ɛɛn̪.é** **ɔɽɪkɔn̪.é**
Benefactive + Locative-applicative stems (**-ɪnn̪ɛt**, **-ɛnn̪ɛt**, **-ann̪ɛt**); all tone patterns	**ɔkkínn̪ɛt** ‘do for’ **ɛrɛnn̪ɛt** ‘talk to sb. about’ **ɔkwárɪccann̪ɛt** ‘search for sb’ *also:* **ɛn̪ê̪t** ‘give’	L.L*	**ɔkkɪnn̪ɛt** **ɛrɛnn̪ɛt** **ɔkwarɪccann̪ɛt** **ɛn̪ɛt**

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

ɔɽəkʊ **maɪt**
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.

apəɽɛtta	**t̪ʊpʊt**	**ɛn-t̪-í**	(< **apəɽɛtta**)
be_beaten:IMP	year	DEM-C-NEARSP	

get beaten this year!

ɔmɛkɪ	**t̪úpʊ́t**	**ɛ́n-t̪-í**	(< **ɔmɛ́kɔ**)
be_scarified:IMP	year	DEM-C-NEARSP	

get scarified this year!

'Go' and 'come' have an irregular Imperative:

Table 48 Imperatives of **ɛ̂** 'go' and **aɔ** 'come'

verb	*Imperative*	*type of irregularity*
ɛ̂ 'go'	**ŋkɔ́**	suppletive form
aɔ 'come'	**aɽík**	**a** + **ɽík** (related to **cǐk** 'place(s)' and/or the vague reference particle **cɪk** (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 **ɔkárənnɔ** 'let' the initial **ɔ** is always left out.

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

verb	*Imperative*	*Imperative with urge*
ɔcɔ́ɽɔ 'stand, wait'	**ɔcɔɽí**	**cɔɽí**
ɔkát̪a 'look'	**ɔkət̪a**	**kat̪a**
ɔkárənnɔ 'let'	**kərənní**	

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: **ɔccɔ̂**)
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:

ɔllʊ	**ana**	**ɟ́rrɔ**
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 incompletive TAM-stem.

12.5.3. The Incompletive

Form of the Incompletive

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

Incompletive = concord + incompletive 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 **ɛrɛ** 'speak' and **ɔkə́ n̰a** 'look at' with those based on **ɔkwɔ̂** 'blow away' and **ɔʈəkɔ̂** 'eat'. The object nouns are themselves all-L:

mpérɛ lɔ̂n	'I will speak words'
kkwérɛ lɔ̂n	's/he will speak words'
mpakə́n̰a máɪt	'I will look at the beans'
kkwákən̰a máɪt	's/he will look at the beans'
mpakwɔ́ lɔn	'I will blow matters away'
kkwákwɔ lɔn	's/he will blow matters away'
mpaʈəkɔ́ maɪt	'I will eat beans'
kkwáʈəkɔ maɪt	's/he will eat beans'

A floating high tone is represented as +H.

Table 50 Incompletives

initial vowel and tones of the verb	*verb examples*	*marking of incompletive TAM-stem*	*Incompletive*[70]
ɔ, L.L*	**ɔkɪɔ** 'cut'	**a** ; H.L* +H	C-**á.kɪɔ** +H
ɔ, L.H.L*	**ɔkə́n̰a** 'look'	**a** ; +H	C-**a.kə́n̰a** +H
ɔ, L.HL	**ɔllɔ̂** 'run'	**a**	C-**a.llɔ̂**
ɔ, L.L.HL	**ɔʈəkɔ̂** 'eat'	**a**	C-**a.ʈəkɔ̂**
i̱, ɪ, u, ʊ, ɛ, a, L.L*	**ɪɔt** 'find' **ʊmmɔ** 'take, pick up' **ɛrɛ** 'speak' **aŋkɔ** 'be hot'	H.L* +H	C-**íɔt** +H C-**úmmɔ** +H C-**érɛ** +H C-**áŋkɔ** +H

[70] The tones of the Incompletives are represented as in an environment that causes no tonal change, for example as in: **pʊl pákɪɔ** 'the person will cut it'.

L.L*	**ɔŋkənɛ** ‘teach (PLUR)’ **ɪɲcɛt** ‘find (PLUR)’ **akkarɔ** ‘call’ **ɛkkɪɛ** ‘measure’	**a** ; HL.L* +H / H.L* +H	C-**â.ŋkənɛ** +H / C-**á.ŋkənɛ** +H C-**îɲcɛt** +H / C-**íɲcɛt** +H C-**âkkarɔ** +H / C-**ákkarɔ** +H C-**êkkɪɛ** +H / C-**ékkɪɛ** +H
ɛ, L.HL	**ɛ̂ɛ̂** ‘stab, blow’ **ɛn̰t̰êt** ‘give’	–	C-**ɛ̂ɛ̂** C-**ɛn̰t̰êt**

There are only few incompletive TAM-stems which show no marking at all as compared to the dependent incompletive 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 Incompletive follow here. The first examples have forms of the verbs **aɪnɛ** ‘come to’ and **ɔ́ínɛ** ‘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 **ɔʈəkɔ̂** ‘eat’ (last examples) lacks a floating high tone.

ɔ-kakká	**p-áɪnɛ**	**ókʊl**	(< **aɪnɛ**)
PERS-Kakka	C-come_to:INCOMPL	child	

Kakka will come to the child

ɔ-kakká	**p-a.ínɛ**	**ókʊl**	(< **ɔ́ínɛ**)
PERS-Kakka	C-go_to:INCOMPL	child	

Kakka will go to the child

k-kw-áɪnɛ / k-kw-á.ɪnɛ	**ókʊl**	(< **aɪnɛ**, < **ɔ́ínɛ**)
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.ʈəkɔ́**	**aʊn**	(< **ɔʈəkɔ̂**)
cats	C-eat:INCOMPL	rats	

cats eat rats

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

The following verbs have an irregular Incompletive.

Table 51 Irregular Incompletives

verb	*Incompletive*	*type of irregularity*
aɔ 'come'	C-**â.nn̰án** (also regular: C-**áɔ)**	**nn̰án** 'towards the deictic centre' is part of the verb
ɛɔ̰̂ 'go'	C-**a.ɛɔ̰̂**	added **a**
ɔɔ 'cry'	C-**ɔ́ɔ** +H	no change of initial **ɔ** to **a**
ɔmmâ 'not know'	C-**ɔmmá**	no change of initial **ɔ** to **a** + tonal irregularity
ɪna 'know'	C-**ɪná**	tonal irregularity
ɛlla 'be absent, lack' (intr.)	C-**ɛllâ**	tonal irregularity
ɛlla 'not have, lack' (tr.)	C-**ɛllâ**	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.

(< **ɔkkɔ̂t**)

ɔ-kín	**n̰-ɛrɛttárɛnɛ.t**	**ɪttɪ**	**ɔ-kín**	**n̰-á.kkɔ́t**	**ŋím-p-ên**
PERS-3A	C-discuss:COMPL	that	PERS-3A	C-do:INCOMPL	what-C-DEM

they discussed what they would do

(< **ɔkkɔ̂t**)

ŋ-kw-a.kkɔ́t	**ŋərɛ́**	**ɛŋ-ŋ-í**	**íttí**	**kán̰-n̰a**
2-C-do:INCOMPL	work	DEM-C-NEARSP	that	how-QW

how will you do this work?

(< **ɔɽəkɔ̂**)

kəllán	**k-á.ɽákɔ́**	**t̪ɔ́rít**	**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.

ŋ-kw-a.ccíʆɔt	**ɪttɪ**	**á-ɪna**	**cɪk**	(< **ɔccíʆɔt**)
2-C-hear:INCOMPL	that	SUBJ-(2-)know:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	

you must listen so that you know

tun̪n̪əruk	**t-ápakɔ**	(< **apakɔ**)
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.cɔ́mɔkkɪnɛ	**ŋɪn-t̪a**	**n-a-ôn**	(< **ɔcɔ́mɔkkɪnɛ**)
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.

ɲɪlláŋkɛr	**ɲ-ɔ́nɔ**	**nʊné**	**nɔ-kɛʆɔ̂ŋ**	(< **ʊnɔ**)
birds(sp.)	C-build:INCOMPL	nests	on-palm_trees	

ŋɪllaŋkɛr-birds build their nests in palm trees

(< **ɔrâ**)

ʊl	**w-a.rá**	**aʆəpʊ**	**ámm.akka**	**t̪ún**	**ana**	**án̪n̪ɔ́pâ**
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

tones of the verb	*verb*	*Dependent Incompletive*
L.L*, L.H.L*, L.HL	**ɔkɪɔ** 'cut' **ɔkə́n̪a** 'look' **ɔllɔ̂** 'run'	**ɔkɪɔ** +H **ɔkə́n̪a** +H **ɔllɔ̂**
L.L.HL	**ɔɽəkɔ̂** 'eat'	**ɔɽəkɔ̂**

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

n̪ʊk **n̪-a.ɽəkɔ̂**
dog C-eat:INCOMPL

the dog will eat it

á-n̪ʊk **ɔɽəkɔ̂**
SUBJ-dog eat:DEPINCOMPL

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

… a-n̪-ɔ́ɽəkɔ
CONJ-PRO-eat:DEPINCOMPL

… and/while it (the dog) eats it

Meaning and environments in which it is used

Typically the Dependent Incompletive is connected —through a conjunction word or particle, or also through juxtaposition—, to a preceding verb or verb phrase. In same-subject coordinations with **anǎ** ‘and’, the Dependent Incompletive 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 Incompletive 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 **anǎ** ‘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 **əɣa** ‘refuse, insist’, **ına** ‘know’, **ɔmmâ** ‘not know’;
f) In negative commands (with **ɔkárənnɔ** ‘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 Incompletive TAM can furthermore be part of a complex TAM with the auxiliary verb ᴄ-**arə́ṯʊk** ‘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-rɔn	**ʈ̪-a.rɛ́kɔ**	**kəʈʊŋ-kəʈʊŋ**	**á-rɔn**	**íɔt**	**ʈ̪ʊʈ̪ît**
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-áʈ̪úʈán	**ɔ́íŋkat**	**tʊan**	**ʈ̪an-ɛn**
CONJ-thieves	go:DEPPRFV	home	at_place-POSS3A

a-íʈɛt	**ká**	**k-én**	**íttí …**
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 **ɪkkɔ cɪk** 'sit, stay' as an auxiliary expressing the start of an action (second example below):

m-p-ɔ́ká.t	**cık**	**a-n-ɔ́mɛntɛ**	**ıttĭ …**
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-ípɔt**	**ɲúmpʊʈúŋ**
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-ípɔt**	**ɲúmpʊʈúŋ**
CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV	VREF	CONJ-1-dig:DEPINCOMPL	potatoes

ana	**ɟkkɔ**	**marî**
and	drink:DEPINCOMPL	fruits(k.o.)

and I started digging potatoes and eating *marı*-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:

ʊl	**w-ɟkkɔ**	**ŋə́pak**	**ɛppın-ɛppın**
people	C-drink:INCOMPL	beer	always-REDUP

ana	**ɔɲárɔ / w-a.ɲárɔ**	**n-əʈɟttăŋ**
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-caʈɪ	**c-én**	**ʊl**	**w-a.ka**	**w-a.ŋwɔ́**	**ana**	**ɔ́kkwɔ**
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-ɪcánṭɛt**	**mɛccɪn**	**ɲ-cɪk**	**ɪ-cį̨ŋkį́**
RES-C-DEM	that	1-C-lie_down_for:COMPL	yesterday	with-VREF	in-sun

ana	**ɔ́rəkɔ**	**a-cį́ŋkį̨**	**c-ɛ́ɔ́.t**	**cɪk-ɪ-ṯɪʈɔ̂t**
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:

ɔkakɪ	**mį́l**	**ana**	**ɔkkɔ́t**	**ŋʊcʊl**
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-ɔ́mma	**ɪttɪ**	**m-p-érɛn-ʊŋ**	**ɔ̂kʊrrɔ**
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-lɔ́ttɪ	**ɔll.át**	**ʊɔ**	**ʈ̪ɔ́-rɔ́k**
CONJ.PERS-Lɔttɪ	run:DEPPRFV	descend:DEPINCOMPL	at-well

and Lotti ran down to the well

*Ad e) as a complement of **əɽa** 'refuse, insist', **ɪma** 'know', **ɔmmâ** 'not know', **ɔkárənnɔ** 'let, leave, allow'*

The verbs **əɽa** 'refuse, insist', **ɪma** 'know', **ɔmmâ** 'not know' and **ɔkárənnɔ** '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	**éŋ-k-í**	**k-əɽá.t**	**ɔkʊrrɔ**
pen	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-refuse:COMPL	engrave:DEPINCOMPL

this pen refuses to write

kálám	**éŋ-k-í**	**k-íná**	**ɔ́kʊrrɔ**
pen	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-know:INCOMPL	engrave:DEPINCOMPL

this pen works

m-p-ɔmma	**ɔ́kʊrrɔ**
1-C-know_not:INCOMPL	engrave:DEPINCOMPL

I cannot write

*Ad f) In negative commands (with **ɔkárənnɔ** 'let, leave, allow')*

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

kərənn.ɪ	**ɔpéllɛ**
let:IMP	fear:DEPINCOMPL

don't be afraid!

n-ɔkárənnɔ	**ɔ̂ŋɔkɔ**
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-ǒ́rəkɔ
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 incompletive stem:

tír-ɛ́ɔ̋	**kɛ́ccôk**
HRT12-go:DEPINCOMPL	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-n̰a	**akka**	**i̧n-ɔkkɔ̂t**
what-Q	that	1A-do:DEPINCOMPL

what should we do? / what can we do?

ɔ-ɔ́k	**akka**	**ɔ-rɔn**	**ɔnánɛ**	**ŋʊrô**
PERS-3	that	PERS-12a	bring_to:DEPINCOMPL	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-kʊkkʊ́**	**p-ípɪnɛ**	**aôn**
old_woman	that	PERS-Kʊkkʊ	C-collect_for:INCOMPL.	bees

it is for the old woman that Kʊkkʊ 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 incompletive verb occurs in the form of a Dependent Incompletive. 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).

aʧəpʊ	**ɪ-a**	**ɔ-ʊn**	**ɔʧəkɔ̂**
things	RES-(C-)COP	PERS-1	eat:DEPINCOMPL

the things which I eat

kəpa	**k-a**	**ʈʊk**	**ɔʧəkɔ̂**
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 Incompletive verb:

na	**cɟŋkɟ**	**ɔrʊŋkɔ**
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 **aⱪɛ**. Verbs which end in **ɛ** or **a** add a past marker **kaⱪɛ.** In verbs which end in **ɛt** or **at,** the final **t** is replaced by **kaⱪɛ**. 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 **aⱪɛ** but by **akaⱪɛ**. This has the effect of disambiguating the Pasts of underived verb and those of their Passive derivations ending in **kɔ(t)**, for example:

ɪmma 'see' C-**ɪmmakáⱪɛ**
ɪmmakɔ 'be seen' C-**ɪmmakákaⱪɛ** (instead of C-**ɪmmakáⱪɛ**)

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

final segment(s) of the verb	*segmental marking of the past TAM-stem*	*verb*	*Past*
ɔ, ɔt two morae	**aⱪɛ** H on 2nd mora	**ɪɔ** 'die' **ɪɔt** 'find'	C-**ɪ.áⱪɛ** C-**ɪ.áⱪɛ**
ɔ, ɔt three or more morae	**aⱪɛ** H on 3rd mora	**ɔkɪɔ** 'cut' **ɔⱪórakɔ** 'stretch oneself"	C-**ɔkɪ.áⱪɛ** C-**ɔⱪʊrák.aⱪɛ**

ɛ, ɛt **a, at**	**kaⱪɛ,** **kaⱪɛ** H on 3rd mora	**ɛrɛ** ‘speak’ **ɛrɛt** ‘talk about’ **ɔkáⱪa** ‘look’ **ɔkwárɪccat** ‘search’	C-**ɛrɛ.káⱪɛ** C-**ɛrɛ.káⱪɛ** C-**ɔkəⱪá.kaⱪɛ** C-**ɔkwarícca.kaⱪɛ**
Passives ending in **ɛkɔ(t)**, **akɔ(t)**	**akaⱪɛ** H on 3rd mora	**ɪmmakɔ** ‘be seen’ **ɛⱪɪɛkɔ** ‘be made cool, be blessed’	C-**ɪmmak.ákaⱪɛ** C-**ɛⱪɪék.akaⱪɛ**

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

pʊl **p-ɪ.áⱪɛ** **pəlla** (< **ɪɔt**)
person C-find:PST cat
the man found the cat

Benefactive verbs inflect somewhat differently. In verbs ending in **ɪnɛ**, the Past is formed by replacing **ɪnɛ** by **anⱪɛt**. In verbs ending in **ɛnɛ** or **anɛ**, the final **nɛ** changes into **kantɛt**. In verbs ending in **ɪnⱪɛt** the **ɪ** is replaced by **a**. In verbs ending in **ɛnⱪɛt** or **anⱪɛt**, **ka** is inserted before the final **nⱪɛt**. Like in non-benefactive verbs, the difference between non-**t**-final and **t**-final verbs is neutralized in the Past.

Tonally, Pasts 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 Pasts of Benefactive derivations

ending and length of the Benefactive derivation	*marking of the past TAM-stem*	*verb*	*Past*
ɪnɛ, **ɪnⱪɛt** three morae	**anⱪɛt** H on 2nd mora	**ɔŋwínɛ** ‘sing for’ **ɪpɪnⱪɛt** ‘dig for’	C-**ɔŋw.ánⱪɛt** C-**ɪp.ánⱪɛt**
ɪnɛ, **ɪnⱪɛt** more than three morae	**anⱪɛt** H on 3rd mora	**ɔrékɪnɛ** ‘work for’	C-**ɔrɛk.ánⱪɛt**

ɛ.nɛ, **ɛ.nn̪ɛt** **a.nɛ**, **a.nn̪ɛt** three morae	**kann̪ɛt** **kann̪ɛt**, H on 2nd mora	**ɛrɛnɛ** ‘talk to’ **ɛrɛnn̪ɛt** ‘talk to sb about’ **ɔnánɛ** ‘bring to sb’	C-**ɛrɛ.kánn̪ɛt** C-**ɛrɛ.kánn̪ɛt** C-**ɔna.kánn̪ɛt**
ɛ.nɛ, **ɛ.nn̪ɛt** **a.nɛ**, **a.nn̪ɛt** more than three morae	**kann̪ɛt** **kann̪ɛt** H on 3rd mora	**ɔkéccɛnɛ** ‘cut for (PLUR)’ **ɔkwárɪccann̪ɛt** ‘search sth for’	C-**ɔkɛccɛ́.kann̪ɛt** C-**ɔkwarícca.kann̪ɛt**

Some examples:

< **aɲɪnn̪ɛt** ‘open for somebody’

ɔ-kakká	**p-aɲánn̪ɛt**	**ʊkul**	**kən̪át**
PERS-Kakka	C-open_for:PST	child	door

Kakka opened the door for the child

< **ɔrɛ́kɪnɛ** ‘work for somebody’

ʊl	**w-ɔrɛkánn̪ɛ́t**	**púl**	**í-p-ərịk**
people	C-work_for:PST	person	RES-C-big

the people worked for the big man

A few verbs have an irregular Past:

Table 55 Irregular Pasts

verb	*irregular Past*	*type of irregularity*
aɔ ‘come’	**C-akkakán̪ɛ**	suppletive form
aɪnɛ ‘come to’	**C-akkakann̪ɛt**	suppletive form
ɛ̂ ‘go’	**C-ɔɪŋkán̪ɛ**	suppletive form
ɔ́ɪnɛ ‘go to’	**C-ɔɪŋ.kann̪ɛt**	suppletive form
ɔɣəkô ‘eat’	**C-ɔɣək.kán̪ɛ**	doubling of k
ɔɣəkô̰t ‘eat at’	**C-ɔɣək.kán̪ɛ**	doubling of k
ɔɣəkínɛ ‘eat for’	**C-ɔɣək.kann̪ɛt**	doubling of k
ɔɣəkínɛt ‘eat for at’	**C-ɔɣək.kann̪ɛt**	doubling of k
ɛn̪ḛ̂t ‘give’	**C-ɛɛ.kán̪ɛ / C-ɛ.kán̪ɛ**	replacement of **n̪ḛ̂t** 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-ɪɔt.é**	**m-p-ɔpɪrá.káa̱t́é**	**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**	**ɪccík**	**k-úŋ**	**ana**	**k-kw-ɟ́rr.áa̱t́ɛ**	(< **ɟ́rrɔ**)
when	1-C-come:COMPL	near	C-POSS3	and	3-C-jump:PST	

when I had come near him, he jumped

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ	**p-ɔká.t**	**tʊan**	**ana**	**k-kw-ɔ́ʈəkk.áa̱t́é**	**ŋúʈû**	(< **ɔʈəkɔ̂**)
PERS-Lɔttɪ	C-be:COMPL	home	and	3-C-eat:PST	asida	

Lotti was at home and ate asida

ʊʈít	**w-ɔkɟ́ccé.t**	**ŋʊrak**	**ana**	**w-ɔ́kkw.áa̱t́ɛ**	(< **ɔkkwɔ̂t**)
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:

(?)	**aɣəpʊ**	**ɪ-a**	**pʊ́l**	**p-ɔkɛr.áa̱ɛ**	**w-ɔká.t**	**w-ɔppɔ́t**
	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

final segment(s) of the verb	*marking of the dep. perf. TAM-stem*	*verb*	*Dep. Perfective*
ɔ, **ɔt**	**at**	**ɔkɪɔ** 'cut' **ɪɔt** 'find' **ɔkérɔ** 'trade' **ɔllɔ̂** 'run'	**ɔkɪ.at** +H **ɪ.at** +H **ɔkér.at** +H **ɔll.ât**

ɛ, ɛt **a, at**	**ɛ.kat** **a.kat**	**ɛrɛ** ‘speak’ **ɛrɛt** ‘talk about’ **ɔkáa̱ta** ‘look’ **ɔkwárɪccat** ‘search’	**ɛrɛ.kat** +H **ɛrɛ.kat** +H **ɔkáa̱ta.kat** +H **ɔkwárɪcca.kat** +H

In the table below, Dependent Perfective are contrasted to Pasts. Whereas Past forms end in **(k)aa̱tɛ**, Dependent Perfectives end in **(k)at**. The table below contrasts Dependent Perfectives and Pasts.

Table 57 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts contrasted

verb	*Dep. Perfective*	*Past*
ɔkɪɔ ‘cut’	**ɔkɪ.at** +H	C-**ɔkɪ.áa̱tɛ**
ɪɔt ‘find’	**ɪ.at** +H	C-**ɪ.áa̱tɛ**
ɔkérɔ ‘trade’	**ɔkér.at** +H	C-**ɔkɛr.áa̱tɛ**
ɔllô ‘run’	**ɔll.ât**	C-**ɔll.áa̱tɛ**
ɛrɛ ‘speak’	**ɛrɛ.kat** +H	C-**ɛrɛ.káa̱tɛ**
ɛrɛt ‘talk about’	**ɛrɛ.kat** +H	C-**ɛrɛ.káa̱tɛ**
ɔkáa̱ta ‘look’	**ɔkáa̱ta.kat** +H	C-**ɔkəa̱tá.kaa̱tɛ**
ɔkwárɪccat ‘search’	**ɔkwárɪcca.kat** +H	C-**ɔkwarícca.kaa̱tɛ**

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

Table 58 Irregular Pasts and Dependent Perfectives contrasted

verb	*Dep. Perfective*	*Past*
aɔ ‘come’	**akkakat** +H	**C-akkakáa̱tɛ**
aɪnɛ ‘come to’	**akkakanta̱t** +H	**C-akkakánta̱t**
ɛ̂ ‘go’	**ɔíŋkat** +H	**C-ɔɪŋkáa̱tɛ**
ɔínɛ ‘go to’	**ɔíŋ.kanta̱t** +H	**C-ɔɪŋ.kánta̱t**
ɔɣəkô ‘eat’	**ɔɣək.kât**	**C-ɔɣək.káa̱tɛ**
ɔɣəkôt ‘eat at’	**ɔɣək.kât**	**C-ɔɣək.káa̱tɛ**
ɔɣəkínɛ ‘eat for’	**ɔɣək.kánta̱t** +H	**C-ɔɣək.kánta̱t**
ɔɣəkínɛt ‘eat for at’	**ɔɣək.kánta̱t** +H	**C-ɔɣək.kánta̱t**
ɛta̱ât ‘give’	**ɛɛ.kât /ɛ.kât**	**C-ɛɛ.káa̱tɛ / C-ɛ.káa̱tɛ**

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

ending of Benefactive derivation	*marking of the dep. perfective TAM-stem*	*verb*	*Dep. Perfective*
ɪnɛ, **ɪnt̪ɛt**	**ant̪ɛt**	**ɔŋw.íne** 'sing for' **ɪp.ɪnt̪ɛt** 'dig for'	**ɔŋw.ánt̪ɛt** +H **ɪp.ant̪ɛt** +H
ɛ.nɛ, **ɛ.nt̪ɛt** **a.nɛ**, **a.nt̪ɛt**	**ɛ.kant̪ɛt** **a.kant̪ɛt**	**ɛrɛ.nɛ** 'talk to' **ɛrɛ.nt̪ɛt** 'talk to sb about' **ɔpíranɛ** 'thank' **ɔkwárɪccant̪ɛt** 'search sth for'	**ɛrɛ.kant̪ɛt** +H **ɛrɛ.kant̪ɛt** +H **ɔpíra-kant̪ɛt** +H **ɔkwárɪcca-kant̪ɛt** +H

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

Table 60 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts of Benefactive derivations

verb	*Dep. Perfective*	*Past*
ɔŋwíne 'sing for' **ɪpɪnt̪ɛt** 'dig for'	**ɔŋw-ánt̪ɛt** +H **ɪp-ant̪ɛt** +H	C-**ɔŋw-ánt̪ɛt** C-**ɪp-ánt̪ɛt**
ɛrɛnɛ 'talk to' **ɛrɛnt̪ɛt** 'talk to sb. about' **ɔpíranɛ** 'thank' **ɔkwárɪccant̪ɛt** 'search for'	**ɛrɛ-kant̪ɛt** +H **ɛrɛ-kant̪ɛt** +H **ɔpíra-kant̪ɛt** +H **ɔkwárɪcca-kant̪ɛt** +H	C-**ɛrɛ-kánt̪ɛt** C-**ɛrɛ-kánt̪ɛt** C-**ɔpɪrá-kant̪ɛt** C-**ɔkwarícca-kant̪ɛt**

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:

ṭɔmɔccɔ **ṭ-aṉəntá.kaṭɛ**
old_man C-dream:PST

the old man dreamt

… a-ṭɔ́mɔccɔ **aṉəntakat**
CONJ-old_man dream:DEPPRFV

… and (then) the man dreamt

… a-kw-áṉəntakat
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 **anǎ** ‘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-ɔnɛkɔ́.t	**pól**	**a-p-ɔ́ṯ-ɔ́kə́ṯa.kat**	**ŋaŋkór**	**ɪ-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, **mɔnɔ** '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' (< **papʊ p-ɛn**), which itself refers to the leopard (**papɔkɪra** < **papʊ p-ɔ-kɪra** 'thing of the forest'):

(< **ɔɽʊmɔt** ; < **ɔnémɔ** ; < **ɪɔ**)

a-pápɔkɪra	**ɔɽʊm.at**	**ṯɔ́mɔccɔ**
CONJ-leopard	attack:DEPPRFV	old_man

a-ṯɔ́mɔ́ccɔ́	**ɔ́né́m.at**	**kaṯʊk**	**ɪ-ṯɔ́n**	**ṯ-ɔ́-pá-p-én**
CONJ-old_man	press:DEPPRFV	spear	in-mouth	C-of-thing-C-DEM

mɔ́nɔ́	**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 **anǎ** 'and' + Past can be used alternatively. **á** cannot be combined with a Past, nor can **anǎ** be combined with a Dependent Perfective. In both sentences Lɔttɪ 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-lɔ́ttɪ	**p-ɔká.t**	**tʊan**	**a-kw-ɔ́ɽəkk.at**	**ŋuɽû**
PERS-Lɔttɪ	C-be:COMPL	home	CONJ-3-eat:DEPPRFV	asida

Lɔttɪ was at home and he ate asida

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ	**p-ɔká.t**	**tʊan**	**ana**	**k-kw-ɔ́ɽəkk.ą́ɽé**	**ŋúɽû**
PERS-Lɔttɪ	C-be:COMPL	home	and	3-C-eat:PST	asida

Lɔttɪ 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. **anǎ** + Past verb is not an option here.

ɔlla	**cɪk**	**nɔ-ppan**	**a-ímɛ.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-ɛ́ɔ́.t**	**á-kw-ɪɽɛ.kat**	**kín**	**ɪttĭ …**
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', **ɪna** 'know', **ɔmmâ** 'not know' or **ɔkárənnɔ** '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 **t̪ɛ**, 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-**âŋɔkɔ.**

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 **ɔkákɛ** 'shave (PLUR)', related to

ɔkə̂ ‘shave’. Its Completive has a H-tone on the second mora C-**ɔkə́kɛt**.

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 **t̪ɛ**. If such Completives are based on a verb ending in **ɔt**, they have a final falling tone. Completives based on a bimoraic stem ending in **at** or **ɛt** 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 **ɔʧəkɔ̂t** ‘eat at’ and **ɔŋkíkkəʧɪɔt** (also **ɔŋkɪkkəʧɪɔt)** ‘squeeze (PLUR)’ deviate from the main patterns. They are rare cases of, respectively, a HL contour on the fourth mora (C-**ɔʧəkɔt̪ɛ̂**) and a H-tone on the second (C-**ɔŋkíkkəʧɪɔt̪ɛ**).

Table 61 Completives

shape and length of verb	*completive marking*	*verb*	*Completive*
bi- or trimoraic, **ɔ**-final	**ɔ́-t**	**ɔʧɔ** ‘land’ **ʊnɔ** ‘build’ **ɔkkwɔ̂** ‘hit’ **ɔcʊ́mɔ** ‘collect’ **ɔʧəkɔ̂** ‘eat’	C-**ɔʧɔ́-t** C-**ʊnɔ́-t** C-**ɔkkwɔ́-t** C-**ɔcʊmɔ́-t** C-**ɔʧəkɔ́-t**
bi- or trimoraic, **ɔ**-final	**ɔ̂-t**	**aɲɔ** ‘open’ **ɔllɔ̂** ‘run’ **akkarɔ** ‘call’ **ɔt̪áttɔ** ‘fight’	C-**aɲɔ̂-t** C-**ɔllɔ̂-t** C-**akkarɔ̂-t** C-**ɔt̪attɔ̂-t**

bi- or trimoraic, **a**- or **ɛ**-final	**â-t** **ê-t**	**ɪmma** ‘see’ **ɪama** ‘be(come) hungry’ **ɔʈálla** ‘be(come) weak’ **ɪllɛ** ‘die (PLUR)’ **ɔkíccɛ** ‘chase’ **ɔkê** ‘shave’	C-**ɪmmâ-t** C-**ɪamâ-t** C-**ɔʈəllâ-t** C-**ɪllê-t** C-**ɔkiccê-t** C-**ɔkê-t**
four morae or more, vowel-final	**-t**, H on third mora	**apəʈɪlakɔ** ‘hang’ **ɔcímɪttɔ** ‘advise’ **ɔkáṯaccɛ** ‘watch’	C-**apəʈílakɔ-t** C-**ɔcɪmíttɔ-t** C-**ɔkəṯáccɛ-t**
bimoraic, **ɔt**-final	**ɔ-ṯê**	**ɪɔt** ‘find’ **ɔkkwɔ̂t** ‘kill’	C-**ɪɔṯ-ê** C-**ɔkkwɔṯ-ê**
bimoraic, ending in **at** or **ɛt**	**á-ṯɛ** **é-ṯɛ**	**ɪttat** ‘become fat’ **ɔppêt** ‘fill’	C-**ɪttáṯ-ɛ** C-**ɔppéṯ-ɛ**
trimoraic or longer, **t**-final	**-ṯɛ**, H-tone on third mora	**ɔʈɪat** ‘become red’ **ɔnákkɛt** ‘put down’ **ɔkwárəttɪkɔt** ‘recall	C-**ɔʈɪáṯ-ɛ** C-**ɔnəkkéṯ-ɛ** C-**ɔkwarəttɪkɔṯ-ɛ**

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

pʊl	**p-ɔkwaríccaṯ.ɛ**	**pəlla**	(< **ɔkwárɪccat**)
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 **-ɪnṯɛt**, **-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

verb	*ending and length of verb*	*completive marking*	*Completive*
ɛrɛnɛ ‘speak to’	vowel-final, trimoraic	H-tone on 2nd mora, final **t**	C-**ɛrɛ́nɛ-t**
ɛrɛnn̪ɛt ‘speak to sb. about’ **ɔkkínn̪ɛt** ‘do for’	**t**-final, trimoraic	H-tone on 2nd mora	C-**ɛrɛ́nn̪ɛt** C-**ɔkkínn̪ɛt**
ɔrɛ́kɪnɛ ‘work for’ **ɔɽə́kɪnɛ** ‘eat for’ **ɔpíranɛ** ‘thank sb.’	vowel-final, four morae or longer	H-tone on 3rd mora, final **t**	C-**ɔrɛkínɛ-t** C-**ɔɽəkínɛ-t** C-**ɔpɪráné-t**
ɔkwárɪccann̪ɛt ‘search for’	**t**-final, four morae or longer	H-tone on 3rd mora	C-**ɔkwaríccann̪ɛt**

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

verb	*Completive*	*irregularity*
aɔ ‘come’	C-**aá-t**	change of final **ɔ** to **a**
ɛn̪ê̪t ‘give’	C-**én̪ɛt**	resemblance to benefactive verbs ending in **ɪnn̪ɛt**, **ɛnn̪ɛt** or **ann̪ɛt** 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:

ɲʊkʊl **ɲ-ɔn̪attɔ̂.t** (< **ɔn̪áttɔ**)
children C-fight:COMPL
the children have fought (but they have stopped)

ɔ-lɔ́ccɔ **p-ɔkə́kɛ.t** **ʊl** (< **ɔkə́kɛ**)
PERS-Lɔccɔ C-shave.PLUR:COMPL people
Lɔccɔ used to shave people (but he has stopped)

The Completive often implies a resulting state:

m-p-ɔccɔ́.t **kəɽan** **ɪttɪ** **ɔ-nɛnnî** (< **ɔccɔ̂**)
1-C-receive:COMPL name that PERS-Nɛnnɪ
my name is Nɛnnɪ (lit. I have received the name Nɛnnɪ)

n̪ɪrɔt **n̪-ɔɽɔ.t** **nɔ-máɪt** (< **ɔɽɔ**)
mould C-land:COMPL on-beans
there is mould on the beans (lit. mould has landed on the beans)

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

l-ɛ̂kkɔ̂.t (< **ɛkkɔ**)
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 **ɔ-kín** **n̪-ɔɽəkɔ.t** **ŋuɽú** **póccóok**
when PERS-3A C-eat:COMPL asida for_some_time

a-kw-ɔ́mɛ.kan̪-ɔ́k **ɪttɪ** **ant-ɔ́nɔt**
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-ɛ̂.t (< **ɛ̃̂**)
1-C-go:COMPL
I am gone (i.e. I am leaving now)

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

m-p-ɔkɪɲá.t **ana** **m-p-ɪamâ.t** (< **ɔkíɲa**, < **ɪama**)
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:

ʊkʊl **w-ɪttáṭ̈.ɛ** (< **ɪttat**)
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:

aɽəpʊ **w-ɔɽıá.ṭ̈ɛ** **ɪ-paŋ-k-ên** (< **ɔɽɪa**)
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):

ʊkʊl **w-a.kíɲa**
child C-become_tired:INCOMPL
the child will get tired

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

the child will be tired

maɪt **m-a.kə́nn-ɛkkɔ**
beans C-NEG-fit:DEPCOMPL

the beans are not enough

maɪt **m-a.kə́nn-ɛ̂kkɔ**
beans C-NEG-fit:DEPINCOMPL

the beans will not be enough

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

the beans were not enough

maɪt **m-a.kə́nn-ɔ́ká** **m-ɛ́kkɔ̂.t**
beans C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-fit:COMPL

the beans are not enough

maɪt **m-a.kə́nn-ɔka** **m-ɛkkɔ̂.t**
beans C-NEG-be:DEPINCOMPL C-fit:COMPL

the beans will not be enough

maɪt **m-ɔká.t** **m-á.kə́nn-ɔ́ká** **m-ɛ́kkɔ̂.t**
beans C-be:COMPL C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-fit:COMPL

the beans were not enough

maɪt **m-a.ka** **m-ɛ̂kkɔ**
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))

maɪt **m-a.ka** **m-ɛkkɔ̂.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)

maɪt **m-ɛ̂kkɔ**
beans C-fit:INCOMPL

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

maɪt **m-a.ɪk** **m-ɛ̂kkɔ**
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-ɔŋɔt̪.é **ɪttɪ** **ŋ-kw-ântán**
1-C-like:COMPL that 2-C-come:INCOMPL

I want you to come

m-p-əʈâ.t
1-C-refuse:COMPL

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

m-p-ɔpɪrá.t **nɔ́-kâ**
1-C-become_good:COMPL on-body

I am happy / I am grateful

m-p-ɔccɨkɔ́t̪.ɛ
1-C-hear:COMPL

I understand / I hear / I have heard it

Also a state of 'resembling' takes a Completive:

t̪-t̪-ʊ́ŋkwɔ́.t **ŋín-t̪a**
PRO-C-resemble:COMPL what-Q

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

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-ɔ́ná.t** **ŋáák**
when 3-C-bring:COMPL oil
a-kw-íp.ann̪ɛt **n̪akəɣʊk** **ɪ-ʊɣəccô**
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** **tʊ́n-ɛ́ɔ̰̀**
that 3-C-come:COMPL HRT12A-go:DEPINCOMPL
now that s/he has arrived, let us go

ámmá **ɔ́-nɔ́n** **n̪-ɔ́ccɟkɔ́n̪.ɛ** **lɔn** **l-ɔ-n̪ɔɣák**
if PERS-2A C-hear:COMPL words C-of-war
á-nn-ɔkárənnɔ **ɔpállɛ**
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 **cɪpít** **á-c-c-ɔ́ná.t** **cɟ̀l**
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-rɪt** **n̪-ɛrɛ́n̪-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-caɣɪ	**c-én**	**c-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**	**a-m-p-ɛ́ɔ́.t**	**t̪allat̪t̪á**	**…**
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**	**t̪ɔ́mɔccɔ**	**t̪-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-éɾɛkánt̪ɛt	**ɟmiɟt**	**lɔ́n**	**áppík**	**ɪ-l-a**	**k-kw-ɔ́kkɔt̪.ê**
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-t̪a	**akka**	**ɟn-t̪-ɔkkɔt̪.ê**	(< **ɔkkɔ̂t**)
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 incompletive (glossed as INCOMPL), dependent incompletive (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-îk**
Incompletive	C-**a.kâ**
Dep. Incompletive	**ɔkâ**
Past	C-**ɔka.káa̱ɛ**
Dep. Perfective	**ɔká.kat** +H
Completive	C-**ɔkâ.t**

The dependent completive TAM-stem of **ɔkâ** is **ɔ́kâ.** 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 **cık** as formatives: C-**a-îk**[71]**.** 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.îk**, not glossing **ık** 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-**:

ʈ̪ɔmɔccɔ	**ʈ̪-a.ɽəkɔ**	**ŋuɽú**
old_man	C-eat:INCOMPL	asida

á-ʈ̪-ʈ̪-á.ık	**á-ʈ̪-íkkɔ**	**cık**	**nɔ.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’:

ŋ-kw-ɔ́nʈ̪a	**akka**	**ŋ-kw-a.ık**	**cí.náŋ**	**ɲ-cık-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).

ɔ-nɛnní	**p-á**	**pə́ʈán**	**p-ın**
PERS-Nɛnnı	C-COP	name_sharer	C-my

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

ɔ-ʊŋ	**p-a**	**kwat**	**cənɛ́**	**/ ŋ-kw-a**	**kwat**	**cənɛ́**
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:

ɔ-ʊŋ	**kwat**	**cənɛ́**
PERS-2	stranger	here

you are a stranger here

12.7.2. ‘Be’ as copular verb

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

nuⱡⱡəruk	**n-ɔká.t**	**cuŋkut**	**c-ɔppɔ́t**
pigs	C-be:COMPL	crowd	C-many

the pigs were a large herd (Mark 5:11)

lɔn	**ɪ-l-a.kə́nn-ɔkə́rənnɔ**	**pʊ́l**
words	RES-C-NEG-let:DEPINCOMPL	person

á-p-ɔ́ká	**pʊ́l**	**ámm.akka**	**p-p-ɔ́ŋɔʈ.ɛ̂**
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 **ɔⱡə́kka** ‘become’:

pʊl	**ɛm-p-ɪ**	**p-a.ⱡə́kka**	**pʊl**	**ɪ-p-á.ŋkənɛ**
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**	**n̪-a.ɪk**	**n̪-ɔpərə̂t**
I_hope_that	PERS-2A	C-be:PR	C-good

I hope you (PL) are fine

ɲ̟n-n̪-ɔká.t	**n̪-əɽapúrʊk**
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-ɔpərə̂t
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-ɔnɛkɔ́.t**	**ŋəɽɪ**	**ána**	**ŋ-ŋ-ɲ́mmɲ̟n**
PERS-Kakka	C-take:COMPL	water	and	PRO-C-heavy

Kakka carried the water and it was heavy

The inchoative counterpart of ‘be’, **ɔn̪ə́kka** ‘become’, can be used in a construction with an adjective as well:

attɪ	**ŋ-kw-ɔn̪əkká.t**	**p-ɔpərɔ́t**	**pá-p-ɔ́ttɛ̂**
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:

ŋaṯ̪ṯ̪ɔkkɔ́l **ŋ-á.ík** **nɔ́-cə́nâ**
calabash(k.o.) C-be:PR on-grinding_table
the calabash is on the grinding table

m-p-ɔká.t **nɔ-ṯ̪ṯ̪ɔk** **tɔ́rrô**
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.ık **cənɛ́** / **ɔ-ʊn** **cənɛ́**
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:

pʊl **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-a.ík** **ıcat**
person C-of-Nɔppət C-be:PR really
the person of Nɔppət really exists

Other TAMs than the Present, when used existentially, co-occur with the vague reference particele **cık** (see 15.2). An example is the typical opening line of a story:

caɽı **c-əɽɛk** **c-ɔká.t** **cık …**
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 **cık**. In general, **cık** 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-**aık** C-verb:INCOMPL, *or* C-**ak**-C-verb:INCOMPL *(Present Continuous)*
   a-C-**aık 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 cık a**-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL (*Past Continuous)*
4. C-**ɔkát** C-verb:INCOMPL, *or* C-**ɔkát cık** 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-**aık** C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened:

C-**ak**-C-verb:INCOMPL

The Present Continuous consists of the Present of 'be'+ Incompletive main verb: C-**aık** 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.ık	**p-a.kákɔ**
1-C-be:PR	C-grind:INCOMPL

I am grinding

ɔ-cɛccɛ́	**p-á.ík**	**p.ímɛ**	**máṯṯak**
PERS-Cɛccɛ	C-be:PR	C-wash:INCOMPL	calabashes(k.o.)

Cɛccɛ is washing the bowls

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 ‘Cɛccɛ is about to wash the dishes’, respectively. An example with time reference point in the past is the following:

k-kw-áṭ̪ṯ-ɪɔt	**ɔ-kʊmáŋ**
3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL	PERS-Kʊmaŋ

á-k-kw-á.ík	**á-kw-ɔ́ʈə́kɔ́**	**kə́pá**
CONJ-3-C-be:PR	CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL	meat

s/he found Kʊmaŋ 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 **aɪk**. **k** of **ak** then assimilates to the concord on the main verb. Thus:

m-p-a.ɪk	**p-á.kʊrrɔ /**	**m-p-a.p-p-á.kʊrrɔ**
1-C-be:PR	C-engrave:INCOMPL	1-C-be:PR-C-engrave:INCOMPL

I am writing

In the Present Continuous C-**aɪk** can not be separated from the verbal word containing the main verb TAM-stem by another constituent. In the example below **mpaîk** ‘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.ɪk	**cənɛ**	**p-a.ɪk**	**p-ɔ́kkɔ**	**ɪkkíṭ̪ɛṭ̪ṭ̪ak**
1-C-be:PR	here	C-be:PR	C-dance:INCOMPL	very_badly

I am here, dancing the best I can (lit.: very badly) (fr. written story)

Dependent Present Continuous:
C-**aɪk 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 **ŋ́-** 'you (SG)' is deleted between the conjunctive particle and the initial vowel of the Dependent Incompletive main verb.

ŋ-kw-ɛ́rɛkɔt	**a-ŋ-kw-a.ık**	**a-ɽəkɔ**	**ŋuɽú**
2-C-grumble_in_oneself:INCOMPL	CONJ-2-C-be:PR	CONJ-(2-)eat:DEPINCOMPL	asida

akaín-n̪a
why-Q

why are you grumbling while eating asida?

In the example below, there is a change of subject, from the leopard (**papɔkıra**) to the lion (**n̪ɛpa**), which is pronominally referred to:

papɔkıra	**p-akkakán̪é**	**á-n̪-n̪-á.ík**	**á-n̪-ɔ̂ŋɔkɔ**
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:

n̪ʊɽít	**ı-n̪-a**	**m-p-a.ık**	**p-á.ɽəkɔ**
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.

nɔ-caɽɪ	**c-ɔ́-kamʊ̩ʈ̆ɛ̆**
on-day	C-of-celebration

ʊl	**w-a.ká**	**cɪk**	**w-a.píranɛ**	**kápík**	**nɔ́-kâ**
people	C-be:INCOMPL	VREF	C-thank:INCOMPL	God	on-body

on the day of the celebration, the people will be praising God

ámmá	**ŋ-kw-ɔ́ínɛ.t**	**kín**
if	2-C-go_to:COMPL	O3A

ŋ-kw-a.ka	**p-a.ʈáttɔ**	**ɪ-ól**	**w-aŋ**
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:

ŋín-ʈa	**akka**	**a-kw-ɔ́ká**	**á-kw-ɔ́ʈáttɪnɛ**	**ɪ-ól**	**w-óŋ**
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-**ɔkát a**-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL, or
C-**ɔkát 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-ɔká.t	**á-n-íʈɛ**	**ɪttĭ …**
1-C-be:COMPL	CONJ-1-say:DEPINCOMPL	that

I was saying (that) …

amʊ́ṭa	**p-ɔká.t**	**cık**	**a-kw-ɔ́kịɔ**	**lịcɔ́k**
PERS.Amʊṭa	C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-3-push:DEPINCOMPL	goats

Amʊṭa was pushing the goats together (fr. written story)

ɔ-kín	**ṭ-ɔká.t**	**cık**	**a-kín**	**ɔmɔ́ttɔ**	**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**:

ŋ-kw-ɔká.t	**cık**	**maɽɔ́t**	**ă-mpəppɔnɛ**	**lịcɔk**	**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 **cık** 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:

nuṯṯəruk	**n-ɔká.t**	**cuŋkut**	**c-ɔppɔt**	**a-n-ɔ́ɽɔ́kɔ́**	**cík**
pigs	C-be:COMPL	crowd	C-many	CONJ-PRO-eat:DEPINCOMPL	VREF

í.ccík	**k-ɔ-cɔɽɔŋ**
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-**ɔkát** C-verb:INCOMPL, or
C-**ɔkát cık** C-verb:INCOMPL

This verbal complex consists of the Completive of 'be' + Incompletive main verb. The Completive auxiliary can be followed by **cık**, but **cık** 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-ɔ́ká.t **cık** **p-a.pɔ́ẗ̪ẗ̪ɔt** **ʊ́kʊl** (< **ɔpɔ́ẗ̪ẗ̪ɔt**)
3-C-be:COMPL VREF C-beat:INCOMPL child
s/he was about to beat the child

k-kw-ɔ́ká.t **p-á.kákɔ** **ana** **k-kw-á.nn-ɔ́kák.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-ɔ́ká.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-ɔ́ká.t **p-ɛ̂.t** / **k-kw-á.p-p-ɛ̂.t**
3-C-be:COMPL C-go:COMPL 3-C-be:COMPL-C-go:COMPL
s/he had gone

lɛpa l-ɔká.t l-ɔɽʊmɔ́t̪.ɛ / lɛpa l-á.l-l-ɔɽʊmɔ́t̪.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. **wárɔkât** is the expected short form: **t** becomes **r** before concord **w**, then **w** is deleted between **r** and the following vowel. **wáwɔkât** 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).

ʊkʊl w-ɔká.t w-ɔká.t w-ulukkû-ppʊ
people C-be:COMPL C-be:COMPL C-one-really
the child was the only child

ʊkʊl w-á.r-ɔká.t / w-á-w-ɔká.t w-ulukkû-ppʊ
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 **ɔkwárəttɪkɔt** 'think, remember', as opposed to the more instantaneous non-Pluractional verb **ɔkwárɪkɔt** 'recall', corresponds with this longer time frame, expressing that remembering the place will take some repeated effort.

ant-ɔ́kwarəttɪkɔt na
can:DEPINCOMPL-remember.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL where:REL

ŋ-kw-ɔká.t p-ɔnəkkɛ́t̪.ɛ́ kúrrɔ̂ŋ
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 **ɔkwárɪkɔt** ‘recall’ corresponds to this short time frame, expressing that the place is expected to come to mind easily:

ant-ɔkwárɪkɔt	**na**
can:DEPINCOMPL-remember:DEPINCOMPL	where:REL

ŋ-kw-ɔnəkkɛ́ṭ.ɛ́	**kúrrɔ̂ŋ**
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	**ɛl-l-ɪ**	**l-ɔká.t**	**l-ɔká.t**	**nɔ-ṯʊpót**	**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:

pʊl	**p-əɣɛk**	**p-á.p-p-ɛ́ṯɛt**	**ʊl**	**w-ɛɣa**	**ákúccį**
person	C-some	C-be:COMPL-C-give:COMPL	people	C-two	money

ɪttɪ	**á-kín**	**ant-áṯ-ɔkkárəttɪn-ɔ̂k**
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-ɔŋɔn̪.é **ɪttɪ** **ɔ-nin̪** **n̪-áppʊn̪a** **ɔ-nin̪** **ɔ-cɛccɛ̂**
1-C-be:COMPL-C-like:COMPL that PERS-1A C-play:INCOMPL PERS-1A PERS-Cɛccɛ
ana.rruk **m-p-ănn-ɪ.an̪-ɔ̂k**
but 1-C-NEG-find:DEPPRFV-O3
I wanted to play with Cecce, but (then) I could not find her

ana **ákká** **k-kw-íɔn̪.é** **k-kw-ɔ́ká.t** **p-ɔpɪrá.t** **nɔ́-kâ**
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:

ámmá **pól** **ém-p-í** **p-á.p-p-ɔká.t** **pól**
if person DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL person
í-p-ɛ́rɛntɛ **lɔ́n** **l-ɔ́-kápík** **ícát** **p-á-ɪná.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-**ɔkát 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, **cɪk** cannot be present:

k-kw-án̪n̪-ɪɔt **ɔ-nɛnní**
3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL PERS-Nɛnnɪ
a-k-kw-ɔ́ká.t **a-k-kw-ɔ́ɽəkɔ.t** **kəpá**
CONJ-3-C-be:COMPL CONJ-3-C-eat:COMPL meat
s/he found Nɛnnɪ 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.

pʊl	**p-ɔká.t**	**p-á.ík**	**p-ânn̰án**
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)

pʊl	**p-ɔká.t**	**cık**	**p-a.ık**	**p-ânn̰án**
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-caɽı	**c-én**	**ɔ-cɛccé**	**p-á.p-p-ɔká.t**	**cık**
on-day	C-DEM	PERS-Cɛccɛ	C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL	VREF

a-kw-ɔ́ra
CONJ-3-cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

On that day Cɛccɛ had been busy cultivating

‘be about to’ with double Completive of ‘be’:

C-**ɔkát** C-**ɔkát** C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened:
C-**át**-C-**ɔkát** C-verb:INCOMPL;
C-**ɔkát** C-**ɔkát cɪk** C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened
C-**át**-C-**ɔkát cɪk** C-verb:INCOMPL

ɔ-ʈʊṯṯó	**p-á.p-p-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**	**p-ânʈán**	**ana**
PERS-Ʈʊṯṯʊ	C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL	VREF	C-come:INCOMPL	and

k-kw-áppər-ɔká.kat	**p-ɔŋɔ́**
3-C-again:COMPL-be:DEPPRFV	C-ill

Ʈʊṯṯʊ had been about to come, but he fell ill again

Past Completive with double Completive of 'be':

C-**ɔkát** C-**ɔkát** C-verb:COMPL, or shortened:
C-**át**-C-**át**-C-verb:COMPL

ɔparɪ	**p-ɔká.t**	**p-á.p-p-ɔkwɔnín-ɔk**	**ɲʊkʊl**
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 **ǐ**, **êrík** and **éɽê**, 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-**ɛí**	'be here (near speaker / deictic centre)'	**ɛn-C-í**	'this, these (near the deictic centre)'
C-**êrík**	'be there (near addressee)'	**ɛn-C-ərík**	'that, those (near addressee)
C-**éɽê**	'be over there (away from speaker/deictic centre and addressee)'	**ɛn-C-əɽê**	'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-ɛɪ	**cəné**
1-C-be_NEARSP	here

I am here

a-m-p-êrɪk	**a-n-íṯṯɔ**	**kícɛ**	**k-əɣɛk**
CONJ-1-be_NEARADDR	CONJ-1-pick:DEPINCOMPL	kicɛ-fruit	C-some

k-éí	**k-ɔ́ɣé**	**ɪttʊaŋ**
C-be_NEARSP	C-red	very

and I am here with you, picking this other very ripe *kicɛ*-fruit here (fr. written story)

appɛnṯínná	**w-êríkˈ**
groundnuts	C-be_NEARADDR

the groundnuts are there in front of you!

aɣɪk	**núṯṯəruk**	**n-əɣɛk**	**n-éɣê**
come	pigs	C-some	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-éí	**p-á.éɔ̋-a**
1-C-be_NEARSP	C-go:INCOMPL-ATT

I am going!

m-p-éí	**p-á.íkˈ**	**p-á.éɔ̋-a**
1-C-be_NEARSP	C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL-ATT

I am going!

m-p-êrɪk	**p-a.mákɔt**	**nɔn**	**n-ṯɔ-cəkên**
1-C-be_NEARADDR	C-follow:INCOMPL	O2A	with-at-lower_back

I will be near to you, following you (PL) from behind

mɛ́n	**m-ɛ̂rık**	**m-ɔməttáṭ.ɛ**
palm_fruits	C-be_NEARADDR	C-be_finished:COMPL

the palm fruits there with you are finished (App. IV, 115)

ʊl	**w-əʈɛk**	**w-ɛ́ʈɛ́**	**w-ânṭán**
people	C-some	C-be_DIST	C-come:INCOMPL

some people are over there, coming

12.9. **ıkkɔ cık** ‘sit, stay’

The verb **ıkkɔ cık** ‘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 **ıkkɔ cık** ‘sit, stay’ as main verb are given first. Presence of **cık** is obligatory.

ıkkı	**cîk**
sit:IMP	VREF

sit down!

ʊkʊl	**w-ɔŋɔṭ.é**	**ıttı**	**ɔ-nın**	**ṭ-íkkɔ**	**cık**
child	C-like:COMPL	that	PERS-1A	C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF

the child wants us to stay

As an auxiliary Completive C-**ıkkɔ́t cık**, Past C-**ıkkáṭɛ cık** and Dependent Perfective **ıkkat cık** are used in clause chaining construction with the conjunctive particle **á** in the following ways:

C-**ıkkɔ́t cık** + **á** + PRO-verb:DEPINCOMPL

C-**ıkkáṭɛ cık** or **ıkkat cık** + **á** + PRO-verb:DEPINCOMPL

The construction with Completive C-**ıkkɔ́t cık** expresses that an action was going on at some time in the past, literally: ‘X sat/stayed doing Y’. Some examples:

akka	**ɔ-kín**	**t̪-ɪkkɔ́.t**	**cɪk**
that	PERS-3A	C-sit:COMPL	VREF

a-kín	**ɔ́rá**	**íttíná**
CONJ.PERS-3A	cultivate:DEPINCOMPL	like_that

a-t̪ʊk	**ákkakat**
CONJ-dog	come:DEPPRFV

and when they were cultivating like that, the dog came (‘The story of the jackal’)

ŋaẗ̪t̪aẗ̪t̪apɛ	**ŋ-ɪkkɔ́.t**	**cɪk**	**a-íttɪttɛ**	**aô̰n**
bird(sp.)	C-sit:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-(PRO-)collect.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL	bees

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

The second construction, with Past C-**ɪkkát̪ɛ cɪk** or Dependent Perfective or **ɪkkat cɪk** expresses that an action (or state) started (literally “sat down”).

m-p-ɪkk.át̪ɛ	**cɪk**	**a-n-ɔkíŋa**
1-C-sit:PST	VREF	CONJ-1-become_tired:DEPINCOMPL

I started to feel tired

ana	**t̪akəɣʊk**	**ɪ-t̪-ɔ́ttɛ́**	**í-t̪-ɔ́ɣɛ**	**t̪-ɪkk.át̪ɛ**	**cɪk**
and	chicken	RES-C-little	RES-C-red	C-sit:PST	VREF

a-t̪-ɔ́ɪŋcɛ	**tɔ.pɔ́n**	**appɪn-appɪn**
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-kkʊ́naccɪ	**ɪkk.at**	**cɪk**	**a-kw-íttat**	**mʊɣɛ́**
CONJ.PERS-Kʊnaccɪ	sit:DEPPRFV	VREF	CONJ-3-become_fat:DEPINCOMPL	buttocks

n-t̪ɔ-cəkɛ́n
with-at-lower_back

… and Kʊnaccɪ started to grow fat at the buttocks from behind (fr. written story)

Like auxiliaries of ‘be’, **ɪkkɔ cɪk** as auxiliary can itself co-occur with an auxiliary verb, as in the following example:

a-lɔ́n **ɛ́l-l-í** **ánt-íkk.at** **cık** **a-l-érɛtta**
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-**íkkɔ** 'may'

The auxiliary verb C-**íkkɔ**, without **cık**, precedes an Incompletive main verb:

C-**íkkɔ** C-verb:INCOMPL

Unlike **ıkkɔ cık**, C-**íkkɔ** '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.

lɔn **l-íkkɔ** **l-a.ka** **l-ɔppɔ́t**
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-**íkkɔ** 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 **ɔ̱ṭ́ákka** 'become', followed by the adjective C-**ɔŋɔ́** 'ill'. **ɔ̱ṭ́ákka** cannot be left out.

papʊ **p-íkkɔ** **p-á.ŋa**
thing C-may C-become_ill:INCOMPL
the animal may become ill

papʊ	**p-íkkɔ**	**p-a.n̪̱t̪̱ɔ́kka**	**p-ɔŋɔ́**
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 itive/ventive auxiliary C-**ân̪̱t̪̱** (see the example below). C-**an̪̱t̪̱** has a modal interpretation in this context, as ‘may’ (see 12.20.2). It is this element C-**ân̪̱t̪̱** that allows for the presence of C-**íkkɔ**. In the example C-**íkkɔ** can be left out without a change of meaning, but **pán̪̱t̪̱ɔ́ká** cannot be omitted.

ɔ-pəlɪn	**p-íkkɔ**	**p-án̪̱t̪̱-ɔ́ká**	**p-ákkárákɔ.t**	**cakʊrʊk**
PERS-somebody	C-may	C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL	C-be_called:COMPL	also

ɪ-p-ərı̨k	**n-a-ôŋ**
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 Nɔppət is threatening the tortoise. With C-**íkkɔ** he communicates that the tortoise can be sure ‘to know him today …’. **kənɛ́** is a swear word variant of **ɔnnɛ́** ‘your mother’.

ŋ-kw-íkkɔ	**p-ínanɛ**	**kənɛ**	**ɪnénní**	**túllúk**
2-C-may	C-know_for:INCOMPL	your_mother	today	just

ámmá	**ḿ-p-á.nn-ɔ́kíŋcɔ́t̪̱-ʊŋ**	**ca**	**cîk**
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-rɪt	**ṯ-íkkɔ**	**ṯ-ănn-ɔrékɔ**	**maɽɪ**	**m-ɔppɔ́t**
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-**arə́ṯʊk** +H ‘be still’

C-**arə́ṯʊk** +H occurs in this form only. It can, for example, not be used without concord. C-**arə́ṯʊk** +H ‘be still’ does not have the shape of a verb. Final **k** is not attested in verbs, unless in presents of ‘be’ (C-**aîk**), where it is a remnant of the vague reference particle **cɪk**. Whether or not **k** of C-**arə́ṯʊk** +H is perhaps itself a remnant of **cɪk** 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-**arə́ṯʊk** +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-**arə́ṯʊk** +H as locative/existential verb follow here:

ŋ-kw-arə́ṯʊk-ɪ[72]
2-C-be_still-Q

are you ready? / have you finished? *(lit.: are you still?)*

cɪk	**c-arə́ṯʊk**	**áṯṯík**
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-**arə́ṯʊk** having a floating high tone (+H), no high tone (realized as falling) is generated on the question particle.

ka	**k-a.ık**	**k-arə̰ʊ̰k**	**ı-nt̰ɛ́**[73]
body	C-be:PR	C-be_still	in-sleep

I am still asleep (lit.: the body is still in sleep)

ɔ-kín	**t̰-ɔká.t**	**t̰-árə̰ʊ̰k**	**cık-ı-ká**	**k-ɔ-t̰ampaŋ**
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-árə̰ʊ̰k**
1-C-be_still	C-be_still

I am still not ready / I have still not finished

C-**arə̰ʊ̰k** +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-árə̰ʊ̰k	**ókól**	**w-ɔ́n**
3-C-be_still	child	C-POSS2A

s/he is still your child

ŋəʈı	**ŋ-arə̰ʊ̰k**	**ŋ-írrók**
water	C-be_still	C-cold

the water is still cold

pʊl	**p-arə̰ʊ̰k**	**p-ɔŋɔ**	**cânnan**
person	C-be_still	C-ill	very

the person is still very ill

cık	**c-arə̰ʊ̰k**	**c-ɔ́-ɔrrɔt**
place	C-be_still	C-of-tomorrow

it is still morning (maybe around 10.00 am)

[73] **ınt̰ɛ́** is a contraction of **í** + **mət̰ɛ́**, see 4.4.

C-**arə̰tʊk** +H as auxiliary verb can be followed by a Dependent Incompletive main verb. Examples with **ɪmma** 'see' **akkarɔ** 'call', **ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** 'steal', **ɔkkwɔ̂t** 'kill' are given in the table. The floating high tone of C-**arə̰tʊk** +H is realized on all-low dependent incompletive TAM-stems (first two examples in the table. The falling realization in the second example point towards an underlyingly long vowel).

Table 65 C-**arə̰tʊk** +H and Dependent Incompletive

	*C-**arə̰tʊk** +H + Dependent Incompletive*
ɪmma 'see'	C-**arə̰tʊk ímma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	C-**arə̰tʊk âkkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	C-**arə̰tʊk ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	C-**arə̰tʊk ɔkkwɔ̂t**

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-arə̰tʊk	**ɟ́kkɔ**	**áləppʊ́n**
1-C-be_still	drink:DEPINCOMPL	coffee

I am still to take coffee / I have not taken coffee yet

k-kw-árə̰tʊk	**áɪkɔt**	**ɪ-a-paŋ̂n**
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-ɔ́parɪ**	**w-ɔnʊ́**	**ɪttɪ**	**w-ápəʈɛ̰t̪a**
child	RES-(C-)-female	C-have	that	PRO.C-be_beaten:INCOMPL

a-w-árə̰tʊk	**ɔppɛ̂t**
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-árən̪ʊk**	**íllɔ**	**ɪ-ruⁿtⁿórúk**[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-**arə̪ʊk** +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-arə̪ʊk	**p-a.ɪk**	**p-íkkɔ́**	**áləppún**
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-**arə̪ʊk**:

k-kw-árən̪ʊk	**p-ă.nn-aŋkɔt**	**ɪttɪ**	**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-**arə̪ʊk** +H, C-**ícca** cannot function as a main verb. As a copular verb with adjectival predicate it can be used interchangeably with C-**arə̪ʊk** +H.

[74] Clause-final boundary tone (see 3.6).

ŋəʈɪ **ŋ-íccá** **ŋ-írrúk**
water C-be_still C-cold

the water is still cold

pʊl **p-ícca** **p-ɔŋɔ** **cânnan**
person C-be_still C-ill very

the person is still very ill

C-**arə̱ṯʊk** and C-**ícca** can be used together, in either order:

pʊl **p-íccá** **p-árə̱ṯʊk** **p-ɔŋɔ** **cânnan**
person C-be_still C-be_still C-ill very

the person is still very ill

pʊl **p-arə̱ṯʊk** **p-ícca** **p-ɔŋɔ** **cânnan**
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-**arə̱ṯʊk** 'be still' must be present:

k-kw-íccá **p-árə̱ṯʊk** **úkúl** **w-ɔ́n**
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-**aık**
C-**ícca** C-**aık** 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:

ŋ-kw-íccá **p-á.ík-ı**
2-C-be_still C-be:PR-Q

are you still there?

ɔ-nɛnní	**p-íccá**	**p-á.ík**	**p-érɛt**	**ɪttɪ**	**k-kw-ânn̰an-î**
PERS-Nɛnnɪ	C-be_still	C-be:PR	C-talk_about:INCOMPL	that	3-C-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nɛnnɪ 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' (+ **cɪk**) and the conjunctive particle **á** are followed by C-**ícca** and a Present Continuous.

ŋa-ŋa-n̰ʊŋkwat	**ŋ-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**
DIM-REDUP-sheep	C-be:COMPL	VREF

a-ŋ-íccá	**ŋ-á.ík**	**ŋ-áppʊn̰a**
CONJ-PRO.C-be_still	C-be:PR	C-play:INCOMPL

the lamb was still playing

The Completive of **ɔccɔ́ cɪk** '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	**cɪk**
1-C-receive:COMPL	VREF

I am late *(upon arrival, as an apology)*

ɔ-nnɛ	**p-ícca**	**p-ɔccɔ́.t**	**cɪk**
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 **əɣa** '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-cɟkɟt	**c-ícca**	**c-əɣá.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-**arə́ʈʊk** +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-**ʊ́rənn** +H 'just now'

The auxiliary C-**ʊ́rənn** +H 'just now' has only one form and only combines with a dependent incompletive TAM-stem. C-**ʊ́rənn** brings a high tone on the initial mora of an all-low dependent incompletive TAM-stems (first two examples in the table - the falling realization in the second example points towards an underlyingly long vowel).

Table 66 C-**ʊrənn** +H and dependent incompletive TAM-stem

	*C-**ʊrənn** +H and dep. incompl. TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	C-**ʊ́rənn-ímma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	C-**ʊ́rənn-âkkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	C-**ʊ́rənn-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	C-**ʊ́rənn-ɔkkwɔ̂t**

C-**ʊ́rənn** +H 'just now' + dependent incompletive TAM-stem expresses that something has just happened, or has just been carried out. Some examples:

ɔ-kʊkkʊ́ **p-ʊ́rənn-ɛ̂**
PERS-Kʊkkʊ C-just_now-go:DEPINCOMPL

Kʊkkʊ has just left

m-p-ʊ́rənn-ɔ̂ŋɔkɔt **ɪ-cʊʈɛ́** **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 incompletive 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-**ʊ́rrən** +H is used, a little time may have past. Compare:

m-p-úrrən-áɔ
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-ɔká.t	**p-úrrən-áɔ**	**ákka**	**k-kw-íɔ́.t**
1-C-be:COMPL	1-C-just_now-come:DEPINCOMPL	that	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**

TAM-stem		*TAM*	
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 been 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	**ɪttɪ̌ …**	[m̄bɔ̄mː-ītī]
1-C-not_know:INCOMPL	that	

I don't know (that) …

maṯ̱ṯ̱a	**ʊmmɪ**	**káppəɽɪ**	**k-áŋ-ɛ**	[maṯ̱-ʊmːɪ]
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 incompletive 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 incompletive TAM-stems of the verbs **ɪmma** 'see', **akkarɔ** 'call', **ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** 'steal' and **ɔkkwɔ̂t** 'kill'. The floating high tone of the auxiliary is realized or not realized on the dependent incompletive 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. incompletive TAM-stem

	arək *+H + dep. incompletive TAM-stem*	*C-**árək** +H + dep. incompletive TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	**arək-ímma** +H	C-**árək-ímma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	**arək-âkkarɔ** +H	C-**árək-âkkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	**arək-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H	C-**árək-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**arək-ɔkkwɔ̂t**	C-**árək-ɔkkwɔ̂t**

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

	*C-**arəkât** + Completive*	*C-**arəkât** + Past*
ɪmma 'see'	C-**arəkát** C-**ɪmmât**	C-**arəkát** C-**ɪmmakáa̱ɛ**
akkarɔ 'call'	C-**arəkát** C-**akkarɔ̂t**	C-**arəkát** C-**akkaráa̱ɛ**
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	C-**arəkát** C-**ɔmʊɲɛ̂**t	C-**arəkát** C-**ɔmʊɲɛ́kaa̱ɛ**
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	C-**arəkát** C-**ɔkkwɔa̱ɛ̂**	C-**arəkáa̱ɛ**

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 **ɪmma** 'see', **akkarɔ** 'call', **ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** 'steal' and **ɔkkwɔ̂t** '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

	*C-**arəkât** / C-**arək** and dependent incompletive TAM-stem*	*C-**arəkât** / C-**arək** and dependent perfective TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	C-**arəkár-ɪmma** +H C-**arək-ɪmma** +H	C-**arəkár-ɪmmakat** +H C-**arək-ɪmmakat** +H
akkarɔ	C-**arəkár-akkarɔ** +H	C-**arəkár-akkarat** +H

'call'	C-**arək-akkarɔ** +H	C-**arək-akkarat** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	C-**arəkár-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ** +H C-**arək-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ** +H	C-**arəkár-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H C-**arək-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	C-**arəkár-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t** C-**arək-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t**	C-**arəkár-ɔ́kkwât** C-**arək-ɔ́kkwât**

*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 incompletive 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 Incompletive auxiliary and a dependent incompletive main verb. 'As always' precedes the main verb, not the auxiliary.

pʊl	**p-ɔ-nɔppət**	**p-a.ɪk**	**p-árək-ɔmákarɔt**
person	C-of-Nɔppət	C-be:PR	C-as_always:INCOMPL-follow_each_other:DEPINCOMPL

n-ʈɔ-cəkɛ̂n
with-at-lower_back

the person of Nɔppət is surely following from behind (he always follows people at this hour) (fr. written story)

In the following two examples, the auxiliary is Dependent Incompletive:

a-kəllán **arək-ɔŋwɔ̂**
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)

ɔ-kakká **p-á.ík** **kárə̱t̪â**
PERS-Kakka C-be:PR where

akka **a-kw-árək-ɔka** **ɪ-nt̪ɛ́**
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 incompletive 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:

pʊl **p-arək-ɔ́mʊ́ŋɛ** **ana** **ɔ-kín** **t̪-ɔkkwɛ́.r-ɔk**
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)

ɔ-kakká **p-arəká.r-ɔ́ká** **í-nt̪ɛ́**
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-**.

pʊl **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-lalʊ́	**akk-arəká.r-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ.kat**	**ɟmíʃt**
PERS-Lalʊ	FOC-as_always:COMPL-steal:DEPPRFV	goat

it was surely Lalʊ who (then) stole the goat (he is known for stealing, by the speaker or generally)

The adverb **íkkərɛ** ‘maybe’ can be added to a clause with ‘as always’. **íkkərɛ** somewhat weakens the assumption:

íkkərɛ	**ʈʊk**	**ʈ-a.ık**	**ʈ-árək-ɟkkɔ**	**nî**
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-lalʊ́	**p-arəká.t**	**p-ɔmʊɲé.kaʈɛ**	**ɟmíʃt**
PERS-Lalʊ	C-as_always:COMPL	C-steal:PST	goat

Lalʊ, as expected, stole the goat (then)

ɔ-lalʊ́	**p-arəká.r-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ.kat**	**ɟmíʃt**
PERS-Lalʊ	C-as_always:COMPL-steal:DEPPRFV	goat

Lalʊ surely stole the goat (then)

Another example with Dependent Perfective main verb is the following:

ʈʊk	**ʈ-arəká.t**	**ʈ-ɔrəkk.áʈɛ**	**ŋuɽû**
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-nɛnní	**p-arəká.t**	**p-aá.t**
PERS-Nɛnnɪ	C-as_always:COMPL	C-come:COMPL

Nɛnnɪ has, as always, (already) arrived (she always comes exactly in time, she gives people no space)

ʈʊk	**ʈ-ɔ́-pattɪ**	**t-arəká.t**	**t-ɔkkwɔʈ.é**	**ŋaʈərəpê**
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-pə́lla	**p-arəká.t**	**p-ɔʈʈɪé.t**	**kʃ́t**
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:

ʈʊk	**ʈ-ɪn**	**ʈ-arəká.r-ɔ́kə́nn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t**
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 **ɔkkwɔ̂t** '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 + dep. incompl TAM-stem*	*C-**ánt** + H + dep. incompl. TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	**ant-ímma** +H	C-**ánt-ímma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	**ant-âkkarɔ** +H	C-**ánt-âkkarɔ** +H
ɔmúɲɛ 'steal'	**ant-ɔmúɲɛ** +H	C-**ánt-ɔmúɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**ant-ɔkkwɔ̂t**	C-**ánt-ɔkkwɔ̂t**

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 incompletive 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 *__antɔ__ (with Completive *C-__antôt__) 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 incompletive TAM-stem of a main verb. With **ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** ‘steal’ and **ɔkkwôt** ‘kill’ there is tone bridge.

Table 73 C-**ántər** / C-**ánt** and dep. incompletive TAM-stem

	*C-**ántər** / C-**ánt** + dep. incompletive TAM-stem*
ɪmma ‘see’	C-**ántər-ɪmma** +H / C-**ánt-ɪmma** +H
akkarɔ ‘call’	C-**ántər-akkarɔ** +H / C-**ánt-akkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ ‘steal’	C-**ántár-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ** +H / C-**ánt-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwôt ‘kill’	C-**ántár-ɔ́kkwôt** / C-**ánt-ɔ́kkwôt**

Completive C-**ántər** and C-**ánt** can also be followed by a dependent perfective main verb TAM-stem (just as can C-**arəkât** and C-**arək**). A dependent perfective TAM-stem can, moreover, follow after Incompletive C-**ánt** +H and Dependent Incompletive **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 Incompletive **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
ɪmma 'see'	**ant-ímmakat** +H	C-**ánt-ímmakat** +H	C-**ántər-ɪmmakat** +H C-**ánt-ɪmmakat** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	**ant-âkkarat** +H	C-**ánt-âkkarat** +H	C-**ántər-akkarat** +H C-**ánt-akkarat** +H
ɔmójɲɛ 'steal'	**ant-ɔmójɲɛkat** +H	C-**ánt-ɔmójɲɛkat** +H	C-**ántár-ɔ́mójɲɛkat** +H C-**ánt-ɔ́mójɲɛkat** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**ant-ɔkkwât**	C-**ánt-ɔkkwât**	C-**ántár-ɔ́kkwât** C-**ánt-ɔ́kkwât**

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).

pʊl	**p-ánt-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ**	**káɽʊk**	**ana**	**p-p-á.kənn-ɔnɛ́kɔ**
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

ɔ-rɔn	**ṯ-ánt-ímma**	**cɔɽɔŋ**	**ŋɔ́rrɔt**
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**	**ɪ.ccík**	**k-úŋ**
and	when	1-C-come:COMPL	near	C-POSS3

ɪttɪ	**m-p-ánt-ɔkáṯá-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-ɔŋɔṯ.é	**ɪttɪ**	**ɔ-nɔn**	**ṯ-ánt-ɔkə́nɛ-n**	**ɪttɪ**
1-C-like:COMPL	that	PERS-2A	C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1	that

ɔ-nɔn	**ṯ-a.ra**	**ṯún**	**ɪttɪ**	**káṯ-ṯa**	**cənɛ́**
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 incompletive 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 **ɔ́n-**. I translate **ant** in these cases with 'please', though 'please' is perhaps a little strong.

Table 75 Commands with **ant** +H

	sg. addressee	*pl. addressee*	
ɪpɪttɔ 'ask'	**ant-ípɪttɔ**	**(ɔ)n-ánt-ípɪttɔ**	please ask!
ɔcɔ́ƭɔ 'stand'	**ant-ɔcɔ́ƭɔ**	**(ɔ)n-ánt-ɔcɔ́ƭɔ**	please wait!
ɔccɨ́kɔt 'hear, listen'	**ant-ɔccɨ́kɔt**	**(ɔ)n-ánt-ɔccɨ́kɔt**	please listen!
ɔllɔ̂ 'run'	**ant-ɔllɔ̂**	**(ɔ)n-ánt-ɔllɔ̂**	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-aɔ
1-C-can:COMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL

I have arrived just now

m-p-ánt-ɪɔ **pəƭɪn**
1-C-can:COMPL-die:DEPINCOMPL finally

I am dead now / I am completely finished (said when something serious has happened)

ınɛ́nní	**m-p-ántər-ərrɔt**	**kɪɲɪt**	**t̪əpʊt**	**pə́ɽɪn**
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-ántár-ɔ́kkɔ́t**	**tát̪-t̪a**
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-ántár-ɔt̪əkka	**p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
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:

ɔ-nɨ̨n	**t̪-ánt-ɪɔt**	**át̪ʊɽan**	**pəɽɪn**
PERS-1A	C-can:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL	thieves	finally

we could finally catch the thieves

Some examples with Dependendent 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	**mə́rɛ**	**m-ɔká.t**	**cík**
that	cultivating_party	C-be:COMPL	VREF

a-pʊ́l	**ant-ɟ́kk.at**	**ŋə́pak**
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-ɪttáṭ̪.ɛ** **kɪccɛ́**
even-that child C-become_fat:COMPL properly

a-kakká **ant-ákkakat** **tʊan**
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 **maʈɪ** **m-ɔkkɔṭ̪.ɛ́** **m-əʈɛ-m-əʈapúrúk**
and-that days C-do:COMPL C-two-C-two.three

a-íkɛ **ant-ákkakat** **nɔ́-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:

pʊl **p-ántər-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ.kat / p-ánt-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ.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 *__appɔ__ (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 incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb.

Table 77 **app** +H and C-**ápp** +H and dep. incompletive TAM-stem

	app *+H + dependent incompletive*	*C-**ápp** +H + dependent incompletive*
ɪmma 'see'	**app-ímma** +H	C-**ápp-ímma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	**app-âkkarɔ** +H	C-**ápp-âkkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	**app-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H	C-**ápp-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**app-ɔkkwɔ̂t**	C-**ápp-ɔkkwɔ̂t**

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 incompletive main verb, I gloss the main verb as dependent incompletive 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 incompletive 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 incompletive main verb TAM-stem are presented in table 79.

Table 78 C-**áppər**/C-**ápp** and dep. incompletive TAM-stem

	*C-**áppər**/C-**ápp** + dep. incompletive TAM-stem*
ımma 'see'	C-**áppər-ımma** +H C-**ápp-ımma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	C-**áppər-akkarɔ** +H C-**ápp-akkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	C-**áppə́r-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ** +H C-**ápp-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	C-**áppə́r-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t** C-**ápp-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t**

Dependent perfectives TAM-stems can be preceded by Completive C-**áppər** and C-**ápp**, but also by Incompletive C-**ápp** +H and Dependent Incompletive **app** +H (just as they can be preceded by Completive C-**ántər**/C-**ánt**, and by Incompletive C-**ánt** +H and Dependent Incompletive **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

	***app** +H + dep. perfective TAM-stem*	*C-**ápp** +H + dep. perfective TAM-stem*	*C-**áppər**/C-**ápp** + dep. perfective TAM-stem*

ɪmma ‘see’	**app-ímmakat** +H	C-**ápp-ímmakat** +H	C-**áppər-ɪmmakat** +H C-**áp-ɪmmakat** +H
akkarɔ ‘call’	**app-âkkarat** +H	C-**ápp-âkkarat** +H	C-**áppər-akkarat** +H C-**áp-akkarat** +H
ɔmójɲɛ ‘steal’	**app-ɔmójɲɛkat** +H	C-**ápp-ɔmójɲɛkat** +H	C-**áppár-ɔ́mójɲɛkat** +H C-**áp-ɔ́mójɲɛkat** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t ‘kill’	**app-ɔkkwât**	C-**ápp-ɔkkwât**	C-**áppár-ɔ́kkwât** C-**áp-ɔ́kkwât**

Commands with ‘again’ are formed with Dependent Incompletive **app** +H and the dependent incompletive 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 **ɔnɔ́n**, or the clitics **ɔ́n-** or **ń**-. Examples with the latter are given in table 81.

Table 80 Commands with **app** +H

verb	*2SG addressee*	*2PL addressee*	*English*
akkarɔ ‘call’	**app-âkkarɔ**	(ɔ)**n-ápp-âkkarɔ**	call again!
ɔcɔ́ʈɔ ‘stand’	**app-ɔcɔ́ʈɔ**	(ɔ)**n-ánt-ɔcɔ́ʈɔ**	wait again!
ɔccɟ́kɔt ‘hear’	**app-ɔccɟ́kɔt**	(ɔ)**n-ápp-ɔccɟ́kɔt**	listen again!
ɔllɔ̂ ‘run’	**app-ɔllɔ̂**	(ɔ)**n-ápp-ɔllɔ̂**	make way again!

The following two examples contrast a verb with Completive ‘again’ and dependent incompletive 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 a thetic statement, addition of an adjunct of time is appropriate.

ʈɛpa	**ʈ-ápp-ɔ́kkwɔ́t**	**ɟmɟ́t**	**w-ə́ɽɛk**
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)

ʈɛpa	**ʈ-ápp-ɔ́kkw.át**	**ɟmɟ́t**	**w-ə́ɽek**	**mɛccɪn-tî**
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:

ɔ-pəllɪn	**p-a.ʈʈɛ**	**nɔ-ɲʊkúl**
PERS-one_of_group	C-leave:INCOMPL	on-children

á-kw-á.nn-ápp-ére.kat	**pə́ɽɪn**	**ɪttɪ**	**m-p-a.ínɛ**	**ʊ́kʊl**
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 **əttəŋ** ‘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-ɔ́kkɔ.ʈé	**əttəŋ**
3-C-do:COMPL	again

s/he has done it again

k-kw-ápp-ɔ́kkɔ̂t
3-C-again:COMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL

s/he has done it again

k-kw-ápp-ɔ́kkɔ́t	**əttəŋ**
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 **ɔkárənnɔ** 'let, abstain' functioning as auxiliary verb. As a main verb **ɔkárənnɔ** 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 **ɔkárənn** +H, shortened: **ɔkánn** +H, **ǎnn** +**H**
Incompletive C-**akárənn** +H, shortened: **akánn** +H, **ǎnn** +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 incompletive, a dependent perfective or a dependent completive. Examples with **ɪmma** 'see', **akkarɔ** 'call', **ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ** 'steal' and **ɔkkwɔ̂t** '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 Tɔʏəmaⱪ̱ɔ̂n area the middle form is generally preferred, according to my consultant (JS), while in the Ⱪ̱aʏʊ and Ⱪ̱ɔʏî areas, the shortest forms are very common. In the tables, the names of the TAMs are given in italics.

Table 81 Dependent Negative Incompletive and Negative Incompletive

	Dependent Negative Incompletive: ***ɔkárənn*** *+H/****ɔkánn*** *+H/****ɔ̆nn*** *+H + dep. incompletive main verb TAM-stem*	*Negative Incompletive:* *C-****a.kárənn*** *+H/ C-****a.kánn*** *+H/C-****ă.nn*** *+H + dep. incompletive main verb TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	**ɔkárənn-ímma** +H **ɔkánn-ímma** +H **ɔ̆nn-ímma** +H	C-**a.kárənn-ímma** +H C-**a.kánn-ímma** +H C-**ă.nn-ímma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	**ɔkárənn-âkkarɔ** +H **ɔkánn-âkkarɔ** +H **ɔ̆nn-âkkarɔ** +H	C-**a.kárənn-âkkarɔ** +H C-**a.kánn-âkkarɔ** +H C-**ă.nn-âkkarɔ** +H
ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ 'steal'	**ɔkárənn-ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ** +H **ɔkánn-ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ** +H **ɔ̆nn-ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ** +H	C-**a.kárənn-ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ** +H C-**a.kánn-ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ** +H C-**ă.nn-ɔmʹʊ́ŋɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**ɔkárənn-ɔkkwɔ̂t** **ɔkánn-ɔkkwɔ̂t** **ɔ̆nn-ɔkkwɔ̂t**	C-**a.kárənn-ɔkkwɔ̂t** C-**a.kánn-ɔkkwɔ̂t** C-**ă.nn-ɔkkwɔ̂t**

Table 82 Dependent Negative Completive and Completive

Verb	*Dependent Negative Completive:* ***ɔkárənn/ɔkánn/ŏnn*** *+ dependent completive main verb TAM-stem*	*Negative Completive:* *C-**a.kárənn**/C-**a.kánn**/C-**ă.nn** + dependent completive main verb TAM-stem*
ımma ‘see’	**ɔkárənn-ımma** +H **ɔkánn-ımma** +H **ŏnn-ımma** +H	C-**a.kárənn-ımma** +H C-**a.kánn-ımma** +H C-**ă.nn-ımma** +H
akkarɔ ‘call’	**ɔkárənn-akkarɔ** +H **ɔkánn-akkarɔ** +H **ŏnn-akkarɔ** +H	C-**a.kárənn-akkarɔ** +H C-**a.kánn-akkarɔ** +H C-**ă.nn-akkarɔ** +H
ɔmúɲɛ ‘steal’	**ɔkárənn-ɔ́múɲɛ** +H **ɔkánn-ɔ́múɲɛ** +H **ŏnn-ɔ́múɲɛ** +H	C-**a.kárənn-ɔ́múɲɛ** +H C-**a.kánn-ɔ́múɲɛ** +H C-**ă.nn-ɔ́múɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t ‘kill’	**ɔkárənn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t** **ɔkánn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t** **ŏnn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t**	C-**a.kárənn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t** C-**a.kánn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t** C-**ă.nn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t**

Table 83 Dependent Negative Perfective and Negative Perfective

Verb	*Dependent Negative Perfective:* ***ɔkárənn/ɔkánn/ŏnn*** *+ dep. perfective TAM-stem*	*Negative Perfective:* *C-**a.kárənn**/C-**a.kánn**/C-**ă.nn** + dep. perfective TAM-stem*
ımma ‘see’	**ɔkárənn-ımmakat** +H **ɔkánn-ımmakat** +H **ŏnn-ımmakat** +H	C-**a.kárənn-ımmakat** +H C-**a.kánn-ımmakat** +H C-**ă.nn-ımmakat** +H
akkarɔ	**ɔkárənn-akkarat** +H	C-**a.kárənn-akkarat** +H

‘call’	**ɔkánn-akkarat** +H **ǒnn-akkarat** +H	C-**a.kánn-akkarat** +H C-**ǎ.nn-akkarat** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ ‘steal’	**ɔkáránn-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H **ɔkánn-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H **ǒnn-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H	C-**a.káránn-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H C-**a.kánn-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H C-**ǎ.nn-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t ‘kill’	**ɔkáránn-ɔ́kkwât** **ɔkánn-ɔ́kkwât** **ǒnn-ɔ́kkwât**	C-**a.káránn-ɔ́kkwât** C-**a.kánn-ɔ́kkwât** C-**ǎ.nn-ɔ́kkwât**

The sets below illustrate the different non-dependent TAMs. **pʊl** ‘person’, **ʊkʊl**’ child’ and **pɪŋɪl** ‘snake’ are low-toned nouns. The TAMs in the first set are based on **akkarɔ** ‘call’, in the second on **ɔkkwɔ̂t** ‘kill’. In both sets, the first example has a Negative Incompletive, the second a Negative Completive, the third a Negative Perfective.

pʊl p-a.kánn-âkkarɔ ʊ́kʊl ‘the man does/will not call the child’
pʊl p-a.kánn-akkarɔ ʊ́kʊl ‘the man has not called the child’
pʊl p-a.kánn-akkar.at ʊ́kʊl ‘the man did not call the child’

pʊl p-a.kánn-ɔkkwɔ́t pɪŋɪl ‘the man does/will not kill the snake’
pʊl p-a.kánn-ɔ́kkwɔ́t pɪŋɪl ‘the man has not killed the snake’
pʊl p-a.kánn-ɔ́kkw.át pɪŋɪl ‘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 **ɔ**, so that only **ǎnn** (C-**ǎnn**) remains.

Use and scope

To start with, some sentences will be presented with **ɔkárɔnnɔ** ‘let’ as main verb. The verb can express ‘let’ in the sense of ‘allow’, as in the following examples:

pʊl **p-ɔkərə́nnɔ.t**
person C-let:COMPL

the man allowed it

… a-ʈ̪ʊ́ʊlɪ **ɔkə́rənn.aʈ̪-ɔ̂k**
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-ɔká.t **cɪk** **a-n-ɔ́mɛntɛ** **ɪttɪ** **n-ɔkə́rənnɔ** **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 **kərənní** of **ɔkə́rɔnnɔ**:

kərənnɪ **ɔpə́llɛ**
let:IMP be_afraid:DEPINCOMPL

do not be afraid!

kərənnɪ **ɔʇəkɔ**[75] **cɪk** **n-ʊkʊn** **w-ɔ́-kʊ́rɛ̂**
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 **ŋ́**- ‘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 **ɔʇəkɔ̂** is realized as low.

á-kənn-ɔʧəkɔ[76]	**cɪk**	**n-ʊkʊn**	**w-ɔ́-kúrê**
SUBJ-(2-)NEG:DEP-eat:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	with-hand	C-of-left_side

you must not eat with your left hand! (the addressee is about to eat)

á-kə́nn-ɔʧəkɔ[77]	**cɪk**	**n-ʊkʊn**	**w-ɔ́-kúrê**
CONJ-(2-)NEG:DEP-eat:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	with-hand	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 **ɔkə́rənnɔ:**

ɔkə́rənn-ɔʧəkɔ[78]	**cɪk**	**n-ʊkʊn**	**w-ɔ́-kúrê**
NEG:DEP-let:DEPINCOMPL-eat:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	with-hand	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:

ɔ-rɔn	**t-ă.nn-ɪmma**	**mɔʧɔŋ**	**ákka**	**ŋíʧímák**	**ŋ-á.ɪk**
PERS-12A	C-NEG-see:DEPCOMPL	mountains	that	darkness	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 **ɔʧəkɔ̂** is realized as low.

[77] In this environment the final vowel of **ɔʧəkɔ̂** is realized as low.

[78] In this environment the final vowel of **ɔʧəkɔ̂** is realized as low.

ɔ-kín	**n̪-á.nn-ɔ́kə́n̪a.kat**[79]	**n̪épa**
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 **ɔ̆nn** instead of **ănn** 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-pəllɪn	**p-a.n̪n̪ɛ**	**nɔ-ɲʊkʊ́l**
PERS-one_of_group	C-leave:INCOMPL	on-children

á-kw-á.nn-ápp-ɛ́rɛ.kat[80]	**pə́ɽɪn**	**ɪttɪ**	**m-p-a.ínɛ**	**ʊ́kʊl**
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**	**n̪-ánt-ɔkə́nn-ɔccɟ́kɔn̪-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:

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[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.

t̪ɪk	**ɛn-t̪-ɪ**	**t̪-ă.nn-íɔ**	**át̪t̪ík**	**(< 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 **ɔkíttiɲɛ** 'destroy for':

m-p-ɔŋɔt̪.é	**ɪttɪ**	**ól**
1-C-like:COMPL	that	people

w-ă.nn-ɔkíttiɲɛ	**niɲ**	**kéccúk**	**k-íɲ**
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 **aŋkɔt** 'want, agree' is used, not **ɔŋɔt** 'like, want, love'.

m-p-ă.nn-aŋkɔt	**ɪttɪ**	**ɔ-rɪt**	**t̪-áppʊt̪a**	**pə́ɽɪn**
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:

ɔkə́nn-ɔ́ká	**papɔkɪra**	**akk-ɔkiccé.r-ʊŋ**
NEG:DEP-be:DEPCOMPL	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', **ɛlla** (tr.) 'not have, lack', **ɛlla** (intr.) 'be absent, lack' and **əɽa** '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 **ɔmmâ** ‘not know’. The Negative Completive expresses a present state.

m-p-a.kə́nn-ɔmmá	**akka**	**a-n-ɔkkɔ́t**	**ŋərɛ**
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.kə́nn-ɔ́mmá	**akka**	**a-n-ɔkkɔ́t**	**ŋərɛ**
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 **ɔ̂**. 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:

ɔ̂	(dependent)
C-**â**	(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 **ɔ̂** coalesces with the initial vowel of the completive of past TAM-stem of the main verb that follows. This results in **i̧**, **î**, **û**, **ô**, **ɔ̂**, or **â**. Irrealis **ɔ̂** before **ə** results in **ɔ́ə.** Coalesced vowels with a contour can be pronounced with some length.

Irrealis **â** is realized as **á** before the vowels **ị**, **ɪ**, **u**, **ʊ** and **ə**, resulting in diphthong **áị**, **áɪ**, **áu**, **áʊ** 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 **ɔ̂/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 incompletive TAM-stem versus the incompletive 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-**aîk**.

In environments that select a dependent TAM-stem, for example after a negation auxiliary, the irrealis marker in principle occurs as **ɔ̂**. 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 Completive and Irrealis Completive

verb	*Dependent Irrealis Completive:* ***ɔ̂*** *+ completive TAM-stem*	*Irrealis Completive:* C-***â*** *+ completive TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	**îmmâ.t**	C-**á-ɪmmâ.t**
ʊnɔ 'build'	**ûnɔ́.t**	C-**á-ʊnɔ́.t**
ɔkkwɔ̂ 'hit'	**ɔ̂kkwɔ́.t**	C-**âkkwɔ́.t**
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**ɔ̂kkwɔ̰t.é**	C-**âkkwɔ̰t.é**
ɛrɛ 'speak'	**êrê.t**	C-**êrê.t**
ərrɔ 'push'	**ɔ́-ərrɔ̂.t**	C-**á-ərrɔ̂.t**
apɔ 'fall'	**âpɔ̂.t**	C-**âpɔ̂.t**
aɔ 'come'	**âá.t**	C-**âá.t**

Table 85 Dependent Irrealis Past and Irrealis Past

verb	*Dependent Irrealis Past:* ***ɔ̂*** *+ past TAM-stem*	*Irrealis Past:* *C-**â** + past TAM-stem*
ɪmma ‘see’	**îmma.káɲɛ**	C**-á-ɪmma.káɲɛ**
ʊnɔ ‘build’	**ôn.áɲɛ**	C**-á-ʊn.áɲɛ**
ɔkkwɔ̂ ‘hit’	**â.kkw.áɲɛ**	C**-âkkw.áɲɛ**
ɔkkwɔ̂t ‘kill’	**â-kkw.áɲɛ**	C**-âkkw.áɲɛ**
ɛrɛ ‘speak’	**êrɛ.káɲɛ**	C**-êrɛ.káɲɛ**
ərrɔ ‘push’	**ɔ́-ərrá.ɲɛ**	C**-á-ərrá.ɲɛ**
apɔ ‘fall’	**âp.áɲɛ**	C**-âp.áɲɛ**
aɔ ‘come’	C**-âkka.káɲɛ**	C**-âkka.káɲɛ**

Some speakers use **â** in morpho-syntactic contexts where (dependent) **ɔ̂** 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:

pʊl **p-a.kə́nn-á-ɛɔ̂.t**
person C-NEG-IRR:DEP-go:COMPL
the man should not have gone

Another case is the following in which irrealis **ɔ̂** 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.kə́nn-ɔ́-ɔmma.káɲɛ́ / m-p-a.kə́nn-á-amma.káɲɛ́
1-C-NEG-IRR:DEP.not_know:PST / 1-C-NEG-IRR:DEP-not_know:PST

ɔ́ɽə́kɔ́	**ɲʊ́ɽít**	**ámmá**	**ɔ́-ɪáɪa**	**p-ɔká.t**	**p-ɔŋkɛ́né.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-ɛlɪkkɔ́.t	**pʊ́l**	**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.

ámmá	**ŋ́-kw-ɔ́ká.t**	**p-áppə́r-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ**	**ana**	**ŋ-kw-á-ɪɔ́.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-nin̰	**n̰-á-aká.t**	**cɪk**	**tɔ́rrʊ́**	**ínɛ́nní**
PERS-12	C-IRR-be:COMPL	VREF	Lumun_country	today

ámmá	**n̰ɔ́ɽák**	**n̰-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 **ḿ-p-á.p-p-ɪná.t** **a-n-ɔ́-ɔkkwɔt̪-úŋ**
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-ɛlɪkk.áṭ̪é **pól** **ém-p-í**
3-C-IRR-release:PST person DEM-C-NEARSP

a-kw-ɔ́kərənnɔ **ɪ-p-ɛlɪkkákɔ.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 **ɔnâ** 'bring' (second example below) or with a Past Completive construction involving the defective verb C-**ɔnô** 'have' (third example below).

ŋ-kw-á-accɻkɔ́t̪-ín
2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

ŋ-kw-ɔná.t **ɪttɪ** **ŋ-kw-a.ccɻkɔt̪-ín**
2-C-bring:COMPL that 2-C-hear:INCOMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

ŋ-kw-á.p-p-ɔ́nó **ɪttɪ** **ŋ-kw-a.ccɻkɔt̪-ín**
2-C-be:COMPL-C-have that 2-C-hear:INCOMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

The above given constructions with **ɔnâ** ‘bring’ and C-**ɔnô** ‘have’ can also be combined with an Irrealis Completive:

ŋ-kw-ɔná.t	**ɪttɪ**	**ŋ-kw-á-accḭkɔ́.ṯ-ín**
2-C-bring:COMPL	that	2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

ŋ-kw-á.p-p-ɔ́nó	**ɪttɪ**	**ŋ-kw-á-accḭkɔ́.ṯ-ín**
2-C-be:COMPL-C-have	that	2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

C-**ɔnô** ‘have’, which is undoubtedly related to **ɔnâ** ‘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:

pʊl	**p-a.kə́nn-á-akkakáṯɛ**	**pəɽɪn**	**ákka**	**cɪk**	**c-ɛ̂.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

pʊl	**p-a.kə́nn-í-ɪmma.káṯɛ́**	**nḭ́n**	**ámmá**	**ɔ́-nḭ́n**	**ṯ-á.kə́nn-akkarɔ̂-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-ɔ́-ɔkərə́nnɔ́.t	**pʊ́l**	**á-p-ânṯán**
3-C-NEG-IRR:DEP-let:COMPL	person	SUBJ-PRO-come:DEPINCOMPL

s/he should not have allowed the person to come

ámmá	**ḿ-p-á.p-p-ɪná.t**	**á-n-ɔkə́nn-ɔ́-ɔkkwɔṯ-ɔ̂k**
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-akkarɔ̂.t (< **k-** + **p-** + **ánt-** + **ɔ̂-** + **akkarɔ̂t**)
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:

pʊ̀l	**p-árək-ɔ́-ɔmʊŋɛ́.t**
person	C-as_always:COMPL-IRR:DEP-steal:COMPL

ámmá	**ŋ̀kʊ̀l**	**ŋ-ɛllâ.t**	**t.ʊan**
if	children	C-be_absent:COMPL	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-ɛ́lıkkɔ**	**pól**	**ɛ́m-p-í**
2-C-should	C-release:INCOMPL	person	DEM-C-NEARSP

you should release this man

ɔ-kín	**t̪-íra**	**t̪-a.nán-ʊŋ**	**lɔ́n**	**appık**
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-ɛ́-ɛlıkkɔ́.t**	**pól**	**ɛ́m-p-í**
2-C-should	C-IRR-release:COMPL	person	DEM-C-NEARSP

you should have released this man

ɔ-kín	**t̪-íra**	**t̪-á-anán-ʊŋ**[81]	**lɔ́n**	**appık**
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**	**ɔccɟ́kɔt**
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 **ɔnánɛ** 'bring to' is **ɔnánɛt**. Plural (consonant-initial) object pronominal clitics come after the TAM-stem (for example **ɔnánɛt-tɔ́n** '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-ă.nn-ɔkárənnɔ** **púl** **á-p-ânn̰án**
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 **ɔ́n̰** and a ventive auxiliary **an̰**. Both have a dependent incompletive TAM-stem, a (non-dependent) incompletive TAM-stem and a completive TAM-stem. In addition, ventive **ɔn̰** 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

TAM-stem	*itive*	*ventive*
dependent incompletive	**ɔ́n̰**	**an̰**
incompletive	**án̰**	**an̰**
completive	**ânn̰n̰**	**ânn̰n̰**
imperative	**n̰**	-

I represent the completive itive/ventive TAM-stem **ânn̰n̰** 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 incompletive and incompletive 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 incompletive and completive TAM-stems are preceded by a concord, thus: itive incompletive C-**án̰**, ventive incompletive C-**an̰**, and itive/ventive completive C-**ânn̰n̰**. The dependent forms (itive **ɔn̰**, ventive **an̰**) occur in environments that would select a dependent incompletive or a dependent perfective TAM-stem. The dependency opposition in the itive and ventive auxiliaries is fully functional.

The dependent incompletive and incompletive itive and ventive auxiliaries select a dependent incompletive or a dependent perfective TAM-stem of the main verb. The completive auxiliary **ânn̰n̰** (whether

receiving an itive or a ventive interpretation) selects a completive TAM-stem. **âṭṭ** 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 **pʊl** 'person'.

Table 87 Dependent Itive Incompletive and Itive Incompletive

	Dep. Itive Incompletive ***ɔ́ṭ*** *+ dep. incompletive TAM-stem*	*Itive Incompletive* C-***á.ṭ*** *+ dep. incompletive TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	**ɔṭ-ímma** +H	C-**a.ṭ-ímma** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	**ɔṭ-âkkarɔ** +H	C-**a.ṭ-âkkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	**ɔṭ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H	C-**a.ṭ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**ɔṭ-ɔkkwɔ̂t**	C-**a.ṭ-ɔkkwɔ̂t**

Table 88 Dependent Itive Perfective and Itive Perfective

	Dep. Itive Perfective ***ɔ́ṭ*** *+ dep. perfective TAM-stem*	*Itive Perfective* C-***á.ṭ*** *+ dep. perfective TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	**ɔṭ-ímmakat** +H	C-**a.ṭ-ímmakat** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	**ɔṭ-âkkarat** +H	C-**a.ṭ-âkkarat** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	**ɔṭ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛkat** +H	C-**a.ṭ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛkat** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	**ɔṭ-ɔkkwât**	C-**a.ṭ-ɔkkwât**

Table 89 Dependent Ventive Incompletive and Ventive Incompletive

	Dep. Ventive Incompletive ***aṭ*** *+ dep. incompletive TAM-stem*	*Ventive Incompletive* C-***âṭ*** *+ dep. incompletive TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	**aṭ-ɪmma** +H	C-**áṭ-ɪmma** +H

akkarɔ ‘call’	**aṉ-akkarɔ** +H	C-**áṉ-akkarɔ** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ ‘steal’	**aṉ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H	C-**áṉ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛ** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t ‘kill’	**aṉ-ɔkkwɔ̂t**	C-**áṉ-ɔkkwɔ̂t**

Table 90 Dependent Ventive Perfective and Ventive Perfective

	Dep. Ventive Perfective ***aṉ*** *+ dep. perfective TAM-stem*	*Ventive Perfective* *C-**âṉ** + dep. perfective TAM-stem*
ɪmma ‘see’	**aṉ-ɪmmakat** +H	C-**áṉ-ɪmmakat** +H
akkarɔ ‘call’	**aṉ-akkarat** +H	C-**áṉ-akkarat** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ ‘steal’	**aṉ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛkat** +H	C-**áṉ-ɔmʊ́ɲɛkat** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t ‘kill’	**aṉ-ɔkkwât**	C-**áṉ-ɔkkwât**

Ventive **aṉ** may have developed from **aɔ** ‘come’, itive **ɔ́ṉ** from **ɛ̂ɔ̂** ‘go’, but where **ṉ** 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 **ɔ́n̪** combined with a dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb are given here. The first has the non-dependent incompletive TAM-stem **án̪**, the second the dependent incompletive **ɔ́n̪**.

m-p-a.n̪-ɔkákɔt	**ɪ-aləpapór**	**ŋɔrrɔt**
1-C-IT:INCOMPL-grind_at:DEPINCOMPL	in-mill	tomorrow

I will go and grind at the mill tomorrow

m-p-a.ɛ́ɔ̃	**a-n-ɔn̪-ɔkákɔt**	**ɪ-aləpapôr**
1-C-go:INCOMPL	CONJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-grind_at:DEPINCOMPL	in-mill

I must go and grind at the mill (I am going now)

Ventive **an̪** is used in the following two examples. The second has two auxiliaries on the main verb, with the ventive as the second:

m-p-án̪-ɔkákɔ	**ŋɔ̂rrɔt**
1-C-VEN:INCOMPL-grind:DEPINCOMPL	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-án̪-ɔkákɔ	**ŋɔ̂rrɔt**
1-C-again:INCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-grind:DEPINCOMPL	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 incompletive TAM-stem.

ŋ-kw-a.n̪-ɔʃəkɔ̂

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)

ŋ-kw-án̪-ɔʃəkɔ̂

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 incompletive TAM-stem:

ɔmɛt̪.ɛ	**kín**	**á-kín**	**ɔ́t̪-ɔ́míccɔ**	**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)

ɔmɛt̪.ɛ	**kín**	**á-kɪn**	**at̪-ɔmíccɔ**	**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-mʊ́t̪á	**ɔ́rə́p.át**	**t̪əmən-t̪əmən**
CONJ.PERS-Amʊt̪a	jump_down:DEPPRFV	quickly-REDUP

a-kw-ɔ́t̪-áʊkkwat	**lɨcɔ́k**
CONJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-drive_in_different_direction:DEPPRFV	goats

Amʊt̪a moved down quickly (jumping down) and drove the goats in a different direction (fr. written story)

a-kw-ɔ́ɪŋkat	**ɪttɪ**	**k-kw-á.ɛ́ɔ̃́**	**t.ʊ́án**
CONJ-3-go:DEPPRFV	that	3-C-go:INCOMPL	at_house

a-kw-ɔ́t̪-íat	**pɨ́cɛ**	**p-ɔɽɛ**	**pə́ɽɪn**
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 **ɛ̃̄ɔ̃̄** ‘go’ or **aɔ** ‘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.ɛ̃ɔ̃**	**p-a.n̪-ít̪t̪ɔ**	**ʊá**
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	C-IT:INCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL	fruit(sp)

I am going to pick *ʊa*-fruits

ɔ-nnɛ	**p-a.ɪk**	**p-âkkarɔ**
PERS-your_mother	C-be:PR	C-call:INCOMPL

ɪttɪ	**ŋ-kw-ânn̪an**	**á-n̪-ɔɽəkɔ**	**ŋuɽû**
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.

pʊl	**p-ɔɪŋkán̪ɛ**	**n̪allan̪t̪a**
person	C-go:PST	market

á-p-ɔ́n̪-ɔ́kérɔ	**ŋaak**	**ŋ-ɔ́-n̪ʊrʊmpíl**
SUBJ-PRO-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL	oil	C-of-car

á-kw-an̪-ɪpɪnn̪ɛt[82]	**n̪akʊɽʊk**	**ɪ-ʊɽəccô**
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, **ɛ̃ɔ̃̃** ‘go’ itself has an itive auxiliary:

pʊl	**p-ɔ-nɔppət**	**p-əɽa.káɲɛ**	**nɔ-ppan**
person	C-of-Nɔppət	C-refuse:PST	on-room

a-p-ɔ́n̪-ɛ́ɔ̃̃	**í-mán**	**m-ɔ́-ttɪt**
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-pól	**ɔ́íŋkat**	**a-p-áṯ-ɔkér.at**
CONJ-person	go:DEPPRFV	CONJ-PRO-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV

and the man went and he came to buy it

The verb **ɪɔt** ‘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 **ɪɔt** is not the first verb in a verbal sequence, an itive or ventive auxiliary is used.

… a-n-íkk.at	**cɪk**	**pá.p.ɔ́ttɛ́**	**a-n-ɔṯ-í.at**
CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV	VREF	short_time	CONJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV

a-n-íɽɪmat	**n.tɪ**	**ɪ-kíʒt**
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:

ámmá	**ɔ́-rón**	**ṯ-áá.t**	**məna**	**aṯ-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 **ɔ́ṯ** has an imperative TAM-stem: **ṯ**. Imperative **ṯ** is followed by the dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb. Imperative **ṯ** comes with a high tone, as shown in the example below with the low-toned verb **ɔŋɔkɔ** ‘rest’.

ṭ-ôŋɔkɔ
IT:IMP-rest:DEPINCOMPL

go and rest! (to singular addressee)

ṭ-ípın-ın	**mɛ́n**	**á-n-áṭ-ịkkɔ**
IT:IMP-pick_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1	palm_fruits	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 **aɔ** 'come' followed by the conjunctive particle **á** + main verb with ventive auxiliary:

aɽık	**áṭ-ıkkınɛ**[83]	**ɔ-ıáıa**	**cık**	**pá.p.ɔ́ttê**
come:IMP	CONJ.(2.)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-wait_for:DEPINCOMPL	PERS-mother	VREF	short_time

come and wait a little time for my mother! (fr. written story)

A combination of the Imperative of **ɛ̃̂** 'go', the conjunctive particle **á** and a dependent incompletive itive auxiliary and main verb are possible as well when addressing a singular person:

ŋkɔ	**áṭ-ɔcúrɔt**[84]	**ı-a-âk**
go:IMP	CONJ.(2.)IT:DEPINCOMPL-meet:DEPINCOMPL	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 incompletive auxiliary and main verb, for example:

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[83] The conjunctive particle **á** seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic **ŋ́** is deleted between vowels. Derivation: **á** + **ŋ́** + **aṭ-ıkkınɛ** > **aáṭıkkınɛ** > **ăṭıkkınɛ** > **áṭıkkınɛ**.

[84] The conjunctive particle **á** seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic **ŋ́** is deleted between vowels. Derivation: **á** + **ŋ́** + **ɔṭ-ɔcúrɔt** > **aáṭ-ɔcúrɔt** > **ăṭ-ɔcúrɔt** > **áṭ-ɔcúrɔt**. In this analysis, the itive dependent incompletive stem receives a high tone.

ɔn-ɔt̪-ɔ̂ŋɔkɔ
2A-IT:DEPINCOMPL-rest:DEPINCOMPL

go and rest! (to plural addressee)

n-át̪-ɪkkɪɛ-nɟn **cîk**
2A-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-make_sit:DEPINCOMPL-O1A 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-**ât̪t̪**

The Completive auxiliary C-**ât̪t̪** can precede a dependent perfective TAM-stem of a main verb and a TAM-stem that has the segmental shape of a dependent incompletive with the tones that are found after the (completive) auxiliary verbs C-**arəkât**, C-**ántər**, C-**áppər** (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 incompletive TAM-stems, since their tones follow regularly from the preceding (not-shortened) auxiliaries.

Also in the case of C-**ât̪t̪**, 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-**ât̪t̪** combines with the dependent incompletive 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

	Itive/Ventive Completive C-**ât̪t̪** + *dep. incompletive TAM-stem*	*Itive/Ventive Past Perfective* C-**ât̪t̪** + *dep. perfective TAM-stem*
ɪmma 'see'	C-**át̪t̪-ɪmma** +H	C-**át̪t̪-ɪmmakat** +H
akkarɔ 'call'	C-**át̪t̪-akkarɔ** +H	C-**át̪t̪-akkarat** +H
ɔmʊ́ɲɛ 'steal'	C-**át̪t̪-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛ** +H	C-**át̪t̪-ɔ́mʊ́ɲɛkat** +H
ɔkkwɔ̂t 'kill'	C-**át̪t̪-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t**	C-**át̪t̪-ɔ́kkwât**

Itive/ventive C-**ât̪t̪** 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 **ɛ̂ɔ̂** 'go', the ventive from the Completive of **aɔ** '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:

pʊl **p-át̪t̪-ɔ́kérɔ**
person C-ITVEN:COMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL

the man has gone/come to buy it

pʊl **p-ɛɔ́.t** **á-p-ɔ́t̪-ɔ́kérɔ**
person C-go:COMPL SUBJ-C-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL

the man has gone to buy it

pʊl **p-aa.t** **á-p-at̪-ɔkérɔ**
person C-come:COMPL SUBJ-C-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL

the man has come to buy it

The construction C-**ât̪t̪** + dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb has undoubtedly developed from these constructions, neutralizing the opposition itive-ventive in the resulting short form C-**ât̪t̪**. C-**ât̪t̪** 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-**ân̪t̪** have developed not from completive, but from incompletive 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 incompletive 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 Incompletive 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 **ɛ̃ɔ̃** 'go' and the Completive of **aɔ** 'come' with a dependent perfective TAM-stem has given rise to the combination **ân̪t̪** + 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.

pʊl	**p-án̪t̪-ɔ́kɛ́rat**
person	C-ITVEN:COMPL-trade:DEPPRFV

the man went/came and bought it

pʊl	**p-ɛɔ́.t**	**a-p-ɔ́n̪t̪-ɔ́kér.at**
person	C-go:COMPL	CONJ-PRO-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV

the man went and bought it

pʊl	**p-aa.t**	**a-p-án̪t̪-ɔkér.at**
person	C-come:COMPL	CONJ-PRO-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV

the man came and bought it

C-**ân̪t̪** 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-**ân̪t̪**:

m-p-án̪t̪-ɔ́ccɔ́	**t̪ɪk**	**ana**	**attɪ**	**t̪ɪk**	**t̪-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-t̪ɔ́-mɪɽʊk**	**p-án̪t̪-ɔ́ŋáɛ̃**
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 **ɪɔt** '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-**ân̪t̪** + dependent incompletive TAM-stem of **ɪɔt** 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-án̪t̪-ɪɔt	**ókól**	**kɛ́ccôk**
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-**ân̪t̪** + dependent perfective TAM-stem expresses a consecutive action or event, following upon a movement that has taken place. Two examples:

ɔ-n̪t̪án	**p-án̪t̪-ɔ́ccɔ́.kat**	**ɟmiɟt**	**w-ɪttík**
PERS-father	C-ITVEN:COMPL-receive:DEPPRFV	goat	C-big

ana	**ɔ-kín**	**n̪-án̪t̪-akkar.at**	**kúʏí**	**k-én**
and	PERS-3A	C-ITVEN:COMPL-call:DEPPRFV	family	C-POSS3A

ɪttɪ	**ɔ-kín**	**n̪-án̪-ɛn̪ɪakɔ**
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**	**kapɪk**	**w-ɪʏɛ.káɳ́é**	**pápɛ́**	**ɪttɪ**
and	leader	God	C-tell:PST	fish	that

p-p-á.n̪-úttɛt	**ɔ-ɪʊnán**	**cɪ-nɔ́-kún̪út**	**k-ɔ́-rɔ́k**
PRO-C-IT:INCOMPL-vomit_at:DEPINCOMPL	PERS-Jonah	LOC-on-lip	C-of-water_place

ana	**p-p-án̪t̪-uttɛ.kan̪-ɔ́k**	**cɪk**
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-**ân̪t̪** + 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-**ân̪t̪** precedes the dependent perfective stem of **ɪmma** ‘see’, in the second the dependent perfective stem of **ɪmmakɔ** ‘shelter’.

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ	**p-án̪t̪-ɪmma.kat**	**ɔ-n̪t̪án**	**akka**	**k-kw-ɛ́ɔ́.t**	**kɛ́ccôk**
PERS-Lɔttɪ	C-ITVEN:COMPL-see:DEPPRFV	PERS-father	that	3-C-go:COMPL	market

It is possible that Lɔttɪ saw his father when he went to the market

ɔ-lalú	**p-ɛllá.t**	**t.ʊan**	**ána**	**púl**	**p-án̪t̪-ɪmmak.at**
PERS-Lalʊ	C-be_absent:COMPL	at_house	and	person	C-ITVEN:COMPL-shelter:DEPPRFV

ákka	**kápɪk**
that	rain

Lalʊ 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 **ɔt̪** and ventive **at̪** 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.

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ	**p-a.t̪-ímma.kat**	**ɔ-t̪t̪án**	**ámmá**	**k-kw-ɛ́ɔ́.t**	**kɛ́ccôk**
PERS-Lɔttɪ	C-IT:INCOMPL-see:DEPPRFV	PERS-father	if	3-C-go:COMPL	market

Lɔttɪ can/may see his father when he goes to the market (the deictic centre is placed with Lɔttɪ)

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ	**p-át̪-ɪmma.kat**	**ɔ-t̪t̪án**	**ámmá**	**k-kw-áa.t**	**kɛ́ccôk**
PERS-Lɔttɪ	C-VEN:INCOMPL-see:DEPPRFV	PERS-father	if	3-C-come:COMPL	market

Lɔttɪ can/may see his father when he comes to the market (the deictic centre is placed with the father)

Completive C-**ât̪t̪** also allows for a modal interpretation, as in the following two examples:

k-kw-át̪t̪-ɪmma	**lŏk**
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)

ɔ-kín	**t̪-át̪t̪-ant̪án**
PERS-3A	C-ITVEN:COMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL

maybe they came (I am not sure, I don't remember)

Particularly when used with **ɔkâ** 'be', C-**ât̪t̪** obtains a modal reading, expressing that something is maybe or probably the case:

lɔn	**l-ą̈ṯ̈-ɔ́ká**	**l-ɔ́ppɔ́t**
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	**ɛ́m-m-í**	**m-ą̈ṯ̈-ɔ́ká**	**m-ɔ́ŋwɔ́.t**	**ó̩l**	**w-ɔppɔ́t**
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

pʊ̀l	**ɛm-p-ɪ**	**p-ą̈ṯ̈-ɔ́ká**	**p-ɔ́-kárə̱ṯ̂**
person	DEM-C-NEARSP	C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL	C-of-where

from where could this person be?

ɔ-cɛccɛ́	**p-ą̈ṯ̈-ɔ́ká**	**p-ákkárákɔ.t**
PERS-Cɛccɛ	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-**â̱ṯ̈** 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) **â̱ṯ̈**:

ą̈ṯ̈-ɔ́ká	**ʊɣʊpa**	**w-ɔ-ṯ̱ɔṯ̱ɪllɛttăt**
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-**â̱ṯ̈** can be used in combination with C-**íkkɔ** ‘may’:

ɔ-cɛccɛ́	**p-íkkɔ**	**p-ą̈ṯ̈-ɔ́ká**	**p-ákkárákɔ.t**
PERS-Cɛccɛ	C-may	C-ITVEN:COMPL-be:DEPINCOMPL	C-be_called:COMPL

Cɛccɛ may have been invited

12.21. Defective verbs with complementizer element **tǐ**

attǐ ‘I hope that’ contains the complementizing formative **tǐ** that is also part of the complementizer **ɪttǐ** ‘that’ (see 18.7). **tǐ** is also a formative of the defective verb **ɔpərǐ** ‘say, think’.

attǐ ‘I hope that’ is a fully frozen form. It is immediately followed by its complement, without the complementizer **ɪttǐ** ‘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:

attɪ	**ŋ-kw-a.ɪk**	**p-ɔpərɔ̂t**
I_hope_that	2-C-be:PR	C-good

I hope you are fine?

at-tɪ	**ŋ-kw-i̧cáṭ̱.ɛ**
I_hope_that	2-C-lie_down:COMPL

I hope that you slept?

ɔpərǐ ‘say, think’, like **attǐ**, contains the complementizing element **tǐ**. Unlik **attǐ**, it can be followed by **ɪttǐ** ‘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-ânṭ̱án**
1-C-say:INCOMPL	3-C-come:INCOMPL

I think she will come

m-p-a.pərɪ	**ɪttɪ**	**k-kw-ânṭ̱án**
1-C-say:INCOMPL	that	3-C-come:INCOMPL

I think she will come

Apart from the base form (the dependent incompletive TAM-stem) **ɔpərǐ** and Incompletive C-**apərǐ**, a Completive C-**ɔpərǐ** attested. In the first example below, dependent incompletive **ɔpərǐ** follows the auxiliary **ant** ‘can’. The second example has Completive C-**ɔpərǐ**.

ant-ɔpərɪ	**ŋ-kw-a.kkɔt**	**ŋín-n̪a**
can:DEPINCOMPL-say:DEPINCOMPL	2-C-do:INCOMPL	what-QW

tell (me), what will you do?

ŋ-kw-ɔpərɪ	**táṯ-n̪a**
2-C-say:COMPL	how-QW

what did you say?/what have you just said?

12.22. C-**ɔnû** ‘have, must’

The verb C-**ɔnû** ‘have, must’ occurs in one form only. Its phonological shape is different from other verbs since it ends in **ʊ**. 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-ɔ́nʊ	**larɔ**
3-C-have	twins

s/he has twins

kapɪk	**akk-ɔnû**
God	FOC-have

it is in God’s hands (it is God who has it)

áməntácɪ	**p-ɔká.t**	**p-ɔ́nʊ́**	**kapɪk**
PERS.aməntacɪ	C-be:COMPL	C-have	rain

Aməntaci was holding the rain (i.e. had control over the rain) (App. I, 3)

Before C-**ɔnû**, the Completive of ‘be’ C-**ɔkât** can be shortened to C-**ât**, in the same way as happens in Past Completives (see12.7.5). Thus:

áməntácí	**p-á.p-p-ɔ́nʊ́**	**kapɪk**
PERS.Aməntacɪ	C-be:COMPL-C-have	rain

Aməntacɪ was holding the rain (Aməntacɪ had control over the rain)

C-**ɔnô** 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**.

ɔ-nɛnní	**p-íccá**	**p-ɔ́nó**	**lɔn**	**ɪttɪ**	**k-kw-ânn̰an-î**
PERS-Nɛnnɪ	C-be_still	C-have	words	that	3-C-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nɛnnɪ still planning to come?

C-**ɔnô** 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 **ɔŋɔt** 'like, want, love'. Co-occurrence with the Present of 'be' reveals a tendency of C-**ɔnô** and C-**ɔŋɔn̰ê** towards becoming adjectives. However, particularly the combination with C-**ɔŋɔn̰ê** was not fully acceptable for my consultants.

pa-p-əɽɛk	**p-a.ɪk**	**p-ɔnó**	**kəɽan**	**ɪttɪ**	**pə́lla**
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-ɔ́ŋɔ́n̰.é**	**ɪttĭ …**
3-C-be:PR	C-like:COMPL	that

s/he wants that …

C-**ɔnô** 'have, must' is undoubtedly related to the verb **ɔnâ** '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). **ɔnâ** 'bring, carry' can sometimes itself be used in the meaning 'have'. The following examples contrast C-**ɔnô** 'have' and **ɔnâ** 'bring, carry': the first expresses a current state of 'having', the other a state of 'having' in the future.

m-pɔŋɔn̰.é	**akka**	**kɛ́ccúk**	**k-ín̰**	**k-ɔ́nó**	**aɽəpʊ**	**cɪk**	**áppɪk**
1-C-like:COMPL	that	market	C-POSS1A	C-have	things	VREF	all

I like it that our market has everything

m-pɔŋɔt̪.é	**ɪttɪ**	**kéccúk**	**k-ɟ́n**	**k-á.ná**	**aʏəpʊ**	**cɪk**	**áppɪk**
1-C-like:COMPL	that	market	C-POSS1A	C-bring:INCOMPL	things	VREF	all

I want our market to have everything

C-**ɔnû** does not only express possession, it also commonly expresses 'must':

k-kw-ɔ́nʊ	**ɪttɪ**	**k-kw-á.ccɟ́kɔt**
3-C-have	that	3-C-hear:INCOMPL

s/he must listen

lɔttí	**ŋ-kw-ɔnʊ́**	**ɪttɪ**	**ŋ-kw-a.ʏəkɔ**	**t̪ʊʏít**	**t̪-ɔppɔ́t**
lɔttɪ	2-C-have	that	2-C-eat:INCOMPL	food	C-many

Lɔttɪ, 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**	**t̪-ánt-ɔkánn-ɔccɟ́kɔt̪-ín …**
even	PERS-2A	C-can:INCOMPL-NEG:DEP-hear:DEPINCOMPL-O1

even if you do not listen to me … (John 10:38)

cɟ́kɟt	**c-ərrɔ.r-ín**	**ɪttɪ**	**m-p-ánt-át̪-ɔkáṭa**	**ʊ́kʊl**
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)

t̪ʊk	**t-ɪn**	**t̪-arək-ɔ́kánn-ɔ́kkwɔ̂t**
dog	C-POSS1	C-as_always:COMPL-NEG:DEP-kill:DEPCOMPL

my dog surely did not kill anything (it never catches anything!)

m-p-ănn-ápp-ɟ́kkɔ	**ŋə́pak**
1-C-NEG-again:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL	beer

I will not drink beer again

m-p-ápp-ɔ̱-ɔkákɔt	**ɪ-aləpapór**	**ŋɔrrɔt**
1-C-again:INCOMPL-IT:DEPINCOMPL-grind_at:DEPINCOMPL	in-mill	tomorrow

I will again go and grind at the mill tomorrow

m-p-ănn-ápp-ɔ̱-ɟ́kkɔ	**ŋə́pak**
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-**aɪk** + Incompletive main verb), the negation auxiliary, and auxiliaries of *__anta__ ‘can’ and *__appa__ ‘again’ come on the main verb:

m-p-a.ɪk	**p-akə́nn-ɟ́cat**
1-C-be:PR	C-NEG-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL

I am not lying down

k-kw-á.ík	**p-ánt-úɛt**	**ŋúcʊl**
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.ɪk	**p-ápp-ɛ́rɛn-ʊŋ**	**ɪttĭ …**
1-C-be:PR	C-again:INCOMPL-speak_to:DEPINCOMPL-O2	that

I am telling you again …

In Past Completive constructions (C-**ɔkât** ‘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-ákə́nn-i̧cat** / **m-p-á.p-p-ákə́nn-i̧cat**
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’:

pʊl **p-ɔká.t** **p-ákə́nn-ɔ́ká** **pɪak**
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-ănn-ɔ́ká **p-íámâ.t**
1-C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-become_hungry:COMPL

I was not hungry

m-p-ănn-ɔ́ká **p-ɔ́ŋɔ́t̪.é** **ɪttĭ …**
1-C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-like:COMPL that

I did not want (that) …

lɔn **ɛl-l-ɪ** **l-akə́nn-ɔka**[85] **l-ɔpərɔ̂t**
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-akə́nn-ɔ́ká **á-n-i̧cat**
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 **ɔkâ** is realized here as low.

Also in the following example, the auxiliary is attached to the auxiliary of ‘be’:

m-p-ántər-ɔ́ká	**p-íɔ́.t**
1-C-can:COMPL-be:INCOMPL	C-die:COMPL

I am dead/I have just died (said in serious distress)