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A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

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Citation

Smits, H. J. (2017, September 21). *A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan*. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/57165>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Title: A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

Issue Date: 2017-09-21

14. Verbal derivation

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

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

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

Glossing

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

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

Order of derivational suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pəlla p-ɔʔəkó.t aʊn
cat C-eat:COMPL rats

the cat has eaten the rats

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

tuʔít i-t-ên akk-ɔnó púl í-p-óŋi cənɛ nɔ-capó
food RES-C-DEM FOC-have person RES-C-black here on-ground

food is the one that keeps/holds (lit. ‘has’) a human being here on earth (i.e. food is what a human being needs here on earth)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Case marking

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

Prepositional proclitics

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

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

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

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

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

Metatony

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

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

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

Subjectivization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Access to the immediate post-verbal position

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

but why were you eating asida while standing?

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

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

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

why do you love me?

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

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

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

I will ask Kakka for milk for the child

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

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

... a-kín	anə	kwəcán
CONJ.PERS-3A	boil:DEPINCOMPL	grass(k.o.)
a-kín	ant-ək-k-ín-tet	ŋócul
CONJ.PERS-3A	can:DEPINCOMPL-do-BEN:DEPINCOMPL	sauce

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14.1. The Benefactive

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

Form

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Argument structure of Benefactive verbs

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

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

Kakka has cooked asida

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

Kakka has cooked asida for Kumaɲ

Semantic roles of the added argument

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

ɔráne ‘cultivate for’

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

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

apɪne ‘open for’

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

Kakka opened the door for the child

Sometimes the added argument has a maleficiary role:

ɔɬákɪne ‘eat for’

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

the goats will eat somebody’s sorghum

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

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

Cɛccɛ will go to your mother

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

I will take the pot to the old woman

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

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

Cɛccɛ will go to the church this evening

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

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

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

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

m-p-a.móne-ne **ín-ɬa**
 1-C-steal-BEN:INCOMPL what-QW

why will I steal?

ín-ɬ-akka **kəmən** **én-k-í** **k-úntá-ne.t**
 what-QW-that houses DEM-C-NEARSP C-collapse-BEN:COMPL

why have these houses collapsed?

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

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

that is why people like to live in ɬaɾu

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

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

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

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

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

ɔkʊl w-ɔɲɔt̪.é ɲurú ɲ-ɔ-paɲ
 child C-like:COMPL asida C-of.PERS-sibling
 the child likes the asida of his sister (made by her)

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

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

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

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

the goats will eat somebody's sorghum

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

the goats will eat somebody's sorghum

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

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

ámamá **ɔ-kákká** **p-á-íne.t** **pənan** **ana** **k-kw-á.pɔkɔ**
 if PERS-Kakka C-come-BEN:COMPL mother and 3-C-be_beaten:INCOMPL

when Kakka comes, on her mother, she will be beaten

ámamá **ɔ-kákká** **p-aá.t** **ana** **k-kw-á.pɔkɔ**
 if PERS-Kakka C-come:COMPL and 3-C-be_beaten:INCOMPL

when Kakka comes, she will be beaten

Verbs without a non-Benefactive counterpart

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

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

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

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

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

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

they have shown me the fish

14.2. The Locative-applicative

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

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

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

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

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

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

Form

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

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

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

I will ask Kakka

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

m-p-ípitto-t̥-ðk [mbíβitɔððk̚] (< **m-p-ípitto-t** + H + **ɔk**)

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

I will ask her

m-p-ipittɔ-t̥.ɛ **ɔ-kakkâ** [mbíβitɔðɛ]

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

I have asked Kakka

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

The Locative-applicative suffix as a pragmatic device

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

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

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

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

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

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

m-p-ɪɬ.é **kóllân**
 1-C-find:COMPL old_woman
 I found/met the old woman

m-p-ɪɬ.é **kóllân** **nɔ-kat̪ɔr**
 1-C-find:COMPL old_woman on-road
 I found/met the old woman on the road

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

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

ɔ-kín **t̪-ín-arɔ** **acín-t̪a**
 PERS-3A C-know-REC1:INCOMPL when-QW
 when will they get to know each other?

ɔ-kín **t̪-ín-arɔ-t** **kárə-t̪a**
 PERS-3A C-know-REC1-LOCAPP:INCOMPL where-QW
 where will they get to know each other?

ɔ-kín **t̪-ín-arɔ-t** **kárətt̪ôm / cənɛ / ɪ-man** **m-ɔ-kapík**
 PERS-3A C-know-REC1-LOCAPP:INCOMPL Khartoum here in-house C-of-God
 they will get to know each other in Khartoum / here / in the church

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

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

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

ɲɛɾɪ	ɲ-a.ɪk	ɲ-a.ɪɔ-t	nɔ-capó
water	C-be:PR	C-run-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	on-ground

the water is leaking onto the ground

ɲɛɾɪ	ɲ-a.ɪk	ɲ-a.ɪɔ	n.ti	ɪ-páka
water	C-be:PR	C-run:INCOMPL	from	in-jerrycan

the water is leaking out of the jerrycan

m-p-a.kéccɛ-t	ɽún	nɔ.ppǎn
1-C-cut.PLUR-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	onion	inside

I will cut the onions inside

m-p-a.kéccɛ-t	ɽún	nɔ-cáɽɽak
1-C-cut.PLUR-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	onion	on-calabash

I will cut the onions into the bowl

m-p-a.kéccɛ	ɽún	ɲ-kəɽɿttaŋ	k-âŋ
1-C-cut:INCOMPL	onion	with-knife	C-POSS2

I will cut the onions with your knife

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

ɔɽɔ-t.ɛ	kɔrɾet	cənɛ
pull-LOCAPP:IMP	line	here

draw a line (up to) here!

ɔɽɔ-t.ɛ	kɔrɾet	cɪt-téntərə
pull-LOCAPP:IMP	line	LOC-over_there

draw a line right (up to) there!

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

ᵛᵗ.ᵛ **kurret** **nó-kamúr**
pull:IMP line on-sand

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

ᵛᵗᵛ-t.ᵛ **kurret** **nó-kamúr**
pull-LOCAPP:IMP line on-sand

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

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

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

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

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

Kakka is drawing a line on the ground

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

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

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

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

the old man is working in the room

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I will be in Lumun country

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

I will go to Lumun country

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

and the people bring beer to the market

The Locative-applicative with objects not marked by a PPC

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

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

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

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

Kukku is standing on the wall

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

Kukku is standing near the wall (maybe guarding it)

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

they are sitting near the fire

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

they are sitting near the fire (maybe guarding it)

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

they are sitting with the man because he is ill

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

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

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

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

n-ᄃᄆᄆᄆᄆ	ᄃᄆᄆᄆᄆ-t	ᄆ-paᄆ-k-aᄆ-ᄆᄆ
2A-let:DEPINCOMPL	steal-LOCAPP:DEPINCOMPL	PERS-sibling-C-POSS2-PL

do not steal from your brothers! (plural addressee)

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

kᄆᄆ	k-a.ᄆᄆ	k-ᄆ.kᄆᄆᄆᄆ	ᄆ-makkᄆᄆᄆ
meat	C-be:PR	C-smell:INCOMPL	in-somewhere

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

m-p-a.ᄆᄆ	p-ᄆ.kᄆᄆᄆᄆ-t	kᄆᄆᄆ
C-be:PR	C-smell-LOCAPP:INCOMPL	meat

I smell meat

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

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

m-p-ɔmé.t **kəré.t**

1-C-wash:COMPL cloth

I have washed the cloth

m-p-ɔmé-t.ɛ **ɔ-kakkâ**

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

I have bathed Kakka

***m-p-ɔmé.t** **ɔ-kakkâ**

1-C-wash:COMPL PERS-Kakka

A comparable case is the following:

m-p-a.kécce **ɬɬɛk**

1-C-cut.PLUR:INCOMPL rope

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

m-p-a.kécce-t **ɬɬɛk**

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

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

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

m-p-a.ik **p-a.kécce** **wan** **w-ɔ-kakkâ**
 1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR:INCOMPL hair C-of.PERS-Kakka

I am cutting Kakka’s hair

m-p-a.ik **p-a.kécce-ne** **ɔ-kakkâ** **wăn**
 1-C-be:PR C-cut.PLUR-BEN:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka hair

I am cutting Kakka’s hair

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

I am cutting my hair

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

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

I am cutting Kakka’s hair inside

Some verbs of speech

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

m-p-ɪpittɔ ɲuí
 1-C-ask:INCOMPL milk

I will ask for milk

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

I will ask Kakka for milk

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

I will ask for milk for Kakka

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

I will ask Kakka for milk for the child

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lexicalizations

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

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

ᵛ-kakká **p-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ.ᵛ** **ᵛkul**
 PERS-Kakka C-send:COMPL child

Kakka has sent the child

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

ᵛ-cᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ **p-á.ᵛk** **p-á.ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **cᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 PERS-Cᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ C-be:PR C-push:INCOMPL stone

Cᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ is pushing the stone

ᵛ-cᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ **p-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-t.ᵛ** **cᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **nᵛ-kᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **k-ᵛ-kkwᵛᵛ**
 PERS-Cᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ C-push-LOCAPP:COMPL stone on-lip C-of-farming_field

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

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

ᵛ-kukku **p-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ.t** **parí**
 PERS-Kukku C-push:COMPL wife

Kukku has divorced his wife

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

ᵛkkwᵛᵛ beat **ᵛkkwᵛᵛt** kill
ᵛkwᵛᵛ blow **ᵛkwᵛᵛt** ignite, blow at (fire)

ɪɾkə	enter	ɪɾkət	be busy
ummə	take, pick	ummət	come up (of sun, grass)
ɪpə	collect	ɪpət	dig (up), store
əkəkə	pass	əkəkət	do, make

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

apɪkət ‘rest’, **ɛtɛt** ‘give’, **ɪttarət** ‘help’, **ɪttat** ‘become fat’ (**ɪtta** ‘get married’), **ɪcat** ‘lie down, sleep’, **ɪcat cɪk** ‘lie (down)’, **ɪntat cɪk** ‘disappear’, **əkúkwet** ‘splash (in the water)’, **əkúccet** ‘prepare’, **əkɰántət** ‘search’, **ənákket** ‘put down’, **ənɟət** ‘like, want, love’, **əpákkət** ‘return’ (**əpákkə** ‘wash one’s body’), **unət** ‘taste’ (**uno** ‘build’).

14.3. The Causatives

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

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

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

Form

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

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

ella ‘lack, be absent’	ellie ‘make disappear’
ɔ́ɔ́kka ‘grow (up)’	ɔ́ɔ́kkie ‘make grow (up), raise’
ɪ́ɪmat ‘get dark, get blinded’	ɪ́ɪmɪet ‘make dark, blind’
ɔ́píra ‘become good’	ɔ́pírie ‘make good’
ɔ́kítaka ‘become bad’	ɔ́kítakie ‘make bad’
ɔ́ɲɔ́ma ‘become dry’	ɔ́ɲɔ́mie ‘dry (tr.)’

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

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

ɪ́ɪkɔ́ ‘enter (intr.)’	ɪ́ɪkie ‘make enter’
ɔ́pákkɔ́t ‘return (intr.)’	ɔ́pákket ‘make return, put back’
ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ ‘stand, wait’	ɔ́ɛ́ɲɛ ‘make stand, make wait, stop (tr.)’
ɔ́páɲɔ́ ‘move at level height’	ɔ́páɲɛ ‘move at level height’
ɔ́ɲəpɔ́ ‘move down’	ɔ́ɲəpɛ ‘make move down’
ɔ́kúɲɔ́t ‘move up’	ɔ́kúɲet ‘make move up’
ɔ́páɲɔ́ cik ‘move out of the way’	ɔ́páɲɛ cik ‘make move out of the way’
ɔ́ɲákkarɔ́t ‘move over’	ɔ́ɲákkaret ‘make move over’
ɔ́kəɲɔ́ ‘get burnt’	ɔ́kəɲɛ ‘make burn’
ɛ́ɛkɔ́t ‘grumble in oneself’ (related to ɛ́ɛ ‘speak’)	ɛ́ɛket ‘convince’ (< make say to oneself)
ɔ́kkɔ́t ‘do, make’	ɔ́kkɛ́t ‘make (fire)’
ɔ́ppát ‘become full’	ɔ́ppɛ́t ‘fill’
ɪ́cat cik ‘lie (down)’	ɪ́cet cik ‘lay (down), make lie (down)’
ɛ́ɪma ‘become deafened’	ɛ́ɪmɛ ‘deafen’
ɔ́rat cik ‘become lost’	ɔ́ret cik ‘loose, forget’

ɔ́ppɛ́t ‘get pregnant’ is probably related to **ɔ́ppɔ́** ‘appear’, and the Locative-applicative verb **ɛ́ɛkɔ́t** ‘grumble in oneself’ relates to **ɛ́ɛ**

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

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

ɔɾia ‘become red, ripe’	ɔɾιε ‘make red, ripe’
εɾia ‘become cool’	εɾιε ‘make cool’

Argument structure and semantics of Causatives

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

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

Causatives with ε (CAUS1)

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

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

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

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

the child lay down on the bed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

make the people go back!

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

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

l̥cək **l-ḡkuṭṭ.é** **təpəṛâ**
 goats C-move_up:COMPL Təpəṛâ
 the goats moved up to Təpəṛâ

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

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

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

Causatives with ɪε (CAUS2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

s/he will make the person swear an oath

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

the person will swear an oath

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verbs allowing both Causative suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

s/he made Lóccɔ enter the room

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

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

get the child down from the stone!

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

make the child come down from the stone!

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

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

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

ɪcat cɪk ‘lie down’	ɪcɛt cɪk, ɪcɪɛt cɪk ‘lay sb. down’
ɔrat cɪk ‘become lost’	ɔrɛt cɪk, ?ɔrɪɛt cɪk ‘loose, forget’
ʋɛɔɔɔ ‘stand, wait’	ʋɛɛɔɔ, ?ʋɛɛɔɔɪɛ, ?ʋɛɔɔɪɛ ‘stop (tr.), make wait’
ʋpáɔ ‘go level’	ʋpáɛ, ?ʋpáɪɛ ‘go level’
ʋpáɔ cɪk ‘move out of the way’	ʋpáɛ cɪk, ?ʋpáɪɛ cɪk ‘make move out of the way’
ʋkúɔt ‘move up’	ʋkúɛt, ?ʋkúɪɛt ‘make move up’
ʋpákkɔt ‘return’	ʋpákkɛt, ?ʋpákkɪɛt ‘make return, put back’

Double Causatives

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kakka has made Cɛccɛ lay the child down

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

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

the **ɬɔntəɔ**-calabash is full

ɬɔkɔl ɬ-ɔpp-é.ɬɛ **ɬɔntəɔ ɬamúr**
 children C-become_full-CAUS1:COMPL calabash(k.o.) sand

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kukku made Lɔccɔ make the goats move up to Tɔpəɾâ

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

ɔkkwíɛ ‘make hit’ < **ɔkkwô** ‘hit’

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

s/he will make the person swear an oath

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

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

ɛɪɛ ‘make speak’ < **ɛɪɛ** ‘speak’

ɛɪ-ɪɛ pul
 speak-CAUS2:IMP person

make the man speak!

***ɛɪ.ɪɛ ɔ-kukkó pul**
 3-C-speak-CAUS2:IMP PERS-Kukku person

make Kukku make the man speak!

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

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

Kukku told Lóccɔ that he must stop Lálô

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

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

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

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

Kakka told Nenni to dry the clothes

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

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

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

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

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

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

s/he has hung the cloth over the bush

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

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

14.4. The Passives

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

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

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

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

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

The three Passive suffixes

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

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

Forms, attachment and distribution

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

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

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

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

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

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

ɔ(t) + akɔ > akɔ(t)

a(t) + kɔ > akɔ(t)

ε(t) + kɔ > εkɔ(t)

Examples:

ɔkɔ 'cut'

ɛlikkɔ 'release'

ɔkwéntɔ 'leave (tr.)'

ɔɲɔ 'fry'

ɔɲɔt 'like, want, love'

ɔkɪ-akɔ 'be cut'

ɛlikk-akɔ 'be released'

ɔkwént-akɔ 'be left over, remain'

ɔɲ-ákɔ 'be fried'

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

ɪna 'know'

ɔnâ 'bring'

ɔkwáriccat 'search for'

ɪna-kɔ 'be known'

ɔnâ-kɔ 'be brought'

ɔkwáricca-kɔ-t 'be searched for'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Examples:

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

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

Attachment of Pass3 (ɔ)ra:

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

Examples:

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

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

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

The following Passives have irregular forms:

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

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

Argument structure and meaning of constructions with Passives

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

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

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

Lótti has released the bird

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

the bird has been released

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

Expression of the agent

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

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

the bird has been released by Lótti

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

the bird has been released by him

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

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

the dog has killed the cat

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

the cat was killed by the dog

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

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

the child is pulling the goat

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

the goat is being pulled by the child

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

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

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

are you married?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Semantic roles of subjects of Passive verbs

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

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

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

the bowl will be given to Kakka

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

Kakka will be given the bowl

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

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

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

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

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

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

pəl **p-arətt-ák-ínɬét** **nó-úrû**
 person C-add-PASS1-BEN:COMPL on-asida

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

ŋurú **ŋ-arətt-ák-ínɬét** **púl** **nán**
 asida C-add-PASS1-BEN:COMPL person on:ABS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

people drink water from this *cáttak*-calabash

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

this *cáttak*-calabash is for drinking water

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

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

people pour water from this pot

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

this pot is for pouring water

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

Differences between the three Passives?

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

PASS2: historically related to pluractionality?

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

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

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

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

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

Development of PASS1 (a)kᵛ from a middle marker

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

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

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

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

Table 94 Derivations with PASS1 also having middle semantics

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

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

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

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

I am being shaved (by somebody else)

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

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

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

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

I am shaving myself

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

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

Table 95 Derivations with PASS1 only having middle semantics

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

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

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

<i>base verb</i>	<i>derived verb with middle meaning</i>	<i>regular Passive</i>
ɔɾɔ ‘apply on sb.’	ɔɾɔkə ‘apply on oneself’	ɔɾákə, ɔɾútta / ɔɾetta, ɔɾúra ‘be applied on sb.’
ɔccɔt ‘receive at’	ɔccɪkət ‘hear, listen’ ɔccɔkət ‘catch’ (receive at body)	ɔccákət, ɔccóttat / ɔccəttat, ɔccúrat ‘be received at’
aɾɛ ‘hang (tr.)’	aɾikə ‘stay longtime, hang out (intr.)’	aɾetta ‘be hung’

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

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

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

Derivations with -tta with deviating semantics

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

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

Table 97 Verbs of ‘break’ and ‘tear’

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

Some sentential examples:

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

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

tɔ́ɽək	t-ɔmo.ttâ.t
rope	C-break:COMPL

the rope has broken

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

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

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

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

ımı̯t	w-ɔmo.ttâ.t
goat	C-break:COMPL

the goat has broken loose

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

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

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

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

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

Combinations of Passive suffixes

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

Table 99 Combination of PASS3 and PASS1

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

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

14.5. The Reciprocals

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

Forms, attachment and distribution

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

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

ɔ(t) + arɔ > arɔ(t)

a(t) + rɔ > arɔ(t)

Some examples:

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

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

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

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

ε(t) + ttᵛ > εttᵛ(t)

Some examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some examples:

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

Reciprocals with a double suffix tt-arɔ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Argument structure of verbs serving as a base for Reciprocals

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

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

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

do good things for each other!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reciprocals based on Pluractional stems

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

၁၇၁ ‘kill (PLUR)’

၁၇၁-ာ / **၁၇၁-ာ-ာ** ‘kill e.o.’

၁၇၇ ‘push (PLUR)’

၁၇၇-တ / **၁၇၇-တ-တ** ‘push e.o.’

၁၇၉ ‘find (PLUR)’

၁၇၉-တ ‘find e.o., meet’

၁၈၁ ‘give (PLUR)’

၁၈၁-တ / **၁၈၁-တ-တ** ‘give e.o.’

၁၈၃ ‘beat (PLUR)’

၁၈၃-တ ‘beat e.o.’

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

၁၉၁ ‘tie’

၁၉၁-ာ / **၁၉၁-ာ-ာ** ‘hug e.o.’

၁၉၁၁ ‘tie (PLUR: several objects or one object tied with several windings)’

၁၉၁၁-ာ / **၁၉၁၁-ာ-ာ** ‘tie e.o.’

Two reciprocal suffixes: REC1 and REC2

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

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

Semantic differences

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Use of Reciprocals as anti-passives

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

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

pul	p-ɔ-nəppət	p-a.ɪk	p-árək-ɔmák-arɔ.t
person	C-of-Nəppət	C-be:PR	C-as_always:INCOMPL-follow-REC1:DEPINCOMPL

n-tɔ-cəkên
with-at-lower_back

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

tue	t-ɔká.t	t-ɔnó	ɲərɪ	ɲ-ɔppət
river	C-be:COMPL	C-have	water	C-many

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naturally reciprocal events

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

ɔṭáttə (tít) ‘fight’ **ɔṭáttarə tít, ɔṭáttararə tít** ‘fight with e.o.’
ɔcíntə (tít) ‘wrestle’ **ɔcíntarə tít, ɔcíntararə tít** ‘wrestle with e.o.’
ɔkétə (tít) ‘run into’ **ɔkéttarə (tít), ɔkéttararə (tít)** ‘run into e.o.’
ɔcúɾət (tít) ‘meet’ **ɔcúrarət (tít), ɔcúrararət (tít)** ‘meet e.o.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a-cumpúᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ
 CONJ-monkey(sp.) wrestle:DEPPRFV in-fish
 and the *cumpurᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ*-monkey wrestled with the fish

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

14.6. Combinations of derivational suffixes

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

Causative **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** + Benefactive (**ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ**):
ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ‘make work’ **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** ‘make work for’

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

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

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

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

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

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

+ Causative **ɛ**:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

m-p-ᵛká.t **cík** **a-n-ún-ᵛ-tta-nᵛ** **ᵛmᵛccᵛ** **mǎn**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-build-CAUS-PASS2-BEN:DEPINCOMPL old_man house

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

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

apᵛᵛlakᵛ ‘hang (subject is human or animal, from the hands)’ /
apᵛᵛlak-ᵛ ‘make hang (a human or animal, from the hands)’

A Passive suffix can also be attached:

apᵛᵛlak-ᵛ-tta ‘be made to hang (from the hands)’

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

ᵛ-kukkᵛ **p-á.ᵛw-ár-ᵛ** **ᵛl**
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR-REC1-CAUS2:INCOMPL people

Kukku will make the people kill each other

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

ᵛ-kukkᵛ **p-á.ᵛw-ᵛ-ttᵛ**
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL

Kukku will make us kill e.o.

ᵛ-kukkᵛ **p-á.ᵛw-ᵛ-ttᵛ** **ᵛl**
 PERS-Kukku C-kill.PLUR-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL people

Kukku will make the people kill us

lɔn i-l-a.pír-ɛ-ttɔ

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

nɔ-kâ

on-body

things which make us happy / things which make people happy

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

ɔ-kukkú p-á.ŋw-ár-ɛ-ttɔ

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

ôl

people

Kukku will make people kill us and us kill people

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

cupó

fruit(k.o.)

c-á.kkw-íɛ-ttɔ.t

C-kill-CAUS2-REC2:INCOMPL

píca

thirst

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

