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A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan
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18. Conjunctions

This chapter discusses conjunctions words and particles. Conjunction words and particles join phrases and/or clauses. Certain conjunction words and particles can (or must) be combined.

Lumun has the following conjunction words and particles: **ana** +H 'and', **á-** 'and, while', **â-** 'so that, in order to', **ámma** +H 'if, when', **akka** +H 'that, when, because', **mɔnɔ/məna** 'until' (always followed by **á-**), **ɪttǐ** 'that', **ɛrɛ** +H 'like' and **ámma** 'like'.

Tone

The representation of underlying tones of conjunction words and particles is not without problems. For most I nevertheless propose underlying tones. In addition I describe some tonal realizations that do not follow from the rules. A tonal feature that virtually all conjunctions share is that they have the ability to bring a high tone to a following element. At the same time, most can receive a high tone themselves, so that their own high tone is either a final high or a floating high tone (not a rising tone). In isolation, these conjunction words are realized with a final low tone. Though their isolated production is artificial —they do not occur in prepausal position since they always introduce a new phrase or clause—, I nevertheless represent them for this reason with a floating high tone (+H).

ɪttǐ 'that' cannot itself receive a high tone from a preceding element, for which reason I represent it with a rising tone. Also **á-** 'and, while' cannot receive a high tone from a preceding element. Since **á-** is monomoraic, a high and a rising tone would both be possible. As explained in 3.8, I assign a high tone in such cases.

18.1. **ana** +H 'and'

ana +H 'and' is used for the conjunction of noun phrases as well as clauses. When joining noun phrases, **ana** +H is realized with an

initial high tone when preceded by an element with final high or rising tone:

ṭʊʊlɪ ána pə́lla 'the hyena and the cat' (< ṭʊʊlí ana H pəlla)

In an enumeration **ana** +H is used between all enumerated elements:

aʈəpʊ	w-ɔ-rua	w-ɔká.t	ɪttɪ
things	C-of-hair	C-be:COMPL	that

ṭʊk	ána	túṭṭəruk	ana	pápɔkɪra	ana	ʊmaṭ̂n
dog	and	pig	and	leopard	and	elephant

the animals were the dog, the pig, the leopard and the elephant

ana +H is also a clause linker. An example of coordination of two clauses, both with an adjectival predicate, follows here:

ṭ-ɪkkɔ	cɪk	kárəṭṭʊ́m	ṭ-ɔpərɔ́t	ana	ṭ-ṭ-ɔ́kɪṭak
NOM-sit	VREF	Khartoum	C-good	and	PRO-C-bad

staying in Khartoum is good and bad (lit.: and it is bad)

A clause introduced by **ana** +H often contains a non-dependent verb. Its subject can be co-referent with (first example below) or different from the subject of the preceding clause (second and third example). Before **ana** +H linking clauses, a prosodic boundary can be realized (and will be if the preceding clause is an **ámma** +H or **akka** +H -clause). In that case, a preceding high tone is not realized on **ana** +H and a preceding falling tone is realized as falling. In the third example there is a prosodic boundary before **ana** +H ('outside' has itself a L.H pattern).

m-p-ɪkkɔ́.t	cɪk	ána	m-p-ɔkɪɲâ.t
1-C-sit:COMPL	VREF	and	1-C-become_tired:COMPL

I have been waiting and I am tired

ɔ-kakká	p-ɔɲɪ́	ana	ɔ-nɛnní	p-ɪpʊ́k
PERS-Kakka	C-black	and	PERS-Nɛnnɪ	C-white

Kakka is black and Nɛnnɪ is white

ɔ-llɛ́	p-ɪn	p-ɔt̪i̯ɔt̪-ín	t̪əpút	ana
PERS-husband	C-POSS1	C-send:COMPL-O1	outside	and

ŋ-kw-a.t̪-ɔkkɔt	ŋín
2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL	what

my husband has sent me away and what are you going to do? (fr. written story)

The non-dependent verbs in the clauses linked through **ana** +H do not need to be in the same TAM, for example:

ɲʊkʊl	ɲ-ɔká.t	cɪk	a-ɲ-ícat	cɪk
children	C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-PRO-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL	VREF

ana	ɲ-ɔ́t̪att.át̪ɛ
and	PRO.C-fight:PAST

the children were lying down and (then) they fought

Though the verb in a linked clause introduced by **ana** +H is typically a non-dependent main verb, it can also be a Dependent Incompletive. In such cases the second clause lacks overt reference to the subject. Its understood subject is co-referent with the subject of the preceding clause. The following sentence has two variants. The first has a linked clause with an overt subject and a non-dependent (Incompletive) verb, the second lacks an overt subject and has a Dependent Incompletive verb.

kərrən	ana	cúkkú	ʊl	w-ɛɛ́
early_wet_season	and	height_of_wet_season	people	C-plant_sorghum:INCOMPL

ana	w-á.ra	/	ana	ɔrâ
and	C-cultivate:INCOMPL		and	cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

In the early wet season and at the height of the wet season people plant sorghum and cultivate (second variant from calendar)

In such constructions, the non-dependent verb in the first clause is not necessarily an Incompletive, it can also be a Completive:

m-p-i̧cá̧t̠.ɛ   **mɛccɪn**   **ɲ-cɪk-ɪ-ci̧ŋki̧**
1-C-lie_down:COMPL   yesterday   with-LOC-in-sun

ana   **úrəkɔ**   **a-cí̧ŋki̧**   **c-ɛɔ́.t**   **cɪk-ɪ-t̠ɪɾɔ̂t**
and   get_up:DEPINCOMPL   CONJ-sun   C-go:COMPL   LOC-in-sky

I slept early yesterday and got up when the sun was up in the sky (*ɲcɪkɪciŋki*, lit. 'from in the sun' expresses 'earlier than normal')

ana +H can be used for expressing a contrast, translating as 'but'. In both examples there is a prosodic boundary before 'and':

ɔ-ɪáɪa   **akk-ɪná**[14]
PERS-my_mother   FOC-know:INCOMPL

ana   **m-p-ɔmma**   **ɔ-ʊ́n**
and   1-C-not_know:INCOMPL   PERS-1

my mother knows, but I myself, I don't know (fr. written dialogue)

ɔ-lɔ́ttɪ   **p-á-aíné.t**   **nɔ́n**   **ana**   **k-kw-ɔ́ka.ká t̠ɛ**   **p-ɔŋɔ́**
PERS-Lɔttɪ   C-IRR-come_to:COMPL   O2A   and   3-C-be:PST   C-ill

Lɔttɪ would have come to you, but he fell ill

In order to convey contrastive meaning more strongly, the adverb **tərúk** 'only' is added to **ana** +H, forming **anarrúk** 'but' (first example below). Alternatively, adjectival C-**ərúk** 'only, just' modifies the contrasted subject noun (second example below).

i̧n-t̠-ɔpərɔ́t   **ana / ana.rruk**   **ɔ-t̠t̠ɛ**[15]   **p-ɔŋɔ**   **kɪr-əkkír**
1A-C-good   and / but   PERS-your_father   C-ill   completely-REDUP

we are fine, but our father is very ill

i̧n-t̠-ɔpərɔ́t   **ana**   **ɔ-t̠t̠ɛ**   **p-əruk**   **p-ɔŋɔ**   **kɪr-əkkír**
1A-C-good   and   PERS-your_father   C-only   C-sick   completely-REDUP

we are fine, but our father is very ill (lit.: your father is very ill)

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[14] The Incompletive of **ɪna** 'know' is tonally irregular. It has a high tone on the second instead of the first mora.

[15] Polite form.

ana +H can introduce a new sentence, linking that sentence to preceding discourse, for example:

ana	**ɔ-nɔn**	**t̪-érɛ**	**tăt**
and	PERS-2A	C-speak:INCOMPL	how

and what do you (PL) have to say?

ana +H can be used sentence-initially in combination with **ámma** +H, **akka** +H, **mɔnɔ** and **məna**. It merges with **ámma** +H to **anámma** +H, and with **akka** +H to **anákka** +H. **ana** +H is also attested immediately before the conjunctive particle **á-**. These combinations function like **ámma** +H, **akka** +H, **mɔnɔ**, **məna** and **á-** alone.

ana +H is also part of the constructions **ámma** +H … **ana** +H 'if … then' and **akka** +H … **ana** +H 'when … then'. These constructions will be discussed under **ámma** +H and **akka** +H, respectively.

18.2. Conjunctive **á-** and subjunctive **â-**

Conjunctive **á-** 'and, while' and subjunctive **â-** 'so that, in order to' are clause-linkers, they do not join phrases. I distinguish between a conjunctive particle **á-** and a subjunctive particle **â-**. Compare the particles attached to the verb 'eat' in the examples below:

k-kw-ɔ́ká.t	**cɪk**	**a-kw-ɔ́kkɔ́t**	**t̪ʊ́r̪ít**	**a-kw-ɔ́r̪əkɔ**	**cɪk**
3-C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-3-do:DEPINCOMPL	food	CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL	VREF

she was cooking food and eating (at the same time)

k-kw-ɔ́ká.t	**cɪk**	**a-kw-ɔ́kkɔ́t**	**t̪ʊ́r̪ít**	**á-kw-ɔ́r̪əkɔ́**	**cɪk**
3-C-be:COMPL	VREF	CONJ-3-do:DEPINCOMPL	food	SUBJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL	VREF

she was cooking food in order to eat (to have something to eat)

In practice, it can be difficult to decide which of the two particles is involved. The conjunctive particle can be realized with a high tone due to tone bridge. Compare the following alternative realizations of the same sentence, the first without, the second with tone bridge:

ɔ-ʊn	p-ɛ.kát̪-ɔk	ŋəpak	a-kw-íkk.at
PERS-1	C-give:PST-O3	beer	CONJ-3-drink:DEPPRFV

I gave him beer and he drank it

ɔ-ʊn	p-ɛ.kát̪-ɔ́k	ŋə́pák	á-kw-íkk.at
PERS-1	C-give:PST-O3	beer	CONJ-3-drink:DEPPRFV

I gave him beer and he drank it

A further complicating factor is that, at least in some cases, tonal realizations are possible that cannot (just) be ascribed to the application or non-application of tone bridge. An example follows here. The verbs in this sentence refer to consecutive events, so that the conjunctive particle is expected in both cases. On the verb 'produce' the high tone can be ascribed to tone bridge, but not on the verb 'get married'.

ʊkʊl	w-a.cɔ́kká	á-ɪtta.kát
child	C-grow:INCOMPL	CONJ-(PRO-)get_married:DEPPRFV

á-kwɔ́n.at	ɲʊ́kʊl
CONJ-(PRO-)produce:DEPPRFV	children

the girl will grow up and get married and give birth to children

In the texts in the appendices, I am not always sure about whether the conjunctive or the subjunctive particle is used. This happens when I would expect the one, but the tones rather seem to point to the other. In such cases I gloss the particle as the one I expect.

18.2.1. The conjunctive particle **á-** 'and, while'

The conjunctive particle **á-** introduces a clause that contains a Dependent Incompletive, Dependent Perfective or Completive verb, or the Present of 'be'. It can also contain a complex verb of which the first auxiliary is the Present of 'be' or a Completive verb. The verb in a clause introduced by **á-** is not an Imperative, nor an Incompletive or a Past. **á-** procliticizes to the (pro)nominal subject of the verb. It is mainly used:

- for the expression of actions or events that happen (more or less) at the same time, or that, together, can be viewed as part of the same event. This includes use in certain complex verbal constructions;
- for linkage with a time-adverbial phrase or clause;
- for the conjunction of consecutive events;
- as complementizer.

á- is furthermore used in **ámma** +H … **á-** 'if … then' and **akka** +H … **á-** 'when … then' constructions, and after **mɔnɔ** 'until' and **məna** 'until'. These constructions will be discussed under **ámma** +H, **akka** +H, and **mɔnɔ** and **məna.**

Actions that happen —more or less— at the same time and actions that can be viewed as part of the same event

á- before a Dependent Incompletive verb expresses that something happens at the same time as the event in the preceding clause. The subject of the second clause can be co-referent with the subject of the first clause (first and second example below), but also with its object (third example).

k-kw-ɔ́ŋkáṭέ   á-kw-íṛɛt   kín   ɪttɪ …
3-C-go:PST   CONJ-3-tell:DEPINCOMPL   O3A   that
s/he left while telling them (that) … (situation: somebody is walking away while still speaking to the people staying behind)

ana   ɔ-ʊn   cənɛ   a-n-ɔṛíkɔt   kîn
and   PERS-1   here   CONJ-1-wait:DEPINCOMPL   O3A
and I am here, waiting for them

k-kw-áṭṭ-ɪɔt   ɔ-nɛnní   a-kw-ɔ́ṛəkɔ   kəpá
3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL PERS-Nɛnnɪ   CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL   meat
s/he found Nɛnnɪ eating meat

In the following example, **ana á-** is used. It could be translated as 'and at the same time'. It is from a story at the point that it reaches a series of events that rapidly take it to its (violent) climax:

ana   a-lɪk   ɔ̂ŋəttat   n-a-âk
and   CONJ-fires   break_down_on.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL   on-PERS-3

and (at the same time) bundles of fire break down (falling) on him (fr. written story)

The conjunctive particle is also used when two verbs together describe one (main) action, as in the next example from an instruction how to make a 'singing whip' ('take' and 'polish'). The verb preceded by **á-** is a Dependent Incompletive:

ŋ-kw-úmmɔ   kupu   a-ccə́ṭa   kɪccé
2-C-take:INCOMPL   piece_of_bamboo   CONJ-(2-)polish:DEPINCOMPL   carefully

you take a piece of bamboo and you polish it carefully (App. II, 4)

Likewise, **ɪkkɔ cɪk** 'sit, stay' can be followed by **á-** introducing a clause with the (semantic) main verb, expressing 'start to x' (see 12.9):

a-kín   ɪkk.at   cɪk   a-kín   ɔ́râ
CONJ.PERS-3A   sit:DEPPRFV   VREF   CONJ.PERS-3A   cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

and they started to cultivate ('The story of the jackal')

The same construction can be made with the verb **apəṭa**, based on Sudanese Arabic *bada* 'start, begin':

akka   ɔ-kín   ṭ-apəṭá.t   á-kín   ɔ́rá   ɪttɪná …
that   PERS-3A   C-start:COMPL   CONJ.PERS-3A   cultivate:DEPINCOMPL   so

when they had started to cultivate like this … ('The story of the jackal')

á- is also part of certain complex TAMs with an auxiliary of 'be' (see 12.7.5). The examples have a Past Continuous (first one) and a Past Completive (second one):

m-p-ɔká.t   cɪk   a-n-ɔkə́ṭaccɛ
1-C-be:COMPL   VREF   CONJ-1-watch:DEPINCOMPL

I was watching it

k-kw-ɔ́ká.t   a-k-kw-âkkarɔ̂.t
3-C-be:COMPL   CONJ-3-C-call:COMPL

s/he had (already) called me

Linkage with a time-adverbial phrase or clause

The typical opening formula of a story **caṭɪ caṭɛk cɔkát cɪk** 'once upon a time' or 'one day' is followed by **á-:**

caṭɪ   c-əṭɛk   c-ɔká.t   cɪk
day   C-some   C-be:COMPL   VREF

a-puṭúŋ   p-áṭṭ-ɪɔt   ŋərrɔ̂ŋ …
CONJ-marten(?)   C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL   squirrel

one day a marten(?) found a squirrel …

A comparable case is the following:

ŋ-kw-ɔká.t   cɪk   maṭɔ́t
2-C-be:COMPL   VREF   long_time_ago

â.mpəppɔnɛ   lịcɔk   áka.ín.ṭa
CONJ.(2.)loose.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL   goats   why

why was it that in the past you were always losing the goats? (lit.: you were long ago and you were always losing the goats why?)

When the clause expressing the time of the event is not the first of the sentence, conjunctive **á-** introduces the time adverbial clause:

m-p-ịcáṭ.ɛ   mɛccɪn   ɲ-cɪk-ɪ-cịŋkị́ ana   úrəkɔ
1-C-lie_down:COMPL   yesterday   with-LOC-in-sun   and   get_up:DEPINCOMPL

a-cị́ŋkị   c-ɛɔ́.t   cɪk-ɪ-ṭɪṭɔ̂t
CONJ-sun   C-go:COMPL   LOC-in-sky

I went to bed early yesterday and got up when the sun was up in the sky (lit.: and the sun had gone up in the sky)

The examples above with time-adverbial clauses can actually be regarded as events happening at the same time. The conjunctive particle can, however, also be used when a time-adverb is placed in sentence-initial position:

mɛɲcén   **a-ŋ-kw-ɔrәnnâ.t**   **ana** **ɪnénní** **ŋ-kw-ɪttáṭ.ɛ**
some_time_ago   CONJ-2-C-become_thin:COMPL and   today   2-C-become_fat:COMPL
last time you were thin, but now you are fat

Conjunction of consecutive events

á- is used for the conjunction of consecutive events in narratives. It is
typically used to narrate a 'flow' of events: 'and then … and then …
and then …'. In this context, clauses introduced by **á-** typically have
a Dependent Perfective verb:

ana   **kɪt**   **k-á.k-k-ɔná.t**   **kaṭʊk**   **n-ʊkón**
and   wild_chicken   C-be:COMPL-C-bring:COMPL spear   with-hand

a-kɪt   **ɔcéɽɛ.kat**   **kaṭʊk** **cʊɽé** **c-ɔ-pɪra**
CONJ-wild_chicken   make_stand.LOCT:DEPPRFV spear   bottom C-of-tree

a-kw-íkk.at   **ŋә́pak**
CONJ-3-drink:DEPPRFV   beer

and the wild chicken was holding a spear in his hand and the wild chicken
made the spear stand against the bottom of the tree and drank beer ('The
story of the jackal')

A sequence of events can also be placed in the future: this will
happen, then this, then this. Here too, the verbs in the clauses
introduced by **á-** are Dependent Perfectives:

an-ámmá **k-kw-íɔṭé** **k-kw-a.pɪra**   **nɔ-ká**
and-if   3-C-find:COMPL 3-C-become_good:INCOMPL on-body

á-kw-ɔ́lləkkɛ.kat   **tɔ-cәlák** **a-kw-ɔpákk.at**   **ŋ.ŋɪn**   **tʊan**
CONJ-3-put_down:DEPPRFV   up_on-neck CONJ-3-return:DEPPRFV   with:ABS   home

and when he will have found it, he will be happy and he will put it on his
shoulders and return home with it (Luke 15:5)

The conjunctive introducing a complement clause

With sensory verbs, **á-** introduces a complement clause, as in the two
examples below. In the second example, pronominal **ɲ** refers to
ɲʊkʊl 'children' (here: 'girls').

akka	a-kín	ɔ́rá		íttíná	a-kín	ɪmma
that	CONJ.PERS-3A	cultivate:DEPINCOMPL	so		CONJ.PERS-3A	see:DEPINCOMPL

a-ʈɛ́pa	ʈ-aá.t
CONJ-lion	C-come:COMPL

when they were cultivating like this, they saw that the lion had come ('The story of the jackal')

ámmá	ɲ-ɔ́ccɪ̣kɔ́ʈ.ɛ́	á-páŋɔ́n	ɛɛ …
if	PRO.C-hear:COMPL	CONJ-sibling.PL	swing:DEPINCOMPL

as soon as they hear (lit.: have heard) their sisters swing them (their singing whips), … (App. II, 27)

In this context, too, the combination **ana á-** is found:

ámmá	ɔ́-nɔ́n	ʈ-ɔ́ccɪ́kɔ́ʈ.ɛ	lɔn	l-ɔ-ʈɔɽák
if	PERS-2A	C-hear:COMPL	words	C-of-war

ana	a-cɪk	c-ɔkɪ̣ttákɔ.t …
and	CONJ-place	C-be_destroyed:COMPL

when you hear messages about war and that the place has been destroyed … (Luke 21:9)

18.2.2. The subjunctive particle **â-** 'so that, in order to'

A clause introduced by the subjunctive particle **â-** 'so that, in order to' contains a Dependent Incompletive or a Completive verb. The Dependent Perfective is possible, but seems rather uncommon in this environment. Subjunctive **â-** is used:

- for the conjunction of a two clauses, with the second expressing the purpose of the first;
- for the conjunction of two clauses, with the second expressing a command to a first, second or third person

â- is used in **ámma** +H … **â-** 'if … then' constructions. In these constructions the clause introduced by the subjunctive particle typically expresses a (mild) command to second or third person.

The subjunctive particle has the special tonal effect of lowering the high tone that is induced by the 3SG subject clitic and the common noun pronominal subject clitics. This can be seen, amongst others, in the first and second example below.

Introducing a clause expressing the purpose of the preceding clause.

Examples of the subjunctive clitic introducing a clause that expresses the purpose of the preceding clause follow here. The verb in the clause introduced by the subjunctive marker is typically a Dependent Incompletive:

m-p-ɛɛ.kát̪-ɔ́k   **ŋə́pák**   **á-kw-i̪kkɔ**
1-C-give:PST-O3   beer   SUBJ-3-drink:DEPINCOMPL

I gave him/her beer to drink

pʊl   **p-ɛɔ́.t**   **á-p-ɪɽet**   **kín**   **ɪtt̆ ...**
person   3-C-go:COMPL   SUBJ-PRO-tell:DEPINCOMPL   O3A   that

the person left (in order) to tell them (that) ...

m-p-a.ɪk p-a.ɛɔ́   **á-n-ɔt̪-ít̪t̪ɔ**   **ʊa**   **nɔ-pɪrâ**
1-C-be:PR   C-go:INCOMPL SUBJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL fruit(sp.) on-tree

I am going to pick *ʊa*-fruits in the tree

untɛ   **ŋəɽɪ**   **á-n-ɔnékɔ**   **makkə́lɔ́k**
pour:IMP   water   SUBJ-1-take:DEPINCOMPL   calabashes(k.o.)

pour the water away so that I take (collect) the (empty) calabashes

Also the final high tones of L.HL/L.L.HL verbs are lowered by the subjunctive particle: **â + ŋ + ɔrəpɔ̂ > á-rəpɔ** and **â + kw + ɔɽəkɔ̂ > á-kw-ɔɽəkɔ**. After this, tone bridge is applied:

aləpaccóṭ   w-ɪɽɛ.káṭɛ   nɔ-cįkįt   c-ʋŋ   ɪttɪ
jackal   C-say:PST   on-heart   C-POSS3   that

k-kw-á.mɪkkɔt   ŋərrɔ́ŋ
3-C-deceive:INCOMPL   squirrel

á-rə́pɔ́   ń-tɔ́-pírá   á-kw-ɔ́ɽə́kɔ́-kɔ̂k
SUBJ-(PRO-)move_down:DEPINCOMPL   with-up_on-tree   SUBJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL-O3

the jackal said in his heart that he is going to trick the squirrel so that it comes down from the tree so that he (the jackal) can eat it (fr. written story)

In these constructions, subjunctive **â-** can alternatively be preceded by **ɔṭə́kka ɪttĭ** (literally 'become that') or just by **ɪttĭ** 'that' (the complementizer **ɪttĭ** is discussed in 18.7):

tʋpʋ   ɪ-r-a   k-kw-á.k-kw-ɪɽɪkɔ́.t[16]   n-tan   ŋ-ŋíɽɪmak
hole_in_ground   RES-C-COP   3-C-be:COMPL-C-pass_entrance:COMPL   with-up_on:ABS   with-darkness

á-kw-aṭ-ɪpɔt   ɔṭə́kka   ɪttɪ
SUBJ-3-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-dig:DEPINCOMPL   become:DEPINCOMPL   that

á-paṭṭ-ɔ́n   ɛn-ṭ-ərɪk   áṭ-apɔt   ṭán …
SUBJ-person-PL   DEM-C-NEARADD   VEN:DEPINCOMPL-fall_at:DEPINCOMPL   there

the hole in the ground which he had entered when it was still dark in order to dig it (out deeper), so that those persons would come and fall into it … ('The story of the jackal')

Conjunction of two clauses, with the second expressing a command to a second or third person

A second clause introduced by **â-** can express a command to second or third person:

ana   ṣabááḥ[17]   á-ɪṭa
and   morning   SUBJ-(2-)cook:DEPINCOMPL

and in the morning you must cook (asida) (App. IV, 40)

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[16] The expected form would be **k-kw-á.p-p-ɪɽɪkɔ́.t** (< **k-kw-ɔká.t p-ɪɽɪkɔ́.t**). Here, however, the verb was realized as **k-kw-á.k-kw-ɪɽɪkɔ́.t**.

[17] Sudanese Arabic word.

ana   ɔ́k.kw.í   í-p-ɔ́rrɔ́t   ɔ-páŋ
and   the_one   RES-C-beat:DEPINCOMPL   PERS-sibling

á-kw-ɔ́nɔ́kɔ   **kəpa**   **áppɪk**
SUBJ-3-take:DEPINCOMPL   meat   all

and the one who beats his brother, let him take all the meat

The subjunctive particle can be followed by a Dependent Perfective verb. The action/event is then explicitly presented as consecutive:

ámmá   k-kw-ɛ́ɔ́.t   á-kw-ɪɽɛ.kat   kín   ɪttǐ …
if   3-C-go:COMPL   SUBJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV   O3A   that

after s/he has arrived (lit.: has gone), s/he must then tell him/her (that) …

18.3. **ámma** +H 'if, when'

In context, **ámma** +H is always realized with two high tones. This is due to tone bridge spanning from its own initial high to the first high on a following item.

ámma +H 'if, when' introduces a temporal or conditional clause. The **ámma** +H -clause is typically used in irrealis statements. A first clause with **ámma** +H can be followed by a clause introduced by **ana** +H, by conjunctive **á-**, or by subjunctive **â-** in a construction 'if, when … then'. A conjunction morpheme can also be absent from the second clause. There is prosodic boundary before the second clause, so that **ana** +H cannot receive a high tone from a preceding element in this construction. An initial **ámma** +H clause can have a pragmatic high tone (boundary tone) on its last mora (see 3.6). To the same effect, and in spite of the following prosodic boundary, an underlying final falling tone on the last mora of the **ámma** +H clause is generally realized as high.

The verb in an **ámma** +H clause is very often a Completive, but can also be a Present. The verb can also be a Dependent Incompletive; in such cases **ámma** +H is often immediately followed by the conjunctive particle **á-**, but not necessarily so. Incompletives, Pasts and Dependent Perfectives are not attested in clauses introduced by **ámma** +H.

Examples with the constructions **ámma** +H … **ana** +H, **ámma** +H … **á-** and **ámma** +H … **â-** follow here.

ámma +H … **ana** +H … 'if/when … then …'

ámmá	**ḿ-p-á.p-p-ɪná.t**	**ana**	**m-p-á-akkwɔ̤ṭ-ʊ́ŋ**
if	1-C-be:COMPL-C-know:COMPL	and	1-C-IRR-kill:COMPL-O2

if I had known, I would have killed you

ámma +H … **á-** … 'if/when … then …'

ámmá	**ḿ-p-ʊ́llɔ́.t**	**cərúk**	**á-n-íɽɪkɛ**	**ṭɔɽək**	**tít**
if	1-C-pierce:COMPL	opening	CONJ-1-make_enter:DEPINCOMPL	rope	in:ABS

when I have made a hole, then I pass a thread through it

ámma +H … **â-** … 'if/when … then …'

ámmá	**ŋ́-k-ʊ́llɔ́.t**	**cərúk**	**á-ɪɽɪkɛ**	**ṭɔɽək**	**tít**
if	2-C-pierce:COMPL	opening	SUBJ-(2-)make_enter:DEPINCOMPL	rope	in:ABS

when you have made a hole, you must pass a thread through it

ámmá	**k-kw-ɛ́ɔ́.t**	**á-kw-ɪɽɛt**	**kín**	**ɪttĭ …**
if	3-C-go:COMPL	SUBJ-3-tell:DEPINCOMPL	O3A	that

when s/he arrives (lit.: has gone), s/he must tell them (that) …

A conjunction word or clitic introducing the second clause is absent in the following case:

ámmá	**ŋ́-kw-íɽé.t**	**mɛník**
if	2-C-say:COMPL	like_this

ɔ-nị̆n	**ṭ-a.ŋállɛṇṭ-ʊŋ**	**ɪ-lɔntərɔ̂**
PERS-1A	C-urinate_for:INCOMPL-O2	in-calabashes(k.o.)

if you say so, we will urinate for you in the calabashes (App. IV, 53-54)

The next example illustrates that a Completive is also used in the **ámma** +H-clause when the clause does not express a finished action and/or a resulting state or situation. The final high tone on **cənékɛt**

'there, at that place (not far from the speaker, within sight)' is a pragmatic high tone at the clause boundary (see 3.6):

ámmá	k-kw-ɔ́ppɔ́.t	cə́nɛ́kɛ́t	ana	ṭị̈	ṭ-íkkɔ	ṭ-a.ccɔ́kɔṭ-ɔ̂k
if	3-C-pass:COMPL	there	and	thorn	C-may	C-catch:INCOMPL-O3

when s/he passes there, a thorn may catch him/her

In the next example, **ámma** +H immediately precedes the conjunctive particle **á-**. The verb 'pass' is a Dependent Incompletive:

ámmá	á-cíŋkị́	ɔ́kkɔ́	cík-í-ṭíṛɔ́t
if	CONJ-sun	pass:DEPINCOMPL	LOC-in-sky

á-kw-ıkkɔ	cık	ı-cʊṛɛ́	c-ɔ-pıra
SUBJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL	VREF	in-bottom	C-of-tree

when the sun reaches high in the sky, s/he must sit under a tree

ámma +H is typically used in situations that have not (yet) happened: counterfactuals, hypothetical situations or situations that can or will happen in the future. In storytelling, however, it is also used in realis descriptions, creating expectation and tension that something is going to happen next. The verb in the **ámma** +H clause is a Dependent Incompletive. Here, **ámma** +H is not immediately followed by the conjunctive particle, because, in connected speech, **a** and **ɔ** coalesce here to **ɔ** (**ámm-ɔ́-kín**):

ámmá	ɔ́-kín	ị̈kkɔ	ŋə́pak	ıttıná ...
if	PERS-3A	drink:DEPINCOMPL	beer	so

when they were drinking beer like this ... ('The story of the jackal')

The **ámma** +H clause can also be the second clause. In this case, too, the verb in the irrealis statement introduced by **ámma** +H is a Completive, Present or Dependent Incompletive. In the latter case the conjunctive particle tends to immediately follow after **ámma** +H. Examples with a Completive verb in the **ámma** +H clause:

kəllán	k-á.ṛə́kɔ́	ṭʊ́ṛít	ámmá	k-k-íamâ.t
old_woman	C-eat:INCOMPL	food	if	PRO-C-become_hungry:COMPL

the old woman will eat food when she is hungry

m-p-á-ananɛ.t   kín ṭʊ̣ɽít ámmá ḿ-p-íná.t   ɪttɪ ṭ-ṭ-éllâ.t
1-C-IRR.bring_for:COMPL O3A   food   if   1-C-know:COMPL that PRO-C-be_absent:COMPL

I would have brought them food if I had known that it was not there

With a Present verb in the **ámma** + H clause:

n-íttararɔt   ámmá   ŋə́ɽɛ   ŋ-əɽek ŋ-a.ɪk   ŋ-ɔnṭɔ́mat
2A-help_each_other:DEPINCOMPL if   work   C-some C-be:PR   C-hard

you must help each other when there is some difficult job

With **ámma á-** and Dependent Incompletive:

ka   k-ʊ́rə́ttá   ámmá   á-rít   ɔ́rékɔ
body   C-be_woken_up:INCOMPL   if   CONJ.PERS-12 work:DEPINCOMPL

the body will be woken up when we work (we feel sleepy now, but if we start working we will become awake)

aɽɪŋá   áṭ-ɪkkɪnɛ[18]   **ɔ-ɪáɪa   cɪk pá.p.ɔ́tté**
come:IMP.ALLOW CONJ.(2.)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-wait_for:DEPINCOMPL PERS-mother   VREF short_time

ámmá   á-kw-ântán
if   CONJ-3-come:DEPINCOMPL

come and wait a little time for my mother, if she comes (i.e. maybe she will come) (fr. written story)

Finally, verbless **ámma** + H-clauses were found, but considered not really grammatical by my consultant (JS). It concerns **ámma** + H clauses with a prepositional phrase (first example below). The clause with verb was preferred (second example below). Both have a clause-final pragmatic high tone on 'four'.

?ámmá ná-ánɔ́k   w-ɔ́cɔ́ɽín   a-úl …
if   on-moons   C-four   CONJ-people

when on four months (in April), the people … (fr. written text)

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[18] The conjunctive particle **á** seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic **ŋ́** is deleted between vowels. Derivation: **á** + **ŋ́** + **aṭ-ɪkkɪnɛ** > **aáṭɪkkɪnɛ** > **ǎṭɪkkɪnɛ** > **áṭɪkkɪnɛ**.

ámmá   ánɔ́k   w-aa.t   w-ɔ́cɔ́ɽín a-úl …
if   moons   C-come:COMPL   four   CONJ-people

when the months have reached four (when it is April), the people …

18.4. **akka** +H 'that'

akka +H 'that' can join clauses and also noun phrases. It can function as a complementizer and it can introduce clauses with a temporal or causal interpretation. Whereas a clause introduced by **ámma** +H and a Completive verb typically has an irrealis reading, a cause introduced by **akka** +H with a Completive verb typically has a realis reading. Followed by the conjunctive particle **á-**, **akka** +H can have a negative interpretation ('and not x', 'and so that not x'). Joining noun phrases it expresses 'or'.

18.4.1. **akka** +H as complementizer

akka +H can also be used as a complementizer:

l-ɔ́pərɔ́t   akka   m-p-akə́nn-ɛlıkkɔ
PRO.C-good   that   1-C-NEG-release:DEPCOMPL

it is good that I did not release it

m-p-ɔŋɔt̪.ɛ́   akka kéccók k-ín   k-ɔ́nʊ́ aɽəpʊ cık   áppık
1-C-like:COMPL   that   market C-POSS1A C-have things VREF all

I like (it) that our market has everything (fr. written story)

The previous examples have a non-dependent verb in the **akka** +H clause, the next a dependent verb (a Dependent Incompletive). The first example below has a two-clause construction with **ámma** +H … **ana** +H … 'if/when … then …' as its complement.

ana úl   w-ɔŋɔt̪.ɛ́   cannan áŋŋəna   akka
and   people C-like:COMPL   very   very   that

ámmá w-ɛ́ɔ́.t   ana w-íɔt   úl   ɲ-cık   áppık
if   PRO.C-go:COMPL and PRO.C-find:INCOMPL people with-place all

and the people like it very much that, when they go (lit.: have gone), they find people from everywhere (fr. written story)

m-p-ɔmmá	**akka**	**ɔ-ʊn**[19]	**ɔkkɔ̂t**
1-C-know_not:INCOMPL	that	PERS-1	do:DEPINCOMPL

I don't know what to do (lit.: that I do (it))

m-p-ɔmmá	**akka**	**ɔ-ʊn**[20]	**ákɔ**
1-C-know_not:INCOMPL	that	PERS-1	wear:DEPINCOMPL

I don't know how to wear it (lit.: that I wear (it) (for example a tobe[21]))

In the next case, **akka** +H complements **tɔkį́t** 'before':

mɛɲcén	**tɔ́.kį́t**	**akka**	**ṭ-ɔkʊrrɔ**	**én-ṭ-í**
some_time_ago	before	that	NOM-engrave	DEM-C-NEARSP

ṭ-úrrən-ɔṭəkkétta.t		**cɪc-cəné**	**ṭáṭʊ**	**a-ṭʊṭít**	**ṭ-á.ṭ-ṭ-ɔpərɔ̂t**
C-just_now-be_put:COMPL		LOC-here	Ṭaṭʊ	CONJ-food	C-be:COMPL-C-good

some time ago, before (that) this writing workshop was organized right here in Ṭaṭʊ, there was enough food (fr. written story)

akka + H as complementizer is also part of the constructions **ɪlên akka** +H 'that's why' (see 8.2.4), **ŋɪmpén akka** +H 'that's what, that's why' and **tat akka** +H 'that's how' (20.1.2 and 20.1.4). It is furthermore applied in non-subject focus constructions (see 19.2) and in constructions with question words questioning non-subject constituents (see 20.1). These constructions involve left-dislocation of the focussed constituent or the question word, followed by **akka** +H.

18.4.2. **akka** +H with temporal or causal reading

When the first clause of a sentence is introduced by **akka** +H, the second is generally introduced by the conjunctive particle **á-** 'and, while' or by **ana** +H 'and'. This first **akka** +H clause contains a non-dependent verb —often a Completive—, or an adjective, and expresses a realis situation. It can have a temporal or a causal interpretation. The first pair contrast a (realis) **akka** + H clause with an (irrealis) **ámma** + H clause. Note that completiveness of the verb

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[19] Realized in connected speech as **mpɔmmá-kk-ɔʊn**.
[20] Realized in connected speech as **mpɔmmá-kk-ɔʊn**.
[21] Large cloth worn by many Sudanese women. It is wrapped around the body in a specific fashion.

is established by the auxiliary 'again' and that there is no prosodic boundary before **ana** in the first example:

akka	**ŋ-kw-áppər-ɔ́mɔ́ɲɛ**	**ána**	**ŋ-kw-íɔ**
that	2-C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL	and	2-C-die:INCOMPL

now that/because you have stolen again, you will die

ámmá	**ŋ́-kw-áppər-ɔ́mɔ́ɲɛ**	**ana**	**ŋ-kw-íɔ**
if	2-C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL	and	2-C-die:INCOMPL

if you steal again, you will die

Some examples with a temporal reading of the first clause follow here. In the first, the subjects of the joined clauses are different, in the second and third they are co-referent. The verb in the second clause with co-referent subject is typically a Dependent Perfective, also when the action is not consecutive (last example below).

Note that the final high of **mpaát** 'I have come' in the first example shifts (and gets deleted), whereas **kkwáát** 's/he had come' in the second example retains the high tone on its last mora.

akka	**m-p-aa.t**	**a-k-kw-ɔ́ká.t**	**á-kw-ɔ́kəṭaccê-k**
that	1-C-come:COMPL	CONJ-3-C-be:COMPL	CONJ-3-watch:DEPINCOMPL-O3

when I arrived, s/he was watching him/her

akka	**k-kw-áá.t**	**a-kw-íṛɛkat**	**kín**	**ıttĭ …**
that	3-C-come:COMPL	CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV	O3A	that

when s/he arrived, s/he told them …

maṛɔ́t	**akka**	**m-p-ɔtté**	**cík**	**a-n-élıkk.at**	**lįcɔk**
long_ago	that	1-C-small	VREF	CONJ-1-release:DEPPRFV	goats

long ago, when I was small, I released the goats

A particular **akka** +H clause can have both a temporal and a causal reading:

akka	**məɽɛ**	**m-ɔká.t**	**cɪk**
that	cultivating_party	C-be:COMPL	VREF

a-púl	**ant-íkkɔ**	**ŋə́pak**
CONJ-person	can:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL	beer

when/because there was a cultivating party, the man could drink beer

In the following example, the **akka** +H clause, with Present Continuous verb, has a causal reading:

akka	**m-p-a.ɪk**	**p-a.ɛ̃**	**nɔ-kaɽə́n**
that	1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	on-place

ana	**ɔ-rɪt**	**ṭ-íkkɔ**	**ṭ-a.kə́nn-ɔrɛ́kɔ**
and	PERS-12	C-may	C-NEG-work:DEPINCOMPL

now that/because I am going to that place, we may not be able to do work

The clause introduced by **akka** +H can also be the second clause. The first example below, with Completive verb in **akka** +H clause has a temporal reading:

m-p-ɔká.t	**p-úrrən-áɔ**	**ákka**	**k-kw-íɔ́.t**
1-C-be:COMPL	1-C-just_now-come:DEPINCOMPL	that	3-C-died:COMPL

I had just arrived after s/he had died (I was just too late)

Some examples of second **akka** +H clauses with causal reading follow here. Note that in the first, there is a prosodic boundary realized before **akka**. The sentence can also be said without prosodic boundary, in which case 'tree' is realized with a final high tone:

m-p-a.ɪk	**p-a.ɛ̃́**	**á-n-ɔṭ-íṭṭɔ**
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	SUBJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL

ʊa	**nɔ-pɪrâ**	**akka**	**w-élla**	**nɔ-ʊɽɪ**	**w-ɔ́-nɔ-capʊ́**
fruits(k.o.)	on-tree	that	PRO.C-be_absent:INCOMPL	on-branches	C-of-on-ground

I am going to collect *kʊa*-fruits up in the tree because they are not there on the branches near the ground

ɔ-kín	ṭ-á.ík	ṭ-íkkɔt	púl	cɪk	ákka[22]	p-p-ɔ́ŋɔ́
PERS-3A	C-be:PR	C-sit_at:INCOMPL	person	VREF	that	PRO-C-ill

they are sitting with the person now that/because he is ill

A conjunction morpheme linking the clauses is absent if the second clause has a hortative pronoun on the verb:

akka	k-kw-áá.t	tír-ɛ́ɔ̂
that	3-C-come:COMPL	HRT12-go:DEPINCOMPL

now that/because s/he has arrived, let's go

18.4.3. **akka** +H introducing a noun phrase

akka +H does not always introduce a full clause. In the next examples, where it expresses 'because', it is followed by just a noun phrase. In these cases there is never a prosodic boundary before **akka** +H:

ŋ-kw-a.pɘ́llɛn-ɪn	ákka	tacɔk	t-în-r[23]
2-C-fear_for:INCOMPL-O1	that	legs	C-POSS1-Q

are you afraid of me because of my feet?

ɔ-kʊkkú	p-á.ík	p-ímmakɔ	ákka	kápɪk
PERS-Kʊkkʊ	C-be:PR	C-shelter:INCOMPL	that	rain

Kʊkkʊ is sheltering because of the rain

18.4.4. **anakka** +H 'and when, and after' and **mɘnnakka** +H 'and when, and after'

akka +H introducing a first clause can be preceded by **ana** +H 'and', forming **anakka** +H. It can have a reading as 'and when' or as 'and because'. Examples:

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[22] **akka** can also be realized here with low tones. In that case there is a prosodic boundary before it.

[23] ɪ was pronounced with some length and a falling tone, for which I have no explanation.

an-ákka **k-kw-árət̪ʊk** **íllɔ** **ɪ-rut̪t̪ərúk**
and-that 3-C-still divide_in_two:DEPINCOMPL in-pig

a-kw-ɔ́mpun.at **nə́mámá** **í-n-ɔ́pôn**
CONJ-3-roast:DEPPRFV inside_of_pumpkin RES-C-bitter

and when he was still to divide the pig in two, he roasted the bitter inside of a pumpkin (and before he divided the pig in two …) (fr. written story)

an-ákka **m-p-ɔnú** **nə́ɽé** **n-ɔ-pəllá**
and-that 1-C-have fear C-of-cat

ana **m-p-a.kkɔt** **kát̪-t̪a** **cʊŋ**
and 1-C-do:INCOMPL how-QW UNCERT

and because I am afraid of the cat, what am I going to do?? ('The story of the jackal')

mənnákkǎ consists of **mənnǎ** 'even' and **akka** + H. The combination expresses 'when, after' and introduces a clause preceding the main clause. **mənnákkǎ** can itself again be preceded by **ana** + H 'and'. In the first two examples the second clause is introduced by **á-** and has a Dependent Perfective verb. The last example lacks a conjunction between the two clauses, and has a Past verb in the main clause.

mənn.ákka **k-kw-ɔ́ná.t** **ŋáák**
when 3-C-bring:COMPL oil

a-kw-íp.ant̪ɛt **t̪akəɽʊk** **ɪ-ʊɽəccô**
CONJ-3-dig_for:DEPPRFV chicken in-feathers

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

mənn.ákka **k-kw-ímmá.t** **pá-p-έn** **á-p-úrəkɔ** **nɔ-kaɽə̂n**
when 3-C-see:COMPL thing-C-DEM CONJ-PRO-get_up:DEPINCOMPL on-place

ŋ-ká **appɪk** **a-nəɽé** **ɔ́ccɔ́k.at̪-ɔ̂k**
with-body all CONJ-fear catch:DEPPRFV-O3

when he saw that thing getting up from the place with its whole body, fear took hold of him (fr. written story)

mənn.ákka	**ɔ-nị̀n**	**ṭ-ɔrɛkɔ́.t**	**maṛɪ**	**m-ɔtté**	**cík**
when	PERS-1A	C-work:COMPL	days	C-small	VREF

ɔ-nɛnní	**p-ɔṭəkkán-ín**	**ɛ́rɛ́**	**ɔ́-páŋ-k-în**
PERS-Nɛnnɪ	C-become_for:COMP-O1	like	PERS-sibling-C-POSS1

ana	**m-p-ɔṭəkkán-ɔ́k**	**ɛ́rɛ́**	**ɔ́-páŋ**
and	1-C-become_for:COMPL-O3	like	PERS-sibling

when/after we had worked for some days, Nɛnnɪ had become like a sister to me and I had become like a sister to her (fr. letter)

18.4.5. **akka** +H + **á-** introducing a negative purpose clause

akka +H directly followed by conjunctive **á-** can express a negative purpose 'so that not':

ana	**ɔ-nɔn**	**ṭ-ɛllá**	**ṭʋk**	**ákka**	**a-ṭ-ɔ́kə́ṛɔ́-kín-î**
and	PERS-2A	C-not_have:INCOMPL	dog	that	CONJ-PRO-bite:DEPINCOMPL-O1-Q

and you do not have a dog, so that it will not bite me? (fr. written story)

ɛɛ	**kʋṛɪ**	**cɪṭ.ṭán**	**á-ʋl**	**aṭ-ɔnṭɔ-kɔ́k**	**n-n-a-ʋ́n**
stab:IMP	cry	far	SUBJ-people	VEN:DEPINCOMPL-pull:DEPINCOMPL-O3	with-on-PERS-1

akka	**a-n-íɔ**
that	CONJ-1-die:DEPINCOMPL

cry out loudly so that people will come and pull him away from me, so that I do not die (fr. written story)

ɔ-nị̀n	**ákk-áŋkwɔt**	**kamʋṭɛ**	**k-árrô**
PERS-1A	FOC-guard:INCOMPL	celebration	C-of.Lumun_people

akka	**a-k-ʋ́rat**		**cɪk**	**ṭúpʋt**	**ṭ-əṛek**
that	CONJ-PRO-become_lost:DEPINCOMPL		VREF	year	C-some

we are the ones that take care of the Lumun celebration, so that it will not be lost some year (we are the ones who organize it every year) (fr. song text)

ṭ-íɟat   **pə́ɽɪn á-ʊrəkɔ**   **ŋ-ŋírɪmak**
IT:IMP-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL   finally   SUBJ-(2-)get_up:DEPINCOMPL   with-darkness

akka   a-ṭ-ɔccɔ́[24]   **nɔ́-ńṭɛ́ á-ə́rɛ́   ɔ́kį̓ttakɔ**
that   CONJ-(2-)IT:DEPINCOMPL-receive:DEPINCOMPL on-sleep   SUBJ-work   spoil:DEPINCOMPL

go and lie down now, so that you can get up early in the morning and do not sleep late (and do not take on sleep), so that the work will not be spoilt (fr. written skype conversation)

However, **akka** + H immediately followed by **á-** does not always have a negative purpose reading. In the sentence below the constructions draws attention to the action as a process with some duration:

m-p-ɪmmá.t   pʊl   akka   a-p-ɛ́ɔ́   ń-túán
1-C-see:COMPL   person   that   CONJ-PRO-go:DEPINCOMPL   with-home

I saw the man while he was busy leaving the house

m-pɪmmá.t   ɔ-kʊkkʊ́   akka   a-kw-ɔ́mʊɲɛ   įmít
1-C-see:COMPL   PERS-Kʊkkʊ   that   CONJ-3-steal:DEPINCOMPL   goat

I saw Kʊkkʊ while he was busy stealing a goat

In this construction it is, in principle, possible to leave **akka** + H (not **á-**) out. The action is then conveyed as a simple action, not as a process:

m-p-ɪmmá.t   pʊ́l   á-p-ɛ́ɔ́   ń-túán
1-C-see:COMPL   person   CONJ-PRO-go:DEPINCOMPL   with-home

I saw the man leaving the house

When **akka** + H functions as complementizer, a combination with the conjunctive particle **á** appears to be used before a pronoun clitic, (not before full pronouns though, as demonstrated by examples in 18.4.1):

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[24] **a-ṭ-ɔccɔ́** (< **á-** + **ŋ** + **ɔṭ** + **ɔccɔ̂**)

m-p-ɔmma   **ákka**   **a-n-ɔkkɔ́t**   **kɪn**
1-C-not_know:INCOMPL   that   CONJ-1-do:DEPINCOMPL   O3A

I do not know what to do with them

It must be remarked, that, like after **ámma** +H, some uncertainty remains about presence or absence of the conjunctive particle immediately after **akka**, due to coalescence of the **a**'s across the word boundary.

18.4.6. **akka** +H 'or' linking noun phrases

akka +H can also link noun phrases, expressing 'or'. According to my consultant (JS) this is found particularly in the speech of elderly people. Younger people generally use the Arabic loan word **ala** +H 'or' (< Sudanese Arabic *wala*). Two examples follow here**.**

lúkka   **akka/ala**   **ɔ-lɔ́ttí**   **á.pəllɪn**   **ânʈán**
Lʊkka   that/or   PERS-Lɔttɪ   SUBJ.PERS-one_from_group   come:DEPINCOMPL

Lʊkka or Lɔttɪ, one of you must come

i̱cat   **akka/ala**   **karrǎ**
true   that/or   lie

it is true or false

18.5. **ámma**, **ámmakka** +H and **ɛrɛ** +H '(just) like, as if'

ámma and **ɛrɛ** +H are used for linking a clause and a noun phrase, expressing 'like'. Note that **ámma** 'like' is tonally different from **ámma** +H 'if, when'. There is also **ámmakka** +H 'like', which is a combination of **ámma** and **akka** +H. Some examples follow here.

aʊn   **w-i̱cat**   **ámma**   **kwa**
rats   C-be_abundant:INCOMPL   like   chaff

the rats are many like chaff

ŋ-kw-ɔ́n-ʈ-akka   **ŋ-kw-ɔttɛ́kállán**   **ɛ́rɛ́**   **ʈɔ́ɾək**
2-C-why-QW-that   2-C-thin   like   rope

why are you thin like a rope?

ɛrɛ	ámm.akka	ôl
speak:IMP	like	people

speak like people! (i.e. 'speak like everybody', 'speak normally')

ʋl	w-a.rá	aɽəpʋ	ámm.akka	ʈún	ana	áʈʈɔpâ
people	C-cultivate:INCOMPL	things	like	onion	and	tobacco

the people cultivate things such as onions and tobacco

The example below has the copula C-**á**, preceded by the 3SG pronoun clitic, attached to **ámmakka**:

k-kw-ámm.akka	púl	í-p-íná	cɪk
3-C-COP.like	person	RES-C-know:INCOMPL	VREF

he is like a wise man (Matthew 7:24)

ámmakka + H and **ɛrɛ** + H can also link two clauses:

lɔn	ɪ-l-a.kɘrənnɔ	púl	á-p-ɔká	púl
words	RES-C-let:INCOMPL	person	CONJ-PRO-be:DEPINCOMPL	person

ámm.akka	p-p-ɔŋɔʈ.ɛ́
like	PRO-C-like:COMPL

things that allow a person to be the person s/he wants (lit.: while s/he is the person in the way s/he wants)

tɔr	t-ɔkkwɔʈ-ín	ɛ́rɛ́	m-p-á.ɽɘkɔ	kɘpá
appetite	C-kill:INCOMPL-O1	like	1-C-eat:INCOMPL	meat

appetite kills me like (as if) I will eat meat (meaning: I am craving for meat)

In some cases **ámmakka** rather translates as 'how, the way in which' than as 'like':

m-p-a.ɪk	p-a.ʈ-érɛ	nɔ́-cákkɔ̂ŋ
1-C-be:PR	C-IT:INCOMPL-speak:DEPINCOMPL	on-calabash(k.o.)

ámm.akka	úl	ɔkʋrrɔ	makkɔ̂ŋ
how	people	engrave:DEPINCOMPL	calabashes(k.o.)

I am going to talk about the calabash, how the people decorate calabashes (App. III, 2-3)

ana	l-ɛl-l-ɪ	ámm.akka	l-éréṯ-ɔ́k	l-ɔ́kíṯak
and	C-DEM-C-NEARSP	like	PRO.C-speak_about:COMPL-O3	C-bad

and these (words), the way they (the words) spoke about him, were bad (i.e. the words were bad)

18.6. mɔnɔ 'until', məna 'until'

mɔnɔ and **məna**[25] both express 'until'. It seems that they can be used interchangeably. They are immediately followed by the conjunctive particle **á-** and the clause they introduce contains a Dependent Perfective or Dependent Incompletive verb. They are (probably) both low-toned, but are often realized high due to tone bridge. A case of **mɔnɔ** with high tones which cannot be ascribed to tone bridge is presented here as well. The first high tone there is from regular tone shift, while the second (probably) is a boundary tone of the same type as can be found at the end of a first **ámma** +H or **akka** +H-clause (see chapter 3.6). Some examples with **mɔnɔ**:

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

mɔ́nɔ́	á-p-í.at
until	CONJ-PRO-die:DEPPRFV

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

ámmá	árrʊ́	w-ʊɔ́.t	ɪ-cɛkérék	ṯɔ́ɽí
if	Lumun_people	C-descend:COMPL	in-price	Ṭɔɽî

mɔ́nɔ́	á-kín	ị̀kkɔ	ŋəɽɪ	n.tɪ	ɪ-rɔ́k…
until	CONJ.PERS-3A	drink:DEPINCOMPL	water	from	in-water_place

when the Lumun people have descended to the market in Ṭɔɽî until they drink water from the well (then …)(situation: the Lumun descend to the market, reach the Tocho area in the valley and drink water from the well of the Tocho people, when this happens then …)

mɔnɔ and **məna** are often used in combination with **púccʊk** 'for some time'. The combination generally translates just as 'until':

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[25] There is also **məna** 'even' (mentioned in 17.1.4).

ɲʊkʊl ɲ-ɔppéʈ.ɛ ʈɔntərrɔ ŋaɛ púccók
children C-fill:COMPL calabash(k.o.) urine for_some_time

mɔ́nɔ́ á-ɪŋkat²⁶ ɪ-pʊɽ̂ot
until CONJ-(PRO-)go:DEPPRFV in-middle

the children filled the calabash with urine until it was half-full (i.e. until the urine went half-way)

The next example has the aforementioned boundary tone. Interestingly, the across-word boundary sequence **k-m** (lị̣cɔk mɔ́nɔ́) was not pronounced as the expected [m] (with full deletion of the final obstruent before the nasal), but as [ŋ], with the nasal adopting the place of articulation of the preceding (deleted) obstruent: [lịj̣o-ŋɔ́nɔ́]. The nasal discourse enclitics -**na** and -**mɛ́** (see under 17.2) display the same type of assimilation.

a-n-úrɛ.kat nɔ́-lị̣cɔk mɔ́nɔ́
CONJ-1-forget:DEPPRFV on-goats until

a-l-ɔ́ɽəkkanʈɛt púl p-əɽɛk mî̩l
CONJ-PRO-eat_for:DEPPRFV person C-some sorghum

and I forgot about the goats until they ate somebody's sorghum

In the following construction **mɔnɔ** is not followed by **á-** but immediately by a Dependent Incompletive verb. The **mɔnɔ**-clause here is part of a complex two-clause construction introduced by **ámma** +H:

ámmá ɔ́-rʊ́n ʈ-éɔ́.t mɔ́nɔ́ ɔ́ʈ-íɔt ana …
if PERS-12A C-go:COMPL until IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL and

when we will have found it, then … (lit.: when we have gone until going and finding (it), then …)

---

²⁶ The high tone is due to deletion of pronominal **ŋ** (which causes the high tone to change from **ɪ** to **ɔ**) followed by vowel assimilation and vowel shortening (**á-** + **ŋ-** + **ɔíŋkat** > **á-** + **ŋɔ́ɪŋkat** > **aɔ́ɪŋkat** > **aáɪŋkat** > **áɪŋkat**)

18.7. The complementizer ɪttɪ̆ 'that'

The common complementizer, typically used with verbs of speech but also in other contexts, is ɪttɪ̆ 'that'. ɪttɪ̆ contains a formative tɪ̆, which also occurs, amongst others, in the defective verb attɪ̆ 'I hope' (see 12.21). ɪttɪ̆ can also serve as a purposive conjunction between two clauses expressing 'so that, in order to'. As such it can alternate with ɔʈə́kka ɪttɪ̆ 'so that, in order to' (literally: 'become that').

With some verbs the use of ɪttɪ̆ introducing the complement clause is obligatory, with some others it is optional. ɪttɪ̆ is not used with sensory verbs. As described earlier in this chapter, such situations are construed with the conjunctive particle á- 'and, while': 'I saw X, while s/he …'.

A clause introduced by ɪttɪ̆ contains a subject and a non-dependent verb:

m-p-ănn-aŋkɔt   **ɪttɪ**   **m-p-ítta**
1-c-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL   that   1-c-get_married:INCOMPL

I do not agree to get married

Examples of ɪttɪ̆ in different contexts follow here.

ɪttɪ̆ introducing the complement of a speech verb

Verbs of speech and speech content are connected through ɪttɪ̆, independent of whether the speech content is direct speech or indirect speech. An example with direct speech and one with indirect speech follow here:

ɪttɪná   **k-kw-ákkar.áʈɛ**   **ɔ-ɪáɪa**   **ɪttɪ**
so   3-c-call:PST   PERS-my_mother   that

ɪáɪa   **ant-áɔ**
mother   can:DEPINCOMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL

so s/he called my mother: "mother, please come"

m-p-ɔká.t		**cɪk**	**a-n-ɔ́mɛntɛt̪-ɔ́k**			**ɪttɪ**
1-C-be:COMPL		VREF	CONJ-1-tell.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL-O3			that

k-kw-á.kərənnɔ	**karră**
3-C-let:INCOMPL	lie

I was always telling him/her that s/he should not lie

Complement clauses with an embedded question are linked to a preceding clause with a speech verb through **ɪttɪ̌** (first example below); not, however, when the locative relative **ná** 'where' is used (second example).

ɔ-kín	**t̪-ɔt̪i̯ɔt̪.ɛ́**	**tít**	**íttí**	**ŋímpén**	**akka**	**ɔ-kín**	**ɔkkɔ̂t**
PERS-3A	C-answer:COMPL	in:ABS	that	what	that	PERS-3A	do:DEPINCOMPL

they answered saying what they would do

k-kw-á.kənn-ɪt̯ɛ	**na**	**k-kw-áa.t**	**ɲ́.ŋɪn**
3-C-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL	where:REL	3-C-come:COMPL	with:ABS

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

Complementing ɔŋɔt 'like, want'

The verb **ɔŋɔt** 'like, want' and its clausal complement can be linked through **ɪttɪ̌** but also through **akka** + H. With **ɪttɪ̌**, the verb expresses desire ('want'), with **akka** + H appreciation ('like'). Compare:

m-p-ɔŋɔt̪.ɛ́	**ɪttɪ**	**kéccók**	**k-ín**	**k-ɔ́nú**	**at̯əpʊ**	**cɪk**	**áppɪk**
1-C-like:COMPL	that	market	C-POSS1A	C-have	things	VREF	all

I want our market to have everything

m-p-ɔŋɔt̪.ɛ́	**akka**	**kéccók**	**k-ín**	**k-ɔ́nú**	**at̯əpʊ**	**cɪk**	**áppɪk**
1-C-like:COMPL	that	market	C-POSS1A	C-have	things	VREF	all

I like it that our market has everything

Compare also the following examples. 'I like meat' is expressed with a nominal phrase as complement and without complementizer. 'I want meat', on the other hand, is expressed with a verbal complement clause and **ɪttɪ̌**.

m-p-ɔŋɔṭ.έ   **kəpá**
1-C-like:COMPL   meat

I like meat

m-p-ɔŋɔṭ.έ   **ɪttɪ**   **m-p-a.ɽəkɔ**   **kəpá**
1-C-like:COMPL   meat   1-C-eat:INCOMPL   meat

I want to eat meat (I want meat)

Complementation of some other verbs: optional use of **ɪttɪ̆**

With some verbs **ɪttɪ̆** is optional when introducing a verbless clause
or a clause with non-dependent verb. Examples are **ɔkwárɪkɔt** 'recall,
remember' and **ɪɔt** 'find':

ant-ɔkwárɪkɔt   **(ɪttɪ)**   **ɔ́ṭ-ṭá**   **έm-p-í**
can:DEPINCOMPL-remember:DEPINCOMPL   that   who-QW   DEM-C-NEARSP

please (try to) recall who this is!

akka   **k-kw-ɔ́kʊɽɔṭ.έ**   **n-tán**
that   3-C-move_up:COMPL   with-up_on:ABS

a-kəɽɔ́l   **ɔ́ṭ-í.at**   **(ɪttɪ)**   **mén**   **m-ɛllâ**
CONJ-tortoise   VEN:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV   that   palm_fruits   C-be_absent:INCOMPL

when he climbed up, tortoise found that the palm fruits were finished (App.
IV, 118-119)

Compare also the following cases with **ɪɔt** 'find' with and without
ɪttɪ̆. In the second, with Dependent Incompletive verb, **ɪttɪ̆** cannot be
used:

... a-n-íkk.at   **cɪk**   **pá.p.ɔ́tté**   **a-n-ɔṭí.at**   **(ɪttɪ)**
CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV   VREF   short_time   CONJ-1-find:DEPPRFV   that

m-p-a.ɪk   **p-íɽɪmat**   **n.tɪ**   **ɪ-kɪ́t**
1-C-be:PR   C-become_dark:INCOMPL   from   in-eyes

... I sat for a while and found (experienced) that I was getting blind

… a-n-íkk-at   cɪk   pá.p.ɔ́tté   a-n-ɔt̪í.at
CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV   VREF   short_time   CONJ-1-find:DEPPRFV

a-n-íɽ̣ɪmat   n.tɪ   ɪ-kɪ́t
CONJ-1-become_dark:DEPINCOMPL   from   in-eyes

… I sat for a while and found (experienced) that I was getting blind

C-ɔnʊ́ ɪttɪ̌ 'must'

ɪttɪ̌ is obligatory in the expression C-**ɔnʊ́** ɪttɪ̌ 'must' ('have that'):

ŋ-kw-ɔnʊ́   ɪttɪ   ŋ-kw-a.ccɪ́kɔt
2-C-have   that   2-C-hear:INCOMPL

you must listen

With evaluating adjectives

ɪttɪ̌ complements evaluation adjectives such as 'good' and 'forbidden'. In the first example the pronominal proclitic **l** refers to **lɔn** 'words, matters', in the second **pa** is short for **papʊ** 'thing'.

l-ɔ́pərɔ́t   ɪttɪ   ŋ-kw-aá.t
PRO.C-good   that   2-C-come:COMPL

it is good that you have come

pa-p-ɔt̪ʊ́n   ɪttɪ̌…
thing-C-forbidden   that

it is forbidden that …

ɪttɪ̌ complementing ɪttɪnâ 'so, like this'

When **ɪttɪnâ** 'so, like this' is complemented, ɪttɪ̌ must be present:

m-p-ɔ́nt̪a   akka   m-p-ɔŋakɔ́t̪.ɛ   ɪttɪnâ   ɪttɪ̌ …
1-C-why   that   1-C-be_loved:COMPL   so   that

why I am so loved that …

ɪttɪ̌ complementing **ámma** +H 'if, when'

ámma +H 'if, when' can be complemented by a clause with **ɪttĭ**:

an-ámmá	íttí	ŋ-ŋ-ɔ́kkwɔ́.r-ín	ɲ-cík
and-if	that	PRO-C-hit:COMPL-O1	with-VREF

á-ɛɛ́		kʊrı	cɪk-ɪ-t̪ɪr̥ɔ̂t
SUBJ-(PRO-)stab:DEPINCOMPL		cry	LOC-in-sky

and if it will be so that he (the rabbit *ŋat̪t̪ərəpɛ*) has hit me down, you must cry out in the sky (fr. written story)

ɪttĭ introducing the complement of a noun phrase

ɪttĭ can also introduce an elaboration on generic nouns, including **lɔn** 'words, matters' and **papʊ / at̪əpʊ** 'thing / things'.

ɔ-nɛnní	p-íccá	p-ɔ́nʊ́	lɔn	ɪttɪ	k-kw-ântan-î
PERS-Nɛnnɪ	C-still	C-have	words	that	3-C-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nɛnnɪ still planning to come?

ana	át̪əpʊ	w-ɔ-rʊa	w-ɔká.t	ɪttɪ	t̪ʊk	ána	tút̪t̪əruk
and	things	C-of-hair	C-be:COMPL	that	dog	and	pig

ana	pá-p-ɔ-kɪra	ana	ʊmat̪ɔ̂n
and	thing-C-of-trees	and	elephant

and the animals were the dog, the pig, the leopard and the elephant

The noun **kət̪an** 'name' is complemented by **ɪttĭ**:

ŋ-kw-ɔccɔ́.t	kət̪an	ɪttɪ	ɔ́t̪-t̪a
2-C-receive:COMPL	name	that	PERS.3-QW

what is your name?

m-p-ɔnʊ́	kət̪an	ɪttɪ	ɔ-kʊmâŋ
1-C-have	name	that	PERS-Kʊmaŋ

my name is Kʊmaŋ

ɔt̪ɔ́kka ɪttĭ 'so that, in order to' / ɪttĭ introducing a purpose clause

ɔt̪ɔ́kka ɪttĭ (literally 'become that') expresses 'so that, in order to'. In these cases, alternatively, just **ɪttĭ** can be used:

ɔ-kʊkkó	p-á.ík	p-á.lɪkɪnɛ	ɔ-kakká	cɪk
PERS-Kʊkkʊ	C-be:PR	C-stop:INCOMPL	PERS-Kakka	VREF

(ɔṭə́kka)	ɪttɪ	ɔ-kín	ṭ-íkkɔ	cɪk
become:DEPINCOMPL	that	PERS-3A	C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF

Kʊkkʊ is stopping Kakka in order to sit together

m-p-ɔká.t	p-ɛɔ́.t	ɪttɪ	m-p-a.ṭ-ícat
1-C-be:COMPL	C-go:COMPL	that	1-C-IT:INCOMPL-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL

a-n-ɔccɪ́k.at	púl	p-əɽɛk	a-p-ɔ́ɔ
CONJ-1-hear:DEPPRFV	person	C-some	CONJ-PRO-cry:DEPINCOMPL

I had just left (in order) to go and sleep when I heard a person cry

As mentioned in the section on the subjunctive particle **â-**, **ɔṭə́kka ɪttĭ**, or just **ɪttĭ** can be followed by **â-**. In such cases the verb is a Dependent Incompletive:

ɔ-kʊkkó	p-á.ɪk	p-á.lɪkɪnɛ	ɔ-kakká	cɪk
PERS-Kʊkkʊ	C-be:PR	C-stop:INCOMPL	PERS-Kakka	VREF

(ɔṭə́kka	ɪttɪ / ɪttɪ)	á-kɪn	ɪkkɔ	cɪk
become:DEPINCOMPL that	that	SUBJ.PERS-3A	sit:DEPINCOMPL	VREF

Kʊkkʊ is stopping Kakka in order to sit together

ɪttĭ introducing the phrasal complement of a question word

ɪttĭ introduces the complement of the fronted question word **ŋínṭa** 'what' if this complement is a noun phrase. By contrast, a clausal complement of **ŋínṭa** is introduced by **akka** +H. The next example contains both:

ŋín-ṭa	ɪttɪ	ṭ-ɔmɛkɔ
what-QW	that	NOM-be_scarified

ána	ŋín-ṭa	akka	úl	ɔ́mékɪnɛ
and	what-QW	that	people	be_scarified_for:DEPINCOMPL

what is scarification and why (lit. for what) are people being scarified?

ɪttĭ preceding the question word 'how'

'How'-questions generally involve **ɪttĭ**:

ŋ-kw-a.ɪk **p-a.ɛɔ̃** **ɪttɪ** **káṭ-ṭa / táṭ-ṭa**
2-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL that how-QW / how-QW

how will you be going (i.e. by which road or path)

Some further examples with question words are given in chapter 20.