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Smits, H.J.; Smits H.J.

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Author: Smits, H.J.

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18. Conjunctions

This chapter discusses conjunction 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’, **mənɔ/məna** ‘until’ (always followed by **á-**), **ittĩ** ‘that’, **ere** +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).

ittĩ ‘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:

tuuli ána pälla ‘the hyena and the cat’ (< **tuulí ana H pälla**)

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

aɾəpu w-ɔ-rua w-ɔká.t itti
 things C-of-hair C-be:COMPL that
tuk ána túttəruk ana pápəkira ana ɔmaɬɔn
 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:

t-ikkɔ cik kárəttóm t-ɔpərót ana t-t-ɔkɪtak
 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-ikkót cik ána m-p-ɔkɪpâ.t
 1-C-sit:COMPL VREF and 1-C-become_tired:COMPL

I have been waiting and I am tired

ɔ-kakká p-ɔɲí ana ɔ-nənní p-ɪpók
 PERS-Kakka C-black and PERS-Nenni C-white

Kakka is black and Nenni is white

ɔ-llé **p-in** **p-ɔ̀t̩ɔ̀t̩-ín** **t̩əpút** **ana**
 PERS-husband C-POSS1 C-send:COMPL-O1 outside and

ŋ-kw-a.t̩-ɔ̀kkɔ̀t **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:

ɲokul **ɲ-ɔ̀ká.t** **cɪk** **a-ɲ-ícat** **cɪk**
 children C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-PRO-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL VREF

ana **ɲ-ɔ̀t̩att.á̩t̩e**
 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** **cókkó** **ɔl** **w-éé**
 early_wet_season and height_of_wet_season people C-plant_sorghum:INCOMPL

ana **w-á.ra** / **ana** **ɔrà**
 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-ḷcáṭ.ε **mεccin** **ḡ-cik-i-cḷḡkí**
 1-C-lie_down:COMPL yesterday with-LOC-in-sun

ana **úrəkə** **a-cḷḡkí** **c-εṵ.t** **cik-i-tḷṛṵṵt**
 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 (*ḡcḷḡkicḷḡkí*, 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’:

ṵ-íáa **akk-má¹⁴**
 PERS-my_mother FOC-know:INCOMPL

ana **m-p-ṵmma** **ṵ-ón**
 and 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL PERS-1

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

ṵ-lṵtti **p-á-áiné.t** **nón** **ana** **k-kw-ṵka.káṭe** **p-ṵḡṵ**
 PERS-Lṵtti C-IRR-come_to:COMPL 02A and 3-C-be:PST C-ill

Lṵtti 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).

ḷn-t-ṵpəróṵ **ana / ana.rruk** **ṵ-tṵṵ¹⁵** **p-ṵḡṵ** **kḷr-əkkír**
 1A-C-good and / but PERS-your_father C-ill completely-REDUP

we are fine, but our father is very ill

ḷn-t-ṵpəróṵ **ana** **ṵ-tṵṵe** **p-ərúk** **p-ṵḡṵ** **kḷr-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)

¹⁴ The Incompletive of **ma** ‘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** **ɬ-éɛ** **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 **anákká** +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-ɔká.t **cɪk** **a-kw-ɔkkót** **ɬúɾít** **a-kw-ɔɾəkɔ** **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-ɔká.t **cɪk** **a-kw-ɔkkót** **ɬúɾít** **á-kw-ɔɾəkó** **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-ε.káɥ-ɔk** **ŋəpak** **a-kw-ɪkk.at**
 PERS-1 C-give:PST-O3 beer CONJ-3-drink:DEPPRFV

I gave him beer and he drank it

ɔ-ʊn **p-ε.káɥ-ɔk** **ŋəpák** **á-kw-ɪkk.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.cókká** **á-ɪtta.kát**
 child C-grow:INCOMPL CONJ-(PRO-)get_married:DEPPRFV

á-kwón.at **ɲókʊl**
 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 Incomplete, 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 Incomplete 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 **məno** ‘until’ and **məna** ‘until’. These constructions will be discussed under **ámma** +H, **akka** +H, and **məno** 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 Incomplete 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-áṅkáṅé á-kw-íṅet kín itti ...

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 ə-ən cəne a-n-əṅkət kín

and PERS-1 here CONJ-1-wait:DEPINCOMPL O3A

and I am here, waiting for them

k-kw-áṅṅ-ət ə-nenni a-kw-əṅəkə kəpá

3-C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL PERS-Nenni CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL meat

s/he found Nenni 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-lik ôñattat 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:

ñ-kw-ómmə kupu a-ccəṭa kiccé
 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, **ikkə cik** ‘sit, stay’ can be followed by **á-** introducing a clause with the (semantic) main verb, expressing ‘start to x’ (see 12.9):

a-kín ikk.at cik a-kín órá
 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 t-apəṭá.t á-kín órá ittiná ...
 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 Complete (second one):

m-p-əká.t cik a-n-əkəṭacce
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-watch:DEPINCOMPL

I was watching it

k-kw-ǵká.t **a-k-kw-âkkarǵ.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 **caɽɽi cǝɽɛk cǝká.t cɨk** ‘once upon a time’ or ‘one day’ is followed by **á-**:

caɽɽi **c-ǝɽɛk** **c-ǝká.t** **cɨk**

day C-some C-be:COMPL VREF

a-puɽúŋ **p-áɽɽ-ɪɽt** **ŋǝrrǵŋ ...**

CONJ-marten(?) C-ITVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL squirrel

one day a marten(?) found a squirrel ...

A comparable case is the following:

ŋ-kw-ǝká.t **cɨk** **maɽǵt**

2-C-be:COMPL VREF long_time_ago

â.mpǝppǝne **ɭɨcǝk** **áka.ín.ɽa**

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-ɨcáɽ.ɛ **mɛccɨn** **ŋ-cɨk-ɪ-cɨŋkɨ** **ana** **ǝrǝkǝ**

1-C-lie_down:COMPL yesterday with-LOC-in-sun and get_up:DEPINCOMPL

a-cɨŋkɨ **c-ɛǵ.t** **cɨk-ɪ-ɽɨɽǵt**

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:

mɛɾcɛ́n a-ŋ-kw-ɔ̀rənnâ.t ana mɛ́nní ŋ-kw-ittát.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-ɔ̀ná.t kaɬok n-ɔ̀kón
 and wild_chicken C-be:COMPL-C-bring:COMPL spear with-hand
a-kɪt ɔ̀cɛ́ɾɛ.kat kaɬok ɔ̀ɾɛ́ c-ɔ̀-pɪra
 CONJ-wild_chicken make_stand.LOC:T:DEPPRFV spear bottom C-of-tree
a-kw-ɪkk.at ŋópak
 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-íɔ̀tɛ́ k-kw-a.pɪra nɔ̀-ká
 and-if 3-C-find:COMPL 3-C-become_good:INCOMPL on-body
á-kw-ɔ̀lləkke.kat tɔ̀-cəlók a-kw-ɔ̀pákk.at ŋ.ŋɪn tuan
 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 **ɲokul** ‘children’ (here: ‘girls’).

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

a-tépa t-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')

ámma n-óccikót.é á-páñón εε ...
 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:

ámma ó-nón t-óccikót.ε lón l-ó-təṛák
 if PERS-2A C-hear:COMPL words C-of-war

ana a-cik c-əkittákə.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 Incomplete 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 Incomplete:

m-p-εε.kát-ók **ηópák** **á-kw-ìkkò**
 1-C-give:PST-O3 beer SUBJ-3-drink:DEPINCOMPL

I gave him/her beer to drink

pul **p-εó.t** **á-p-ιtεt** **kín** **ittĩ ...**
 person 3-C-go:COMPL SUBJ-PRO-tell:DEPINCOMPL O3A that

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

m-p-a.ik **p-a.έ** **á-n-ɔt-ítto** **ua** **nɔ-pirâ**
 1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL SUBJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL fruit(sp.) on-tree

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

unte **ηεri** **á-n-ɔnékò** **makkólók**
 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** + **η** + **ɔrəpò** > **á-rəpò** and **â** + **kw** + **ɔrəkò** > **á-kw-ɔrəkò**. After this, tone bridge is applied:

aləpaccúṭ w-ɪɛ.káɛ nɔ-cɪkɪt c-ɔŋ itti
 jackal C-say:PST on-heart C-POSS3 that

k-kw-á.mikkət ɲərrónɲ
 3-C-deceive:INCOMPL squirrel

á-rəpó n-tó-pírá á-kw-ɔɽə́kó-kók
 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 **ɔɽə́kka itti** (literally ‘become that’) or just by **itti** ‘that’ (the complementizer **itti** is discussed in 18.7):

topu i-r-a k-kw-á.k-kw-ɪɽɪkó.t¹⁶ n-tan ɲ-ɲíɽɪmak
 hole_in_ground RES-C-COP 3-C-be:COMPL-C-pass_entrance:COMPL with-up_on:ABS with-darkness

á-kw-aṭ-ɪpət ɔɽə́kka itti
 SUBJ-3-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-dig:DEPINCOMPL become:DEPINCOMPL that

á-paṭṭ-ón en-t-əɽɪk á-əpət ɽán ...
 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 šabááh¹⁷ á-ɪṭa
 and morning SUBJ-(2-)cook:DEPINCOMPL

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

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

¹⁷ Sudanese Arabic word.

ana **ɔ̌k.kw.í** **í-p-órrót** **ɔ̌-páj**
 and the_one RES-C-beat:DEPINCOMPL PERS-sibling

á-kw-ónókə **kəpa** **áppik**
 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:

ámma **k-kw-éɔ̌.t** **á-kw-ɪɛ.kat** **kín** **ittĩ ...**
 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 **m-p-á.p-p-íná.t** **ana** **m-p-á-akkwəṭ-úŋ**
 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 **m-p-ólló.t** **cəruk** **á-n-íŋke** **ṭəṛək** **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 **ŋ-k-ólló.t** **cəruk** **á-ŋke** **ṭəṛək** **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-éó.t** **á-kw-ŋṭet** **kín** **ittĩ ...**
 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 **ŋ-kw-ŋṭé.t** **meník**
 if 2-C-say:COMPL like_this
ɔ-nɪn **ṭ-a.ŋállent-ɔŋ** **ɪ-ləntəró**
 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 **cənéket**

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

ámma k-kw-óppó.t cónékét ana t̃i t̃-íkkɔ t̃-a.ccókkɔ-t̃-ók
 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 Incomplete:

ámma á-cíŋkí ókkó cík-í-t̃íŋót
 if CONJ-sun pass:DEPINCOMPL LOC-in-sky
á-kw-íkkɔ cík í-cóŋé c-ɔ-pira
 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 Incomplete. Here, **ámma** +H is not immediately followed by the conjunctive particle, because, in connected speech, **a** and **ɔ** coalesce here to **ɔ** (**ámm-ó-kín**):

ámma ó-kín íkkɔ ŋópak ittíná ...
 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 Complete, Present or Dependent Incomplete. In the latter case the conjunctive particle tends to immediately follow after **ámma** +H. Examples with a Complete verb in the **ámma** +H clause:

kəllán k-á.ŋákó t̃úŋít ámma 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-anane.t kín tórit ámma m-p-íná.t itti t-t-éllá.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-íttararət ámma ηήτε η-ερεκ η-a.ik η-ωντόματ
 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-úrəttá ámma á-rít óréko
 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)

αρηά άτ-ικκνε¹⁸ ο-ίαρα cik pá.p.ótté
 come:IMP.ALLOW CONJ.(2.)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-wait_for:DEPINCOMPLPERS-mother VREF short_time

ámma á-kw-ántán
 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’.

?ámma ná-ánók w-ócorín a-ól ...
 if on-moons C-four CONJ-people
 when on four months (in April), the people ... (fr. written text)

¹⁸ The conjunctive particle **á** seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic **ή** is deleted between vowels. Derivation: **á** + **ή** + **ατ-ικκνε** > **αάτ-ικκνε** > **άτ-ικκνε** > **άτ-ικκνε**.

ámmá **ánók** **w-aa.t** **w-ᓃᓃᓃᓃ** **a-ól ...**
 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-ᓅᓅᓃᓃ **akka** **m-p-akénn-elikkᓃ**
 PRO.C-good that 1-C-NEG-release:DEPCOMPL

it is good that I did not release it

m-p-ᓃᓃᓃ.é **akka** **kéccók k-ín** **k-ᓃᓃᓃ** **aᓃᓃᓃ** **cik** **áppik**
 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 Incomplete). The first example below has a two-clause construction with **ámma** + H ... **ana** + H ... ‘if/when ... then ...’ as its complement.

ana **ól** **w-ᓃᓃᓃ.é** **cannan** **áᓃᓃᓃ** **akka**
 and people C-like:COMPL very very that

ámmá **w-ᓃᓃ.t** **ana** **w-ᓃᓃ** **ól** **ᓃ-cik** **áppik**
 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-əmmá akka ɔ-ʊn¹⁹ ɔkkót
 1-C-know_not:INCOMPL that PERS-1 do:DEPINCOMPL

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

m-p-əmmá akka ɔ-ʊn²⁰ 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 tobe²¹))

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

mɛɲcén tó.kít akka t-ɔkurro éɲ-t-í
 some_time_ago before that NOM-engrave DEM-C-NEARSP

t-órrən-ɔɾəkkétta.t cɪc-cəné t̩áɾó a-t̩ɔɾít t-á.t-t-ɔpərɔt
 C-just_now-be_put:COMPL LOC-here T̩aɾu CONJ-food C-be:COMPL-C-good

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

akka + H as complementizer is also part of the constructions **ilên akka** + H 'that's why' (see 8.2.4), **ɲimpén 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

¹⁹ Realized in connected speech as **mpəmmá-kk-ɔʊn**.

²⁰ Realized in connected speech as **mpəmmá-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-áppór-ómóje** **ána** **ŋ-kw-íó**
 that 2-C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL and 2-C-die:INCOMPL
 now that/because you have stolen again, you will die

ámamá **ŋ-kw-áppór-ómóje** **ana** **ŋ-kw-íó**
 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-óká.t** **á-kw-ókəṭaccê-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-íṛekat** **kín** **itĩ ...**
 that 3-C-come:COMPL CONJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV O3A that
 when s/he arrived, s/he told them ...

maṛót **akka** **m-p-otté** **cík** **a-n-élikk.at** **liçək**
 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	móʔe	m-ɔká.t	cik
that	cultivating_party	C-be:COMPL	VREF
a-pól	ant-íkkɔ		ɲópak
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.ik	p-a.eṣ	nɔ-kaʔən
that	1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	on-place
ana	ɔ-rit	ʔ-íkkɔ	ʔ-a.kónn-ɔrékɔ
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-íó.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.ik	p-a.eṣ	á-n-ɔʔ-íttɔ			
1-C-be:PR	C-go:INCOMPL	SUBJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL			
ɔa	nɔ-pirâ	akka	w-élla	nɔ-ɔʔi	w-ɔ-nɔ-capú
fruits(k.o.)	on-tree	that	PRO.C-be_absent:INCOMPL	on-branches	C-of-on-ground

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

ɔ-kín t-á.ík t-íkkɔt pól cík ákka²² p-p-óηó
 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-éš
 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:

η-kw-a.pállen-m ákka tacɔk t-în-ɪ²³
 2-C-fear_for:INCOMPL-O1 that legs C-POSS1-Q

are you afraid of me because of my feet?

ɔ-kukkó p-á.ík p-ímmakɔ ákka kápik
 PERS-Kukkú C-be:PR C-shelter:INCOMPL that rain

Kukkú is sheltering because of the rain

18.4.4. anakka + H 'and when, and after' and mǝnnakka + 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:

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-árə̀tok íllo i-ruṭṭərúk
 and-that 3-C-still divide_in_two:DEPINCOMPL in-pig

a-kw-ómpun.at nómámá í-n-ó̀pò̀n
 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-ə̀nó nə̀rɛ́ n-ə̀-pə̀llá
 and-that 1-C-have fear C-of-cat

ana m-p-a.kkət kát-ṭa cə̀ŋ
 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')

mə̀nnákkă consists of **mə̀nnă** 'even' and **ákka** + H. The combination expresses 'when, after' and introduces a clause preceding the main clause. **mə̀nnákkă** 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.

mə̀nn.ákka k-kw-óná.t ɲáák
 when 3-C-bring:COMPL oil

a-kw-íp.anṭet ṭakə̀ɾok i-ɔ̀rə̀ccò
 CONJ-3-dig_for:DEPPRFV chicken in-feathers

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

mə̀nn.ákka k-kw-ímmá.t pá-p-én á-p-úrəkə̀ nə̀-kaṛə̀n
 when 3-C-see:COMPL thing-C-DEM CONJ-PRO-get_up:DEPINCOMPL on-place

ɲ-ká appik a-nə̀rɛ́ óccók.aṭ-òk
 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-nɪn** **ʦ-ɔrekɔ.t** **maɾɪ** **m-ɔtté** **ɕík**
 when PERS-1A C-work:COMPL days C-small VREF

ɔ-nenni **p-ɔʦəkkán-ín** **ééré** **ɔ-páj-k-ín**
 PERS-Nenni C-become_for:COMP-O1 like PERS-sibling-C-POSS1

ana **m-p-ɔʦəkkán-ɔk** **ééré** **ɔ-páj**
 and 1-C-become_for:COMPL-O3 like PERS-sibling

when/after we had worked for some days, Nenni 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** **ʦ-ellá** **ʦok** **ákka** **a-ʦ-ɔkájɔ-kín-í**
 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)

εε **kuɾɪ** **ɕɪ.ʦán** **á-ol** **aʦ-ɔntɔ-kɔk** **n-n-a-ún**
 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-nɪn **ákk-áɲkwɔt** **kamuʦe** **k-árrô**
 PERS-1A FOC-guard:INCOMPL celebration C-of.Lumun_people

akka **a-k-úrat** **ɕík** **ʦúpot** **ʦ-əʦek**
 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)

m-p-əmma **ákka** **a-n-əkəkót** **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.

lókka **akka/ala** **ɔ-lóttí** **á.pəllɪn** **âŋtán**
 Lókka that/or PERS-Lótti SUBJ.PERS-one_from_group come:DEPINCOMPL

Lókka or Lótti, one of you must come

ɪcat **akka/ala** **karră**
 true that/or lie

it is true or false

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

ámma and **εε** +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.

aun **w-ɪcat** **ámma** **kwa**
 rats C-be_abundant:INCOMPL like chaff

the rats are many like chaff

ŋ-kw-ɔn-t-akka **ŋ-kw-ɔttékállán** **ééré** **tótók**
 2-C-why-QW-that 2-C-thin like rope

why are you thin like a rope?

ere ámm.akka ôl
 speak:IMP like people

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

ól w-a.rá arəpu ámm.akka tún ana áttópâ
 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 pól í-p-íná cik
 3-C-COP.like person RES-C-know:INCOMPL VREF

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

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

lən ɪ-l-a.kérənnə pól á-p-óká pól
 words RES-C-let:INCOMPL person CONJ-PRO-be:DEPINCOMPL person

ámm.akka p-p-ónət.é
 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)

tər t-əkkwət-ín éré m-p-á.řókó kópá
 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.ik p-a.ř-éere nó-cákkōŋ
 1-C-be:PR C-IT:INCOMPL-speak:DEPINCOMPL on-calabash(k.o.)

ámm.akka ól okorro makkōŋ
 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-el-l-i ámm.akka l-érét-ók l-ókítak
 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. **məno** ‘until’, **məna** ‘until’

məno 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 Incomplete verb. They are (probably) both low-toned, but are often realized high due to tone bridge. A case of **məno** 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 **məno**:

a-tómóccó óném.at kaɔok i-tón t-ó-pá-p-én
 CONJ-old_man press:DEPPRFV spear in-mouth C-of-thing-C-DEM

mónó 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 árró w-ó.t i-cekérek tóɔí
 if Lumun_people C-descend:COMPL in-price Tóɔí

mónó á-kín ikkə ɲəɲi n.ti i-rók...
 until CONJ.PERS-3A drink:DEPINCOMPL water from in-water_place

when the Lumun people have descended to the market in Tóɔí 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 ...)

məno and **məna** are often used in combination with **púccok** ‘for some time’. The combination generally translates just as ‘until’:

²⁵ There is also **məna** ‘even’ (mentioned in 17.1.4).

ɲɔkɔl **ɲ-ɔppɛ́t.ɛ** **ʦɔntərrɔ** **ɲæ** **púccók**
 children C-fill:COMPL calabash(k.o.) urine for_some_time

mónó **á-ɲkat**²⁶ **ɪ-pɔʁút**
 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** (**lɪcək mónó**) 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: [lɪjo-ŋónó]. The nasal discourse enclitics **-na** and **-mé** (see under 17.2) display the same type of assimilation.

a-n-úre.kat **nó-lɪcək** **mónó**
 CONJ-1-forget:DEPPRFV on-goats until

a-l-ɔʁəkkantɛt **pól** **p-əʁɛk** **mɪl**
 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 Incomplete verb. The **mɔnɔ**-clause here is part of a complex two-clause construction introduced by **ámma** + H:

ámmá **ɔ-rón** **ʦ-éɔ.t** **mónó** **ɔʦ-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 **ɲ** (which causes the high tone to change from **ɪ** to **ɔ**) followed by vowel assimilation and vowel shortening (**á-** + **ɲ-** + **ɔɲkat** > **á-** + **ɲɔɲkat** > **aɔɲkat** > **aáɲkat** > **áɲkat**)

18.7. The complementizer **ittĩ** ‘that’

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

With some verbs the use of **ittĩ** introducing the complement clause is obligatory, with some others it is optional. **ittĩ** 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 **ittĩ** contains a subject and a non-dependent verb:

m-p-änn-aŋkət	ittĩ	m-p-ítta
1-C-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL	that	1-C-get_married:INCOMPL
I do not agree to get married		

Examples of **ittĩ** in different contexts follow here.

***ittĩ** introducing the complement of a speech verb*

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

ittiná	k-kw-ákkar.áŋɛ	ɔ-íara	ittĩ
so	3-C-call:PST	PERS-my_mother	that
íara	ant-áo		
mother	can:DEPINCOMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL		
so s/he called my mother: “mother, please come”			

m-p-ᵛká.t **ᵛík** **a-n-ᵛmentet-ᵛk** **ittī**
 1-C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-tell.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL-O3 that
k-kw-á.kərənno **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 **ittī** (first example below); not, however, when the locative relative **ná** ‘where’ is used (second example).

ᵛ-kín t-ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ.é **tít** **íttī ᵛᵛmpén** **akka** **ᵛ-kín** **ᵛkkōt**
 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-ᵛᵛe **na** **k-kw-áa.t** **ᵛ.ᵛᵛᵛ**
 3-C-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL where:REL 3-C-come:COMPL with:ABS
 s/he did not say where s/he came from

Complementing ᵛᵛᵛᵛ ‘like, want’

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

m-p-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ.é **ittī** **kéccók** **k-ᵛᵛ** **k-ᵛᵛó** **aᵛəpυ** **ᵛík** **áppík**
 1-C-like:COMPL that market C-POSS1A C-have things VREF all

I want our market to have everything

m-p-ᵛᵛᵛᵛ.é **akka** **kéccók** **k-ᵛᵛ** **k-ᵛᵛó** **aᵛəpυ** **ᵛík** **áppík**
 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 **ittī**.

... **a-n-íkk-at** **cík** **pá.p.ótté** **a-n-óttí.at**
 CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF short_time CONJ-1-find:DEPPRFV

a-n-íttimat **n.tí** **í-kít**
 CONJ-1-become_dark:DEPINCOMPL from in-eyes

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

C-ónó ittí ‘must’

ittí is obligatory in the expression **C-ónó ittí** ‘must’ (‘have that’):

η-kw-ónó **ittí** **η-kw-a.ccíkat**
 2-C-have that 2-C-hear:INCOMPL

you must listen

With evaluating adjectives

ittí complements evaluation adjectives such as ‘good’ and ‘forbidden’. In the first example the pronominal proclitic **1** refers to **lwn** ‘words, matters’, in the second **pa** is short for **papw** ‘thing’.

1-ópærót **ittí** **η-kw-aá.t**
 PRO.C-good that 2-C-come:COMPL

it is good that you have come

pa-p-óttón **ittí...**
 thing-C-forbidden that

it is forbidden that ...

ittí complementing **ittiná** ‘so, like this’

When **ittiná** ‘so, like this’ is complemented, **ittí** must be present:

m-p-ónṭa **akka** **m-p-ónakót.e** **ittiná** **ittí ...**
 1-C-why that 1-C-be_loved:COMPL so that

why I am so loved that ...

ittí complementing **ámma** + H ‘if, when’

ámma + H ‘if, when’ can be complemented by a clause with **ittĩ**:

an-ámmá **íttĩ** **η-η-ókkwó.r-ín** **η-cík**
and-if that PRO-C-hit:COMPL-O1 with-VREF

á-εέ **kurĩ** **cík-r-ṭṭṛṣṭ**
SUBJ-(PRO-)stab:DEPINCOMPL cry LOC-in-sky

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

ittĩ introducing the complement of a noun phrase

ittĩ can also introduce an elaboration on generic nouns, including **lɔn** ‘words, matters’ and **papo** / **arəpu** ‘thing / things’.

ɔ-nennĩ **p-íccá** **p-ónó** **lɔn** **ittĩ** **k-kw-ânṭan-î**
PERS-Nenni C-still C-have words that 3-C-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nenni still planning to come?

ana **árəpu** **w-ɔ-rua** **w-ɔká.t** **ittĩ** **ṭok** **ána** **túṭṭeruk**
and things C-of-hair C-be:COMPL that dog and pig

ana **pá-p-ɔ-kira** **ana** **umaṭṭṛn**
and thing-C-of-trees and elephant

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

The noun **kəran** ‘name’ is complemented by **ittĩ**:

η-kw-ɔccó.t **kəran** **ittĩ** **óṭ-ṭa**
2-C-receive:COMPL name that PERS.3-QW

what is your name?

m-p-ɔnó **kəran** **ittĩ** **ɔ-kumâṅ**
1-C-have name that PERS-Kumaṅ

my name is Kumaṅ

ɔṭkka ittĩ ‘so that, in order to’ / *ittĩ* introducing a purpose clause

ɔṭkka ittĩ (literally ‘become that’) expresses ‘so that, in order to’. In these cases, alternatively, just *ittĩ* can be used:

ɔ-kukkó **p-á.ík** **p-á.líkine** **ɔ-kakká** **cík**
PERS-Kukku C-be:PR C-stop:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka VREF
(ɔtʰókka) **ittĩ** **ɔ-kín** **t-íkkɔ** **cík**
become:DEPINCOMPL that PERS-3A C-sit:INCOMPL VREF

Kukku is stopping Kakka in order to sit together

m-p-ɔká.t **p-έ.t** **ittĩ** **m-p-a.t-ícat**
1-C-be:COMPL C-go:COMPL that 1-C-IT:INCOMPL-lie_down:DEPINCOMPL
a-n-ɔccɛ́k.at **pól** **p-əɾek** **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-**, **ɔtʰókka** **ittĩ**, or just **ittĩ** can be followed by **â-**. In such cases the verb is a Dependent Incompletive:

ɔ-kukkó **p-á.ík** **p-á.líkine** **ɔ-kakká** **cík**
PERS-Kukku C-be:PR C-stop:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka VREF
(ɔtʰókka **ittĩ / ittĩ)** **á-kim** **ikkɔ** **cík**
become:DEPINCOMPL that that SUBJ.PERS-3A sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF

Kukku is stopping Kakka in order to sit together

ittĩ introducing the phrasal complement of a question word

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

ɲín-ɬa **ittĩ** **t-ɔmekɔ**
what-QW that NOM-be_scarified
ána **ɲín-ɬa** **akka** **ól** **ɔmékine**
and what-QW that people be_scarified_for:DEPINCOMPL

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

ittĩ preceding the question word ‘how’

‘How’-questions generally involve **ittĩ**:

ŋ-kw-a.ɪk **p-a.ɛ̃** **itti** **káɬ-ɬa / táɬ-ɬa**
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.