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A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

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Citation

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

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

Issue Date: 2017-09-21

20. Question words and particles

In this chapter I discuss pronominal, adverbial, clausal and modifying content question words, as well as the marking of polar questions.

20.1. Content question words

Lumun has pronominal, adverbial, clausal and modifying content question words. Modifying question words always have a concord. The pronominal, adverbial and clausal question words are listed in table 105, the modifying question words in table 106. Question words can be divided into those ending in the question word marker **-ta** (first columns of both tables), the same forms without **-ta** (second columns), and question words containing the (concord and) demonstrative pronominal base (C)-**en** (third columns).

Table 105 Content question words

	<i>ending in -ta</i>	<i>without -ta</i>	<i>ending in (C)-en</i>
<i>pronominal</i>	ṣtta/ṣttân ‘who’		ṣkkwên/ṣkkwéṇṣn ‘who’
	ṇinta ‘what’		ṇimpên ‘what’
<i>clausal</i>	akkaínta, akaínta ‘why’	akkaín, akaín ‘why’	
<i>adverbial</i>	karəṭâ, karəṭa ‘where’		kəren ‘where’
	acínta ‘when’	acín ‘when’	
	táṭta, káṭta ‘how’	tât, kât ‘how’	
	akkáratṭa ‘what time’	akkárat ‘what time’	

Table 106 Modifying content question words

<i>ending in -ṭa</i>	<i>without -ṭa</i>	<i>ending in (C)-en</i>
C-ṣṭṭa/C-ṣṭṭân ‘whose’		C-ṣṭṭwên/ C-ṣṭṭwēṇṭn ‘whose’
C-ṣṭṭa ‘what kind of’	C-ṣṭṭ ‘what kind of’	C-ṣṭṭpên ‘what’
C-árṭa ‘where’		C-áren ‘where’
C-aráṭṭa ‘how’	C-arat ‘how’	
C-ṣṭṭṭa ‘for what purpose, why’	C-ṣṭṭṭ ‘for what purpose, why’	
C-ṣṭṭa ‘why’		
C-ṣṭṭṭṭa ‘how many’	C-ṣṭṭṭṭ ‘how many’	
C-iaṭṭa ‘which’	C-ia ‘which’	

Morphophonology

Before **akka** + H and before the subject focus marker (**akk-** or **a-C-C-**, see 19.1), the final **a** of the question word marker **-ṭa** is deleted and the question word and the complementizer/focus marker fuse together, e.g.,

ṣṭṭa akk- [ṣṭṭakˀ]
ṭṭa akka [ṭṭṭṭaka]

Use of the question words

Question words ending in **-ṭa** are typically used in neutral questions for information. They can be employed rhetorically. The question words lacking **-ṭa** are used in:

- 1) quick and informal (interruptive) inquiries after a further detail;
- 2) questions that solicit no answer, communicating a negative view of the speaker. Some emotion is typically involved.

Some of the question words without **-ṭa** are used in complement clauses. In that environment they are used in a neutral way.

Question words ending in **-ta** have their own intensifying adverb **ippo**, or **-ppo**, which gives a sense of urgency to the question. An example was provided in 17.1.4.

Because one way of question formation involves left-dislocation of the content (non-subject) question word, the word order in neutral affirmative statements is recalled here: S V O Adj.

Position in the clause and question constructions

Question words can be used alone. With a verbal or adjectival predicate, they occur in one or two of the following positions or constructions:

- in situ. Subject question words, which always remain in situ, are followed by the focus marker **akk-** replacing the subject concord;
- left-dislocated before the subject. In these constructions the question word is followed by **akka** + H ‘that’ or, in case of ‘where’, by the locative relative **ná**;
- at the right edge of the clause, preceded by **ittĩ** ‘that’.

Next to being used in situ, several of the question words in the first column of table 105 allow for a clause-initial construction with **akka** + H, as do **ɔkkwên** ‘who’ and **ɲimpên** ‘what’ (third column). The forms without **-ta** (second column) are not used clause-initially with **akka** + H. **karəta** ‘where’ can be used clause-initially, but is then followed by the locative relative **ná** (see 11.3).

A question with a question word in situ and the same question with an **akka** + H -construction follow here.

ɔkul	w-a.ɾəkɔ	ɲín-ta
child	C-eat:INCOMPL	what-QW

what will the child eat?

ŋín-ṭa akka úkól ʒəkô
 what-QW that child eat:DEPINCOMPL

what will the child eat?

The verb in a clause introduced by the complementizer **akka** + H or the locative relative **ná** is either a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, or a complex verb of which the (first) auxiliary verb is a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, or the Present of ‘be’. By contrast, the focus marker **akk-** precedes a non-dependent verb. An example of the latter:

ʒṭ-ṭa akk-a.ʒəkô
 PERS.3-QW FOC-eat:INCOMPL

who will eat it?

Modifying question words come after the noun or noun phrase they modify. C-**ʒnta** ‘why’ modifies subjects, which it directly follows, and precedes a clause introduced by **akka** + H (see 20.1.7).

Several modifying question words can modify personal pronouns: C-**ʒtta**, C-**ʒttân** ‘whose’, C-**ɔkkwên**, C-**ɔkkwéŋôn** ‘whose’, C-**árəṭa** ‘where’, C-**âren** ‘where’, C-**arátta** ‘how’, C-**arât** ‘how’, C-**ʒnta** ‘why’, C-**ɔrənʒtta** ‘how many’, C-**ɔrənʒk** ‘how many’ (examples are given in this chapter).

Examples illustrating the meaning and use of question words as well as constructions in which they occur are provided in sections 20.1.1 to 20.1.9. The question words are grouped together mainly on the basis of shared lexical formatives. This gives the following clusters:

- **ʒtta**, **ʒttân** ‘who’, **ɔkkwên**, **ɔkkwéŋôn** ‘who’, C-**ʒtta**, C-**ʒttân** ‘whose’, C-**ɔkkwên**, C-**ɔkkwéŋôn** ‘whose’;
- **ŋínṭa** ‘what, why’, **akaínṭa/akkaínṭa** ‘why’, **akaîn/akkaîn** ‘why’, **ŋimpên** ‘what’, C-**ɔínṭa** ‘what kind of’, C-**ɔîn** ‘what kind of’, C-**ɔimpên** ‘what’;
- **karəṭâ /karəṭa**, **kəren**, C-**árəṭa** ‘where’, C-**âren** ‘where’; **acínṭa** ‘when’, **acîn** ‘when’;
- **tátta/kátta** ‘how’, **tát/kát** ‘how’, C-**arátta** ‘how’, C-**arât** ‘how’;

- **akkárat̃ta** ‘what time of the day’, **akkárat** ‘what time of the day’;
- C-**ɔ́t̃éñta** ‘for what purpose, why’, C-**ɔ́t̃éñ** ‘for what purpose, why’, C-**ɔ́nt̃a** ‘why’;
- C-**ɔ́rəñɔ́t̃ta** ‘how many’, C-**ɔ́rəñɔ́k** ‘how many’;
- C-**ɪat̃â** ‘which’, C-**ɪa** ‘which’

20.1.1. ‘who’ and ‘whose’

ɔ́t̃ta/ɔ́t̃tân ‘who’, **ɔ́kkwên/ɔ́kkwéŋôn** ‘who’, C-**ɔ́t̃ta**, C-**ɔ́t̃tân** ‘whose’ and C-**ɔ́kkwên**/C-**ɔ́kkwéŋôn** ‘whose’ share a formative (based on) **ɔ́k** ‘s/he’ (including the persona prefix). Though in these forms the sequence **ɔ́** has been shortened to **ɔ́**, I will gloss the formative as PERS.3

ɔ́t̃ta/ɔ́t̃tân ‘who’

ɔ́t̃ta is made up of a formative based on **ɔ́k** ‘s/he’, including the persona prefix (**ɔ́-**), and the question word marker **-t̃a**. It has a plural which is formed through attachment of the plural suffix **-ŋôn** of nouns with the persona prefix: **ɔ́t̃ta** + **-ŋôn** > **ɔ́t̃tân**.

ɔ́t̃ta/ɔ́t̃tân is used in different syntactic functions: subject, object, as part of a prepositional phrase. The syntactic function determines which construction(s) is/are possible. In the examples below, it functions as the subject of a verbless clause:

ɔ́t̃-t̃a **p-én**
PERS.3-QW C-DEM

who is it? (i.e. whom are you talking about?)

ɔ́t̃.t̃á-n **én-t̃-í**
who-PL DEM-C-NEARSP

who are they? (lit.: who are these? For example about people who are present, or while pointing at people in a picture)

When **ṣṭṭa/ṣṭṭân** replaces the subject of a verbal or adjectival clause, a focus construction with **akk-is** is required, or alternatively, with **app-** for the singular and **att-** for the plural (see 19.1):

ṣṭ-ṭa **a-p-p-ərîk**

PERS.3-QW FOC-C-C-big

who is the biggest?

ṣṭ-ṭá-n **á-ṭ-ṭ-aá.t**

PERS.3-QW-PL FOC-C-C-come:COMPL

who (PL) came?

ṣṭ-ṭa **akk-a.kkót** **ṇəre**

PERS.3-QW FOC-do:INCOMPL work

who will do the work?

As an object, **ṣṭṭa/ṣṭṭân** can be used in situ (first and second example below) or fronted in a construction with the complementizer **akka** + H (third example below):

ṣ-kín **ṭ-ṭṭ.é** **ṣṭ.ṭá-n** **nṣ.ppan**

PERS-3A C-find:COMPL who:QW-PL inside

who(PL) did they find inside?

ṇ-kw-a.ík **p-a.llíné** **ṣṭ-ṭa**

2-C-be:PR C-run_for:INCOMPL PERS.3-QW

whom are you running from?

ṣṭ-ṭa **akka** **ṇ-kw-a.ík** **p-a.llíné**

PERS.3-QW that 2-C-be:PR C-run:INCOMPL

whom are you running from?

After a preposition, the initial vowel **ṣ** of **ṣṭṭa/ṣṭṭân** changes into **a**, in the same way as the persona prefix **ṣ-** in pronouns, personal names and kinship and relational terms (see 4.10.1). The question word can be used in situ, but can also be fronted followed by **akka** + H. In the latter case, preposition and question word are separated: the preposition remains in place adopting its absolute form (second example below).

၁-ကိၣ် **တဲ-၁တဲတဲ.တ** **ၣ်-၁တဲ.တ-ၣ်**
 PERS-3A C-leave:COMPL on-who-PL

who (PL) did they leave behind?

၁တဲ-တ-ၣ် **akka** **၁-ကိၣ်** **တဲ-၁တဲတဲ.တ** **ၣ်-၁**
 PERS.3-QW-PL that PERS-3A C-leave:COMPL on:ABS

who (PL) did they leave behind?

A special use of **၁တဲတဲ** is found in a question about names. This requires a construction with the complementizer **တဲတဲ**:

ၣ်-က-၁၁၁.တ **kəʔan** **တဲတဲ** **၁တဲ-တ**
 2-C-receive:COMPL name that PERS.3-QW

what is your name? (lit.: you have received the name that who?)

၁တဲတဲ/၁တဲတဲၣ် can, apparently, be used in complement questions, at least in some cases. The following sentence was not rejected:

ၣ်-မ-၁မ္မာ **တဲတဲ** **၁တဲ-တ** **akk-aa.တ** **ငါ.တံ.ကိတဲ**
 1-C-not-know:INCOMPL that PERS.3-QW FOC-come:COMPL firstly

I do not know who came first

Commonly, however, **၁kkwên/၁kkwéŋŋ** ‘who’ is applied in complement clauses (unless the complement clause represents direct speech).

၁kkwên/၁kkwéŋŋ ‘who’

၁kkwên ‘who’ contains a formative based on **၁၁k** ‘s/he’, including the persona prefix **၁-**, and the concord **p-** (agreeing with **၁၁k**) + demonstrative pronominal base **en** (see 8.1). As elsewhere, the realization of the sequence of pronominal **k** and concord **p** deviates from general phonological rules, being realized as [k^w] instead of as [p]. The plural of **၁kkwên** is formed with **-ŋŋ**: **၁kkwéŋŋ**.

Though **၁kkwên/၁kkwéŋŋ** already contains **p-en** as a formative, in a verbless construction it can still be predicated by **pen** (or plural **ten**):

ɔk.kw.én p-én
 who C-DEM

who is this about? (i.e. whom are you talking about?)

ɔkkwên implies a speech context; unlike **ɔtta**, it is not used inthetic questions. The following examples contrast **ɔtta** and **ɔkkwên**. **ɔtta** can be used in context as well as “out-of-the-blue”; the use of **ɔkkwên** in the second example below conveys the speaker’s assumption or awareness that the people were already talking about the person who died when s/he joined the conversation:

ɔtta a-p-p-í.ɬ
 PERS.3-QW FOC-C-C-die:COMPL

who died?

ɔk.kw.én a-p-p-í.ɬ
 who:DEM FOC-C-C-die:COMPL

who died? (for example upon joining a group of people at a funeral who are talking about the deceased)

Furthermore, **ɔkkwên/ɔkkwénɔn** is typically used in complement clauses. Two examples follow here, the first with ‘who’ as subject of the complement clause, the second with ‘who’ as object.

m-p-ɔmma itti ɔk.kw.én akk-ɔkkɔt.ê
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL that who:DEM FOC-do:COMPL

I do not know who did it

ɔ-kín t-érét-ε itti ɔk.kw.én-ɔn akka ɔ-kín akkarɔ
 PERS-3A C-speak_about:COMPL that who:DEM-PL that PERS-3A call:DEPINCOMPL

they talked about who (PL) they would invite

Note that the example above ‘I do not know who did it’ is different from a construction with **ɔkkwí í-** (see 6.1.5):

m-p-ɔmma ɔk.kw.í í-p-ɔkkɔt.ê
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL the_one RES-C-do:COMPL

I do not know the one who did it

C-ṣṭṭa/C-ṣṭṭân ‘whose’ and C-ṣṭṭwên/C-ṣṭṭwêḡn

The nominal modifiers C-ṣṭṭa/C-ṣṭṭân ‘whose’ and C-ṣṭṭwên/C-ṣṭṭwêḡn have the connexive C-ṣ ‘of’ as a formative. The difference in meaning between the two is similar to that of the pronominal forms. The first question below can, for example, be asked when two people are passing by a grave. The one puts the question to the other, who may or may not know the answer. The second question can be used when walking into a group of people who are gathered around a grave: it is assumed that these people have been talking or are talking about the dead person and know who he or she is.

tupu	t-ṣṭ-ṭá	én-t-í
hole_in_ground	C-of.PERS.3-QW	DEM-C-NEARSP

whose grave is this?

tupu	t-ṣṭ-kw-én	én-t-í
hole_in_ground	C-of.PERS.3-C-DEM	DEM-C-NEARSP

whose grave is this?

In a context where something was missed C-ṣṭṭwên is used upon asking for clarification. However, C-ṣṭṭwên is sometimes also used without such a conversational context, as an alternative to C-ṣṭṭa.

ṣ-ṣṣṣé	c-ṣṭ-kw-én
PERS-ṢṢṢE	C-of.PERS.3-C-DEM

whose Ṣṣṣe are you? / whose Ṣṣṣe are you? (or: in a comparable way as in the previous example: whose Ṣṣṣe is this about?)

ṣ-ṣṣṣé	c-ṣṭ-ṭa
PERS-ṢṢṢE	C-of.PERS.3-QW

whose Ṣṣṣe are you?

A pronominal proclitic can be attached to the connexive construction:

ḡ-kw-ṣṭ-kw-én
2-C-of.PERS.3-C-DEM

whose (son/daughter) are you? / whose (son/daughter) are you?

ŋ-kw-ɔ̌t-ta

2-C-Of.PERS.3-QW

whose (son/daughter) are you? / *whose* (son/daughter) are you?

20.1.2. ‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘what kind of’

The question words **ŋínta** ‘what’, **akaínta/akkaínta** ‘why’, **akaín/akkaín** ‘why’, **C-ɔ́nta** ‘what kind of’, **C-ɔ́n** ‘what kind of’ and **ŋimpên** ‘what’ all share the formative based on **ŋín** ‘what’. Most question words are compatible with **ŋín** having a falling tone, except **ŋimpên**, the latter suggests a high or rising tone. I represent it with a high tone, since in the one example I have where it is not preceded by an element with high tone, it is realized as high.

ana ŋ-kw-a.t-ɔ̌kkɔt

and 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL

ŋín

what

and what will you do about it?! (lit. go and do)

ŋínta ‘what’

ŋínta, containing **ŋín** ‘what’ and **-ta** as formatives, can be used in a verbless clause. The concord **p-** in the first example, which is a fixed expression, is implicitly understood to agree with **papu** ‘thing’.

ŋín-ta

what-QW

p-en

C-DEM

what is it? (what is this that you are talking about?)

ŋínta can be used in a verbless clause with complementizer **ittĩ** ‘that’:

ŋín-ta

what-QW

ittĩ

that

t-ɔ̌mekɔ̌

NOM-scarify

what is scarification?

As the subject of a verb, **ŋínta** is followed by the focus marker **akk-**, or alternatively by **app-** (not **aŋŋ-**). **app-** is used in **Tɔ̌rəmaɔ̌ɔ̌n** and, for my consultant, implicitly agrees with **papu** ‘thing’.

ḡín-ṭa **akk-a.îk**

what-QW FOC-be:PR

what is happening? (what is (it)?)

ḡín-ṭa **a-p-p-ṭkkwṭ.ê**

what-QW FOC-C-C-kill:COMPL

what has destroyed it? (lit.: killed)

ḡín-ṭa **akk-ṭnó** **ittí** **pái**

what-QW FOC-have that pai

what does *pai* mean?

ḡínṭa as object can be in situ or left-dislocated followed by **akka** + H:

ókól **w-a.ṭəkə** **ḡín-ṭa**

child C-eat:INCOMPL what-QW

what will the child eat?

ḡín-ṭa **akka** **ókól** **ṣṭəkḥ**

what-QW that child eat:DEPINCOMPL

what will the child eat?

ḡínṭa can be in situ preceded by a preposition. Alternatively, it can be left-dislocated, with an absolute preposition remaining in place:

ḡ-kw-aa.t **ḡ-ḡín-ṭa**

2-C-come:COMPL with-what-QW

by what did you come here? (i.e. by what means of transport)

ḡín-ṭa **akka** **ḡ-kw-aa.t** **ḡ.ḡm**

what-QW that C-come:COMPL with:ABS

by what did you come here? (i.e. by what means of transport)

ḡín ‘what’

ḡín, without the question morpheme **-ṭa**, does not function as a neutral question word. In the earlier cited example, repeated here, it already implies the speaker’s negative view: you can do nothing.

ana η-kw-a.ʔ-ʔkkət ηín
 and 2-C-IT:INCOMPL-do:DEPINCOMPL what

and what will you do about it?! (lit. go and do) (implied: nothing!)

In combination with a Benefactive verb **ηίντα** is interpreted as ‘why’ (‘for what’). Compare:

η-kw-a.ík p-a.łłət tɔ-ín-ʔa
 2-C-be:PR C-run_to:INCOMPL up_on-what-QW

what are you running to?

η-kw-a.ík p-a.łłíne ηín-ʔa
 2-C-be:PR C-run_for:INCOMPL what-QW

why are you running? (lit.: you are running for what?)

In case of two objects, **ηίντα** in situ as the first (benefactive) object of a Benefactive verb, gives the reading ‘why’:

ana m-p-a.ʔékinε ηín.ʔá ηúrú η-ηəɾi
 and 1-C-eat_for:INCOMPL what:QW asida with-water

and why would I eat asida with water? (lit.: and I will eat for what asida with water?)

Alternatively, the reason object is left-dislocated in a construction with **akka** + H:

ana ηín-ʔa akka a-n-ʔékinε ηúrú η-ηəɾi
 and what-QW that CONJ-1-eat_for:DEPINCOMPL asida with-water

and why would I eat asida with water? (lit.: and I will eat for what asida with water?)

As a second (patient) object, **ηίντα** in situ gives the reading ‘what’:

m-p-a.nékinε ɔ-kakká ηín-ʔa
 1-C-take_for:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka what-QW

what can I take to Kakka?

In such a case, that is with a verb that takes both a beneficiary and a patient object, a construction with **ŋínta akka** + H is ambiguous:

ŋín-ṭa akka a-n-ɔnékɛ ɔ-kakkâ
 what-QW that CONJ-1-take_for:DEPINCOMPL PERS-Kakka

what can I take to Kakka? / why do I bring it to Kakka?

akkaínta / akaínta ‘why’

The use of the combination **akkaínta** or **akaínta** ‘why’ (< **akka** + **ŋínta**), which comes after the verb phrase, avoids such ambiguity. Whereas a clause with (fronted) **ŋínta akka** + H as ‘why’, or with **ŋínta** in situ as ‘why’, requires a verb in benefactive derivation, the equivalent clause with **akkaínta/akaínta** has a non-benefactive verb:

ŋ-kw-a.ɪk p-a.lló aka.ín-ṭa
 2-C-be:PR C-run:INCOMPL why-QW

why are you running?

m-p-a.nékɛ ɔ-kakká aka.ín-ṭa
 1-C-take_for:INCOMPL PERS-Kakka why-QW

why will I take it to Kakka?

akkaîn / akaîn ‘why’

akkaîn and its variant **akaîn**, which lack the question morpheme **-ṭa**, are typically used as quick remarks, interrupting the speaker. Rather than like real questions, they function like exclamations, expressing that something is considered unusual:

ɲokul ɲ-ellâ
 children C-be_absent:INCOMPL

akka.în
 why

I have no children (lit.: children are lacking). why?!

C-ɔínta ‘what kind of’, **C-ɔîn** ‘what kind of’

C-**ᵛínᵗa** ‘what kind of’ and C-**ᵛín** ‘what kind of’ contain the connexive C-**ᵛ** and **ᵗínᵗa** or **ᵗín**. They function as modifiers of a noun phrase:

ᵛ-pari	p-aᵗ	p-a.kkóttet	ᵗúćól	ᵗ-ᵛ-ín-ᵗa
PERS-wife	C-POSS2	C-do.PLUR:INCOMPL	sauce	C-of-what-QW

what kind of sauce does your wife always make? (App. IV, 12)

k-kw-ᵛkwónᵛ.t	úćól	w-ᵛ-ín-ᵗa
3-C-produce:COMPL	child	C-of-what-QW

what child did she give birth to? (a girl or a boy?)

The next example has C-**ᵛín**, without **-ᵗa**. It is not really a question, but conveys that the people don’t want to hear the **ᵗit ᵗit** of the boy:

ana	ᵗit	ᵗit	t-ᵗᵗek	t-ᵛ-ín
and	ᵗit	ᵗit	C-some	C-of-what

and what kind of “*ᵗit ᵗit*” (is this now)?! (“*ᵗit ᵗit*” is a sound made out of fear. Context: a small boy went into a cave to find a porcupine, but now he is afraid and wants to get out. The people outside want the boy to stay inside and get the porcupine). (fr. written story)

ᵗimpên ‘what, why’

ᵗimpên contains the formative **ᵗín** ‘what’ and the demonstrative base **ên** ‘that’. The concord is again **p**. Like **ᵛkkwên**, **ᵗimpên** is not used thetically, but needs a (speech) context; it refers to a matter that is (assumed to be) already being discussed. The question below stands in a context of people knowing that they should do something, but they don’t know what. **ᵗimpên** can be used in situ or in a fronted construction with **akka** + H:

ana	ᵛ-nᵗn	ᵗ-a.kkᵛt	ᵗim-p-ên
and	PERS-1A	C-do:INCOMPL	what-C-DEM

but what can we do?

ana	ᵗim-p-ên	akka	ᵛ-nᵗn	ᵛkkᵛt
and	what-C-DEM	that	PERS-1A	do:DEPINCOMPL

but what can we do?

Like **ɔkkwên**, **ɲimpên** is also used in complement clauses, whether in situ (first example below), or fronted within the complement clause preceding **akka** + H (second example). In the second example, **ɲínta** was considered acceptable as well; in the first this was less clear.

ɔ-kín **ɿ-erettárəne.t** **ittɿ** **ɔ-kín** **ɿ-á.kkót** **ɲím-p-ên**
 PERS-3A C-talk_to_each_other:COMPL that PERS-3A C-do:INCOMPL what-C-DEM
 they discussed amongst each other what they would do

ɿk.ɿ **n-tán** **á-n-ánt-ɔkə́ta**
 pass_entrance:IMP with-up_on:ABS SUBJ-1-can:DEPINCOMPL-look_at:DEPINCOMPL
ɲím-p-én **akka** **ɔ-ppénná** **ɔ́kkínt-úŋ**
 what-C-DEM that PERS-Penna do_for:DEPINCOMPL-O2
 come inside to me, so that I can see what Penna is doing to you

ɲimpén akka has the reading ‘why’ when it functions as first object of a Benefactive verb. Note that in the previous example **-úŋ** ‘you’ is understood as the first object of **ɔ́kkíntet** ‘do for’, so that **ɲimpên** is understood as the second (patient) object. In the example below the natural interpretation is the other way round: **ɲimpên** is understood as the first object of Benefactive **ɔmmakíntet** ‘follow for’ (< **ɔmmakot** ‘follow’), giving a ‘why’ reading. Enclitic **-ɔk** ‘him, her’ functions as second (patient) object:

ɔ-kín **ɿ-eréɿ.ɛ** **ittɿ** **ɲím-p-én** **akka**
 PERS-3A C-speak_about:COMPL that what-C-DEM that
k-kw-á.ík **p-á.mmakínt-ɔ́k**
 3-C-be:PR C-follow_for.PLUR:INCOMPL-O3
 they spoke about why she is always following him

ɲimpên is also used in questions to which no answer is expected:

ana **ɲ-kw-ápp-ɔ́ɿunc.aɿ-in** **ɲím-p-ên**
 and 2-C-again:INCOMPL-throw_at.PLUR:DEPPRFV-1:O what-C-DEM
 and what will you throw at me again?! (implication: there is nothing left to throw at me) (App. IV, 116)

ɲɔrɛ **ɪ-a** **k-kw-ɔ́nó** **ɲ-á.mét** **ɲím-p-ên**
 laziness RES-(C-)COP 3-C-have C-tell:INCOMPL what-C-DEM

the laziness that he has tells (us) what?! (i.e. it is beyond words!) (App. I, 22)

20.1.3. ‘where’

karə́tâ / **karə́ta**, **kəren**, **C-árə́ta** and **C-âren** ‘where’ share a formative that vacillates between **(k)ər** and **(k)ar**. **karə́tâ** and **karə́ta** are sometimes pronounced with a first vowel **ə** rather than **a**. The initial vowel **a** of **C-árə́ta** and **C-âren** comes from the copula (**C-á** ‘be’) rather than being part of the formative. Whether or not there is a relationship with the noun **karən** ‘place’ is unclear.

karə́tâ/karə́ta ‘where’

karə́tâ or **karə́ta** ‘where’ can be used in situ. In this position, the two tonal alternatives are equivalent, as shown in the following. The first realization is based on **karə́tâ**, the second on **karə́ta**.

lɛccít **l-á.ík kárə́-tâ** / **lɛccít** **l-á.ík** **karə́-ta**
 threshing_floor C-be:PR where-QW threshing_floor C-be:PR where-QW

where is the threshing floor?

karə́tâ / **karə́ta** can precede an adjunct of time (or manner):

ɲ-kw-ɛ́ɔ.t **kárə́-tâ** **mɛccín**
 2-C-go:COMPL where-qw yesterday

where did you go yesterday?

Alternatively, ‘where’ can be fronted. In this construction only the tonal variant **karə́tâ** is used. Fronted **karə́tâ** is not followed by **akka** + H, but by locative relative **ná** (discussed in 11.3):

karə́-tâ **na** **lɛccít** **l-á.ík**
 where-QW where:REL threshing_floor C-be:PR

where is the threshing floor?

In complement clauses **karəṭa/karəṭâ** and **kəren** are not used, only the locative relative **ná**:

m-p-əmma **na** **k-kw-ónu** **kəmə́n**
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL where:REL 3-C-have house

I don't know where s/he has his/her house he lives (I don't know where s/he lives)

Like other locative constituents **karəṭa/karəṭâ** can be preceded by **ń**- 'with, by, (away) from', but not by any of the other proclitic prepositions:

l̥ɛcək **l-aa.t** **ŋ-káro-ṭâ** / **ŋ-káro-ṭa**
 goats C-come:COMPL with-where-QW with-where-QW

where have the goats come from?

kəren 'where'

kəren probably contains the demonstrative pronominal base **en** as a formative (see 8.1), but there seems to be no trace of a concord. Like **ŋimpên** and **ɔkkwên**, **kəren** is used in questions which are not really questions, but imply a negative statement. For example, the speaker is telling somebody that some of his goats escaped and says 'and where were you?!', implying: I needed you then to search with me, but you didn't show up:

a-ŋ-kw-ɔká.t **kəren**
 CONJ-2-C-be:COMPL where

and where were you?! (you didn't show up!)

In the example below, somebody has just said that s/he has a threshing floor, but as far as the hearer knows this is not the case:

l̥iccít **l-á.fk** **kəren**
 threshing_floor C-be:PR where

where is (this) threshing floor?!

kəren with proclitic **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ is a standard expression in answer to the greeting **tátta** ‘how is it?’. It is an evasive answer, communicating an unwillingness to give further details:

tát-ta

how-QW

η-kəren

with-where

how are you? fine (but don’t ask further questions!)

C-árəta ‘where’ and **C-âren**

The related nominal modifiers are **C-árəta** ‘where’ and **C-âren** ‘where’. **C-árəta** is used in order to obtain information about the whereabouts of somebody or something:

ɔɾɪn

PERS.ηɔɾɪn

p-árə.ta

C-where

where is ηɔɾɪn?

appentíná

groundnuts

w-árə.ta

C-where

where are the groundnuts?

a-η-kw-árə.ta

CONJ-2-C-where

and where are you?

By contrast, **C-âren** in the next example is not a neutral inquiry after somebody’s whereabouts. It implies that the person was expected to be present, but is not:

k-kw-írě.t

3-C-say:COMPL

ittɪ

that

k-kw-á.kkappərtakə

3-C-return:INCOMPL

ána

and

k-kw-âren

3-C-where

s/he said that s/he would come back, but where is s/he?!

In the example below, the chicken saw the cat coming, but now does not see it anymore, which is worrying. The chicken asks the jackal:

ana pólá p-âren
and cat C-where

and where is the cat now?! ('The story of the jackal')

The following example is not a neutral question after the whereabouts of the addressee's children (**ɲokul**), but departs from the knowledge that the addressee does not have children and conveys that this is not really how it should be:

ana á-ɲ-âɲ ɲ-âren
and PROBS-C-POSS2 C-where

and where are yours?! (you should get serious and have a child!)

20.1.4. 'how'

tátta, **táttarátta**, **tăt** and **C-arátta** all share the formative **tăt** 'how' (as do **akkárátta** and **akkárat** 'what time', see 20.1.5). **kátta** and **kăt** share the variant of **tăt**, **kăt**.

tátta/kátta 'how'

tátta 'how' and **kátta** 'how' are generally preceded by the complementizer **ittĩ** 'that'. The combination **ittĩ kátta** / **ittĩ tátta** is used in situ:

ɲ-kw-a.kkót ɲóré éɲ-ɲ-í ittĩ kăt-ɬa / tát-ɬa
2-C-do:INCOMPL work DEM-C-NEARSP that how-QW / how-QW

how will you do the work?

In the next example **tátta/kátta** is not preceded by **ittĩ**, but the defective verb **-ópərĩ** contains the same formative **-tĩ** as **ittĩ**:

k-kw-ópərĩ tát-ɬa / kăt-ɬa
3-C-say how-QW / how-QW

what did s/he say?

In the next case **ittĩ** is absent. The expression is a fixed formula, a greeting upon seeing somebody who has just got up:

ŋ-kw-ɨcát.é **tát-ṭa / kát-ṭa**
 2-C-lie_down:COMPL (that-)how-QW / (that-)how-QW

how did you sleep? (greeting in the morning)

tátṭa and **kátṭa** ‘how’ are very common greetings:

tát-ṭa / kát-ṭa
 how-QW / how-QW

m-p-ɔpərɔt
 1-C-good

how are you? I am fine

itti kátṭa (or **itti tátṭa**) is also used in complement clauses:

m-p-ɔŋɔt.é **itti ɔ-nɔn ṭ-ánt-ɔkəne-n** **itti**
 1-C-like:COMPL that PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 that

ɔ-nɔn ṭ-a.ra **tún** **itti kát-ṭa** **cəné**
 PERS-2A C-cultivate:INCOMPL onion that how-QW here

could you show me how you (PL) grow onions here? (lit.: I want that you (PL) can show me ...) (fr. written text)

tátṭa/kátṭa cannot be left-dislocated.

tátṭa can be reduplicated to **tátṭárátṭa**. The reduplication has an intensifying effect. A how-question with **tátṭárátṭa** is not a neutral question for information, but expresses that something is thought to be (have been) very difficult. Which part is the reduplicated part is not clear. In the example I have glossed the second part as the reduplicated part:

ŋ-kw-aa.t **tátṭá-rátṭa**
 2-C-come:COMPL how~INTS

how did you manage to come? (for example when there were no buses)

tăt/kăt ‘how’

The short forms **tăt/kăt** ‘how’ are used in expressions that function as exclamations rather than as real questions. The example below has the implicit connotation of ‘you probably have nothing to say’:

ana ɔ-nɔn ʈ-ére tăt
and PERS-2A C-speak:INCOMPL how

and what do you (PL) have to say?! (lit.: and how will you speak?!)

Comparable to **ɔkkwên** and **ɲimpên**, and like **ittɪ káṭṭa/ittɪ táṭṭa**, the short forms **tăt/kăt** are furthermore used in complement clauses. The following example functions as complement of ‘they talked about’:

... **ana ɔ-llé p-ɔkɪccé.r-ɔk n-tuan kăt**
 and PERS-husband C-chase:COMPL-O3 with-home how

...and how her husband had chased her from the house (from wr. story)

Unlike **ittɪ káṭṭa / ittɪ táṭṭa** the short forms require some context; they are not easily used ‘out of the blue’. The first sentence below can, for example, be used in a conversation between two people who are walking through an onion field, and one of which is known or assumed to have knowledge about the cultivation of onions:

m-p-ɔɲɔṭ.é ittɪ ɔ-nɔn ʈ-ánt-ɔkóne-n ittɪ
1-C-like:COMPL that PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 that

ɔ-nɔn ʈ-a.ra ʈún tat cəné
PERS-2A C-cultivate:INCOMPL onion how here

could you show me how you grow onions here? (lit.: I want that ...)

In a complement clause **tăt/kăt** can be left-dislocated followed by **akka** + H:

m-p-ɔɲɔṭ.é ittɪ ɔ-nɔn ʈ-ánt-ɔkóne-n tat akka
1-C-like:COMPL that PERS-2A C-can:INCOMPL-show:DEPINCOMPL-O1 that that

ɔ-nɔn ʈ-a.ra ʈún cəné
PERS-2A C-cultivate:INCOMPL onion here

could you show me how you grow onions here? (lit.: I want that ...)

C-arátta ‘how’, *C-arât* ‘how’

The modifying word *C-arátta* ‘how’ contains the copula *C-á* and *tátta* (*tăt* ‘how’ + the question word marker *-ta*) as formatives. Some examples:

nenní ŋ-kw-a.rát-ta
Nenni 2-C-how-QW

Nenni, how are you?

ɔ-nenní p-a.rát-ta
PERS-Nenni C-how-QW

how is Nenni?

lon l-a.rát-ta
words C-how-QW

what is going on?

In the example below *C-arátta* modifies an object pronoun:

ɔ-nɔn t-imma.kát-ɔk p-á.rát-ta
PERS-2A C-see:PST-O3 C-how-QW

how was s/he when you (PL) saw him/her? (lit.: you saw him/her being how?)

The short form is *C-arât* is used in quick questions for further details:

pəlla p-ellâ | ana p-p-éllá p-árât
cat C-be_absent:INCOMPL and PRO-C-be_absent:INCOMPL C-how

the cat is not here. and how come it is not here?

20.1.5. ‘what time’

akkáratta contains **akka** + H ‘that’ and **tátta** ‘how’ as formatives, but has developed a tone pattern of its own. **akkáratta** is used in order to inquire after the time of the day that something happened or is expected to happen.

ŋ-kw-έ.t **tuán** **akkáraṭ-ṭa** | **m-p-έ.t** **cipín**
 2-C-go:COMPL home what_time-QW 1-C-go:COMPL evening

at what time did you go home? I went in the evening

akkáraṭṭa can be left-dislocated, followed by **akka** + H:

akkáraṭ-ṭa **akka** **ŋ-kw-έ.t** **tuán**
 what_time-QW that 2-C-go:COMPL home

at what time did you go home?

The short form can be used as a quick way of asking more precise information:

ɔ-íára **p-a.ɪk** **p-ânṭán** | **akkarat**
 PERS-mother C-be:PR C-come:INCOMPL what_time

my mother is coming. what time? (the assumption is that the mother will come today)

akkáraṭṭa is not used for asking after the (clock) time of the present moment. The expression for this is:

cɪŋkɪ **c-ia-ṭa**
 sun c-which-QW

what's the time? (lit. the sun is which?)

20.1.6. 'when'

While **akkáraṭṭa** 'what time' inquires after the time of the day that something happened or is expected to happen, **acínṭa** 'when' is used in case of a larger time frame. A question with **acínṭa** conveys no knowledge (or assumption) on the part of the speaker about the day of the event.

ŋ-kw-aa.t **kárəṭṭóm** **ácín-ṭa**
 2-C-come:COMPL Khartoum when-QW

when did you arrive in Khartoum?

The short form **acîn** needs a (speech) context and typically has an expressive value. The example below, is not a neutral question inquiring after the time or day that the speaker and addressee will fight, but conveys an eagerness to fight and perhaps the suggestion that the addressee may want to escape from it. The addressee replies that they will fight now.

ana	ɔ-rit	ʔ-a.ʔáttɔ	acîn		ɔ-rit	ʔ-a.ʔáttɔ	ácca
ana	PERS-12	C-fight:INCOMPL	when		PERS-12	C-fight:INCOMPL	now

and when will we fight?! we will fight now!

In the next example **acîn** is used as a quick interruption to ask when something is going to take place:

ɔ-íáia	p-a.ík	p-ântán		acîn
PERS-mother	C-be:PR	C-come:INCOMPL		when

my mother is coming. when? (no knowledge/assumption about the time frame is conveyed)

The example below with **acîn** is not a real question. It is asked after the eggs of the bird got broken and the implied answer is ‘never’:

ana	puʔupé	p-ápp-ɔkwónɔ	acîn
and	bird	C-again:INCOMPL -produce:INCOMPL	when
akka	p-p-úkkwá.t	pəʔin	
that	PRO-C-become_old:COMPL	finally	

and when will the bird produce (eggs) again? because it will be old (implied answer: never)

The form **acîn** is further used in a complement clause. **acínʔa** is possible as well. Both are used only in final position:

m-p-ɔmma	ittɪ	ɔ-kín	ʔ-ântan	acîn / acín-ʔa
1-C-not_know:INCOMPL	that	PERS-3A	C-come:INCOMPL	when / when-QW

I do not know when they will come (lit.: I do not know that they will come when)

20.1.7. ‘for what purpose’ and ‘why’

C-ṣṭénṭa ‘for what purpose, why’ and *C-ṣṭên* ‘for what purpose, why’

C-ṣṭénṭa modifies a noun and expresses ‘for what purpose’ or ‘why’. The long form is used in neutral questions. In the example below it functions as predicate:

pṣṭen **p-ṣṭén-ṭa**
 basket(k.o.) C-for_what_purpose-QW
 for what is the basket?

In the next example *C-ṣṭénṭa* modifies an object noun. The object noun phrase remains in situ:

n-ṭ-a.ppóre **kamor** **k-ṣṭén-ṭa**
 2A-C-put_at.PLUR:INCOMPL sand C-for_what_purpose-QW
 why are you collecting sand?

The noun phrase can be fronted in a cleft construction with the copula:

təré **t-ṣṭén-ṭá** **t-á** **ḡ-kw-ṣnô**
 fear C-for_what_purpose-QW C-COP 2-C-have
 why are you afraid? (lit.: fear for what purpose it is you have?)

ṭakurít **ṭ-ṣṭén-ṭá** **ṭ-á-kkôṭ** (< **ṭ-a** + **ḡ-** + **ṣkkôṭ**)
 style_of_young_man C-for_what_purpose-QW C-COP-(2-)do:DEPINCOMPL
 why do you dress up like a young man? (lit.: style for what purpose it is you make?)

C-ṣṭénṭa and *C-ṣṭên* can be used in a complement clause. In this environment there seems to be no difference between the long and the short form:

m-p-ṣmma **itti** **pṣṭen** **p-ṣṭén-ṭa** / **p-ṣṭên**
 1-C-not_know:INCOMPL that basket(k.o.) C-because_of_what-QW C-because_of_what
 I do not know what the basket is for

In a main clause, the short form conveys a negative judgement:

pəʔən **p-əʔən**
basket(k.o.) c-because_of_what

for what is the basket?! (we don't need it, you should not have brought it)

c-ʒn̄ta 'why'

c-ʒn̄ta 'why' modifies a subject (pro)noun. It is used in a construction with **akka** + H, often in combination with **ittinâ** 'so, like this'. Questions with **c-ʒn̄ta** are not neutral inquiries, but convey that it would be better if the situation were different, they express some worry, disappointment or disapproval.

ukul **w-ʒn̄ta** **akka** **w-íkko** **cík**
child c-why that PRO-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF

cínáŋ **ákkómân**
there_where_you_are since

why is the child still sitting here?

ɔ-rɔn **ʔ-ʒn̄ta** **akka** **ɔ-rɔn** **ɔkwónta** **ittinâ**
PERS-12A c-why that PERS-12A be_born:DEPINCOMPL so

why were we born like this?

In the following example pronominal **t** refers to a pig (**tuttərúk**):

t-t-ʒn̄ta **akka** **t-t-á.ík** **t-ʒó**²⁸ **ittinâ**
PRO-C-why that PRO-C-be:PR C-cry:INCOMPL so

why is it (the pig) crying like this?

The following is an example of **c-ʒn̄ta** without the connecting **akka**. **pənan**, which is related to **ɔnnân** 'mother', is an abusive term.

k-kw-ʒn̄ta **ant-áine** **pənan**
3-C-why can:DEPINCOMPL-come_to:DEPINCOMPL mother

why, on his/her mother, let him/her come back (in anger, as a threat)

²⁸ Irregular Incompletive (< ɔʒ 'cry').

20.1.8. 'how many'

G-**ɾənóʈta** expresses ‘how many’. First some examples of predicative use:

၁-၈၈	တ-၁၈၈၁-တ
PERS-2A	C-how many-QW

how many are you?

kəmən	k-ɔ̌rənɔ́t-tá	í-k-únta	cənɛ́
rooms	C-how many-QW	RES-C-be built:INCOMPL	here

how many rooms will be built here? (lit.: the rooms (are) how many which
will be built here?)

When C-**crənóŋta** modifies the object, the object noun phrase can remain in situ, but also be fronted. When fronted, it is followed by a relative construction with **ɪ-C-a** (second example below).

ŋ-kw-ɔ́nó	mén	m-ɔ́rənóʔ-ta
2-C-have	palm_fruits	C-how many-QW

how many palm fruits do you have?

mén	m-ɔrənɔ́-tá	í-m-á	ń-kw-ónô
palm fruits	C-how many-QW	RES-C-COP	2-C-have

how many palm fruits do you have?

Like the other forms without **-ta**, **C-ɔrənək** is used as a quick (perhaps interruptive) question:

ɔ-kín ɬ-á.ík ɬ-ântan inénní
PERS-3A C-be:PR C-come:INCOMPL today

t-ərənək
C-how_many

they are coming today / how many (are they)?

20.1.9. ‘which’

The nominal modifier **C-iaṭâ** expresses ‘which’. An object noun phrase with **C-iaṭâ** can be used in situ, but can also be fronted. When fronted, it is followed by a relative construction with **ɪ-C-a**:

ŋ-kw-akkó.t **ṭákúṛít** **ṭ-íá-ṭâ**
 2-C-do:INCOMPL style_of_young_man C-which-QW

in which young man’s style will you dress?

ṭakuṛít **ṭ-íá-ṭâ** **í-ṭ-ákkô.t**
 style_of_young_man C-which-QW RES-C-COP.(2-)do:DEPINCOMPL

in which young man’s style will you dress? (lit.: the young man’s style is which that you will do?)

Modifying question words, like other modifiers, can be used independently. In the next example, pronominal **p-** has implicit reference to **papu** (thing).

íáia **ana** **p-ia-ṭâ** **í-p-á** **ŋ-kw-ókkóṭ.é**
 my_mother and C-which-QW RES-C-COP 2-C-do:COMPL

mother, and what is it that you have made? (can refer to food)

The short form (**C-ia**) is commonly used in complement clauses, but in the examples below **C-iaṭâ** was considered acceptable as well.

cɪk **c-írrúk** **ṭáɽu** **aŋŋəna**
 place C-cold Ṭaɽu very

ŋ-kw-əmma **ittɪ** **pəɽu** **p-íá**
 2-C-not_know:INCOMPL that dry_season C-which

ana **cókku** **c-ia**
 and rainy_season C-which

Ṭaɽu is a very cool place. You will not know which is the dry season and which is the rainy season (i.e. in both periods it is cool) (fr. written story)

ŋáaí	lɔɾək	l-a.ɪk	l-ɔppɔt		
I_don't_know	ropes	C-be:PR	C-many		
ána	m-p-ɔmma	ittɪ	t-ɔtté	t-ía	n.tít
and	1-C-not_know:INCOMPL	that	C-of.your_father	C-which	from:ABS

I don't know, there are many ropes and I do not know which one among them is your father's (lit.: I do not know that your father's (is) which among (them)) (fr. written dialogue)

The short form is also used to shortly ask 'which one'?

ɛt-m	aɾám
give:IMP-O1	book

w-ia
C-which

give me the book! which one?

20.2. Question particles

20.2.1. The question particle -ɪ

Attachment of the enclitic question particle -ɪ turns a statement into a (neutral) polar question. Such a question solicits a response that starts with **ij** 'yes', or **á ā** / **é ē** / **ĩ m** 'no'. Questions marked by -ɪ can be used thetically, they require no specific context.

The tonal realization of questions evolves from the tonal properties of the element to which the question particle is attached; questions do not seem to have a specific intonation pattern. The particle functions largely as a regular low-toned item, except after an element with a rising (LH) tone. After a rising tone, application of the Tone Shift Rule (see 3.3.1) would be expected, resulting in a falling tone on the question particle. Instead, the particle can be tonally realized in two ways: as rising or as low. The paradigm follows here:

after L	ŋkwɔnú pəlla-ɪ	(pəlla + -ɪ)	'do you have a cat?'
after H	ŋkwɔnú ɬakəɾɔk-ɪ	(ɬakəɾɔk + -ɪ)	'do you have a chicken?'
after LH	ŋkwɔnú ɬɔk-ĩ	(ɬɔk + -ɪ)	'do you have a dog?'

after LH **ŋkwɔ́nú tók-ɪ** (tók + -ɪ) ‘do you have a dog?’
 after HL **ŋkwɔ́nú pɔ́ɔpɛ́-ɪ** (pɔ́ɔpɛ́ + -ɪ) ‘do you have a bird?’

When the particle is attached after a final vowel with a H tone, the LHL tone that would result on the long vowel is simplified to HL, and realized over the long vowel or diphthong. Though the same effect is found upon attachment of the prepositional pro-clitics **ɪ-**, **nɔ-**, **tɔ-** and **tɔ-** to low-toned nouns with long vowels, and in one case of a diphthong (apart from **ɪ-maít** ‘in the beans’, there is also **ɪ-máit**, see 3.1.2), this does not seem to be a general tone rule of the language. LHL tones are attested on long vowels and diphthongs, though not very often. Examples are: **tɔ́ɔn** ‘shovel’, **ɛ́ɛ** ‘stab, blow’, **ɔ́ɔk** ‘s/he’, **naák** ‘on him/her’, **ɔ́ɛ** ‘instrument(k.o.)’, **kuá** ‘digging tool’, **cuál** ‘sack’, **cuán** ‘rat (sp.)’, **ɛ́ɔ** ‘go’, **kaón** ‘bee’, **naón** ‘on me’, **naón** ‘on you’. Two examples with tone simplification follow here:

ŋkwɔ́nú mətɛ́-ɪ (< mətɛ-ɪ < mətɛ́ + -ɪ) ‘are you sleepy?’ (lit.: do you have sleep?)
ŋkwɔ́nú parí-ɪ (< parí-ɪ < parí + -ɪ) ‘do you have a wife?’

Some examples of polar questions with answers follow here.

ŋ-kw-ina	ókurrɔ	kárrú-ɪ
2-C-know:INCOMPL	engrave:DEPINCOMPL	mother_tongue-Q

ij **m-p-iná**
 yes 1-C-know:INCOMPL

can you write Lumun? yes, I can

ɔ-ttɛ	p-a.ík-ɪ
PERS-your_father	C-be:PR-Q

a-a	ɔ-ŋappá	p-íó.t
no-REDUP	PERS-my_father	C-die:COMPL

is your father still alive? no, my father died

In answer to a negative question, **ij** ‘yes’ is applied for confirmation of the negative situation:

ŋ-kw-ǎnn-ittā-ɪ

2-C-NEG-get_married:DEPCOMPL-Q

ij m-p-ǎnn-ittā

yes 1-C-NEG-get_married:DEPCOMPL

are you not married? / no, I am not (lit.: yes, I am not married)

In speech, a single question sometimes has more than one question particle. The example below has a question particle, with tone as in prepausal position, after the possessor pronoun. **ntít** is therefore like an afterthought. It does, however, belong to the question, so that it must take the question particle as well. When elicited, this sentence would only have the question particle at the end, after **ntít**.

ŋ-kw-ɔmma

2-C-not_know:INCOMPL

lɔɛk

ropes

l-ɔn-î

C-POSS2A-Q

n.tir-î

from:ABS-Q

do you not recognize your ropes among them? (fr. written dialogue)

Another example is the following. The question particle is obligatory after the first clause, but not after the second, which is not really part of the question. Still, it is possible to use it there:

ŋ-kw-íccá p-á.ík-ɪ akka m-p-ɔká-t p-ellâ-t / p-ellâ-r-ɪ

2-C-still C-be:PR-Q that 1-C-be:COMPL C-be_absent:COMPL C-be_absent:COMPL-Q

are you still there? because I was not there ...

Combinations of a question word lacking **-ta** (see 20.1) and the question particle **-ɪ** are possible. An example follows here. **ŋɔm** ‘for what’ retains its rethorical flavour suggesting here that there is no good reason for collecting urine, while at the same time **-ɪ** questions that supposition:

a-pari-ɔn

CONJ-wife-PL

ómékat

say:DEPPRFV

ittɪ

that

nɛɛ

nonsense

ŋae

urine

ŋ-ɔ-ín-í

C-of-what-Q

his wife and children said, nonsense, urine for what?! (i.e. urine is good for nothing, or is it??) (App. IV, 52)

20.2.2. The tag question word **pái** ‘is it?’

The tag question word **pái** ‘is it’ consists of the (non-person) pronoun clitic **p-** (implicitly referring to **papu** ‘thing’), the concord + copula **p-á**, and the question particle **-i**. The tag question word can be used after a positive but also after a negative statement. It solicits confirmation (**ij** ‘yes’) by the addressee.

ɔ-rit	ʈ-a.ɪk	ʈ-a.réko	ínénní	p-á-i
PERS-12	C-be:PR	C-work:INCOMPL	today	PRO.C-COP-Q

you and I are going to do some work today, aren’t we?

cɪk	c-íppá	p-á-i
place	C-hot	PRO.C-COP-Q

it is hot, isn’t it

It can also be used after a negative statement:

ɔkérénn-óká	ítínâ	p-á-i
NEG:DEP-be:DEPCOMPL	so	PRO.C-COP-Q

it is not so, is it?

20.2.3. The particle for information recovery **-a**

Tonally, the particle **-a** behaves in the same way as **-i**. It does not coalesce with a preceding vowel. The particle **-a** is used for recovery of information or for confirmation that (the implication of) what has just been said has been correctly understood. It is employed, for example, when part of the conversation was missed. The particle can be used on a content question (first example below) or on a statement (second example below). In the latter case it solicits a yes/no answer.

ʃt-ʈa	akk-aa.r-â
PERS.3-QW	FOC-come:COMPL-RECOV

who did you say has come?

k-kw-áar-â | **ij**
 3-C-come:COMPL-RECOV yes

do I understand correctly that s/he has come? (are you saying that s/he has come?) yes

20.2.4. The particle for informal information recovery -ε

The question particle -ε behaves tonally in the same way as -ɪ and -a, and like those particles, does not coalesce with a preceding vowel. Like -a, -ε is used in a conversational context for recovery of information or for confirmation that (the implication of) what has just been said has been correctly understood. It can be used on a statement or a content question. -ε differs from -a in that it is typically used in informal situations, for example by somebody who is not really following the conversation between friends or family, but picks up a detail about which s/he wants to make sure (first example below) or collect some missed information (second and third examples):

k-kw-áar-ê | **ij**
 3-C-come:COMPL-RECOVINF yes

did you say s/he has come? yes

ɔkkwén **akk-ɔ.r-ê**
 who FOC-die:COMPL-RECOVINF

who died?/who is it that died? (conveying no particular interest in the rest of the conversation)

ŋ-kw-ɪɛt **kar-ě**
 2-C-say:COMPL how-RECOVINF

what did you say? (conveying no particular interest in the rest of the conversation)

-ε is also used on informal greeting questions between friends. For example, somebody has asked his/her friend how s/he is and then has greeted the other people. Then s/he returns to the friend and resumes the earlier question:

kar-ě

how-RECOVINF

and how is it?

20.2.5. Absence of question marking

Question marking is entirely absent in verbless questions. Such questions follow on a statement and ask whether the same is true for someone or something else. The question just consists of **ana** + H ‘and’ and a personal pronoun (whether a participant or a third person) or a noun (phrase). Its predication is understood to be the same as that of the preceding statement, which may have been uttered by the speaker but also by the addressee. These questions do not invite a response starting with ‘yes’ or ‘no’, merely a confirming or denying statement.

m-p-ɔpərɔt **ana** **ɔ-óŋ**
 1-C-good and PERS-2

m-p-ɔpərɔt
 1-C-good

I am fine, and you? I am fine

m-p-a.ɪk **p-a.ɛ̃** **ana** **ɔ-óŋ**
 1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL and PERS-2

m-p-ǎnn-ɛ̃
 1-C-NEG-go:DEPINCOMPL

I am going, and you? I am not going

ɔ-kukkú **p-ɔŋɔ**
 PERS-Kokku C-ill

ana **ɔ-lalú**
 and PERS-Lalu

ɔ-lalú **p-ɔpərɔt**
 PERS-Lalu C-good

Kokku is ill. And Lálú? Lálú is fine