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10. Adjectives

Lumun adjectives consist of a concord and an adjectival stem:

C-ADJ

All adjectival stems are vowel-initial. Otherwise, there are no phonological restrictions other than those that apply to all words in the language. There are also no specific restrictions on the tone patterns.

10.1. Adjectives as predicates, attributes and independent forms

In its basic form (C-ADJ) the adjective functions as a predicate, for example:

pol  p-ittik
person  C-big
the person is big

pol  p-óká.t  p-ímmín
person  C-be:COMPL  C-heavy
the person was heavy

Adjectival predicates can occur in any TAM through the addition of an inflected copular verb óká ‘be’ or ókóka ‘become’. Adjectives are also used in secondary predication (or depictive) constructions. In the first three examples below the depictive is subject-oriented, in the last it is object-oriented:

ŋəɾi  ŋ-aa.t  ŋ-otté
water  C-come:COMPL  C-little
a little water has come (the water came little)

ol  w-illé.t  w-óppót
people  C-die:PLUR:COMPL  C-many
many people have died (the people have died many)
I slept well

and he saw something spotted in the road (and he saw something in the road (as) spotted) (‘A boy and a goat’)

The adjective ‘good’ is also attested in situations in which it seems to modify a verb:

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

Kakka is speaking well (implying: she had difficulty speaking before, perhaps because of a sour throat)

It is, however, not actually modifying the verb, but providing information about the state of the subject, functioning not as an adverb, but as a depictive secondary predication. ‘Good’ agreeing with the subject can, for example, not be used in the next case, irrespective of whether the understood object 'asida' is explicitly mentioned. ‘Good’ can only modify the object (second example below):

Kakka cooks (asida) well

Kakka cooks the asida good (i.e. she cooks good asida)
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m-p-icáte lón 1-óparótt
1-c-lie_down:COMPL words c-good

I have slept well

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

pol 1-p-ittfk p-aát
person RES-c-big c-come:COMPL
the big person has come

kɔrɛt 1-k-ïpɛ í-k-ɔ térɛt
cloth RES-c-old RES-c-spotted
the old spotted cloth

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

càttak c-a.ɪk 1-c-ɔřik 1-c-ɔttće
kalabash(k.o.) c-be:PR RES-c-big and RES-c-little

ana.rrúk 1-c-ɔttće c-ɔkɔttátɛ.
but RES-c-little c-be_broken:COMPL
there is a calabash which is big and one which is small, but the small one is broken (there is a big calabash and a small one, but the small one is broken)

10.2. Adjectives as a word class

Lumun adjectives are neither nouns nor verbs, but a word class in their own right.

Lumun adjectives are different from nouns because they must be preceded by the restrictor í- in order to be used independently. Nouns, on the other hand, are never preceded by the restrictor í-, cf.:

1-c-ɔttće ‘the small one’ (for example a small càttak ‘calabash (k.o.)’
kɔrɛ ‘left-handed person’
Moreover, there is a difference in predicating constructions of the type ‘X is Y’. A noun X can be juxtaposed with a noun Y or with an adjective Y, but there is an alternative construction with the copula c-á ‘be’ that is possible with nouns, but not with adjectives; and an alternative construction with the Present of ‘be’ c-aik (containing the formative cik) that is possible between a noun and an adjective, but not between nouns. Cf.:

\[\text{pul} \quad \text{pɨɲɲɨt} / \quad \text{pul} \quad \text{p-a} \quad \text{pɨɲɲɨt}\]

person singer / person c-be:PR singer

the person is a singer

\[\text{*pul} \quad \text{p-a.ık} \quad \text{pɨɲɲɨt}\]

person c-be:PR singer

\[\text{pul} \quad \text{p-ərik} / \quad \text{pul} \quad \text{p-a.ık} \quad \text{p-ərik}\]

person c-big / person c-be:PR c-big

the person is important

\[\text{*pul} \quad \text{p-a} \quad \text{p-ərik}\]

person c-be:PR c-big

Adjectives resemble verbs more than nouns. Like verbs, adjectives function basically as predicates. The first example has a Completive verb, the second an adjective.

\[\text{ɔ-laló} \quad \text{p-ɔkiɲá.t}\]

PERS-Lalu c-become_tired:COMPL

Lalu is tired

\[\text{ɔ-laló} \quad \text{p-əparst}\]

PERS-Lalu c-good

Lalu is fine

Verbs and adjectives can both occur with a subject pronominal clitic. In the first example the pronominal clitic is attached to a verb, in the second to an adjective:
Adjectives and verbs can both be preceded by the restrictor:

**pol 1-p-órîk p-aát**

person RES-C-big C-come:COMPL

the person who is big has come (i.e. the important person has come)

**pol 1-p-ánkøne p-aát**

person RES-C-teach:INCOMPL C-come:COMPL

the person who teaches (i.e. the teacher) has come

In the same way as verbs, several adjectives allow for the derivation of an abstract noun through replacement of the concord by the noun class prefix ɗ and adoption of the tone pattern L*.LH (see 4.6.3). Two examples:

**C-αpərɔt’ ‘good’ vs. ɗαpərɔt’ ‘goodness’**

**C- Ipółk ‘white’ vs. ɗpółk ‘whiteness’**

However, the regular processes of verb-to-verb derivation cannot be applied to adjectives. For example, it is not possible to have a Benefactive derivation with adjectives, while this derivation can be made on the basis of (virtually) all verbs.

A further important difference with verbs is that adjectives cannot inflect. Verbs have inflectional morphology marking the basic TAMs (see 12.5) and they can occur together with auxiliaries. On adjectives, on the other hand, TAMs must be expressed with the help of an inflected copular verb (ɔkà ‘be’ or ɗɔkka ‘become’). Compare the verbal and the adjectival predicate:
Some further examples with ḥkâ and ḥkkâ and an adjective follow here.

*knife* c-be:compl c-blunt

the knife was blunt

*grass* c-become:compl c-many quickly:redup

the weeds have quickly become abundant

*chicken* c-become:pst c-smooth

the chicken became fat

Certain auxiliaries precede a verbal TAM-stem without concord. Adjectival predicates with such an auxiliary make use of a copular verb on which the auxiliary is expressed. Compare the first two examples with the negation auxiliary c-akûn. The first has a verbal predicate, the second an adjectival:

*beer* c-NEG-be,done:depcompl

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

*beer* c-NEG-be:depcompl c-cold

the beer is not cold

Compare also the following examples with the irrealis marker (see 12.18). The first has a verbal predicate, the second an adjectival:
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There is no reason to analyse adjectives as defective verbs. Even though they share the obligatory presence of the concord with the Non-dependent basic TAMs (Incompleteive, Completive and Past), all segmental and tonal characteristics of these verbal TAMs are lacking in the adjective.

10.2.1. Semantic grouping

This section presents adjectives in semantic groups, largely following the semantic types specified in Dixon (2010, p. 73-74). Instead of ‘human propensity’ I use ‘spiritual property’. Some adjectives have a dimensional interpretation with singular head nouns and a quantifying interpretation with plural and mass nouns (C-attività and C-attività). This is discussed in section 10.2.6 of this chapter, as are the different plural forms of some of the dimensional adjectives. C-attività and C-attività have a dimensional interpretation (‘small, little’) as well as an age interpretation (‘young’); their reduplicated plurals refer to small size. The plural C-attività refers in the first place to young age of living creatures (people, animals, plants). There is an adjective for old age of things (C-attività), but old age of living creatures is expressed with the Completive of the verb okkwa (or okka) ‘become old’ (C-okkwát or C-okkát). An example is found in chapter 9.

Tonally, the adjectives are represented here as they occur as predicates of an all-low noun. However, as remarked in chapter 9, use of the restricor causes unexpected tonal changes in at least some adjectives. Compare:
**pol pókitak**  ‘the person is bad’

**pol i-pókitak**  ‘the bad person’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>dimension, shape</strong></th>
<th><strong>plural form</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ërık</strong>  ‘big, important’ (SG)</td>
<td>/ <strong>c-ëttí-c-ëttîk, c-ëttîttîk</strong> (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ëttîk</strong>  ‘big’ (SG)</td>
<td>/ <strong>c-ëttí-c-ëttîk, c-ëttîttîk</strong> (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ëttê, c-ëttê</strong>  ‘small, little, young’ (SG)</td>
<td>/ <strong>c-ëttó-c-ëttê, c-ëttóttê, c-ëttóttê</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ûkwít</strong>  ‘long, tall, deep’ (SG)</td>
<td>/ <strong>c-ûkwít-c-ûkwít</strong> (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ëttítê</strong>  ‘short’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ënnan</strong>  ‘properly sized’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ápe</strong>  ‘wide’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-ërólókkol</strong>  ‘round’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**age**

| **c-íë**  ‘new’ (i.e. young age of things) |
| **c-ëttê, c-ëttê**  ‘small, little, young’ | / **c-årran** (PL)  ‘young’ |
| **c-ípe**  ‘old’ (of things) | |

**value**

| **c-ëparêt**  ‘good’ |
| **c-ôkitak**  ‘bad’ |
| **c-ëccëpêm**  ‘marvellous, superb’ |
| **c-ërık**  ‘big, important’ (SG) | / **c-ëttí-c-ëttîk, c-ëttîttîk** (PL) |

**colour**

| **c-ënnî**  ‘black’ |
| **c-îpôk**  ‘white’ |
| **c-ërê**  ‘red, ripe’ |
| **c-ôtelîk**  ‘grey, yellowish’ |
| **c-îccëf**  ‘green’ |
| **c-ôlômîf**  ‘light brown, towards green’ |
| **c-ôrôrrôñ**  ‘grey and brown mixed’ |
| **c-ôlôrðô**  ‘striped’ |
| **c-ôterêt**  ‘spotted’ |
| **c-åcallerêñ**  ‘spotted (with big spots)’ |
physical property
- c-îmmìn ‘heavy’
- c-îppappat ‘light, easy’
- c-îrán ‘wet’
- c-îppá ‘hot, warm’
- c-îrrók ‘cold’
- c-ontómat ‘hard’
- c-àmparáh ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’
- c-akórkkàr ‘rough’
- c-örrè ‘rough’
- c-òrrú ‘blunt’
- c-òrrë ‘sharp’
- c-akírkkir ‘dim’
- c-ipin ‘not well cooked’
- c-öttó ‘tasty, sweet’
- c-örr ‘sour’
- c-îr ìa ‘salty’
- c-òppón ‘bitter’
- c-örrè ‘clean, stingy’
- c-öñó ‘sick’
- c-àfrílla ‘crippled’
- c-àpar (SG)/c-àra (PL) ‘female’
- c-àcora (SG)/c-àmora (PL) ‘male’

spiritual property
- c-öporë ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’
- c-ötn ‘forbidden’

speed
- c-àkòccòkòt ‘fast’
- c-akòckàkòk ‘fast’

similarity
- c-ënnà ‘such, like this/that’

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58 According to JS, younger people tend to use c-îppappat while older people tend to use the Completive verb c-àpapp (c-àppa ‘be(come) light’).
quantification
C-ɔppst ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)
C-ɔrk ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)
C-ɔttɛ, C-ɔttɛ ‘few, a little’ (PL or mass)
C-ɔrɛk ‘some, other’
C-ullük ‘only, just’
C-ɔrük ‘only, just’
C-ɔrɪt ‘half, half full’

cardinal numbers
The numerals ‘one’ up to ‘ten’ are adjectives (‘five’, ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ have an invariable form as well). They are discussed in 10.4.1.

Alamin Mubarak (2002, p. 47) remarks that in Acheron an adjective of size (‘big’) and an adjective of age (‘old’) cannot be combined (i.e. *the big old house). In Lumun (which has cognate items for ‘house’, ‘big’ and ‘old’), this is not a problem. The adjectives can be used in either order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>man</th>
<th>1-m-ittik</th>
<th>1-m-ɪpe</th>
<th>/</th>
<th>man</th>
<th>1-m-ɪpɛ</th>
<th>1-m-ɪttɪk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>RES-C-big</td>
<td>RES-C-old</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>RES-C-old</td>
<td>RES-C-big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the big old house

10.2.2. Origins of adjectives

Several adjectives are underived, but there are also adjectives that are derived from verbs, nouns or adverbs. There are also cases in which there is a derivational relationship but in which the direction of the derivation is unclear. In some cases it seems likely that the adjective has served as basis for the derivation.

10.2.3. Verbal origins

C-ɔntɔmat ‘hard’ is a clear case of development from the Completive C-ɔntɔmât of the verb ɔntɔmá ‘become dry’. The Completive C-ɔntɔmât itself is used for the expression of the quality of being ‘dry’, as the result of the process of drying:
ADJECTIVES

kàret k-ɔŋtɔmå.t
cloth c-become_dry:COMPL

the cloth has dried / the cloth is dry

ŋɔre ŋ-ɔŋtɔmat
work c-hard

the work is hard

The adjective c-ǐppappat ‘light’ can be understood as a development from the adverb ɨppáppat (see 17.1.3 for its adverbial morphology), which relates to the Completive verb c-ɔpəpət (〈ɔpəpə ‘be(come) light’). An example with the adjective is given first, then an example with the adverb, then an example with the Completive verb.

pɔl ẓ-p-ɔká.t p-ǐppappat
person RES-C:be:COMPL c-light

a person who was light

ɔkɔl w-ɔkkɔt.è ŋɔre ǐppáppat
child c-do:COMPL work lightly

the child did the work easily

pɔl ẓ-p-ɔká.t p-ɔpəpət.t
person RES-C:be:COMPL c-become_light:COMPL

a person who had become light / who was light

The segmental and tonal form of C-ɔpəɾɔt ‘good’ suggest an origin in the Completive form of a verb *ɔpəɾa, but this verb (irrespective of its tones) does not exist. There is, however, a verb ɔpíra ‘be(come) good’:

pɔl p-a.ɔíra
person c-become_good:INCOMPL

the person will get well (s/he is ill now, but shows signs of recovery).

There is surely a historical relationship between C-ɔpəɾɔt ‘good’ and ɔpíra, but how exactly they relate is not clear.
There are other adjectives that are related to (inchoative) state verbs, which typically—though not in all cases—have a final or last vowel a. It is not evident which form is derived from which:

C-okítak ‘bad’ vs. okítaka ‘become bad’
C-ipók ‘white’ vs. opóka ‘become white’
C-öttot ‘short’ (SG) vs. ọttórat ‘become short’
C-ípe ‘old’ vs. ípa ‘become old’ (of things)
C-ọřč ‘red, ripe’ vs. ọjia ‘become red, ripe’
C-ọřč ‘clean’ vs. ọjia ‘become clean’
C-ọnjó ‘sick’ vs. ọjia ‘become sick’
C-óppát ‘many, a lot’ vs. ọppá’t ‘become full’
C-ọnjára ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man) vs. ọnjára ‘become smooth’
C-ọpóń ‘bitter’ vs. ọpíá ‘become bitter’
C-ọrrú ‘blunt’ vs. ọrrúttat ‘become blunt’
C-ọrré ‘sharp’ vs. ọrrétat ‘become sharp’
C-ápé ‘wide’ vs. apékát cík ‘become wide’

There can be subtle meaning difference between an adjective and the Completive of the related (inchoative) state verb. Compare the examples below. Whereas C-ípe ‘old’ reports on a state or property of a non-living thing in a neutral way (in the examples below sorghum that has been stored), the Completive C-ipá’t (< ípa ‘become old’), the Completive more strongly evokes a picture of showing signs of age:

mít  i-m-ípe
sorghum  RES-C-old
old sorghum

mít  i-m-ipá.t
sorghum  RES-C-become_old:COMPL
sorghum which has become old (picture that comes to mind: it has holes from being eaten by ants, it has probably been stored for several years)
10.2.4. Nominal origins

Some other adjectives have nominal origins. They have developed either from the copula C-á ‘be’ and a noun, or from the connexive (C-ɔ ‘of’) and a noun. Some examples derived with C-á and noun:

- **C-afrilla** ‘crippled’ (< C-á + írilla ‘cripplle’)
- **C-arorɔŋ** ‘grey and brown’ (< and C-á + torɔŋ ‘snake sp., with mixed grey and brown colour’)
- **C-akɔrɔkkɔr** ‘rough’ (< C-á + kɔrɔkkɔr ‘rough sp.’)
- **C-akirɔkkir** ‘dim’ (< C-á + kɔrɔkkir ‘twilight’)
- **C-acallerɔ́** ‘spotted (with big spots)’ (< C-á + (probably) całe ‘ball’ (final rɔ (or to) is not identified)

Evidence that these adjectives are indeed adjectives and not copulas + nouns comes from the possibility to make constructions with the Present of ‘be’ C-aik. Cf.:

- **pɔl p-a írilla**
  - person  C-COP cripple
  - the person is a cripple

- **pɔl p-afrilla**
  - person  C-crippled
  - the person is crippled

- **pɔl p-a.ik p-afrilla**
  - person  C-be:PR  C-crippled
  - the person is crippled / there is a crippled person

In some, there is clear semantic specialization:

- **imil w-arorɔŋ**
  - goat  C-grey_and_brown
  - the goat is grey and brown

- **pʊnil p-a torɔŋ**
  - snake  C-COP  snake(sp.)
  - the snake is a torɔŋ
In other adjectives the connexive c-ɔ and a noun can be recognized. Adjectives of this type are similar to normal connexive + noun constructions (see chapter 7.1), but there are differences. In the first place, there are cases with segmental or tonal changes, as in both examples below where the tones of the adjective are not expected on the basis of the composing parts. One also finds semantic specialization in the same examples (the composing nouns function metaphorically):

\[ c-ɔlʊrʁo 'striped' (< c-ɔ + lurʁo 'ears of maize') \]
\[ c-ɔt̪ɛrɛt 'spotted' (< c-ɔ + ɨt̪ɛrɛt 'corn cob') \]

A fundamental syntactic difference between adjectives and constructions of connexive + noun has to do with the restrictor. Connexive + noun constructions are not preceded by the restrictor, but adjectives have the restrictor when used as restrictive attributes. This is the case even though some adjectives that are derived from the connexive and a noun may also lack the restrictor as restrictive attributes. An example of this is c-ɔt̪ɛrɛt 'spotted'. In the example below the restrictor is present, but it could also be absent (second example):

\[ caṭṭak ɾ-c-ɔt̪ɛrɛt  c-ɔkʊt̪ɛtɛtɛ \]
calabash (k.o.) RES-c-spotted c-break:COMPL
the spotted calabash has broken

\[ caṭṭak  c-ɔt̪ɛrɛt  c-ɔkʊt̪ɛtɛtɛ \]
calabash (k.o.) C-spotted c-break:COMPL
the spotted calabash has broken

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

However, like other adjectives, c-ɔt̪ɛrɛt ‘spotted’ must have the restrictor in order to be used independently:
The adjectives ‘female’ and ‘male’ have different stems for singular/plural, containing singular and plural nouns, though in the case of ‘male’ the composing nouns are not synchronically attested. These adjectives do not allow for attributive use without the restrictor.

\[ C-ɔpərí (SG)/C-ɑɑrí (PL) \text{ ‘female’} (\text{<} C-ɔ + \text{parí ‘wife’}/ C-ɔ + \text{arí ‘wives’}) \]
\[ C-ɔcʊra (SG)/C-ɔmʊra (PL) \text{ ‘male’} (\text{<} C-ɔ + *cʊra / C-ɔ + *mʊra) \]

Two examples:

\[ ċamələ ʃ-t-ɔpərí \]
\[ camel \quad \text{RES-C-female.SG} \]
\[ a \text{ female camel} \]

\[ łamələ ʃ-l-ɑɑrí \]
\[ camels \quad \text{RES-C-female.PL} \]
\[ female camels \]

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

\[ pʊl ʃ-p-ɔpərí ʃ-p-a \text{ parí} \]
\[ person \quad \text{RES-C-female.SG} \quad \text{RES-C-COP} \quad \text{wife} \]
\[ the \text{ woman who is a wife} \]

10.2.5. Adverbial origins

One example of derivation of an adjective from an adverbial was mentioned earlier: C-íppappat ‘light’. Two others that contain C-á ‘be’ and an adverb are:
c-acokckokak ‘fast’ (< c-á + ekckokak ‘quickly’)
c-akokkukok ‘fast’ (< c-á + kokkukok ‘quickly’)

10.2.6. Singular and plural forms

Some adjectives have different forms for singular and plural. ‘Male’ and ‘female’, which are based on singular vs. plural nouns, were mentioned above. A few adjectives obligatorily occur in (partial) reduplicated form when modifying a noun which refers to a plural entity. In the case of ‘big’ the final consonant does not participate in the reduplication; in the case of ‘small’, the first part has a changed final vowel. For this reason, I regard the first part as the reduplicated part. Note also that in ‘big’ and ‘small’, the reduplication can involve or not involve the concord. In the case of ‘long, tall, deep’, the concord always participates in the reduplication. In analogy to the other adjectives, I regard the first part here as the reduplicated part.

c-qrtik / c-ittik-ittik or c-ittitiittik ‘big’
c-ittik / c-ittitiittik or c-ittitiittik ‘big’
c-ottik / c-ottitiottik or c-ottitiottik ‘small’,
   or: c-ottitiottik / c-ottitiottik or c-ottitiottik ‘small’
c-ukwit / C-ukwit-c-ukwit ‘long, tall, deep’

Some examples follow here.

**man** 1-m-ittik
room  RES-c-big
a big room

**kamañ** 1-k-ittiti-ittik / 1-k-ittiti-ittik
rooms  RES-c-plr~c-big / RES-c-plr~big
big rooms

**pɔŋak** 1-p-ittiti-p-ittiti / 1-p-ittiti-p-ittiti
group_of_people RES-c-plr~c-big / RES-c-plr~big
a group of adults (a group of people who are big)
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**karî**  ♂-k-ûkwît
nail  RES-C-long

a long nail

**kûra**  ♂-k-ûkwîk~k-ûkwît
trees  RES-C-PLR~C-long

tall trees

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

**t-ôkôrûnño  áîrî  w-ûkwîr~ûkwît  ţ-ôkîtak**
NOM-let  nails  C-PLR~(C)-long  C-bad

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

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

**c-ôttê** ‘small, little, young’ and c-ôttê, and their reduplications, are alternative forms. The form with t is used in case of t-concord (first example below), or when the preceding qualified noun contains a t in non-initial position (second example below). The forms with t and tt are both possible in case of l-concord or in case of the preceding qualified noun containing an l in non-initial position. In other cases the forms with tt tend to be used.

**tûn**  t-ôttê
onion  C-small

the onion is small

**naţa**  n-ôttô~ôttê
leaves  C-PLR~small

the leaves are small

The modifier of plural nouns c-ârran ‘young’ is used with living creatures:
CHAPTER 10

appendîna  w-årran
groundnuts  c-young
the groundnuts are young/small (they are still on the plant, not yet fully grown)

ɲʊkol  n-årran
children  c-young
the children are young/small

When the children are small-sized for their age c-ɔttó-ɔttê or c-oTTó-ɔTTê is used:

ɲʊkol  n-ɔttó-ɔttê
children  c-plr-small
the children are (too) small (suggesting they do not get good food, or not enough)

It is not impossible to use c-årran ‘young’ outside of its normal domain:

mərîk  m-årran
stones  c-young
the stones are small (elic.)

Interestingly, the singular forms c-əřîk ‘big’, and c-ɔttê and c-oTTê ‘small’ can also be used in combination with a plural noun, but then take on quantifying instead of dimensional meaning. c-əřîk then expresses ‘many’ or ‘a lot’; c-ɔttê and c-oTTê then expresses ‘few’:

ul  w-əřîk
people  c-big
the people are many

mârî  m-ɔttê
days  c-small
a few days

C-ɔTTê (c-oTTê) also takes on quantifying meaning in combination with a mass noun, namely as ‘a little’:
...the sauce is (too) little

Reduplication of ‘small’, ‘big’ and ‘long’ (or a subset of these) in case of modification of a plural noun also occurs in some other languages from the Talodi and Heiban groups, including Tocho, Dengebu and Jomang (Schadeberg 1981b, p. 20, 32, 38, 132, 148) as well as Ebang (Schadeberg 1981a p. 23, 47) and Otoro (Schadeberg 2009, p. 202). The use of the non-reduplicated dimensional adjective as a quantifier of plural nouns, too, is found in other Talodi and Heiban languages. Schadeberg (1981b) reports ‘small’/‘few’ for Ngile, Dengebu and Tocho (p. 148), and ‘big’/‘many’ for Dengebu (p. 132). Stevenson mentions ‘small’/‘few’ in Otoro (Schadeberg 2009, p. 202).

10.2.7. Intensified forms

Some adjectives have a counterpart with (partial) reduplication and/or an added geminate expressing intensification. In the first and second example below it is unclear in which direction the reduplication has gone. The third and fourth examples are cases of partial reduplication occurring to the left of the root; the fifth has an added geminate to the right of the root. The sixth has an added geminate to the right of the root as well as a changed ending.

C-ɔpɔn ‘bitter’ vs. C-ɔ-pɔm-pɔn ‘very bitter’
C-ɪcc ‘green’ vs. C-ɪcc-ɪcc ‘very green’
C-ʊt̪ʊt̪ ‘short’ vs. C-ʊt̪ʊ-ʊt̪ʊt̪ or C-ʊt̪ʊ-ʊt̪ʊt̪ ‘very short’
C-ʊpʊrɛ ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’ vs. C-ʊ-ʊpʊ-ʊrɛ ‘very clean (in spiritual sense), holy’
C-ɔkitak ‘very bad’ vs. C-ɔkitɛtɛtɛk ‘very bad’
C-ɔparst ‘good’ vs. C-ɔpɔr-ɔttɛrɛ or C-ɔp-ɔrrɛ ‘very good, very nice’

Certain colour adjectives co-occur with a dedicated cognate adverb that intensifies their meaning. These adverbs have the adverbial morphology of gemination of the first consonant of the stem,
preceded by the vowel ɪ (see 17.1). The intensifying adverbials tend to fuse with the adjective to an intensified adjective. Some examples:

- c-ɔɲ 'black' vs. c-ɔɲ ɪɲɲ or c-ɔɲɲɲ 'very black'
- c-ipɒk 'white' vs. c-ipʊk ɪppʊk or c-ipʊkɪppʊk 'very white'
- c-ɔtəlɔ 'grey, yellowish' vs. c-ɔtəlɔ ɪltəlɔ 'very grey, yellow'

See 17.1.4 for examples of ɪɲɲ 'very (black)' and ɪppʊk 'very (white)' modifying a verb.

- c-ɔɽɛ̌ 'clean, stingy' has a different intensified form, which involves reduplication and gemination of ɽ to ll: c-ɔrɪllɪr 'very clean, pure (especially of water)'.

The intensified form of c-ɔɲrə 'smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)' has the adverbial morphology of a reduplicated first stem consonant preceded by the vowel ɪ:

- c-ɔɲrə 'smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)' vs. c-ɪɲrə 'very smooth, soft'

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

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

- c-ɔrɛ ɪtuəŋ or c-ɔrɛttɪəŋ 'very red, very ripe'

10.3. Other ways of expressing spiritual property

Lumun has adjectives in diverse semantic fields, but adjectives — as well as verbs and nouns — in the field of spiritual property or human propensity (including emotions) are virtually lacking. c-ɔrɛ 'clean', which is listed under physical property, can be counted here since it also expresses 'stingy', possibly as an extension of 'clean', as well as some other adjectives which can be used with reference to human behaviour, notably c-ɔpərɔt 'good' and c-əkɪtək 'bad'. Generally,
however, concepts in this field are described rather than expressed by a single word. The expressions for ‘happy’ and ‘angry’ involve a verb and the noun ka ‘body’:

\[ \text{m-p-ôpirá.t} \quad \text{nc-kâ} \]
1-c-become_good:COMPL on-body
I am happy (lit.: I am good on body)

\[ \text{k-k-ôa} \quad \text{kâ} \]
3-c-rise:INCOMPL body
s/he is angry (lit.: s/he rises as to the body)

Some concepts in this field are expressed with c-ônô ‘have’ (or a form of c-ônâ ‘bring, have’) and a noun:

\[ \text{ŋ-kw-ônô} \quad \text{ŋare} \]
2-c-have laziness
you are lazy

\[ \text{c-lôtti} \quad \text{p-ônô} \quad \text{ tôkoŋkôn} \]
PERS-Lôtti c-have trouble_making
Lôtti is a troublemaker

Being stingy can be expressed with the adjective c-ôřê, but also with ‘have’ and the noun nôřê ‘stinginess’:

\[ \text{c-nennî} \quad \text{p-ônô} \quad \text{nôřê} \]
PERS-Nennî c-have stinginess
Nennî is stingy

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

\[ \text{ŋ-kw-ônô} \quad \text{mînâ} \]
2-c-have speed
you are fast
10.4. Numerals and quantifiers

Some numerals consist of a concord and a stem, others have an invariable form. Some invariable numerals are nouns, because they co-occur with modifiers which agree with them; other invariable forms are more difficult to assign to a word class since they do not combine with modifiers. Certain numerals have an adjectival and as well as an invariable form.

10.4.1. Numerals

The numerals ‘one’ up to ‘ten’ have one or more adjectival forms. ‘five’, ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ also also occur as invariable elements. The numerals 1-10 are tonally represented below as in an isolated noun phrase, preceded by an all-low noun, as in papu pulukkû ‘one thing’, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adjectival numeral</th>
<th>Invariable numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>C-ulukkô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>C-ɛɽ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>C-əɽapórôk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>C-ɔĉr̂in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>C-úkúlûk, C-ukulûk</td>
<td>ukulûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>C-ərákcorûk, C-ər̂ápûrûk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>C-ɛ̂-C-əpûrûk, C-ɛ̂ɛpûrûk, C-ɔĉ-C-əpûrûk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>C-ɔ̄mâr̂mâr̂</td>
<td>mâr̂mâr̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>C-ukûllácorûn, C-ukûllácorûn</td>
<td>ukûllácorûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>C-att̂ol</td>
<td>att̂ol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schadeberg (1981b, p. 154) mentions “one hand” as the proto-Talodi expression for ‘five’. He reconstructs the proto-Talodi nouns *tsugwîŋ/*jugwîn ‘hand / hands’ and the numeral *-VllVg ‘one’, in which V stands for “some vowel”. The Lumun expression for ‘one hand’ is okon wulukkû. It can be seen that the invariable ukulûk ‘five’, like the items for ‘five’ in other Talodi languages, finds its origin in “one hand”. The adjectives C-ûkûlûk and C-ukulûk can be
assumed to have developed from C-á + ukulúk (C-úkúlúk), and from the connexive C-ɔ + ukulúk (C-ukulúk).

The word for ‘three’ C-əɽapórok and the words for ‘six’, C-əɽá-kkórök and C-əɽárórök, seem to be related, but it is not clear how exactly. The full form C-éře-C-əɽapórok ‘seven’, which has a repeated concord, and its shortened form C-érəɽapórok are built up as C-two-two-(C-)three. An alternative way of expressing ‘seven’ has a repeated concord as well: C-ɔcra-C-əɽapórok (C-four-C-three).

‘Four’ C-ɔcɔřin and ‘eight’ mərəmor, C-amərəmor seem related through a (unattested) plural noun from the C-/m- class pair, which occurs as a reduplicated form in ‘eight’. C-ɔcɔřin ‘four’ seems to contain the connexive C-ɔ preceding this C-initial noun. The adjectival form of ‘eight’ C-amərəmor contains the Present of ‘be’ C-á. C-ukulláčɔrin ‘nine’ is a compound of ‘five’ and ‘four’.

Four, five, eight and nine find their origins in nouns, but whether or not the invariable variants of five, eight and nine must synchronically be regarded as nouns is less clear, since no examples where they induce concord on a modifier (or verb) were found.

Invariable attul ‘ten’ functions as a noun, since ‘twenty’ can be expressed as attul w-erá (lit.: two tens). Its adjectival form, with initial high tone, appears to contain C-á.

The adjectival and the invariable form do not communicate precisely the same. The adjectival form is used in case of an exact (i.e. precisely counted) number of items. The invariable form does not suggest meticulous counting, and though it is likely to be accurate (the numbers are small) one more or one less would not be impossible:

| ličək márəmor     | ‘(ca.) eight goats’ |
| ličək lamərəmor   | ‘eight goats’       |
| ličək lɔkát márəmor| ‘there were (ca.) eight goats’ |
| ličək lɔkát lámərəmor | ‘there were (precisely) eight goats’ |
The numerals eleven up to nineteen are expressed as additions to ten:

- **attol (c-áttol) ana ikkén cůlůkků** ‘eleven’
- **attol (c-áttol) ana ikkén keřá** ‘twelve’
- **attol (c-áttol) ana ikkén kəɾapórok** ‘thirteen’

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

The word for ‘twenty’, **arríal**, is a noun. It comes from Arabic **riyal** — today the name of the currency of, amongst others, Saudi Arabia— which is itself based on the old Spanish currency **real**. ‘Forty’ is expressed as **arríál w-ɛɾá** (lit.: two twenties).

The Lumun counting system beyond twenty is based on twenties and an additional **aləkaɾǝ** ‘ten’ (not **attol** or **c-áttol**). The origin of **aləkaɾǝ** is unknown.

- **arríal ana áləkaɾǝ** ‘thirty’ (twenty and ten)
- **arríal weɾá** ‘forty’ (two twenties)
- **arríal weɾá ana áləkaɾǝ** ‘fifty’ (two twenties and ten)
- **arríal wəɾapórok** ‘sixty’ (three twenties), etc.

**kaɾ̥ˈar** ‘road’ (plural: **at̥ar** ‘roads’) is used for ‘hundred’, but sometimes also for ‘thousand’.

The format for abstract counting and for counting on the fingers is **PRO-C-numeral** ‘it is one’, ‘they are two’, etc. Counting on the fingers starts with the digital finger of the right hand touching the little finger of the left hand and moving from there to the thumb (1 to 5), and is continued with the digital finger of the left hand moving from the little finger of the right hand to the thumb (6-10). ‘1’ is preceded by pronominal c- and concord c-, the other numbers by pronominal m- and concord m-, referring to **caʔn/maʔn** ‘finger/fingers’. For the numbers up to 19 the adjectival form is used:
Pronominal reference changes when items are counted that are referred to with nouns from other noun classes. In the first clause of the example below, ‘three’ is a numeral modifier of the noun ɲʊkʊl ‘children’. In the second and third clause, the instances of ‘three’ consist of pronominal ɲ- (+ H-tone), referring to ɲʊkʊl ‘children’, and the concord ɲ.

k-kw-ɔnʊ ɲʊkʊl ɲ-ərapʊrʊk
3-c-have children c-three

ɲ-ərapʊrʊk tulluk-ɪ
PRO.C-three only-0

jj ɲ-ərapʊrʊk tullúk
yes PRO.C-three only

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

Adjectival numerals are generally used without the restrictor:

tārʊ t-ônʊ aţər w-ərapʊrʊk ı-ittĩ-ǐttfɪk
Taţo c-have roads c-three RES-(C)-PLR~big

Taţo has three big roads

c-t-m māttāk m-āttul
give:IMP-o1 bowls c-ten

give me ten bowls

It is, however, possible to use the restrictor with an adjectival numeral. Reference is then made to a specific group consisting of that number of items:
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\textbf{ɛt-ɪm mátták ɪ-m-áttol}  
give:IMP-o1 calabashes(k.o.) RES-ten  
give me the ten bowls, give me the group of ten bowls (lit.: give me the bowls which are ten)

The restrictor cannot be combined with a nominal adjective:

\textbf{ɛt-ɪm máttak attol}  
give:IMP-o1 calabashes(k.o.) ten  
give me (ca.) ten bowls  

\textit{*ɛt-ɪm mátták ɪ́-m-átʊl}  
give:IMP-o1 calabashes(k.o.) RES-ten  

Adjectival and invariable numerals can both be used predicatively with a copular verb (‘be’ or ‘become’). For Present TAM the form of ‘be’ is \textbf{C-áik}, not only for adjectival numerals but also for the invariable numerals. Thus, the invariable numerals behave here like adjectives instead of like nouns (in case of nominal behaviour not \textbf{C-áik} but the copula \textbf{C-á} would be used.

\textbf{maṭṭak m-a.ɪk m-áttol}  
calabashes(k.o.) c-be:PR c-ten  
there are ten bowls  

\textbf{maṭṭak m-a.ɪk attol}  
calabashes(k.o.) c-be:PR ten  
there are (ca.) ten bowls  

A specific group of a number of items, with the number expressed by a nominal numeral, can be referred to through a construction with \textbf{C-áik}, preceded by the restrictor:

\textbf{ɛt-ɪm máttak ɪ-m-a.ɪk attol}  
give:IMP-o1 calabashes(k.o.) c-be:PR ten  
give me the (ca.) ten bowls, give me the group of (ca.) ten bowls  

Numerals, like adjectives, can be used as secondary predication (cf. 10.1). In the next example the numeral modifies both the object
noun (mën) and the verbal complex. The example has a concordial numeral, but an invariable numeral would be possible as well:

Kukku is stringing four palm fruits on a stick

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

Numerals can also be used independently. An example follows here. The concord k agrees with kaon ‘bee, honeycomb’.

“please throw to me one (honeycomb) for me!” (App. IV, 87)

10.4.2. at-c-ut, át-c-út and numeral

The associative marker aťtôt (or áťtôt) can be combined with the plural suffix -ṇɔn (cf. chapter 6.8), but also with a numeral. Attachment of a numeral shows that aťtôt/āťtôt involves nominal agreement and can (probably) be analysed as at-c-ut/át-c-út. The associative marker is combined with a numeral in the following way:

or shortened:

t assimilates largely regularly to the following concord, and the resulting (underlyingly) geminated consonants are—as is regular—pronounced without length. When preceded by an all-low noun,
there are two tonal alternatives: at-c-ut and át-c-út, in the latter case there is tone bridge unto the high tone on the numeral:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nukol áŋŋôn-ŋeqá, nukol áŋŋôn-ŋeqá} & \quad \text{‘both children’} \\
\text{nukol áŋŋôn-ŋeqapórok, áŋŋôn-ŋeqapórok} & \quad \text{‘all three’} \\
\text{nukol áŋŋôn-ŋeqeqim, áŋŋôn-ŋeqeqim} & \quad \text{‘all four’} \\
\text{nukol áŋŋôn-ŋeqeqim, áŋŋôn-ŋeqeqim} & \quad \text{‘all five’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

etc.

Some examples with different concords follow here, each time the shortened form is given as well. In isolation kamár ‘trees (sp.)’ and lɔŋk ‘ropes’ have a final high tone, noón ‘digging tools (k.o.)’ a final falling tone.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kamar ák-k-ôk-k-érá} & \quad \text{‘both pamar-trees’} \\
\text{kamar ák-k-érá} & \quad \text{‘both pamar-trees’} \\
\text{lɔŋk ál-l-ôl-l-úkúlúk} & \quad \text{‘all five ropes’} \\
\text{lɔŋk ál-l-úkúlúk} & \quad \text{‘all five ropes’} \\
\text{noón án-n-ôn-n-þeqim} & \quad \text{‘all four tuon-digging tools’} \\
\text{noón án-n-þeqim} & \quad \text{‘all four tuon-digging tools’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

With all concords, at-c-ut gives the expected outcome, except with the concord w. A sequence t-w is expected to be realized as r ([r]), but at-c-ut-c-numeral is realized as a-or-numeral, instead of expected *ar-or-numeral. The shortened form at-c-numeral can, as expected, be realized as ar-numeral before, but also as a-o-numeral:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aŋŋo} & \quad \text{á-û-érá ‘both things’} \quad < \quad \text{á-t-w-ût-w-érá} \quad \text{(not expected)} \\
\text{aŋŋo} & \quad \text{á-û-érá ‘both things’} \quad < \quad \text{á-t-w-érá} \quad \text{(expected)} \\
\text{aŋŋo} & \quad \text{á-û-érá ‘both things’} \quad < \quad \text{á-t-w-ût-w-érá} \quad \text{(not expected)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aŋŋo} & \quad \text{a-or-ŋeqapórōk ‘all three things’} \quad < \quad \text{a-or-ŋeqapórōk} \quad \text{(not expected)} \\
\text{aŋŋo} & \quad \text{a-or-ŋeqapórōk ‘all three things’} \quad < \quad \text{a-or-ŋeqapórōk} \quad \text{(expected)} \\
\text{aŋŋo} & \quad \text{a-o-ŋeqapórōk ‘all three things’} \quad < \quad \text{a-o-ŋeqapórōk} \quad \text{(not expected)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
ADJECTIVES

This raises some doubt whether the underlying form should indeed be analysed as at-c-ut, and not rather as a-c-c-ot. I rejected this analysis because there is only one possible other case of double concord in the language, namely in the variant a-c-c- of the subject focus marker akk- (see 19.1), and which may have developed from ak-c- rather than from double concord.

Use and semantics

at-c-ut-c-numeral (át-c-út-c-numeral) can modify a preceding plural (pro) noun. In such cases it expresses ‘all’ (and in case of two: ‘both’). The notion of ‘added item’ is not so clear here, but there is no doubt that the same formative as used in comitative constructions is involved, as shown further below.

Both children (all two children)

Both of them

At-c-ut-c-numeral (át-c-út-c-numeral) does not convey information about togetherness. In the example below, the persons that were found may have been found together, but also in different places:

I found both of them (in the same place or in different places)

At-c-ut-c-numeral, át-c-út-c-numeral can be used in a comitative construction comparable to the one described in chapter 6.7. In that construction the associative marker attut (or áttút) expresses that one person is added in order to get the final group, attunjñ (or áttunjñ) that more persons are added. In constructions with at-c-ut-c-numeral (át-c-út-c-numeral) the numeral does not express the
number of added persons, the number of people of which the group finally consists. Examples:

\text{apakkọt}:\text{e} \text{ twa} \text{n-át-ṭ-ērā}
\hspace{1cm} \text{return:IMP} \hspace{1cm} \text{home} \hspace{1cm} \text{2A-ASS-C-TWO}

go back home with her! (i.e. being two persons in total: you (Ruth) and Orpah) (Ruth 1:15)

\text{karann}:\text{a} \text{n-ēt} \text{ ə-á-t-ṭ-ērā}
\hspace{1cm} \text{let:IMP-1} \hspace{1cm} \text{12-go:DEPINCOMPL} \hspace{1cm} \text{12-ASS-C-TWO}

let me go with you! (i.e. being two persons in total: I (Ruth) and you (Naomi)) (Ruth 1:16)

\text{ana } \text{ ə-łt} \text{ ə-ōη.ōnt} \text{ ə-kín} \text{ át-ṭ-ērā}
\hspace{1cm} \text{and} \hspace{1cm} \text{PERS-Lot} \hspace{1cm} \text{C-go:PST} \hspace{1cm} \text{PERS-3A} \hspace{1cm} \text{ASS-C-TWO}

and Lot went with him (Genesis 12:4)

10.4.3. Ordinal numbers

There is no morphological process to derive ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers. ‘First’ as an adjective can be expressed in more than one way. The first two expressions below are made up of the connexive \text{c-ə}, a preposition (\text{no- ‘on, at’, \text{tə- ‘up on, up at’}) and a noun. The third expression suggests the same make-up but a noun \text{mōn} is not attested.

\text{c-ə-ōn-kīt} \hspace{1cm} ‘first’ \hspace{1cm} \text{lit.: ‘of up on eyes’}
\text{c-ə-ōn-tōn} \hspace{1cm} ‘first’ \hspace{1cm} \text{lit.: ‘of on mouth’}
\text{c-ə-ōn-mōn} \hspace{1cm} ‘first’ \hspace{1cm} \text{lit.: ‘of on ?’}

All three expressions can be collocated with \text{cař́} ‘time, day’:

\text{cař́ cőrskīt, cař́ cŏntōn, cař́ cŏnsōn} \hspace{1cm} ‘the first time, the first day’

For translating ordinals higher than one, the numerals listed above can be used in different constructions. The first example, which has the restrictor preceding the numeral, presents a translation of ‘the
second day’, the second, which has the numeral in extraposition, of ‘April’, i.e. ‘the fourth month’.

\[ \text{a-l-áka.kat maři i-m-ěrá} \]

and it was the second day (lit.: and it (\(\text{a-l}\) ‘words, matters’) was days which were two) (Genesis 1:8)

\[ \text{ámmá ánık w-aa.t w-šćžín ...} \]

if moons c-come:compl c-four

when the moons/months have reached four (i.e. in April)

10.4.4. Quantifiers

Most quantifiers are adjectives, but some have an invariable form. The adjectival quantifiers, mentioned also in section 10.2.1, are repeated here:

\[ \text{c-_appsōt ‘many’} \]
\[ \text{c-örič ‘many, a lot of’} \]
\[ \text{c-òttë / c-òttë ‘few, a little’} \]
\[ \text{c-ɒrúk ‘only, but’} \]
\[ \text{c-ullúk ‘only, just’} \]
\[ \text{c-arit ‘half, half full’} \]

The following quantifiers have an invariable form (a form which is reminiscent of the shape of certain adverbs, starting with a vowel and a geminate).

\[ \text{appik ‘all, whole’} \]
\[ \text{attel ‘many’} \]

Two examples follow with \text{appik ‘all, whole’}:

\[ \text{nokoł appik n-ež.t} \]

children all c-go:compl

all children have left
and the whole skin came off from the body / and the skin came off from the whole body.

A special case are the items pælɛk/təlɛk ‘alone, different’ (also pərɛk/tərɛk). They function as adjectives, stating a quality of the head noun, but are morphologically different from adjectives, since their only attested forms are pælɛk and təlɛk. Initial p and t do not agree with the noun class of the head noun, as can be seen in the examples below, but agree with its singular or plural reference:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kálam} & & \text{k-əŋ} & & \text{k-a.ik} & & \text{p-əllɛk} \\
\text{pen} & & \text{C-POSS2} & & \text{C-be:PR} & & \text{C-alone} \\
\text{álam} & & \text{w-əŋ} & & \text{w-a.ik} & & \text{t-əllɛk} \\
\text{pens} & & \text{C-POSS2} & & \text{C-be:PR} & & \text{C-alone}
\end{align*}
\]

your pen is different

your pens are different

pælɛk and təlɛk could, on the basis of their morphology, be nouns from the p- and t- noun classes in singular-plural opposition. They do not, however, function like nouns. C-aɪk ‘be’, as in the examples above, cannot be used in equations of nouns. Moreover, pælɛk and təlɛk never function as the subject or object argument of a verb. All in all, pælɛk and təlɛk resemble adjectives more than nouns. Note that initial p- and t- have a parallel in the p-concord of singular (pro)nouns with the persona prefix ɔ- and the t-concord of nouns that are marked with the associative plural marker -ŋɔ́n (see 5.2 and 5.3).

Notes on the use of some quantifiers

c-ullúk ‘only, just’

c-ullúk ‘only, just’ has an invariable adverbial counterpart with initial t: tullúk ‘only, just’. An example with tullúk ‘only, just’ is given in 17.1.4. An example with the adjective c-ullúk follows here:
The monkey only was the one who was near the house (i.e.: it was only the monkey who was near the house)

**C-əрук ‘only, just’**

Like C-уллuk, C-əрук has an invariable adverbial counterpart with initial t: тəрук ‘only, just’. The adverb is typically used together with the conjunction word ana ‘and’, forming the contrasting conjunction word анəрук ‘but’. Adjectival C-əрук is typically used in clauses introduced by anа ‘and’. It conveys the same notion of contrast, but follows the noun that it modifies. Note in the second example below that the verb in the clause introduced by ана is a dependent perfective, however, a (non-dependent) past —which is generally much more common in clauses introduced by ана— would be possible here as well. Alternatively, instead of ана conjunctive ə could be used; the verb will then be a dependent perfective.

**ana əl w-əрук w-ella.kate parın**
and people c-only c-be_absent:PST finally

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

**k-kw-ştı.áté твормпл н-tán a-т-šnek.at átuk**
3-c-send:PST car with-up,on:ABS CONJ-PRO-take:DEPPRV bags

**ana əl w-əрук ɕįkat n-tacók**
and people c-only go:DEPPRV with-legs

s/he sent the car there and it took their bags, but the people (themselves) went on foot

10.5. The adjective C-əрčк ‘some, other’

C-əрčк ‘some, other’ is used for the expression of an unspecified time, place or person (‘some time’, ‘somewhere’, ‘somebody’)
We are the ones who keep the Lumun celebration so that it does not get lost some day.

The goats will eat somebody’s sorghum.

In combination with pap ‘thing’, generally shortened to papţek or paparţek, it expresses an unspecified thing (‘something’) or animal:

The rat did not eat anything.

C-arţek is a fixed part of the opening clause of many stories ‘once upon a time …’ or ‘one day …’. Following this opening clause, the character(s) introduced in the same sentence are not modified with C-arţek:

One day a marten(?) found a squirrel playing in the tree top.

---

59 Underlyingly the verb is: a-ŋ-ŋ-ái a-ŋ-áppōta

60 Described as a furry animal with a hole in the ground. It can be grey or brown and sometimes has white on its back.
As mentioned by Stirtz (2012) c-əรก ‘some, other’ can be used for the introduction of a new character, as in the next example:

caɾi c-ɛ́n a-kəllán k-əรก k-əɽɛ kəɾə́t cik
day c-Dem CONJ-old_woman c-some c-be:COMPL VREF

a-k-əɽɛsacacé-k n.ti ɬ-əeğin
CONJ-PRO-watch:DEP:INCOMPL-03 from in-firewood

that day, some old woman was watching him while she was collecting firewood (fr. written story)

c-əรก cannot be preceded by the restrictor (f-). It can, however, be used independently, as in the earlier given example, which is repeated here. The high-toned a preceding (w)əรก (agreeing with ull ‘persons’) is probably the same pronominal base as found in independent possessors (see 7.3.7), I have therefore given it the same gloss:

á-əรก w-ətí kəɾən l-əkəllácaɾə́n
PROBS-(C-)some c-be:PR where RES-(C-)nine

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

In the example below, c-əรก functions independently without this a. In the chapter on possessor pronouns a comparable example was given of an independent possessor without the pronominal base (‘look at my feet and yours’).

arripe.ɬ wek w-əรก cíc-cénekáti ána w-əรก cíc-cénekáti
make_cross:IMP leg c-some LOC-there_not_far and c-some LOC-there_not_far

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

As shown in the previous example c-əรก … c-əรก expresses ‘one …, the other …’, or ‘some …, other …’. Another example:

ol w-əรก w-ənu ɔ-puɾʊkó-n ŋ-əppó̂t
people c-some c-have PERS-friend-PL c-many

á-əรก w-ənu ɔ-puɾʊkó-n ŋ-əttɛ
PROBS-(C-)some c-have PERS-friend-PL c-little

some people have many friends, others have few friends
10.6. Some remarks on syntax

Adjectives with the restrictor (i.e. adjectives as attributive modifiers) typically come after other modifiers in the noun phrase:

\[
[τοκ \ t-ίν \ έν-τί \ f-τ-όκτακ]_{NP} \ t-όκαρ.\ t \ óκολ \\
\text{dog C-poss1 DEM-C-nearsp RES-C-bad} \ \text{c-bite:compl} \ \text{child}
\]

this bad dog of mine has bitten a child

There can be more than one attributive adjective with restrictor in the noun phrase. No conjunction is used between them:

\[
[τακόρυκ \ r-τ-όττε \ i-τ-ότε]_{NP} \ t-αά.\ t \\
\text{chicken RES-C-small RES-C-red} \ \text{c-come:compl}
\]

the little red hen has come

Attributive adjectives can occur outside the noun phrase, as in the first example below, where \text{ηπάρραν} ‘young’ comes after the verbal predicate, in apposition to \text{ηνόκουλ} ‘children’. In the second example it is positioned within the noun phrase. In both cases, the invariable quantifier \text{άππικ} ‘all’ is positioned outside the noun phrase.

\[
\text{ηνόκουλ } \eta-ονό \ \text{ίττι } \eta-ά.νοττα \ \text{ί-ν-άρραν } \text{άππικ} \\
\text{children C-have that PRO.C-be.killed:plur:incompl RES-C-young} \ \text{ALL}
\]

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

\[
\text{ηνόκουλ } \eta-ν-άρραν \ \eta-ονό \ \text{ίττι } \eta-ά.νοττα \ áppik \\
\text{chickens RES-C-young C-have that PRO.C-be.killed:plur:incompl ALL}
\]

the little children must all be killed

There is a difference in informational value between the sentences. The first states the properties of the children that must be killed (it concerns small children and it concerns all of them), the second refers to an already identified group of children.

Another example is the following. In the text, ‘male’ lacks the restrictor, but it could also be present:
and the Tocho, male and female, came with baskets (fr. written story)

An earlier mentioned example with a numeral placed outside of the noun phrase is the following:

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