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Title: A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan
Issue Date: 2017-09-21
In these nouns, the non-geminated consonant following the first vowel becomes geminated, while the first vowel and the initial consonant of the noun (if present) are deleted. The tone pattern of the resulting word can be different from what is expected on the basis of the composing parts. A list of these nouns, which can also occur in changed form after the prepositional proclitics ɪ-, ʊ-, t- an ṭ-, is provided in chapter 4.4.

7.1.2. Semantics

The connexive expresses a possessor-possessee relationship between two nouns. The first element (X in the formula X C-ɔ-Y) is the possessee, the proclitic connexive is attached to the possessor (Y):

**campal** C-ɔ-pól ɪ-p-ɔparí

stick(k.o.) C-of-person res-c-female

the campal-stick of the woman

**kərttaŋ** k-ɔ-kokkô

knife C-of.PERS-Kukkô

the knife of Kukku

The connexive construction can also express other than possessor relationships between nouns. Some examples follow here.

*part of whole:*

**tacɔk** t-ɔ-parrɔk

legs C-of-chair

legs of a chair
made of, consisting of:
catána  c-ọ-ṭaróma
tassel  c-of-ram
tassel of ram’s hair (lit.: tassel of ram)

for the purpose of:
kurek  k-ọ-ț-ọra  ọttók  ọ-ṭampáŋ
hoe  c-of-NOM-cultivate  in-farming_field  on-flat_open_space
hoe for cultivating in a field on the plains (the ground there is less stony than on the slope of the mountain and requires a different type of hoe)
lai  l-ọ-kéccół		
tamarind  c-of-market
tamarind for the market (i.e. for selling at the market)

occupations:
pol  p-ọ-ọrák
person  c-of-war
warrior, soldier

pol  p-ọ-kamel
person  c-of-hunting_party
hunter

ownership, association:
ol  w-ọ-ницół
people  c-of-goats
the owners of the goats

place where somebody lives:
pol  p-ọ-karọttôm
person  c-of-Khartoum
person from Khartoum
‘child of’ in personal names:

ɔ-lɔtti  lɔ-mətəɾi
PERS-Lɔtti  c-of.PERS-Mətəɾi
Lɔtti (son) of Maɾtəɾi

In these cases the concord p- (the general concord of singular nouns with the persona prefix) is not used. Instead, the name without persona prefix is interpreted as containing a noun class prefix, and agreement is with this noun class prefix (I- in the example above).

Foreign names with an initial sound that is not part of the Lumun inventory of sounds occurring word-initially are not reanalysed as containing a noun class prefix. In such cases the concord η- is used:

ɔ-ɾʊmə  η-ətəɾɨt ‘Rumia (daughter) of Aṭəɾɨt’
ɔ-ɪɒnəc  η-əlemlɨn ‘Younis (son) of Alemin’
ɛɾʊmɨm 52 η-ɔ-ɔməɾ ‘Jeremiah (son) of Umar’

mayı possibly comes from agreement with the noun class prefix η- of a historical noun *ŋʊkəl ‘child’ (today ʊkəl ‘child’). A historical noun *ŋʊkəl is conceivable, since it would give a regular singular-plural pair (*ŋʊkəl/ŋʊkəl). Moreover, words for the young of animals also typically come in this class pair (see chapter 4.3.5).

agent of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ɾ-ɛwa  ɾ-ŋənɨt
NOM-sing  c-of-singer
the singing of the singer

undergoer of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

ɾ-ɛ  ɾ-ətəɾpʊ  w-əɾek (< ɾ-ə + əɾpʊ)
NOM-die  c-of.things  c-some
the dying of some animals

52 The persona prefix ɾ- is regularly elided before e, see chapter 4.10.1.
patient of actions expressed by a verbal noun:

\[
\text{t-̪ɔkkwɔt} \quad \text{t-̪ɑ́tɔ pu w-əɾe}k \quad (< \text{t-̪ɔ} + \text{əɾɔpu})
\]

the killing of some animals

Leaving out the connexive in the example above (with a patient of the action) above gives a result that is still grammatical (see also chapter 4.6.1).

Readings of connexive constructions of the type \(X \text{C}_x-\text{PREP}-Y\) follow here:

\textit{place where somebody lives:}

\[
\text{o}l \quad \text{w-ɔ-}nə-\text{tɔk} \quad \text{p-árr̪ʊ}
\]

the people of Lumun country (lit.: people of on stone of Lumun people)

\(\text{o}l + \text{w-ɔ-} + \text{nɔ-} + \text{pɔtɔk} + \text{p-ɔ-} + \text{arrʊ}\)

\textit{occupation:}

\[
\text{p}u\l \quad \text{p-ɔ-ri-ŋkw̥el} \quad (< \text{p}u\l + \text{pɔ-} + \text{ɾ-} + \text{kɔmel})
\]

person who joins in a hunting party (lit. person of in the hunting party)

\[
\text{o}l \quad \text{w-ɔ-ri-}jм̪ʊn
\]

people hunting porcupines (lit.: people of in porcupines)

\textit{for use in a certain environment:}

\[
\text{kupəɾuŋ} \quad \text{k-ɔ-}nə-\text{əɾ̪i}
\]

bed plank  c-of-on-water

boat
7.1.3. Attributive and predicative use

Connexive constructions often function attributively but can also be used as predicates. The first example below illustrates attributive use, the second predicative use:

\[ \text{kərɛt} \text{ k-ʃ-kkul} \text{ k-ɪɛ} \]
cloth c-of-child c-new
the shirt of the child is new

\[ \text{k-kw-ʃkā.t} \text{ p-ɔ-mɔkənta} \text{ m-ìn} \]
3-C-be:COMPL c-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1
she was (one) of my supporting girls
(i.e. girls that support a man during certain initiation rites: they fetch water, prepare food for guests, accompany the man on his visits, sing and dance)

In a predicative construction, a subject clitic can be attached to the connexive:

\[ \text{ɔ-ʃk} \text{ p-ɔ-mɔkənta} \text{ m-ìn} / \text{k-kw-ʃ-mɔkənta} \text{ m-ìn} \]
PERS-3 c-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1 3-C-of-supporting_girls C-POSS1
she is (one) of my supporting girls

\[ \text{ɔ-ʃk} \text{ p-ɔ-karɔṭtɒm} / \text{k-kw-ʃ-karɔṭtɒm} \]
PERS-3 c-of-Khartoum 3-C-of-Khartoum
s/he is from Khartoum

7.1.4. Independent use of a connexive construction

A connexive + noun can be used independently. In the first example, the concord ɲ- in ɲ-ʃ-tuuli agrees with ɲaɾi ‘water’; in the second example, the concord k- in k-ʃ-ceceɛ agrees with kālam ‘pen’.
and his water (i.e. of the cat) had become cold, but hyena’s (water) was still very hot (fr. written story)

your pen is different from Cecece’s (pen) (lit.: your pen is alone and Cecece’s (pen) is alone)

The following phrase allows for two interpretations. It can refer to the marriage of Kukku and the marriage of Kakka (two different marriages), but also to their marriage to each other, because in case of coordinated “possessors” the connexive is used on both:

the marriage of Kokku and the one of Kakka (the marriage of Kokku and Kakka)

7.2. The absolute connexive

There is also an absolute form of the connexive: c-ën. The absolute connexive is homonymous with the demonstrative with anaphoric reference c-ën ‘that’. It seems likely that both contain the pronominal base en (for en and c-ën ‘that’, see chapter 8). Possibly, the absolute connexive c-ën historically derives from the Connexive c-ɔ + en ‘of that’.

The absolute connexive is used in relativized possessor phrases:

\[ \text{a-ọ́n}^{53} \, \text{ŋ-ọ́n} \, \text{ŋ-ɔká.\,t} \, \text{ŋ-ɛ́nā.\,t} \, \text{ana} \]

\[ \text{ŋ-ọ́-tʊ̆} \, \text{ŋ-ɔká.\,t} \, \text{ŋ-àrọ́tʊ̆k} \, \text{ŋ-áŋkọ́} \, \text{ɪppa} \]

\[ \text{kálam} \, \text{k-aŋ} \, \text{k-a.\,ik} \, \text{p-ɔllěk} \]

\[ \text{ana k-ọ-cc̥c̥c̥e} \, \text{k-á.\,ik} \, \text{p-ɔllěk} \]

\[ \text{t̪ɪ̌pa} \, \text{t-ɔ-kokkō} \, \text{ana t-ọ-kakka} \]

\[ \text{t̪ɪ̌pa t-ɔ-kokkō ana t-ọ-kakka} \]

\[ \text{t̪ɪ̌pa t-ɔ-kokkō ana t-ọ-kakka} \]

\[ \text{t̪ɪ̌pa t-ɔ-kokkō ana t-ọ-kakka} \]

\[ \text{t̪ɪ̌pa t-ɔ-kokkō ana t-ọ-kakka} \]

\[ \text{t̪ɪ̌pa t-ɔ-kokkō ana t-ọ-kakka} \]

\[ \text{t̪ɪ̌pa t-ɔ-kokkō ana t-ọ-kakka} \]
the chicken of which I ate the liver

It is also used for pronominal reference to non-humans in possessor role, irrespective of whether they are singular or plural. In such cases it translates as ‘its’ (or ‘their’):

you will find a house where little children are writing (a school). Its door opens to where the sun comes up (the east)

and the river will stink and even the Egyptians will not drink its water (Exodus 7:18)

eat the groundnuts with their shells!

There are eight possessor pronouns corresponding to the eight personal pronouns. The possessor pronouns start with a concord that agrees with the noun that they modify. In the list below, the full subject personal pronouns are given between parentheses for comparison. How the 1 and 2 possessor pronouns should tonally be (best) represented is not clear.
There is little indication that the connexive is a formative of the personal pronouns.

### 7.3.1. Tone

The possessor pronouns are largely tonally regular, but the tonal behaviour of 'my' and 'your (sg)', as well as of 'our (of you (sg) and me)' is not fully compatible with any of the tones. In prepausal position modifying an all-low noun or a noun with a final falling tone, 'my' and 'your (sg)' can be realized with a rising tone or with a low tone, apparently in free variation, which is compatible with a rising tone. For example: **palla pin** 'my cat' and **palla pín** 'my cat' (**palla** 'cat' is all-low). After a high or rising tone, 'my' and 'your (sg)' are realized with a falling tone, which could point at a low tone, for example: **tōk tín** 'my dog' (**tōk** 'dog' has a rising tone). There are, furthermore, instances of 'my' and 'your (sg)' that have a high tone in prepausal position, which is not compatible with a low tone, nor with a rising tone, only with a high tone. An example is provided in 7.3.3. The possessor pronoun functions predicatively there. Throughout the book some other examples can be found of prepausal predicative 1 and 2sg possessor pronouns with a high tone, however, cases with low tone are attested as well.

The 12 possessor pronoun is realized with a (final) low tone in prepausal position. In context, however, it receives a high tone from a preceding item on its first mora and brings a high tone to the next item, which points to an underlying L pattern with floating high tone:

| 1 | c-ín, c-ìn, c-ín | ‘my’ | (ɔ̀n) |
| 12 | c-ɔrīt + H | ‘our (of you (sg) and me)’ | (ɔrīt) |
| 2 | c-āŋ, c-ān, c-āŋ | ‘your (sg)’ | (ɔōŋ) |
| 3 | c-ōŋ | ‘his/her’ | (ɔsk) |
| 1A | c-īn | ‘our (excl)’ | (ɔnjn) |
| 12A | c-ɔnnón | ‘our (incl)’ | (ɔrón/ɔrɔn) |
| 2A | c-ɔn | ‘your (pl)’ | (ɔnɔn) |
| 3A | c-ɛn | ‘their’ | (ɔkîn) |
Examples of the possessor pronouns preceded by possessee nouns with various tones follow here.

Possessor pronouns preceded by low and falling tones: ṇare ‘work’ and koṭōt ‘lip, side’

1  ṇare ṇ-in/ ṇ-in ‘my work’  koṭōt k-in/k-in ‘my lip’
12 ṇare ṇ-ōrt ‘our work’  koṭōt k-ōrt ‘our lip’
2  ṇare ṇ-āŋ/p-āŋ ‘your work’  koṭōt k-āŋ/k-āŋ ‘your lip’
3  ṇare ṇ-oṅ ‘his/her work’  koṭōt k-oṅ ‘his/her lip’
1A ṇare ṇ-in ‘our work’  koṭōt k-in ‘our lip’
12A ṇare ṇ-ōnnān ‘our work’  koṭōt k-ōnnān ‘our lip’
2A ṇare ṇ-ōn ‘your work’  koṭōt k-ōn ‘your lip’
3A ṇare ṇ-ēn ‘their work’  koṭōt k-ēn ‘their lip’

Possessor pronouns preceded by high and rising tones: tōrāk ‘rope’ and ṇari ‘water’:

1  tōrāk t-in ‘my rope’  ṇari ṇ-in ‘my water’
12 tōrāk t-ōrt ‘our rope’  ṇari ṇ-ōrt ‘our water’
2  tōrāk t-āŋ ‘your rope’  ṇari ṇ-āŋ ‘your water’
3  tōrāk t-oṅ ‘his/her rope’  ṇari ṇ-oṅ ‘his/her water’
1A tōrāk t-in ‘our rope’  ṇari ṇ-in ‘our water’
12A tōrāk t-ōnnān ‘our rope’  ṇari ṇ-ōnnān ‘our water’
2A tōrāk t-ōn ‘your rope’  ṇari ṇ-ōn ‘your water’
3A tōrāk t-ēn ‘their rope’  ṇari ṇ-ēn ‘their water’

Recall that for non-human possessors the absolute connexive c-en is used (see 7.2.), which contrasts tonally with the 3A possessor c-ēn.

ṇare ṇ-en  ‘its work’
kətōt k-ēn  ‘its side’
tōrāk t-ēn  ‘its rope’
ṇari ṇ-ēn  ‘its water’
7.3.2. Morpho-phonology

Phonological effects at the boundary of noun and possessor are regular. This means that in the examples above with ṇare the concord ṇ of the possessor is deleted, and in the examples with ṭɔɾɔk final k fully assimilates to the concord ṭ of the possessor. Incidentally, however, the process of assimilation deviates from what is expected. This is the case with the items páŋ ‘item of the same kind’ and ṭpáŋ ‘sibling’. Compare the first (irregular) example with ṭpáŋ ‘sibling’ with the second (regular) example with parantáŋ ‘gourd’. After ṭpáŋ (and páŋ) the concord p changes to k:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṭpáŋkín} & \quad \text{‘my sibling’} \\
\text{parantáŋ pín} & \quad \text{‘my gourd’} \quad [\text{parandam bín}]
\end{align*}
\]

7.3.3. Possessor pronouns as predicates

Like the connexive construction, possessor pronouns can function as predicates. In the example below, the predicative 1SG possessor pronoun in prepausal position is represented with a high tone. It is, however, also possible to realize it with a low tone (without tonal changes in the sentence otherwise).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṭuk} & \quad \text{ém-ṭ-ī} & \quad \text{ṭ-ā.ká} & \quad \text{ṭ-īn} \\
\text{dog} & \quad \text{DEM-C-NEARSP} & \quad \text{C-BE:INCOMPL} & \quad \text{C-POSS1}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{this dog will be mine}

Compare also the following two examples. The last element functions as the predicate:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pəṭək} & \quad \text{p-īn} & \quad \text{čm-p-ī} \\
\text{stone} & \quad \text{C-POSS1} & \quad \text{DEM-C-NEARSP}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{my country is this one (for example while pointing at a country on a map)}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pəṭək} & \quad \text{čm-p-ī} & \quad \text{p-īn} \\
\text{stone} & \quad \text{DEM-C-NEARSP} & \quad \text{C-POSS1}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{this country is mine}
7.3.4. Reference

The personal possessor pronouns refer to humans: speech participants and third persons. With respect to third persons there is no difference between reference to nouns with the persona prefix and common nouns referring to humans. In the following example, kén ‘their’ refers to two human beings denoted by common nouns: ʊkʊl ‘child’ and pari pàkkʊl ‘the wife of the child’. The sentences come from a description of main events in the life of a boy/man.

ɔ-ţţán  p-ɔ-kkʊl  ana  ʊkʊl
  PERS-father  C-of-child  and  child

t-ʊnɪne  pari  p-ɔ-kkʊl  kʊmən  k-én
  C-build_for:INCOMPL  wife  C-of-child  rooms  C-POS3A

the father of the boy and the boy will build for the boy’s (future) wife their (the boy and his wife’s) house (fr. written description)

Animal characters in stories are referred to by personal possessor pronouns. An example from a story called ʧʊlɪ  ana  pólla ‘the hyena and the cat’:

...  a-ʧʊlɪ  ɔcčɪkat  ɪn  l-ʊŋ
  CONJ-hyena  hear:DEPPRFV  words  C-POS3

and the hyena listened to his (the cat’s) words (fr. written story)

7.3.5. Semantics

The personal possessor pronouns typically express possession, including of body parts. Kinship and relational terms are also typically used in combination with a possessor pronoun. For an overview of these terms, see chapter 4, and also Smits (2012). It is recalled here that the terms for father and mother (as well as for maternal uncle) have different forms for (kinship) relations with a first person, a second person and a third person. The terms indicating a kinship relation with a third person, for example ɔtţán ‘(his, her) father’, can be modified by a connexive construction which states the related person:
the father of Nennī

It is possible to add a plural possessor pronoun to a kinship term that is inherently possessed:

our(INCL) father (i.e. father of me and other people who are not my siblings (typically said about God))

Occasionally the personal possessor pronouns also express other semantic relations, as in the following example:

If you are afraid of him (lit. if you have his fear), you go under that tree over there (‘The story of the jackal’)

The non-human possessor pronoun often expresses a part-whole relationship, as in the examples above (‘the door of the house’, ‘the water of the river’).

7.3.6. Unexpressed possessors

Possessors of body parts can be unexpressed when they can be easily understood from the context:

I am washing my feet

stretch out your hand!
A person’s stick is typically an item which is not shared with other people. Therefore there is no problem in identifying its possessor in the next example:

\[
\text{ant-əkwárikat} \quad \text{na} \quad ə-kw-ənakkét.ə \quad \text{kúrrọŋ}
\]

Please try to remember where you have put your stick

It is possible, though not very common, to explicitly mention the possessor of a body part, even though the possessor is perfectly clear:

\[
\text{lọn} \quad \text{el-l-ị} \quad \text{a-kollán} \quad \text{k-ọká.tı} \quad \text{a-k-ọret}
\]

Please try to remember where you have put your stick

these words, the old woman was saying them in her heart (fr. written story)

A construction with ka ‘body’ and a co-referent possessor pronoun is automatically interpreted as a reflexive (see 6.9); when the possessor pronoun is absent, ka more specifically refers to the body. The body in the second example below is the own body. Compare:

\[
\text{a-kw-ọtup.at} \quad \text{ká} \quad \text{k-ọŋ} \quad \text{í-láí} \quad \text{i-l-ọrrákọ.t}
\]

and s/he painted himself/herself with pounded tamarind

\[
\text{a-kw-ọtup.at} \quad \text{ká} \quad \text{l-lai} \quad \text{i-l-ọrrákọ.t}
\]

and s/he painted his/her body with pounded tamarind

When the person who does the painting and the owner of the body are not co-referential, the owner is expressed as object of the verb, followed by ka ‘body’. In this construction, there is no possessor pronoun.\(^{54}\)

\(^{54}\) Constructions of this type, which can be called “possessor raising” are described in chapter 14.
a-kw-ṣup.at-ǭk ka l-lai r-l-arrako.t
CONJ-3-smear:DEPPRV-03 body with-tamarind RES-c-be.pushed:COMPL.

and s/he, painted his/her, body with pounded tamarind

7.3.7. Independent possessor pronouns

The possessor pronouns have independent forms. These forms consist of a pronominal base a, realized with a high tone, a concord expressing agreement with the pronominalized possessed noun, and the possessor:

á-C-POSS

The forms below refer, for example, to kálam ‘pen’:

á-k-īn á-k-īn k-əparōt ‘mine is good’
á-k-ŋj á-k-ŋj k-əparōt ‘yours (SG) is good’
á-k-ǭŋj á-k-ǭŋj k-əparōt ‘his/hers is good’
á-k-ərit á-k-ərit k-əparōt ‘ours (of you SG and me) is good’
á-k-ɨn á-k-ɨn k-əparōt ‘ours (EXCL) is good’
á-k-ənnôŋn á-k-ənnôŋn k-əparōt ‘ours (INCL) is good’
á-k-ôn á-k-ôn k-əparōt ‘yours (PL) is good’
á-k-ən á-k-ən k-əparōt ‘theirs is good’

In the first example below, the concord of the independent possessor pronoun agrees with kálam ‘pen’. In the next two, the concord ŋ agrees with (earlier mentioned) ɲukul ‘children’.

kálam k-ŋj k-a.Ik p-allék
pen C-POSS2 C-be:PR C-alone

ana á-k-īn k-a.Ik p-allék
and PROB-C-POSS1 C-be:PR C-alone

your pen is different from mine (lit.: your pen is alone and mine is alone)

ana á-ŋ-ŋj ŋ-a.Ik karen
and PROB-C-POSS2 C-be:PR where

and where are yours?!
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á₃-ᵣ₃-in  ḋ₃-ᵣ₃-ellâ
PROB-C-POSS1  C-be_absent:INCOMPL

mine are lacking (i.e. I do not have children)

A last example has á-ᵣ₃-ŋ (< á-w-ᵣ₃-ŋ), which agrees with the earlier mentioned apê ‘fish (PL)’ (tonally realized here as ápe55).

åk.kw.î  î-p-á.nôkâ  lôᵣ₃k  l-in  c-₃k  p-á.ᵣwô  ápe
the_one  RES-C-take:INCOMPL  ropes  C-POSS1  PERS-3  C-kill.PLUR:INCOMPL  fish(PL)
ana  k-kw-á.nân-in  cî.tô.kît
and  3-c-bring_for:INCOMPL-o1  firstly
á mâ  ánt-ᵣû₃m₃n-₃k  á-ᵣ₃-ŋ
and  can:DEPINCOMPL-take_for:DEPINCOMPL-o3  PROBS-(C-)-POSS3

who takes my ropes will catch fish, and he must bring them to me first (lit. up at eyes) and then he can take his (i.e. the fish that remain after the owner of the rope has been given his share of the fish) (fr. written story)

Independent possessor pronouns can be preceded by a prepositional proclitic. The independent demonstrative in the example below refers to a kaᵣòk ‘goatskin bag’.

maître  m-a.îk  r-₃-ᵣ₃-in-₁
beans  C-be:PR  in-PROB-C-POSS1-Q

are the beans in mine?

However, C-POSS allows for independent use as well:

ant-ᵣôk tàːk  t-ᵣ₃n  ana  t-ᵣ₃-ŋ
can:DEPINCOMPL-look:INCOMPL  legs  C-POSS1  and  C-POSS2
please look at my feet and yours (fr. written dialogue)

7.3.8. ‘My home’, ‘our home’, etc.: irregular forms

‘My home’, ‘your home’, etc. are expressed through fixed collocations of the locative noun tuân ‘(at, to) home’ followed by a word that

55 The realization ápe (its own tones are apê) deviates from the tone rules. I have no explanation for this.
contains the prepositional proclitic ʈ- ‘(down) at’ and a pronominal possessor, as well as a formative an. an is most likely a remnant of a noun, perhaps of karən ‘place’. Specific forms collocating with tuan are attested for all personal possessors pronoun, except c-ɔrɪt: ‘our home’ (i.e. of you and me) is just tuan t-ɔrɪt.

The list with the other possessors follows here, together with alternative expressions using the noun karən ‘place’. The forms with karən ‘place’ are not commonly used.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tuan t-an-ιn} & \quad \text{‘my home’} \\
\text{tuan ʈ-kaɾən kɪn} & \quad \text{‘the home at my place’} \\
\text{tuan t-an-әŋ} & \quad \text{‘your home’} \\
\text{tuan ʈ-kaɾən kaŋ} & \quad \text{‘the home at your place’} \\
\text{tuan t-an-әŋ} & \quad \text{‘his/her home’} \\
\text{tuan ʈ-kaɾən kʊŋ} & \quad \text{‘the home at his/her place’} \\
\text{tuan t-en-ιn} & \quad \text{‘our (1A) home’} \\
\text{tuan ʈ-kaɾən kɪn} & \quad \text{‘the home at our (1A) place’} \\
\text{tuan t-an-әnәn} & \quad \text{‘our (12A) home’} \\
\text{tuan ʈ kaɾən k-әnәn} & \quad \text{‘the home at our (12A) place’} \\
\text{tuan t-an-әn} & \quad \text{‘your (PL) home’} \\
\text{tuan ʈ kaɾən k-әn} & \quad \text{‘the home at your place’} \\
\text{tuan t-an-әn} & \quad \text{‘their home’} \\
\text{tuan ʈ-kaɾən k-әn} & \quad \text{‘the home at their place’}
\end{align*}
\]

7.3.9. Position in the noun phrase

Attributive possessor pronouns generally precede other modifiers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pàtək p-ιn} & \quad \text{p-ɠ-маɾɔt} \\
\text{stone} & \quad \text{c-poss1} & \quad \text{c-of-long_ago} \\
\text{my country of long ago}
\end{align*}
\]
**Connexive and Possessor Pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>papo p-in ém-p-í í-p-á n-skorrō n.tít</strong></td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>C-POSS1</td>
<td>DEM-C-NEARSP</td>
<td>RES-C-COP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuan t.an-īn</strong></td>
<td>home</td>
<td>at.place-POSS1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This thing of mine from which I write in my house (refers to the laptop of the speaker, 'writing from' refers in this context to the sending of messages, for example through e-mail)

**c ulluk** 'only' is a modifier that can follow but also precede the possessor pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-part p-in p-ulluk á-p-p-ina lón ēl-l-ī</strong></td>
<td>PERS-wife</td>
<td>C-POSS1</td>
<td>C-only</td>
<td>FOC-C-C-KNOW:INCOMPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only my wife knows these things

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>c-part p-ulluk p-īn a-p-p-ina lón ēl-l-ī</strong></td>
<td>PERS-wife</td>
<td>C-only</td>
<td>C-POSS1</td>
<td>FOC-C-C-KNOW:INCOMPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only my wife knows these things
8. Demonstratives

In this chapter I present the three spatial demonstratives of Lumun, as well as demonstrative c-en and the manner adjective c-ɛɛná ‘such, like this/that’. They all share the pronominal base en as a formative.

The spatial demonstratives consist of the pronominal base en (or c-en) and a space-deictic suffixal element that agrees with the head noun. They can be used gesturally, but also anaphorically. Also in the latter case a deictic notion is involved. Demonstrative c-en, without space-deictic element, functions anaphorically; it does not allow for a deictic interpretation. For this reason I call it an anaphoric demonstrative. The pronominal base en, however, is not intrinsically anaphoric, since it is also part of the spatial demonstratives, which can be used gesturally. I gloss the formative en in the demonstratives as DEM (demonstrative).

en (or c-en) is (most probably) also a formative of the manner-deictic adjective c-ɛɛná ‘such, like this/that’ (see 8.2.5). c-en is furthermore part of ɔkkwɛn ‘who’ (< ɔɔk ‘s/he’ + p-en) and ɛmpɛn ‘what’ (< ɛn ‘what’ + p-en), which are discussed in 20.1.1 and 20.1.2.

All demonstratives and also c-ɛɛná can function as nominal modifiers but also independently.

8.1. The spatial demonstratives

The spatial demonstratives consist of the demonstrative pronominal base en, a concord and a deictic suffix. These are the spatial demonstratives:

en-c-f ‘this, these’: near the speaker
en-c-ərik ‘this, that, these, those’: near the addressee
en-c-əqɛ ‘that, those’: away from the speaker and the addressee

The spatial demonstratives can have two concords:
C-en-C-ı ‘this, these’: near the speaker
C-en-C-əřık ‘this, that, these, those’: near the addressee
C-en-C-əřê ‘that, those’: away from the speaker and the addressee

As modifiers, the spatial demonstratives with both an initial and a word-medial concord seem to be rarely used. According to my consultant (JS), especially elderly people may (still) employ them this way. He gave the following sentence as a case in which they might use pempi instead of empî:

pol p-em-p-ı p-ş-káró-tâ
person C-DEM-C-NEARSP C-of-where-QW

where does this person come from?

The forms with two concords are more commonly used as independent demonstrative pronouns. Whereas the form with one concord functioning independently tends to imply a contrast with another entity of the same type, the independent demonstrative with two concords signals the absence of such a contrast (this will be exemplified below). In the example with pempi given above, there is no contrast with another man. For many speakers, the modifying spatial demonstratives have lost this opposition, and it seems that, as modifiers, the forms with two concords are on their way to disappear.

The three deictic suffixes are related to the deictic verbs (chapter 12.8), as shown in table 42:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deictic suffix</th>
<th>deictic verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ı ‘near-speaker’</td>
<td>C-ıef ‘be here (near speaker)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-əřık ‘near-addressee’</td>
<td>C-érık ‘be here, be there (near addressee)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-əřê ‘distal’</td>
<td>C-érê ‘be there (away from both speaker and addressee)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.1.1. Phonological realizations and tone

In table 43 I give examples of the three spatial demonstratives preceded by nouns from different noun classes and with different tone patterns. The n before the concord assimilates to the concord for place of articulation; it fully assimilates when the concord is l. The concord w, on the other hand, assimilates to the preceding nasal. Resulting geminated nasals and geminated l can be pronounced with some length.

Tonally, the spatial demonstratives display specific behaviour which does not go against the tone rules, but is also not in full detail predicted by them (recall that neither the occurrence of a high tone on a first mora due to high tone shift, nor the occurrence of tone bridge is phonologically predictable). All spatial demonstratives get a high tone on their first mora in case of a preceding high or rising tone. This includes en-c-ı, which itself has a high tone on its second mora. Furthermore, there is tone bridge between a noun which, in isolation, has a final falling tone and en-c-ı or en-c-ǝrɛ, but not between a noun with a final falling tone and en-c-ǝrik.

Table 43 Nouns and demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>en-c-ı near speaker</th>
<th>en-c-ǝrik near addressee</th>
<th>en-c-ǝrɛ distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pǝrrǝk ‘chair’</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pǝrrǝk empí</td>
<td>pǝrrǝk emparik</td>
<td>pǝrrǝk emparɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tǝk ‘dog’</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tǝk ĕntí</td>
<td>tǝk ĕntarik</td>
<td>tǝk ĕntarɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toppōn ‘mushroom’ (k.o.)</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>toppōn ĕntí</td>
<td>toppōn ĕntarik</td>
<td>toppōn ĕntarɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cǝpɔk ‘arrow’</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>cǝpɔk ĕncí</td>
<td>cǝpɔk enmarik</td>
<td>cǝpɔk ɛncarɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka ‘body, corpse’</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ka ɛnkí</td>
<td>ka ɛnkǝrik</td>
<td>ka ɛnkǝrɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məṭṭak ‘calabashes’ (k.o.)</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>məṭṭak emmí</td>
<td>məṭṭak emmarik</td>
<td>məṭṭak emmarɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.1.2. Morpho-phonological aspects

In connected speech, the final vowel of a preceding noun is deleted before the initial ɛ of the demonstrative, except when the noun is monomoraic (last example below):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>naṭam ‘books’</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>naṭam ṭɛnɪ</th>
<th>naṭam ṭɛnərɪk</th>
<th>naṭam ṭɛnərɛ́</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naṭṭar ‘monkeys (sp.)’</td>
<td>ṇn</td>
<td>naṭṭar ɛnɪ</td>
<td>naṭṭar ɛnərɪk</td>
<td>naṭṭar ɛnərɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naṭṭɔkkɔl ‘calabash (k.o.)’</td>
<td>ẹŋ</td>
<td>naṭṭɔkkɔl ɛŋ</td>
<td>naṭṭɔkkɔl ɛŋərɪk</td>
<td>naṭṭɔkkɔl ɛŋərɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɔk ‘dogs’</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lɔk ɛllɪ</td>
<td>lɔk ɛllərɪk</td>
<td>lɔk ɛllərɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkol ‘child’</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ɔkol ɛnnɪ</td>
<td>ɔkol ɛnnərɪk</td>
<td>ɔkol ɛnnərɛ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.3. Use of the spatial demonstrative modifiers

Deictic use of the spatial demonstrative modifiers may be accompanied by a pointing gesture, but not necessarily so. They can also be used anaphorically or cataphorically, in which case some deictic notion will also be present (otherwise, for anaphoric reference, c-ɛn is used). A storyteller can “play” with the deictic centre to make his story become more alive: he can change it from one participant to another, but he can also sometimes put it with himself or with the audience. Spatial demonstratives can also modify independent personal pronouns. Some examples of use of the spatial demonstratives as nominal modifiers follow here.

en-c-ɪ ‘near the speaker’:
DEMOnSTRATIVES

t̪ʊk en-t-ı ț-oparıt

dog DEM-C-NEARSP c-good

this dog is good (a dog is sitting next to the speaker, the speaker strokes it)

k-kw-ēréné.t kın lón ĕl-l-ı

3-C-speak_to:COMPL 03A words DEM-C-NEARSP

s/he told them these things (reference to a preceding or following stretch of discourse)

In the next example, the spatial demonstrative modifies the second person singular pronoun:

ant-oparı ń-kw-a.KKOT ńin-ța

car:DEPINCOMPL-say:DEPINCOMPL 2-C-do:INCOMPL what-QW

ț-ʊŋ ĕm-p-ı p-öttê cık

PERS-2 DEM-C-NEARSP c-little VREF

please say what you will do, you (here) who are small (lit.: this you who is small. Implying: you cannot do anything)

en-c-őrik ‘near the addressee’:

ıkké́t-in ārgu en-n-őrik ṛppık

give.PLUR:IMP-O1 things DEM-C-NEARADDR all

give me all those things! (the addressee has things with him/her, the speaker points at them)

The next example is from ‘The story of the jackal’. The leopard and the lion are fighting, and the jackal is trying to direct them towards a trap (a hole in the ground) that he has dug for them. The ‘near addressee’ demonstrative draws the audience into the story: it makes them feel as if they are near that trap.

a-kårın ęŋ-k-őrik r-k-a áləpaccot w-ŋąt.ę ittı

CONJ-place DEM-C-NEARADDR RES-C-COP jackal c-like:COMPL that

w-á.țakkaret kın nán ...

C-make_move_aside:INCOMPL 03A 02:ABS

and that place, to which the jackal wants to make them move, ...
en-c-əřɛ ‘away from both speaker and addressee’ (distal):

ámmá ŋ-kw-şnó nóřė n-a-ák  
if 2-c-have fear on-PERS-3

á-č5 r-çurɛ c-ɔ-pírá ěm-p-őřɛ cőńeket  
SUBJ-(2)-go:DEPINCOMPL in-buttock c-of-tree DEM-C-DIST there_not_far

if you are afraid of him, go under that tree over there (situation: there is a tree in the distance, the speaker points at it)

The next example is from ‘The story of the tortoise’. The distal demonstrative is used here cataphorically:

akka ɔpa én-n-őřɛ w-ɔ-ri-pírá w-aat 1-őřik 1kɛ …  
when piece_of_meat DEM-C-DISTAL c-of-in-tree c-come:COMPL RES-(C-)big giraffe

when that big wild animal of the forest, the giraffe, came … (App. IV, 155)

8.1.4. The spatial demonstratives as independent forms

The spatial demonstratives can be used as independent forms. Their reference —and thus the choice of concord— must be clear from the context, whether textual or extra-textual. Reference can also be made to a stretch of speech or a situation that was just described or that appears from the extra-textual context. In such cases l-concord is used, agreeing with implicit lɔn ‘words, matters’. For reference to a situation also p-concord can be used, agreeing with implicit papo ‘thing’. Examples are given below.

Independent demonstratives with one concord can imply a contrast between two entities of the same kind. Demonstratives with two concords cannot be used that way. In the second example below the demonstratives necessarily refer to entities of a different kind.

em-p-ı p-in ana ém-p-í p-άŋ  
DEM-C-NEARSP c-POSS1 and DEM-C-NEARSP c-POSS2

this one is mine and that one is yours (both demonstratives can refer to the same kind of thing, for example parrək ‘chair’)
this one is mine and that one is yours (both demonstratives cannot refer to
the same kind of thing. Instead, the first refers, for example, to parrøk
‘chair’, the second, for example, to pørrut ‘picture’).

Some further examples with independent demonstratives with one
concord follow here. They cannot be replaced by demonstratives
with two concords.

kørret éŋ-k-í k-ánn-uŋko éŋ-k-í
line DEM-C-NEARSP C-NEG-resemble:DEPCOMPL DEM-C-NEARSP

this stripe does not look like this one (referring here to the different colours
of the stripes of a cloth)

a-kw-ápp-ómé.kat-ók ittu á-a éŋ-k-əře
CONJ-3-again:DEP:INCOMPL-tell:DEPPRFV-O3 that no-REDUP DEM-C-DIST

ittin-in éŋ-k-əře i-k-óre
pick_for:IMP-O1 DEM-DIST RES-C-red

and he said to her again: no, that one! pick that ripe one for me!
(the demonstratives refer to a kicé-fruit that is at some distance from the
addressee, who is in the tree, picking fruits; the speaker is under the tree.
The addressee wanted to pick a fruit nearby, but is told to pick one for
which she must reach further)

In the next example, ennì ‘this one’ agrees with okul ‘child’:

en-n-i ákk-ɔkwɔntá.t tó.kít
DEM-C-NEARSP POC:be-produced:COMPL firstly

this one is the one who was born first (implying that there is another one
who came second) (Genesis 38:28)

An element of contrast is also present in the following example. It is
an answer to the question “did you […] sell the land for this price?”
The concord c- agrees with cekerek ‘price’. The price is indeed that
price, not a different one:
yes, the one (the price) is this (Acts 5:8)

Demonstratives with one concord do not need to express contrast:

**st-ta em-p-orik na-pirâ**

who is that in the tree? (two persons are involved: the speaker and the addressee who is in the tree)

Some examples with two concords follow here. In the first, **p**-concord of **pempî** implicitly agrees with the **papu** ‘thing’, which refers to the situation that was just described:

**C-llé p-in p-oṭṭōt-īn τ̪̩p̪̩τα ana**

my husband has sent me away and what are you going to do, (because) this (thing, situation) is one which is bad

The concord **l**- in the example below is understood to agree with implicit **lôn** ‘words, matters’:

**l-el-lí ámm.akka l-ērōt-3k l-śkitak**

these things that were said about him/her were bad (lit.: these words, like they spoke about him/her, were bad)

In the following example from ‘The story of the tortoise’, **pempârê** refers to **pol pɔnɔppɔt** ‘the person of Nɔppat’, who is under the tree. The bird and the tortoise are together up in a tree, where they are collecting honey. The person of Nɔppat has just asked to throw down some honey for him, but the tortoise is unwilling:

---

56 It is unclear where the high tone on **akka** comes from.
Demonstratives

ŋ-kw-a.rréne  p-émp-óřé  áón  w-5-in
2-c-throw_for:INCOMPL  C-DEM-C-DIST  bees  C-of-what

for what will you throw (down) honeycombs for that (person)? (App. IV, 89)

In the next example, p- agrees with the implicit noun papu ‘thing’. ‘This (thing) from which I write’ refers to a laptop from which the speaker sends e-mails or other messages:

m-p-onà.t  p-émp-ì  í-p-ã  n-5korràc  n.tìt
1-c-bring:COMPL  C-DEM-C-NEARSP  RES-C-COP  1-engrave:DEPINCOMPL  from:ABS

I brought this thing from which I write (a laptop)

Independent demonstratives can be preceded by a prepositional proclitic. The independent demonstrative in the example below refers to a kařuk ‘goatskin bag’:

maɪ  m-a.ïk  i-ŋ-κ-ì-i
beans  C-be:PR  in-DEM-C-NEARSP-Q

are the beans in this one?

The following examples have two tonal realizations of the (prepausal) demonstrative. The final high or falling tone of the demonstrative can be realized (with tone bridge spanning over the whole demonstrative), or the own final high or falling tone of the demonstrative can become low:

appendíná  w-á.ïk  i-ŋ-κ-ì / appendíná  w-á.ïk  i-ŋ-κ-ì
groundnuts  C-be:PR  in-DEM-C-NEARSP  groundnuts  C-be:PR  in-DEM-C-NEARSP

the groundnuts are in this one

appendíná  w-á.ïk  i-ŋ-κ-òrìk / appendíná  w-á.ïk  i-ŋ-κ-òrìk
groundnuts  C-be:PR  in-DEM-C-NEARADDR  groundnuts  C-be:PR  in-DEM-C-NEARADDR

the groundnuts are in that one (near you)

appendíná  w-á.ïk  i-ŋ-κ-òrhé / appendíná  w-á.ïk  i-ŋ-κ-òrhé
groundnuts  C-be:PR  in-DEM-C-DIST  groundnuts  C-be:PR  in-DEM-C-DIST

the groundnuts are in that one (away from us)
8.2. The anaphoric demonstrative c-en

8.2.1. Tonal properties

When the demonstrative pronominal base en is only preceded by the concord, and no deictic element is attached to it, it takes on an anaphoric interpretation. I will call this element (c-en) an anaphoric demonstrative, though the demonstrative base en is not intrinsically anaphoric. c-en has a low tone and is tonally regular in prepausal position:

\[
\begin{align*}
pol & \quad \text{‘person’} & \quad pol\ pen & \quad \text{‘that person’} \\
\text{ţok} & \quad \text{‘dog’} & \quad \text{ţok}\ tɛn & \quad \text{‘that dog’} \\
tuppən & \quad \text{‘mushroom (k.o.)’} & \quad tuppən\ tɛn & \quad \text{‘that mushroom (k.o.)’} \\
\text{cəpək} & \quad \text{‘arrow’} & \quad \text{cəpək}\ cɛn & \quad \text{‘that arrow’}
\end{align*}
\]

However, in non-prepausal position before an element with a low tone, the Contour Simplification Rule tends not to apply when c-en is preceded by the restrictor i-:

\[
\begin{align*}
kələm & \quad k-\text{škɪtak} & \quad \text{ana} & \quad r-k-ɛn & \quad k-ɛn \\
\text{pen} & \quad \text{c-bad} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{RES-C-DEM} & \quad \text{C-POSS1}
\end{align*}
\]

the pen is bad, but it is mine

This may point towards a historically long vowel that has become short, or perhaps the historical loss of a tone bearing unit. A long vowel is actually attested in c-ɛɛná ‘such, like this/that’.

8.2.2. c-en as attributive modifier

C-en as attributive modifier is part of a noun phrase which also contains its nominal head; the head precedes c-en. C-en functions as anaphoric demonstrative, referring to a preceding noun phrase or to a clause or stretch of clauses. ‘The story of Amuţa’ opens with the following clauses: ‘One day, Amuţa left from home to go stealing in Tărâmpo and he saw the goats of Alcên grazing in the field. Amuţa jumped quickly to catch the goats’. Then follows the sentence with c-en:
The next example is from Luke 2:19. ˈlɔn len appart ‘all those words’ refers to what the shepherds have heard from the angels and have come to tell:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ana.rrúk } & \text{ c-mér̂m } \text{ p-oce.kaṭe } \text{lən l-en appart } \text{ nə-çıkčit } \text{ c-ʊŋ} \\
\text{but } & \text{ PERS-Mary } \text{ c-catch:PST } \text{ words } \text{ C-DIM } \text{ all on-heart } \text{ C-POSS3}
\end{align*}
\]

but Mary kept all those words in her heart (Luke 2:19)

8.2.3.  C-ën used independently

C-ën can be used independently, i.e. without head in the same noun phrase. The absence of a high (or falling) tone on independently used C-ën shows that the initial consonant of independent C-ën is a concord, not a pronominal proclitic.

In the following fixed expression, the p-concord of pen implicitly agrees with the noun papa ‘thing’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋin-tə } & \text{ p-ën} \\
\text{what-QW } & \text{ C-DIM}
\end{align*}
\]

what you are talking about? (more lit.: what that (thing)?)

By analogy, the concord of the independent demonstrative in the following example implicitly agrees with pula ‘person’, agreement is not with štta ‘who’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{št-tə } & \text{ p-ën} \\
\text{PERS.3-QW } & \text{ C-DIM}
\end{align*}
\]

who is it? (Used in a speech environment, for example when somebody announced himself, but you did not hear his name, or in the sense of ‘whom are you talking about’).
8.2.4. **C-en** preceded by the restrictor **f**-

**C-en** can be preceded by the restrictor **f**- (which will be discussed in chapter 9). **1-C-en** functions independently and can be translated as ‘the one(s)’. An example was already given earlier in this chapter. In the first example below, the concord **w-**, which is deleted between vowels (**i-w-ɛn > i-ɛn**), agrees with **arəpo** ‘things’; in the second, **irɛn** refers to a pig (**tuttəruk**) that has been causing damage before, and that has come again; in the third, **k** refers to the Holy Spirit (**kənəŋ 1-k-operɛ**).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{arəpo} & \quad \text{w-ɔ-páppá} & \quad \text{áppık} & \quad \text{f-ɛn} & \quad \text{w-in} \\
\text{things} & \quad \text{C-of.pers-father} & \quad \text{all} & \quad \text{RES-(C)-DEM} & \quad \text{C-poss1}
\end{align*}
\]

all the things of the Father are the ones that are mine (John 16:15)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-pöl} & \quad \text{f-p-šórə} & \quad \text{štít水墨} & \quad \text{ıtți} & \quad \text{i-r-ɛn} & \quad \text{t-ɔ-máí} \\
\text{CONJ-person} & \quad \text{RES-C-male} & \quad \text{find:DEPPREVF} & \quad \text{that} & \quad \text{RES-C-DEM} & \quad \text{C-of-some_time_ago}
\end{align*}
\]

and the man found that it was the one of before

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ana} & \quad \text{i-k-ɛn} & \quad \text{i-k-a} & \quad \text{ɔ-run} & \quad \text{t-immá.t} & \quad \text{mënní} & \quad \text{ana} & \quad \text{cccjkt} \\
\text{ana} & \quad \text{RES-C-DEM} & \quad \text{RES-C-COP} & \quad \text{PERS-12A} & \quad \text{C-see:COMPL} & \quad \text{today} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{hear:DEP:INCOMPL}
\end{align*}
\]

and (it is) the one which we have seen and heard today (Acts 2:33)

**1-C-en** can be followed by a focus construction with **akkəa** ‘that’ (realized as **akk** before the initial vowel of a verb). The example below can also be stated just with **akkəa** or **akk-**, but the combination **1-C-en akkəa** makes the focus stronger.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paτək} & \quad \text{i-p-a} & \quad \text{ʊl} & \quad \text{i-ʊνo} & \quad \text{w-ərát水墨} \\
\text{stone} & \quad \text{RES-C-COP} & \quad \text{people} & \quad \text{RES-(C)-build:INCOMPL} & \quad \text{C-refuse:COMPL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1-p-ɛn} & \quad \text{akk-ətəkká水墨} & \quad \text{cillaŋ} \\
\text{RES-C-DEM} & \quad \text{POC-become:COMPL} & \quad \text{big_stone_as_fundament_of_wall}
\end{align*}
\]

the stone which the builders rejected is the one that has become the fundament (Luke 20:17)

Two examples with **1-C-en akk(a)** and a transitive verb follow here. In the first, **k** of **i-k-ɛn** agrees with **kəran** ‘name’. Note in the second that the subject comes after the verb.
Demonstratives

C-nôn ț.omma 1-k-ên akka m-p-a.lk p-érene
PERS-2A C-not_KNOW:INCOMPL RES-C-DEM that 1-C-be:PR C-talk_TO:INCOMPL

non lôn 1-en
O2A words C-of:ABS

you (pl) do not know that it is the one (i.e. ‘the name’) I am telling you of
(Acts 17:23)

țuriț 1-t-ên akk-ənó pól i-p-șįj căne nș-capó
food RES-C-DEM FOC-have person RES-C-black here on-ground
food is what a human being needs here on earth

1lên akka +H is a fixed expression for ‘that’s why’. The concord 1-agrees with the implicit noun lôn ‘words, matters’:

1-l-ên akka a-n-erenten-ոŋ ăppin-appin
RES-C-DEM that CONJ-1-speak_TO.PLUR:DEP:INCOMPL-02 always-REDUP
that’s why I always talk to you

1p-eň, just by itself, is a fixed expression for ‘that’s it!’ The concord p agrees with the implicit noun păpu ‘thing’:

1-p-ên
RES-C-DEM
that’s it! (i.e. that’s what I had in mind, that’s what I wanted to say)

8.2.5. The manner-deictic adjective c-eenă ‘such, like this/that’

It is very likely that c-eenă ‘such, like this/that’ contains the pronominal base en as a formative, as was mentioned earlier in this chapter. C-eenă has anaphoric reference and can be used as a modifier (first example below), but also independently (second example below). Like most adjectives c-eenă is preceded by the restrictor ı- when it functions as an attribute.
á-pól í-p-ééná ṣkórə̀nn-ọme⁵⁷ ịtị ...  
let such a person not say that …

pọl ɛm-p-i  p-ééná  ana  ṣù-p-i  p-ééná  
this person is like this and the other one (lit. this one) is like that

---
⁵⁷ The falling tone of ọmè ‘say’ becomes low in this context.
9. The restrictor

The “restrictor” (the proclitic element \( i \)) turns adjectival and verbal predicates into attributive modifiers that restrict the reference of the head noun to a subgroup with the properties or qualities expressed by the adjectival or verbal predicate. Verbal predicates with the restrictor function as restrictive relative clauses (see chapter 11).

The restrictor brings a high tone to a following verb in the way described by the rules of Tone Shift (and Tone Reappearance sub-Rules) and Contour Simplification, cf:

\[
p\text{ʊl}\-p\-\text{şparí}
\]

\( \text{person} \quad C\text{-female} \)

the person is female

\[
p\text{ʊl}\ r\text{-p\-şparí}
\]

\( \text{person} \quad RES\text{-C\text{-female}} \)

the woman (the person who is female)

It cannot itself receive a high tone from a preceding element, but it can have a high realization due to tone bridge. In view of these properties I represent it with a high tone: \( i \)- (a rising tone would have been possible as well, see 3.8). It has no prepausal realization.

A least some adjectives, however, have a tonal realization that is different from what would be expected, when preceded by the restrictor. Examples include \( C\text{-şni} \) ‘black’, \( C\text{-şttê} \) (or \( C\text{-şttê} \)) ‘small, little, young’, \( C\text{-şri}k \) ‘big, important’ and \( C\text{-skîtak} \) ‘bad’. The restrictor brings a high tone to their initial mora replacing their own tone pattern, as, for example in \( p\text{ʊl} \ r\text{-p\-şri}k \) ‘person who is important’. This is, however, not the case for all adjectives (nor for all adjectives with a L.HL or L.H.L tone pattern).

Morpho-phonologically the restrictor behaves in a regular way: when attached to an adjective or verb with \(+\text{ATR}\) vowels, its realization may change slightly in the direction of a \(+\text{ATR}\) realization. Preceding an \( r \)-initial element a little length is generally retained.
An example with an adjective and a verb phrase preceded by the restrictor follow here:

**kare't ɾ-k-ípe k-á.ĩk cóné**
cloth  RES-c-old  c-be:PR  here
the old cloth is here

**țük ɾ-t-ökkwá.t ɾ-á.ĩk cóné**
dog  RES-c-become-old:COMPL  c-be:PR  here
the old dog is here

The following examples concern modification of object nouns through modifiers with and without the restrictor, and placed inside and outside the noun phrase.

cónaŋ ‘stick’ in the first example below in principle allows for a definite as well as an indefinite reading. This is the same when the ‘stick’ is modified by an adjective or verb phrase with the restrictor, provided that this modifier is positioned within the noun phrase, i.e. used attributively (second example below):

**k-kw-ştůkw.áṭé córaŋ n.ú ɾ-wét**
3-c-grab:PST  stick  from  in-horizontal_bamboos_of_roof
s/he grabbed a/the stick from the inside of the roof

**k-kw-ştůkw.áṭé córaŋ i-c-óŋi n.ú ɾ-wét**
3-c-grab:PST  stick  RES-c-black  from  in-horizontal_bamboos_of_roof
s/he grabbed a/the black stick from the inside of the roof

It is different when the adjective with restrictor is positioned at the end of the clause, outside of the noun phrase. Now, the adjective (icóni ‘black’) gives a definite reading to the noun (cónaŋ ‘stick’), identifying it as the black one among other sticks:
s/he grabbed the black stick from the inside of the roof (implies that there are one or more other sticks: it is the black one that is taken)

The first example below is syntactically comparable to the example above, but lacks the restrictor on the adjective (cɔ́ɾɛ́ ‘red’). Providing some information about the necklace (cuccú), namely that it is red, the adjective establishes an indefinite reading of it. Unlike its counterpart with restrictor, an attributive adjective or verb phrase without restrictor is not placed inside the noun phrase, but comes at the end (second example below).

she has put a red necklace around her neck

Two examples contrasting a clause with and without the restrictor modifying an object noun follow here. The first is the opening line of a story, introducing the main character, the second identifies a certain jackal amongst others:

I am going to talk about a jackal who organized a cultivating party (‘The story of the jackal’)

I am going to talk about the jackal who organized a cultivating party (implies that there are other jackals who did not organize such a party)
Adjectives which are used independently have the restrictor. In the example below the concord c agrees with corâŋ 'stick':

\[
\begin{array}{l}
et-\text{m} \quad \text{i-c-çpi} \\
give:imp-o1 \quad res-c-black \\
give me the black one!
\end{array}
\]

The earlier given example with icçpi at the end of the clause in fact allows for a reading like this as well ('s/he grabbed the stick from the inside of the roof, the black one').

The use of the restrictor on adjectives (and numerals) and on relative clauses is further exemplified in the chapters 10 and 11. The restrictor is not used on connexive constructions, possessors and demonstratives, with the exception of the anaphoric demonstrative c-en. i-c-èn 'the one' was discussed in chapter 8.2.4.

The restrictor furthermore forms a fixed combination with skkwí, giving skkwí fi- 'the one' who' (see chapter 6.1.5).
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:

 pół  p-ittik
person  C-big

the person is big

 pół  p-ɔká.t  p-ʃmʃn
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 ɔkå ‘be’ or ɔtkkà ‘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:

ŋøːtì  ŋ-a.a.t  ŋ-ɔttɛ
water  C-come:COMPL  C-little

a little water has come (the water came little)

ɔl  w-ɪlî.t  w-ʊppɔt
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)

Also a noun phrase with lɔn ‘words’ modified by an adjective can function adverbially:
When used attributively, adjectives are typically preceded by the restrictor ɪ́:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Restrictor</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pol</strong></td>
<td>ɪ́-p-ɪ́t́f k p-aát</td>
<td>person RES-c-big C-come:COMPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kɔrɛ́t</strong></td>
<td>ɪ́-k-ɪ́pɛ́ ɪ́-k-ɔ́t̪ɛ́rɛ́t</td>
<td>cloth RES-c-old RES-c-spotted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Restrictor</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>caṭṭak</strong></td>
<td>c-a.ɪ́k ɪ́-c-ɔ́ʁɪ́k an a ɪ́-c-ɔ́t̪ɛ́</td>
<td>calabash(k.o.) C-be:PR RES-c-big and RES-c-little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>an a.ռɛ́k</strong></td>
<td>ɪ́-c-ɔ́t̪ɛ́ c-ɔ́kɔt̪ɪ́t̪ɛ́.ɛ</td>
<td>but RES-c-little C-be_broken:COMPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɪ́ in order to be used independently. Nouns, on the other hand, are never preceded by the restrictor ɪ́, cf.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɪ́-c-ɔ́t̪ɛ́</td>
<td>‘the small one’ (for example a small caṭṭak ‘calabash (k.o.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʊrɛ́</td>
<td>‘left-handed person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have slept well
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-aík (containing the formative cík) that is possible between a noun and an adjective, but not between nouns. Cf.:

\[
\text{pól } \text{píŋŋít} / \text{pól } \text{p-a } \text{píŋŋít} \\
\text{person singer} / \text{person c-be:PR singer}
\]

the person is a singer

\[
\ast \text{pól } \text{p-a.ik } \text{píŋŋít} \\
\text{person c-be:PR singer}
\]

\[
\text{pól } \text{p-əřík} / \text{pól } \text{p-a.ik } \text{p-əřík} \\
\text{person c-big} / \text{person c-be:PR c-big}
\]

the person is important

\[
\ast \text{pól } \text{p-a } \text{p-əřík} \\
\text{person c-be:PR c-big}
\]

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

\[
\text{ɔ-laló } \text{p-ɔkíŋâ.t} \\
PERS-Lalu c-become_tired:COMPL
\]

Lalu is tired

\[
\text{ɔ-laló } \text{p-ɔpər̥st} \\
PERS-Lalu c-good
\]

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:

\[ \text{pol} \quad \text{1-p-órik} \quad \text{p-aát} \]
person  RES-C-big  C-come:COMPL

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

\[ \text{pol} \quad \text{1-p-áŋkane} \quad \text{p-aát} \]
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 \( ŋ \) and adoption of the tone pattern L*.LH (see 4.6.3). Two examples:

\[ \text{C-op̃r̤t} \quad \text{‘good’} \quad \text{vs. ŋop̃r̤t} \quad \text{‘goodness’} \]
\[ \text{C-rip̃k} \quad \text{‘white’} \quad \text{vs. ŋrip̃k} \quad \text{‘whiteness’} \]

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 (\( ŋkā \ ‘be’ \) or \( ŋskkā \ ‘become’). Compare the verbal and the adjectival predicate:
Some further examples with ɔká and ɔţkká and an adjective follow here.

kərjttan k-ɔká.t k-ɔrrö
knife c-be:COMPL c-blunt
the knife was blunt

tacɔ t-ɔţkká.t t-ɔppɔt cőkće-cćkọt
grass c-become:COMPL c-many quickly-REDUP
the weeds have quickly become abundant

čakərụk ɿ-ɔţkká.kate ɿ-ɔŋəɾá
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-akőnn. The first has a verbal predicate, the second an adjectival:

ŋəpako ŋ-akőnn-őkkọttat
beer c-NEG-be:DONE:DEPCOMPL
the beer is not done (i.e., the beer is not ready)

ŋəpako ŋ-akőnn-őká ŋ-îrrők
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:
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-ərǐk and C-ottě, C-ɔttě). This is discussed in section 10.2.6 of this chapter, as are the different plural forms of some of the dimensional adjectives. C-ottě and C-ɔttě have a dimensional interpretation (‘small, little’) as well as an age interpretation (‘young’); their reduplicated plurals refer to small size. The plural C-ārran refers in the first place to young age of living creatures (people, animals, plants). There is an adjective for old age of things (C-ɪpe), but old age of living creatures is expressed with the Completive of the verb ʊkkwa (or ʊkka) ‘become old’ (C-ʊkkwāt or C-ʊkkāt). 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 pokítak ‘the person is bad’
pol ī-pōkítak ‘the bad person’

dimension, shape
- c-ərǐk ‘big, important’ (SG) / c-ittī-c-ittīk, c-ittīttīk (PL)
- c-ittīk ‘big’ (SG) / c-ittī-c-ittīk, c-ittīttīk (PL)
- c-öttê, c-ōttê ‘small, little, young’ (SG) / c-öttō-c-öttê, c-ōttōtête, c-ōttōtê, c-ōttōttê
- c-ûkwît ‘long, tall, deep’ (SG) / c-ûkwît-c-ûkwît (PL)
- c-ōttōt ‘short’
- c-ënnan ‘properly sized’
- c-ápe ‘wide’
- c-ərōlōkkul ‘round’

age
- c-ɪē ‘new’ (i.e. young age of things)
- c-öttê, c-ōttê ‘small, little, young’ / c-ârran (PL) ‘young’
- c-îpe ‘old’ (of things)

value
- c-ɔpərōt ‘good’
- c-ōkîtak ‘bad’
- c-īccīm ‘marvellous, superb’
- c-ərīk ‘big, important’ (SG) / c-ittī-c-ittīk, c-ittīttīk (PL)

colour
- c-ənį ‘black’
- c-ipōk ‘white’
- c-ərê ‘red, ripe’
- c-ōtəlō ‘grey, yellowish’
- c-īccī ‘green’
- c-ɔlomīt ‘light brown, towards green’
- c-arơrōn ‘grey and brown mixed’
- c-ōlōr rō ‘striped’
- c-ōtərēt ‘spotted’
- c-acallerō ‘spotted (with big spots)’
physical property

c-ímmín ‘heavy’
c-ippappat ‘light, easy’
c-íán ‘wet’
c-íppá ‘hot, warm’
c-írrók ‘cold’
c-onţómat ‘hard’
c-上官á ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’
c-ákorokkêr ‘rough’
c-êrêrê ‘rough’
c-êrró ‘blunt’
c-êrrê ‘sharp’
c-âkírêkkêr ‘dim’
c-ípin ‘not well cooked’
c-ôrît ‘tasty, sweet’
c-ôrê ‘sour’
c-îrâ ‘salty’
c-ôpôn ‘bitter’
c-ôrê ‘clean, stingy’
c-ônjó ‘sick’
c-áfrîlla ‘crippled’
c-ôparî (SG)/c-áarî (PL) ‘female’
c-âcorî (SG)/c-êmora (PL) ‘male’

spiritual property

c-ôporê ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’
c-ôtôn ‘forbidden’

speed

c-ákôcôcôkt ‘fast’
c-akôcôkkôcôk ‘fast’

similarity

c-êná ‘such, like this/that’

---

58 According to JS, younger people tend to use c-ippappat while older people tend to use the Completive verb c-ôpappât (< âpàppa ‘be(come) light’).
quantification
C-oppšt ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)
C-ørğk ‘many, a lot of’ (PL or mass)
C-øttê, C-øttê ‘few, a little’ (PL or mass)
C-ørêčk ‘some, other’
C-ullúk ‘only, just’
C-ørúk ‘only, just’
C-ørît ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{man} & \quad \text{1-m-ittìk} & \quad \text{f-m-ìpè} & \quad / & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{1-m-ìpè} & \quad \text{f-m-ìttìk} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{RES-C-big} & \quad \text{RES-C-old} & \quad / & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{RES-C-old} & \quad \text{RES-C-big}
\end{align*}
\]

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-ōntɔmät ‘hard’ is a clear case of development from the Completive C-ōntɔmât of the verb əntɔm ‘become dry’. The Completive C-ōntɔmât itself is used for the expression of the quality of being ‘dry’, as the result of the process of drying:
The adjective **c-íppappat** ‘light’ can be understood as a development from the adverb **íppápat** (see 17.1.3 for its adverbial morphology), which relates to the Completive verb **c-óppapát** (< **ópppa** ‘be(come) light’). An example with the adjective is given first, then an example with the adverb, then an example with the Completive verb.

**pol**  **p-óká.t**  **p-íppappat**  
**person**  **RES-C:be:COMPL**  **C-light**  
a person who was light

**okul**  **w-òkkt.é**  **nōre**  **íppápat**  
**child**  **C-do:COMPL**  **work**  **lightly**  
the child did the work easily

**pol**  **p-óká.t**  **p-óppappát.**  
**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-óparó** ‘good’ suggest an origin in the Completive form of a verb ***óparo**, but this verb (irrespective of its tones) does not exist. There is, however, a verb **ópira** ‘be(come) good’:

**pol**  **p-a.píra**  
**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-óparó** ‘good’ and **ópira**, 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-ôkítak** ‘bad’ vs. **ôkítaka** ‘become bad’
- **C-ipôk** ‘white’ vs. **ôpôka** ‘become white’
- **C-ôttôt** ‘short’ (sg) vs. **ôttôrat** ‘become short’
- **C-îpe** ‘old’ vs. **îpa** ‘become old’ (of things)
- **C-ôrê** ‘red, ripe’ vs. **ôra** ‘become red, ripe’
- **C-ôrê** ‘clean’ vs. **ôra** ‘become clean’
- **C-ônjô** ‘sick’ vs. **ôna** ‘become sick’
- **C-ôppôt** ‘many, a lot’ vs. **ôppât** ‘become full’
- **C-ônjôrâ** ‘smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)’ vs. **ônâra** ‘become smooth’
- **C-ôpôñ** ‘bitter’ vs. **ôpîa** ‘become bitter’
- **C-ôrrû** ‘blunt’ vs. **ôrrôttat** ‘become blunt’
- **C-ôrrê** ‘sharp’ vs. **ôrrëttat** ‘become sharp’
- **C-ápe** ‘wide’ vs. **apekôt cîk** ‘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-îpe** ‘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-îpât** (< **îpa** ‘become old’), the Completive more strongly evokes a picture of showing signs of age:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mîl</th>
<th>i-m-îpe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sorghum</td>
<td>RES-C-old</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

old sorghum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mîl</th>
<th>i-m-ipât.t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sorghum</td>
<td>RES-C-become_old:COMPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

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 + ɪɽɪlla ‘cripple’)
- c-arorɔŋ ‘grey and brown’ (< and c-á + torɔŋ ‘snake sp., with mixed grey and brown colour’)
- c-akɔrkkɔ ‘rough’ (< c-á + kɔrkkɔ ‘rough spot’)
- c-akifɔkkir ‘dim’ (< c-á + kɔfɔkkir ‘twilight’)
- c-acallerɔ ‘spotted (with big spots)’ (< c-á + (probably) calle ‘ball’ (final rɔ (or tɔ) 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pol</th>
<th>p-a</th>
<th>ɪɽɪlla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>c-COP</td>
<td>cripple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the person is a cripple

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pol</th>
<th>p-afrilla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>c-crippled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the person is crippled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pol</th>
<th>p-a.ɪk</th>
<th>p-afrilla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>c-be:PR</td>
<td>c-crippled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the person is crippled / there is a crippled person

In some, there is clear semantic specialization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i牝t</th>
<th>w-arorɔŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goat</td>
<td>c-grey and brown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the goat is grey and brown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>部副</th>
<th>p-a</th>
<th>torɔŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>c-COP</td>
<td>snake(sp.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):

\[\text{c-ɔlurrə́ 'striped' (}< \text{c-ɔ + lurrú 'ears of maize'})\]
\[\text{c-ɔt̪ɛʰɛ́t 'spotted' (}< \text{c-ɔ + ɛʰɛ́t 'corn cob'})\]

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-ɔt̪ɛʰɛ́t 'spotted'. In the example below the restrictor is present, but it could also be absent (second example):

\[\text{caṭṭak i-c-ɔt̪ɛʰɛ́t c-ɔkättá.tɛ́ c-ɔkättá.tɛ́} \]
\[\text{calabash(k.o.) res-c-spotted c-break:compl} \]

the spotted calabash has broken

\[\text{caṭṭak c-ɔt̪ɛʰɛ́t c-ɔkättá.tɛ́ c-ɔkättá.tɛ́} \]
\[\text{calabash(k.o.) c-spotted c-break:compl} \]

the spotted calabash has broken

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

However, like other adjectives, c-ɔt̪ɛʰɛ́t ‘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.

\[\text{C-ɔparí (SG)/C-aaří (PL) ‘female’ (\textless \text{C-ɔ} + \text{parí ‘wife’}/ \text{C-ɔ} + \text{arí ‘wives’})}\]

\[\text{C-ɔcʊra (SG)/C-ɔmʊra (PL) ‘male’ (\textless \text{C-ɔ} + *cʊra / \text{C-ɔ} + *mʊra)}\]

Two examples:

\[\text{ţaməlá f-ţ-ɔparí}\]

\[\text{camel RES-C-female.SG}\]

a female camel

\[\text{laməlá f-l-áarí}\]

\[\text{camels RES-C-female.PL}\]

female camels

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

\[\text{pʊl i-p-ɔparí i-p-a parí}\]

\[\text{person RES-C-female.SG RES-C-COP wife}\]

the woman who is a wife

10.2.5. Adverbial origins

One example of derivation of an adjective from an adverbial was mentioned earlier: C-ɪppappat ‘light’. Two others that contain C-á ‘be’ and an adverb are:
c-acokoccokat ‘fast’ (< c-á + cokoccokat ‘quickly’)
c-akoccokkok ‘fast’ (< c-á + kokkokkok ‘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-ərîk / c-ittî-c-îtîk or c-ittî-îttîk ‘big’
c-ittîk / c-ittî-c-îtîk or c-ittî-ittîk ‘big’
c-ottê / c-ottô-c-ôttê or c-ottô-ôtîtê ‘small’,
    or: c-ottê / c-ôttô-c-ôtê or c-ôttô-ôtê ‘small’
c-ûkwît / c-ûkwît-c-ûkwît ‘long, tall, deep’

Some examples follow here.

**man** 1-m-îttîk

room RES-C-big

a big room

**kamôn** 1-k-îttî~k-îtîk / 1-k-îttî~îttîk

rooms RES-C-PLR~C-big / RES-C-PLR~big

big rooms

**parak** 1-p-îttî~p-îtîk / 1-p-îttî~îttîk

group_of_people RES-C-PLR~C-big / RES-C-PLR~big

a group of adults (a group of people who are big)
kaɾɪ t-k-ùkwít
nail RES-C-long
a long nail

kùra t-k-ùkwít~k-ùkwít
trees RES-C-PLR~C-long
tall trees

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

t-ɔkɔrɔnɔ nom-let ářɪ nails w-ùkwirt~ùkwít C-ɔ́t̪ ɛ̂ small leaving your nails long is bad (i.e.: not cutting your nails is bad)

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

c-ɔttê ‘small, little, young’ and c-ɔttê, 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 t 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 t tend to be used.

tün t-ɔttê
onion C-small
the onion is small

nɑtɑ n-ɔttê~ɔttê
leaves C-PLR~small
the leaves are small

The modifier of plural nouns c-ārran ‘young’ is used with living creatures:
appendína  w-årran
groundnuts   c-young
the groundnuts are young/small (they are still on the plant, not yet fully grown)

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

When the children are small-sized for their age c-øttó-øtté or c-øttó-øtté is used:

nukol  n-øttó-øtté
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:

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

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

ol  w-ørik
people   c-big
the people are many

maţi  m-øtté
days   c-small
a few days

c-øtté (c-øtté) also takes on quantifying meaning in combination with a mass noun, namely as ‘a 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). In Tocho ‘many’ is applied as the (suppletive) plural of ‘big’ (Schadeberg 1981b p. 132).

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-ɔpόn ‘bitter’ vs. C-ɔ-pom-pόn ‘very bitter’
C-iccí ‘green’ vs. C-iccí-iccí ‘very green’
C-uttöt ‘short’ vs. C-uttö-c-uttöt or C-uttö-uttöt ‘very short’
C-ópór ‘clean (in spiritual sense)’ vs. C-ó-pó-pór ‘very clean (in spiritual sense), holy’
C-ɔkitak ‘very bad’ vs. C-ɔkit-ɛt-tak ‘very bad’
C-ɔparst ‘good’ vs. C-ɔpár-əttaré or C-ɔp-əttaré ‘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,
preceeded 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-ɔɲɪɲɲ 'very black'
C-ɪpʊk 'white' vs. C-ɪpʊk ɪppʊk or C-ɪpʊkɪppʊk 'very white'
C-ọtəlɔ 'grey, yellowish' vs. C-ọtəlɔ ɪtəlo 'very grey, yellow'

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

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

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

C-ɔnarə 'smooth, soft, infertile (of a man)' vs. C-ɪɲnarə 'very smooth, soft'

C-ɪcɛɪncɛ '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-ɔrɛtɪtɪəŋ '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-ɔparɔt 'good' and C-ɔkɪtak '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’:

\textit{m-p-ɔpir\textSYM{á}t} \quad \textit{nɔ-kâ}

1-c-become\_good:COMPL \quad \text{on-body}

I am happy (lit.: I am good on body)

\textit{k-k-ʊ́a} \quad \textit{kâ}

3-c-rise:INCOMPL \quad \text{body}

s/he is angry (lit.: s/he rises as to the body)

Some concepts in this field are expressed with \textit{c-ɔnọ} ‘have’ (or a form of \textit{c-ɔnâ} ‘bring, have’) and a noun:

\textit{ŋ-kw-ɔnọ́} \quad \textit{ŋare}

2-c-have \quad \text{laziness}

you are lazy

\textit{ɛ-łöttī} \quad \textit{p-ɔnọ́} \quad \textit{tʊkʊŋkʊ̀n}

PERS-Lottī \quad c-have \quad \text{trouble\_making}

Löttī is a troublemaker

Being stingy can be expressed with the adjective \textit{c-ɔřɛ}, but also with ‘have’ and the noun \textit{nɑŋɛ́} ‘stinginess’:

\textit{ɛ-nennī} \quad \textit{p-ɔnọ́} \quad \textit{nɑŋɛ́}

PERS-Nennī \quad c-have \quad \text{stinginess}

Nennī is stingy

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

\textit{ŋ-kw-ɔnọ́} \quad \textit{mīŋâ}

2-c-have \quad \text{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 papo pulukkû ‘one thing’, etc.

Table 44 Numerals

<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-ɛʔá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>C-əʔapórôk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>C-ɔcığın</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>C-ukulúk, C-ukuluk</td>
<td>ukulûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>C-əʔákkurôk, C-əʔárapûrok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>C-ɛʔe-C-əʔapórôk, C-ɛʔeʔapórôk, C-ɔcığa-C-əʔapórôk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>C-amôramar</td>
<td>maramâr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>C-ukullácığın, C-ukullácığın</td>
<td>ukullácığın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>C-ättol</td>
<td>attol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schadeberg (1981b, p. 154) mentions “one hand” as the proto-Talodi expression for ‘five’. He reconstructs the proto-Talodi nouns *tsugwini̯ / *njugwini̯ ‘hand / hands’ and the numeral *-VIlVg ‘one’, in which V stands for “some vowel”. The Lumun expression for ‘one hand’ is onon 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-ukulûk 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-əɽapóřok and the words for ‘six’, C-əɽá-kkóřok and C-əɽáapóřok, seem to be related, but it is not clear how exactly. The full form C-ɛ́-C-əɽapóřok ‘seven’, which has a repeated concord, and its shortened form C-ɛ́-apóřok are built up as C-two-two-(C-)three. An alternative way of expressing ‘seven’ has a repeated concord as well: C-ɔc-əɽapóřok (C-four-C-three).

‘Four’ C-ɔc rèn and ‘eight’ mórəmər, C-amőrəmər seem related through a (unattested) plural noun from the c-/m- class pair, which occurs as a reduplicated form in ‘eight’. C-ɔc rèn ‘four’ seems to contain the connexive C-ɔ preceding this C-initial noun. The adjectival form of ‘eight’ C-amőrəmər contains the Present of ‘be’ C-á. C-ukullác rèn ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Czech form</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>líček márəmər</td>
<td>‘(ca.) eight goats’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>líček lamőrəmər</td>
<td>‘eight goats’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>líček lokát márəmər</td>
<td>‘there were (ca.) eight goats’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>líček lokát lámőrəmər</td>
<td>‘there were (precisely) eight goats’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 10

The numerals eleven up to nineteen are expressed as additions to ten:

\[ \text{attul (C-áttul) ana īkkén cūlūkkū} \quad \text{‘eleven’} \]
\[ \text{attul (C-áttul) ana īkkén kəɾá} \quad \text{‘twelve’} \]
\[ \text{attul (C-áttul) ana īkkén kəɾapórok} \quad \text{‘thirteen’} \]

etc.

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

The word for ‘twenty’, arrːáɫ, 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 arrːáɫ w-ɛɾá (lit.: two twenties).

The Lumun counting system beyond twenty is based on twenties and an additional alakarɛ ‘ten’ (not attul or C-áttul). The origin of alakarɛ is unknown.

\[ \text{arrːáɫ ana álakarɛ} \quad \text{‘thirty’ (twenty and ten)} \]
\[ \text{arrːáɫ weɾá} \quad \text{‘forty’ (two twenties)} \]
\[ \text{arrːáɫ weɾá ana álakarɛ} \quad \text{‘fifty’ (two twenties and ten)} \]
\[ \text{arrːáɫ wəɾapórok} \quad \text{‘sixty’ (three twenties), etc.} \]

kaɾt̪ə́ɾ ‘road’ (plural: at̪ə́ɾ ‘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 caₜ₉n/maₜ₉n ‘finger/fingers’. For the numbers up to 19 the adjectival form is used:
ADJECTIVES

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- próp *ɲʊkʊl* *ɲ-ʊrapóro kul* 3-c-have children c-three

*ɲ-ʊrapóro kul* *tulluk-ɨ*  PRO.C-three only-0

*i* *ɲ-ʊrapóro kul* *tulluk* yes  PRO.C-three only

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

Adjectival numerals are generally used without the restrictor:

*tá̲rub* *t-ónú atər w-ʊrapóro kul* *títì–ítìfìkk* Tařo  c-have roads c-three RES-(C)PLR–big

Tařo has three big roads

*ɛt-m* *mátták m-átto kul* give:IMP-01 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:
The restrictor cannot be combined with a nominal adjective:

\[
\text{et-ɪn mātták}\text{-m-áttol} \\
give:IMP-o1 calabashes(k.o.) RES-ten
\]

give me the ten bowls, give me the group of ten bowls (lit.: give me the bowls which are ten)

Adjectival and invariable numerals can both be used predicatively with a copular verb (‘be’ or ‘become’). For Present TAM the form of ‘be’ is 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 C-aik but the copula C-á would be used.

\[
\text{mat̪tak}\text{-m-átk}\text{m-áttol} \\
calabashes(k.o.) c-be:PR C-ten
\]

there are ten bowls

\[
\text{mat̪tak}\text{-m-átk}\text{aik}\text{-attol} \\
calabashes(k.o.) c-be:PR ten
\]

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 C-aik, preceded by the restrictor:

\[
\text{et-ɪn mātták}\text{-m-áik}\text{-aik}\text{-attol} \\
give:IMP-o1 calabashes(k.o.) c-be:PR ten
\]

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:

\[ \text{č-kukkú p-á.ık p-á.cót mén ná-kwáře m-śčřín} \]

Kukkú is stringing four palm fruits on a stick

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

\[ \text{ćiŋki c-śapóřok} \]

sun c-three

it’s three o'clock (lit.: the sun is three)

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

\[ \text{n-ánt-orrren-in n-tan k-ulukkú} \]

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

10.4.2. at-c-ot, át-c-ót and numeral

The associative marker attít (or áttít) can be combined with the plural suffix -ņn (cf. chapter 6.8), but also with a numeral. Attachment of a numeral shows that attit/áttít involves nominal agreement and can (probably) be analysed as at-c-ot/át-c-ót. The associative marker is combined with a numeral in the following way:

\[ \text{at-c-ot-c-numeral, át-c-ót-c-numeral} \]

or shortened:

\[ \text{at-c-numeral, át-c-numeral} \]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nukol āŋŋōn-ŋeřá, nukol āŋŋōn-ŋeřá} & \quad \text{‘both children’} \\
\text{nukol āŋŋōn-ŋeřapóro} & \quad \text{‘all three’} \\
\text{nukol āŋŋōn-ŋeřapóro, āŋŋōn-ŋeřapóro} & \quad \text{‘all four’} \\
\text{nukol āŋŋōn-ŋukulúk, āŋŋōn-ŋukulúk} & \quad \text{‘all five’} \\
\text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kamar ák-k-ůk-k-ɛ́řá} & \quad \text{‘both pamar-trees’} \\
\text{kamar ák-k-ɛ́řá} & \quad \text{‘both pamar-trees’} \\
\text{lørák ál-l-ůl-l-ůkulúk} & \quad \text{‘all five ropes’} \\
\text{lórak ál-l-ůkulúk} & \quad \text{‘all five ropes’} \\
\text{nuón án-n-ůn-n-şcům} & \quad \text{‘all four tuon-digging tools’} \\
\text{nuón án-n-şcům} & \quad \text{‘all four tuon-digging tools’}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aŋpů} á-ůr-ɛ́řá & \quad \text{‘both things’} < \ Đ-t-w-ůt-w-ɛ́řá \quad \text{(not expected)} \\
\text{aŋpů} ā́ř-ɛ́řá & \quad \text{‘both things’} < \ Đ-t-w-ɛ́řá \quad \text{(expected)} \\
\text{aŋpů} á-ů-ɛ́řá & \quad \text{‘both things’} < \ Đ-t-w-ɛ́řá \quad \text{(not expected)} \\
\text{aŋpů a-or-ŋeřapóro} & \quad \text{‘all three things’} < \ a-or-ŋeřapóro \quad \text{(not expected)} \\
\text{aŋpů ar-ŋeřapóro} & \quad \text{‘all three things’} < \ ar-ŋeřapóro \quad \text{(expected)} \\
\text{aŋpů a-o-ŋeřapóro} & \quad \text{‘all three things’} < \ a-o-ŋeřapóro \quad \text{(not expected)}
\end{align*}
\]
This raises some doubt whether the underlying form should indeed be analysed as \texttt{at-c-ut}, and not rather as \texttt{a-c-c-ut}. I rejected this analysis because there is only one possible other case of double concord in the language, namely in the variant \texttt{a-c-c-} of the subject focus marker \texttt{akk-} (see 19.1), and which may have developed from \texttt{ak-c-} rather than from double concord.

\textit{Use and semantics}

\texttt{at-c-ut-c-numeral} (\texttt{á-t-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.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\texttt{nokol} & án-n-ónp-rootá \texttt{( < át-n-út-nérá)} \\
\texttt{children} & ASS-C-ASS-C-TWO \\
\texttt{both children (all two children)} & \\
\texttt{c-kín} & át-t-ót-t-rootá \\
\texttt{PERS-3A} & ASS-C-ASS-C-TWO \\
\texttt{both of them} & \\
\end{tabular}

\texttt{at-c-ut-c-numeral} (\texttt{á-t-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:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\texttt{m-p-ọt.é kín át-t-ót-t-rootá} & \\
\texttt{1-c-find:compl} & \texttt{O3A} & ASS-C-ASS-C-TWO & \\
\texttt{I found both of them (in the same place or in different places)} & \\
\end{tabular}

\texttt{at-c-ut-c-numeral}, \texttt{á-t-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 \texttt{attut} (or \texttt{áttót}) expresses that one person is added in order to get the final group, \texttt{attonón} (or \texttt{áttonó́n}) that more persons are added. In constructions with \texttt{at-c-ut-c-numeral} (\texttt{á-t-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:

\[
\text{apakoʃɬ.tɬ twaŋ on-át-t-ɛtá}
\]
\begin{tabular}{l}
return:IMP home 2A-ASS-C-TWO \\
\end{tabular}

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

\[
\text{kərənnə-n ur-ɛd ur-át-t-ɛtá}
\]
\begin{tabular}{l}
let:IMP-O1 12-g0:DEPINCOMPL 12-ASS-C-TWO \\
\end{tabular}

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

\[
\text{ana ɔ-lɔt p-ɔŋ.kate ɔ-kîn át-t-ɛtá}
\]
\begin{tabular}{l}
and PERS-Lot C-g0:PST PERS-3A ASS-C-TWO \\
\end{tabular}

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 c-ɔ, a preposition (nɔ- ‘on, at’, tɔ- ‘up on, up at’) and a noun. The third expression suggests the same make-up but a noun *môn is not attested.

\[
\text{c-ɔ-rɔ-kít ‘first’ lit.: ‘of up on eyes’}
\]
\[
\text{c-ɔ-nɔ-tɔn ‘first’ lit.: ‘of on mouth’}
\]
\[
\text{c-ɔ-nɔ-môn ‘first’ lit.: ‘of on?’}
\]

All three expressions can be collocated with caɾi ‘time, day’:

\[
\text{caɾi cõrškít, caɾi cõnɔtɔn, caɾi cõnɔmôn ‘the first time, the first day’}
\]

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’.

and it was the second day (lit.: and it (lón ‘words, matters’) was days which were two) (Genesis 1:8)

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:

\[\text{c-oppòt} \text{ ‘many’}\]
\[\text{c-orrìk} \text{ ‘many, a lot of’}\]
\[\text{c-ottɛ / c-ottê} \text{ ‘few, a little’}\]
\[\text{c-orrúk} \text{ ‘only, but’}\]
\[\text{c-ullúk} \text{ ‘only, just’}\]
\[\text{c-arìt} \text{ ‘half, half full’}\]

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).

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

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

\[\text{nokol} \text{ appìk} \text{ n-ɛs.t}\]
\text{children all C-go:compl}\n
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 pəllék/ tanggal ‘alone, different’ (also pərēk/tərēk). They function as adjectives, stating a quality of the head noun, but are morphologically different from adjectives, since their only attested forms are pəllék and tanggal. 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:

kálam  k-aŋ  k-a.Ik  p-əllék
pen      C-POSS2  C-be:PR  C-alone

your pen is different

ālam  w-aŋ  w-a.Ik  t-əllék
pens   C-POSS2  C-be:PR  C-alone

your pens are different

pəllék and tanggal 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-aīk ‘be’, as in the examples above, cannot be used in equations of nouns. Moreover, pəllék and tanggal never function as the subject or object argument of a verb. All in all, pəllék and tanggal 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 -ŋɔ̀n (see 5.2 and 5.3).

Notes on the use of some quantifiers

c-ullük ‘only, just’

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

C-ərk ‘only, just’

Like C-ullúk, C-ərk has an invariable adverbial counterpart with initial t: tərúk ‘only, just’. The adverb is typically used together with the conjunction word ana ‘and’, forming the contrasting conjunction word anarrúk ‘but’. Adjectival C-ərk is typically used in clauses introduced by ana ‘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 ana is a dependent perfective, however, a (non-dependent) past —which is generally much more common in clauses introduced by ana— would be possible here as well. Alternatively, instead of ana conjunctive ə could be used; the verb will then be a dependent perfective.

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

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

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

C-ərček ‘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

I am going somewhere

the goats will eat somebody’s sorghum

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

the rat did not eat anything

c-ōřēk 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-ōřēk:

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

59 Underlyingly the verb is: a-ŋ-ŋ-á-ik 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-əɽɛk ‘some, other’ can be used for the introduction of a new character, as in the next example:

caɾt̪i  c-ɛn  a-kɔllánteɾɛk  k-əɾɛk  k-əká.t  cik
day  C-DIM  CONJ-old_woman  C-some  C-be:COMP  VREF
a-k-əkoʃaċɛ-k  n.ti  r-əɾɛn
CONJ:PRO-watch:DEP:INCOMP.3  from  in-firewood

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

c-əɽɛk 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)əɽɛk (agreeing with ʊl ‘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-əɾɛk  w-a.ɩk  kɛrɛn  r-ʊkəllácaɾɛn
PROBS-(C)-some  C-be:PR  where  RES-(C)-nine

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

In the example below, c-əɽɛk 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’).

arriʃ.e  wek  w-əɾɛk  cic-cɛnɛket  ána  w-əɾɛk  cic-cɛnɛket
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-əɾɛk ... c-əɾɛk expresses ‘one …, the other …’, or ‘some …, other …’. Another example:

ol  w-əɾɛk  w-ənọ  ɔ-pʊrʊk-ɛn  t- prophets
people  C-some  C-have  PERS-friend:PL  C-many
á-əɾɛk  w-ənọ  ɔ-pʊrʊk-ɛn  t-ətti
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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{dog} & \text{C-poss} & \text{Dem-C-Nearsp} & \text{Res-C-bad} \\
\text{tʊk t̪ɪ̃n en-ɪ̃t̪ɪ̃ f-ɪ̃t̪ ʊ̃k̪ɪ̃t̪ak} & \text{np} & \text{t-əkərə t} & \text{okol}
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{chicken} & \text{Res-C-small} & \text{Res-C-red} & \text{C-come:compl} \\
\text{təkərʊk i-ɪ̃t̪e t̪ɪ̃t̪e} & \text{np} & \text{t-aá t}
\end{array}
\]

the little red hen has come

Attributive adjectives can occur outside the noun phrase, as in the first example below, where ṁārran ‘young’ comes after the verbal predicate, in apposition to nokul ‘children’. In the second example it is positioned within the noun phrase. In both cases, the invariable quantifier appik ‘all’ is positioned outside the noun phrase.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{children} & \text{C-have that} & \text{Pro.C-be_killed.Plur:Incompl} & \text{Res-C-young all} \\
\text{nəkəl n-əñō itti n-ə ɲət̪ta} & \text{appik}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{chickens} & \text{Res-C-young} & \text{C-have that} & \text{Pro.C-be_killed.Plur:Incompl all} \\
\text{nəkəl ɪ̃ñ-árran n-əñō itti n-ə ɲət̪ta} & \text{appik}
\end{array}
\]

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)

---

61 In the written text, the concord is absent, but this is because it is not audible: after t (realized as r) w is regularly deleted.
11. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are clauses that function as modifiers of a noun or pronoun in the matrix clause. Lumun has subject and non-subject relative clauses, and different constructions for a restrictive and a non-restrictive relative clause. Restrictive relative clauses restrict the reference of their head to a subgroup with certain properties; non-restrictive relative clauses just provide additional information.

Relative clauses contain a concord that agrees with the (pro)noun in the matrix clause that they modify. This (pro)noun functions as subject in a subject relative clause and as something other than subject in a non-subject relative clause. A locative relative clause uses the (fixed) locative relative ná ‘where’.

Restrictive relative clauses, whether subject, non-subject or locative relative clauses have the restrictor (ɨ-, see chapter 9), non-restrictive relative clauses lack the restrictor.

A special use of non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses is in cleft constructions. Such constructions are discussed in 11.2.4.

11.1. Subject relative clauses

A subject relative clause contains a non-dependent verb. The concord on the verb agrees with the head in the matrix clause. In a restrictive subject relative clause the concord is preceded by the restrictor ɨ-:

\[\text{c-verb (non-restrictive)}\]
\[\text{i-C-verb (restrictive)}\]

The verb in a subject relative construction can be an Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, the copula c-á or a complex verb starting with an auxiliary in non-dependent TAM. One non-dependent TAM, the Past, is not used in subject relative clauses. The Past, like its dependent counterpart the Dependent Perfective, is a narrative TAM that must be preceded in the discourse by another verb, if only a verb that provides “background” information about a
state or situation. This is not compatible with use in a relative clause. A verb in a relative clause typically provides background information itself, either as additional information or in order to restrict the reference of its head.

11.1.1. Restrictive subject relative clauses

Restrictive subject relative clauses typically function as attributive modifiers. Examples follow here:

\[ \text{pol i-p-ae\text{\dagger}} \] ‘the person who will go’
\[ \text{pol i-p-\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}t} \text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{a}} \] ‘the person who was here’
\[ \text{pol i-p-at-\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}k\text{\textcircled{a}}} \] ‘the person who will come and eat it’

Restrictive subject relative clauses can modify (pro)nouns from the matrix clause in different syntactic functions. In the first example below ək\text{\textcircled{v}}n ‘they’ is modified; in the second ə\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}kk\text{\textcircled{a}} ‘Kakka’; in the third a ma\text{\textcircled{s}} ‘days’.

\[ \text{ámná 5-k\text{\textcircled{\textcircled{v}}}n i-t-á.p\text{\textcircled{v}}k\text{\textcircled{a}}} t-\text{\textcircled{\textcircled{p}}}p\text{\textcircled{t}.e} nac\text{\textcircled{a}}k i-cá …} \]

\[ \text{if pers-3a res-c-be\_beaten:incompl c\_put\_on\_compl amounts\_of\_mud in\_head as soon as those who are beaten have put mud on their heads … (fr. written story)} \]

\[ \text{ń-kw-\textcircled{w}t.\text{\textcircled{v}}} \text{\textcircled{c}}-\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}k\text{\textcircled{a}} 62 i-p-\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{r}} \text{\textcircled{\textcircled{k}}}l\text{\textcircled{a}}l\text{\textcircled{i}}s} \]

\[ \text{did you meet the Kakka who speaks English?} \]

\[ \text{ċ-kakk\text{\textcircled{o}}} p-a\text{\textcircled{a}t} ma\text{\textcircled{s}}i m-e\text{\textcircled{v}}a i-m-e\text{\textcircled{\textcircled{v}}t.} \]

\[ \text{Kakku arrived two days ago (two days which have gone)} \]

The next is an example with the copula c-á ‘be’:

---

62 When the first born child is a girl she is called Kakka. There are therefore many people called Kakka.
A person who is a rich

**Syntactic position**

In case of more attributive modifiers, a relative clause comes last:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pʊł</th>
<th>ɪ-p-a</th>
<th>pɑɾtæn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>RES-C-COP</td>
<td>rich_person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

these small children who are playing

A restrictive subject relative clause can also be placed outside the noun phrase, after the predicate. This is typically done when the relative clause is rather long. In the next example it happens twice: the first relative clause is a modifier of the subject of the matrix clause nɪlɪ ‘leaders’, the second of ul ‘people’, which functions as object in the first relative clause. Postposition of the relative clauses makes the sentence easier to follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nʊkʊl</th>
<th>ɛp-ɳ-ɾ</th>
<th>ɪ-ɲ-árrɪn</th>
<th>ɪ-ɲ-á.ɪk</th>
<th>ɲ-áppʊtæ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>DEM-C-NEARSP</td>
<td>RES-C-young</td>
<td>RES-C-be:PR</td>
<td>C-play:INCOMPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the Arab leaders who stopped the people in the roads who were escaping going up to Tɔrrʊ (Lumun homeland) found them (fr. written description)

**Independent use of the restrictive relative construction**

Like adjectives with the restrictor, and like the anaphoric demonstrative (C-en) with the restrictor, a verb phrase with the restrictor can function independently. In the example below, the relative clause ɪpɛlɪkkɑkɒt ‘who was released’ modifies the unexpressed object pʊł ‘the person’ of the matrix clause
akwóskaránna ‘while s/he let’. The object of the matrix clause is understood from the preceding clause.

k-kw-é-ellkk.áté pól ém-p-í a-kw-óskaránna 1-p-ellkkáko.t
3-C-IRR-release:PST person DEM-C-NEARSP CONJ-3-let:DEFINCOMPL RES-C-be_released:COMPL
s/he should have released this person and not the one who was released (i.e. and leave the one who was released)

11.1.2. Non-restrictive subject relative clauses

A non-restrictive subject relative clause does not restrict the reference of its head but provides additional information about it. It functions as a predicative modifier:

k-kw-ścorát.e 1-pól p-occós.t kærán itti 3-туту
3-C-come_across:COMPL in-person C-receive:COMPL name that PERS-Ту́ту
s/he came across a person called Ту́ту

Compare also the following examples, in which the object noun from the matrix clause is modified. The first has a non-restrictive subject relative clause, the second a restrictive:

m-p-ócomó.t mát m-untát.e nò-capó
1-C-take.PL:COMPL beans C-be_poured_on:COMPL on-ground
I have picked up some beans, which had fallen on the ground

m-p-ócomó.t mát 1-m-untát.e nò-capó
1-C-take.PL:COMPL beans RES-C-be_poured_on:COMPL on-ground
I have picked up the beans that had fallen on the ground

In the following example the presence of a preceding main verb, the absence of a pronoun (clitic) on the verb, and the lack of a conjunction word or clitic between the clauses provide the cue that we are dealing with a modifier of the subject pronoun of the matrix clause, and not an additional main clause. The non-restrictive relative clause comes after the full matrix clause:
I come from the bush, having gone to urinate

11.2. Non-subject relative clauses

Non-subject relative clauses are introduced by the copula c-á. The same distinction that is found in subject relative clauses between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause is found in non-subject relative clauses. In case of a restrictive non-subject relative clause, the restrictor precedes the copula. The concord of c-á agrees with the noun in the matrix clause that is modified. c-á (which is realized low in context) is followed by a (pro)nominal subject and verb which, depending on the verbal TAM, has or lacks a concord:

C-a SUBJ (C)-verb  (non-restrictive non-subject relative clause)
C-a SUBJ (C)-verb  (restrictive non-subject relative clause)

The verb in a non-subject relative clause is a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, or a complex verb starting with one of these. So, while a subject relative clause takes the non-dependent Incompletive, the non-subject relative clause takes its dependent counterpart. Compare:

pól  r-p-a.ɾəkə  ṭurīt
person  RES-C-eat:INCOMPL  food
the person who eats the food

ṭurīt  i-ʈ-á  pól  ṭɾákɔ\⁶
food  RES-C-COP  person  eat:DEPINCOMPL
the food which the person eats

Predicates with the same structure as the non-restrictive non-subject relative clause (C-a SUBJ (C)-verb) will be discussed in 11.2.4.

11.2.1. Morpho-phonology and constructions with personal pronouns

Across a morpheme boundary there is often assimilation between adjacent a and ɔ, either to a or to ɔ (see, for example, 2.2.8). After
c-á, however, whether with or without the restrictor, a sequence a-ɔ is generally realized as a diphthong: a remains, ɔ—though to a lesser extent—tends to remain audible as well (first example below). The persona prefix ɔ-, on the other hand, typically coalesces with the vowel of (1-)C-á (second example). An example is further given with non-geminated ɲ after (1-)C-á, which is regularly deleted (third example).

άρηπ 1α ɔcanonical δρηκδ ‘things which the lizards(sp.) eat’
άρηπ 1α-κομάνη 3croκδ (1α ɛκομάνη) ‘things which Komanj eats’
άρηπ 1α ɔŋγρόνη 3croκδ ‘things which the squirrel eats’

A singular personal pronoun follows (1-)C-á in its clitic form, a plural personal pronoun either in its clitic or its full form. The clitic form of the 3.pl personal pronoun is not used in this environment. Unlike the initial ɔ of a common noun, the persona prefix of the full personal pronouns coalesces with the a of (1-)C-á to short a. For this reason I write the relative marker and the full plural pronouns connected (as I do in case of the 2sg clitic).

The table below presents the paradigm of personal pronouns as part of a restrictive non-subject relative clause with a Dependent Incompletive verb. The geminated allomorph of the 2pl pronoun clitic (nn- ‘you’) is used before the vowel-initial verb in this environment. Some length of the nasal is indeed audible here (and mentally experienced by the speakers), disambiguating the 2pl form from the 1sg form.

Table 45 Restrictive non-subject relative clauses with personal pronoun and Dependent Incompletive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with full pronoun</th>
<th>with clitic pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>things which I eat</td>
<td>ɑ̊ɾəp 1a ɔŋγρηκδ</td>
<td>ɑ̊ɾəp 1a ɔŋγɾəkδ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things which you eat</td>
<td>ɑ̊ɾəp 1a ɔŋγɾəkδ</td>
<td>(1a ɲ-ɔŋγɾəkδ &gt; 1a ɔŋγɾəkδ &gt; 1a ɡɾəkδ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things which s/he eats</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɑ̊ɾəp 1a kw-ɔŋγɾəkδ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
things which we (12) eat  |  ṣeRépø yarit ɛrökš  |  ṣeRépø iy-ɛrökš  
---|---|---
things which we (1A) eat  |  ṣeRépø injɛn ɛrökš  |  ṣeRépø iy-ɛrökš  
things which we (12A) eat  |  ṣeRépø iarun ɛrökš  |  ṣeRépø iy-ɛrökš  
things which you (PL) eat  |  ṣeRépø ianɛn ɛrökš  |  ṣeRépø iy-ɛrökš  
things which they eat  |  ṣeRépø iakin ɔrökš  |  ṣeRépø iy-ɛrökš  

The modified noun from the matrix clause can have different syntactic functions in a non-subject relative clause; this function is not related to its syntactic function in the matrix clause. Examples of different syntactic functions in restrictive and non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses (as well as in the matrix clause) follow here.

11.2.2. Restrictive non-subject relative clauses

The modified noun from the matrix clause can be object in the relative clause. Two examples follow here. In the first, ṣon ‘words’ functions as object in the relative clause, in the second, ṣorrɛt ‘lines’.

m-p-ella.t  ṣon nɔ-ciƙiƙ  i-1-a  n-ɔkɔcccɛt  carĩ  c-ɛn
1-c-not_have:DEPINCOMPL words on-heart RES-C-COP 1-prepare:DEPINCOMPL day C-DEM
I lacked matters in my heart that I do that day (i.e. I did not plan anything that day)

... á-kw-ɔt-ɔmɔ  ŋaak  á-kw-ɔtɔt
... SUBJ-3-IT:DEPINCOMPL-take:DEPINCOMPL oil SUBJ-3-rub:DEPINCOMPL

ʃ-ɔrrɛt  en-n-arik  i-a  k-kw-ɔkuerdo.t  ŋ-kuriŋ
in-lines DEM-C-NEARADDR RES-(C)-COP 3-engage:COMPL withawl
... she must go and take the oil to rub it into those grooves that she has drawn with the awl (App. III, 9-11)
When the relativized noun is part of a prepositional phrase, an absolute preposition is used (see 16.6). Cf. the following pairs of examples. Each time, the second has the non-subject relative clause:

\[
\text{m-p-ocr̥rant.é} \quad \text{i-ól} \quad \text{én-n-i} \quad \text{tôrî}
\]
1-C-come_across_each_other:COMPL in-people DEM-C-NEARSP Tôrî

I met with these people in Tôrî

\[
\text{ol} \quad \text{i-a} \quad \text{m-p-ocr̥rant.é} \quad \text{tí} \quad \text{tôrî}
\]
people RES-(C-)COP 1-C-come_across_each_other:COMPL in:ABS Tôrî

the people with whom I met in Tôrî

\[
\text{m-p-ícânt.é} \quad \text{na-ār̥nkál} \quad \text{én-n-i} \quad \text{mécçin}
\]
1-C-lie_down:COMPL on-bed DEM-C-NEARSP yesterday

I slept on this bed yesterday

\[
\text{ār̥nkál} \quad \text{i-a} \quad \text{m-p-ícânt.é} \quad \text{nán} \quad \text{mécçin} \quad \text{w-óc̥tâ-t}
\]
bed RES-(C-)COP 1-C-lie_down:COMPL on:ABS yesterday C-break:COMPL

the bed on which I slept yesterday has broken down

In the second example below the relativized noun is part of a comitative construction. The relative construction makes use of the associative marker áttôt. Compare:

\[
\text{k-kw-ókâ.t} \quad \text{p-śnû} \quad \text{ittî} \quad \text{k-kw-ápar̥nttâ}
\]
3-C-be:COMPL C-have that 3-C-be_beaten_while_running:INCOMPL

\[
\text{c̥-kîn} \quad \text{c̥-paṭṭ-ðn}
\]
PERS-3A PERS-person-PL

she should have been beaten while running together with those people (lit.: she had had to be beaten while running together with those people)

\[
\text{c̥-paṭṭ-ðn} \quad \text{i-ṭ-á} \quad \text{k-kw-ókâ.t} \quad \text{p-śnû} \quad \text{ittî}
\]
PERS-person-PL RES-C-COP 3-C-be:COMPL C-have that

\[
\text{k-kw-ápar̥nttâ} \quad \text{c̥-kîn} \quad \text{āt-ṭ-út} \quad \text{t-á.ccîr̥-k} \quad \text{ŋ.ŋîn}
\]
3-C-be_beaten_while_running:INCOMPL PERS-3A ASS-C-ASS C-laugh:INCOMPL-03 with:ABS

the people together with whom she should have been beaten while running will laugh at her because of it (because she is pregnant without having undergone the rite of passage of being beaten while running) (fr. written description)
Possessors can also be relativized. In the second example, with relative clause, the possessor pronoun C-én ‘their’ expresses the possessor relation. Compare:

\[
\text{lícok} \quad \text{l-ś-ul} \quad \text{l-órr̥t̥ā.t}
\]

\[
\text{goats} \quad \text{C-of-people} \quad \text{C-be_eaten:COMPL}
\]

the goats of the people have been eaten

\[
\text{ol} \quad \text{r-a} \quad \text{lícok} \quad \text{l-en} \quad \text{l-órr̥t̥ā.t}
\]

\[
\text{people} \quad \text{RES-(C)-COP} \quad \text{goats} \quad \text{C-poss3A} \quad \text{C-be_eaten:COMPL}
\]

the people whose goats have been eaten (lit.: the people which their goats have been eaten)

There are other ways to relativize possessor-noun constructions, as illustrated in the following examples. In the first example the possessor relation is expressed through a benefactive verb, in the second through the verb ‘have’. In the first, the semantic possessor is encoded as object of a benefactive verb in the non-subject relative clause; in the second the possessor is modified by a subject relative clause. The verb lórr̥t̥āt functions as a non-restrictive subject relative clause, adding information about the goats.

\[
\text{ol} \quad \text{r-a} \quad \text{lícok} \quad \text{l-órr̥t̥ān̥e.t}
\]

\[
\text{people} \quad \text{RES-(C)-COP} \quad \text{goats} \quad \text{C-be_eaten_for:COMPL}
\]

people whose goats have been eaten (lit.: people who the goats have been eaten to)

\[
\text{ol} \quad \text{r-ńo} \quad \text{lícok} \quad \text{l-órr̥t̥ā.t}
\]

\[
\text{people} \quad \text{RES-(C)-have} \quad \text{goats} \quad \text{C-be_eaten:COMPL}
\]

people whose goats have been eaten (lit.: people who have the goats eaten)

11.2.3. Non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses

The modified noun from the matrix clause can be object in the relative clause. Two examples follow here. In the first, pol ‘person’ functions as object in the relative clause, in the second, mán ‘house’. In the matrix clause they function as subject and as object. Like in non-restrictive subject relative clauses, the relative clause comes after the matrix clause, but is not another main clause:
The man died, killed by a dog (the man died whom the dog killed)

m-p-ɔnù man m-a m-p-akerù t kátókàlì
1-c-have house c-cop 1-c-trade:compl Kadugli

I have a house, which I bought in Kadugli

Interestingly, in the next example the relative clause has a reason reading, suggesting that the verb ɔkərɛllɔ ‘bite’ takes a double object: the person bitten (‘I’) as well as the result of the biting (the marks).

m-p-ɔnù nɛplá n-á ʃrɛk w-ɔkərɛllɔ r-m
1-c-have marks c-cop ants(sp.) c-bite:compl-o1

I have marks because the ants (sp.) have bitten me

The following sentence also makes use of a non-restrictive non-subject relative clause. náʃtɛnta ‘of what’ is the predicate, na nkwɔnù ‘that you have’ modifies the (plural) noun nɛrɛ ‘fear’ from the matrix clause:

nɛrɛ n-ʃtɛntá n-á n-kw-ɔnù
fear c-of what c-cop 2-c-have

the fear that you have is for what? (i.e. why are you afraid?)

The construction in the first example below relativizes a possessor phrase (compare the second example below which contains a possessor phrase modifying tɔrɪt ‘food’). The concord on c-á is tǐ, agreeing with tɔrɪt ‘food’. The antecedent, however, is in fact the whole preceding clause ‘the food got spoilt just like that’. The possessor element is subsumed in absolute connexive c-ɛn, which actually establishes the reference to the antecedent, while the concord (only) establishes grammatical agreement:

---

63 The sentence forms a tonal minimal pair with an example given in 11.3, which is interpreted as containing the locative relative ná.

64 Alternative realization: wɔkərɛllɔrín (with tone bridge). Both realizations don’t need anything to follow.
A temporal phrase is relativized in a variant of the standard opening of Lumun stories ‘on one upon a time …’. The variant with relative clause (first example below) lacks the conjunctive particle á-.

Compare:

caɾi c-aɾek c-əká.t cık c-a-áʈəɾəpɛ ana cɨmɑntɛɾi ...  
\text{day} \quad \text{c-some} \quad \text{c-be:COMPL} \quad \text{VREF} \quad \text{c-COP-rabbit} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{hedgehog}

once upon a time, the rabbit and the hedgehog ... (more lit.: there was some day on which the rabbit and the hedgehog ...) (fr. written story)

caɾi c-aɾek c-əká.t cık a-áʈəɾəpɛ ana cɨmɑntɛɾi ...  
\text{day} \quad \text{c-some} \quad \text{c-be:COMPL} \quad \text{VREF} \quad \text{CONJ-rabbit} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{hedgehog}

once upon a time, the rabbit and the hedgehog ... (more lit.: there was some day, and the rabbit and the hedgehog ...)

The following is also an interesting case, relativizing a comitative construction:

m-p-áɾətɔk p-a-ɾon  t-a.ɪk  
\text{1-c-still} \quad \text{c-COP,PERS-12A} \quad \text{c-be:PR}

I am still (staying) with you (for example in answer to the question ‘when will you be going?’, more lit.: ‘I am still being we are’)

11.2.4. Cleft constructions: topicalization of a patient, instrument or comitative constituent

Non-restrictive non-subject relative clauses also function in cleft constructions. This cleft-construction topicalizes the patient of an
action by putting it into subject position, however, unlike a construction with a passive verb, without downplaying the agent of the action. The construction focuses the topic (or theme). The construction can also be applied to constituents with instrument role or in comitative construction. Such constituents are typically grammatically encoded as adjuncts, but now function as subject of the copula. The copula is the main verb, linking the subject with a clausal constituent.

The sentences below are full statements answering the questions ‘what happened to the man’ and ‘what happened to the goat’, respectively. My consultant (JS) translated the Lumun expressions into English with a passive construction. The topicalized argument is part of the core of the sentence, and not in extraposition: ‘C-a SUBJ verb’ is not a grammatical format for a main clause. Moreover there is regular assimilation across the word boundary, which would not be the case if the ‘person’ and the ‘goat’ in the examples below were extraposed. Note also the absence of an object pronoun on the verb ‘kill’ in the first example below. It is not possible for the topicalized argument to be pronominally referenced in the embedded clause.

The verb used in the embedded clause is a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, or a complex verb starting with one of these. The examples following here have a Completive verb, the last the Present of ‘be’.

\begin{verbatim}
pol  p-a  tok  t-okkwat.ê  [pol aβa ō tok“ôdë]
\end{verbatim}

the man was killed by a dog (lit.: the man is the dog killed)

\begin{verbatim}
imit  w-a  tok  t-okkwat.ê  [imir a ō tok“ôdë]
\end{verbatim}

the goat was killed by a dog (lit.: the goat is the dog killed)

The following sentence could be a reply to someone who says that he likes to have a certain dog. The answer, which makes use of the patient-topicalizing cleft, communicates that the dog cannot be given away because Lalu already gave it to somebody else.
the dog has (already) been given to Lotti by Lalu (lit.: the dog is Lalu has given to Lotti)

In the next example a constituent with instrumental role is topicalized, taking up subject function. The sentence can be a reply to the question ‘what was done with this stick?’

with this stick a snake was killed (lit.: this stick is a snake was killed with)

In this example a comitative constituent is topicalized. It can be an answer to ‘where is your brother?’:

my brother is with me

11.3. The locative relative ná ‘where’

Non-subject relative clauses modifying a noun with locative semantics and expressing that something takes place at that location make use of a different construction. In such cases the locative relative marker ná (realized low) is used: na SUBJ-(C)-verb. ná selects the same TAMs as the marker of non-subject relative clause (t-)C-á (a Dependent Incompletive, a Completive, the Present of ‘be’, a defective verb, or a complex verb starting with an auxiliary in non-dependent TAM). I represent ná with a high tone since its behaviour is compatible with that of a monomoraic element with a high or a rising tone (it cannot receive a high tone from a preceding element; it can only be realized with a high tone due to tone bridge). The choice between a high and a rising tone is arbitrary because the element has no prepausal realization.

The exact phonological and morphological make-up of ná ‘where’ is not clear. Instead of assimilating to n, as would be expected (see
2.1.1 in the chapter on phonology), a preceding word-final t or k undergoes lenition before ná, as it would before a vowel-initial word (some examples of this are given in section 2.1.1). Lenition of a preceding t and k suggests that the locative relative is actually n-ná, with a moraic initial nasal. Moreover, at least one speaker spelled it as <ina>, but the presence of a vowel before the nasal was rejected by JS. Writing a vowel might then also point at an underlying form n-ná. Length of the nasal is, however, not audible, nor was it intuitively acceptable for my consultant (JS). For this reason I represent the element as ná.

In addition, it is not clear whether the element ná is itself morphologically complex or not. ná could be a realization of c-á, which introduces a non-restrictive non-subject relative clause. An argument in favour of this is that ná selects the same TAMs as (ɪ-)c-á. However, if ná historically is a realization of c-á, it is unclear what the concord n would have agreed with. Would Lumun have had locative nouns, like the Bantu languages, perhaps with a n-initial locative prefix, relating to the current preposition nɔ-‘on, at’? Since a convincing analysis is lacking, I just represent the element as ná and gloss it as a single unit.

Like the non-subject relative, the locative relative fuses with the persona prefix (ɔ-) of a following personal pronoun, kinship term or personal name (first example below). It does not fuse with the initial vowel ɔ of a common noun:

k-kw-á.ɪk  ná-láło
3-C-bepr  where:rel.pers-lalo
s/he is (at the place) where Lalú is

m-p-ɔnó  neplâ  na  ōřék  w-škórëllọ́r-m
1-C-have  marks  where:rel  ants(sp.)  c-bite:compl-o1
I have marks where the ants (sp.) have bitten me

---

65 Alternative realization: wókórélọ́rí (with tone bridge). Both realizations don’t need anything to follow. Tonal minimal pair with an example given in 11.2.3, with non-restrictive non-subject relative construction.
Another example with the locative relative follows here.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m-p-} & \text{oká.t} & \text{táru} & \text{na} & \text{m-p-} & \text{kwóntá.t.e} \\
\text{1-c-be:compl} & \text{táru} & \text{where:rel} & \text{1-c-be:born at:compl}
\end{align*}
\]

I was in Táru, where I was born.

In the following example, the relative clause introduced by ná modifies the noun karən 'place'. karən cannot be left out here, since the benefactive verb ɔ́nɛ ‘go to’ is used: the verb needs an object noun expressing the goal-argument:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{... a-} & \text{kw-íŋ.kantet} & \text{kárań} & \text{na} & \text{k-kw-á.ık} & \text{p-á.kkwót} & \text{karraŋ} \\
\text{conj-3-go:to:dep:prf} & \text{place} & \text{where:rel} & \text{3-c-be:pr} & \text{c-construct:incompl wall}
\end{align*}
\]

and then he goes to the location where he is constructing the wall.

In combination with the non-benefactive ɛ́ ‘go’ the locative phrase nɔ-karən ‘at place’ can be present, but also absent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{... a-} & \text{kw-íŋk} & (\text{nɔ-kárań}) & \text{na} & \text{k-kw-á.ık} & \text{p-á.kkwót} & \text{karraŋ} \\
\text{conj-3-go:dep:prf} & \text{on-place} & \text{where:rel} & \text{3-c-be:pr} & \text{c-construct:incompl wall}
\end{align*}
\]

ná is commonly used without antecedent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na} & \text{fkkọ} & \text{cík} & \text{m-p-} & \text{ffkkọ} & \text{cík} \\
\text{where:rel} & \text{(2)-sit:dep:incompl vref} & \text{1-c-sit:incompl vref}
\end{align*}
\]

where you will stay, I will stay

(Ruth 1:16)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k-kw-á.ık} & \text{ná} & \text{kópá} & \text{k-á.ık} \\
\text{3-c-be:pr} & \text{where:rel} & \text{meat} & \text{c-be:pr}
\end{align*}
\]

s/he is (at the place) where the meat is (this expression can be used in the market: the person is in the part of the market where the meat is sold).

Note in the following example that a Present of ‘be’ is absent in the clause introduced by ná. An other example of this was presented above (kkwáňk náláló ‘s/he is where Lalu is’). In both cases the subject of the relative clause is human.
I will take the pot to where the old woman is.

In order to express ablative ‘from where’, the absolute preposition ŋŋ ‘with, by, from’ is added:

m-p-a.nékə kómmok na kəllân
1-c-take:INCOMPL pot where:REL old_woman

k-kw-á.kənn-ɪ̀  na  k-kw-áa.t  ŋŋ
3-c-NEG-say:DEPCOMPL where:REL 3-c-come:COMPL with:ABS

s/he did not say where s/he came from.
12. Verbs

This chapter discusses verbal inflection: the morphological marking of verbs for mood, tense and aspect, modality, negation, irrealis and deixis, as well as verbal complexes.

In section 12.1 I present some terminology I use in this chapter. Section 12.2 mentions the form for citing a verbal lexeme; 12.3 presents the morphological structure of the verbal word. In 12.4 I give the base forms of verbs and their segmental and tonal characteristics. Section 12.5 discusses the so-called ‘basic TAMs’ and in 12.6 I make some general remarks about verbs with defective inflection. 12.7 is devoted to the verb ɔkå ‘be’, a verb that has an extra TAM-stem and a basic TAM based on this TAM-stem. ‘Be’ can function as copular verb, as main (locative/existential) verb, or as auxiliary verb. Auxiliary verbs other than ɔkå are discussed in 12.8 to 12.20. Some defective verbs are discussed in 12.21 and 12.22. The final section of this chapter (12.23) presents some combinations of auxiliary verbs.

12.1. TAMs and TAM-stems

In order to describe Lumun verbal inflection, I distinguish between “TAM-stems” and “TAMs”. In “TAM-stems”, TAM is short for tense-aspect-mood and refers to inflectional morphology expressing these grammatical categories. In addition, the inflectional morphology of TAM-stems reflects “dependency” versus “non-dependency”, so that TAM-stems (and also TAMs) can be divided into dependent and non-independent ones. TAM as in “TAMs” refers to the inflectional structure of a whole verbal word or even a whole verbal complex, involving also negation, irrealis, deixis and categories of modality.

TAM-stems are building stones of verbal words. A verbal word contains at least one TAM-stem. Some TAM-stems can themselves form a complete verbal word, other TAM-stems are obligatorily combined with a concord (i.e. a marker of agreement with the verbal subject).
When a verbal word contains just one TAM-stem I call it a simple verbal word, when it contains more than one TAM-stem I call it a complex verbal word. In a complex verbal word a least one TAM-stem is of an auxiliary verb, while at most one TAM-stem is of a main verb. An example of a complex verbal word is the following. It contains three TAM-stems: a TAM-stem of the negation auxiliary, a TAM-stem of the auxiliary ‘again’ and a TAM-stem of the main verb ‘drink’:

\[ m\-p\-\ddot{a}nn\-\ddot{a}pp\-\ddot{i}kk\ddot{o} \]
\[ 1\-c\-NEG\-again\:DEPINCOMPL\-drink\:DEPINCOMPL \]
I will not drink it again

A verbal word can also consist of one or more TAM-stems of auxiliary verbs only; in such cases the verbal word forms part of a verbal complex and the TAM-stem of the main verb is part of a separate verbal word within that complex. In a verbal complex there is one main verb TAM-stem. The following is an example of a verbal complex consisting of two verbal words. The first verbal word contains one TAM-stem of an auxiliary verb (‘be’), the second has two TAM-stems, one of the negation auxiliary and one of the main verb ‘lie down’:

\[ m\-p\-\ddot{a}ik \quad p\-\ddot{a}nn\-\dddot{ic}at \]
\[ 1\-c\-bec\:PR \quad c\-NEG\-lie\_down\:DEPINCOMPL \]
I am not lying down

Whereas TAM-stems are building stones of verbal words and complex verbs, I use the notion TAM to name the inflectional structure of a verbal word as a whole. The inflectional structure (‘TAM’) of a complex verbal word can thus involve more than just the categories expressed by TAM-stems (tense-aspect-mood and dependency); this is the case when an auxiliary verb is present that expresses another notion, such as, e.g., negation, possibility or deixis. The TAM of the verb in the example below is Negative Incompletive (consisting of a concord, a TAM-stem of the negation auxiliary and a TAM-stem of the main verb ‘work’). Note that I use small letters for the names of TAM-stems and initial capitals for the names of TAMs.
the child does not work

In some cases I also give a name to the inflectional structure (TAM) of a whole verbal complex. I only do this for certain common types of verbal complexes. The verbal complex in the example ‘I am not lying down’ (see above) is a case of a verbal complex which, as a whole, can be called a Negative Present Continuous. The Negative Present Continuous is composed of the Present TAM of ‘be’ and the Negative Incompletive TAM of ‘lie down’.

Verbs typically have seven separate TAM-stems, which can be divided into three groups: the non-dependent TAM-stems (i.e. the incompletive, completive and past TAM-stem), the dependent TAM-stems (i.e. the dependent incompletive, dependent completive and dependent perfective TAM-stem), and the imperative TAM-stem. The dependent incompletive TAM-stem is the base form (i.e. the uninflected form) of the verb. The other TAM-stems are described in terms of changes applied to this base.

Based on the TAM-stems, verbs typically have six ‘basic TAMs’ (see 12.5.2-12.5.7). One of the TAM-stems, the dependent completive, has a status that is different from the others, and no basic TAM is based on it. Using data presented in the sections 12.14 to 12.16, I argue in 12.17 (on negation) that after a negation auxiliary main verbs have an additional TAM-stem, which can be called a dependent completive TAM-stem. Data presented in 12.14 to 12.16 lead to the analysis that this dependent completive TAM-stem is a development of the dependent incompletive TAM-stem, brought about by inflectional reduction (grammaticalization) of a historical Completive auxiliary. The auxiliary discussed in 12.14 actually still has this Completive form, alongside a reduced variant, demonstrating its tonal effects on the main verb TAM-stem. The auxiliaries discussed in 12.15 and 12.16 have a partly reduced Completive auxiliary, next to a more fully reduced variant. The various stages of grammaticalization of these different auxiliaries show how the dependent completive TAM-stem has developed from the dependent incompletive TAM-stem.
One verb has an eighth TAM-stem: ‘be’ has an additional present TAM-stem (see 12.7.1).

There are two positions for inflectional morphology, determining the TAM-stem: the TAM1-position, replacing the initial vowel of the stem, and the TAM2 position, replacing the final (or last) vowel of the stem or following it. In addition, the TAM-stems are marked by tone patterns. Verbs inflect differently depending on their segmental, tonal and morphological make-up (section 12.5). In order to give an idea at this stage, the seven TAM-stems of the verb ṣrēkə ‘work’ are presented here. The segments marking the different TAM-stems are underlined. +H denotes a floating high tone. This tone does not manifest itself in prepausal position. In context, however, it can surface on a following element.

**TAM-stems of ṣrēkə ‘work’:**

- ṣrēkə + H  dependent incompletive TAM-stem
- ḡrēkə + H  incompletive TAM-stem
- ṣrēkáte  past TAM-stem
- ṣrēkat + H  dependent perfective TAM-stem
- ṣrēkóti  completive TAM-stem
- ṣrēkó + H  dependent completive TAM-stem
- ṣrēkí  imperative TAM-stem

12.2. Citing the verb as lexeme

When referring to a verb as a lexeme, I use its base form: the dependent incompletive TAM-stem. This TAM-stem functions without any addition as Dependent Incompletive TAM and can thus be cited in isolation without problem. It displays the segmental and tonal structure of the verb. It is noted, however, that several dependent incompletive TAM-stems have a floating high tone. This high tone can surface on a next element, but if there is no such element, it leaves no trace. Using the citation form as an isolated form, I therefore do not represent an (eventual) floating high tone.
The base form of the verb will often just be called “the verb”. Thus, for example, ᐃركة and ᐃㇰᐠناقش are TAMs of the verb ᐃركة ‘work’ (respectively Imperative and Negative Incompletive). In this chapter, the verb will sometimes be presented between parentheses next to the example that contains a form (TAM) of it.

12.3. Morphological structure of verbal words

In its shortest form, a Lumun verbal word consists of just a TAM-stem – and TAM-stems themselves are morphologically marked (through segments and/or tone) as compared to the base form (the dependent incompletive TAM-stem). A verbal word can also be longer than just a TAM-stem: a number of clitic morphemes can precede the TAM-stem and some can follow it. There are three slots for auxiliaries (other than irrealis) in the scheme below, though it is not impossible that longer strings could be constructed. They would, however, be uncommon in natural speech.

slot 1: conjunctive á-, subjunctive â-, the restrictor ᑕ-, focus marker (aʃk- or a-C-C.66)
slot 2: subject pronominal
slot 3: concord (nb. concord in Lumun is always subject concord)
slot 4-6: auxiliary (TAM-stem)
slot 7: irrealis auxiliary
slot 8: main verb TAM-stem
slot 9: object pronominal, vague reference clitic -ɪk
slot 10: clitic adverbial particles -a, -na, -tu, -mɛ, -me, clitic question particles -ɪ, -ɛ, -a.

Certain auxiliaries can be proclitic to the main verb. They have a reduced set of TAM-stems: some have just one (non-dependent) TAM-stem, others have a non-dependent vs. a dependent TAM-stem, again others have a three way distinction: an incompletive, a dependent incompletive and a completive TAM-stem.

---

66 a followed by double concord.
There are restrictions on combinations of morphemes occupying different slots. Some observations:

1. if slot 1 contains a focus marker, slots 2 and 3 are empty;
2. non-dependent TAM-stems are immediately preceded by the focus marker (slot 1), a concord (slot 3), or the irrealis auxiliary (slot 7).
3. dependent TAM-stems are not immediately preceded by a concord. If the main verb is a non-dependent TAM-stem, slot 3 can only be filled if slot 4 contains a non-dependent auxiliary.

Some verbs must be combined with the vague reference particle cɪk. In principle cɪk is a separate word. In the Present of ‘be’, however, it only occurs as enclitic -ɪk (slot 8). In certain other cases it can alternatively be realized as a separate word or as enclitic -ɪk (see chapter 15.2 about cɪk).

TAMs can consist of more than one verbal word. This is the case for auxiliary + main verb constructions, whether or not containing the conjunctive marker á, e.g.,

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{pol} & \text{p-ɔká.t} & \text{cɪk} & \text{a-p-ɛ̃ko} \\
\text{person} & \text{C-be:COMPL} & \text{VREF} & \text{CONJ-pro-eat:DEPINCOMPL} \\
\end{array} \quad \text{KO} \text{pá} \\
\text{the person was eating meat}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{pol} & \text{p-a.ɪk} & \text{p-a.ɛ̃ko} & \text{ko} \text{pá} \\
\text{person} & \text{C-be:PR} & \text{C-eat:INCOMPL} & \text{meat} \\
\end{array} \quad \text{KO} \text{pá} \\
\text{the person is eating meat}
\]

The sections in this chapter on basic and complex TAMs present the minimal structure of these TAMs. The basic TAMs either consist of just the TAM-stem (the imperative TAM-stem and the dependent TAM-stems), or of concord + TAM-stem (the non-dependent TAM-stems). As stated before, TAMs which have the concord can only lack it when it is replaced by a focus marker.

The tones of TAM-stems — whether of main verbs or of auxiliaries — are represented in the way they surface in an environment where
they do not undergo tonal influence from other elements. Non-dependent TAM-stems are presented as if only preceded by a low-toned noun (for example pul 'person') and a concord; dependent TAM-stems of low verbs as if preceded by the conjunctive particle á and a low noun (for example á- + pul, giving a-pól), dependent TAM-stem of verbs with a high (or falling) tone by the conjunctive particle á and a noun with final high tone (for example á- + parí, giving a-parí): in these cases no high tone will be added to the verb, nor will a verbal high tone be changed to low. In practice, tones will often surface differently, due to various influences of the environment.

All TAM-stems form the basis of a basic TAM, except the dependent completive TAM-stem. This TAM-stem only occurs after a negation auxiliary (see 12.17).

12.4. Segmental and tonal shape of verbs

12.4.1. Segmental shape

Underived verbs (i.e. verbs in their base form) are predominantly bimoraic or trimoraic, derived verbs are often longer. An example of a long verb (seven morae) is ɔkkáporättakie 'make sb./sth. return'. Monomoraic verbs, that is verbs with only one tone-bearing unit, are not attested.

Verbs are vowel-initial and end in a vowel or in vowel + t. The initial vowel can be any vowel (i, ɪ, u, o, ɔ, e, a or ə), the last vowel, whether or not a final t still follows, is restricted to o, e or a. Initial ə is very rare. The vowel ɔ is very common, both initially and as last vowel. Of the vowels in last position, ɔ is the only "neutral" one, not having any association of its own with meaning. Both as initial vowel and as last vowel, ɔ can replaced by another vowel in inflection, as last vowel it can also be replaced in derivation. This suggests that initial and last ɔ are, unlike other vowels in those positions, not part of the actual lexical root or stem, but default "fillers" to complete the structure of the verb.
The initial vowel, the last vowel and the presence or absence of a final \( t \) are elements that are relevant for the subdivision of verbs because they correlate with differences in the TAM-stems (and thus with different inflectional forms). Both for the initial vowel and for the last vowel of the verb, a distinction must be made between the vowel \( \sigma \) and the other vowels. Thus, for inflection, the following segmental differences between verbs are important:

- The vowel \( \sigma \) as initial vowel differs from other initial vowels in that it is subject to inflectional change, whereas the other initial vowels always remain the same. Initial \( \sigma \) changes into \( a \) in the incompletive TAM-stem.
- A final (or last) vowel \( \sigma \) is replaced by an inflectional morpheme in the imperative, past and dependent perfective TAM-stems. Other final (or last) vowels do not change: an inflectional element is only added after it.
- Presence or absence of a final \( t \) correlates with differences in the formation of imperative and completive TAM-stems. In the past and dependent perfective TAM-stems, the presence or absence of a final \( t \) is neutralized.

A distinction on grounds of differences in TAM-stem formation must also be made between benefactive verbs, ending in \( \text{ne} \), \( \text{ne} \) or \( \text{ne} \), or in \( \text{ntet} \), \( \text{ntet} \) or \( \text{ntet} \), versus non-benefactive verbs ending in \( \varepsilon \) or \( \varepsilon t \) (this will be further explained in the section on basic TAMs).

Finally, passive verbs ending in \(-ak\sigma(t)\) or \(-ek\sigma(t)\) and derived from verbs ending in \(-a(t)\) and \(-e(t)\) respectively, have a deviating past and dependent perfective formation.

12.4.2. Tone patterns

In their citation form, all verbs have a low tone on the first mora. The main (surface) tone patterns of verbs are \( L.L^* \) (all morae have a low tone) and \( L.H.L^* \) (the second mora has a high tone).\(^{67}\) There are

\(^{67}\) In the tonal representations of verbs (\(^*\)) stands for \( \geq 1 \). For example, \( L.L^* \) refers to verbs of any length (that is, of two morae or more) that are completely low.
two minor tone patterns: L.HL and L.L.HL (in both cases the final mora has a HL-contour).

L.L*  imma ‘see’, enkke ‘try’, akkonako ‘smell’
L.H.L*  akero ‘trade’, apille ‘fear’, kwacicat ‘search’
L.HL  e3 ‘go’, arə ‘cultivate’
L.L.HL  oɾəkə ‘eat’

These patterns can be divided into a low tone class (I) and a high tone class; the latter is again subdivided into the main pattern L.H.L* (IIA) and the smaller pattern L.HL/L.L.HL (IIB). These three groups correlate with inflectional differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>L.L*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>L.H.L*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>L.HL/L.L.HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In class IIB, most verbs with a final HL-contour consist of two morae only, L.L.HL is rare. This suggests that the pattern is basically the L.H.L (class IIA) pattern realized on two tone-bearing units instead of three or more. This is supported by longer derivations of L.HL verbs: the Low part of the falling tone is now realized on the following mora:

əllo ‘run’ vs. əlline ‘run because of something’

The trimoraic verbs with a final HL-contour are a very limited set. All attested trimoraic verbs with a final HL-contour have the vowel ə as their second mora, and this ə either precedes or follows a rhotic sound. Possibly, these verbs were bimoraic L.HL verbs in an earlier stage of the history of the language and have only become trimoraic through ə-insertion, dissolving a disallowed consonant cluster.

əɾəkə  ‘eat’
əɾəpə  ‘move down’
əɾəpəkə  ‘make move down, put down’
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\textbf{पकरे} ‘burn’
\textbf{पकरो} ‘bite, get burnt; untie’

In longer derivations based on these verbs, the High tone surfaces on the second mora. These longer derivations are thus an exception to the general rule that derived verbs retain the tone pattern of the underived verb:

\textbf{प्रकरो} ‘eat’ / \textbf{प्रको} ‘eat for’

12.4.3. Correlation between initial vowels and tone patterns

Any vowel can constitute the initial vowel of a verb, but there is a correlation between the initial vowel of the verb and its tone pattern. When the initial vowel is \textbf{ा}, the tones cannot be predicted:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{पकर} & ‘cut’ & L.L \\
\textbf{पत्तर} & ‘fight’ & L.H.L \\
\textbf{पल्ली} & ‘run’ & L.HL \\
\textbf{प्रकरो} & ‘eat’ & L.L.HL \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Verbs with an initial vowel other than \textbf{ा} have a L.L* tone pattern:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{िक} & ‘drink’ & L.L \\
\textbf{ित्तर} & ‘help’ & L.L.L \\
\textbf{ुन} & ‘pour’ & L.L \\
\textbf{प्रकर} & ‘get up, start’ & L.L.L \\
\textbf{रा} & ‘refuse’ & L.L \\
\textbf{े} & ‘speak’ & L.L \\
\textbf{नक} & ‘call’ & L.L.L \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

There are a few exceptions, all starting with \textbf{े}. These verbs have a L.HL pattern:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{े} & ‘go’ & L.HL \\
\textbf{ेे} & ‘stab, blow’ & L.HL \\
\textbf{ेते} & ‘give’ & L.HL \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
12.4.4. Overview of segmental and tonal properties relevant for TAM-inflection

Summarizing, the following divisions in verbs are relevant for TAM-inflection:

- the three tone patterns: L.L*, L.H.L* and L.HL/L.L.HL
- ς-initial versus non-ς-initial verbs
- vowel-final versus t-final verbs
- ς-final versus ε or a-final verbs, ςt-final versus et or at-final verbs
- benefactive verbs ending in me, enε, anε, mgreso̰/ething or angreso̰ vs. non-benefactive verbs ending in ε or et

The six basic TAMs (based on six of the seven TAM-stems), are discussed in the next section. A few verbs have partly irregular TAM-stems. Verbs that do not have the full paradigm of TAMs (some verbs have only one) are discussed in sections 12.8-12.22, which deal with auxiliaries and other verbs with defective inflection.

12.5. The basic TAMs

Lumun verbs have six basic TAMs:

- Imperative
- Incompletive
- Dependent Incompletive
- Past
- Dependent Perfective
- Completive

As remarked earlier, TAMs are built on the basis of TAM-stems. The dependent completive TAM-stem is only part of complex verbs with a negation auxiliary, it does not form a basic TAM. The Incompletive, the Past and the Completive contain a concord that agrees with the subject, the others do not. A list of the basic TAMs of the verb ḕlts ‘run’ follows here. The segmental marking in the TAM-stems is underlined. TAMs have basic tone patterns which correlate with the tone pattern of the verb.
Chapter 12

TAM Structure of the TAM example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Structure of the TAM</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>= imperative TAM-stem</td>
<td>ᶠᵤ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>= concord + incompletive TAM-stem</td>
<td>ᵇˡ尤其是在-志强</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep. Incompletive</td>
<td>= dependent incompletive TAM-stem</td>
<td>ʰගمناسب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>= concord + past TAM-stem</td>
<td>ʰ הקשר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep. Perfective</td>
<td>= dependent perfective TAM-stem</td>
<td>ʰلاقات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>= concord + completive TAM-stem</td>
<td>ʰ Relationships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Locative-applicative suffix and TAM-marking

Verbs with the Locative-applicative suffix have basic TAM-morphology that is different from the basic TAM-morphology of vowel-final verbs. The presence (or absence) of the Locative-applicative suffix can be recognized in Imperatives, Incompletives (both non-dependent and dependent) and Completives, but not in Pasts and dependent Perfectives. In the latter TAMs the difference between vowel-final and t-final verbs is neutralized. The examples below contrast TAMs of the verbs ᶠิ ‘push’ and ᶠxffffffff ‘send’ (see 14.2 for some remarks about the semantics of these related verbs):

Table 46 TAMs of ᶠิ ‘push’ and ᶠxffffffff ‘send’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>ᶠิ ‘push’</th>
<th>ᶠxffffffff ‘send’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>ᶠิ</td>
<td>ᶠxffffffff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>ʰ للغا</td>
<td>ʰ للغا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep. Incompletive</td>
<td>ʰ셌</td>
<td>ʰペット</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>ʰペット</td>
<td>ʰペット</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ʰButtonText</td>
<td>ʰButtonText</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep. Perfective</td>
<td>ʰButtonText</td>
<td>ʰButtonText</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.5.1. Non-dependency versus dependency

Dependent TAMs or TAM-stems lack agreement with the subject, i.e. they are not preceded by a concord. If dependency is not mentioned in the gloss (irrespective of whether it concerns a main verb, an auxiliary or a copular verb), the TAM-stem is non-dependent. Likewise, I speak of Incompletive vs. Dependent Incompletive TAM and Past vs. Dependent Perfective TAM.
Dependent TAMs occur in specific syntactic environments, in which there is typically preceding discourse that allows for the lesser grammatical marking on the verb. The sections on the Dependent Incompletive and the Dependent Perfective specify such environments. Only when the subject is a speech participant (so that subject reference is clear from the extra-textual situation), preceding discourse can be absent, i.e. in hortatives and mild commands.

Arguably, the Imperative is a dependent TAM as well, and the imperative TAM-stem a dependent TAM-stem. However, since non-dependent counterparts are lacking, dependency does not need to be specified.

The six basic TAMs are discussed below.

12.5.2. The Imperative

Lumun Imperatives address a singular addressee. They consist of the imperative TAM-stem:

\[ \text{Imperative} = \text{imperative TAM-stem} \]

Verbs that end in a or e mark the imperative stem (and thus the Imperative) only through tone. Irrespective of the tone pattern of these verbs, their Imperative is completely low. This includes the tonally irregular verb \( ε̂ \) ‘stab, blow’. The Imperative of \( ɔ \)-final verbs is marked both tonally and segmentally: the final \( ɔ \) changes into \( i \) or \( u \)\(^{68} \). The first group thus has a final high tone (pattern L*.H), the Imperatives in \( u \) are completely low. There is some correlation between the tone pattern of an \( ɔ \)-final verb and the shape of its imperative stem:

- imperative stems based on an \( ɔ \)-final verb with all-low tone pattern

---

\(^{68}\) In some +ATR items (i.e. with an \( ı \) and/or \( u \) in the verb root), harmonization effects were observed. The final vowel of the Imperative was articulated as [ı], or towards [i] rather than as [i]. In other such items however, harmonization effects were not perceived by the researcher, nor by her consultants. In all cases, \( ı \) is used in the spelling. +ATR items with an Imperative ending in \( ɔ \) are not attested.
mostly end in ɪ́;  
- the great majority of imperative stems based on an ɔ-final verb with L.H.L* tone pattern end in ɪ́;  
- the imperative stems of ɔ-final verbs with a L.HL/L.L.HL pattern all end in ʊ.

Verbs ending in t form imperative stems by changing the final t into ɪ́, with a H tone on the final ɛ (pattern L.L*.H). Verbs ending in -ene, -ene or -ane (i.e. benefactive stems) form imperative stems by adding a final t and taking an all-low tone pattern. Verbs ending in enṭet, enṭet or anṭet do not change segmentally, but adopt an all-low tone pattern. The verb enṭet ‘give’ patterns with the verbs ending in enṭet, enṭet or anṭet.

The patterns of imperative stem formation are presented in the table below. If a kind of marking is rare for verbs with a certain shape and tone pattern this is mentioned in the third column.

Table 47 Imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbal ending and tone pattern</th>
<th>verb examples</th>
<th>marking of imperative TAM-stem</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ ; L.L*, L.H.L*</td>
<td>ɪɔ ‘die’</td>
<td>-ɪ́; L*.H</td>
<td>ɪ́ ɪɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔccɨɾɔ ‘laugh’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔccɨɾ.ɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔɾɛkɔ ‘work’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔɾɛk.ɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔmɑɾətɔ ‘finish’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔmɑɾət.ɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ ; L.HL/L.L.HL</td>
<td>ɔlлɔ ‘run’</td>
<td>-ʊ́; L.L*</td>
<td>ʊ́ ɔlл.ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔɾəkɔ ‘eat’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔɾək.ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ɔ ; L.L*</td>
<td>ɔlлɔ ‘move aside’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ʊ ɔlл.ʊ (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkʊkʊwɔ ‘blow’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ʊ ɔkʊkw.ʊ (rare)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69 This is the Pluralational form of ɔkwɔ ‘blow’, which (also) has an Imperative in ʊ. There may be more such cases. It is, however, not the case that Pluractionals with L.H.L* pattern ending in ɔ and based on L.HL/L.L.HL verbs always (or even generally) have ʊ in the Imperative. Compare: ɔʈʊ ‘pull!’ (< ɔʈʊ) vs. ɔʈʊ tɪ ‘pull repeatedly!’ (< ɔʈʊtɪ), and: ɔkəɾʊ ‘bite!’ (< ɔkəɾʊ) vs. ɔkəɾɛlɪ ‘bite repeatedly!’ (< ɔkəɾɛlɪ).
An example with the Imperative of Ṽaká ‘eat’ follows here, showing that there is no high tone involved. mait ‘beans’ is itself all-low and remains low:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ṽakó</th>
<th>mait</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eat:IMP</td>
<td>beans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

eat the beans!

An Imperative can in principle be formed from all verbs, except for a small set of defective verbs. Passive verbs are in principle open to Imperative formation. The Imperatives in the examples below refer to rites of passage involving getting beaten and scarification of the body.
CHAPTER 12

\textbf{apəɽetta} \textbf{t̪ʊɒpɒt} \textbf{en-ʈ-ɪ} \textbf{( < apəɽetta)}

get beaten this year!

\textbf{oməkt} \textbf{t̪ʊɒpɒt} \textbf{en-ʈ-ɪ} \textbf{( < omékə)}

get scarified this year!

‘Go’ and ‘come’ have an irregular Imperative:

Table 48 Imperatives of εɔ ‘go’ and aɔ ‘come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>type of irregularity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>εɔ ‘go’</td>
<td>ɳkɔ</td>
<td>suppletive form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɔ ‘come’</td>
<td>ɽɪk</td>
<td>a + ɽɪk (related to ɽɪk ‘place(s)’ and/or the vague reference particle ɽɪk (chapter 15))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few verbs allow for omission of the initial ɔ in the Imperative. This omission makes the Imperative more urging. In the Imperative of ʃkərənə ‘let’ the initial ɔ is always left out.

Table 49 Imperatives with omission of initial ɔ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperative with urge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʃcɔrə ‘stand, wait’</td>
<td>ʃcɔří</td>
<td>ʃcří</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃkətə ‘look’</td>
<td>ʃkətə</td>
<td>kaṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃkərənə ‘let’</td>
<td>kərənə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nothing can be attached before the Imperative, but clitics can be attached at the end of it. Some Imperatives undergo a change upon attachment of a vowel-initial object pronominal clitic. For example, final ɪ and ʊ change into ɔ, and the H-tone of final ɪ is deleted:

\textbf{əmɪcə-k} \textbf{(< əmɪccə; verb: əmɪccə)}

advice:IMP-03

greet him/her!

\textbf{əcɔː-kək} \textbf{(< əccə; verb: əccə)}

receive:IMP-03

take him/her!
Forms and attachment of object pronominal clitics to specific TAM stems are discussed in detail in chapter 6.4.

Two Imperatives cannot be coordinated. Instead the second command is expressed by a Dependent Incompletive:

\[ \text{αλλο} \quad \text{ανα} \quad \text{ιρρο} \]

\[ \text{run:IMP} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{jump:DEPINCOMPL} \]

run and jump!

Other commands (to first, second and third persons) are not based on the imperative TAM-stem but on the dependent incompletive TAM-stem.

12.5.3. The Incompletive

*Form of the Incompletive*

Incompletives consist of a concord and the incompletive TAM-stem:

\[ \text{Incompletive} = \text{concord} + \text{incompletive TAM-stem} \]

Incompletive stems take different shapes depending on the initial vowel of the verb and its tone pattern. Incompletives are the only TAM-stems that, if segmentally marked, are marked in the TAM1-position.

A stem-initial vowel \( \text{α} \) changes into \( \text{α} \), and a high tone appears on the initial vowel of all-low stems. Some verbs with an all-low tone pattern have a falling tone on the initial vowel. Unless in careful speech, this falling tone can also be realized as high. Which verbs belong to this group is lexically determined. Some have a long nasal or a nasal and stop after the initial vowel, others a geminated (= voiceless) stop. The group does not seem to contain verbs with a single consonant after the initial vowel. It is possible that instances have been missed, since in normal speech the falling tone is not always realized.
Stems that are not ɔ-initial do not change their initial vowel, and stems with another tone pattern than L.L* retain their stem tones.

Incompletive TAM-stems (and thus Incompletives) have a floating high tone, except Incompletives of verbs with a final falling tone. Incompletives of such verbs lack the floating high tone also upon attachment of a third person pronoun clitic, which changes the tones of the verb. Compare the examples based on ɛrɛ ‘speak’ and ɔkóta ‘look at’ with those based on ɔkwɔ ‘blow away’ and ɔpɔkɔ ‘eat’. The object nouns are themselves all-L:

| mpére ɪɔn      | ‘I will speak words’ |
| kkwére ɪɔn      | ‘s/he will speak words’ |
| mpakóta máit   | ‘I will look at the beans’ |
| kkwákọta máit   | ‘s/he will look at the beans’ |
| mpakwɔ ɪɔn      | ‘I will blow matters away’ |
| kkwákwo ɪɔn      | ‘s/he will blow matters away’ |
| mparọkɔ máit   | ‘I will eat beans’ |
| kkwáraọkɔ máit   | ‘s/he will eat beans’ |

A floating high tone is represented as +H.

Table 50 Incompletives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>initial vowel and tones of the verb</th>
<th>verb examples</th>
<th>marking of incompletive TAM-stem</th>
<th>Incompletive?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ, L.L*</td>
<td>ɔkɔ ‘cut’</td>
<td>a ; H.L* +H</td>
<td>c-ə.ðkɔ +H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ, L.H.L*</td>
<td>ɔkọta ‘look’</td>
<td>a ; +H</td>
<td>c-ə.a.ðọta +H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ, L.HL</td>
<td>ɔllɔ ‘run’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>c-ə.a.llɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ, L.L.HL</td>
<td>ɔpɔkɔ ‘eat’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>c-ə.pɔkɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɨ, í, u, o, e, a, L.L*</td>
<td>ɨt ‘find’</td>
<td>H.L* +H</td>
<td>c-ɨt +H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʊmma ‘take, pick up’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c-ʊmma +H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛrɛ ‘speak’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c-ɛrɛ +H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>əŋkɔ ‘be hot’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c-əŋkɔ +H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70 The tones of the Incompletives are represented as in an environment that causes no tonal change, for example as in: pol pákɔ ‘the person will cut it’.
There are only few incompletive TAM-stems which show no marking at all as compared to the dependent incompletive TAM-stem (the citation form). This is because there are only few verbs which are both not ɔ-initial and containing a H-tone. The attested cases are given in the last row of the table).

Some examples with an Incompletive follow here. The first examples have forms of the verbs əme ‘come to’ and ɔine ‘go to’. The Incompletives of these verbs differ only tonally. When preceded by the 3rd person pronoun clitic and concord (third example below) their realization is identical. The verb ɛrəkɔ ‘eat’ (last examples) lacks a floating high tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L.L*</th>
<th>əŋkɔne ‘teach (PLUR)’</th>
<th>a ; H.L.L* + H / H.L* + H</th>
<th>c-ã.əŋkɔne + H / c-ã.əŋkɔne + H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɪncet ‘find (PLUR)’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c-ɪncet + H / c-ɪncet + H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ ‘call’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c-âkkarɔ + H / c-âkkarɔ + H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛkkie ‘measure’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c-ɛkkie + H / c-ɛkkie + H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e, L.HL</td>
<td>ɛɛ ‘stab, blow’</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>c-ɛɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛtɛt ‘give’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c-ɛɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are only few incompletive TAM-stems which show no marking at all as compared to the dependent incompletive TAM-stem (the citation form). This is because there are only few verbs which are both not ɔ-initial and containing a H-tone. The attested cases are given in the last row of the table).

Some examples with an Incompletive follow here. The first examples have forms of the verbs əme ‘come to’ and ɔine ‘go to’. The Incompletives of these verbs differ only tonally. When preceded by the 3rd person pronoun clitic and concord (third example below) their realization is identical. The verb ɛrəkɔ ‘eat’ (last examples) lacks a floating high tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ə-kakká</th>
<th>p-əme</th>
<th>őkol</th>
<th>(&lt; əme)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERS-Kakka</td>
<td>C-come_to;INCOMPL</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakka will come to the child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ə-kakká</th>
<th>p-a.îne</th>
<th>őkol</th>
<th>(&lt; ɔîne)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERS-Kakka</td>
<td>C-go_to;INCOMPL</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakka will go to the child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k-kw-əme / k-kw-ə.me</th>
<th>őkol</th>
<th>(&lt; əme, &lt; ɔîne)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-C-come_to;INCOMPL / 3-C-go_to;INCOMPL</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/he will come to the child / s/he will go to the child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>əlła</th>
<th>w-ərəkɔ</th>
<th>aon</th>
<th>(&lt; ɔrəkɔ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cats</td>
<td>C-eat;INCOMPL</td>
<td>rats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cats eat rats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following verbs have an irregular Incompletive.

### Table 51 Irregular Incompletives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
<th>type of irregularity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aɔ ‘come’</td>
<td>C-ן tan</td>
<td>תגנ ‘towards the deictic centre’ is part of the verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʃ ‘go’</td>
<td>C-a.ɛʃ</td>
<td>added a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵃ ‘cry’</td>
<td>C-ʃ+H</td>
<td>no change of initial ɔ to a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵐ马上 ‘not know’</td>
<td>C-撳mA</td>
<td>no change of initial ɔ to a + tonal irregularity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɐ ‘know’</td>
<td>C-mA</td>
<td>tonal irregularity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵉ ‘be absent, lack’ (intr.)</td>
<td>C-ǝlaña</td>
<td>tonal irregularity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵉ ‘not have, lack’ (tr.)</td>
<td>C-ǝlaña</td>
<td>tonal irregularity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Meaning of the Incompletive**

The Incompletive basically expresses that, at a certain moment in time, something will still happen. This moment in time can be prior to the moment of speech, at the moment of speech or after the moment of speech.

( < ɔkkɔt)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ɔ-kίn</th>
<th>ɾ-eṛt-tárene.t</th>
<th>ɾtɪ</th>
<th>ɔ-kίn</th>
<th>ɾ-á.kkɔt</th>
<th>ɲí-m-p-ɛn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERS-3A</td>
<td>c-discuss:COMPL</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>PERS-3A</td>
<td>c-do:INCOMPL</td>
<td>what-C-DEM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

they discussed what they would do

( < ɔkkɔt)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ɲ-kw-a.kkɔt</th>
<th>ɲɔré</th>
<th>ɛŋ-ɲ-i</th>
<th>ɾtɪ</th>
<th>kát-ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-c-do:INCOMPL</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>DEM-C-NEARSP</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>how-QW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

how will you do this work?
Incompletives can give expression to a speaker’s attitude in terms of necessity or desirability of an event that is still to happen, or to a readiness for it to take place.

\[ \text{η-kw-a.ccīkōt \ itti á-\text{ma} cīk ( < \text{ccīkōt})} \]

you must listen so that you know

\[ \text{tutt\text{toruk} t-\text{apako} ( < \text{apako})} \]

the pig can be roasted (it is ready to be roasted)

The Incompletive sometimes allows for an irrealis reading:

\[ \text{m-p-a.cōmkk̓i̯ne \ ηn-\text{ta} n-a-\text{on} ( < \text{cōmkk̓i̯ne})} \]

why would I disturb you? (I did not do that!)

Incompletives are used in general truth expressions and can express habitual aspect: something happened in the past and is expected to happen again.

\[ \text{-nil\text{l\text{aŋk}}er \ n-\text{ono} \ noné nə-\text{kerə} ( < \text{ono})} \]

birds(sp.) c-build:INCOMPL nests on-palm_trees

\[ \text{nil\text{lax}er\text{-birds} build their nests in palm trees} \]

\[ \text{ol w-a-rá arrəp\text{o} ámm.akk\text{a} t\text{ún} ana ət\text{t}əp\text{a}} \]

people c-cultivate:INCOMPL things like onion and tobacco

the people cultivate crops such as onions and tobacco
12.5.4. The Dependent Incompletive

Form of the Dependent Incompletive

Dependent Incompletives consist of the dependent incompletive stem:

Dependent Incompletive = dependent incompletive TAM-stem

Dependent incompletive TAM-stems (and thus Dependent Incompletives) have a floating high tone unless the TAM-stem has a final HL-contour.

Table 52 Tone patterns of Dependent Incompletives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tones of the verb</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Dependent Incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L.L*, L.H.L*, L.HL</td>
<td>ɔkɪɔ ‘cut’</td>
<td>ɔkɪɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.HL</td>
<td>ēkɔta ‘look’</td>
<td>ēkɔta + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ēlɔ ‘run’</td>
<td>ēlɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.L.HL</td>
<td>ērɔkɔ ‘eat’</td>
<td>ērɔkɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent Incompletives cannot take a concord. The examples below contrast an Incompletive (first example) and a Dependent Incompletive (second and third example).

\textbf{tuk} \quad \textbf{t-a.řeːkɔ́}

dog \quad \text{c-eat:INCOMPL}

the dog will eat it

\textbf{á-tuk} \quad \textbf{čeːkɔ́}

SUBJ-dog \quad \text{eat:DEPINCOMPL}

and the dog must eat it / let the dog eat it

... \textbf{a-t-čeːkɔ́}

CONJ-PRO-eat:DEPINCOMPL

... and/while it (the dog) eats it

\textit{Meaning and environments in which it is used}
Typically the Dependent Incompletive is connected—through a conjunction word or particle, or also through juxtaposition—, to a preceding verb or verb phrase. In same-subject coordinations with anā ‘and’, the Dependent Incompletive adopts the tense/aspect and/or modality interpretation of the preceding verb. It can also be used for background information about an aspect of a larger event, such as an action performed simultaneously with the main action, the purpose of an action, or the way in which it is done. It can, however also be used alone, i.e. not in some kind of conjunction with another verb. In such cases it expresses a (mild) command.

Environments in which the Dependent Incompletive is used include the following:

a) in a clause introduced by the subjunctive particle â ‘so that, in order to’;
b) in a clause introduced by conjunctive particle á ‘and, while’;
c) as the second verb coordinated through anā ‘and’ with another verb, sharing the same subject;
d) as the second verb in a verb sequence expressing the way in which something is done, or expressing the “path” in a verb sequence of motion and path;
e) as a complement of əɽa ‘refuse, insist’, ma ‘know’, əmma ‘not know’;
f) in negative commands (with akórran ‘let, leave, allow’);
g) with a second person plural pronoun clitic expressing a mild command; with a hortative pronoun, expressing an obligation or duty of a first person;
h) in constructions with fronted question words and in non-subject focus constructions with akka ‘that’;
i) in non-subject relative constructions (see 11.2), topicalizing cleft constructions (11.2.4), and clauses introduced by the locative relative ná (11.3)

A verb in Dependent Incompletive TAM can furthermore be part of a complex TAM with the auxiliary verb ċ-arštōk ‘be still’. More commonly, complex verb constructions involve the dependent
incompletive TAM-stem as part of a larger word with one or more auxiliaries. These cases are discussed in the sections on auxiliaries.

In the following, the environments mentioned above are exemplified and explained in some more detail.

Ad a) in a clause introduced by the subjunctive particle â ‘so that, in order to’

The subjunctive particle â- ‘so that, in order to’ links the action expressed by the Dependent Incompletive to the preceding action. The verb in the clause introduced by â typically denotes the purpose or goal of the action expressed in the preceding clause (see also chapter 18.2.2):

\[
\text{ɔ-} \text{rɔn} \text{ t-a.řekə káɾoŋ-káɾoŋ â-} \text{ron} \text{ ít} \text{ źurít}
\]

we must work hard so that we have food

Ad b) in a clause introduced by conjunctive particle á ‘and, while’

The conjunctive particle á, when introducing a clause with a Dependent Incompletive, expresses an action that happens or happened more or less at the same time as the previous action (see also chapter 18.2.1):

\[
\text{a-} \text{átůran} \text{ źňkat} \text{ tuan} \text{ źan-en}
\]

\[
\text{a-řet} \text{ ká} \text{ k-én ítítí …}
\]

and the thieves went home, saying to themselves ...

The Dependent Incompletive preceded by á ‘and, while’ is part of some complex TAMs, for example of the Past Continuous (first example below) and of a complex TAM involving škko čik ‘sit, stay’ as an auxiliary expressing the start of an action (second example below):
VERBS

m-p-şká.t cík a-n-ómente ittī ...
1-c-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-1-say.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL that
I was saying all the time that ...

... a-n-íkk.at cík a-n-ípot nómpoññɔŋ
CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ-1-dig:DEPINCOMPL potatoes
and I started digging potatoes

Ad c) as the second verb coordinated through anā ‘and’ with another verb, sharing the same subject

In constructions of two verbs with the same subject coordinated through anā ‘and’, the second can be a Dependent Incompletive. In the example below (which continues on the example above) it is coordinated with a Dependent Incompletive that is preceded by a subject pronoun:

... a-n-íkk.at cík a-n-ípot nómpoññɔŋ
CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF CONJ-1-dig:DEPINCOMPL potatoes
ana ʃkkɔ ʃɔnìfrí
and drink:DEPINCOMPL fruits(k.o.)
and I started digging potatoes and eating marí-fruits

An example with an Incompletive first verb follows here. The second verb can be a Dependent Incompletive, but also, just like the first, an Incompletive. The actions are not presented as consecutive, but just as both taking place:

ul w-ʃkkɔ ʒpáck eppin-eppin
people c-drink:INCOMPL beer always-REDUP
ana ɔnàrɔ / w-a.ɲārɔ n-ʃittàŋ
and walk:DEPINCOMPL / c-walk:INCOMPL with-knives
the people drink beer all the time and carry knives (fr. written essay)

This is an example with a Future Continuous TAM (see 12.7.5) coordinated with a Dependent Incompletive:
on that day, the people will be singing and dancing

Two Imperatives cannot be coordinated. Instead, the second command is expressed by a dependent verb, in the example below a Dependent Incompletive:

I don’t know how to explain this to you in writing (lit.: they (the words) do not know that I say it to you writing)
and Lotti ran down to the well

Ad e) as a complement of əɽa ‘refuse, insist’, ina ‘know’, əmma ‘not know’, əkərənə ‘let, leave, allow’

The verbs əɽa ‘refuse, insist’, ina ‘know’, əmma ‘not know’ and əkərənə ‘let, leave, allow’ can take a Dependent Incompletive as a direct complement, without a complementizer. There is no reference on the Dependent Incompletive to the subject.

kálám əŋ-k-í k-ərā.t əkurə
pen DEM-C-NEARSP COMPL c-refuse:COMPL engrave:DEPINCOMPL
this pen refuses to write

kálám əŋ-k-í k-íná əkurə
pen DEM-C-NEARSP INCOMPL c-know:INCOMPL engrave:DEPINCOMPL
this pen works

m-p-əmma əkurə
1-C-know_incompl 1-C-know_not:INCOMPL engrave:DEPINCOMPL
I cannot write

Ad f) In negative commands (with əkərənə ‘let, leave, allow’)

Commands with əkərənə can immediately be followed by a Dependent Incompletive. The construction functions as a prohibitive:

kərənə1 opélle
let:IMP fear:DEPINCOMPL
don’t be afraid!

n-əkərənə əŋəkə
2A-let:DEPINCOMPL rest:DEPINCOMPL
don’t rest! (to plural addressee)
Ad g) with a pronoun clitic expressing a mild command to ‘you (PLUR)’; with a hortative pronoun expressing an obligation or duty of a first person

Commands to a second person plural consist of one of the variants of the second person plural addressee pronoun (see 6.5) and a Dependent Incompletive. They are somewhat less pressing than Imperatives:

n-ùrəko
2A: get_up:DEPINCOMPL
stand up! (to plural addressee)

Commands to first persons, ‘I and you’ or ‘we (INCL)’, consist of a hortative pronoun (see 6.6) and a dependent incompletive stem:

tɪ́r-ɛ́ɔ́kɛ́ɛ́kkʊ́r
HRT12-god:DEPINCOMPL market
let us go to the market

Ad h) in constructions with fronted question words and in non-subject focus constructions with akka ‘that’

Dependent Incompletives are used in non-subject focus constructions, whether non-contrastive, with a content question word (first example below), or contrastive (second example below). More examples can be found in the chapters on question words and focus.

ŋɪ́n-ta akka ɪn-ɔkkɔ́t
what-Q that 1A-do:DEPINCOMPL
what should we do? / what can we do?

ɔ́-ɔ́k akka ɔ́-rɔ́n ɔ́náne ɔ́nɔ́rɔ́
PERS-3 that PERS-12a bring_to:DEPINCOMPL asida
he is the one to whom we bring asida

akka can also be combined with an Incompletive verb, as in the next sentence, which is structurally very similar to the previous sentence:
kəllán akka c-kökko p-ipıne aôn
old_woman that PERS-Kokku c-collect_for:INCOMPL bees
it is for the old woman that Kokku collects honey

Ad i) in non-subject relative constructions (see 11.2), topicalizing cleft constructions (11.2.4), and clauses introduced by the locative relative ná (11.3)

Topicalizing cleft constructions and non-subject relative constructions (with or without the restrictor í-) are introduced by the copula c-á. In the sentence introduced by the copula an incomplete verb occurs in the form of a Dependent Incomplete. The first example shows a non-subject relative construction; the second example a topicalizing cleft, which forms a full (topic- or theme-focussed) sentence (see 11.2.4).

aɽəpʊ ɾ-a c-ʊn ɾəkɔ́
things RES-(C):COP PERS-1 eat:DEPINCOMPL
the things which I eat

kəpa k-a ɭʊk ɾəkɔ́
meat C-COP dog eat:DEPINCOMPL
the meat will be eaten by the dog

A clause introduced by the locative relative ná ‘where’ can have a Dependent Incomplete verb:

na cɨŋki ɾʊŋkɔ́
where:REL sun disappear:DEPINCOMPL
where the sun sets / (in) the west

More details on relative constructions are provided in chapter 11.

12.5.5. The Past

Form of the Past

Pasts consists of a concord and the past TAM-stem:
Past = c + past TAM-stem

Past stems are segmentally marked in the TAM2 position: a past marker replaces the final vowel of the verb or is attached after it. Pasts are further marked by a special tone pattern.

Verbs which end in ɔ(t) are marked differently for Past than verbs which end in e(t) or a(t). In verbs which end in ɔ or ɔt, the final ɔ or ɔt is replaced by ate. Verbs which end in e or a add a past marker kaṭe. In verbs which end in et or at, the final t is replaced by kaṭe. In Passive derivations of e(t) and a(t) final verbs ending, respectively, in ekɔ(t) and akɔ(t) final ɔ(t) is not replaced by ate but by akata. This has the effect of disambiguating the Pasts of underived verb and those of their Passive derivations ending in kɔ(t), for example:

imma 'see' c-immakata
immakɔ 'be seen' c-immakakata (instead of c-immakata)

The Pasts of Locative-applicative derivations (ending in t) and their underived counterparts are, on the other hand, neutralized.

The Past imposes a tone pattern on the verb that is independent of the tones of the verb. A Past has a H-tone on the second mora, if there are three morae, and on the third mora if there are more than three. The Past does not generate a H-tone on a following constituent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>final segment(s) of the verb</th>
<th>segmental marking of the past TAM-stem</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ, at two morae</td>
<td>atɛ H on 2nd mora</td>
<td>ɔ ‘die’</td>
<td>c-1.atɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ, at three or more morae</td>
<td>atɛ H on 3rd mora</td>
<td>aṭo‘ako ‘stretch oneself’</td>
<td>c-aṭo.ako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c-ɔt.ako.ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 53 Pasts
An example illustrating that no H tone comes on the next constituent:

\[ \text{pul} \quad \text{p-\text{áte}} \quad \text{palla} \quad (\< \text{iot}) \]

person \text{c-find:PST} \quad \text{cat}

the man found the cat

Benefactive verbs inflect somewhat differently. In verbs ending in \text{ine}, the Past is formed by replacing \text{ine} by \text{ántet}. In verbs ending in \text{ere} or \text{ane}, the final \text{ne} changes into \text{kantet}. In verbs ending in \text{ntet} the \text{i} is replaced by \text{a}. In verbs ending in \text{nttet} or \text{anctet}, \text{ka} is inserted before the final \text{ntet}. Like in non-benefactive verbs, the difference between non-t-final and t-final verbs is neutralized in the Past.

Tonally, Pasts of benefactive verbs behave the same as other Past verbs: there is a H-tone on the second mora in case of three morae, and on the third mora if the past stem is longer.

Table 54 Pasts of Benefactive derivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ending and length of the Benefactive derivation</th>
<th>marking of the past TAM-stem</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\text{ine, intet} three morae</td>
<td>\text{ántet} \text{H on 2nd mora}</td>
<td>\text{ωγwine ‘sing for’} \text{ipintet ‘dig for’}</td>
<td>\text{C-όγw.άντet} \text{C-ip.άντet}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{ine, intet} more than three morae</td>
<td>\text{ántet} \text{H on 3rd mora}</td>
<td>\text{όρkine ‘work for’}</td>
<td>\text{C-όρk.άντet}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some examples:

< apaņtet 'open for somebody’

拗-kakká p-apaņtet  오늘 қатат
 Pers-Kakka  c-open_for:PST  child  door
Kakka opened the door for the child

< өрөкөне ‘work for somebody’

өл w-өрөкөнәт әл t-p-өрүк
 people  c-work_for:PST  person  RES-c-big
the people worked for the big man

A few verbs have an irregular Past:

Table 55 Irregular Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>irregular Past</th>
<th>type of irregularity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>аа ‘come’</td>
<td>c-аккакате</td>
<td>suppletive form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ане ‘come to’</td>
<td>c-аккаканәт</td>
<td>suppletive form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>эә ‘go’</td>
<td>c-өңкәте</td>
<td>suppletive form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>өңе ‘go to’</td>
<td>c-өңәнәт</td>
<td>suppletive form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>өрөкә ‘eat’</td>
<td>c-өрөккәте</td>
<td>doubling of k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>өрөкөт ‘eat at’</td>
<td>c-өрөккәте</td>
<td>doubling of k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>өрөкине ‘eat for’</td>
<td>c-өрөккәтет</td>
<td>doubling of k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>өрөкөнәт ‘eat for at’</td>
<td>c-өрөккәтет</td>
<td>doubling of k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>өтет ‘give’</td>
<td>c-өтәкәте / c-өтәте</td>
<td>replacement of тет by the past ending</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Use of the Past

The Past is a TAM which in principle demands a context. It is not easily used in an isolated expression, since it has no implications for the situation at the time of the speech act. Pastes describe actions or events which have taken place before the moment of speech, but otherwise bear no relation to the time of speech. Pastes typically need a time anchor, which is usually set by a Completive or Past Completive verb preceding the Past verb at some place in the discourse. The Past refers to an action or event in its entirety, without drawing attention to aspectual notions such as completion or result. The sentence below describes how the speaker felt at the moment that he found a lost goat. The sentence gives no information about his feelings at the time of speech: he may, or may not be still happy about it.

an-ákka m-p-ɔnt.é m-p-ɔpirá.káṭé nś-kâ
and-when 1-c-find:compl 1-c-become_good:pst on-body

and when I found it, I was happy

I call these verbs Past and not Perfective because, unlike the Incompletive and the Completive, they refer to a moment that is necessarily anterior to the time of speech.

In the examples below a Completive verb provides the time anchor for the Past verb.

man.ákka m-p-aat. Łecik k-ùŋ ana k-kw-irr.áṭe (< ḫrɔ̃)
when 1-c-come:compl near c-poss3 and 3-c-jump:pst
when I had come near him, he jumped

ɔ-lötti p-ɔká.t tuan ana k-kw-ɔŋkk.áṭe nụtú (< ɔŋkɔ̃)
PERS-Lotti c-be:compl home and 3-c-eat:pst asida
Lotti was at home and ate asida

w-ɔkịcce.tı 妞rak ana w-ɔkkw.áṭe (< ɔkkwɔ́t)
young_men c-chase:compl monkey and PRO.C-kill:pst
the young men had chased the monkey and (then) they killed it
Past tense can be used in non-subject relative clauses (see 11.2), they were at least given in elicitation. Their nature of drawing attention to the action itself, however, tends to conflict with the information structure of the sentence as a whole. The example below aims to provide information about the ‘things’, stating that they were many, not about what the man did. A Completive would be better:

(?) ɽəpʊɪ-ap-ʊlp-ɔkɛr.árt-ω-oppót

things RES-(C:)COP person C-trade:PST C-be:COMPL C-many

the things that the man traded were many

12.5.6. The Dependent Perfective

*Form of the Dependent Perfective*

Dependent Perfectives consist of the dependent perfective TAM-stem:

Dependent Perfective = dependent perfective TAM-stem

The dependent perfective TAM-stem is segmentally marked in the TAM2 position and has the basic tone pattern of the verb. Like the Dependent Incompletive, the Dependent Perfective can be directly preceded by a lexical or pronominal subject (the latter can be a free pronoun or a clitic).

Unlike the Past, the Dependent Perfective generates a H-tone on the following constituent, unless it is based on a verb with a final falling tone.

Table 56 Dependent Perfectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>final segment(s) of the verb</th>
<th>marking of the dep. perf. TAM-stem</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Dep. Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ, ɔt</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ɔkio ‘cut’</td>
<td>ɔkі.at + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔt ‘find’</td>
<td>ɪ.at + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkɛro ‘trade’</td>
<td>ɔkɛ.r.at + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔllɔ ‘run’</td>
<td>ɔll.ɔt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the table below, Dependent Perfective are contrasted to Pasts. Whereas Past forms end in (k)atē, Dependent Perfectives end in (k)at. The table below contrasts Dependent Perfectives and Pasts.

### Table 57 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts contrasted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Dep. Perfective</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔkwo ‘cut’</td>
<td>ɔki.at + H</td>
<td>c-ɔki.âtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔt ‘find’</td>
<td>ɔt + H</td>
<td>c-ɔtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkéro ‘trade’</td>
<td>ɔkér.at + H</td>
<td>c-ɔker.âtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔll ‘run’</td>
<td>ɔll.at</td>
<td>c-ɔllētē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ere ‘speak’</td>
<td>ere.kat + H</td>
<td>c-ere.kâtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eret ‘talk about’</td>
<td>ere.kat + H</td>
<td>c-ere.kâtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkóta ‘look’</td>
<td>ɔkóta.kat + H</td>
<td>c-ɔkóta.kâtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkwárıccat ‘search’</td>
<td>ɔkwárıccat.kat + H</td>
<td>c-ɔkwárıccat.kâtē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The irregular Pasts relate to the Dependent Perfectives in the same way:

### Table 58 Irregular Pasts and Dependent Perfectives contrasted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Dep. Perfective</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ‘come’</td>
<td>akkakat + H</td>
<td>c-akkakâtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane ‘come to’</td>
<td>akkakanı̱tet + H</td>
<td>c-akkakanı̱tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ‘go’</td>
<td>ı̱nkat + H</td>
<td>c-ı̱nkâtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ı̱ně ‘go to’</td>
<td>ı̱ně.kanı̱tet + H</td>
<td>c-ı̱ně.kanı̱tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔɾakö ‘eat’</td>
<td>ɔɾak.kät</td>
<td>c-ɔɾak.kâtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔɾakōt ‘eat at’</td>
<td>ɔɾak.kat</td>
<td>c-ɔɾak.kâtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔɾakine ‘eat for’</td>
<td>ɔɾak.kanı̱tet + H</td>
<td>c-ɔɾak.kanı̱tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔɾakınět  ‘eat for at’</td>
<td>ɔɾak.kanı̱tet + H</td>
<td>c-ɔɾak.kanı̱tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etět ‘give’</td>
<td>ee.kat /e.kat</td>
<td>c-ee.kâte / c-ε.kâte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Dependent Perfective and the Past of a benefactive verb are segmentally identical, but tonally different. Like other Dependent Perfectives, Dependent Perfectives of benefactive verbs have the basic tones of the verb.

Table 59 Dependent Perfectives of Benefactive derivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ending of Benefactive derivation</th>
<th>marking of the dep. perfective TAM-stem</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Dep. Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ine, inţet</td>
<td>anţet</td>
<td>ɔnyw.ine ‘sing for’</td>
<td>ɔnyw.ánţet + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ip.inţet ‘dig for’</td>
<td>ip.ánţet + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ.ne, ñ.nţet</td>
<td>ñ.kanţet</td>
<td>ere.ne ‘talk to’</td>
<td>ere.kanţet + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.ne, a.nţet</td>
<td>a.kanţet</td>
<td>ere.nţet ‘talk to sb about’</td>
<td>ere.kanţet + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔpíran ‘thank’</td>
<td>ɔpíra-kanţet + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkwàrìccanţet ‘search sth for’</td>
<td>ɔkwàrìccakanţet + H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table below contrasts Dependent Perfectives and Pasts of benefactive verbs.

Table 60 Dependent Perfectives and Pasts of Benefactive derivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Dep. Perfective</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔnywîne ‘sing for’</td>
<td>ɔnyw-ánţet + H</td>
<td>c-ɔnyw-ánţet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipîntet ‘dig for’</td>
<td>ip-ánţet + H</td>
<td>c-ip-ánţet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erene ‘talk to’</td>
<td>ere-kanţet + H</td>
<td>c-ere-kanţet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ereţet ‘talk to sb about’</td>
<td>ere-kanţet + H</td>
<td>c-ere-kanţet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔpíran ‘thank’</td>
<td>ɔpíra-kanţet + H</td>
<td>c-ɔpíra-kanţet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkwàrìccanţet ‘search for’</td>
<td>ɔkwàrìccakanţet + H</td>
<td>c-ɔkwàrìccakanţet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Absence of concord
Like Dependent Incompletives, Dependent Perfectives cannot be preceded by a concord. Compare the Past in the first example below, with the Dependent Perfectives in the second and third:

\[ \text{tɔmɔcɔ} \quad \text{t-ʈɔnʈá.kaʈe} \]
\[ \text{old_man} \quad \text{c-dream:PST} \]
the old man dreamt

\[ ... \text{a-tɔmɔcɔ} \quad \text{aʈɔntakat} \]
\[ \text{CONJ-old_man} \quad \text{dream:DEPPRFV} \]
... and (then) the man dreamt

\[ ... \text{a-kw-ʈɔntakat} \]
\[ \text{CONJ-3-dream:DEPPRFV} \]
... and (then) s/he dreamt

**Use of the Dependent Perfective**

The Dependent Perfective is the dependent counterpart of the Past. I call it Dependent Perfective, because it does not only denote actions or events that happened in the past, but also actions or events that are still to happen at the moment of speech or reference. While the Dependent Incompletive in a verbal complex typically denotes an action that forms part of a larger event, the Dependent Perfective typically denotes a consecutive action: an action that follows upon another in time.

The Dependent Perfective is used in the following environments:

a) a clause introduced by the conjunctive particle  ámb expressing ‘and, while’;
b) a clause introduced by the subjunctive particle  ámb ‘so that, in order to’;
c) As a second command coordinated through  ámb ‘and’ with an Imperative.

A verb in Dependent Perfective TAM can furthermore be part of a complex TAM with the auxiliary verb  c-arakát ‘as always’. More
commonly, complex verb constructions involve the dependent perfective TAM-stem as part of a larger word with one or more auxiliaries. These cases are discussed in the sections on auxiliaries.

*Ad a)* **Clauses introduced by the conjunctive particle á ‘and, while’**

Attestations of the conjunctive particle á ‘and, while’ introducing a clause with the Dependent Perfective are abundant. The first verb, which sets the time anchor, is usually in Completive TAM (see 12.5.7). The Dependent Perfective is typically used for telling what happened next. The sentence below states that the man saw the hyena in the well, but does not present this as the purpose for which the man was taken along; it is just something that happened next.

m-p-ɔnɛk̩.t  p̩ ol  a-p-ʊt-ʊk̩a.ta.kat  ṇaŋk̩or  i-r̩ɔk
1-c-take:COMPL  person  CONJ-C-go:look_at:DEPPRFV  hyena  in-well

I took the man along and (then) he saw the wild dog in the well

á  +  Dependent Perfective is typically used in narratives, expressing consecutive actions or events as in English ‘and then ... and then ... and then ...’. In the example below, mana ‘until’ is followed by the conjunctive particle á (realized with a H-tone through tone bridge) and a Dependent Perfective. Pronominal p refers to papen ‘that thing’ (< papʊ p-en), which itself refers to the leopard (papɔkira < papʊ p-ɔ-kira ‘thing of the forest’):

(< ɔɾʊmat ;  < ɔnɛm ;  < ɔn)

a-papɔkira  ɔɾʊm.at  ʈomɔcco
CONJ-leopard  attack:DEPPRFV  old_man

a-ʈomɔcco  ʒnɛm.at  katɔk  i-tɔn  ʈ-ʒ-pa-p-en
CONJ-old_man  press:DEPPRFV  spear  in-mouth  C-of-thing-C-DEM

mɔŋɔ  á-p-ʃ.at
until  CONJ-PRO-die:DEPPRFV

and the leopard attacked the old man, and the old man pressed the spear into the mouth of that thing (the leopard), until it (the leopard) died (fr. written story)
The examples below show that in some environments the conjunctive á + Dependent Perfective and aná ‘and’ + Past can be used alternatively. á cannot be combined with a Past, nor can aná be combined with a Dependent Perfective. In both sentences Lötti was not at home for the purpose of eating asida: it is just something that happened (the eating of asida as a purpose would be expressed with the particle â and a Dependent Incompletive).

Lötti was at home and he ate asida

Lötti was at home and he ate asida

The conjunctive particle with a Dependent Perfective verb can also be used as the second command after an Imperative. The use of the Dependent Perfective in the example below conveys that the washing must be done after the sweeping. aná + Past verb is not an option here.

Lötti was at home and he ate asida

The use of â + Dependent Perfective in the example below conveys explicitly that the telling is regarded as a consecutive event:

when s/he has arrived (lit.: has gone), let him/her then tell them (that) …
Dependent Perfectives occur in fewer environments than Dependent Incompletives. Their use is restricted by the notion of consecutiveness they convey. A Dependent Perfective cannot occur as the second verb in a sequence expressing (manner of) motion and path, nor as a complement of əŋə ‘refuse’, ma ‘know’, əmmə ‘not know’ or əkəṙənə ‘let, leave, allow’. It does not directly follow the conjunction words ma ‘until’ and mana ‘until, then’. However, constructions of mana ‘until’ and mana ‘until’ followed by the conjunctive particle á and a Dependent Perfective are abundant.

12.5.7. The Completive

*Form of the Completive*

Completives consists of a concord and the completive TAM-stem:

Completive = c + completive TAM-stem

Completives are segmentally marked in the TAM2 position. Vowel-final verbs get a final t, verbs which end in t change into ŋe, and t-final benefactives remain segmentally unchanged.

The Completive imposes a tone pattern on the verb which is independent of the basic tones of the verb, but which has some correlation with the final vowel of the verb and the length of the verb (counted in morae). The tendencies are described below.

Bimoraic and trimoraic verbs which end in ə have t-final Completives with either a final falling tone or a final H-tone. An apparently deviating Completive is c-əŋəkət (< əŋəkə ‘rest’). An explanation would be that this verb underlyingly has four morae. This is supported by the Incompletive of this verb, which is not *c-áŋəkə, but c-áŋəkə.

Bimoraic and trimoraic verbs which end in a or e have t-final Completives with a final falling tone. A deviating case is the Completive of the pluractional verb əkəkə ‘shave (PLUR)’, related to
\( \text{okè 'shave'. Its Completive has a } H\text{-tone on the second mora } c\text{-okòket.} \)

Completives of vowel-final verbs with four or more morae get the High tone on the second mora.

Bimoraic stems ending in \( t \) have trimoraic Completives ending in \( \text{\textit{te}} \). If such Completives are based on a verb ending in \( \text{\textit{at}} \), they have a final falling tone. Completives based on a bimoraic stem ending in \( \text{\textit{at}} \) or \( \text{\textit{et}} \) have a \( H \)-tone on the second (non-final) mora.

Completives based on a trimoraic or longer verb ending in \( t \) have, in most cases, a \( H \)-tone on the third (non-final) mora.

The Completives of the verbs \( \text{\textit{akòt}} '\text{eat at}' \) and \( \text{\textit{aŋikkèt}} \) (also \( \text{\textit{aŋikkət}} \) ‘squeeze (PLUR)’) deviate from the main patterns. They are rare cases of, respectively, a \( HL \) contour on the fourth mora (\( c\text{-akòtè} \)) and a \( H \)-tone on the second (\( c\text{-aŋikkèt} \)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 61 Completives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shape and length of verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi- or trimoraic, ( \text{\textit{a}} )-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi- or trimoraic, ( \text{\textit{a}} )-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi- or trimoraic, a- or e-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four morae or more, vowel-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bimoraic, at-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bimoraic, ending in at or et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trimoraic or longer, t-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Completive does not generate a H-tone on a following constituent, as can be seen from example below.

pol  p-ökwârîccat.e  polla ( < ökwârîccat)

person  C-search:COMPL  cat

the man has looked for the cat

The Completive is marked in Benefactive verbs which end in -me, -ene or -ane through addition of a final t and a tone pattern which is different from other e-final verbs. A H-tone surfaces on the second mora when the Completive has three morae, and on the third mora when the Completive is longer.

Completives based on verbs ending in -mêt, -entet or -antet (Benefactive + Locative-applicatives derivations) are only tonally marked. Here too, the H-tone surfaces on the second mora in case of three morae, and on the third in case of four or more. In some cases the result is identical with the tones of the citation form.
### Table 62 Completes of Benefactive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>ending and length of verb</th>
<th>compleitive marking</th>
<th>Completive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ērenε 'speak to'</td>
<td>vowel-final, trimoraic</td>
<td>H-tone on 2nd mora, final t</td>
<td>C-ērenε-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ērenτet 'speak to sb. about'</td>
<td>t-final, trimoraic</td>
<td>H-tone on 2nd mora</td>
<td>C-ērenτet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okino 'work for'</td>
<td>vowel-final, four morae or longer</td>
<td>H-tone on 3rd mora, final t</td>
<td>C-okino-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǫrókine 'eat for'</td>
<td>vowel-final, four morae or longer</td>
<td>H-tone on 3rd mora, final t</td>
<td>C-ǫrókine-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǫpiránε 'thank sb.'</td>
<td>vowel-final, four morae or longer</td>
<td>H-tone on 3rd mora, final t</td>
<td>C-ǫpiránε-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ąkwariccanτet 'search for'</td>
<td>t-final, four morae or longer</td>
<td>H-tone on 3rd mora</td>
<td>C-ąkwariccanτet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few verbs have an irregular Completive, though in the first case below one might also say that it is rather the verb stem ąa that is irregular, since usually adjacent a and ö assimilate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>irregularity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ąa 'come'</td>
<td>C-ąa-t</td>
<td>change of final ö to a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ētøt 'give'</td>
<td>C-ētøt</td>
<td>resemblance to benefactive verbs ending in ētøt, ēntøt or āntøt as to retaining the same segmental shape, but different tones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Meaning and use of the Completive

The Completive basically expresses that the action or event has just been completed: it has just stopped or ceased to occur. The second example has a pluractional verb which translates here as an habitual:
The children have fought (but they have stopped)

People used to shave people (but he has stopped)

The Completive often implies a resulting state:

My name is Nenni (lit. I have received the name Nenni)

There is mould on the beans (lit. mould has landed on the beans)

I am late (lit.: I have taken time)

enough!

The action expressed by the Completive is not necessarily fully completed. In the following example it is just a period of eating that has passed by:

when they had been eating the asida for some time, he said to him, “Please taste it (the sauce)” (App. IV, 25-26)
In the following expression, commonly said upon leaving, the Completive refers to a state in the immediate future:

\[ \text{m-p-e\text{"a}.t} \quad (\text{< e\text{"a}}) \]

1-C-go:COMPL

I am gone (i.e. I am leaving now)

Completives of (inchoative) verbs often have a stative interpretation:

\[ \text{m-p-\text{\text{"o}k\text{"i}n\text{a}.t}} \quad \text{ana} \quad \text{m-p-\text{\text{"i}m\text{a}.t}} \quad (\text{< \text{\text{"o}k\text{"i}n\text{a}, < \text{\text{"i}m\text{a}}})} \]

1-C-become_tired:COMPL and 1-C-become_hungry:COMPL

I am tired and I am hungry

This is especially clear in the following example, where the Completive verb does not imply that the child was not fat before:

\[ \text{\text{"o}k\text{"u}l} \quad \text{w-\text{"i}t\text{\text{"a}t}.c} \quad (\text{< \text{\text{"i}t\text{\text{"a}t}}}) \]

child C-become_fat:COMPL

the child is fat/healthy

In context, however, the Completive of an (inchoative) verb may also have a changed-state interpretation:

\[ \text{\text{"a}\text{\text{"e}p\text{"o}}} \quad \text{w-\text{\text{"o}r\text{"\text{"i}n\text{a}.t}}e} \quad \text{1-\text{p\text{"a}n-k-\text{"e}}} \quad (\text{< \text{\text{"o}r\text{"i}n\text{a})}} \]

things C-become_red_at:COMPL in-sibling-C-of:ABS

the fruits have become ripe between their siblings (i.e. between other fruits)

Completives denoting a state can function syntactically in the same way as adjectives, for example with an auxiliary of ‘be’ denoting a future state, or with a negated auxiliary of ‘be’ negating a state. The examples below contrast clauses with tense/aspect and negation expressed on the main verb with clauses where tense/aspect and negation are marked on the auxiliary (as would be the case in an adjectival construction):

\[ \text{\text{"o}k\text{"u}l} \quad \text{w-a\text{\text{"k\text{"i}n\text{a}}}a} \]

child C-become_tired:INCOMPL

the child will get tired
The child will be tired.

The beans are not enough.

The beans will not be enough.

The beans were not enough.

The beans were not enough.

The beans were not enough.

The beans may be enough (at some specific occasion which is still to come, for example a party, there may be enough beans (it is not sure)).

The beans will be enough (at some specific occasion which is still to come, for example a party, there will (surely) be enough beans)
Verbs

**maɪt m-έkkɔ**

beans c-fie:INCOMPL

the beans will be enough (for example upon buying a certain amount: this amount is all we need)

**maɪt m-a.ɪk m-έkkɔ**

beans c-be:PR c-fie:INCOMPL

the beans are turning out to be enough (for example while distributing portions to a group of people)

States of mind, emotional states and some sensory perceptions tend to be expressed with a Completive:

**m-p-οŋ.έ ɪtti ŋ-kw-åntán**

1-c-like:COMPL that 2-c-come:INCOMPL

I want you to come

**m-p-ørâ.t**

1-c-refuse:COMPL

I don’t want / no thanks (for example as a refusal of more food)

**m-p-ɔpʁá.t  nó-kâ**

1-c-become_good:COMPL on-body

I am happy / I am grateful

**m-p-ɔccjîkô.t.ê**

1-c-hear:COMPL

I understand / I hear / I have heard it

Also a state of ‘resembling’ takes a Completive:

**t-ṇ-ŋkwô.t  ŋîn-ṭa**

PRO-c-resemble:COMPL what-Q

what does it look like? (reference is to the lion, ṭepa)

In narratives, the Completive is typically used in backgrounded phrases, whereas the main action tends to involve a Past or
Dependent Perfective. The Completive can refer to a moment in the past, in the present or in the (relative) future. Some examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{món.áka} & \quad \text{k-kw-ọ̀ná\-t} & \quad \text{ọ́́nká} \\
\text{when}  & \quad 3\text{-c-bring:COMPL} & \quad \text{oil} \\
\text{a-kw-íp.ántɛt} & \quad \text{takáρuk} & \quad \text{1-ọ̀rɛ̀cò} \\
\text{conj-3-dig_for:DEPPRFV} & \quad \text{chicken} & \quad \text{in-feathers} \\
\text{after s/he had brought the oil, s/he applied it between the feathers of the chicken} \\
\text{akka} & \quad \text{k-kw-áá\-t} & \quad \text{tún-ɛ̀} \\
\text{that}  & \quad 3\text{-c-come:COMPL} & \quad \text{HRT12A-gọ:DEPINCOMPL} \\
\text{now that s/he has arrived, let us go} \\
\text{ámmá} & \quad \text{ọ́nó} & \quad \text{t-ọ́cɛ́ɛkó\-tɛɛ́} & \quad \text{lọ́n} & \quad \text{l-ọ́-tọ́rǻk} \\
\text{if}  & \quad \text{PERS-2A} & \quad \text{c-hear:COMPL} & \quad \text{words} & \quad \text{c-of-war} \\
\text{ánn-ọ́káranno} & \quad \text{ọ̀pálle} \\
\text{SUBJ-2A-let:DEPINCOMPL} & \quad \text{be_afraid:DEPINCOMPL} \\
\text{when you hear about war, do not be afraid} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Completives are also used in a number of environments requiring the dependent counterparts of the Incompletive and/or the Past. One such environment is the conjunctive particle 'and, while'. The particle can precede a Completive verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \quad \text{a-kw-íma.kat} & \quad \text{crpít} & \quad \text{a-c-c-ọ́ná\-t} & \quad \text{cǐl} \\
\text{conj-3-seep:PST} & \quad \text{ant} & \quad \text{CONJ-PRO-c-bring:COMPL} & \quad \text{grain_of_sorghum} \\
\text{and s/he saw the ant (just) having brought a grain of sorghum} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The following example has the combination akká ... á ‘when ... then’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akka} & \quad \text{ọ́-rit} & \quad \text{t-erɛ́t-øk} & \quad \text{a-k-kw-ɪ́-t} & \quad \text{n. tí́t} \\
\text{that}  & \quad \text{PERS-12} & \quad \text{c-speak_about:INCOMPL-O} & \quad \text{CONJ-3-c-die:COMPL} & \quad \text{from:ABS} \\
\text{when we talked about him, he had already been dead for some time} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The next example contains two clauses with á and a Completive. The first sets the time for the event, the second presents the going to the
market as anterior to the events that are going to be told, not as already part of it:

... a-caɾi c-én c-əká.t čik a-m-p-e̞.t ʒaːlaːṭtá ...

... and that day I had gone to the market

Completives are used in non-subject relative constructions:

lɔn 1-l-a ʒoːm̥cɔː k-ələkkéntɛt ká k-ɔŋ
words RES-C-COP old.man C-put_down_for:COMPL body C-POSS3

things which the old man promised himself

k-kw-ɛrekán̥tɛt ɬiːmɪt lɔn ɬ̞p̞ɪk 1-l-a k-kw-ɔkkɔt̪.ɛ
3-c-speak_to:about:PST goat words all RES-C-COP 3-C-doc:COMPL
she spoke to the goat about everything she had done (fr. written story)

The Completive commonly occurs in constructions with fronted question words and akka ‘that’:

ɲiŋ-ɬa akka ɬin-ɬəkkɔt̪.ɛ  (< ɔkkɔt̪)
what-Q that 1A-C-doc:COMPL

what have we done?

I did not find Completives in combination with the subjunctive particle ā ‘so that, in order to’.

12.6. Auxiliaries and other special verbs – defective inflection

Verbs typically function as main verb and have six basic TAMs as described in the previous section. Some verbs, however, (also) function as auxiliary verb, or as both auxiliary and copular verb. Many of these verbs have a defective inflection. Verbs with a defective inflection typically have:

- just one form (in this case I only gloss its meaning)
- non-dependent and a dependent TAM-stem (in this case I add DEP in the gloss of the dependent TAM-stem)
• three TAM-stems which can be viewed as non-dependent incompletive (glossed as INCOMPL), dependent incompletive (glossed as DEPINCOMPL) and completive (glossed as COMPL)
• four TAM-stems. In addition to the three afore-mentioned stems, there is also an imperative TAM-stem (glossed as IMP)

Several of these verbs have a deviating phonological shape. All have specific tonal characteristics, though an underlying pattern can often not be assigned.

Auxiliary verbs precede the main verb, either as a separate word, or as part of the same word as the main verb. In constructions with more than one auxiliary, an auxiliary can also form a word with another auxiliary. Examples of combinations of auxiliaries of ‘be’ are given in 12.7.5, examples of other auxiliary combinations elsewhere in chapter 12, including 12.23.

The (reconstructed) auxiliary verb *araka ‘as always’, discussed in 12.14, has inflectional forms from which tonal phenomena on the main verb can be understood. The same tonal phenomena on main verbs are found in combination with some auxiliaries that synchronically lack revealing surface forms. In those cases I use *araka as model for the analysis.

The auxiliaries, to different degrees, display loss of inflectional marking, due to loss of segments and/or tonal changes. In several cases variant forms exist next to each other and in one case (the negation auxiliary) a process of loss of functionality of the inflectional marking is clearly in progress.

A few verbs with a defective inflectional paradigm function only as main verb. They are discussed in 12.21 and 12.22.

12.7. ɔká ‘be’

The six basic TAMs of ɔká ‘be’ are entirely regular. It has, however, an additional basic TAM, which no other verb has: the Present. This is the paradigm:
12.7.1. The copula and the Present

The copula consists of a concord and the segment \( a \), and it can generate a H-tone on a following element. It cannot itself receive a high tone from a preceding element, unless through tone bridge, so that, as a monomoraic element, it can have a high or a rising tone. It has no prepausal realization, so that both options remain. In such cases I assign a high tone (see 3.8): \( c \- \acute{a} \).

The Present of 'be' has the copula and a remnant of the vague reference particle \( c \- \acute{i} \) as formatives: \( c \- a \- \acute{i} \)\( k \)\(^{71}\). The Present functions as locative/existential verb and as auxiliary verb, and can also function as copular verb.

Before discussing (common) copula clauses and the TAMs of 'be' as copular verb, locative/existential, and auxiliary verb, some remarks about syntactic constructions in which the Present and the copula appear follow here.

*Syntactic environments in which the Present of 'be' can be used*

In section 12.5 of this chapter it was shown that in certain syntactic environments the dependent counterpart of the Incompletive (i.e. the Dependent Incompletive) is selected, and in certain, partly different

\(^{71}\) In glossed Lumun text, I write the Present of 'be' as \( c \- a \. \acute{i} \)\( k \), not glossing \( i \)\( k \) separately.
environments, the dependent counterpart of the Past (i.e. the Dependent Perfective). In some environments in which a dependent TAM is selected, a Completive can occur as well. Such environments also allow for use of the Present, irrespective of whether it functions as main verb or as (initial) auxiliary. Like the Completive, the Present lacks a dependent counterpart. These environments include:

- Clauses preceded by the conjunctive particle á-:

  ṭomécoc t-ə-rəkə nətú
  old_man  c-eat:INCOMPL  asida

  á-t-t-táiker á-t-fkkə cɪk n.ə.pəppən
  CONJ-PRO-c-be:PR  CONJ-PRO-sí:DEPINCOMPL  VREF  inside

  the old man eats asida while remaining inside

- Cleft constructions with akka ‘that’:

  ṇ-kw-ʊntə akka ṇ-kw-aiker ći.náŋ  jn-cɪk-akkóman
  2-c-why that  2-c-be:PR where_you_are  with-LOC-since

  why are you just still there?

Environments in which the copula is used

The copula c-á has already been introduced in chapter 11 on relative clauses. Preceded by the restrictor í, c-á introduces a restrictive non-subject relative clause, without restrictor a non-restrictive non-subject relative clause. In section 11.2.4 it was shown that the copula functions in topic constructions. In such constructions c-á links a topicalized patient or instrument subject to what is stated about it (11.2.4). The use of c-á in common copula clauses is discussed here.

Common copula constructions

Common copula constructions, i.e. constructions of the type ‘X is Y’ with X and Y both being a noun phrase, make use of the copula. In case of a pronominal subject, the full pronoun, but also the clitic can be applied (second example below).
Nenni is my name-sharer (i.e. Nenni and I have the same name)

you are a stranger here

In common copula constructions (not in other constructions with the copula), the copula can also be left out. Such verbless clauses do not allow for use of a pronoun clitic:

you are a stranger here

12.7.2. ‘Be’ as copular verb

The TAMs of ‘be’, except the Present c-aik, can be used as copular verbs in nominal copula constructions. For example:

the pigs were a large herd (Mark 5:11)

things which do not allow a person to be the person s/he wants to be

‘Be’ as a copular verb has an inchoative counterpart tākkha ‘become’:

this person will become a teacher
12.7.3. ‘Be’ in adjectival constructions

TAMs of ‘be’, including the Present, can be used in adjectival constructions. The copula (C-á) cannot be used in this environment.

\[
\text{attı} \quad \text{c-non} \quad \text{t-a.ik} \quad \text{t-opərőt}
\]

I hope that PERS-2A C-be:PR C-good

I hope you (PL) are fine

\[
\text{in-ț-əkká.t} \quad \text{t-əpəpůrk}
\]

1A-C-be:COMPL C-three

we were three (i.e. there were three of us)

Referring to the present situation, the Present is often absent:

\[
\text{m-p-opərőt}
\]

1-c-good

I am fine

Other TAMs are more often stated explicitly. Yet, they too, can be absent. In the next example the TAM-interpretation of the adjectival predicate just follows from the preceding clause:

\[
\text{ɔ-kakká} \quad \text{p-ənekó.t} \quad \text{ŋərį} \quad \text{ána} \quad \text{ŋ-ŋ-immiŋ}
\]

PERS-Kakka C-take:COMPL water and PRO-C-heavy

Kakka carried the water and it was heavy

The inchoative counterpart of ‘be’, ɔtkka ‘become’, can be used in a construction with an adjective as well:

\[
\text{attı} \quad \text{ŋ-kw-ɔtəkká.t} \quad \text{p-opərőt} \quad \text{pá-p-őttě}
\]

I hope that 2-c-become:COMPL C-good thing-C-little

I hope you feel somewhat better? (lit.: I hope you have become good a little)

12.7.4. ‘Be’ as a locative or existential verb

In locative constructions, a TAM of ‘be’ is normally present:
zeugkkol  ŋ̐-á.ik  ñ-cáña
kalabash(k.o.)  c-be:PR  on-grinding_table
the calabash is on the grinding table

m-p-öká.t  nɔ-GTK  tɔrrõ
1-c-be:COMPL  on-stone  Lumun_country
I was in Lumun country

A presentative clause with a locative constituent can contain the
Present of ‘be’, but also be verbless:

m-p-a.ik  cəné / c-un  cəné
1-c-be:PR  here  PERS-1  here
I am here / here I am

In the absence of a locative phrase ‘be’ has an existential
interpretation:

pol  p-ɔ-nɔppat  p-a.ik  icat
person  c-of-Nɔppat  c-be:PR  really
the person of Nɔppat really exists

Other TAMs than the Present, when used existentially, co-occur with
the vague reference particle cik (see 15.2). An example is the
typical opening line of a story:

cari  c-ʃɛk  c-ɔká.t  cik ...
day  c-some  c-be:COMPL  vREF
once upon a time ...

12.7.5. ‘Be’ as auxiliary verb

The Present, the Incompletive and the Completive of ‘be’ can
function as auxiliaries in complex TAMs. Some of these TAMs
contain, or can contain, the vague reference particle cik. In general,
cik makes the hearer dwell a little longer at the action or situation
presented. Some complex TAMs contain the conjunctive particle á-,
in such cases the TAM involves clause chaining.
When used after the conjunctive particle á- (an environment where a dependent TAM is selected) the auxiliary of ‘be’ changes to its dependent form (if such a form is available) and the main verb is preceded by á- as well. For some verbs this will involve no change because the main verb is already preceded by á-, for others á- is added but the main verb itself does not change because it has no dependent counterpart, for again others added á- before the main verb changes it to its dependent counterpart.

Some complex TAMs with ‘be’ are the following (for ease of reference I have given some of them a name):

1. C-ak C-verb:INCOMPL, or C-ak C-verb:INCOMPL (Present Continuous)
   a-C-ak a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL (Dependent Present Continuous)
2. C-aka C-verb:INCOMPL (Future Continuous)
   a-C-óká a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL (Dependent Future Continuous)
3. C-ókát a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL, or
   C-ókát cik a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL (Past Continuous)
4. C-ókát C-verb:INCOMPL, or C-ókát cik C-verb:INCOMPL
5. C-ókát C-verb:COMPL, or C-át C-verb:COMPL (Past Completive)
   C-ókát a-PCL-C-verb:COMPL (Dependent Past Completive)

Ad. 1. Present Continuous:
C-ak C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened:

C-ak C-verb:INCOMPL

The Present Continuous consists of the Present of ‘be’ + Incompletive main verb: C-ak C-verb:INCOMPL. It describes an action or event that is going on at the time of speech or at the reference point in time:

m-p-a.īk p-a.káko
1-C-be:PR C-grind:INCOMPL

I am grinding

č-cecečé p-á.īk p-íme máttak
PERS-Čečče  C-be:PR C-wash:INCOMPL calabashes(k.o.)

Čečč is washing the bowls
The Present Continuous is also used for expressing that an action is about to begin at the moment of speech or at the time of reference. The example above could also express 'I am about to grind' and 'Cɛccɛ is about to wash the dishes', respectively. An example with time reference point in the past is the following:

\[
\text{k-kw-átt-rot} \quad \text{á-komáŋ}
\]

\[
\text{CONJ-3-c:be:PR} \quad \text{CONJ-3:eat:DEPINCOMPL}
\]

\[
\text{s/he found Komanj while she was eating meat / about to eat meat}
\]

The Present Continuous has a shortened form:

\[
\text{C-ak-c-verb:INCOMPL, whereby ak is what remains of ak}
\]

\[
\text{k of ak then assimilates to the concord on the main verb. Thus:}
\]

\[
\text{m-p-a.ik} \quad \text{p-á.korrɔ} / \quad \text{m-p-a.p-á.korrɔ}
\]

\[
\text{1-c:be:PR} \quad \text{c-engrave:INCOMPL} \quad \text{1-c:be:PR-c-engrave:INCOMPL}
\]

I am writing

In the Present Continuous \text{C-ak} can not be separated from the verbal word containing the main verb TAM-stem by another constituent. In the example below \text{mpaik} 'I am' is followed by another constituent, for which reason it does not function as part of the Present Continuous. A Present Continuous follows, on which the subject pronoun is not repeated:

\[
\text{m-p-a.ik} \quad \text{cane} \quad \text{p-a.ik} \quad \text{p-úkkɔ} \quad \text{ikkítɛttɛk}
\]

\[
\text{1-c:be:PR} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{c:be:PR} \quad \text{c-dance:INCOMPL} \quad \text{very_badly}
\]

I am here, dancing the best I can (lit.: very badly) (fr. written story)

\text{Dependent Present Continuous:}

\text{C-ak a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL}

The Dependent Present Continuous is the dependent variant of the Present Continuous. It is attested in one specific environment, namely after the conjunctive particle \text{á-}. The subject of the clause
introduced by á- can be the same as the subject of the preceding clause, but can also be different. The Present auxiliary does not have a dependent counterpart, and thus remains the same, but á- is repeated before the main verb, so that it occurs as a Dependent Incompletive (not as an Incompletive). In the example below, the subject pronominal clitic ŋ- ‘you (SG)’ is deleted between the conjunctive particle and the initial vowel of the Dependent Incompletive main verb.

ŋ-kw-érekət a-ŋ-kw-a.ɪk a-ŋəkə ŋnù
2-C-grumble_in.oneself:INCOMP CONJ-2-C-be:PR CONJ-(2)-eat:DEPINCOMPL asida

akaín-ţa
why-q
why are you grumbling while eating asida?

In the example below, there is a change of subject, from the leopard (papɔkira) to the lion (tɛpa), which is pronominally referred to:

papɔkira p-akkakáţe á-t-ţ-á.ɪk á-t-ţŋəkə
leopard C-come:PST CONJ-PRO-C-be:PR CONJ-PRO-rest:DEPINCOMPL
the leopard came while it (the lion) was resting

By contrast, in a non-subject relative clause (an environment which would select a Dependent Incompletive) the Present Continuous does not change to its dependent shape:

ţurît 1-ţ-a m-p-a.ɪk p-áŋəkə
food RES-C-COP 1-C-be:PR C-eat:INCOMPL
the food which I am eating

Ad. 2. Future Continuous:
C-aka C-verb:INCOMPL

The Future Continuous consists of the Incompletive of ‘be’ + Incompletive main verb. It expresses an action or event that will be going on at a later time than the time of speech or the time of reference. The action or event is expected with a high degree of certainty.
on the day of the celebration, the people will be praising God

if you join them (lit.: when you will have gone to them), you will be fighting against your (own) people

Dependent Future Continuous

After the conjunctive particle á-, the Incompletive auxiliary changes to its dependent form and á- is repeated on the main verb, which changes to the Dependent Incompletive as well:

why will he be fighting against his (own) people?

Ad. 3. Past Continuous:

The Past Continuous consists of the Completive of 'be’ + á + Dependent Incompletive main verb. cik can be present or absent on the auxiliary. The Past Continuous has a clause chaining structure, i.e., consists of two separate clauses. It expresses an action or event that was going on in the past, but has stopped at the time of speech or the time of reference. The presence of cik draws more attention to the action having some duration.

I was saying (that) …
Amuța was pushing the goats together (fr. written story)

they were breaking off the honeycombs ...

The clause chaining structure allows for an additional constituent in the first clause, coming before the conjunctive particle á:

why were you always losing goats in the past?

This is also possible when cık is absent. In the example below the Completive of ‘be’ in the first clause functions as copular verb, but the whole construction still functions as a Past Continuous:

After conjunctive á- (or in any other environment that selects a dependent TAM if available) there is no change in the verbal complex, because the auxiliary has no dependent form and the main verb already is in its dependent form.

Ad. 4. ‘was about to’ (imminence in the past)

This verbal complex consists of the Completive of ‘be’ + Incompletive main verb. The Completive auxiliary can be followed by cık, but cık can also be absent. It expresses that an action was
about to take place at some time in the past. Unless stated otherwise or apparent from the context, it is understood that it eventually did not.

\[
\text{k-kw-şká.t cık p-a.şţţot őkől} \quad (< \text{şţţot})
\]

3-c-be:COMPL VREF c-beat:INCOMPL child

s/he was about to beat the child

\[
\text{k-kw-şká.t p-á.káko ana k-kw-á.nn-şkák.at} \quad (< \text{şkáko})
\]

3-c-be:COMPL c-grind:INCOMPL and 3-c-NEG-grind:DEP|PRFV

she was about to grind, but then she did not

When the time reference point is the time of speech, the construction gives an interpretation as ‘was X-ing and completed this’: at the moment of speech, the action, which had some duration, has stopped. The example below can be a response to the question ‘do you know where Kakka is?’. The answer implies that she was here, grinding, but now she has gone.

\[
\text{k-kw-şká.t p-á.káko} \quad (< \text{şkáko})
\]

3-c-be:COMPL c-grind:INCOMPL

she was grinding (just a moment ago, but not anymore now)

**Ad. 5. Past Completive:**

c-şkát c-verb:COMPL, or shortened:
c-á-t c-verb:COMPL

The Past Completive consists of the Completive of ‘be’ + Completive main verb. The Past Completive is often shortened. It is then realized as c-at, with t assimilating to the following consonant:

\[
\text{k-kw-şká.t p-š.t} / \text{k-kw-á.p-p-č.t}
\]

3-c-be:COMPL c-go:COMPL 3-c-be:COMPL-c-go:COMPL

s/he had gone
The Past Completive refers to a completed action or event some time in the past. It can express that the action or event just stopped or ceased then, but it can also be that the resulting state continues up to the time of reference or the moment of speech. The latter is the case in the example below. The Past Completive implies that it is already some time ago that the addressee has put his stick somewhere. That action still bears relevance to the present: at the moment of speech they cannot find it. The pluractional verb òkwàràttikàt ‘think, remember’, as opposed to the more instantaneous non-Pluractional verb òkwàrikàt ‘recall’, corresponds with this longer time frame, expressing that remembering the place will take some repeated effort.
By contrast, a Completive used in the same sentence, implies that only a short time has elapsed between the action of putting the stick somewhere and the moment when the hearer is asked to recall where he put it (perhaps an hour or a day). The non-pluractional verb \( \text{okwárikot} \) ‘recall’ corresponds to this short time frame, expressing that the place is expected to come to mind easily:

\[
\text{ant-}\text{okwárikot} \quad \text{na}
\]
\[
\text{carn:DEPINCOMPL-remember:DEPINCOMPL} \quad \text{where:REL}
\]

\[
\text{ŋ-kw-}\text{ônkkêt.è} \quad \text{kúrrñññ}
\]
\[
2-\text{C-put\_down:COMPL} \quad \text{stick}
\]

please recall where you have put your stick

The example below is the last sentence of an account describing the events during a period of hunger. The Past Completive conveys that the hunger has stopped and corresponds with the events having happened a considerable time ago.

\[
\text{lön} \quad \text{el-l-ì} \quad \text{l-øká.t} \quad \text{l-øká.t} \quad \text{no-}\text{tupót} \quad \text{2001}
\]
\[
\text{words} \quad \text{DEM-C-NEARSP} \quad \text{c-be:COMPL} \quad \text{c-be:COMPL} \quad \text{on-year} \quad \text{2001}
\]

these things took place in the year 2001

The Past Completive often functions as a pluperfect. In the following example, the giving of the money has been anterior to the events in the past that are going to be told:

\[
\text{pol} \quad \text{p-ørek} \quad \text{p-áp-p-øtet} \quad \text{ol} \quad \text{w-øra} \quad \text{ákúccij}
\]
\[
\text{person} \quad \text{c-some} \quad \text{c-be:COMPL-C\_give:COMPL} \quad \text{people} \quad \text{c-two} \quad \text{money}
\]

\[
\text{rùtù} \quad \text{á-kán} \quad \text{ant-át-}\text{kkárottn-5k}
\]
\[
\text{that} \quad \text{SUBJ-3A} \quad \text{can:DEPINCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-return\_to:DEPINCOMPL-O3}
\]

a man had given two people money in order for them to come and give it back to him (later) (Luke 7:41)

Some verbs need a Completive in order to express an actual mental or emotional state, for example \( \text{apíra} \) ‘become happy’ and \( \text{øñat} \) ‘like, want, love’. With such verbs, the Past Completive is applied in order to express a state that existed at some time in the past:
I wanted to play with Cecce, but (then) I could not find her and when s/he found it, s/he felt happy

*Dependent Past Completive: C-ɔkát a-PCL-C-verb:COMPL*

When a Past Completive is used after the conjunctive particle á-, the particle is repeated on the main verb, so that the clauses become chained (recall that Completives have no dependent TAM as counterpart). Like in the Past Completive, ɔlk cannot be present:

*Other complex verbs with an auxiliary of ‘be’*

TAMs can contain complex auxiliaries of ‘be’. The following, which has the Completive + Present Continuous of ‘be’, is an example. Like
the Past Continuous it expresses ‘was X-ing’, but it suggests that the action was not continued or finished. It can for example be used in a situation where the speaker reports that he saw somebody coming towards his house, but the person suddenly turned around and did not come after all. cɪk can be present or absent. cɪk adds a subtle (further) notion of spatiality and/or duration to the clause.

\[ \text{pʊl} \quad \text{p-ɔká.t} \quad \text{p-á.ɪk} \quad \text{p-àntán} \]

person \hspace{1em} c-be:COMPL \hspace{1em} c-be:PR \hspace{1em} c-come:INCOMPL

the man was coming (suggestion: but then something happened so that he did not come)

\[ \text{pʊl} \quad \text{p-ɔká.t} \quad \text{cɪk} \quad \text{p-a.ɪk} \quad \text{p-àntán} \]

person \hspace{1em} c-be:COMPL \hspace{1em} VREF \hspace{1em} c-be:PR \hspace{1em} c-come:INCOMPL

the man was coming (suggestion: but then something happened so that he did not come)

In general, when a TAM contains a Completive of ‘be’, a double Completive is possible as well. The double Completive can be shortened in the same way as happens in the Past Completive. Such constructions typically have a pluperfect reading. Some examples follow here.

**Past Continuous with double Completive of ‘be’:**

C-ɔkát C-ɔkát a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL, or shorten:
C-át C-ɔkát a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL;
C-ɔkát C-ɔkát cɪk a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL, or shortened:
C-át C-ɔkát cɪk a-PCL-verb:DEPINCOMPL

\[ \text{nɔ-cɛ́nt \qquad c-ɛ́n \qquad c-ɛ́mɛɛ́ɛ́ \qquad p-á.p-p-ɔká.t \qquad cɪk} \]

on-day \hspace{1em} C-DIM \hspace{1em} PERS-Cccc \hspace{1em} c-be:COMPL-c-be:COMPL \hspace{1em} VREF

a-kw-ɔ́ra

CONJ-3-cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

On that day Cccc had been busy cultivating

‘be about to’ with double Completive of ‘be’:
C-okát  C-okát  C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened:
C-át-C-okát  C-verb:INCOMPL;
C-okát  C-okát  cík  C-verb:INCOMPL, or shortened
C-át-C-okát  cík  C-verb:INCOMPL

3-tuṭṭó  p-á.p-óká.t  cík  p-ánṭán  ana
PERS-Tuṭṭó  C-be:COMPL-C-be:COMPL  VREF  C-come:INCOMPL  and

k-kw-áppər-oká.kat  p-ṇó
3-c-again:COMPL-be:DEPPRFV  C-ill
Tuṭṭó had been about to come, but he fell ill again

Past Completive with double Completive of ‘be’:

C-okát  C-okát  C-verb:COMPL, or shortened:
C-át-C-át-C-verb:COMPL

ōpari  p-óká.t  p-á.p-p-okwənín-ok  nʊkʊl
wife  C-be:COMPL  C-be:COMPL-C-produce_for:COMPL-3G  children
his wife had produced children for him

12.8. Deictic verbs

There are three deictic verbs. They always contain a concord and
have only one form. They contain the formatives ɪ, ɛrɪk and ɛtə̃,
respectively, that also form part of the spatial demonstratives (see
chapter 8.1). The deictic verbs are given in the first column of the
table, the demonstratives, for comparison, in the second.

Table 64 Deictic verbs

| C-ɛf   | ‘be here (near speaker /  |
|        | deictic centre)’         |
| C-ɛřɪk | ‘be there (near         |
|        | addressee)’              |
| C-ɛtə̃ | ‘be over there (away     |
|        | from speaker/deictic     |
|        | centre and addressee)’    |
| C-ɛcɪf | ‘this, these (near the   |
|        | deictic centre)’          |
| C-ɛc-ɛrɪk| ‘that, those (near     |
|        | addressee)’              |
| C-ɛc-ɛtə̃| ‘that, those (away from   |
|        | both, but in sight)’      |
The deictic verbs can function as main verbs, but also as auxiliaries. As main verbs, they typically function as presentatives:

\[
\text{m-p-ɛi} \quad \text{canɛ́}
\]

1-\text{c-be\_NEARSP} \quad \text{here}

I am here

\[
\text{a-m-p-ɛรก} \quad \text{a-n-ɪtto} \quad \text{kɪce} \quad \text{k-ərɛk}
\]

\text{CONJ-1-be\_NEARADDR} \quad \text{CONJ-1-pick\_DEPINCOMPL} \quad \text{kice\_fruit} \quad \text{c-some}

\[
\text{k-ɛ́} \quad \text{k-ɔrɛ́} \quad \text{ttʊaŋ}
\]

\text{c-be\_NEARSP} \quad \text{c-red} \quad \text{very}

and I am here with you, picking this other very ripe \text{kice\_fruit} here (fr. written story)

\[
\text{appɛntíná} \quad \text{w-ɛรก}
\]

groundnuts \quad \text{c-be\_NEARADDR}

the groundnuts are there in front of you!

\[
\text{əรก} \quad \text{nʊtтоrʊk} \quad \text{n-ərɛk} \quad \text{n-ɛʈɛ}
\]

come \quad \text{pigs} \quad \text{c-some} \quad \text{c-be\_DIST}

come, there are some pigs over there!

In a verbal complex, the deictic verbs can precede an Incompletive, a Present, a Present Continuous, or a Completive expressing a state:

\[
\text{m-p-ɛ́} \quad \text{p-á.ɛ́-a}
\]

1-\text{c-be\_NEARSP} \quad \text{c-go\_INCOMPL-ATT}

I am going!

\[
\text{m-p-ɛ́} \quad \text{p-á.ɪk} \quad \text{p-á.ɛ́-a}
\]

1-\text{c-be\_NEARSP} \quad \text{c-be\_PR} \quad \text{c-go\_INCOMPL-ATT}

I am going!

\[
\text{m-p-ɛรก} \quad \text{p-ə.mákt} \quad \text{non} \quad \text{n-ʈo-cəkɛn}
\]

1-\text{c-be\_NEARADDR} \quad \text{c-follow\_INCOMPL} \quad \text{c2A} \quad \text{with-at\_lower\_back}

I will be near to you, following you (PL) from behind
the palm fruits there with you are finished (App. IV, 115)

some people are over there, coming

12.9. **ikkɔ cik** ‘sit, stay’

The verb **ikkɔ cik** ‘sit, stay’ can function as a main verb, but also as auxiliary verb in a verbal complex. In such a complex auxiliary and main verb occur in separate clauses connected through the conjunctive particle á. Together the clauses express a continuing action or the start of an action. Examples of **ikkɔ cik** ‘sit, stay’ as main verb are given first. Presence of **cik** is obligatory.

**ikkɔ cik**

**sit:**IMP **vref**

sit down!

**ukul w-ɔŋtɛ́tɛ́ ittɔ̀ ɔ-nun ɪ̀-ikkɔ cik**

**child** **c-like:**COMPL **that** **pers-1a** **c-sit:**INCOMPL **vref**

the child wants us to stay

As an auxiliary Completive **c-ikkɔ́t cik**, Past **c-ikkáče cik** and Dependent Perfective **ikkat cik** are used in clause chaining construction with the conjunctive particle á in the following ways:

**c-ikkɔ́t cik** + á + PRO-verb:DEPINCOMPL

**c-ikkáče cik** or **ikkat cik** + á + PRO-verb:DEPINCOMPL

The construction with Completive **c-ikkɔ́t cik** expresses that an action was going on at some time in the past, literally: ‘X sat/stayed doing Y’. Some examples:
and when they were cultivating like that, the dog came ('The story of the jackal')

The second construction, with Past C-ikkáte cık or Dependent Perfective or ikkat cık expresses that an action (or state) started (literally “sat down”).

I started to feel tired

and the little red hen started to go to the field every day (fr. written story)

Like auxiliaries of ‘be’, ikkɔ cık as auxiliary can itself co-occur with an auxiliary verb, as in the following example:
and these things started to be said (and the situation was there that these things started to be said)

12.10. \textbf{c-íkkọ́} ‘may’

The auxiliary verb \textbf{c-íkkọ́}, without \textbf{cík}, precedes an Incompletive main verb:

\textbf{c-íkkọ́} C-verb:INCOMPL

Unlike \textbf{íkkọ́ cík}, \textbf{c-íkkọ́} ‘may’ cannot function as a main verb. It occurs only in this one form and always as an auxiliary: it does not inflect for Past or Completive, nor does it have a dependent counterpart.

The construction expresses that something \textit{may} happen. There is an expectation or possibility, but no certainty that the stated action or will actually take place.

\textbf{lọ́n l-íkkọ́ l-a.ka l-éppọ́t}

words C-may C-be:INCOMPL C-many

a lot of things may be going to be said now (For example after somebody has died: things that have been kept quiet are now perhaps going to be said openly)

\textbf{c-íkkọ́} cannot directly precede an adjective, it must always come before a verb. The first example has the Incompletive of the verb \textbf{ọ́na} ‘become ill’, the second the Incompletive of the verb \textbf{ọ́túkka} ‘become’, followed by the adjective \textbf{c-ẹ́nọ́ ‘ill’}. \textbf{ọ́túkka} cannot be left out.

\textbf{papọ́ p-íkkọ́ p-á.ọ́a}

thing C-may C-become,ill:INCOMPL

the animal may become ill
papo  p-ɪkkɔ  p-a.ţákkə  p-ʊŋɔ
thing  c-may  c-become:INCOMPL  c-ill

the animal may become ill

c-ɪkkɔ ‘may’ often precedes an Incompletive verb, but can also be combined with an auxiliary of ‘be’ that contains the Completive itive/ventive auxiliary c-ʌtt (see the example below). c-ʌtt has a modal interpretation in this context, as ‘may’ (see 12.20.2). It is this element c-ʌtt that allows for the presence of c-ɪkkɔ. In the example c-ɪkkɔ can be left out without a change of meaning, but pάţśká cannot be omitted.

ɔ-pəlın  p-ɪkkɔ  p-ʌtt-ɔká  p-ákkárákɔ.τ  cakuruk
PERS-somebody  c-may  c-ITVEN:BE:DEP:INCOMPL  c-be:called:COMPL  also

1-p-ʌrk  n-a-ʊŋ
RES-C-big  ON-PERS-2

somebody who is more important than you may have been invited as well (Luke 14:8)

Though c-ɪkkɔ normally conveys that something may happen, not that something is certain to happen, it is sometimes used in a way that expresses precisely the opposite. In the following example the Person of Nɔɔppat is threatening the tortoise. With c-ɪkkɔ he communicates that the tortoise can be sure ‘to know him today …’. kɔnɛ is a swear word variant of ɔnnɛ ‘your mother’.

ŋ-kw-ɪkkɔ  p-ɪnnɛɛ  kɔnɛ  mɛnñi  túllúk
2-c-may  c-know_for:INCOMPL  your_mother  today  just

ámmá  m-p-á.nn-ʊŋɛ̃-ʊŋ  ca  clik
if  1-C-NEG-throw_stones_at.PLUR:DEP:COMPL-o2  head  VREF

just today you will know (me), on your mother, I will crush your head with stones (lit.: you may know for your mother just today, if I will not have stoned your head)

Negation is expressed on the main verb, not on the auxiliary:
we may not be able to do a lot of work for many days

12.11. **c-aróṭuk** + H ‘be still’

**c-aróṭuk** + H occurs in this form only. It can, for example, not be used without concord. **c-aróṭuk** + H ‘be still’ does not have the shape of a verb. Final k is not attested in verbs, unless in presents of ‘be’ (**c-āīk**), where it is a remnant of the vague reference particle **cik**. Whether or not k of **c-aróṭuk** + H is perhaps itself a remnant of **cik** is unclear. There seems to be no other verb (or other word) to which it is related. In context, it can bring a high tone to the next element.

**c-aróṭuk** + H resembles adjectives in that it has a fixed form, must co-occur with a concord (or the focus marker **akk**- as a replacement of the concord) and can itself be combined with different TAMs of ‘be’ as auxiliaries. However, it does not express a quality, but functions typically as a verb: a locative/existential (main) verb, a copular verb and auxiliary verb. Some examples of **c-aróṭuk** + H as locative/existential verb follow here:

**ŋ-kw-aróṭuk-ʔ**

2-c-be still-0

are you ready? / have you finished? (**lit.: are you still?**)

**cik** **c-aróṭuk** áttīk

place c-be still ever

there is still endless time

As a main verb it can be preceded by an auxiliary of ‘be’:

---

72 In spite of **c-aróṭuk** having a floating high tone (+H), no high tone (realized as falling) is generated on the question particle.
ka k-a₁k k-aróток ᵐ-né³
body C-be:PR C-be:still in-sleep
I am still asleep (lit.: the body is still in sleep)

ɔ-kín ɪ-t-ká.t t-aráток cik-i-ká k-ɔ-ŋ-tampaŋ
PERS-3A C-be:COMPL C-be:still LOC-in-body C-of-flat_open_space
they were still right in the middle of the flat open space

It can also be combined with c-ʃcca ‘be still, continue to’ as auxiliary
verb. c-ʃcca is discussed in chapter 12.2.

m-p-ʃccá p-aráток
1-c-be:still C-be:still
I am still not ready / I have still not finished

c-aróток + H can also function as a copular verb. In the first example
it makes a connection between the subject and a noun; in the second
and third between the subject and an adjective; in the fourth
between the subject and connective construction:

k-kw-aráток õkól w-ɔn
3-c-be:still child C-Poss2A
s/he is still your child

ŋərgi ŋ-aróток ŋ-írrók
water C-be:still C-cold
the water is still cold

pol p-aráток p-ɔŋp cânnan
person C-be:still C-ill very
the person is still very ill

cık c-aróток c-ɔ-ŋənət
place C-be:still C-of-tomorrow
it is still morning (maybe around 10.00 am)

ⁱⁿᵗᵉ is a contraction of i + mᵃᵗᵉ, see 4.4.
C-arə́t̪ʊk + H as auxiliary verb can be followed by a Dependent Incompletive main verb. Examples with imma ‘see’ akkarɔ ‘call’, ɔmόnɛ ‘steal’, ɔkkwɔt̪ ‘kill’ are given in the table. The floating high tone of C-arə́t̪ʊk + H is realized on all-low dependent incompletive TAM-stems (first two examples in the table. The falling realization in the second example point towards an underlyingly long vowel).

Table 65 C-arə́t̪ʊk + H and Dependent Incompletive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Incompletive</th>
<th>C-arə́t̪ʊk + H + Dependent Incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imma ‘see’</td>
<td>C-arə́t̪ʊk imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ ‘call’</td>
<td>C-arə́t̪ʊk akkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmόnɛ ‘steal’</td>
<td>C-arə́t̪ʊk ɔmόnɛ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt̪ ‘kill’</td>
<td>C-arə́t̪ʊk ɔkkwɔt̪</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Followed by a Dependent Incompletive it expresses that something is still to happen or to be done. It can often be translated with ‘not yet’:

m-p-arə́t̪ʊk ʃkɔ əlɛppɔn 1-c-bestill drink:DEPINCOMPL coffee
I am still to take coffee / I have not taken coffee yet

k-kw-áraτɔk ɔkɔt 1-a-paŋɔn 3-c-bestill feel_at-ease:DEPINCOMPL in-PERS-sibling.pl
s/he does not yet feel at ease between his/her siblings (s/he is still to feel at ease between his/her siblings)

ɔkʊl 1-ɔpari w-ɔnʊ ɪtʊ w-ápərendə child res-(c)-female c-have that PRO.c-be_beaten:INCOMPL

a-w-áraτɔk ɒpɛt CONJ-PRO.c-bestill get_pregnant:DEPINCOMPL
a girl must be beaten before she gets pregnant (she must undergo the initiation rite of being beaten. Lit.: while being still to get pregnant …)
and before cutting the pig in two ... (lit.: and when s/he was still to cut the pig in two ...) (fr. written story)

\textit{C-aroṭok} + H can also be combined with a non-dependent verbal complex expressing continuous action. With the Present Continuous in the first example, it communicates that an action is still going on:

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textbf{m-p-aroṭok} & \textbf{p-a.nk} & \textbf{p-ikkọ} & \textbf{áləppn} \\
1-\text{c-be\_still} & \text{c-be\_PR} & \text{c-drink\_INCOMPL} & \text{coffee} \\
\end{tabular}

I am still drinking coffee (I have not finished my coffee yet)

However, this type of expression more often seems to make use of a construction with \textit{c-icca} ‘be still’.

Negation is expressed on the main verb, not on \textit{C-aroṭok}:

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textbf{k-kw-aroṭok} & \textbf{p-ńn-əŋkọt} & \textbf{ittu} & \textbf{k-kw-íttə} \\
3-\text{c-be\_still} & \text{c-NEG\_WANT\_DEPCOMPL} & \text{that} & 3-\text{c-be\_married\_INCOMPL} \\
\end{tabular}

she still does not want to get married

12.12. \textit{C-icca} ‘be still’

The verb \textit{C-icca} ‘be still’ occurs only in this form, always with a concord. \textit{C-icca} can only be followed by a non-dependent verb or adjective. Therefore, whether or not it would itself have a floating high tone is of no consequence since there is no environment where such a tone could manifest itself. Non-dependent verb and adjectives always have a high tone themselves and will not receive a preceding high tone. \textit{C-icca} does not seem to be related to another verb (or other word).

Unlike \textit{C-arọtok} + H, \textit{C-icca} cannot function as a main verb. As a copular verb with adjectival predicate it can be used interchangeably with \textit{C-arọtok} + H.

---

\textsuperscript{74} Clause-final boundary tone (see 3.6).
The water is still cold.

The person is still very ill.

\textit{c-aró̱tʊk} and \textit{c-ícc\textipa{a}} can be used together, in either order:

\begin{verbatim}
pól p-ícc\textipa{a} p-árov p-\textipa{e}ō cán\textipa{n}an
\end{verbatim}

The person is still very ill.

\textit{c-ícc\textipa{a}} ‘be still’ cannot serve as a copular verb with a nominal predicate. In such a case \textit{c-aró̱tʊk} ‘be still’ must be present:

\begin{verbatim}
k-kw-ícc\textipa{a} p-árov ōkól w-ōn
\end{verbatim}

She is still your child.

\textit{c-ícc\textipa{a}} is commonly used as an auxiliary in verbal complexes with a Present of ‘be’, a Present Continuous, or a Complettive denoting a state:

\textit{c-ícc\textipa{a} c-aik}
\textit{c-ícc\textipa{a} c-aik} C-incompletive TAM-stem
\textit{c-ícc\textipa{a} C-completive TAM-stem}

\textit{c-ícc\textipa{a}} expresses that something is still going on or is still in a certain state. Some examples:

\begin{verbatim}
ŋ-kw-ícc\textipa{a} p-á\textipa{f}k-ī
\end{verbatim}

Are you still there?
is Nenni still saying that she will come?

C-icca can precede a Present Continuous within a larger verbal structure. In the example below, the Completive of ‘be’ (+ cik) and the conjunctive particle á are followed by C-icca and a Present Continuous.

The Completive of occó cik ‘take time’ is used for the state of being late (first example below). In the second example this Completive is combined with C-icca.

A present state of refusing something is expressed with the Completive of əṟa ‘refuse, insist’. The example shows that in an environment where a Dependent Incompletive would be selected instead of an Incompletive and a Dependent Perfective instead of a Past, both without concord, C-icca retains its concord (like Completives and like the Present of ‘be’):

and the heart still refused to kill the body (the heart still refused to stop beating)
Unlike c-arə́tə́ +H, c-ícca does not precede a dependent verb, nor does it, in certain environments, allow for a reading as ‘not yet’.

12.13. c-úrə́n + H ‘just now’

The auxiliary c-úrə́n + H ‘just now’ has only one form and only combines with a dependent incompletive TAM-stem. c-úrə́n brings a high tone on the initial mora of an all-low dependent incompletive TAM-stems (first two examples in the table - the falling realization in the second example points towards an underlyingly long vowel).

Table 66 c-úrə́n + H and dependent incompletive TAM-stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>c-úrə́n + H and dep. incompl. TAM-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imma 'see’</td>
<td>c-úrə́n-imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarə́ ‘call’</td>
<td>c-úrə́n-akkarə́ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmōɲe ‘steal’</td>
<td>c-úrə́n-ɔmōɲe + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔ̃t ‘kill’</td>
<td>c-úrə́n-ɔkkwɔ̃t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C-úrə́n + H ‘just now’ + dependent incompletive TAM-stem expresses that something has just happened, or has just been carried out. Some examples:

Ê-kukkʊ  p-úrə́n-ɔs
PERS-Kukku  C-just_now-go:DEPINCOMPL
Kukku has just left

M-p-úrə́n-ɛŋkɔt  i-ɔƣɛ  c-ɔ-pira
1-C-just_now-rest_at:DEPINCOMPL  in-buttock  C-of-tree
I have just taken a rest under the tree

C-ánt / C-ántər ‘can’ with dependent incompletive main verb TAM-stem, can also express that something just happened (see 12.15). If C-ánt / C-ántər is used in this sense, (virtually) no time has elapsed between the time of speech and the time of the event. When C-úrə́n + H is used, a little time may have past. Compare:
I have just arrived (perhaps an hour or so ago)

I have just arrived (the moment of speech is the moment of arrival)

c-úrənn can be combined with an auxiliary of ‘be’. In the next example, the arrival was not shortly before but shortly after the time anchor:

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

12.14. *aroka ‘as always’

The auxiliary ‘as always’ has three TAMs, based on a reconstructed verb *aroka:

Table 67 TAM-stems and TAMs of *aroka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-stem</th>
<th>TAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dependent incompletive</td>
<td>arok + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>árok + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>arokát shortened: arók</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arók + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c-árok + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c-arokát shortened: c-arók</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A verb *aroka can be reconstructed, because of Completive c-arokát, which would be the regular Completive of an a-initial, a-final, low-toned verb (*aroka). Furthermore, a Dependent Incompletive form *aroka + H and an Incompletive form *c-aroka + H would be regularly expected. These verbs, however, can easily been seen to have lost their final vowel before the initial vowel of the dependent verb that must follow. Such loss of a verb-final vowel a before a vowel with which it does not necessarily coalesce is attested elsewhere in connected speech, for example in:
m-p-ɔmma itti ... [mibɔm:-tti] I don’t know (that) ...

maṭṭa ɔmmi káppəriók-άŋ-e [maṭ-u₃mi] please take:IMP spoon C-2POSS-PROP please, do pick up your spoon! (App. IV, 74)

It is therefore not far-fetched to assume that the attested auxiliaries are remaining (shortened) TAMs of a verb *arək.

Dependent Incompletive arək +H and Incompletive C-árək +H are followed by the dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb. This (vowel-initial) verb is attached to the auxiliary. In the table below the forms are given of arək +H and C-árək +H preceding dependent incompletive TAM-stems of the verbs imma ‘see’, akkarɔ ‘call’, ɔmůŋe ‘steal’ and ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’. The floating high tone of the auxiliary is realized or not realized on the dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb (see the Tone Shift Rule and Tone Reappearance sub-Rules, 3.3.1 and 3.3.3).

| imma ‘see’ | arək-imma +H | C-árək-imma +H |
| akkarɔ ‘call’ | arək-âkkarɔ +H | C-árək-âkkarɔ +H |
| ɔmůŋe ‘steal’ | arək-ɔmůŋe +H | C-árək-ɔmůŋe +H |
| ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’ | arək-ɔkkwɔt | C-árək-ɔkkwɔt |

Table 68 arək +H and C-árək +H and dep. incompletive TAM-stem

Table 70 presents Completive C-arəkât followed by a Completive and by a Past:
When followed by a dependent verb, Completive \(c\)-\texttt{arokat} and the dependent verb will fuse together to one word. I therefore regard the dependent main verb as TAM-stems rather than as TAMs.

Table 71 gives examples of \(c\)-\texttt{arokat} with dependent TAM-stems of the verbs \texttt{i}m\texttt{ma} ‘see’, \texttt{akkar}c ‘call’, \texttt{om}\texttt{un}e ‘steal’ and \texttt{okkwot} ‘kill’. Final \(t\) of \(c\)-\texttt{arokat} is realized as its intervocalic allophone \(r\). The falling tone of the auxiliary is realized as high (Contour Simplification Rule). When the main verb contains a high or falling tone, tone bridge occurs.

Before a dependent TAM-stem, Completive \(c\)-\texttt{arokat} can be shortened to \(c\)-\texttt{arak}. Comparing Completive \(c\)-\texttt{arak} to \(c\)-\texttt{arokat}, we see that the falling tone is lost, together with the segmental loss. However, after the shortened form \(c\)-\texttt{arak} the same tones are retained on the main verb as (regularly) occur after the full form \(c\)-\texttt{arokat}: a low-toned main verb TAM-stem does not receive a high tone, and there is tone bridge in case of a main verb TAM-stem that has a high or falling tone itself.
‘call’  C-arək-akkarɔ + H  C-arək-akkarat + H
‘steal’  C-arəkár-əmʊ́ɲɛ  C-arəkár-əmʊ́ɲɛ + H  C-arəkár-əmʊ́ɲɛkət + H
‘kill’  C-arəkár-ɔkkwɔt  C-arəkár-ɔkkwɔt  C-arəkár-ɔkkwɔt
C-arəkár-ɔkkwɔt

Meaning and use of *arəka

When the auxiliary is followed by a dependent verb it expresses the assumption that something happened, happens or will happen, just like it always (or usually) does. Its use implies or suggests knowledge of the speaker about the way the subject typically behaves, or something that is happening all the time, whether this is common knowledge or private knowledge of the speaker. A specific type of source or evidence on which his assumption is based is not implied: it may be that the speaker has witnessed the same behaviour before, or that he bases his assumption on what he heard from other people. Expressions with a form of *arəka, expressing expected behaviour, typically have a pejorative flavour: the behaviour is disapproved of.

Examples with dependent incompletive and dependent perfective main verb TAM-stems follow here. The assumptions they express are rather strong, for which reason I translate the auxiliary with ‘surely’. The first example below has an Incompletive auxiliary and a dependent incompletive main verb. ‘As always’ precedes the main verb, not the auxiliary.

pol  p-ə-nɔppɔt  p-a.ìk  p-áək-əmákarɔ
person  C-of-Nɔppɔt  C-be:PR  C-as_always:INCOMPL-follow_each_other:DEPINCOMPL
n-το-ɔkɛn
with-at_lower_back
the person of Nɔppɔt is surely following from behind (he always follows people at this hour) (fr. written story)

In the following two examples, the auxiliary is Dependent Incompletive:
**VERBS**

**a-kəllán arək-əŋwɔ**

CONJ-old_woman as_always:DEPINCORP-sing:DEPINCORP

and the old woman will surely sing (it is her habit to sing, but now it is not really appropriate)

**ɔ-kakká p-á.ɪk káráʈå**

PERS-Kakka C-be:PR where

akka a-kw-ărɔk-ɔka i-ŋté

that CONJ-3-as_always:DEPINCORP-be:DEPINCORP in-sleep

where is Kakka? she is surely asleep! (many times, she sleeps at this unusual hour)

Completive c-ărɔkåt/c-ărɔk followed by a dependent incompletive main verb TAM-stem expresses an assumption that a certain event just happened before the time of speech or the time of reference. C-ărɔkåt and C-ărɔk can be used interchangeably. Some examples:

**pʊl p-ărɔk-ɔmuŋe ana ɔ-kín t-əkkwé.ɾ-ək**

person C-as_always:COMPL-steal:DEPINCORP and PERS-3a C-beat.PLUR:COMPL-03

the man has surely stolen, that is why they have beaten him (the man is know -by the speaker or generally- to have stolen before)

**ɔ-kakká p-ărɔk-ə-r-ɔká i-ŋté**

PERS-Kakka C-as_always:COMPL-be:DEPINCORP in-sleep

Kakka was surely asleep (many times, she sleeps at this unusual hour)

C-ărɔkåt/c-ărɔk followed by a dependent perfective main verb expresses an assumption about what happened as the next thing at some moment in the past. In the second example the concord on the auxiliary is replaced by the focus marker akk-.

**pʊl p-ărɔk-əkkarat**

person C-as_always:COMPL-call:DEPPRFV

the man surely called (then) (this is what he does in such situations, but he actually shouldn’t)
The adverb ɪ́kkərɛ ‘maybe’ can be added to a clause with ‘as always’. ɪ́kkərɛ somewhat weakens the assumption:

ɪ́kkərɛ ʈʊk ʈ-ə.ɪk ʈ-áɾək-ɪkkɔ nɪ
maybe dog  c-be:PR  c-as_always:INCOMPL-drink:DEP:INCOMPL  pooh
maybe the dog is eating pooh again (the dog has a habit of eating pooh)

When the (Completive) auxiliary is followed not by a dependent main verb, but by a non-dependent main verb, it is not an assumption, but a factual statement. In this context I translate the auxiliary with ‘as expected’ (because the same is always, or often, the case). Compare these examples with a Past (the first) and a dependent perfective main verb (the second), which both express a consecutive event:

ɔ-laló  p-arəká.t  p-ɔmʊŋɛ.kaṭe  ɪmɪt
PERS-Lalu  c-as_always:COMPL  c-steal:PST  goat
Lalu, as expected, stole the goat (then)

ɔ-laló  p-arəká.r-ɔmʊŋɛ.kat  ɪmɪt
PERS-Lalu  c-as_always:COMPL-steal:DEP:PRFV  goat
Lalu surely stole the goat (then)

Another example with Dependent Perfective main verb is the following:

ʈʊk  t-ərəká.t  t-ɔrəkk.άɛ  ɳʊrû
dog  c-as_always:COMPL  c-eat:PST  asida
the dog, as always, (then) ate the asida (the dog is always stealing asida if you don’t pay attention)

The combination with a Completive main verb expresses that something has just happened at the time of speech, or at the
reference time, as could be expected, because it always (or often)
happens this way. The auxiliary has a pejorative connotation. Some
examples:

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{č-nenní p-arəká.t p-aá.t} \\
&PERS-Nenni c-as_always:COMPL c-come:COMPL
\end{align*} \]

Nenni has, as always, (already) arrived (she always comes exactly in time,
she gives people no space)

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{ṭuk ţ-ó-pattí t-arəká.t t-ókkwōt.é ṇat̪arəpē} \\
&\text{dog c-of-person c-as_always:COMPL c-kill:COMPL rabbi}t
\end{align*} \]

the dog of that person has, as always, killed the rabbit (it is never my dog
that kills the rabbit!)

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{a-pálła p-arəká.t p-actively t-kít} \\
&\text{CONJ-cat c-as_always:COMPL c-make_leave:COMPL eye}t
\end{align*} \]

the cat, as always, had quickly glimpsed around (it always does this, it is
part of its unreliable nature)

Negation comes between the auxiliary and the main verb:

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{ṭuk ţ-m t-arəká.r-ókōnn-ókkwōt} \\
&\text{dog c-POSS1 c-as_always:COMPL NEG-DEP-kill:DEP:COMPL}
\end{align*} \]

as always my dog did not kill it (as always my dog did not make the kill)

12.15. *\text{anta} ‘can (possibility)’

The auxiliary *\text{anta} ‘can (possibility)’ has three TAMs, as given in
table 72. These forms are based on a verb which can be
reconstructed as *\text{anta} (see below).

Table 71 TAM-stems and TAMs of *\text{anta}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-stem</th>
<th>TAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dependent incomplete</td>
<td>ant + H Dependent Incomplete ant + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>ánt + H Incomplete c-ánt + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complete</td>
<td>ántar Completive c-ántar shortened: c-ánt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shortened: ánt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The initial a of the dependent auxiliary (and the absence of a form with o) suggests development from an a-initial verb. The final vowel is less clear, but may well have been a as well, so that a possible reconstruction of the auxiliary is *anta.

The Dependent Incompletive and the Incompletive TAMs of the auxiliary (ant + H and c-ánt + H) are followed by a dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb. Examples are given in table 73, with ant + H and c-ánt + H preceding dependent incompletive imma ‘see’, akkarɔ ‘call’, omûne 'steal' and ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’. The floating tone of the auxiliary is realized or not realized on the main verb in accordance with the Tone Shift Rule and the Tone Reappearance sub-Rules.

| imma ‘see’ | ant-imma + H | c-ánt-imma + H |
| akkarɔ ‘call’ | ant-akkara + H | c-ánt-akkara + H |
| omûne ‘steal’ | ant-omûne + H | c-ánt-omûne + H |
| ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’ | ant-ɔkkwɔt | c-ánt-ɔkkwɔt |

Compleitive c-ántar precedes dependent incompletive or dependent perfective TAM-stems of the main verb, generating the same tone patterns on the main verb as the Compleitive auxiliary c-arakat ‘as always’. Though these tones cannot be regularly derived from the combination of c-ántar and dependent incompletive main verb, and though c-ántar is no longer a regular Compleitive (the regular Compleitive would have been *c-antat, regularly realized *c-antar or *c-antar before a vowel-initial main verb), I gloss the main verb as dependent incompletive (like after c-arakat), and the auxiliary stem ántar as completive.

The second vowel of *c-antat most likely has been reduced to o before developing the short variant c-ánt, which has the high tone now on the first mora. Probably under influence of this short form,
the high tone then moved to the first mora on the longer form c-ántər as well.

The short Completive auxiliary c-ánt is —apart from its tonal effect on the following verb stem— no longer distinct from the Incompletive c-ánt + H. However, since it is a free variant of c-ántər, and since it has the same tonal effect on the following dependent incompletive main verb as c-ántər, I will still consider it a reduced completive stem. Note also that c-ántər and c-ánt have no dependent counterparts, which also points at them being former Completives, in the first case still on the pathway of losing the completive marking, in the second case already having lost it, except for its tonal effects on the following element.

Notably, a reconstruction as *antɔ (with Completive *c-antɔt) would be possible as well. Reduction and tonal change would in that case have followed the same pathway.

Table 75 presents the forms of Completive c-ántər / c-ánt followed by the dependent incompletive TAM-stem of a main verb. With ωmúne ‘steal’ and ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’ there is tone bridge.

Completive c-ántər and c-ánt can also be followed by a dependent perfective main verb TAM-stem (just as can c-arəkət and c-arək). A dependent perfective TAM-stem can, moreover, follow after Incompletive c-ánt + H and Dependent Incompletive ant + H. Preceded by Completive c-ántər/c-ánt the dependent perfective is all-low or has tone bridge until its own high or falling tone; preceded by Incompletive c-ánt + H and Dependent Incompletive ant + H the
presence of a floating high tone can be seen when the main verb is all-low. In table 75, Dependent Incompletive ant + H with dependent perfective main verb TAM-stem is presented in the first column, Incompletive c-ánt + H with dependent perfective main verb TAM-stem in the second, and Compleitive auxiliaries with dependent perfective main verb TAM-stems in the third:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ant + H + dep. perfective TAM-stem</th>
<th>C-ánt + H + dep. perfective TAM-stem</th>
<th>C-ántær / C-ánt + dep. perfective TAM-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imma</td>
<td>ant-îmmakat + H</td>
<td>C-ánt-îmmakat + H</td>
<td>C-ántær-îmmakat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkaræ</td>
<td>ant-åkkarat + H</td>
<td>C-ánt-åkkarat + H</td>
<td>C-ántær-akkarat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘call’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmûne</td>
<td>ant-ɔmûnekat + H</td>
<td>C-ánt-ɔmûnekat + H</td>
<td>C-ántær-ɔmûnekat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘steal’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt</td>
<td>ant-ɔkkwát</td>
<td>C-ánt-ɔkkwát</td>
<td>C-ántær-ɔkkwát</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I thus assume that, originally, C-ántær and C-ánt developed from a regular Compleitive *C-antát, like C-aræk has developed from (still existing) C-arækât. While the auxiliaries are loosing completive inflection and are probably moving towards just one (short) auxiliary form, the tone patterns regularly generated by the (formerly) full Compleitive auxiliary become associated with completive semantics of the verb as a whole. The same development can be seen in the auxiliaries of ‘again’, based on the reconstructed auxiliary verb *appa (or perhaps *appɔ) (see 12.16). Loss of completive inflection has gone furthest in the negation auxiliaries, where only the main verb TAM-stems still carry the (tonal) marking of a formerly Compleitive auxiliary, so that, in that context, it has become useful to speak of dependent completive main verb TAM-stems (see 12.17).
Meaning and use

Auxiliaries of *anta express an opportunity, a possibility or just that the moment is there for something to be done or to happen. The auxiliary is often rather difficult to translate in English. I gloss it with ‘can’, but it does not refer to personal skill or ability.

Some examples with (non-dependent) Incompletive c-ánt + H followed by a Dependent Incompletive main verb follow here. Only the tones on the main verb show that the auxiliary is an Incompletive (and not a Compleitive).

The person can steal the bag, but he will not hold (keep) it

we will be able to see the mountain tomorrow (context: now we cannot see it because it is dark)

The auxiliary can have a politeness effect:

could you show me how you cultivate onion here? (lit.: I want that you can show me how you cultivate onion here)
Dependent Incompletive ant + H with a dependent incompletive main verb TAM-stem is very common as a friendly command to a singular or plural addressee. When addressing a single person, there is no pronoun clitic. ant does not seem to be in Imperative TAM, since the Imperative of an a-final verb does not bring a high tone to the next element. In case of a plural addressee, the pronoun clitic ‘you (PL)’ is present in the form of ŋ- or ŋn-. I translate ant in these cases with ‘please’, though ‘please’ is perhaps a little strong.

Table 75 Commands with ant + H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. addressee</th>
<th>pl. addressee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɪpɪtto ‘ask’</td>
<td>(o)n-ánt-ɪpɪtto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔcɔt ‘stand’</td>
<td>(o)n-ánt-ɔcɔt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔccɪkɔt ‘hear, listen’</td>
<td>(o)n-ánt-ɔccɪkɔt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔllɔ ‘run’</td>
<td>(o)n-ánt-ɔllɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with Completive auxiliary, as shown by the tones on the main verb, follow here. Such constructions express that the opportunity for something to happen has come (or had come at a certain point in time), implying that, at the time of speech (or at the time reference point), the action has just been carried out and/or there is a resulting state.

m-p-ántar-aɔ
1-c-can:COMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL
I have arrived just now

m-p-ánt-tɔ pɛrɪn
1-c-can:COMPL-die:DEPINCOMPL finally
I am dead now / I am completely finished (said when something serious has happened)
today the time has come for me to suffer very much (more lit.: today the moment has come to push out the teeth completely)

how has the body been doing? (typically asked when the last time the speaker saw the addressee, the addressee was ill)

I had the chance to become well (i.e. I am fine now; answer to the question in the previous example)

we could finally catch the thieves

because of the cultivating party, the man (then) could drink beer (he had the opportunity and he did it)
only when the child was completely better, Kakka finally came to the house (implying: she came too late, she should have come during the child’s illness).

and when the seven days were done, the flood came over the earth (Genesis 7:10)

An example with Completive auxiliary c-ántər/c-ánt preceding a Dependent Perfective main verb follows here:

the person just (finally) got the chance and stole

12.16. *appa ‘again’

The auxiliary ‘again’ has three TAMs, as given in table 77. These forms are based on a verb which can be reconstructed as *appa (see further below).

Table 76 TAM-stems and TAMs of *appa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-stem</th>
<th>TAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dependent</td>
<td>app + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incompletive</td>
<td>app + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>ãpp + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complete</td>
<td>c-áppər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shortened:  ápp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial a of the dependent auxiliary (and the absence of a form with o) suggests development from an a-initial verb. The final vowel
is less clear, but may well have been a as well, so that a possible reconstruction of the auxiliary is *appa. c-áppər, like c-ántər, then probably developed from Completive *c-appát (regularly realized as *c-appár or *c-appar before a vowel-initial main verb TAM-stem). The second vowel a then reduced to ə before developing the short variant c-ápp, which had the high tone now on the first mora. Probably under influence of this short form, the high tone then also changed to the first mora on the longer form.

Notably, a reconstruction as *appɔ (with Completive *c-appɔt) would be possible as well. Reduction and tonal change would in that case have followed the same pathway.

The Dependent Incompletive and the Incompletive TAMs of ‘again’ (app + H and c-ápp + H) are followed by a dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb.

Table 77 app + H and c-ápp + H and dep. incompletive TAM-stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>app + H + dependent incompletive</th>
<th>c-ápp + H + dependent incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imma ‘see’</td>
<td>app-imma + H</td>
<td>c-ápp-imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarə ‘call’</td>
<td>app-akkarə + H</td>
<td>c-ápp-akkarə + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omóŋe ‘steal’</td>
<td>app-omóŋe + H</td>
<td>c-ápp-omóŋe + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’</td>
<td>app-ɔkkwɔt</td>
<td>c-ápp-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C-áppar precedes dependent incompletives or dependent perfectives of the main verb, generating the same tone patterns on main verbs as the Completive auxiliaries c-arakət/c-arək ‘as always’ and c-ántar/c-ánt. Though these tones cannot be regularly derived from the combination of c-áppar and dependent incompletive main verb, I gloss the main verb as dependent incompletive and c-áppar as completive, assuming the same tonal process as after c-arakət/c-arək ‘as always’ and c-ántar/c-ánt.
Like c-ánt, the short completive form c-ápp is no longer distinct from the incompletive form of the auxiliary, but, as a free variant of c-áppər is glossed as completive as well. Like completives, c-áppər/c-ápp has no dependency opposition. The whole process appears to be precisely analogous to the development of c-ántər/c-ánt. The Completive auxiliaries with dependent incompletive main verb TAM-stem are presented in table 79.

Table 78 c-áppər/c-ápp and dep. incompletive TAM-stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>c-áppər/c-ápp + dep. incompletive TAM-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imma ‘see’</td>
<td>c-áppər-imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c-ápp-imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ ‘call’</td>
<td>c-áppər-akkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c-ápp-akkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmûne ‘steal’</td>
<td>c-áppər-ɔmûne + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c-ápp-ɔmûne + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’</td>
<td>c-áppər-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c-ápp-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent perfectives TAM-stems can be preceded by Completive c-áppər and c-ápp, but also by Incompletive c-ápp + H and Dependent Incompletive app + H (just as they can be preceded by Completive c-ántər/c-ánt, and by Incompletive c-ánt + H and Dependent Incompletive ant + H). After c-áppər/c-ápp the dependent perfective stem is all-low or there is tone bridge until its own high; preceded by app + H the presence of the preceding high tone can be seen when the main verb itself is all-low. The forms are given in table 80.

Table 79 Forms of *appa with dependent perfective TAM-stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>app + H +</th>
<th>c-ápp + H +</th>
<th>c-áppər/c-ápp +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dep. perfective TAM-stem</td>
<td>dep. perfective TAM-stem</td>
<td>dep. perfective TAM-stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Commands with ‘again’ are formed with Dependent Incompletive app + H and the dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb. When addressing a singular second person no pronoun (clitic) is applied. When addressing a plural second person, these commands have the full 2PL pronoun ɔnɔ, or the clitics ɔ̀- or ǹ-. Examples with the latter are given in table 81.

The following two examples contrast a verb with Completive ‘again’ and dependent incompletive main verb with a verb with Completive ‘again’ and dependent perfective main verb. The first draws attention to the result of the action, another goat being dead, not so much to the action of the lion. It also implies that the event happened recently. The second draws attention to the action of the lion, not so

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>2SG addressee</th>
<th>2PL addressee</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ ‘call’</td>
<td>app-åkkarat (+H)</td>
<td>(ɔ)n-åpp-åkkarat</td>
<td>call again!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔcòp ‘stand’</td>
<td>app-ɔcòp (+H)</td>
<td>(ɔ)n-ånt-ɔcòp</td>
<td>wait again!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔccifikɔt ‘hear’</td>
<td>app-ɔccifikɔt (+H)</td>
<td>(ɔ)n-åpp-ɔccifikɔt</td>
<td>listen again!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔllɔ ‘run’</td>
<td>app-ɔllɔ (+H)</td>
<td>(ɔ)n-åpp-ɔllɔ</td>
<td>make way again!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two examples contrast a verb with Completive ‘again’ and dependent incompletive main verb with a verb with Completive ‘again’ and dependent perfective main verb. The first draws attention to the result of the action, another goat being dead, not so much to the action of the lion. It also implies that the event happened recently. The second draws attention to the action of the lion, not so
much to another goat being dead. The expression makes no claim about when the event occurred. Therefore, in a thetic statement, addition of an adjunct of time is appropriate.

\[
\text{\texttt{t\textperiodcentered p\textperiodcentered a t\textperiodcentered \texttt{\textperiodcentered ápp\textperiodcentered-5kkw\textperiodcentered\textperiodcenter0 t\textperiodcentered \texttt{\textperiodcentered ïm\textperiodcentered t\textperiodcentered w-\texttt{\textperiodcenter0 ŋek}}} } \\
\text{lion c\text{-again:compl\text{-kill:depincompl}} goat c\text{-some}}
\]

the lion has again killed a goat (i.e.: another goat is dead from the lion)

\[
\text{\texttt{t\textperiodcentered p\textperiodcentered a t\textperiodcentered \texttt{\textperiodcentered ápp\textperiodcentered-5kkw\textperiodcentered\textperiodcenter0 t\textperiodcentered \texttt{\textperiodcenter0 ïm\textperiodcentered t\textperiodcentered w-\texttt{\textperiodcenter0 ŋek m\texttt{\textperiodcenter0 ccn\textperiodcenter0-t\textperiodcenter0}}} } \\
\text{lion c\text{-again:compl\text{-kill:depprfv}} goat c\text{-some yesterday\text{-you\text{\_}know}}}
\]

the lion killed a goat again yesterday, you know

The following is an example with Dependent Incompletive \texttt{app + H} preceding a dependent perfective main verb. The verb now denotes a future consecutive event:

\[
\text{\texttt{\texttt{\textperiodcenter0-p\textperiodcenter0 ll\textperiodcenter0 in p\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 a.t\textperiodcenter0 t\textperiodcenter0 e n\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 n\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 n-k\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 k\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 l}}} \\
PERS\text{-one\_of\_group c\text{-leave:incompl} on\text{-children}}
\]

\[
\text{\texttt{\textbullet\textperiodcenter0-kw\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 á.nn\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 ápp\textbullet\textperiodcenter0-ére.k\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 t\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 p\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 r\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 n itt\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 m\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 p-a.\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 íne \textbullet\textperiodcenter0 ók\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 l}}} \\
CONJ\text{-3\text{-neg:dep\text{-again:depincompl\text{-speak:depprfv}} finally \text{\_}that 1\text{-c\text{-go\_to:incompl} child}}}
\]

a man will abandon his children and he will never again say ‘I go to my child’ (fr. written essay)

There is an adverb \texttt{att\textperiodcenter0 n ‘again’. This adverb can be used instead of the auxiliary but can also be added to a clause that has a verb with the auxiliary ‘again’:

\[
\text{\texttt{k-kw\textbullet\textperiodcenter0-5kk\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 té \texttt{att\textperiodcenter0 n}}} \\
3\text{-c\text{-do:compl} again}
\]
s/he has done it again

\[
\text{\texttt{k-kw\textbullet\textperiodcenter0-ápp\textbullet\textperiodcenter0-5kk\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 t}}} \\
3\text{-c\text{-again:compl\text{-do:depincompl}}}
\]
s/he has done it again

\[
\text{\texttt{k-kw\textbullet\textperiodcenter0-ápp\textbullet\textperiodcenter0-5kk\textbullet\textperiodcenter0 t \texttt{\textperiodcenter0 att\textperiodcenter0 n}}} \\
3\text{-c\text{-again:compl\text{-do:depincompl} again}}
\]
s/he has done it again
12.17. Negation auxiliary

Negation is marked by TAMs of the verb okórrnna ‘let, abstain’ functioning as auxiliary verb. As a main verb okórrnna has a full inflectional paradigm, as an auxiliary verb its inflectional paradigm is reduced. As an auxiliary of negation it has two TAMs, both of which have shortened forms:

Dep. Incompletive okórrn + H, shortened: okán + H, ñnn + H
Incompletive C-akórrn + H, shortened: akónn + H, ânn + H

Main verb stems coming after a negation auxiliary can have the shape of a dependent incompletive TAM-stem or of a dependent perfective TAM-stem. Stems with the (segmental) shape of a dependent incompletive, however, come in two sets of tone patterns: the tone patterns that are expected on the basis of the composing parts, but also an unexpected set of tone patterns. The latter are the same tone patterns as found after the Completive auxiliaries c-arokât/c-arok, c-ántor/c-ánt and c-áppar/c-ápp (sections 12.14-12.16). It seems then that the negation auxiliaries have grammaticalized to the extent that a former Completive auxiliary (which would have regularly generating the different tone patterns on the main verb stems) has adopted the shape of the Incompletive auxiliary. Moreover, it allows for absence of the concord, so that the formerly Completive auxiliary now has a dependent counterpart. Negated verbs still have the contrast incompletive-completive, but this is now only marked through the tones on the main verb, and no longer segmentally or tonally on the negation auxiliary itself.

_Glossing_

Synchronically, therefore, main verb stems after a negation auxiliary with tones as after (Completive) c-arokât/c-arok, c-ántor/c-ánt and c-áppar/c-ápp will be regarded as dependent compleite TAM-stems and glossed as _DEPCOMPL_. Their tones are the only markers of compleiteness of the verb. The negation morphemes (synchronously) are no longer incompletives or completives, but only
have a dependency opposition. They will therefore be glossed as NEG vs. NEG:DEP.

Negation auxiliaries are always followed by a dependent TAM-stem: a dependent incompletive, a dependent perfective or a dependent completive. Examples with imma ‘see’, akkarɔ ‘call’, ɔmùŋe ‘steal’ and ɔkkwōt ‘kill’ follow here.

The longer and shorter forms are free variants. The longest forms, however, do not seem to be used so often. In the Tɔŋa⍺a area the middle form is generally preferred, according to my consultant (JS), while in the Taŋ and Tɔŋi areas, the shortest forms are very common. In the tables, the names of the TAMs are given in italics.

Table 81 Dependent Negative Incompletive and Negative Incompletive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dependent Negative Incompletive:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkárnn + H/ɔkánn + H/ɔnn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ H + dep. incompletive main verb TAM-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imma ‘see’</td>
<td>ɔkárnn-ímma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkánn-ímma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔnn-ímma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ ‘call’</td>
<td>ɔkárnn-ákkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkánn-ákkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔnn-ákkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmùŋe ‘steal’</td>
<td>ɔkárnn-ɔmùŋe + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkánn-ɔmùŋe + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔnn-ɔmùŋe + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwōt ‘kill’</td>
<td>ɔkárnn-ɔkkwōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkánn-ɔkkwōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔnn-ɔkkwōt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 82 Dependent Negative Completive and Completive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Dependent Negative Completive:</th>
<th>Negative Completive:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkǎrənn/ɔkənn/ɔnn + dependent completive main verb TAM-stem</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn/c-a.kənn/c-ə.nn + dependent completive main verb TAM-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imma 'see'</td>
<td>ɔkərənn-imma + H</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn-imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkənn-imma + H</td>
<td>c-a.kənn-imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʒnn-imma + H</td>
<td>c-ə.nn-imma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ 'call'</td>
<td>ɔkərənn-akkarɔ + H</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn-akkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkənn-akkarɔ + H</td>
<td>c-a.kənn-akkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʒnn-akkarɔ + H</td>
<td>c-ə.nn-akkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmʊne 'steal'</td>
<td>ɔkərənn-ɔmʊne + H</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn-ɔmʊne + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkənn-ɔmʊne + H</td>
<td>c-a.kənn-ɔmʊne + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʒnn-ɔmʊne + H</td>
<td>c-ə.nn-ɔmʊne + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt 'kill'</td>
<td>ɔkərənn-ɔkkwɔt</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkənn-ɔkkwɔt</td>
<td>c-a.kənn-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʒnn-ɔkkwɔt</td>
<td>c-ə.nn-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 83 Dependent Negative Perfective and Negative Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Dependent Negative Perfective:</th>
<th>Negative Perfective:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkərənn/ɔkənn/ɔnn + dep. perfective TAM-stem</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn/c-a.kənn/c-ə.nn + dep. perfective TAM-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imma 'see'</td>
<td>ɔkərənn-immat + H</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn-immat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkənn-immat + H</td>
<td>c-a.kənn-immat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʒnn-immat + H</td>
<td>c-ə.nn-immat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ</td>
<td>ɔkərənn-akkarat + H</td>
<td>c-a.kərənn-akkarat + H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sets below illustrate the different non-dependent TAMs. *pol* ‘person’, *okul* ‘child’ and *pįnil* ‘snake’ are low-toned nouns. The TAMs in the first set are based on *akkar* ‘call’, in the second on *ɔkkwɔt* ‘kill’. In both sets, the first example has a Negative Incompletive, the second a Negative Completive, the third a Negative Perfective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘call’</th>
<th>ɔkónn-akkarat + H</th>
<th>c-a.könn-akkarat + H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋnn-akkarat + H</td>
<td>c-ǎ.nn-akkarat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘steal’</td>
<td>ɔkórñnn-șmůnèkat + H</td>
<td>c-a.hörñnn-șmůnèkat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkůnn-șmůnèkat + H</td>
<td>c-a.ńnn-șmůnèkat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋnn-șmůnèkat + H</td>
<td>c-ǎ.nn-șmůnèkat + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>ɔkόrñnn-șkkwåt</td>
<td>c-a.ńrñnn-șkkwåt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɔkůnn-șkkwåt</td>
<td>c-a.ńnn-șkkwåt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋnn-șkkwåt</td>
<td>c-ǎ.nn-șkkwåt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ‘kill’          | ɔkόrñnn-șkkwåt     | c-a.ńrñnn-șkkwåt     |
|                 | ɔkůnn-șkkwåt       | c-a.ńnn-șkkwåt       |
|                 | ŋnn-șkkwåt         | c-ǎ.nn-șkkwåt         |

There are signs of still further grammaticalization of the negation auxiliary. Particularly among speakers who use the shortest form, there is a tendency to use *a* in the dependent form instead of ɔ, so that only ǎnn (c-ǎnn) remains.

*Use and scope*

To start with, some sentences will be presented with ɔkórrnn ‘let’ as main verb. The verb can express ‘let’ in the sense of ‘allow’, as in the following examples:
The verb can also express ‘let’ in the sense of ‘abstain from’: 

\[ \text{m-p-əká.t cik a-n-òmente itti n-əkórənə karrə} \]

I was saying all the time ‘do not lie!’

Negative commands (prohibitives) are formed with the Imperative kərənni of əkónə:

\[ \text{kərənni spálle} \]

do not be afraid!

\[ \text{kərənni ərəkə75 cik n-ʊkon w-ó-kórə} \]

do not eat with your left hand!

For an advice not to do something the Dependent Incompletive auxiliary is used. The two expressions below, in which the 2SG subject clitic ŋ- ‘you’ is deleted between vowels, differ tonally, due to the use of the subjunctive particle ə- (first example) vs. the conjunctive particle á- (second example). In the first example, the advice has immediate relevance; the addressee is about to begin eating. The advice in the second example is a general advice, for some time in the future.

\[75\text{ In this environment the final vowel of ərəkə is realized as low.}\]
you must not eat with your left hand! (the addressee is about to eat)

you must not eat with your left hand (as a general advice)

If the eating has already started and the speaker wants to stop the addressee, the Dependent Incomplectve auxiliary is used directly. Its long form can be glossed as the auxiliary but also as the verb əkərnna:

no eating with your left hand! (while catching the hand of the child)

Further examples illustrating the use of the negation auxiliaries follow here.

Just like the Completive can express a present state or a present sensory perception, a Negative Completive can express negation of a present state or a of present sensory perception:

we cannot see the mountains because it is dark

An example of a Negative Perfective is the following. The sentence does not refer to an event that just happened, but forms part of a series of events that are set in the past.

---

76 In this environment the final vowel of əʁəkɑ̂ is realized as low.

77 In this environment the final vowel of əʁəkɑ̂ is realized as low.

78 In this environment the final vowel of əʁəkɑ̂ is realized as low.
A Negative Perfective does not necessarily refer to an event in the past. It can also refer to a consecutive event in the future, as in the sentence below. Because of the conjunctive particle ә́, which selects a dependent verb, the auxiliary әnn instead of әnn is in principle expected here. This opposition, however, is not for all speakers functional anymore. The negation morpheme was given here with ә; the speaker confirmed that some people would use ә here. Note further that there is a double auxiliary on the verb ‘speak’ (the example was also given in the section 12.6 on ‘again’).

The following example was given with initial ә on the negation auxiliary. Here too, there is a double auxiliary on the main verb, but now the negation auxiliary is the second.

Lumun has no negative adverbs. Hence an English expression with ‘never’ is negated on the verb in Lumun:

---

\[79\] The tone on the negation morpheme is realized as high in this environment.

\[80\] After the 3rd person pronoun clitic kw the negation morpheme is realized with a high tone, not with a falling tone.
In the English equivalent of the following example, negation is expressed on the verb 'want'. In Lumun it is expressed on the verb ɔkittine ‘destroy for’:

\[
\text{m-p-ɔŋt.é itti ɔl}
\]
1-c-like:compl that people

\[
\text{w-á.nn-ɔkittine nín këccök k-in}
\]
c-NEG-destroy_for:DEP:INCOMPL 01A market c-pos1A

I do not want people to destroy our market (lit.: I want that people do not destroy for us our market)

Negation can, however, also be expressed on ‘want’, as in the next example. Combined with negation, the verb ąŋkët ‘want, agree’ is used, not ɔŋt ‘like, want, love’.

\[
\text{m-p-á.nn-ąŋkët itti o-rit ɔ-áppota pótn}
\]
1-c-NEG-want:DEP:INCOMPL that pers-12 c-play:INCOMPL finally

I don’t want to play with you (SG) anymore (I don’t want that you and I play anymore)

A negated construction with ‘be’ is used in order to establish scope over a noun phrase:

\[
\text{əkónn-ðká papɔkira akk-ɔkjecé.r-uŋ}
\]
NEG:DEP-be:DEP:COMPL leopard FOC-chase:COMPL-o2

it was not a leopard that chased you

*Inherently negative verbs*

A few verbs are inherently negative: əmwa ‘not know’, ella (tr.) ‘not have, lack’, ella (intr.) ‘be absent, lack’ and ɔra ‘refuse, not want’. With a negation auxiliary these verbs express strong affirmation (assertive focus). Two examples in different TAMs (Negative
Incompletive and Negative Completive) are given with ɔm mâ ‘not know’. The Negative Completive expresses a present state.

\[ \text{m-p-a.\ká\nn-ɔm mâ\ akka a-n-ɔkkót \ ər} \]
1-C-NEG-not_know:DEPINCOMPL  that CONJ-1-do:DEPINCOMPL  work

I \textit{will} know how to do the work (lit.: I will not not know how to do the work. Conveying: I will find out, I will learn)

\[ \text{m-p-a.\ká\nn-ɔm mâ\ akka a-n-ɔkkót \ ər} \]
1-C-NEG-not_know:DEPCOMPL  that CONJ-1-do:DEPINCOMPL  work

I \textit{do} know how to do the work

12.18. Irrealis

Irrealis is marked by the auxiliary 5. The auxiliary occurs in two forms, a dependent form and a non-dependent form. The non-dependent form is always preceded by a concord (unless replaced by a focus marker), the dependent irrealis marker cannot be preceded by a concord:

5 \quad \text{(dependent)}

c-\text{â} \quad \text{(non-dependent)}

The dependency value will only be marked on the dependent irrealis marker (IRR:DEP).

The irrealis morpheme precedes a (non-dependent!) completive or a past TAM-stem of the main verb. Thus, in combination with the irrealis marker, the completive and past TAM stems are not immediately preceded by a concord. Apart from focus constructions, in which the concord is replaced by a focus marker, this is the only (morpho-syntactic) environment where this happens.

Irrealis 5 coalesces with the initial vowel of the completive of past TAM-stem of the main verb that follows. This results in ɪ, ɨ, ʊ, ɔ, 5, or â. Irrealis 5 before a results in 5a. Coalesced vowels with a contour can be pronounced with some length.
Irrealis â is realized as á before the vowels ĭ, ĭ, u, o and ø, resulting in diphthong âį, âį, âų, âö and âö. The falling contour of the irrealis marker spreads over the vowel sequence. Irrealis â before a and œ is realized as â. â coalesces with an initial vowel e, resulting in ē.

The ɔ/â opposition that functions as marker of dependency versus non-dependency shows that irrealis developed from an œ-initial verb. In such verbs the same opposition is found in the dependent incompletive TAM-stem versus the incompletive TAM-stem. The irrealis possibly developed from ɔkâ ‘be’. It lacks the segmental part ka of ‘be’, but the same goes for the copula c-á and the Present TAM of ‘be’, c-aïk.

In environments that select a dependent TAM-stem, for example after a negation auxiliary, the irrealis marker in principle occurs as ɔ. When the irrealis marker is directly preceded by both a subject and a concord, only its non-dependent form â is possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 84 Dependent Irrealis Completive and Irrealis Completive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ókkwô ‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ókkwôt ‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēre ‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ërrë ‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apo ‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aâ ‘come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 85 Dependent Irrealis Past and Irrealis Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Dependent Irrealis Past:</th>
<th></th>
<th>Irrealis Past:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imma ‘see’</td>
<td>ɨmma.kάطة</td>
<td>C-á-imma.kάطة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onto ‘build’</td>
<td>őnáطة</td>
<td>C-á-onáطة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōkkwō ‘hit’</td>
<td>ā.ḵkwáطة</td>
<td>C-ākkwáطة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōkkwōt ‘kill’</td>
<td>ā-ḵkwáطة</td>
<td>C-ākkwáطة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēre ‘speak’</td>
<td>ēre.kάطة</td>
<td>C-ēre.kάطة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ērrō ‘push’</td>
<td>ő-ērrā.τέ</td>
<td>C-á-ērrā.τέ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apō ‘fall’</td>
<td>āp.άطة</td>
<td>C-āp.άطة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ać ‘come’</td>
<td>C-ākkā.kάطة</td>
<td>C-ākkā.kάطة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some speakers use ā in morpho-syntactic contexts where (dependent) ɨ would be expected. An example is the following. The irrealis marker comes after the negation auxiliary, which selects a dependent verb form. Nevertheless, ā was used:

pol p-a.ḵōn-ā-eš.t

the man should not have gone

Another case is the following in which irrealis ɨ is expected, but in which ā was considered possible as well. The initial vowel of the past TAM stem of the main verb is ǔ (the verb is ōmmā ‘not know’).

m-p-a.ḵōn-ǔ-ōmma.kάطة / m-p-a.ḵōn-āamma.kάطة

1-C-NEG-IRR/DEP:not_know:PRE / 1-C-NEG-IRR/DEP:not_know:PRE

ʃōkō tūrīt āmmā ṣ-ňāra p-ōkā.t p-ōŋkēnē-r-īn

eat:DEP:INCOMPL food if PERS-my_mother C-BE:COMPL C-SHOW:COMPL-O1

I would have known how to eat food, if my mother had taught me (lit.: I would not have not known ...)
It seems then, that, at least in the speech of some speakers, the irrealis marker is in a process of further grammaticalization, losing its dependency/non-dependency distinction. The same process is witnessed, at least for part of the speakers, in the negation auxiliaries (see 12.17).

**Meaning and use**

The irrealis marker can express that an event did not happen, while conveying that this is regretted by the speaker:

\[
\text{ŋ-kw-ɛ́-ɛ́łkkɔ́.t} \quad \text{pól} \quad \text{émp-ɪ́}
\]

\[2\text{-C-IRR-release:COMPL} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{DEM-C-NEARSP}\]

you should have released this man (i.e. you did not release this man, but it would have been better if you had)

In sentences which contain a clause introduced by ámma + H ‘if, when’, the irrealis marker is not used on the verb in the ámma + H -clause, only on the verb in the main clause. In the examples below, the irrealis conveys that the event would have occurred if the situation had been different.

\[
\text{ámmá ŋ-kw-ák.at} \quad \text{p-áppůr-ámnọ́} \quad \text{ana ŋ-kw-á-ɪ́.t}
\]

\[\text{if} \quad 2\text{-C-be:COMPL} \quad \text{C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL} \quad \text{and} \quad 2\text{-C-IRR-die:COMPL}\]

if you would have stolen again, you would have died/be dead.

\[
\text{ọ́-nin} \quad \text{t̪-á-aká.t} \quad \text{c̪k} \quad \text{t̪órró} \quad \text{ínéní}
\]

\[\text{PERS-12} \quad \text{C-IRR-be:COMPL} \quad \text{VREF} \quad \text{Lumun_country} \quad \text{today}\]

\[
\text{ámmá ŋ-t̪̄rák} \quad ŋ-t̪̄ráł. t
\]

\[\text{if} \quad \text{war} \quad \text{C-be_absent:COMPL}\]

we would be in the Lumun area now, if the war had not been there

The following example has the dependent irrealis ɔ̂. It is the first verbal element in a clause introduced by the conjunctive marker á. In this environment the dependent form is selected:
In my corpus, the Irrealis Completive is more frequent than the Irrealis Past. It is often difficult to establish a clear difference in interpretation between the two. Generally speaking, the Irrealis Past tends to draw the attention more strongly to the action or event itself while the Irrealis Completive tends to focus rather on the resulting situation. The sentence below, with an Irrealis Past, was first given with an Irrealis Completive, but is fine with both.

s/he should have released this person, while leaving the one who was released (or: s/he should have released this person and not the one who was released)

Irrealis can alternatively be expressed with a Completive of the verb ōnā ‘bring’ (second example below) or with a Past Completive construction involving the defective verb c-ōnō ‘have’ (third example below).

If I had known, I would have killed you

you should have listened to me

you should have listened to me
The above given constructions with \( \text{ɔnà 'bring'} \) and \( \text{c-ɔnò 'have'} \) can also be combined with an Irrealis Completive:

\[
\eta\text{-kw-ɔnà.t} \quad \text{ittti} \quad \eta\text{-kw-á-accjkó.t-ín}
\]

2-C-bring:COMPL that 2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

\[
\eta\text{-kw-á.p-p-ɔnò} \quad \text{ittti} \quad \eta\text{-kw-á-accjkó.t-ín}
\]

2-C-be:COMPL-c-have that 2-C-IRR-hear:COMPL-O1

you should have listened to me

c-ɔnò 'have', which is undoubtedly related to ɔnà 'bring', is further discussed in section 12.22 of this chapter.

12.18.1. Combinations of irrealis with some other auxiliaries

In case of other auxiliaries forming part of the verbal complex, the irrealis auxiliary always comes closest to the main verb, selecting a (non-dependent) completive or perfective TAM-stem.

Some examples of negation and irrealis follow here:

\[
pó\text{l } \text{p-a.kónn-á-akkakáte } \text{pɛ̃̃n} \quad \text{ákkə } \text{cìk } \text{c-eš.t}
\]

person C-NEG-IRR:DEP-come:PST finally that VREF C-go:COMPL

the man should not have come anymore because it was too late

\[
pó\text{l } \text{p-a.kónn-í-umma.káté } \text{nín } \text{ámmá só-nín } \text{t-á.kónn-akkar3-k}
\]

person C-NEG-IRR:DEP-see:PST 1A:O if PERS-1A C-NEG-call:DEP:COMPL-O3

the man would not have seen us if we had not called him

\[
k\text{-kw-ánn-ś-ɔkónnó.n. ámmá á-p-əntán}
\]

3-C-NEG-IRR:DEP-let:COMPL person SUBJ-PRO-come:DEP:COMPL

s/he should not have allowed the person to come

\[
ámmá m-p-á.p-p-ímá.t \quad \text{á-n-ɔkónn-ś-ɔkkwɔt-šk}
\]


if I had known, I would not have killed him
The following is an example of c-ánt ‘can’ and irrealis. c-ánt is probably completive here, but this cannot be seen from the tones. The clause expresses that the opportunity was there to call and the subject should have called according to the speaker, but he did not.

\[ k\text{-}kw\text{-}ánt\text{-}á\text{-}akkar\text{ɔ́}t \text{ ( < k- + p- + ánt- + ɔ́- + akkar\text{ɔ́}t)} \]

3-C-can:COMPL-IRR:DEP-call:COMPL

he should have called

The following statement combines c-árák and irrealis. c-árák is probably a completive form, though it cannot be seen from the tones. It is said just after finding a man in the house:

\[ \text{pól p-árák-ɔ́-omunjé.t} \text{ (as always:COMPL-IRR:DEP-steal:COMPL)} \]

\[ \text{ámmá púkul p-ellā.t t.uan} \]

if children c-be_absent:COMPL at_house

the man would surely have stolen, if the children had not been at home (because the man always steals if he has the opportunity).

12.19. C-íra ‘should’

C-íra ‘should’, which is always preceded by a concord, has one form only. It can be combined with an Incompletive or an Irrealis Completive:

C-íra C-incompl stem
C-íra C-IRR-completive stem

Since it can only be combined with non-dependent verbs, it is of no consequence whether or not it would itself have a floating high tone. A non-dependent verb has a high (or falling) tone itself and a preceding high tone will not manifest itself on it.

In combination with an Incompletive, the construction expresses that something should (still) happen, in other words that the stated event did not yet take place and perhaps even will not take place, but that, according to the speaker, it would be better if it did:
Negation is expressed on the main verb, not on -Č-ra:

you should listen

ŋ-kw-ła akka ɔcčkɛt

Verb:

functioning as a complementizer, and a Dependent Incompletive -Č-ra can also serve as a main verb. It is then followed by akka, that,

they should have explained everything to you

ɔn-á ɛn-tɔ́n ɛm-p-ɛ́m

you should release this man

ŋ-kw-ła ɔcčkɛt

Verb:

express that something did not happen, while conveying the speakers' view that it would have been better if it had.

they should explain everything to you

ŋ-kw-ła ɔcčkɛt

Negation is expressed on the main verb, not on -Č-ra:

you should release

ŋ-kw-ła ɔcčkɛt
he should not allow the man to come

12.20. Itive and ventive

Lumun has an itive auxiliary ɔ́ at̪ and a ventive auxiliary a at̪. Both have a dependent incompletive TAM-stem, a (non-dependent) incompletive TAM-stem and a completive TAM-stem. In addition, ventive ɔ́ at̪ has an imperative TAM-stem. The forms are given in the table. The itive and ventive completive TAM-stems are precisely the same, also as to their tonal behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-stem</th>
<th>itive</th>
<th>ventive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dependent incompletive</td>
<td>ɔ́ at̪</td>
<td>a at̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incompletive</td>
<td>āt̪</td>
<td>āt̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completive</td>
<td>ātt</td>
<td>ātt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I represent the completive itive/ventive TAM-stem ātt with a falling tone, since, in context, it is always realized with a high tone and does not bring a high tone to the following element. The tonal representation of the dependent incompletive and incompletev TAM-stems is only tentative. Examples of their realization as part of verbal words are presented in the tables 87-90 and in the example sentences in this chapter.

The incompletive and completive TAM-stems are preceded by a concord, thus: itive incompletive c-āt̪, ventive incompletive c-a at̪, and itive/ventive completive c-ātt. The dependent forms (itive ɔ́ at̪, ventive a at̪) occur in environments that would select a dependent incompletive or a dependent perfective TAM-stem. The dependency opposition in the itive and ventive auxiliaries is fully functional.

The dependent incompletive and incompletive itive and ventive auxiliaries select a dependent incompletive or a dependent perfective TAM-stem of the main verb. The completive auxiliary ātt (whether
receiving an itive or a ventive interpretation) selects a completive TAM-stem. .Attach is further discussed in 12.20.1.

The tables below present dependent and non-dependent itive and ventive verbs. The tones are given as they would be when the verb is preceded by a subject that does not influence the tones of the verb, for example pol ‘person’.

Table 87 Dependent Itive Incompletive and Itive Incompletive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep. Itive Incompletive</th>
<th>Itive Incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ́t + dep. incompletive</td>
<td>C-á.t + dep. incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM-stem</td>
<td>TAM-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imma ‘see’</td>
<td>c-a.ʃ-ɪmma + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ ‘call’</td>
<td>c-a.ʃ-akkarɔ + H</td>
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<td>c-a.ʃ-emʊne + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’</td>
<td>c-a.ʃ-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 88 Dependent Itive Perfective and Itive Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep. Itive Perfective</th>
<th>Itive Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ́t + dep. perfective</td>
<td>C-á.t + dep. perfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’</td>
<td>c-a.ʃ-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 89 Dependent Ventive Incompletive and Ventive Incompletive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep. Ventive Incompletive</th>
<th>Ventive Incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔ́t + dep. incompletive</td>
<td>C-á.t + dep. incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM-stem</td>
<td>TAM-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imma ‘see’</td>
<td>c-á.ʃ-imma + H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Dep. Ventive Perfective</th>
<th>Ventive Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akkarɔ ‘call’</td>
<td>a-t-akkarɔ + H</td>
<td>c-á-t-akkarɔ + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmûne ‘steal’</td>
<td>a-t-ɔmûne + H</td>
<td>c-á-t-ɔmûne + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’</td>
<td>a-t-ɔkkwɔt</td>
<td>c-á-t-ɔkkwɔt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 90 Dependent Ventive Perfective and Ventive Perfective

Ventive a-t may have developed from aɔ ‘come’, itive ɔt from eɔ ‘go’, but where ɔt has come from is not clear.

Use of the itive and ventive auxiliaries

The itive and ventive auxiliaries are used when an action takes place at a location that is different from where the performer of the action is at the time of speech (the performer has or had to go somewhere to perform the action) or, when the location where he performs the action is different from where he was or will be before (he will have to come, or has had to come, to the location first). Whether a movement is viewed as itive or ventive depends on the position of the deictic centre. In case of speech participants (first and second persons), the deictic centre lies with the speaker. In case of third persons, the storyteller will typically change the deictic centre from one participant to another, and he may put the deictic centre with himself, as if he himself were located somewhere in the scene. Generally, the use of an itive or ventive auxiliary is obligatory when an action involves movement to or from another place.

Itive and ventive with dependent incompletive TAM-stem
Two examples of itive ő́t combined with a dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb are given here. The first has the non-dependent incompletive TAM-stem át, the second the dependent incompletive ő́t.

\[ m-p-a.\text{-}āt-\text{-}okákt \quad r-aləpapór \quad nárrát \]
\[ 1-C\text{-}IT:INCOMPL\text{-}grind\_at:DEPINCOMPL \quad \text{in-mill} \quad \text{tomorrow} \]
I will go and grind at the mill tomorrow

\[ m-p-a.\vá \quad a-n-ət\text{-}okákt \quad r-aləpapór \]
\[ 1-C\text{-}go:INCOMPL \quad CONJ\text{-}1\text{-}IT:DEPINCOMPL\text{-}grind\_at:DEPINCOMPL \quad \text{in-mill} \]
I must go and grind at the mill (I am going now)

Ventive át is used in the following two examples. The second has two auxiliaries on the main verb, with the ventive as the second:

\[ m-p-át\text{-}okáko \quad nárrát \]
\[ 1-C\text{-}VEN\text{-}INCOMPL\text{-}grind:DEPINCOMPL \quad \text{tomorrow} \]
I will come and grind tomorrow (the speaker is at the mill, maybe she came to check if it is working, she will go home and return tomorrow)

\[ m-p-ápp-át\text{-}okáko \quad nárrát \]
\[ 1-C\text{-}again\text{-}VEN\text{-}INCOMPL\text{-}grind:DEPINCOMPL \quad \text{tomorrow} \]
I will come and grind again tomorrow (the speaker is at the mill, she is (or has been) grinding there)

The following two examples contrast a non-dependent itive and ventive followed by a dependent incompletive TAM-stem.

\[ ŋ-kw-a.\text{-}őřækõ \]
\[ 2-C\text{-}IT:INCOMPL\text{-}eat:DEPINCOMPL \]
you (must) go and eat (the speaker is not at the place where the food is, the addressee must move away from the speaker)

\[ ŋ-kw-át\text{-}őřækõ \]
\[ 2-C\text{-}VEN\text{-}INCOMPL\text{-}eat:DEPINCOMPL \]
you (must) come and eat (the speaker is at the place where the food is, the addressee must come to where the speaker and the food are)
The next two examples contrast a dependent itive and ventive followed by a dependent incompletive TAM-stem:

\[ \text{omɛt.e kín á-kín áʃ-ómǐccɔ o-nnán} \]

tell:IMP o3A SUBJ:PERS-3A IT:DEPINC:.bits:DEPINC PERS-mother
tell them to go and greet their mother (the mother is not where the speaker is)

\[ \text{omɛt.e kín á-kín át-ómǐccɔ o-nnán} \]

tell:IMP o3A SUBJ:PERS-3A VEN:DEPINC:bits:DEPINC PERS-mother
tell them to come and greet their mother (the mother is where the speaker is)

Itive and ventive with dependent perfective TAM-stem

In the following examples the consecutive action (that takes place at a location where the subject first had to go) is expressed with an itive auxiliary and a dependent perfective TAM-stem:

\[ \text{a-mōtá ōrɔp.át tɔmän-tɔmän} \]

CONJ:PERS-Amuša jump_down:DEPPRFV quickly-REDUP

\[ \text{a-kw-āt-āukkwat ลิศก} \]

CONJ-3:IT:DEPINC:drive_in_different_direction:DEPPRFV goats

Amuša moved down quickly (jumping down) and drove the goats in a different direction (fr. written story)

\[ \text{a-kw-śŋkat ɾtɪ k-kw-ā.ɛ̂ t.ōán} \]

CONJ-3:DEP:bits:that 3-C:go:INCOMPL at_house

\[ \text{a-kw-śŋat pǐce p-ərɛ pāฏn} \]

CONJ-3:IT:DEPINC:find:DEPPRFV tree(sp) C-red finally

and she got on her way home and she found then a pice-tree with very ripe fruits (lit. a very ripe pice-tree) (fr. written story)

A clause with a form of the verb ɛ̂ ‘go’ or ə ‘come’ often precedes a verb with an itive or ventive auxiliary, drawing stronger attention to the movement that is required in order to carry out the action at a different location than where the performer is (or was). The itive or ventive auxiliary cannot be omitted in such cases.
I am going to pick ûa-fruits

your mother is calling you to come and eat asida

In the following example the deictic centre lies at the house of the man who performs the actions. He goes to the market to buy engine oil and comes back to his house to treat his chicken with the oil. The going is expressed with a main verb and with the itive auxiliary, the coming back only with the ventive auxiliary.

the man went to the market to buy engine oil in order to put it between the feathers of the chicken (lit.: in order to come and put it ...) (fr. written story)

In the next example, ê ë ‘go’ itself has an itive auxiliary:

the person of Nøppat did not go into the house but went into the granary (fr. written story)

82 A high tone is in principle expected on the dependent ventive auxiliary, because of the 3SG pronominal proclitic. It is not realized, however, due to the subjunctive particle â-.
In a chain of clauses, the deictic centre does not need to stay fixed. In the following example, the perspective changes from the place from where the man left to the place where he arrived:

\[ \text{a-púl áppkat a-p-á-t-ɔkér.at} \]

\( \text{CONJ-person go:DEPPRFV CONJ-PRO-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV} \)

and the man went and he came to buy it

The verb ɪɔt ‘find’ is a special because an itive or ventive auxiliary is often obligatory also when there is no spatial movement involved, as in the example below. The speaker is sitting at a place and not moving. It seems that whenever ɪɔt is not the first verb in a verbal sequence, an itive or ventive auxiliary is used.

\[ \ldots \text{a-n-ɪkk.at cik pá.p.ɔtté a-n-ɔ-t-i.at} \]

\( \text{CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF short_time CONJ-1-T:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV} \)

\[ \text{a-n-ɪrímat n.ti ɪ-kít} \]

\( \text{CONJ-1-become_blind:DEPINCOMPL from in-eyes} \)

and I sat for a while and I found that I was getting blind

An example with ‘find’ and a (dependent) ventive auxiliary is the following:

\[ \text{ámmá ɔ-rún ɪ-á.t mana a-t-i.at} \]

\( \text{if PERS-12A c-come:COMPL until VEN:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV} \)

when we will find it … (lit.: when we will have come to come find it … : the speakers will come back to the place where they are now to try and find something they expect to be there)

**Commands with an itive auxiliary**

Itive ɔt has an imperative TAM-stem: ɪ. Imperative ɪ is followed by the dependent incomplete TAM-stem of the main verb. Imperative ɪ comes with a high tone, as shown in the example below with the low-toned verb ɛŋko ‘rest’.

\[ \text{Commands with an itive auxiliary} \]
CHAPTER 12

t-ŋŋko
IT:IMP-FST:DEPINCOMPL

go and rest! (to singular addressee)

tí-fim-in mén án-átkiko
IT:IMP-pick_for:DEPINCOMPL-O1 palm_fruits SUBJ-1-VEN:INCOMPL-drink:INCOMPL

pick palm fruits for me so that I come and eat them!

The ventive auxiliary does not have an imperative TAM-stem. Commands to a singular addressee with ‘come’ are expressed with the Imperative of a ‘come’ followed by the conjunctive particle á + main verb with ventive auxiliary:

átk át-ikkne câ-râia cîk pá.p.öttê
come:IMP CONJ.(2.)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-wait_for:DEPINCOMPL PERS-mother VREF short_time

come and wait a little time for my mother! (fr. written story)

A combination of the Imperative of e ‘go’, the conjunctive particle á and a dependent incompletive itive auxiliary and main verb are possible as well when addressing a singular person:

ŋko át-ocorât r-a-âk
go:IMP CONJ.(2.)IT:DEPINCOMPL-meet:DEPINCOMPL in-PERS-3

go to meet him/her!

Commands to a plural addressee, whether itive or ventive, use a 2PL addressive pronominal proclitic or pronoun (see 6.5), followed by a dependent incompletive auxiliary and main verb, for example:

---

83 The conjunctive particle á seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic ŋ is deleted between vowels. Derivation: á + ŋ + át-ikkne > aátkkkne > átikkne > átikkne.

84 The conjunctive particle á seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic ŋ is deleted between vowels. Derivation: á + ŋ + át-ocorât > aát-ocorât > át-ocorât > át-ocorât. In this analysis, the itive dependent incompletive stem receives a high tone.
\textbf{12.20.1.} The completive itive/ventive auxiliary \textit{c-ått}

The Compleitive auxiliary \textit{c-ått} can precede a dependent perfective TAM-stem of a main verb and a TAM-stem that has the segmental shape of a dependent incompletive with the tones that are found after the (completive) auxiliary verbs \textit{c-arakât}, \textit{c-ántar}, \textit{c-áppar} (and their shortened variants) and after the negation auxiliaries when a completive tense is expressed. In the latter case, I call these stems ‘dependent completive’, as explained in 12.17. In the other cases they are simply dependent incompletive TAM-stems, since their tones follow regularly from the preceding (not-shortened) auxiliaries.

Also in the case of \textit{c-ått}, the tones are regularly generated: no tone on low stems, since verbs with a final falling tone do not bring a high tone to a next element, and tone bridge in case the verb has a high (of falling) tone itself. I therefore conclude that the completive auxiliary \textit{c-ått} combines with the dependent incompletive TAM-stem. As will be seen in the examples, this is also consistent with the meaning of these TAMs. The forms are given in the table below. I call the TAMs Itive/Ventive Compleitive and Itive/Ventive Past Perfecitive, respectively. The latter must be distinguished from the Itive Perfective and the Ventive Perfective.
Table 91 Itive/Ventive Completive and Itive/Ventive Past Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Itive/Ventive Completive</th>
<th>Itive/Ventive Past Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>C-âtt</em> + dep. incompletive</td>
<td><em>C-âtt</em> + dep. perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TAM-stem</strong></td>
<td><strong>TAM-stem</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>imma</em> ‘see’</td>
<td><em>C-átt-imma</em> + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akkaro</em> ‘call’</td>
<td><em>C-átt-akkaro</em> + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>omóne</em> ‘steal’</td>
<td><em>C-átt-omóne</em> + H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ɔkkwɔt</em> ‘kill’</td>
<td><em>C-átt-ɔkkwɔt</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Itive/ventive *C-âtt* has probably developed along two lines, which have resulted in one and the same morpheme. The itive auxiliary is likely to have developed from the Completive TAM of *ɛ̂* ‘go’, the ventive from the Completive of *a* ‘come’. The first example below has the itive/ventive auxiliary and allows for two interpretations, depending on the context. The second example gives the alternative way for expressing the itive variant, the third the alternative way for expressing the ventive variant:

**pol**  **p-átt-ɔkɛ̀rɔ**

*person* **C-ITVEN:COMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL**

the man has gone/come to buy it

**pol**  **p-c5.t**  **á-p-ɔt-ɔkɛ̀rɔ**

*person* **C-go:COMPL**  **SUBJ-C-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL**

the man has gone to buy it

**pol**  **p-aa.t**  **á-p-at-ɔkɛ̀rɔ**

*person* **C-come:COMPL**  **SUBJ-C-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPINCOMPL**

the man has come to buy it

The construction *C-âtt* + dependent incompletive TAM-stem of the main verb has undoubtedly developed from these constructions, neutralizing the opposition itive-ventive in the resulting short form *C-âtt*. *C-âtt* retains the notion of movement from one place to another,
but the direction of the movement must be interpreted, according to the situation.

The examples also show that the TAM-stems of main verbs with L.H.L* or L.HL/L.L.HL tone patterns used after c-âtt have developed not from completive, but from incompletive TAM-stems. Synchronically, however, they can be regarded as completive TAM-stems. This is because stems with the same tone patterns occur in other environments where they minimally contrast with dependent incompletive TAM-stems: the tones on these stems have become the only elements signalling the TAM of the verb. This is, for example, the case in negated verbs: the negation auxiliaries (no longer?) have a distinction between Incompletive and Completive, only the tones on the main verb TAM-stems make the distinction. A process in the same direction is seen at work in auxiliaries of *anta ‘can’ and *appa ‘again’. The (longer) completive form of these auxiliaries is being shortened to the same forms as the incompletives. There too, when the short forms are used, only the tones on the dependent main verb can distinguish the TAMs.

The same process of shortening of constructions of the Completive of ɛɔ ‘go’ and the Completive of aɔ ‘come’ with a dependent perfective TAM-stem has given rise to the combination âtt + dependent perfective TAM-stem. Compare the following cases. In all three, the buying is just the next action. There is no purposerelation between the going or coming and the action expressed by the main verb.

\[\text{pol} \quad p-\text{átt-}t\text{-skérat}\]
\[\text{person} \quad \text{C-ITVEN:COMPL-trade:DEPPRFV}\]
the man went/came and bought it

\[\text{pol} \quad p-\text{e}^{\ddot{o}}t \quad a-p-\text{átt-}t\text{-skér.at}\]
\[\text{person} \quad \text{C-g(o):COMPL} \quad \text{CDNJ-PRO-IT:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV}\]
the man went and bought it

\[\text{pol} \quad p-\text{aa.t} \quad a-p-\text{át-}t\text{-skér.at}\]
\[\text{person} \quad \text{C-come:COMPL} \quad \text{CDNJ-PRO-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-trade:DEPPRFV}\]
the man came and bought it
c-átt patterns with completive TAM-stems in that it cannot occur without a preceding concord.

Use and meaning

Some further sentential examples are given here to illustrate the use and meaning of Completive c-átt:

\[\text{m-p-átt-öccó} \quad \text{türk ana atti} \quad \text{lük t-a.ık}\]
1-C-TVEN:COMPL-receive:DEPINCOMPL fire and I hope that fire C-be:PR

I have come to get fire and I hope the fire is there (the speaker has arrived at the neighbour's place, where she hopes to get fire. The deictic centre lies where the speaker is while saying this sentence). (fr. written story)

\[\text{m-p-aa.t n-tó-mro̱k} \quad \text{p-átt-öháe5}\]
1-C-come:COMPL with at-bush C-TVEN:COMPL-urinate:DEPINCOMPL

I come from the bush, having gone to urinate (the deictic centre is where the speaker is while saying this sentence)

It was remarked before that the verb ött 'find' is very often combined with an itive or ventive auxiliary, and that, in combination with this verb, movement does not need to be involved. Also the example below does not express movement. c-átt + dependent incompletive TAM-stem of ött does not express itive or ventive action in order to (try and) find (i.e. to search), but the end result of having found.

\[\text{m-p-átt-ött} \quad \text{ököl kéccök}\]
1-C-TVEN:COMPL-find:DEPINCOMPL child market

I found the child in the market (not: I have gone to find the child in the market)

\[\text{c-átt} + \text{dependent perfective TAM-stem expresses a consecutive action or event, following upon a movement that has taken place. Two examples:}\]
the father (went and) caught a fat goat and they (went and) invited their family to come and get blessed

and the Lord God told the fish that it must (go and) vomit Jonah onto the water side, and it (went and) vomited him there. (Jonah 2:10)

The following examples have c-átt + dependent perfective TAM-stem. The verbs convey that a consecutive action can or may have happened, but there is no certainty about whether or not it actually did. In the first example c-átt precedes the dependent perfective stem of imma ‘see’, in the second the dependent perfective stem of immakɔ ‘shelter’.

It is possible that Lottɔ saw his father when he went to the market

Lalu was not in the house, therefore the person may have sheltered (there) from the rain
12.20.2. Itive and ventive as markers of possibility/probability

In certain environments itive ɔt̪ and ventive a̬t̪ can have a modal interpretation expressing a possibility rather than a certainty. A Dependent Perfective without auxiliary can refer to a future consecutive event. The same is possible for a verb that contains an itive or ventive auxiliary and a dependent perfective TAM-stem. In a sentence that contains a clause introduced by ámma + H ‘if, when’, however, the itive or ventive auxiliary + dependent perfective TAM-stem does not convey that a consecutive event will happen, but that it can or may happen. It expresses a possibility, not a certainty.

ɔ-lɔttti  p-a.τ-ímma.kat  ɔ-ttán ámmá k-kw-é.τt kéccök
PERS-Lotti  C-IT:INCOMPL-see:DEPPRFV PERS-father if 3-c-go:COMPL market
Lotti can/may see his father when he goes to the market (the deictic centre is placed with Lotti)

ɔ-lɔttti  p-åτ-imma.kat  ɔ-ttán ámmá k-kw-áa.t kéccök
PERS-Lotti  C-VEN:INCOMPL-see:DEPPRFV PERS-father if 3-c-come:COMPL market
Lotti can/may see his father when he comes to the market (the deictic centre is placed with the father)

Completive c-ått also allows for a modal interpretation, as in the following two examples:

k-kw-ått-imma  lök
3-c-TVEN:COMPL-see:DEPINCOMPL dogs
s/he came to see the dogs / s/he went to see the dogs / s/he may have seen the dogs (the speaker is not sure)

ɔ-kín  t-ått-anṭán
PERS-3A  C-TVEN:COMPL-come:DEPINCOMPL
maybe they came (I am not sure, I don’t remember)

Particularly when used with skâ ‘be’, c-ått obtains a modal reading, expressing that something is maybe or probably the case:
maybe a lot of things are said now (for example, somebody has died and bad things were whispered about the person before. Maybe these things are now said openly, but the speaker is not sure if this is actually happening)

disease has (by now) probably killed many people

from where could this person be?

Cecce may have been invited

Under this interpretation of the ventive/itive Completive, also a dependent form is attested (that is, a form without concord). This actually suggests that C-átt with modal reading is no longer perceived as a Completive verb, since a Completive would under all circumstances retain its concord. The clause from the Bible ‘it must have been an angel’ (Acts 12:15) is translated with (dependent) átt:

it must have been an angel (lit.: a spirit of being sent repeatedly)

C-átt can be used in combination with C-íkkó ‘may’:

Cecce may have been invited
12.21. Defective verbs with complementizer element ɗɗ

ɗɗ ‘I hope that’ contains the complementizing formative ɗɗ that is also part of the complementizer ɗɗɗ ‘that’ (see 18.7). ɗɗ is also a formative of the defective verb ɗɗɓɓ ‘say, think’.

ɗɗ ‘I hope that’ is a fully frozen form. It is immediately followed by its complement, without the complementizer ɗɗɗ ‘that’. It is used in greetings, and solicits a response. It is commonly translated with ‘I hope that’, but whether the first person singular subject has actually ever been part of it is unclear, since no remnant of ‘I’ can be recognized. Two examples:

ɗɗɗ nj-kw-a.ik p-ɗɓɓɗɓ
I hope that 2-c:be:PR c:good
I hope you are fine?

ɗɗɗ ti ku nj-kw-jcát.e
I hope that you slept?

ɗɓɓ ‘say, think’, like ɗɗ, contains the complementizing element ɗɗ. Unlik ɗɗ, it can be followed by ɗɗɗ ‘that’, but this is not necessary. It can inflect for Incompletive, in which case the initial vowel (regularly) changes to a. The Incompletive does (irregularly) not have a high tone on its initial vowel.

m-p-a.ɓɓɓ nj-kw-ɗɓɓɓɓ
1-c:say:INCOMPL 3-c:come:INCOMPL
I think she will come

m-p-a.ɓɓɓ ti ɗɗɗ nj-kw-ɗɓɓɓɓ
1-c:say:INCOMPL that 3-c:come:INCOMPL
I think she will come

Apart from the base form (the dependent incomplete TAM-stem) ɗɓɓɓ and Incompletive c-ɗɓɓɓɓ, a Completive c-ɗɓɓɓɓ attested. In the first example below, dependent Incompletive ɗɓɓɓ follows the auxiliary ant ‘can’. The second example has Completive c-ɗɓɓɓɓ.
The verb c-ønø ‘have, must’ occurs in one form only. Its phonological shape is different from other verbs since it ends in ø. It shares with adjectives that it is always preceded by a concord (unless replaced by the focus marker akk- or a-c-c-) and that it can be combined with different TAMs of økâ ‘be’, including the Present of ‘be’. Nevertheless, I consider it a verb, since it needs not only a subject but also an (expressed or unexpressed) object. Some examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k-kw-ønø} & \quad \text{larø} \\
& \quad \text{3-c-have} \\
& \quad \text{twins}
\end{align*}
\]

s/he has twins

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kapik} & \quad \text{akk-ønø} \\
\text{God} & \quad \text{FOC-have}
\end{align*}
\]

it is in God’s hands (it is God who has it)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ámantáci} & \quad \text{p-øká.t} & \quad \text{p-ønø} & \quad \text{kapik} \\
\text{PERS.amantaci} & \quad \text{C-becOMPL} & \quad \text{c-have} & \quad \text{rain}
\end{align*}
\]

Amantaci was holding the rain (i.e. had control over the rain) (App. I, 3)

Before c-ønø, the Completive of ‘be’ c-økât can be shortened to c-ât, in the same way as happens in Past Completives (see 12.7.5). Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ámantáci} & \quad \text{p-á.p-ønø} & \quad \text{kapik} \\
\text{PERS.Amantaci} & \quad \text{C-becOMPL-c-have} & \quad \text{rain}
\end{align*}
\]

Amantaci was holding the rain (Amantaci had control over the rain)
C-ɔnù is used in verbal constructions in which it paradigmatically relates to Completives expressing a state. For example, it can co-occur with the external auxiliary C-ìcca.

\[\text{ọ-nenní p-ìccá p-ọnú lọn ịtị k-kw-ànțan-ị} \]
\[\text{PERS-Nenní c-be_still c-have words that 3-c-come:INCOMPL-Q} \]

is Nenni still planning to come?

C-ɔnù is also found in combination with the Present of ‘be’. Completives preceded by the Present of ‘be’ are uncommon, but not entirely unattested, as shown in the second example below, which has the Completive of ọọt ‘like, want, love’. Co-occurrence with the Present of ‘be’ reveals a tendency of C-ɔnù and C-ọọté towards becoming adjectives. However, particularly the combination with C-ọọté was not fully acceptable for my consultants.

\[\text{pa-pọŋek p-a.ık p-ọnú kẹn̄an ịtị pálla} \]
\[\text{thing-c-some c-be:PR c-have name that cat} \]

some animal that is called cat/some animal having the name cat

\[\text{? k-kw-á.ık p-ọọté ịtị ...} \]
\[\text{3-c-be:PR c-like:COMPL that} \]

s/he wants that ...

C-ọnù ‘have, must’ is undoubtedly related to the verb ọnà ‘bring, carry’, though not by means of an otherwise attested derivational process. Cross-linguistically, a development from a verb ‘carry’ to a verb ‘have’ is well-attested (Payne 1997, p. 126). ọnà ‘bring, carry’ can sometimes itself be used in the meaning ‘have’. The following examples contrast C-ọnù ‘have’ and ọnà ‘bring, carry’: the first expresses a current state of ‘having’, the other a state of ‘having’ in the future.

\[\text{m-ọọté akka kékćık k-ìn k-ọnù ọọpọ cık áppik} \]
\[\text{1-c-like:COMPL that market c-poss1A c-have things vref all} \]

I like it that our market has everything
I want our market to have everything

C-ɔn̥ does not only express possession, it also commonly expresses 'must':

<s/ he must listen

Lɔtti  n̥-kw-ɔn̥  irtt  n̥-kw-a.ʃəkə  ʃ̣i̥t  ʃ-ɔppɔt
Lɔtti  2-c-have that  2-c-eat:INCOMPL  food  c-many

Lɔtti, you must eat a lot of food

12.23. Combinations of auxiliaries

Some combinations of auxiliaries are presented here. Within the word, auxiliaries occur in a certain order. If present, a form of *an̥ta ‘can’ comes as the first, itive/ventive as the last, except for the irrealis morpheme, which is the very last. Negation precedes a form of *appa ‘again’, but follows a form of *arəka ‘as always’. Some examples:

mɔn̥a  c-nɔn  t-̣änt-ɔḳánn-ccίkɔt-īn ...
even  PERS-2A  C-can:INCOMPL-NEG:DEP-hear:DEPINCOMPL-O1
even if you do not listen to me … (John 10:38)

cίkɔt  c-arrə.r-īn  irtt  m-p-̣änt-̣át-ɔḳaʃa  ɔḳul
heart  C-push:COMPL-O1  that  1-C-can:INCOMPL-VEN:DEPINCOMPL-look_at:DEPINCOMPL child
my heart pushed me to come and see the child (that I take the opportunity to come and see the child)

tɔk  t-ɔn  t-ɔrək-ɔḳánn-ɔkkwɔt
dog  C-POSS1  C-as always:COMPL-NEG:DEF-kill:DEPCOMPL
my dog surely did not kill anything (it never catches anything!)
I will not drink beer again

I will again go and grind at the mill tomorrow

I will not go and drink beer again

12.23.1. Constructions with an auxiliary of ‘be’

Auxiliaries are attached to the main verb in some cases and to another auxiliary in other cases. In a Present Continuous (C-ark + Incompletive main verb), the negation auxiliary, and auxiliaries of *anta ‘can’ and *appa ‘again’ come on the main verb:

I am not lying down

she is just starting to prepare the sauce (lit.: she is having the opportunity to prepare the sauce. As an answer to a question: has mother already prepared the food?)

I am telling you again ...

In Past Completive constructions (C-okät ‘was/were’ + Completive main verb) negation tends to come on the main verb as well. The negated construction can be shortened in the same way as the Past Completive (see 12.7.5):
I had not laid down

In the following example negation comes on the copular verb ‘be’, not on the auxiliary ‘be’:

I was not hungry

I did not want (that) ...

these things will not be good

I was not lying down (on the contrary: I was working)

---

85 The falling tone of ʊkâ is realized here as low.
Also in the following example, the auxiliary is attached to the auxiliary of ‘be’:

m-pántár-şká p-üş.t
1-c-can:COMPL-be:INCOMPL c-die:COMPL

I am dead/I have just died (said in serious distress)