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18. Conjunctions

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

Lumun has the following conjunction words and particles: 
- **ana** +H ‘and’, á- ‘and, while’, â- ‘so that, in order to’, 
- **ámma** +H ‘if, when’, 
- **akka** +H ‘that, when, because’, **mọna/mọna** ‘until’ (always followed by á-), 
- **ıt́fı́** ‘that’, **ere** +H ‘like’ and **ámma** ‘like’.

**Tone**

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

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

18.1. **ana** +H ‘and’

**ana** +H ‘and’ is used for the conjunction of noun phrases as well as clauses. When joining noun phrases, **ana** +H is realized with an
initial high tone when preceded by an element with final high or rising tone:

\( \text{tuol} \ \text{ána} \ \text{pólla} \) ‘the hyena and the cat’ (< \( \text{tuol} \ \text{ána} \ \text{H} \ \text{pólla} \))

In an enumeration \( \text{ana} + \text{H} \) is used between all enumerated elements:

\( \text{aqapo} \ \text{w-ò-rua} \ \text{w-òká} \ \text{ttí} \)
\( \text{things} \ \text{C-of-hair} \ \text{C-be:COMPL} \ \text{that} \)

\( \text{tuk} \ \text{ána} \ \text{tuíturuk} \ \text{ana} \ \text{pápókira} \ \text{ana} \ \text{omátûn} \)
\( \text{dog} \ \text{and} \ \text{pig} \ \text{and} \ \text{leopard} \ \text{and} \ \text{elephant} \)

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

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

\( \text{t-ikkà} \ \text{cik} \ \text{károTTóm} \ \text{t-òporòt} \ \text{ana} \ \text{t-t-òkìtak} \)
\( \text{NOM-sit} \ \text{VREF} \ \text{Khartoum} \ \text{C-good} \ \text{and} \ \text{PRO-C-bad} \)

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

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

\( \text{m-p-òkkò.t} \ \text{cik} \ \text{ána} \ \text{m-p-òkipà.t} \)
\( 1-C-sit:COMPL \ \text{VREF} \ \text{and} \ \text{1-C-become_tired:COMPL} \)

I have been waiting and I am tired

\( \text{ò-kakkà} \ \text{p-ònì} \ \text{ana} \ \text{ò-nènnì} \ \text{p-ipòk} \)
\( \text{PERS-Kakka} \ \text{C-black} \ \text{and} \ \text{PERS-Nennì} \ \text{C-white} \)

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

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

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

In such constructions, the non-dependent verb in the first clause is not necessarily an Incompletive, it can also be a Completive:
m-p-icát.e meccm n-ćik-i-ćıŋkį
1-c-loc-in-sun with-loc-in-sun

I slept early yesterday and got up when the sun was up in the sky (nćikinciŋkį, lit. ‘from in the sun’ expresses ‘earlier than normal’)

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

ɔ-ïáa akk-ìa
PERS-my_mother FOC-know:INCOMPL

ana m-p-ɔmma ɔ-ôn
and 1-c-not_know:INCOMPL PERS-1

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

ɔ-lótti p-á-aïné.t nán ana k-kw-śka.káṭe p-òŋó
PERS-Lotti C-IRR-comet:COMPL 02A and 3-c-be:PST C-ill

Lotti would have come to you, but he fell ill

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

jîn-t-ɔpərót ana / ana.rruk ɔ-ţṭe p-òŋó kür-akkír
1A-c-good and / but PERS-your_father C-ill completely-REDUP

we are fine, but our father is very ill

jîn-t-ɔpərót ana c-ţṭe p-ərük p-òŋó kür-akkír
1A-c-good and PERS-your_father C-only C-sick completely-REDUP

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

---

14 The Incompletive of ma ‘know’ is tonally irregular. It has a high tone on the second instead of the first mora.

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

\textbf{ana} \textit{ɔ-\-nɔn} \textit{t-\-e\-rɛ \-t\-\-t\-at}

\textit{and} \textit{PERS-2A} \textit{C-speak:INCOMPL} \textit{how}

and what do you (PL) have to say?

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

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

18.2. Conjunctive á- and subjunctive â-

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

\textbf{k-kw-śkå.t cık a-kw-śkkɔt tôřít a-kw-śrɔkɔ cık}

\textit{3-C-be:COMPL} \textit{VREF} \textit{CONJ-3-do:DEPINCOMPL} \textit{food} \textit{CONJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL} \textit{VREF}

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

\textbf{k-kw-śkå.t cık a-kw-śkkɔt tôřít á-kw-śrɔkɔ cık}

\textit{3-C-be:COMPL} \textit{VREF} \textit{CONJ-3-do:DEPINCOMPL} \textit{food} \textit{SUBJ-3-eat:DEPINCOMPL} \textit{VREF}

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

In practice, it can be difficult to decide which of the two particles is involved. The conjunctive particle can be realized with a high tone due to tone bridge. Compare the following alternative realizations of the same sentence, the first without, the second with tone bridge:
A further complicating factor is that, at least in some cases, tonal realizations are possible that cannot (just) be ascribed to the application or non-application of tone bridge. An example follows here. The verbs in this sentence refer to consecutive events, so that the conjunctive particle is expected in both cases. On the verb ‘produce’ the high tone can be ascribed to tone bridge, but not on the verb ‘get married’.

The conjunctive particle á- ‘and, while’

The conjunctive particle á- introduces a clause that contains a Dependent Incompletive, Dependent Perfective or Completive verb, or the Present of ‘be’. It can also contain a complex verb of which the first auxiliary is the Present of ‘be’ or a Completive verb. The verb in a clause introduced by á- is not an Imperative, nor an Incompletive or a Past. á- procliticizes to the (pro)nominal subject of the verb. It is mainly used:
for the expression of actions or events that happen (more or less) at the same time, or that, together, can be viewed as part of the same event. This includes use in certain complex verbal constructions;
• for linkage with a time-adverbial phrase or clause;
• for the conjunction of consecutive events;
• as complementizer.

á- is furthermore used in ámma + H ... á- ‘if ... then’ and akka + H ... á- ‘when ... then’ constructions, and after mónono ‘until’ and móna ‘until’. These constructions will be discussed under ámma + H, akka + H, and mónono and móna.

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

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

k-kw-ṣenkaṭé á-kw-Įet kín itti...
3-C-go:pst conj-3-rel:depincmpl o3a that
s/he left while telling them (that) ... (situation: somebody is walking away while still speaking to the people staying behind)

ana o-on cono a-n-ṣikōt kín
and pers-1 here conj-1-wait:depincmpl o3a
and I am here, waiting for them

k-kw-ātt-ṇat o-ṅnnī a-kw-ṣeʃkɔ kɔpá
3-C-tven:compl-find:depincmpl pers-ṅnnī conj-3-eat:depincmpl meat
s/he found  Ngbni eating meat

In the following example, ana á- is used. It could be translated as ‘and at the same time’. It is from a story at the point that it reaches a series of events that rapidly take it to its (violent) climax:
The conjunctive particle is also used when two verbs together describe one (main) action, as in the next example from an instruction how to make a ‘singing whip’ ('take' and 'polish'). The verb preceded by á- is a Dependent Incompletive:

\[\eta\text{-}kw\text{-}ômm\text{̓}c\text{̓}\text{kupu}a\text{-}cc\text{̓}t\text{̓}a\text{̓}k\text{̓}cc\text{̓}\]

\[2\text{-}c\text{-}take\text{:INCOMPL}\text{piece_of_bamboo}\text{CONJ}\{2\text{-}polish\text{:DEPINCOMPL}\text{carefully}\]

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

Likewise, \(\text{îkk\text{o cik} ‘sit, stay’ can be followed by á- introducing a clause with the (semantic) main verb, expressing ‘start to x’ (see 12.9):

\[a\text{-}k\text{̓}n\text{̓}\text{ikk.at cik a-k\text{̓}n}\text{̓}\text{\text{	ext{Ś}r\text{̓}á}}\]

\[\text{CONJ\text{\{PERS\text{-}3A}\text{sit\text{:DEPPRFV}}\text{VREF}\text{CONJ\{PERS\text{-}3A}\text{cultivate\text{:DEPINCOMPL}}}\]

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

The same construction can be made with the verb \(\text{ap\text{̓}t\text{̓}a, based on Sudanese Arabic bada ‘start, begin’:}

\[\text{ak\text{̓}k\text{̓}a c\text{̓}k-a\text{-}ap\text{̓}t\text{̓}at á-k\text{̓}n} \text{\Śr\text{̓}á \text{ittin\text{̓}á …}}\]

\[\text{that PERS\text{-}3A c\text{-start\text{:COMPL}}\text{CONJ\{PERS\text{-}3A}\text{cultivate\text{:DEPINCOMPL}}\text{so}}\]

when they had started to cultivate like this ... (‘The story of the jackal’)

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

\[\text{m-p\text{-}t\text{̓}k\text{̓}a.t cik a-n\text{-}ok\text{̓}t\text{̓}acce}\]

\[1\text{-}c\text{-be\text{:COMPL}}\text{VREF}\text{CONJ\{1\text{-}watch\text{:DEPINCOMPL}}}\]

I was watching it
k-kw-šká.t  a-k-kw-âkkarš.t  
3-c-becompl  CONJ-3-c-call:compl
s/he had (already) called me

*Linkage with a time-adverbial phrase or clause*

The typical opening formula of a story *caři c-əřeč c-oškát cık* ‘once upon a time’ or ‘one day’ is followed by á-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{caři} & \quad \text{c-əřeč} & \quad \text{c-ošká.t} & \quad \text{cık} \\
\text{day} & \quad \text{c-some} & \quad \text{c-becompl} & \quad \text{vref}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-puṭúŋ} & \quad \text{p-áṭṭ-tot} & \quad \text{ŋaṛraŋ} & \quad \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CONJ-marten(?)} & \quad \text{C-ITVEN:compl-find:DEPINCOMPL} & \quad \text{squirrel}
\end{align*}
\]

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

A comparable case is the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋ-kw-ošká.t} & \quad \text{cık} & \quad \text{maŋót}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{2-c-becompl} & \quad \text{vref} & \quad \text{long_time_ago}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ā.m̱p̱əppone} & \quad \text{ḻč̱ők} & \quad \text{áka.in.ča}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CONJ.(2).loose.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL} & \quad \text{goats} & \quad \text{why}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m-p-ičát.e} & \quad \text{meccim} & \quad \text{n-cık-1-ičŋkį} & \quad \text{ana} & \quad \text{órkoč}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1-c-loc_down:compl} & \quad \text{yesterday} & \quad \text{with-loc-in-sun} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{get_up:DEPINCOMPL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-čŋkį} & \quad \text{c-ɛš.t} & \quad \text{cık-1-ʧršt}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CONJ-sun} & \quad \text{C-go:compl} & \quad \text{loc-in-sky}
\end{align*}
\]

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

The examples above with time-adverbial clauses can actually be regarded as events happening at the same time. The conjunctive particle can, however, also be used when a time-adverb is placed in sentence-initial position:
some_time_ago CONJ - 2 - C - become_thin:COMPL and today 2-C - become_fat:COMPL

last time you were thin, but now you are fat

**Conjunction of consecutive events**

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

**anna** <i>kat</i> <i>k-á.k-k-ɔná.t</i> <i>kətuk</i> <i>n-ɔkón</i>

and **wild_chicken** <i>c-be:COMPL-c-bring:COMPL</i> **spear** with-hand

**a-kt** <i>ɔcẹpe.kat</i> <i>kətuk</i> <i>ɔrɛ</i> <i>ɛ-ɔ</i> <i>pira</i>

**CONJ-wild_chicken** **make_stand:LOCT:DEPPRFV** **spear** bottom **c-of-tree**

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

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

**an-ámmá** <i>k-kw-foťe</i> <i>k-kw-a.pira</i> <i>nɔ-ká</i>

and-if 3-C - find:COMPL 3-C - become_good:INCOMPL on-body

**á-kw-šlləkke.kat** <i>tɔ-cələk</i> **a-kw-ɔpákk.at** <i>ŋ.ŋim</i> <i>tuən</i>

**CONJ-3-put_down:DEPPRFV** **up_on-neck** **CONJ-3-return:DEPPRFV** with:AIS home

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

**The conjunctive introducing a complement clause**

With sensory verbs, á- introduces a complement clause, as in the two examples below. In the second example, pronominal ɲ refers to ɲokol ‘children’ (here: ‘girls’).
when they were cultivating like this, they saw that the lion had come ('The story of the jackal')

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

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

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

18.2.2. The subjunctive particle â- ‘so that, in order to’

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

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

â- is used in ámma +H ... â- ‘if ... then’ constructions. In these constructions the clause introduced by the subjunctive particle typically expresses a (mild) command to second or third person.
The subjunctive particle has the special tonal effect of lowering the high tone that is induced by the 3SG subject clitic and the common noun pronominal subject clitics. This can be seen, amongst others, in the first and second example below.

*Introducing a clause expressing the purpose of the preceding clause.*

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

\[
\text{m-p-eë.káţ-ók} \quad \text{ŋápák} \quad \text{á-kw-ikko}
\]

1-c-give:pst-03 beer subj-3-drink:depincompl

I gave him/her beer to drink

\[
\text{pó} \quad \text{p-eš.t} \quad \text{á-p-řet} \quad \text{kín} \quad \text{ittl} \quad \ldots
\]

person 3-c-go:compl subj-pro-deep:depincompl 03a that

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

\[
\text{m-p-a.lk} \quad \text{p-a.eš} \quad \text{á-n-čt-ittc} \quad \text{oa} \quad \text{no-píra}
\]

1-c-be:pr c-go:incompl subj-1-it:depincompl-pick:depincompl fruit(sp.) on-tree

I am going to pick ua-fruits in the tree

\[
\text{unte} \quad \text{ŋápí} \quad \text{á-n-oněkō} \quad \text{makkólók}
\]

pour:imp water subj-1-take:depincompl calabashes(k.o.)

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

Also the final high tones of L.HL/L.L.HL verbs are lowered by the subjunctive particle: á + ŋ + čapɔ > á-rapɔ and á + kw + čakɔ > á-kw-ɔŋkɔ. After this, tone bridge is applied:
The jackal said in his heart that he is going to trick the squirrel so that it comes down from the tree so that he (the jackal) can eat it (fr. written story).

In these constructions, subjunctive َـ can alternatively be preceded by ُـ (literally ‘become that’) or just by َـ ‘that’ (the complementizer َـ is discussed in 18.7):

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

A second clause introduced by َـ can express a command to second or third person:

16 The expected form would be َـ.َـ.َـ ( < َـ.َـ.َـ.َـ). Here, however, the verb was realized as َـ.َ~.َـ.َ~.

17 Sudanese Arabic word.
and the one who beats his brother, let him take all the meat

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

\[
\text{ámmá k-kw-éš.t á-kw-r̥e.kat kín ntt} ... \]

if 3-c-go:COMPL SUBJ-3-tell:DEPPRFV O3A that

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

18.3. ámma +H ‘if, when’

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

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

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

ámma + H ... ana + H ... ‘if/when ... then ...

ámmá ım-p-á.p-má.t ana m-p-á-akkwɔt-ɔŋ
if 1-c-bec:compl-c-know:compl and 1-c-IRR-kill:compl-o2
if I had known, I would have killed you

ámma + H ... á- ... ‘if/when ... then ...

ámmá ım-p-ɔllɔ.t cərük á-n-įráke ḏɔŋk tít
if 1-c-pierce:compl opening conj-1-make:enter:depinc:compl rope in:abs
when I have made a hole, then I pass a thread through it

ámma + H ... á- ... ‘if/when ... then ...

ámmá ĵ-k-ɔllɔ.t cərük á-ráke ḏɔŋk tít
if 2-c-pierce:compl opening subj-(2)-make:enter:depinc:compl rope in:abs
when you have made a hole, you must pass a thread through it

ámmá k-kw-ɛş.t á-kw-wɛt kín ɔtə ... 
if 3-c-goc:compl subj-3-tell:depinc:compl 03A that
when s/he arrives (lit.: has gone), s/he must tell them (that) ...

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

ámmá ĵ-kw-ɛř.t menɪk
if 2-c-say:compl like,this

ɔ-nin ḏ-a.nállɛnt-ʊŋ ɪ-lɛntɔ
pers-1a c-urinate:for:inc:compl-o2 in-calabashes(k.o.)
if you say so, we will urinate for you in the calabashes (App. IV, 53-54)

The next example illustrates that a Completive is also used in the ámma + H-clause when the clause does not express a finished action and/or a resulting state or situation. The final high tone on conékɛt
‘there, at that place (not far from the speaker, within sight)’ is a pragmatic high tone at the clause boundary (see 3.6):

ámmá k-kw-þppó.t cánékét ana tí t-íkkɔ t-a.ccókɔt-ɔk
if 3-c-pass:COMPL there and thorn c-may c-catch:INCOMPL-G3
when s/he passes there, a thorn may catch him/her

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

ámmá á-cíŋkí ɔkkɔ cík-i-tíŋtɬ
if CONJ-sun pass:DEPINCOMPL loc-in-sky
á-kw-íkkɔ cík i-cúŋe c-ɔ-pra
SUBJ-3-sit:DEPINCOMPL VREF in-bottom c-of-tree
when the sun reaches high in the sky, s/he must sit under a tree

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

ámmá ɔ-kíŋ ɪkkɔ ŋópak ittíná …
if PERS-3A drink:DEPINCOMPL beer so
when they were drinking beer like this … (‘The story of the jackal’)

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

kɔllán k-á.ɔkɔ tɔ̃rɪt ámmá k-k-ãmã.t
old_woman c-eat:INCOMPL food if PRO-c-become_hungry:COMPL
the old woman will eat food when she is hungry
m-p-á-anane.t kín ţórito ámmá m-p-ína.t itti ţ-ţ-élâ.t
1-C-IRR.bring_for:COMPL. 03A food if 1-C-know:COMPL that PRO-C-be_absent:COMPL
I would have brought them food if I had known that it was not there

With a Present verb in the ámma + H clause:

n-ittararot ámmá ɳóɾe ɳ-əɾek ɳ-a.ik ɳ-ɔntɔmating
2a-help_each_other:DEPINCOMPL. 6 if work 1-C-some 1-C-be:PR 1-C-hard
you must help each other when there is some difficult job

With ámma á- and Dependent Incompletive:

ka k-ôrɔttá ámmá á-rit ɔrɛk
body C-be_woken_up:INCOMPL if CONJ.PERS-12 work:DEPINCOMPL
the body will be woken up when we work (we feel sleepy now, but if we start working we will become awake)

aɾŋá át-ikkine18 ɔ-iaia cik pàpòt知
come:IMP.ALLOW CONJ.(2.)VEN:DEPINCOMPL-wait_for:DEPINCOMPL.PERS-mother VREF short_time
ámmá á-kw-äntán
if CONJ-3-come:DEPINCOMPL
come and wait a little time for my mother, if she comes (i.e. maybe she will come) (fr. written story)

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

?ámmá ná-änäk w-ɔc̪̣irin ə-ʊl ...
if on-moons C-four CONJ-people
when on four months (in April), the people … (fr. written text)

18 The conjunctive particle á seems involved here. The 2SG pronoun clitic ţ is deleted between vowels. Derivation: á + ţ + aṭ-ikkine > aâṭikkine > âṭikkine > āṭikkine.
when the months have reached four (when it is April), the people ...

18.4. akka + H ‘that’

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

18.4.1. akka + H as complementizer

akka + H can also be used as a complementizer:

\[
\text{l-ọpọ́rọ́t akka m-p-akónn-élikáko} \\
\text{PRO.C-good that 1-C-NEG-release:DEPCOMPL}
\]

it is good that I did not release it

\[
\text{m-p-ọọ́t.ẹ akka kẹccók k-ìn k-ọnó arọpọ cik áppik} \\
\text{1-C-like:COMPL that market C-POSS1A C-have things VREF all}
\]

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

The previous examples have a non-dependent verb in the akka + H clause, the next a dependent verb (a Dependent Incompletive). The first example below has a two-clause construction with ámma + H ...

\[
\text{ana ã́l w-ọọ́t.ẹ cannan áŋŋa} \\
\text{and people C-like:COMPL very very that}
\]

\[
\text{ámáma w-ẹ́s.ọt ana w-ọt ã́l} \\
\text{if PRO.C-GO:COMPL and PRO.C-find:INCOMPL people with-place all}
\]

and the people like it very much that, when they go (lit.: have gone), they find people from everywhere (fr. written story)
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\[ \text{m-p-ømmá} \quad \text{akka} \quad \text{ɔ-un}^{19} \quad \text{ɔkkọ́t} \]

1-c-know_not:INCOMPL that PERS-1 do:DEPINCOMPL

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

\[ \text{m-p-ømmá} \quad \text{akka} \quad \text{ɔ-un}^{20} \quad \text{áko} \]

1-c-know_not:INCOMPL that PERS-1 wear:DEPINCOMPL

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

In the next case, \text{akka} + H complements \text{təkít} ‘before’:

\[ \text{męncén} \quad \text{tó.kít} \quad \text{akka} \quad \text{t-ɔkorrọ} \quad \text{én-ɪ́} \]

some_time_ago before that NOM-engrave DEM-C-NEARSP

\[ \text{t-ʊrran-ɔrkkéttə.t} \quad \text{cic-cané} \quad \text{táŋú} \quad \text{a-ʊŋít} \quad \text{t-á.t-ʊ-ɔpərọ́t} \]

c-just_now-be_put:COMPL LOC-here Taro CONJ-food C-be:COMPL-C-good

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

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

18.4.2. \text{akka} + H with temporal or causal reading

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

---

19 Realized in connected speech as \text{mpɔmɔmá-kk-ɔn}.
20 Realized in connected speech as \text{mpɔmɔmá-kk-ɔn}.
21 Large cloth worn by many Sudanese women. It is wrapped around the body in a specific fashion.
is established by the auxiliary ‘again’ and that there is no prosodic boundary before *ana* in the first example:

\[
\text{akka \ η-kw-áppór-ómónc \ ána \ η-kw-ǐo} \\
\text{that \ 2-C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL \ and \ 2-C-die:INCOMPL}
\]

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

\[
\text{ámmá \ η-kw-áppór-ómónc \ ana \ η-kw-ǐo} \\
\text{if \ 2-C-again:COMPL-steal:DEPINCOMPL \ and \ 2-C-die:INCOMPL}
\]

if you steal again, you will die

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

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

\[
\text{akka \ m-p-aa.t \ a-k-kw-śká.t \ á-kw-śkátaccē-k} \\
\text{that \ 1-C-come:COMPL \ CONJ-3-C-be:COMPL \ CONJ-3-watch:DEPINCOMPL-O3}
\]

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

\[
\text{akka \ k-kw-áá.t \ a-kw-ǐřekat \ kín \ ittī \ …} \\
\text{that \ 3-C-come:COMPL \ CONJ-tell:DEPPRFV \ O3A \ that}
\]

when s/he arrived, s/he told them …

\[
\text{mařót \ akka \ m-p-oṭtě \ cǐk \ a-n-ɛlikk.at \ ỉčɔk} \\
\text{*long_ago \ that \ 1-C-small \ VREF \ CONJ-1-release:DEPPRFV \ goats}
\]

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

A particular *akka* +H clause can have both a temporal and a causal reading:
that cultivating_party C-be:COMPL VREF

akka m-ə́ɽɛm-ɔká.ɪtcɪktc

cik

that cultivating_party C-be:COMPL VREF

a-pól ant-ʃkkə ɲápak

CONJ-conj.person can:DEPINCOMPL-drink:DEPINCOMPL beer

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

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

akka m-p-a.ɪk p-a.eŋ nə-karón

cik

that 1-c:be:PR C-go:INCOMPL on-place

ana ñ-rit t-ʃkə t-a.kónn-ɔréko

and PERS-12 C-may C-NEG-work:DEPINCOMPL

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

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

m-p-əká.ɪt p-ʊrrən-əkö akka k-kw-ʃó.t

1-c:be:COMPL 1-c:just_now-come:DEPINCOMPL that 3-c:died:COMPL

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

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

m-p-a.ɪk p-a.eŋ á-n-ə-ʃíttə

1-c:be:PR C-go:INCOMPL SUBJ-1-IT:DEPINCOMPL-pick:DEPINCOMPL

oa nə-pirə akka w-əlla nə-ʊŋtə w-ʃ-nə-capó

fruits(k.o.) on-tree that PRO.C-be_absent:INCOMPL on-branches C-of-on-ground

I am going to collect kua-fruits up in the tree because they are not there on the branches near the ground
they are sitting with the person now that/because he is ill

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

akka k-kw-áá.t tír-éš
that 3-C-come:COMPL HRT12-go:DEPINCOMPL
now that/because s/he has arrived, let’s go

18.4.3. akka +H introducing a noun phrase

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

ŋ-kw-a.póllen-in ákka tācō t-ínr
2-C-fear_for:INCOMPL-O1 that legs C-POSS1-Q
are you afraid of me because of my feet?

ɔ-kkkō p-á.fk p-ímmako ákka kápi̇k
PERS-Kókko C-be:PR C-shelter:INCOMPL that rain
Kókko is sheltering because of the rain

18.4.4. anakka +H ‘and when, and after’ and mənakkā +H ‘and when, and after’

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

---

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

23 ı was pronounced with some length and a falling tone, for which I have no explanation.
an-ákka  k-kw-árotok  ílə  i-ruṭṭərūk
and-that  3-C-still  divide_in_two:DEP:INCOMPLE  in-pig

a-kw-āmpun.at  námámá  í-n-śpūn
CONJ-3-roast:DEPPRFV  inside_of_pumpkin  RES-C-bitter

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

an-ákka  m-p-ənò  nóřé  n-ə-pəllá
and-that  1-C-have  fear  C-of-cat

ana  m-p-a.kkət  kát-ta  con
and  1-C-doc:INCOMPLE  how-QW  UNCERT

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

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

mənn.ákka  k-kw-ônà.t  náák
when  3-C-bring:COMPL  oil

a-kw-íp.ənēt  ṭakərōk  i-ərəccò
CONJ-3-dig.for:DEPPRFV  chicken  in-feathers

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

mənn.ákka  k-kw-ímmanda.t  pà-p-ēn  á-p-ərəkə  nə-kaŋən
when  3-C-see:COMPL  thing-C-DEM  CONJ-PRO-get_up:DEP:INCOMPLE  on-place

ŋ-ká  appīk  a-nərē  ʊččk.ət-ɔk
with-body  all  CONJ-fear  catch:DEPPRFV-G3

when he saw that thing getting up from the place with its whole body, fear took hold of him (fr. written story)
when we had worked for some days, Nenni had become like a sister to me and I had become like a sister to her (fr. letter)

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

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

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

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

we are the ones that take care of the Lumun celebration, so that it will not be lost some year (we are the ones who organize it every year) (fr. song text)
go and lie down now, so that you can get up early in the morning and do not sleep late (and do not take on sleep), so that the work will not be spoilt (fr. written skype conversation)

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

I saw the man while he was busy leaving the house

I saw Kokku while he was busy stealing a goat

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

I saw the man leaving the house

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

---

24 a-ṭ-əccá (< á- + η + ət̪ + əccá)
m-p-ɔmma  ákka  a-n-ɔkkót  km
1-c-not_know:INCOMPL  that  conj-1-de:DEPINCOMPL  03a
I do not know what to do with them

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

18.4.6. akka + H ‘or’ linking noun phrases

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

lūkka  akka/ala  c-löttí  á.pollín  ántán
Lukka  that/or  PERS-Lotti  SUBJ.PERS-one_from_group  come:DEPINCOMPL
Lukka or Lotti, one of you must come

içat  akka/ala  karrā
true  that/or  lie
it is true or false

18.5. ámma, ámmakka + H and ɛre + H ‘(just) like, as if’

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

aun  w-içat  ámma  kwa
rats  c-be_abundant:INCOMPL  like  chaff
the rats are many like chaff

ŋ-kw-ɔn-t-akka  ŋ-kw-ɔttékállán  ɛré  ɔtɔ́k
2-c-why-qw-that  2-c-thin  like  rope
why are you thin like a rope?
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ere ámm.akka òl

speak:imp like people

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

òl w-a-rá aɾəpò ámm.akka tùn ana áttòpâ

people c-cultivate:incompl things like onion and tobacco

the people cultivate things such as onions and tobacco

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

k-kw-ámm.akka pòl i-p-íná cík

3-c-cop.like person res-c-know:incompl vref

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

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

lnò 1-l-a.kóranò pòl á-p-šká pòl

words res-c-let:incompl person conj-pro-be:depincompl person

ámm.akka p-p-óŋt.é

like pro-c-like:compl

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

tór t-òkkwòt-ín éré m-p-á.ţókó kòpá

appetite c-kill:incompl-01 like 1-c-eat:incompl meat

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

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

m-p-a.1k p-a.ţ-ëre nò-cákkŋ

1-c-bec:pr c-it:incompl-speak:depincompl on-calabash(k.o.)

ámm.akka òl ɔkòrřò makkŋ

how like people engrave:depincompl calabashes(k.o.)

I am going to talk about the calabash, how the people decorate calabashes (App. III, 2-3)
and these (words), the way they (the words) spoke about him, were bad (i.e. the words were bad)

18.6. məna ‘until’, məna ‘until’

məna and məna²⁵ both express ‘until’. It seems that they can be used interchangeably. They are immediately followed by the conjunctive particle á- and the clause they introduce contains a Dependent Perfective or Dependent Incompletive verb. They are (probably) both low-toned, but are often realized high due to tone bridge. A case of məna with high tones which cannot be ascribed to tone bridge is presented here as well. The first high tone there is from regular tone shift, while the second (probably) is a boundary tone of the same type as can be found at the end of a first ámma +H or akka +H-clause (see chapter 3.6). Some examples with məna:

a-tómʃccɔ́ ̀sném.at  kαtk  i-ţón  ʧ-ʧ-pá-p-én
CONJ-old.man  press:DEPPRFV  spear  in-mouth  C-of-thing-C-DEM
mənɔ́  á-p-i.at
until  CONJ-PRO-die:DEPPRFV

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

ámma  árrọ́  w-uɔ.t  i-cɛkɛrɛk  ʧɔřɪ
if  Lumun_people  C-descend:COMPL  in-price  ToFari
mənɔ́  á-kín  ikko  n̄oŋi  n.tu  ɪ-ɾɔk...
CONJ-PERS-3A  drink:DEFINCOMPL  water  from  in-water_place

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

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

²⁵ There is also məna ‘even’ (mentioned in 17.1.4).
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ɲʊʊkʊl m-oppɛ́t.e tɔntɔrra nɕɛ pʊccʊk
children c-fill:compl calabash(k.o.) urine for_some_time

mɔ̌nɔ á-ŋŋat26 i-purɔ́t
until conj(pro)-go:depprfv in-middle

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

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

a-n-ůre.kat nʊ-ličɔk mɒ́nɔ
conj-1-forget:depprfv on-goats until

a-l-ɔrɔkkɔntɛ́t pʊ́l p-ɛrɛk mɪ́l
conj-pro-eat_for:depprfv person c-some sorghum

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

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

ąmma ɔ́-rɔ́n ɛ̃-ɛ̃.t mɔ́nɔ ɔ̑t-tɔ́t ana ...
if pers-12a c-go:compl until it:depincompl-find:depincompl and

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

---

26 The high tone is due to deletion of pronominal ŋ (which causes the high tone to change from i to a) followed by vowel assimilation and vowel shortening (á- + ŋ- + ąŋŋat > á- + ŋŋŋat > aŋŋat > aáŋŋat > ąŋŋat)
18.7. The complementizer ꞏthat’

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

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

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

\[
\text{m-p-ǎnn-aŋkot ꞏthat m-p-ítta} \\
1\text{-C-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL that 1-C-get_married:INCOMPL}
\]

I do not agree to get married

Examples of ꞏthat’ in different contexts follow here.

\textit{�that’ introducing the complement of a speech verb}

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

\[
\text{rttná k-kw-ákkar.áte ꞏthat ráa ꞏthat} \\
\text{so 3-C-call:PST PERS-my_mother that} \\
ráa ant-áe \\
\text{mother can:DEPCOMPL-come:DEPCOMPL} \\
\text{so s/he called my mother: “mother, please come”}
\]
Complement clauses with an embedded question are linked to a preceding clause with a speech verb through *ittî* (first example below); not, however, when the locative relative *nâ* ‘where’ is used (second example).

They answered saying what they would do.

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

**Complementing ṭọṣ ‘like, want’**

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

I want our market to have everything.

I like it that our market has everything.

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

I want to eat meat (I want meat)

Complementation of some other verbs: optional use of itti

With some verbs itti is optional when introducing a verbless clause or a clause with non-dependent verb. Examples are ɔkwárikọt ‘recall, remember’ and ọt ‘find’:

ant-ọkwárikọt

please (try to) recall who this is!

akka k-kw-ọkọọt.é n-tán

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

Compare also the following cases with ọt ‘find’ with and without itti. In the second, with Dependent Incompletive verb, itti cannot be used:

... a-n-ikk.at cik pá.p.ötté a-n-ọtí.at (itti)

... I sat for a while and found (experienced) that I was getting blind
... a-n-ɪkk-at cɪk pá.p.ʊtɪ́ a-n-ʊtɪ́.at
CONJ-1-sit:DEPPRFV VREF short_time CONJ-1-find:DEPPRFV

a-n-ɪ́ɪɪmat n.tɪ́ ɪ́-kɪ́
CONJ-1-become_dark:DEPINCMP from in-eyes

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

**c-ʊnʊ́ ɪ́ɪ́ ‘must’**

ɪ́ɪ́ is obligatory in the expression c-ʊnʊ́ ɪ́ɪ́ ‘must’ (‘have that’):

ŋ-kw-ʊnʊ́ ɪ́ɪ̌ ŋ-kw-a.ccɪkɪ́
2-C-have that 2-C-heart:INCMP

you must listen

*With evaluating adjectives*

ɪ́ɪ́ complements evaluation adjectives such as ‘good’ and ‘forbidden’. In the first example the pronominal proclitic l refers to lɔ́n ‘words, matters’, in the second pa is short for papú ‘thing’.

l-ʊpərọ́t ɪ́ɪ̌ ŋ-kw-a.á.t
PRO.C-good that 2-C-come:COMPL

it is good that you have come

pa-p-ʊtʊ́n ɪ́ɪ́...
thing-C-forbidden that

it is forbidden that ...

**ɪ́ɪ́ complementing ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ná ‘so, like this’**

When ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ná ‘so, like this’ is complemented, ɪ́ɪ́ must be present:

m-p-ʊná a.k̩a m-p-ʊŋakọ́t.c ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́ná ɪ́ɪ́ ... 1-C-why that 1-C-be_loved:COMPL so that

why I am so loved that ...

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

án-ámmá ɪttí ɲ-ɲ-ʃkwó-r-in ɲ-cık

and-if that PRO-hit:COMPL-O1 with-VREF

á-ɛɛ kɔri cık-ɾ-tʃɛt

SUBJ-(PRO-Jstab:DEFINCOMPL cry LOC-in-sky

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

ɪttī introducing the complement of a noun phrase

ɪttī can also introduce an elaboration on generic nouns, including ɭɔn ‘words, matters’ and papɔ / ɭɛrap ‘thing / things’.

ɔ-nɛnnɪ p-ɪccá p-ɔnó ɭɔn ɪttɪ k-kw-ɑntɔn-ɪ

PERS-Nenni c-still c-have words that 3-c-come:INCOMPL-Q

is Nenni still planning to come?

ana árapɔ w-ɔ-rua ɭɔká.t ɪttɪ ɭuŋ ɑná tʊtɔrʊk

and things c-of-hair c-be:COMPL that dog and pig

ana pá-p-ɔ-kira ana omaŋɔn

and thing-c-of-trees and elephant

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

The noun ɭɔran ‘name’ is complemented by ɪttī:

ɲ-kw-ɔccɔ.t ɭɔran ɪttɪ ɭʃ-ʈa

2-c-receive:COMPL name that PERS.3-QW

what is your name?

m-p-ɔnó ɭɔran ɪttɪ ɔ-kɔmɑŋ

1-c-have name that PERS-Komang

my name is Komaŋ

ɔtɔkka ɪttɪ ‘so that, in order to’ / ɪttī introducing a purpose clause

ɔtɔkka ɪttɪ (literally ‘become that’) expresses ‘so that, in order to’. In these cases, alternatively, just ɪttī can be used:
Kukku is stopping Kakka in order to sit together

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

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

rtti introducing the phrasal complement of a question word

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

rtti preceding the question word ‘how’

‘How’-questions generally involve rtti:
Some further examples with question words are given in chapter 20.