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**A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau,
Senegal and the Gambia**
Gaved T.J.D.

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A Grammar of Mankanya

An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau,
Senegal and the Gambia

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Abbreviations

1P	1 st person Plural	HAB	Habitual
1S	1 st person Singular	IMP	Imperative
2P	2 nd person Plural	IMPERF	Imperfective
2S	2 nd person Singular	INDEF	Indefinite
AGR	Agreement prefix	INF	Infinitive
ALT	Alternative	INGR	Ingressive
ASP	Aspectual prefix	INSTR	Instrumental
AUX	Auxiliary	INT	Interior
BEN	Benefactive	LOC	Locative
C1AS	Noun class 1a Singular	MID	Middle
C1P	Noun class 1 Plural	NEG	Negative
C1S	Noun class 1 Singular	OBJ	Object
CAUS	Causative	ORD	Ordinal
CHG	Stem category change	PFX	Nominal Prefix
CMPL	Completive	POSS	Possessive
CNT	Countable	PRHB	Prohibitive
CNTR	Contrafactual	PROX	Proximal
COMP	Complementiser	PST	Past
COREF	Co-reference	PSTV	Persistent
DEF	Definite	PTCP	Participle
DEM	Demonstrative	RCP	Reciprocal
DIR	Directional	REP	Repetitive
DIST	Distal	SEL	Selectional
DS	Different Subject	SEP	Separative
EXT	Exterior	SEQ	Sequential
FUT	Future	SER	Serial
GEN	Genitive	SitT	Situation Time

SUB	Subject
TA	Time of Assessment
TMTV	Terminative

TT	Topic Time
TU	Time of Utterance

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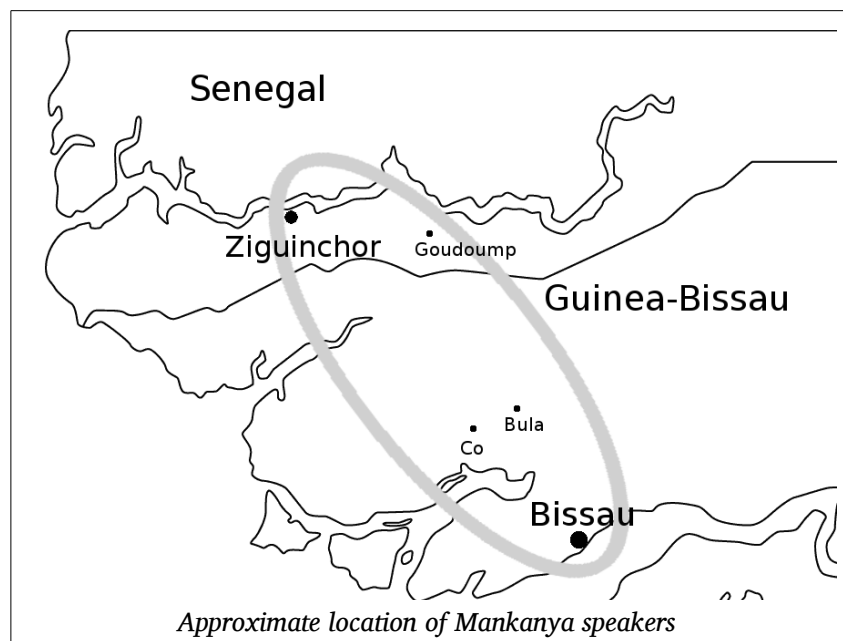
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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Sociolinguistic situation

According to the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2013), Mankanya is a language spoken by approximately 75,000 people across the countries of Senegal, Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia. Mankanya is an exonym, and the majority call themselves *bahula*, the people of Hula, (the original name for their chief town which is now called Bula), and the language is referred to as *uhula*. A small number of Mankanya refer to themselves as *bawuh*, reflecting their origins in the town of Co¹.



1 Bula/hula and Co[ko]/wuh may indicate a historical system of consonant mutation which no longer exists.

Bula and Co are towns in the Cacheu region of Guinea-Bissau. However, over the years there has been a steady migration of Mankanya northwards. Trifkovič (1969, p. 3) cites Carreira (1960) as putting the start of this migration in the first quarter of the 19th century. The same sources indicate that the migration was due to a number of causes: insufficient cultivable land, internal conflicts and abuse of power by the colonial authorities. The Mankanya first moved into southern Senegal (the area known as the Casamance), particularly around Ziguinchor the regional capital, and then expanded eastwards along the southern bank of the River Casamance. Later they also moved into the Gambia. Like virtually all Senegalese languages, internal migration has additionally created Mankanya communities in most major urban centres.

Many Mankanya speakers in the home area are farmers, and in recent times have been heavily involved in the cultivation of cashew nuts, a major export cash crop for both Guinea-Bissau and Senegal.

Traditionally, the Mankanya have a hierarchical social structure, with each village having a chief, who would ultimately be under the authority of the chief (or king) of Bula. This chieftaincy has been apparently traced back to 1522 (Niouky and Robert, 2011). The chief of Co seems to have the second highest authority and at some point in the past broke away, but was then brought back under the authority of Bula. Though the system of chiefs still exists, they now play a largely symbolic role. For example, in the past the royal compound at Bula would be the home to the royal officials as well as the king, but now only the king and his family live there with very little pomp and ceremony.

The Mankanya were one of the main groups to respond to the outreach of Catholic missions in the area around the beginning of the 20th century, and most Mankanya would now call themselves Catholic. However, many of them also maintain their traditional religious practices.

One aspect of the Catholic influence is that, since Catholic missions often involved schools, education has a high value amongst the Mankanya. Particularly in Senegal, many Mankanya are well educated. Mankanya are exposed to schooling in one of three different languages, depending on the country in which they live: Portuguese, French, or English, in Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and the Gambia respectively. Because of the history of civil war, the education system in Guinea-Bissau is much less developed than those in the other two countries.

Mankanya has been in contact with Upper Guinea Creole, a Portuguese based creole, probably since its origins around the beginning of the 17th century (Kihm, 1994, p. 4). For over 400 years this creole has been the language of wider communication in what is now Guinea-Bissau and the

Casamance area of Senegal. In the past 30 years Wolof has begun to take over that role in the Casamance.

Mankanya, along with Manjaku and Pepel, form a group of closely related languages, often referred to as Manjaku, the largest of the three. This group is part of the Atlantic family of languages, which in turn is part of the Niger-Congo phylum.

The most recent work on the structure of the Atlantic family is by Pozdniakov and Segerer (Forthcoming). They propose the following structure:



In the BAK group, all the languages apart from Bijogo were originally classified as part of a group of the same name in earlier work, e.g. Sapir (1971). The BAK group has the common feature that some version of the *bak-* morpheme appears as a marker of the third person plural. For example in Mankanya the third person plural object pronoun is *baka*.

Variation within Mankanya has not been formally described. Trifkovič (1969) treats Mankanya as one language without dialects. Anecdotally, Mankanya speakers say that there are only two dialects – the main one *uhula*, and a second minor one *uwuh*, spoken by Mankanya living in the region of Co. More significant differences are influences from the languages of wider communication. For example, code switching with French for large numbers and dates is common in Senegal, but with English in the Gambia. The lack of variation in Mankanya as compared to neighbouring languages like the Jola languages is a question for further research. One factor maybe

that Mankanya society is traditionally hierarchical, with an overall king based in Bula. Another may be that the Mankanya put a high value on education, which results in an increase in mobility between the various Mankanya communities, both for schooling, and afterwards for work.

1.2 Previous work

The only formal description published on Mankanya is “Le Mancagne: étude phonologique et morphologique: étude phonologique et morphologique” (Trifkovič, 1969). This description does not completely correspond with my data, and I will note where there are differences. Since then a number of students at the University Cheik Anta Diop in Dakar have produced unpublished phonologies at the French Maîtrise level, but those I have seen have not produced new analyses.

The Mankanya people have been discussed in some anthropological work notably Jacqueline Trincaz e.g. “Mythes, sens et représentations de la maladie chez les Mancagne de Casamance” (Trincaz, 1973).

More recently there has been “Pratiques et représentations des parlers macagnes de Goudomp (Senegal)” (Ndecky, 2011).

The most closely related languages have been described in “A Manjako grammar with special reference to the nominal group” (Karlik, 1972) and “Phonologie, morphologie et structures syntaxiques du Pepel” (Ndao, 2011). The three languages together are discussed and compared in a chapter of “Guinea Languages of the Atlantic group: description and internal classification” (Wilson and Storch, 2007).

Data from Mankanya can also be found in the work of Alain Kihm, e.g. “Noun class, gender, and the lexicon-syntax-morphology interfaces: A comparative study of Niger-Congo and Romance languages” (Kihm, 2005).

1.3 Data sources

The data used as the basis of this thesis was collected over the time period 2000-2012, whilst I was resident in Senegal and working principally with Mankanya speakers who were involved in translation and literacy programmes in their language.

I have a corpus of 45 texts of different lengths and genres and this is supported by elicited data. Some of the texts were originally oral, and others were written. Not all the texts have been fully glossed. Two examples can be found in the appendixes.

Additionally I had access to the translation of the New Testament and some parts of the Old Testament into Mankanya. As a translation this can not be

considered a primary source, but it was a useful source of ideas and illustrations that informed my analysis.

My lexical database contains 4055 lexemes (mostly roots, but also containing some expressions). 2361 of these were published as “Petit lexique mancagne-français: suivi d'un index français-mancagne” (Gaved and Stammers, 2004)

1.4 Language overview

1.4.1 Phonology

In this section I will give a brief overview of the phonology and more details can be found in chapter 2. Both here and in that chapter I use IPA symbols but elsewhere I use the officially recognised orthography for Mankanya (Republic of Senegal, 2006) as that is how many of the texts were either written or transcribed.

Mankanya has 37 consonant phonemes and 13 vowel phonemes (assuming length as a contrastive feature), which are shown below. Where the orthographic symbol is different from the IPA, that is shown in brackets. Vowel length is shown orthographically by repeating the vowel symbol.

	Labials	Apicals	Retroflexes	Palatals	Velars
Voiceless plosives	p	t	ʈ (ɞ)	c	k
Pre-nasalised voiceless plosives	^m p (mp)	ⁿ t (nt)	^ɳ ʈ (nɞ)		^ŋ k (nk)
Voiced plosives	b	d		ɟ (j)	g
Pre-nasalised voiced plosives	^m b (mb)	ⁿ d (nd)		^ɲ ɟ (nj)	^ŋ g (ng)
Nasals	m	n		ɲ (ñ)	ŋ
Vibrants		r			
Pre-nasalised vibrants		ⁿ r (nr)			
Fricatives	f	θ (ɸ)	ʂ (ʃ)		h
Pre-nasalised fricatives	^m f (nf)	ⁿ θ (nɸ)	^ɳ ʂ (nʃ)		^ɰ h (nh)
Sonorants		l		j (y)	w
Pre-nasalised sonorants		ⁿ l (nl)		^ɲ j (ny)	^ɰ w (nw)

Table 1.1: Consonant Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		u u: ʊ (ú) ʊ:
Mid	e e:	ə (ë)	o o:
Low		ɛ (a) ɛ:	

Table 1.2: Vowel Phonemes

All oral consonants can appear in a prenasalised form, though not all prenasalised consonants are found in word roots. (See section 2.8 Occurrences and co-occurrence restrictions)

Mankanya is not a tonal language, nor, unlike the related Jola family, does it have vowel harmony based on so-called advanced tongue root distinctions.

Considering long vowels and prenasalised consonants as units then common root patterns are CVC, and CVCVC (and longer patterns). There are a few CV roots, and some grammatical terms have a V root. Addition of affixes can lead to forms like VCVCV, CVCVCCVC and others.

1.4.2 Orthography

Mankanya had no widely accepted written form until recently. It is only in the last 20 years that an orthography was developed, resulting in Mankanya's official recognition as a “National Language” by the Senegalese government in 2005 (Republic of Senegal, 2006) (it was officially recognised in 2005 but not signed into law until 2006). The orthography uses Latin characters, and in common with other Senegalese languages uses ʎ/ɲ [ɲ], ñ/ñ [ɲ], and Ě/ě [ɛ]. It also uses some symbols found in few other languages of the region ʦ/ʦ [θ], ʦ/ʦ [t] and ʦ/ʦ [s]. The Senegal based Mankanya cultural association, Pkumel, has been running literacy classes (mostly in the Casamance and Guinea-Bissau) since 2001 and a translation of part of the Bible (Genesis and the New Testament) was published in 2014.

Some orthographic representations follow the conventions used with all other Senegalese languages. Prenasals are represented orthographically with “m” before “b” or “p” and “n” before any other consonant. Vowel length is represented by doubling the vowel symbol. e.g [o:] is written “oo”.

1.4.3 Morphology and syntax

Most words in Mankanya are multimorphemic – a stem is normally prefixed, and maybe also have derivative suffixes. Like many Niger-Congo languages there are noun classes, and there is agreement between a noun and its

modifiers. There is also verb agreement with its subject. The morphology of nouns is described in chapter 3 and that of verbs in chapter 4. Infinitives and participles are described in chapter 5 and other word classes in chapter 6.

The dominant order of constituents in a clause is Subject Verb Object, adpositions are prepositions, and in a noun phrase most modifiers follow the head noun. Simple sentence types as described in chapter 7 and more complex types in chapter 9. Tense, aspect and mode in Mankanya is mostly expressed by means of auxiliary verbs. This system is described in chapter 8.

The following short text from the beginning of a folk story illustrates some of these features.

1 **Uñiiŋ ubi aya unuur uloŋ**
 u- ñiiŋ u- bi a- ya u- nuur u- loŋ
 C2S hyena C2S PAST SER go C2S day C2S INDEF

du uŋteeh
 d- u u- ŋteeh
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field

“Hyena went one day into the bush”

2 **Awin bnob ɰi bhër bi**
 a- win b- nob ɰ- i b- hër b- i
 SER see C5S beehive INT LOC.PROX C5S hole C5S GEN

bko
 b- ko
 C7S tree

“He saw a beehive in the hole of a tree.”

3 **Aşë kak adu ɰmaalu aji baya**
 a- şë kak a- du ɰ- maalu a- ji ba- ya
 C1S SEQ return SER call NAME hare SER say C1P go

bduuf kë ɰmaalu akak aji « ɰya ».
 b- duuf kë ɰ- maalu a- kak a- ji ɰa- ya
 C5S extraction DS NAME hare C1S REP SER say C2P go

“He came straight back to call Hare to come and help him extract the honey. The hare came, saying ‘Let’s go’ ”

Noun classes and noun modifier agreement can be seen in sentence 1 *u-nuur u-loŋ* “a day” and sentence 2 *b-hër b-i b-ko* “hole of the tree”. This is discussed in sections 3.3.1 Class prefixes and 6.1 Agreeing Noun Modifiers.

The first sentence shows verbal subject agreement with the *u-* c2s prefix on the initial noun and the initial auxiliary. See section 4.2.1 Subject prefixes for more information.

Sentences 1 and 2 show two different locatives *du* (exterior distal locative) and *ti* (interior proximal locative). These are discussed in section 6.4 Locatives.

This text also illustrates several auxiliaries: *bi* PST “Past”(section 8.7.2 Past), *ʃë* SEQ “Sequential” (section 8.7.3 Sequential) and *kak* REP “Repetitive” (section 8.8.6 Repetitive).

There also examples in this text of the use of the reduced serial prefix *a-* SER “Serial” which is discussed in sections 4.2.2 Serial and 9.2 Clauses linked by verbal forms, and the different subject marker *kë* (section 11 The particle *kë*).

Chapter 2 - Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a sketch of the phonology of Mankanya. It does not aim to be exhaustive, but rather to give a background so as to aid the reader of the later chapters.

Mankanya has 51 phonemes of which 38 are consonants (including 2 semi-vowels and their pre-nasalised equivalents) and 13 vowels. 22 of the 38 consonants are pre-nasalised.

The reasons for considering pre-nasals as consonants, rather than NC consonant clusters will be discussed later.

2.2 Phonemic tables

2.2.1 Consonant phonemes

	Labials	Apicals	Retro-flexes	Palatals	Velars
Voiceless plosives	p	t	ʈ	c	k
Pre-nasalised voiceless plosives	^m p	ⁿ t	ⁿ ʈ		^ŋ k
Voiced plosives	b	d		ɟ	g
Pre-nasalised voiced plosives	^m b	ⁿ d		^{ɟ̠}	^ŋ g
Nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ
Vibrants		r			
Pre-nasalised vibrants		ⁿ r			
Fricatives	f	θ	ʂ		h
Pre-nasalised fricatives	^m f	ⁿ θ	ⁿ ʂ		^{h̠}
Sonorants		l		j	w
Pre-nasalised sonorants		ⁿ l		^{ɟ̠}	^ŋ w

Table 2.1: Consonant Phonemes

The phoneme /c/ is very rare in Mankanya. I have found it only in ideophones and in a few others word which are possibly borrowed.

[kɛ'cɛh]	/kɛ'cɛh/	<i>basket</i>
[b ^ɔ 'cɛkwɔl]	/bɔ'cɛkwɔl/	<i>trousers</i>
[ɔ'cɛ:lɔ]	/ɔ'cɛ:lɔ/	<i>sardine</i>
[p ^ɔ 'cɛwrɛn]	/pɔ'cɛwrɛn/	<i>basket</i>

Trifkovič (1969) agrees that /c/ is rare, and lists two other words with this phoneme. However, in my data these words are pronounced differently.

[nɛ'ʝɔ:k]	/nɛ'ʝɔ:k/	<i>poor person</i> (Trif: [nɛ'cɔk])
[kɛ'kit]	/kɛ'kit/	<i>harvest</i> (Trif: [kɛ'kic])

Despite its rarity, there are sufficient contrasts with similar sounds to prove that it is a separate phoneme (see section 2.3.3).

I have only found /s/ in borrowed words, so don't consider it a phoneme.

[s'kɔ:lɛ]	/s'kɔ:lɛ/	<i>school</i>
[ŋ ^ɔ 'ri:sijɛ]	/ŋɔ'ri:sijɛ/	<i>church</i>

It's noticeable that some Mankanya, for example those born in Dakar, have a tendency to replace the sound [θ] with the sound [s]. This substitution may partly be explained by the influence of French and Wolof where the sound [θ] does not exist.

[mɛʝ kɛ'supɛ]	instead of:	[mɛʝ kɛ'θupɛ]	<i>maize</i>
[nɛ'se:k]	instead of:	[nɛ'θe:k]	<i>the first</i>

Trifkovič (1969) doesn't mention this sound in her study, maybe because she was exposed to fewer French or Wolof speaking Mankanya.

It is noteworthy that all the consonants except /c/ (and of course the nasals themselves) have a corresponding pre-nasal form. The reasons for considering these as unit phonemes, rather than a NC sequence are considered below in section 2.5.2.1. Trifkovič (1969, p. 19) says that /c/ can also be preceded by a nasal, but I have not found any examples, and so therefore have left that blank in the chart.

Trifkovič (1969) has the phonemes /tɕ/ (alveo-palatal voiceless affricate) and /ɕ/ (alveo-palatal voiceless affricate) where I have /t/ (retroflex voiceless plosive) and /ɟ/ (retroflex voiceless fricative). These sounds are phonetically close. Note also that the phoneme /t/ has a tendency to be realised as the affricate [tɕ] at the end of a word. (See section 2.4 Allophones and their distribution).

Note that the apical plosives /t/ and /d/ are realised as dentals – [t̪] and [d̪], whereas the other apical consonants, /n/, /l/ and /r/, are alveolar.

2.2.2 Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		ɯ ɯ: u u:
Mid	e e:	ə	o o:
Low		ɐ ɐ:	

Table 2.2: Vowel Phonemes

Trifkovič (1969, p. 22), considers that /e/ has two allophones [e] and [ɛ], the first in word final positions, and in the interior of monosyllabic roots, the second in all other positions. I did not find examples that showed this distribution, but rather found that the phoneme was realised somewhere between the two cardinal positions.

Trifkovič (1969) also found two allophones of /o/ - [o] and [ɔ]. She found [o] in closed monosyllables, and [ɔ] elsewhere. As with [e] and [ɛ] above my data suggest that there is just one sound somewhere between the two.

I have decided to use the closed symbols to represent the two phonemes, that is /e/ and /o/.

On the other hand Trifkovič (1969) doesn't recognise the existence of the phoneme /ʊ/ or its long version /ʊ:/. However, I have found words which contrast these sounds. See section 2.3.5.

Some speakers of Mankanya claim that there is similar distinction with front vowels presumably including /ɪ/. I have not had the opportunity to gather any data that might prove this.

There is no vowel harmony in Mankanya, like the other members of the Manjaku family, but unlike the Jola languages which make up most of the rest of the BAK family.

2.2.3 The mid central vowel /ə/ and [Pʔ] prefixes

In Mankanya, nouns and verbs often have prefixes of the form [Pʔ] (where 'P' is a stop or a nasal). The [ʔ] is not very perceptible and Trifkovič describes it as a pause (Trifkovič, 1969, p. 34). In addition it is not clear whether this short sound always has the same quality as the vowel [ə]. Trifkovič considers it as an indeterminate vowel (Trifkovič, 1969, p. 34).

[p ^ə kəməl]	<i>central pillar of a house</i>
[m ^ə 'jɪk]	<i>it's hot</i>
[b ^ə 'tæk]	<i>mortar</i>
[ɪ ^ə 'di]	<i>we eat</i>
[d ^ə 'gi]	<i>I'm going</i>

It is difficult to find true contrasts between [P^ə] and [Pə], because [P^ə] is normally found at the beginning of words and unstressed. [Pə] can be found initially in some inflected words, but it is then also stem initial and stressed.

['pə.nən]	<i>take out!</i>
['bə.bən]	<i>wrap!</i>
['kə.bən]	<i>enter!</i>

[Pə] can also be found in some non-initial non-stressed contexts:

[ka'nθi:.nta.məs]	<i>folk story</i>
[p ^ə 'nde.mənt]	<i>tongue</i>
[e'bə.rəs]	<i>he grinds</i>

Note that an unstressed [ə] can sometimes be deleted and a word resyllabified, for example through derivation.

[e.'ʒə.məs]	<i>he extinguishes (e.g. the fire)</i>
[be.'ʒəm.ʃə]	<i>(e.g. the fire) extinguishes itself</i>

The minimal vowel sound in [P^ə] can also be deleted where the plosive is nasal, and the initial consonant of the root is homorganic

[^ə ko]	<i>animals</i> [ɪ ^ə] + [ko]
[^m boʃ]	<i>ground</i> [m ^ə] + [boʃ]

I will therefore interpret [P^ə] as a preaccentual realisation of /ə/.

Though in this chapter I have written this realisation of /ə/ this is not the orthographic convention used in other chapters, where it is omitted.

2.3 Contrasts

The following sections give illustrative contrasts for the above phonemes.

A common contrast for the prenasal is found in the form of the verb found in relative clauses, where the initial consonant of the root is prenasalised. Where possible I have tried to find other contrasts.

2.3.1 Labials and Dentals

/p/

- /b/

/pə'wo/ *it (C4S) is*

/pə'pɒk/ *to refuse*

/e'jɪp/ *he dug*

/be'wo/ *they (C1P) are*

/pə'bɒk/ *to climb a palm*

/e'kɪb/ *he cut*

- /m/

/pə'pɒt/ *to rot*

/pə'teɪp/ *to bite*

/pə'mɒt/ *cotton*

/pə'tem/ *to be hard*

- /f/

/pə'pæn/ *to go out*

/u'le:p/ *hoe*

/pə'fæn/ *to count*

/u'le:f/ *body*

- /w/

/pɒl/ *C4S object pronoun*

/pə'pæt/ *to paddle*

/bə'kʌp/ *shelter*

/wɒl/ *C2S object pronoun*

/pə'wæt/ *to let drop*

/bə'kɔw/ *head*

- /^mp/

/pə'lep/ *ear lobe*

/e'pʊlɔŋ/ *which he pulled*

/ɔ'le^mp/ *work*

/e'^mpʊlɔŋ/ *he who worked*

/^mp/

- /p/ - see /p/ above

- /m/

/pə'le^mp/ *to work*

/ke'^mpɒb/ *chickenpox*

/pə'lem/ *to sit on an egg*

/ne'mɒb/ *sponsor*

/b/

- /^mb/

/pə'bæn/ *to touch*

/e'bænɔŋ/ *which he touched*

/pə'^mbæn/ *soap*

/e'^mbænɔŋ/ *he who touched*

- /p/ - see /p/ above

- /f/

/ɔ'be:rʊ/ *butterfly*

/pə'mæb/ *to carry*

/ɔ'fe:rʊ/ *market*

/pə'mæf/ *to wake early*

- /w/
/bi/ c5s genitive /wi/ c2s genitive
/nɛ'kɒb/ drummer /nɛ'kɔw/ clairvoyant

/^mb/

- /b/ - see /b/ above
- /m/
/kɛ'mbɔŋ/ nape of neck /kɛ'mɔl/ firewood

2.3.2 Alveolars and Retroflexes

/θ/

- /ⁿθ/
/ɛ'θe:nɔŋ/ which he plays /ɛ'ⁿθe:nɔŋ/ he who plays
/bɛ'dəθ/ they close /bɛ'dəⁿθ/ they brush
- /t/
/pə'dəθ/ to close /pə'dət/ to snatch
/pə'tɔm/ to sharpen /pə'θɔm/ to be many
- /t/
/pə'keθ/ to dig up /pə'ket/ to die
/ɔ'tɛŋ/ female goat /ɔ'tɛŋ/ nickname
- /d/
/pə'θe:m/ to answer /pə'de:m/ to catch
/ɔ'kəθ/ bird /ɔ'ʒəd/ wound
- /n/
/ɛ'θe:m/ he answers /ɛ'ne:m/ he is lost
/pə'dəθ/ to close /pə'dən/ to be dense
- /r/
/pə'gəθ/ to vomit /pə'gɛr/ to destroy
- /ʃ/
/pə'θo:ʃ/ to question the dead /pə'ʃo:ʃ/ to judge
/pə'fɛ:θ/ to be white /pə'fɛ:ʃ/ to divide
- /l/
/pə'θɔh/ to cough /pə'lɔh/ to carry on the side
/pə'fɛ:θ/ to be white /pə'fɛ:l/ to slit the throat

/ⁿθ/

- /θ/ - see /θ/ above

- /n/
 - /pə¹nθok/ *crowd*
 - /bə¹ʃəⁿθ/ *chest*
 - /u¹teⁿθ/ *sorrel seed*
 - /t/
 - /ⁿt/
 - /e¹təpɔŋ/ *who he shoots*
 - /pə¹gʊt/ *to mark out*
 - /θ/ - see /θ/ above
 - /t/
 - /pə¹tuh/ *to close*
 - /pə¹fət/ *to peel*
 - /d/
 - /pə¹fət/ *to boil*
 - /ne¹te/ *you (pl) hear*
 - /n/
 - /pə¹ti:mə/ *to wear*
 - /pə¹dət/ *uproot*
 - /r/
 - /pə¹fət/ *to peel*
 - /ʃ/
 - /pə¹ton/ *to urinate*
 - /pə¹ʃɒt/ *to fall*
 - /l/
 - /pə¹fət/ *to boil*
 - /pə¹tih/ *to groan*
 - /ⁿt/
 - /t/ see /t/ above
 - /n/
 - /pə¹pəⁿt/ *take a detour*
 - /ne¹ntohi/ *(an) elder*
 - /t/
 - /ⁿt/
 - /e¹təŋkʊŋ/ *who he helped*
 - /θ/ - see /θ/ above
 - /t/ - see /t/ above
- /ʊ¹nʊk / *flu*
 - /ne¹ʃən/ *human*
 - /bə¹ten/ *appearance*
 - /e¹nⁿtəpɔŋ/ *the one who shoots*
 - /pə¹gʊⁿt/ *to fight*
 - /pə¹tuh/ *to be blunt*
 - /pə¹fət/ *to dwell*
 - /pə¹fəd/ *to whip*
 - /ne¹de/ *you (pl) eat*
 - /pə¹ni:mə/ *to marry*
 - /pə¹dən/ *to be dense*
 - /pə¹fər/ *to spend the night*
 - /pə¹ʃon/ *to grind*
 - /pə¹ʃoʃ/ *to select*
 - /pə¹fəl/ *to cut*
 - /pə¹lih/ *to roar*
 - /pə¹bən/ *to touch*
 - /ne¹nɒh/ *friend*
 - /e¹nⁿtəŋkʊŋ/ *he who helped*

- /d/

<p>/pə'tu/ <i>to put</i> /bɛ'ti/ <i>they run</i></p>	<p>/pə'du/ <i>to call</i> /bɛ'di/ <i>they accept</i></p>
---	---
- /n/

<p>/'tɛnən/ <i>offer!</i></p>	<p>/'nɛnən/ <i>give!</i></p>
----------------------------------	---------------------------------
- /r/

<p>/pə'kɒtən/ <i>to galvanise (someone)</i> /pə'fæt/ <i>to cover</i></p>	<p>/pə'kɒrən/ <i>commission</i> /pə'fær/ <i>to pass the night</i></p>
--	---
- /ʃ/

<p>/'mɒt/ <i>fruit (sense: children)</i> /bə'ʃɔ:t/ <i>malice</i></p>	<p>/'mɒʃ/ <i>ground</i> /pə'ʃɔ:ʃ/ <i>ember</i></p>
---	---
- /l/

<p>/pə'fɛt/ <i>fill to the brim</i> /pə'ti/ <i>run</i></p>	<p>/pə'fɛl/ <i>cut</i> /pə'li/ <i>moon</i></p>
--	--
- /ʌt/
- /t/ - see /t/ above
- /n/

<p>/ʊ'ʃɒt/ <i>cold (n)</i> /pə'ɪntɛk/ <i>metal</i></p>	<p>/ʊ'ʃɒn/ <i>duration</i> /pə'nɛk/ <i>daytime</i></p>
--	--
- /d/
- /nd/

<p>/kɛ'dɒŋ/ <i>altar</i></p>	<p>/bɛ'ndɒŋ/ <i>piece of bread</i></p>
---------------------------------	---
- /θ/ - see /θ/ above
- /t/ - see /t/ above
- /t/ - see /t/ above
- /n/

<p>/pə'dɒŋ/ <i>to make a noise</i> /pə'bɛd/ <i>to be low</i></p>	<p>/pə'nɒŋ/ <i>to buy</i> /pə'bɛn/ <i>to arrive</i></p>
---	--
- /r/

<p>/pə'buɒd/ <i>to punch hard</i></p>	<p>/pə'buɔr/ <i>to escape</i></p>
---	--------------------------------------
- /ʃ/

<p>/pə'led/ <i>to be completely full</i></p>	<p>/pə'leʃ/ <i>to remember</i></p>
--	---
- /l/

<p>/pə'dəməŋ/ <i>to praise</i></p>	<p>/pə'ləməŋ/ <i>door</i></p>
------------------------------------	---------------------------------

/nd/

- /d/ - see /d/ above

- /n/

/iⁿdʊk/ *stick for hitting*

/iⁿʊk/ *you (sg) touch with the head*

/n/

- /θ/ - see /θ/ above

- /t/ - see /t/ above

- /t̪/ - see /t̪/ above

- /d/ - see /d/ above

- /r/

/pə¹tɛn/ *to attach*

/pə¹tɛr/ *to spread*

/ʊ¹nɛb/ *flycatcher (bird)*

/ʊ¹rɛb/ *Arabic (language)*

- /ʃ/

/^mbɒn/ *thinness*

/^mbɒʃ/ *ground*

- /l/

/pə¹nɪ:m/ *to marry*

/pə¹li:m/ *to be lost*

/kɛ¹mi:n/ *burial place*

/kɛ¹mi:l/ *liquid*

/r/

- /ⁿr/

/e¹rɛtɛnʊŋ/ *that he scattered*

/e¹ⁿrɛtɛnʊŋ/ *he who scattered*

- /θ/ - see /θ/ above

- /t/ - see /t/ above

- /t̪/ - see /t̪/ above

- /d/ - see /d/ above

- /n/ - see /n/ above

- /ʃ/

/pə¹rɛb/ *to search*

/pə¹ʃʊb/ *to rain*

- /l/

/pə¹rɛtɛn/ *to spill*

/pə¹lɛtɛn/ *to reheat*

/ʊ¹fɔ:r/ *gun powder*

/ʊ¹fɔ:l/ *hedgehog*

/ⁿr/

- /r/ - see /r/ above

- /n/
- /e^hretenu/ *he who scattered* /e^hneʔenu/ *that he raised*
- /ʒ/
- /ⁿʒ/
- /e^hʒenu/ *that he thought* /e^hneʒenu/ *he who thought*
- /θ/ - see /θ/ above
- /t/ - see /t/ above
- /ʈ/ - see /ʈ/ above
- /d/ - see /d/ above
- /n/ - see /n/ above
- /r/ - see /r/ above
- /l/
- /ⁿʒ/
- /ʒ/ - see /ʒ/ above
- /n/
- /e^hno:ru/ *he who hated* /e^hno:ru/ *(one) who he wears*
- /l/
- /ⁿl/
- /e^hletenu/ *that he reheats* /e^hneʔenu/ *he who reheats*
- /θ/ - see /θ/ above
- /t/ - see /t/ above
- /ʈ/ - see /ʈ/ above
- /d/ - see /d/ above
- /n/ - see /n/ above
- /r/ - see /r/ above
- /ʒ/ - see /ʒ/ above
- /ⁿl/
- /l/ - see /l/ above
- /n/
- /e^hneʔenu/ *he who reheats* /e^hneʒenu/ *that he raised*

2.3.3 Palatals

/c/

Remember that this phoneme is very rare. Therefore these contrasts are only analogous ones.

- /ʃ/

/kɛ'cɛh/	<i>basket</i>	/ʊ'jɛnel/	<i>window</i>
----------	---------------	-----------	---------------
- /ɲ/

/kɛ'cɛh/	<i>basket</i>	/nɛ'ɲɛbəs/	<i>you (pl) eat breakfast</i>
----------	---------------	------------	-------------------------------
- /j/

/kɛ'cɛh/	<i>basket</i>	/nɛ'jɛŋ/	<i>you (pl) watch over</i>
----------	---------------	----------	----------------------------

/ʒ/

- /c/ - see /c/ above
- /ɲʒ/

/ɛ'jɛbʊŋ/	<i>who he healed</i>	/ɛ'ɲʒɛbʊŋ/	<i>he who healed</i>
-----------	----------------------	------------	----------------------
- /ɲ/

/ʃʊ'tɛn/	<i>be naughty!</i>	/ʃʊ'tɛn/	<i>bring!</i>
----------	--------------------	----------	---------------
- /j/

/ʃʊkɛn/	<i>learn!</i>	/ʃʊkɛn/	<i>be beautiful!</i>
---------	---------------	---------	----------------------

/ɲʒ/

- /ʒ/ - see /ʒ/ above
- /ɲ/

/mɛ'ɲʒɛl/	<i>darkest night</i>	/kɛ'ɲɛn/	<i>hand</i>
-----------	----------------------	----------	-------------

/j/

- /c/ - see /c/ above
- /ʒ/ - see /ʒ/ above
- /ɲ/

/nɛ'jɛŋ/	<i>you (pl) watch over</i>	/kɛ'ɲɛn/	<i>hand</i>
----------	----------------------------	----------	-------------
- /ɲʒ/

/ɛ'jɪlʊŋ/	<i>who he sent</i>	/ɛ'ɲʒɪlʊŋ/	<i>he who sent</i>
-----------	--------------------	------------	--------------------

/ɲʒ/

- /j/ - see /j/ above

- /ɲ/
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| /e: ^h ɲebi/ | <i>he's not got well</i> | /kɛ'ɲen/ | <i>hand</i> |
| /e: ^h ɲe:hi/ | <i>he didn't sing</i> | /kɛ'ɲe:n/ | <i>five</i> |

/ɲ/

- /c/ - see /c/ above
- /ʃ/ - see /ʃ/ above
- /j/- see /j/ above

2.3.4 Velars

/g/

- /^hg/
- | | | | |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| /e'go:tuŋ/ | <i>who he scratched</i> | / ^h gu: ^h t/ | <i>he who scratched</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
- /k/
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| / ^h guten/ | <i>fight!</i> | / ^h kuten/ | <i>uproot!</i> |
| /i'dug/ | <i>you make a noise</i> | /i'duk/ | <i>you(sg) leave (something)</i> |
- /ŋ/
- | | | | |
|----------|------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| /e'gut/ | <i>he fights</i> | /e'ŋuɔp/ | <i>he grumbles</i> |
| /be'nug/ | <i>they buy</i> | /be'nunŋ/ | <i>they guess</i> |
- /h/
- | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| / ^h go:ten/ | <i>scrape!</i> | / ^h ho:ten/ | <i>hollow out!</i> |
|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------------|

/^hg/

- /g/ - see /g/ above
 - /ŋ/
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| /kɛ' ^h guri/ | <i>bracelet</i> | /pə'ŋuɔben/ | <i>to mock with a gesture</i> |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------------|

/k/

- /^hk/
- | | | | |
|------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| /pə'jo:k/ | <i>to blow (wind)</i> | /pə'jo: ^h k/ | <i>to wait</i> |
| /e'kəkunŋ/ | <i>that he returns</i> | /e' ^h kəkunŋ/ | <i>he who returns</i> |
- /g/ - see /g/ above
 - /ŋ/
- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------|
| /e'nuk/ | <i>he hunts</i> | /e'nunŋ/ | <i>he guesses</i> |
| /pə'kɛw/ | <i>to reap</i> | /pə'ŋɛw/ | <i>to begin to ripen</i> |
- /h/
- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|----------|------------------------|
| /u'kub/ | <i>crab</i> | /u'hub/ | <i>bundle of straw</i> |
| /ne'yok/ | <i>rich person</i> | /ne'yok/ | <i>victor</i> |

/^ɹk/

- /k/ - see /k/ above
- /ŋ/

/pə¹ni:^ɹk/ to look everywhere
/pə¹rɛ:^ɹk/ to be bitter

/pə¹ni:ŋ/ tooth
/pə¹dɛŋ/ to stir

/ŋ/

- /g/ - see /g/ above
- /k/ - see /k/ above
- /h/

/pə¹ŋɛ:b/ to steer

/pə¹hɛ:b/ to open one's mouth

/h/

- /g/ - see /g/ above
- /k/ - see /k/ above
- /ŋ/ - see /ŋ/ above
- /^ɹh/

/ɛ¹hʊ:^ɹŋ/ that he cries loudly

/ɛ¹hʊ:^ɹŋ/ he who cries loudly

/^ɹh/

- /h/ - see /h/ above
- /n/

/ɛ¹hʊ:^ɹŋ/ he who cries loudly

/ɛ¹nɔ:^ɹŋ/ (one) who he wears

2.3.5 Vowels

/i/

- /i:/

/pə¹tɪb/ to cut

/pə¹ti:m/ horn

/pə¹tɪb/ to cut

/pə¹ni:m/ to marry

- /e/

/pə¹ʃɪŋ/ to bend over

/pə¹ʃɛŋ/ to be bow-legged

/ʊ¹lɪl/ good (adj)

/ʊ¹leɪ/ yellow (adj)

- /ə/

/pə¹di.nən/ to agree

/pə¹də.nən/ to make watertight

- /u/

/pə¹tɪ/ to run

/pə¹tʊ/ to put

- /ʊ/

/i'ko/ <i>things</i>	/ʊ'ko/ <i>thing</i>
/pə'ʃiŋ/ <i>to bend over</i>	/pə'ʃuŋ/ <i>to cook</i>

- /e/
 - /e:/

/kə'neɪ/ <i>hand</i>	/kə'neɪn/ <i>five</i>
/pə'det/ <i>to hold</i>	/pə'teɪt/ <i>foyer</i>
/bɛ'ten/ <i>they look</i>	/bɛ'teɪr/ <i>they understand each other</i>
 - /i/ - see □i/□above
 - /ə/

/pə'det/ <i>to hold</i>	/pə'dət/ <i>to uproot</i>
/pə'dem/ <i>to capture</i>	/pə'dəm/ <i>to grow</i>
 - /ɛ/

/pə'det/ <i>to hold</i>	/pə'det/ <i>to choose</i>
/pə'ten/ <i>to look at</i>	/pə'ten/ <i>to delay</i>

- /ɛ/
 - /ɛ:/

/pə'dɛŋ/ <i>to disturb</i>	/pə'dɛ:ŋ/ <i>to be smooth</i>
/pə'nɛm/ <i>to flee</i>	/pə'nɛ:m/ <i>to resemble</i>
 - /ə/

/pə'det/ <i>to choose</i>	/pə'dət/ <i>to uproot</i>
/i'tel/ <i>ropes</i>	/i'təl/ <i>hides</i>

- /e/ - see □e/□above
 - /o/

/pə'kʌb/ <i>shelter</i>	/pə'kɒb/ <i>to hit</i>
/ʊ'ban/ <i>arrival</i>	/ʊ'bon/ <i>famine</i>

- /o/
 - /o:/

/ɛ'bot/ <i>he then did</i>	/ɛ'bo:t/ <i>he sucks</i>
/pə'yɒk/ <i>to be rich</i>	/pə'yook/ <i>to blow (wind)</i>
 - /ə/

/pə'mɒb/ <i>to catch</i>	/pə'məb/ <i>to attach</i>
/pə'ʃɒm/ <i>to stink</i>	/pə'ʃəm/ <i>to cool down</i>

- /ɛ/ - see /ɛ/ above
 - /u/

/pə'ʃɒk/ <i>to become engaged</i>	/pə'ʃuk/ <i>forehead</i>
-----------------------------------	--------------------------

- /ʊ/
/pə'dɒm/ to attach /pə'dɒm/ to bite
/pə'do/ to do /pə'du/ to call
- /u/
- /uː/
/pə'juːt/ to bend down /pə'puːt/ to spit
/pə'juːt/ to bend down /pə'juːʒ/ to show
- /o/ - see /o/ above
- /ʊ/
/pə'juːk/ forehead /pə'juːk/ to teach
- /i/ - see /i/ above
- /ə/
/pə'tʃuːp/ speak /pə'tʃəp/ to pass
- /ʊ/
- /uː/
/pə'juːk/ to teach /pə'juːk/ poverty
- /o/ - see /o/ above
- /u/ - see /u/ above
- /i/ - see /i/ above
- /ə/
/pə'luːt/ to jump /pə'lət/ to sew
- /ə/
- /e/ - see /e/ above
- /ɛ/ - see /ɛ/ above
- /o/ - see /o/ above
- /iː/
- /i/ - see /i/ above
- /uː/
/pə'fiːt/ to illuminate /pə'fuːt/ to blow
- /uː/
/pə'diːk/ to refuse to respond /pə'juːk/ poverty
- /eː/
- /e/ - see /e/ above

- /i:/
/pə'le:k/ *forest* /pə'li:k/ *well*
/pə'me:r/ *to get to know someone* /pə'mi:r/ *to resign oneself*

- /e:/
/pə'ne:m/ *to be lost* /pə'nɛ:m/ *to resemble*
/ʊ'θe:k/ *first* /ʊ'θe:k/ *country*

/ɛ:/

- /ɛ/ - see /e/ above
- /e:/ - see /e:/ above

- /o:/
/pə'mɛ:k/ *to be ill* /pə'mo:k/ *to embrace*
/kə'pɛ:m/ *ignorance* /kə'po:m/ *bread*

/ɔ:/

- /o/ - see /o/ above
- /ɛ:/ - see /ɛ:/ above

- /u:/
/pə'go:t/ *to peel* /pə'pu:t/ *to spit*
/pə'ho:t/ *to shrug* /pə'pu:t/ *to spit*

- /ʊ:/
/'gɔ:tən/ *scratch!* /'nɔ:t/ *biceps*
/'bʊ:t/ *evilness* /pə'ju:k/ *poverty*

/u:/

- /u/ - see /u/ above
- /o:/ - see /o:/ above
- /ʊ:/

As these two phonemes are rare it's difficult to find contrasts.

- /i:/ - see /i:/ above

/ʊ:/

- /ʊ/ - see /ʊ/ above
- /o:/ - see /o:/ above
- /u:/ - see /u:/ above
- /i:/ - see /i:/ above

As noted above the vowel /ə/ is unique in several ways. Firstly it has no long counterpart, but it has a preaccentual realisation of [ə̃]. It is also susceptible to deletion in unstressed positions. This is particularly noticeable with the addition of successive suffixes. For example:

/pbərəʃ/ + /ə/ → /pbərəʃə/

/phɛ:bəʃ/ + /ə/ → /phɛ:bəʃə/

It is also susceptible to assimilation:

/ɛjə / + /ə̃t/ → /ɛjə̃ːt/

2.4 Allophones and their distribution

I have in my data the sound [ɜ] which I analyse as an allophone of /ɛ/ because it is only found in closed syllables, either in penultimate or final position. It is always in free variation with [ɛ]. [ɛ] is found in all positions.

[ʊ^hkə^hkələʒ] [ʊ^hkə^hkələɜ] /ʊ^hkə^hkələʒ/ *worm*

[^htʊpɜn] [^htʊpən] /^htʊpən/ *speak!*

Note that I have decided to consider the sound [s] as an allophone of the phoneme [θ] (see the discussion in section 2.2.1). It is in free variation with [θ] for Mankanya speakers who are fluent in major European languages (e.g. French, English or Portuguese).

The phoneme /t/ has two allophones. At the end of a word it is often pronounced as an affricate [tʃ]:

[p^hlɛmə̃^htʃ] /p^hlɛmə̃^ht/ *to swim*

[nɛ^hpo^htʃ] /nɛ^hpo^ht/ *child*

whilst in every other position it's realised as /t/:

[^htʃi:ni] /^htʃi:ni/ *run!*

[u^htəb] /u^htəb/ *fish*

Note that stops are normally unreleased before a pause.

2.5 Interpretation

2.5.1 Interpretation between vowels and consonants

The consonants /j/ and /w/ appear intervocalically as well as at the beginning of a word or stem, preceding a vowel, or word finally following vowel. The corresponding vowels /i/, /u/ and /ʊ/ appear in every other position:

[ˈjoŋkən]	[/ˈjo.ŋkən/]	CV.CVC	<i>wait!</i>
[kəˈje:h]	[/kəˈje:h/]	CV.CVC	<i>song</i>
[dʰjə]	[/dəˈjə/]	C.CV	<i>I'm going</i>
[ʊˈpi]	[/ʊˈpi/]	V.CV	<i>goat</i>

2.5.2 Interpretation between units and sequences

2.5.2.1 Prenasals

As was stated above, all the consonants in Mankanya can be prenasalised. These could be interpreted as units, which would give 16 extra phonemes, or as sequences that would lead to the introduction of 3 new syllable patterns – NCV, NCVC, and CVNC.

Each prenasal can be found at the beginning of a word, and there are many examples where a prenasal crosses a morphological boundary:

[^ŋ ko]	<i>animals</i>	vs.	[ʊˈko]	<i>animal</i>
[^ŋ ki]	<i>that I dance</i>	vs.	[eˈki]	<i>he dances</i>
[ⁿ de]	<i>that I eat</i>	vs.	[iˈde]	<i>you eat</i>

The construction used in the last two examples can be found with almost all verbs. A nasal prefix is assimilated into the stem initial consonant to become a pre-nasal.

Not all prenasals can be found at the end of words - only prenasalised unvoiced oral stops /^mp, ^ŋk, ⁿt, ⁿʈ/ and the prenasalised unvoiced interdental fricative /ⁿʈ/.

/ʊˈle^mp/ *work*
/iˈni:^ŋk/ *you're searching everywhere*

However, there is no restriction on simple consonants, e.g. /b/ or /g/

/eˈjɛb/ *he's getting better*
/kəˈbi:g/ *fence*

It should be noted that there is a difference between the nasal prefix N- which results in a prenasal consonant, and the [ŋ^ə] prefix. For example

[^ŋ ki]	<i>that I dance</i>	vs.
[ŋ ^ə ki]	<i>we dance</i>	

(There is sometimes assimilation of the [ŋ^ə] prefix for some common words or in fast speech e.g. [ŋ^əˈko] → [^ŋko] *animals*)

I will treat prenasals as units, e.g. [ᵐp] as the single consonant phoneme /ᵐp/ which is written as “mp” in the orthography.

2.5.2.2 Long vowels

There are never VV sequences where the two vowels are different, so I will treat all long vowels as units:

/ˈbʷeɪ/	[bʷe:t]	CVC	<i>women</i>
/ˈgootɛn/	[ˈgo:tɛn]	CV.CVC	<i>scratch!</i>
/ˈtiini/	[ˈti:ni]	CV.CV	<i>run!</i>
/ɛˈbii/	[ɛˈbi:]	V.CV	<i>he came</i>

Some long vowels are the result of the addition of vowel suffixes to vowel final roots:

[ɛˈbi]	<i>he's coming</i>	[ɛˈbii]	<i>he came</i>
[ɛˈjɛ]	<i>he's going</i>	[ɛˈjæɛ]	<i>he's gone</i>

2.5.3 Glottal stop

The glottal stop is not phonemic, but occasionally appears when there is a short vowel before a pause. There is one word where the glottal stop is found and that is the negative interjection:

[ɛʔɛʔ]	<i>no!</i>
--------	------------

2.6 Syllables

Syllables in Mankanya usually contain a vowel nucleus, though as shown above the preaccentual realisation of /ə/ is very short. The exception is the nominal prefix “m-”. Often it can first analysed as part of the first phoneme in the stem:

“m-boʒ”	/ᵐboʒ/	CVC	<i>ground</i>
---------	--------	-----	---------------

However, there is an allomorph “mn-”, where I analyse it as a separate syllable.

“mn-tow”	/ᵐntow/	C.CVC	<i>milk</i>
----------	---------	-------	-------------

Open syllables are the most frequent. Syllables that contain only a vowel are often found at the beginning of the word. Closed syllables are normally found at the end of the word. Syllabic consonants are only found at the beginning of the word.

Long vowels are attested in CV and CVC in all positions.

	Mono-syllabic words	Polysyllabic words		
Syllabic schema		First syllable	Mid-word	Last syllable
CV	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
CVC	Yes	Rare	Yes	Normal
V	Yes	Frequent position	No	No
C	No	Yes – followed by morpheme boundary	No	No
VC	Yes	Very rare	Very rare	Very rare

2.7 Word schemas

The phonological word is composed of one or more syllables. However, monosyllabic words are mostly grammatical function words. The syllables CV, CVC and VC can appear in any position. Syllabic C (/m/) only appears in word initial position, and syllable V normally appears word initially, and can be a monosyllabic word.

2.8 Occurrences and co-occurrence restrictions

All the consonants, including the prenasalised ones, but excluding /c/ and /^pc/ (which are very rare) are attested word-initially. However, /c/ is attested root-initially. This implies that there is probably no restriction on word initial consonants.

All consonants are found word finally except /mb, nd, c, nc, nf, ng, nh, nj, nl, nr, nʂ, nw, ny/. As noted in section 2.5.2.1 the only prenasalised consonants found at the end of words are prenasalised unvoiced oral stops /mp, nk, nt, nɿ/ and the prenasalised unvoiced interdental /nt̪/.

Vowels only occur word initially as prefixes or as monosyllabic words. The vowels /e, u, i/ occur in this position as noun prefixes or affirmative verbal prefixes. Their long equivalents /e:, u:, i:/ occur in negative verbal prefixes. The vowel /o/ is sometimes found as a monosyllabic disjunctive particle. /e/ and /ə/ are never found word initially.

All the short vowels except /ə/ are found word finally. /ɐ, ʊ, i, o, e/ are found word-finally in monosyllabic roots and words. /ɐ, ʊ, i/ are found word finally as the result of suffixation. The long vowels /e:, ɔ:, i:, o:, e:/ are found in monosyllabic words as the result of the addition of the suffix /-i/.

Vowels are never found noun or verb root initially.

	i	e	ɐ	ə	o	ʊ	u	i:	e:	ɐ:	o:	ɔ:	u:
Monosyllabic Word Initial	x		x		x								
Monosyllabic Word Final	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
Polysyllabic Word Initial	x		x			x		x		x		x	
Polysyllabic Word Final	x		x			x							
Lexical Root Initial													
Grammatical Root Initial	x		x			x							

2.9 Interpretation

Unambiguous syllable schemas are CVC, CV, V, and VC:

ʊʂɛl	<i>thought</i>	V.CVC
kək	<i>again</i>	CVC
kɛ'toh	<i>house</i>	CV.CVC
nɛ'me	<i>clairvoyant</i>	CV.CV
ʊ'ko	<i>animal</i>	V.CV
ʊn	<i>1p independent pronoun</i>	VC
ni	<i>my mother</i>	CV
i	<i>genitive particle</i>	V

2.10 Accent

Normally the accent is placed on the first syllable of the root.

2.11 Tone

Mankanya is not a tonal language. Some informants say that there is a grammatical difference in some sentences which are segmentally identical, which they say is tonal. However, my limited data on this does not corroborate this claim.

Chapter 3 - Nouns and Nominals

3.1 Basic word classes

I will use the following criteria to define some of the basic word classes in Mankanya. These apply to complete words, and the following section will describe how these words are constructed from different stems.

Nouns can designate both concrete objects and abstract ideas, for example *katoh* “house” and *manjoonan* “truth”. A noun can be possessed. There is a nominal agreement system based on the prefix of the noun and the prefixes of most noun modifiers (a few noun modifiers are invariant). On the basis of this agreement nouns can be grouped into noun classes.

Adjectives modify nouns and the prefix of an adjective agrees with the prefix of the noun it is modifying. A word denoting a quality that is not modifying a noun will not by this definition be described as an adjective. An adjective can modify nouns of several different noun classes. For example with the adjectival root *week* “large” - *napoŋ naweek* “large child”, *katoh kaweek* “large house”.

Actions or states are designated by single verbs, or by a combination of auxiliary verbs and main verbs. Only verbs can take inflectional prefixes which agree with the subject, though they can be bare stems when used in combination with auxiliaries. Verbs govern the number and types of other constituents in a clause.

Some word forms overlap these categories, in particular infinite verb forms and participles, which have some characteristics of both nouns and verbs. I will deal with these in chapter 5.

3.2 Word structure

Most words in Mankanya are multi-morphemic. Multi-morphemic words consist of a root, which may take derivational suffixes to form a stem. This stem in turn can take inflectional prefixes and suffixes.

Roots can be divided into three groups, which I will label nominal, verbal and general.

Nominal roots can only take nominal affixes, and result in words that are nouns or noun modifiers.

- 3.1
- | | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>u-buş</i> | “dog” |
| b. | <i>ka-toh</i> | “house” |
| c. | <i>p-maŋa</i> | “mango fruit” |
| d. | <i>b-maŋa</i> | “mango tree” |
| e. | <i>ka-week</i> | “big (e.g house)” |

A small number of roots are verbal and only take verbal inflectional affixes to become verbal words. They require a derivational suffix to become a nominal stem which can then take noun class prefixes and other nominal affixes.

- 3.2
- | | root | | verb | | noun |
|----|--------------|----------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>şub</i> | “rain” | <i>u-şub</i> | “it rains” | <i>u-şub-al</i> “rain” |
| b. | <i>jeenk</i> | “redden” | <i>pa-jeenk</i> | “it reddens” | <i>u-jeenk-al</i> “red” |

Some nominal roots can become verbal stems with the addition of a derivative suffix, however, these are not very productive.

- 3.3
- | | root | | noun | | verb | |
|----|---------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| a. | <i>week</i> | “big” | <i>u-week</i> | “big” | <i>a-week-a</i> | “he gets bigger” |
| | | | <i>na-week</i> | “elder sibling” | | |
| b. | <i>naaf</i> | “idiot” | <i>na-naaf</i> | “idiot” | <i>a-naaf-a</i> | “he is stupid” |
| c. | <i>tiinku</i> | “small” | <i>u-tiinku</i> | “small” | <i>ba-tiink-ët</i> | “they are few” |
| d. | <i>joob</i> | “cold” | <i>u-joob</i> | “cold” | <i>u-joob-ët</i> | “it cools” |

General roots either take verbal inflectional affixes to become verbal words, or nominal prefixes to become nouns or noun modifiers. With these roots there is no way of establishing whether one or other form is more basic.

- 3.4
- | | root | | verb | | noun |
|----|-------------|---------|---------------|-------------|---|
| a. | <i>lemp</i> | “work” | <i>a-lemp</i> | “he works” | <i>u-lemp</i> “work” |
| b. | <i>kit</i> | “break” | <i>a-kit</i> | “he breaks” | <i>ka-kit</i> “harvest” |
| c. | <i>kob</i> | “hit” | <i>a-kob</i> | “he hits” | <i>na-kob</i> “drummer”
(lit. hitter) |
| d. | <i>yeeh</i> | “sing” | <i>a-yeeh</i> | “he sings” | <i>u-yeeh</i> “song”
<i>na-yeeh</i> “singer” |
| e. | <i>püit</i> | “write” | <i>a-püit</i> | “he writes” | <i>u-püit</i> “writing” |
| f. | <i>do</i> | “do” | <i>a-do</i> | “he does” | <i>u-do</i> “action” |

Roots can also take derivational suffixes to create a stem before taking the affixes that make them verbal or nominal words. Like roots, a stem can

either be nominal (can only result in nouns and noun modifiers) or general (can also result in verbs). I have not found any examples of derived verbal stems (stems that can only result in verbs without further derivation).

3.5	root		verb		noun	
	a. <i>do</i>	“do”	<i>a-do</i>	“he does”	<i>u-dol-ade</i>	“tradition”
	b. <i>juk</i>	“learn”	<i>a-juk-an</i>	“he teaches”	<i>na-juk-an</i>	“teacher”
	c. <i>lemp</i>	“lemp”	<i>a-lemp-ar</i>	“he works for”	<i>na-lemp-ar</i>	“servant”

Verbal words will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 4.

3.3 Noun morphology

3.3.1 Class prefixes

Common nouns are made up of a prefix and a stem, as do most noun modifiers, and these modifiers agree with the noun.

3.6	katoh		kajeenkal
	ka- toh	ka- jeenk	-al
	C3S house	C3S redden	CHG
	“red house”		

3.7	bañaan		batum
	ba- ñaan	ba- tum	
	C1P person	C1P many	
	“many people”		

3.8	ŋpi		ŋtëb		ŋi
	ŋ- pi	ŋ- tëb	ŋ- i		
	C2P goat	C2P two	C3P DEM.PROX		
	“these two goats”				

Verbs also take prefixes which agree with the subject noun (see section 4.2.1 for more detail).

3.9	bantohi		bañini
	ba- ntohi	ba- ñini	
	C1P elder	C1P speak	
	“The elders speak”		

3.10	upi		ufeer
	u- pi	u- feer	
	C2S goat	C2S graze	
	“The goat grazes”		

Most nouns have different prefixes for singular and plural but some also have a differentiation between an unspecified, indefinite plural, and a

counted, definite one, as shown in the examples below. The counted plural form is used when the noun is modified by a cardinal number. This three way system exists in other related languages e.g. Bainounk (Cobbinah 2013) and I will label them “general plural” (or just “plural”) and “counted plural”. As general plurals are by far the more frequent, for simplicity of glossing they will be glossed P and counted plurals P.CNT.

3.11 **ppiiti pi**
 p- piiti p- i
 C4S pen C4P DEM.PROX
 “this pen”

3.12 **ipiiti ilon**
 i- piiti i- lon
 C4P pen C4P INDEF
 “some pens”

3.13 **kpiiti ktëb**
 k- piiti k- tëb
 C4P.CNT pen C4P.CNT two
 “two pens”

The pattern of agreement of nouns with modifiers and verbs can be used to divide nouns stems into classes. Unlike among linguists working on Bantu languages, there is no widespread agreement amongst those working in Atlantic languages about how to number classes. For example Trifkovič (1969), Sagna (2008) and Ndao (2011) number each individual prefix, Karlik (1972) and Soukka (2000) assign a number to each singular/plural/counted plural grouping, and others such as Segerer (2000) and Cobbinah (2013) use the phonological form of each individual prefix.

In this thesis I will label classes in the same way as as Karlik and Soukka, e.g. a noun stem which takes (and whose modifiers take) the *u-* prefix in the singular and *ŋ-* prefix in the plural will be considered class 2, with glosses C2S and C2P respectively. The numbering is my own, and is arbitrary. In this system what is important is not the form of an individual prefix, but rather the group of prefixes a particular noun stem can have. Homophonous prefixes might therefore appear in different classes. For example *p-* prefix in *pdunk* “clay pot” is considered class 4 singular because it groups with *i-* in *idunk* “clay pots” and *k-* in *kdunk ktëb* “two clay pots”, whereas *p-* in *plaak* is considered class 6 singular as it groups with *m-* in *mlaak* “stones” and *ŋ-* in *ŋlaak ŋtëb* “two stones”. This is similar to the way Bantuists use “gender” (where numbered individual classes are grouped as singular/plural pairs), or to Cobbinah’s (2013) “paradigm” (where phonologically labelled individual classes are grouped as pairs or triads to create number distinctions).

A number of recent researchers have labelled classes with something reflecting a group of possible phonological forms. For example in Bijogo, Segerer's KO class includes *kɔ-*, *ko-* and *ku-* (Segerer 2000). This has advantages in languages where vowel harmony means the form of the prefix changes depending on the form of the stem, but this is not the case in Mankanya.

In my analysis classes are based on the agreement patterns of modifiers, and the noun classes represent an inflectional system, where the two or three prefixes belong to a lexical unit. Labelling a prefix with class and number reflects that.

Class	Sg	Example	Pl	Example	English	Count	Example (two ...)
1a	<i>a-</i>	<i>ayin</i> <i>abuk</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bayin</i> <i>babuk</i>	husband child	=	<i>bayin batëb</i> <i>babuk batëb</i>
1	<i>na-</i>	<i>napoŋ</i> <i>nalët</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bapoŋ</i> <i>balët</i>	child(ren) tailor(s)	=	<i>bapoŋ batëb</i> <i>balët batëb</i>
2	<i>u-</i>	<i>ubuŋ</i> <i>ujah</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋbuŋ</i> <i>ŋjah</i>	dog(s) star(s)	=	<i>ŋbuŋ ŋtëb</i> <i>ŋjah ŋtëb</i>
3	<i>ka-</i>	<i>kañen</i> <i>katoŋ</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>iñen</i> <i>itoh</i>	hand(s) house(s)	=	<i>iñen itëb</i> <i>itoh itëb</i>
4	<i>p(a)-</i>	<i>pdunk</i> <i>patenda</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>idunk</i> <i>itenda</i>	pot(s) cloth(s)	<i>k-</i>	<i>kdunk ktëb</i> <i>ktenda ktëb</i>
5	<i>b(a)-</i>	<i>blaañ</i> <i>batani</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>ilaañ</i> <i>itani</i>	wrap(s) flock(s)	<i>k-</i>	<i>klaañ ktëb</i> <i>ktani ktëb</i>
6	<i>p-</i>	<i>pmaŋa</i> <i>plaak</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>mmaŋa</i> <i>mlaak</i>	mango(s) stone(s)	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋmaŋa ŋtëb</i> <i>ŋlaak ŋtëb</i>
7	<i>b-</i>	<i>bmaŋa</i> <i>bkem</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>mmaŋa</i> <i>mkem</i>	mango tree(s) oil palm(s)	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋmaŋa ŋtëb</i> <i>ŋkem ŋtëb</i>
8			<i>m(a)(n)-</i>	<i>mnlilan</i> <i>meel</i>	joy water		
9	<i>d-</i>	<i>dko</i> <i>skoola</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>iko</i> <i>iskoola</i>	place(s) school(s)	<i>k-</i>	<i>kskoola ktëb</i>
10	<i>n-</i>	<i>nñiiŋ</i> <i>nkow</i>			little hyena little head		

Table 3.1: Noun Classes

Table 3.1 above summarises the noun prefixes. Modifier prefixes are not identical, there is a summary in table 3.9 at the end of this chapter and I describe them in later chapters. Each class has the possibility of up to three prefixes for the different number values: singular, plural, counted plural. Classes 1, 2 and 3 do not differentiate between general and counted plurals. Classes 4 and 5 (which have singular prefixes *p(a)-* and *b(a)-*) have the same

general plural and the counted general plural). Classes 6 and 7 (which have singular prefixes *p-* and *b-*) also share the same general plural and the same counted plural. Class 8 which includes mass and abstract nouns only has one number value and hence one prefix, which I have assigned to the general plural column. Class 10 (diminutive) only has a singular number value.

The class 1a singular prefix *a-* is used with a small number of kinship nouns. It is considered a subclass of class 1, as noun modifier agreement and verb subject agreement is identical to those nouns that take the main class 1 singular prefix *na-*.

Singular prefixes in class 4 and 5 can have forms consisting of a singular consonant, (*p-* or *b-*) or forms with consonant followed by *a* (*pa-* or *ba-*). There seems to be no phonological or semantic rule as to which is used, though forms with *a* are less frequent. These forms are not considered a different class as the agreement pattern is the same as the simple consonant only forms. For example compare 3.14 and 3.15 below.

3.14 **blaañ** **bweek**
 b- laañ b- week
 c5s wrap c5s big
 “big wrap”

3.15 **batani** **bweek**
 ba- tani b- week
 c5s herd c5s big
 “large herd”

Similarly a small number of class 8 nouns take the form *man-* instead of *mn-*. Class 8 nouns roots that begin with a vowel, or *n*, take the prefix *m-*, otherwise prefixes *mn-* or *man-* are used.

3.16 a. *mn-lilan* “joy”
 b. *mn-dēm* “greatness”
 c. *mn-jooṭan* “sadness”
 c. *man-joonan* “truth”
 d. *man-ṭaaf* “anxiety”
 d. *m-eel* “water”

There is no singular/plural/uncountable plural distinction in class 8. I have lined up the class 8 prefix with plurals, as it is possible to use *m-* to indicate many multiple small things, e.g. *plaak* “stone” (which is class 4 *ilaak* “stones”, *klaak ktëb* “two stones”) can be used with the *m-* prefix to become *mlaak* “gravel”, and in this way it is similar to the class 6 and 7 plural *m-*.

Certain stems can be used with prefixes from more than one class. For example *ben* can be class 7 *bben* “rhun palm”, class 6 *pben* “fruit of the rhun

palm” or class 5 *kaben* “rhun palm branch”. The extreme case of this is *ko* which has a broad meaning of “thing”, the type of thing being indicated by the class prefix, for example *ŋko* “animals”, *bko* “tree”, *dko* “place”. This will be discussed further below.

The class 10 *n-* is a diminutive prefix that is fairly infrequent. It is found with a small number of stems where the non-diminutive noun is in a different class.

3.17	Noun	Class	Diminutive
a.	<i>u-ñiiŋ</i> “hyena”	3	<i>n-ñiiŋ</i> “little hyena”
b.	<i>ka-hoŋ</i> “foot”	4	<i>n-hoŋ</i> “little foot”
c.	<i>b-kow</i> “head”	6	<i>n-kow</i> “little head”

There is no stem that combines only with *n-*, and it can only have singular number. It does trigger agreement in noun modifiers and verbs that is different to other classes. This might be evidence for the idea of two different singular prefixes that parallel the two different plural prefixes (uncounted and counted) that are found in some classes. Counter-evidence is that the use of this prefix is restricted to a very small number of stems.

For comparison, here is a table that shows the relationship between the classes I use in this thesis and those used by Trifkovič (1969). Note that Trifkovič does not assign a class to *d-* because she considers it rare. Though it is true that it is only found on one noun, it is used as an agreement prefix with many others. She also does not describe the *n-* diminutive prefix.

Class	Sing.	Class in Trifkovič	Plural	Class in Trifkovič
1a	<i>a-</i>	1a	<i>ba-</i>	6
1	<i>na-</i>	1	<i>ba-</i>	6
2	<i>u-</i>	2	<i>ŋ-</i>	7
3	<i>ka-</i>	3	<i>i-</i>	8
4	<i>p(a)-</i>	4	<i>i-</i>	8
5	<i>b(a)-</i>	5	<i>i-</i>	8
6	<i>p-</i>	4	<i>m-</i>	9
7	<i>b-</i>	5	<i>m-</i>	9
8			<i>m(a)(n)-</i>	10
9	<i>d-</i>	-	<i>i-</i>	-
10	<i>n-</i>	-		

Table 3.2: Comparison of class numbers with Trifkovič

3.3.1.1 Noun class semantics

The semantics of a noun word are determined from the semantics of the stem and the prefix. This is clear from the fact that the number of the noun

is determined by the prefix. But equally, as noted above, certain roots and stems can be used with different prefixes to denote different things. For example the root *ben* has semantics related to the rhun palm, but by itself its meaning is schematic, and we could label it RHUN PALM (using the semantic convention of capital letters). It is only in combination with the class 7 prefix *b-* it becomes *bben* “rhun palm tree”, with the class 6 prefix *p-* *pben* “fruit of the rhun palm” or class 3 prefix *ka-* *kaben* “rhun palm branch”. Cobbinah (2013) and Watson (2014) describe similar construction of meaning in two related languages Bãinounk Gubëeher and Jola Kujireray.

Though the noun prefix contributes meaning to the noun, a prefix’s semantic content is not clearly defined. For example not all nouns with a *ka-* prefix are branches, or parts, or long and thin. Equally while many nouns with a *u-* prefix are animals, there is also a group of *u-* prefix nouns that relate to languages. Class 6 *p-* which is predominately fruit also contains words like *pliik* “well” and *ppaw* “log”.

The stem *ko* – loosely defined as THING, combines with the widest range of prefixes.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--|
| 3.18 | a. <i>u-ko</i> | thing (class 2 singular) |
| | b. <i>ŋ-ko</i> | animals (class 2 plural) |
| | c. <i>ka-ko</i> | container (class 3 singular) |
| | d. <i>p-ko</i> | small object, e.g. a bead or a stick
(class 4 singular) |
| | e. <i>i-ko</i> | things (class 4 or 5 plural) |
| | f. <i>b-ko</i> | tree (class 7 singular) |
| | g. <i>mn-ko</i> | fruit, trees (class 6 or 7 plural) |
| | h. <i>d-ko</i> | place (class 9 singular) |

There are some semantic correlates with the different noun classes which I will discuss below, but there are also many exceptions, for example body parts can be found in classes 2, 3, 4, and 5. Kihm notes a similar situation in in Manjaku (Kihm 2005).

Class 1a a-/ba- There are a very small number of nouns found in this subclass. They are all human, and restricted to kinship terms.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------|
| 3.19 | a. <i>a-yin</i> | cousin |
| | b. <i>a-har</i> | wife |

Class 1 na-/ba- Nouns that take these prefixes are all human.

A large group of nouns in this class are formed with general stems with the meaning of “one who does” an action, or “one who is” a state.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--|
| 3.20 | a. <i>na-kob</i> | drummer (lit:hitter) c.f. <i>pkob</i> to hit |
| | b. <i>na-ɬupar</i> | spokesman c.f. <i>pɬupar</i> to speak for |

c. *na-poŋ* child c.f. *ppoŋ* to be small

When combined with a stem indicating an ethnic or family group, the resulting meaning is a member of that group.

- 3.21 a. *na-hula* a Mankanya
 b. *na-laaŋ* a Balanta
 c. *na-diŋjal* a member of the Dingal family

This group also includes three common nouns where the prefixes behave irregularly: *ñaatŋ* “woman”, *ñiintŋ* “man”, *ñaanŋ* “person”. See section 3.3.1.2 for more detail.

Class 2 u-/ŋ- The majority of nouns in this class are non-human animates e.g. animals, fish, bird, reptiles and spirits.

- 3.22 a. *u-buŋ* dog
 b. *u-laar* spider
 c. *u-pi* goat
 d. *u-tapal* catfish
 e. *u-ntaayi* spirit

The class also includes some inanimates, for example:

- 3.23 a. *u-bel* shield
 b. *u-fët* compound
 c. *u-ŋup* word, speech

When *u-* is combined with an ethnic stem, the meaning of the resulting noun is the language or dialect of that group. This meaning may have developed by extension from *u-ŋup* “word, speech” (3.23c above), or perhaps they were originally modifiers of *u-ŋup*.

- 3.24 a. *u-wuuŋ* the dialect of Ko (the *bawuuŋ*)
 b. *u-laaŋ* the Balanta language
 c. *u-mbaabu* a European language (Europeans are *ba-mbaabu*)

The *u-* prefix can also be used with the singular of certain words normally found in class 5 or class 7, to give the sense of augmentative.

- | 3.25 | Noun | Class | Augmentative |
|------|----------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| a. | <i>b-laañ</i> “wrap” | 5 | <i>u-laañ</i> “big wrap” |

Class 3 ka-/i- Most nouns that take this prefix cannot be easily grouped. However, with certain words, these prefixes have a meaning of a “small part of” something.

- 3.26 a. *ka-kën* palm leaf (c.f. *pkën* “oil palm”)
 b. *ka-mpoban* fragments of a bottle (c.f. *umpoban* “bottle”)

c. *ka-mul* stick of wood (c.f. *bmul* “dry tree”)

Class 4 p(a)-/i- There are no obvious groupings in this class.

Class 5 b(a)-/i- There are no obvious groupings in this class

Class 6 p-/m- The most significant group in this class is fruit (in the most general sense).

- 3.27 a. *p-bën* rhun palm fruit (c.f. *bbën* “rhun palm”)
 b. *p-maŋa* mango (c.f. *bmaŋa* “mango tree”)
 c. *p-maanan* grain of rice (c.f. *umaanan* “rice”)

Some researchers, for example Cobbinah (2013) and Watson (2014) have suggested that the semantic motivation for the equivalent of this class in related languages is things that are “round” or “with spherical diameter”. Though seems to apply to many members beyond fruit, it is difficult to see why that is salient to some nouns in this class, e.g. a grain of rice.

Class 7 b-/m- The nouns in this class are almost entirely trees and plants.

- 3.28 a. *b-bën* rhun palm
 b. *b-maŋa* mango tree
 c. *b-liik* peanut plant
 d. *b-joŋar* bean plant

There is clearly a relationship between these two classes, but it is not possible to determine which might be the basic class. Considering that *p-ko* means “small object” and *b-ko* means “tree”, a strong possibility is that *b-* is the basic class. The use of *p-* then gives the sense “small thing” when combined with a tree-like stem X, to give a meaning “small thing from X” or in other words “fruit of tree X”.

However, the *b-* prefix has a derivative augmentative function with certain nouns.

- | 3.29 | Noun | Class | Augmentative |
|------|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| a. | <i>na-poŋ</i> “child” | 2 | <i>b-poŋ</i> “big child” |
| b. | <i>ka-hoŋ</i> “house” | 3 | <i>b-toh</i> “big house” |

This could be an argument that the *p-* form is the basic class and the use of *b-* gives the sense “big version of fruit X”, i.e. “the X tree”.

The phenomenon of noun prefix alternation on the same noun stem to distinguish between fruit and trees is very common in Atlantic languages (Creissels and Lüpke Forthcoming).

Class 8 m(a)(n)- This class contains liquids and other uncountables:

- | | | |
|------|------------------|-------|
| 3.30 | a. <i>meel</i> | water |
| | b. <i>mn-tow</i> | milk |
| | c. <i>m-niir</i> | fat |

By extension this prefix can also be used with some stems found in other classes to derive a liquid or uncountable meaning.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 3.31 | a. <i>m-nob</i> | honey (c.f. <i>unob</i> “bee”) |
| | b. <i>mn-laak</i> | gravel (c.f. <i>plaak</i> “stone”) |

It also contains abstract concepts:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------------|
| 3.32 | a. <i>mn-lilan</i> | happiness |
| | b. <i>mn-tit</i> | intelligence |
| | c. <i>man-jooan</i> | truth |

Class 9 d- Only one noun has the prefix *d-*, *dko* “place”. However, the *d-* prefix is used for noun agreement and *da-* for verb agreement with almost all recently borrowed nouns (even if the nouns themselves don't have a prefix), proper nouns which signify places, and time nouns.

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 3.33 | a. <i>kaara d-i nul</i> | his face |
| | b. <i>pekadu d-i baka</i> | their sin |
| | c. <i>dmass da-kmbiinj</i> | Sunday that is coming |
| | d. <i>faan da-wo di Naşibaţi</i> | tomorrow belongs to God |

Class 10 n- As noted above this is a diminutive prefix.

3.3.1.2 Irregularities

A small number of nouns are irregular.

There are 3 nouns which have class 1 agreement, but where the noun prefixes are different to the agreement prefixes:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 3.34 | a. <i>ñaaţ/baaţ</i> | woman/women |
| | b. <i>ñiinj/biinj</i> | man/men |
| | c. <i>ñaan/bañaan</i> | person/people |

In example 3.34a and b the stems unusually start with a vowel - *aaţ* “female” and *iinj* “male” and the prefixes are *ñ-* and *b-* instead of *na-* and *ba-*. In 3.34c the singular seems to follow the same pattern where *na-* has been replaced by *ñ-*, presumably before the now non-existent stem *aan*. However, in the plural the whole singular form has become reinterpreted as the stem *ñaan*, and the prefix is the normal class 1 plural *ba-*.

There are some other nouns where it seems that a prefix has been dropped, and agreement is alliterative.

- 3.35 *pkëş/këş* eye/eyes
këş ki nan your eyes (eyes of you)

The noun *meet* “room” has a plural *imeet* but has class 9 agreement in the singular (*d-*)

- 3.36` *meet/imeet* room/rooms
meet di ajug kato the room of the head of the household

Note that *meet* is also a locative modifier meaning “inside” (see section 6.2.2).

I have found a couple of other nouns that have unusual patterns.

- 3.37 a. *mntim/itum* mouth/mouths
 b. *udolade/idolade* custom/customs

3.3.1.3 Proper noun marker

In animal based folk stories the names of certain central animals have the prefix *ɬ-* instead of the normal prefix for animals *u-*. This has the effect of creating a proper noun. This is comparable to, in English, “Hare ate the rice” as opposed to “the hare”, or “a hare”.

- 3.38 **Common Noun Proper Noun**
 a. *u-ñiiŋ* “hyena” *ɬ-ñiiŋu* “Hyena”
 b. *u-maalu* “hare” *ɬ-maalu* “Hare”

The resulting noun causes agreement either with *u-* like its unmodified form, or sometimes *a-* as if the character was a human. This is a stylistic variation depending on the narrator. Because of the variability of its agreement and limited use I have not analysed it as a class prefix.

3.3.2 Special cases

3.3.2.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns do not take prefixes (though some proper nouns contain fossilised prefixes). They trigger semantic agreement so human names cause verbs and modifiers to agree like class 1 nouns (*na-/ba-*). Names of places cause agreement as if they were class 9 nouns (*d-/i-*).

3.3.2.2 Borrowed words

Like all languages in contact with others, Mankanya has borrowed words from other languages, notably from Upper Guinea Creole which for many years was the language of wider communication in the Mankanya area.

Some borrowed words have been absorbed into a noun class based on semantics – for example the mango (first recorded in West Africa in 1824) is found in class 6 *p-maŋa* “mango fruit” and class 7 *b-maŋa* “mango tree” like other fruits and their trees.

Other words have developed agreement based on sound similarities. For example *dmaas* “dimanche/Sunday” (borrowed from French) takes agreement with *d-* prefixes (however, this is also a semantic fit as a time word). The word *ŋritia* “church(es)” (borrowed from Upper Guinea Creole *igrisia*) takes agreement with *ŋ-* prefixes, even in the singular. It might be expected that this word would take agreement with *i-* prefixes, but a possible explanation is that [i] followed by the cluster [gr] has been reinterpreted as [ig] followed by [r] (as [gr] is not an acceptable stem initial cluster in Mankanya) and in turn [ig] > [ŋ].

Other borrowed words do not start with anything that looks like a class prefix, e.g. *skoola* “school”, *rosadi* “shrine”, *kaara* “face”, *pekadu* “sin”. Noun modifiers for these words take the prefix *d-* “class 10”. For example *skoola dnuura* “the good school”, *rosadi dweek* “the big shrine”. In the plural these words take *i-* – *iskoola inuura* “the good schools”, *ikaara* “faces”.

3.3.3 Possessor suffixes

There is a paradigm of suffixes which is used for possession of a small number of nouns, mainly kinship terms, when the possessor is animate. The paradigm is incomplete and there are no suffixes for 1st singular, 1st plural exclusive, or 3rd person plural. In these cases an independent pronoun must be used. For those nouns which do not use the suffixes, independent pronouns are also used but in a more complex syntactic structure (see section 7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction).

Person/ number	Suffix	Example	English translation	Pronoun
Singular:				
1 st		<i>a-buk naan</i> <i>ba-buk naan</i>	my child my children	<i>naan</i>
2 nd	<i>-u</i>	<i>ka-toh-u</i> <i>i-toh-u</i>	your (sg) house your (sg) houses	<i>nu</i>
3 rd	<i>-ul</i>	<i>a-har-ul</i> <i>ba-har-ul</i>	his/her wife his/her wives	<i>nul</i>
Plural:				
1 st inc	<i>-un</i>	<i>a-nin-un</i> <i>ba-nin-un</i>	our mother our mothers	<i>nun</i>
1 st exc		<i>a-nin nja</i> <i>ba-nin nja</i>	our mother our mothers	<i>nja</i>
2 nd	<i>-an</i>	<i>a-šin-an</i> <i>ba-šin-an</i>	your (pl) father your (pl) fathers	<i>nan</i>
3 rd		<i>a-ṭa baka</i> <i>ba-ṭa baka</i>	their younger sibling their younger siblings	<i>baka</i>

Table 3.3: Possessor suffixes

3.3.4 Derivational suffixes

There are two derivational suffixes that can be used with a nominal stem (that is a stem that can be used in either nouns or adjectives), neither of which are very productive. Both have the same function, to change a nominal stem into a verbal one.

The first is *-a*.

3.39	stem	noun or adjective	verb
	a. <i>week</i> “big”	<i>u-week</i> “big” <i>na-week</i> “elder sibling”	<i>a-week-a</i> “to get bigger”
	b. <i>naaf</i> “idiot”	<i>na-naaf</i> “idiot”	<i>a-naaf-a</i> “to be stupid”

The second is *-ët*. This is mostly used with nominal stems with a primarily property meaning.

3.40	stem	noun or adjective	verb
	a. <i>tiinku</i> “small”	<i>u-tiinku</i> “small”	<i>ba-tiink-ët</i> “they are few”
	b. <i>kuul</i> “blind”	<i>na-kuul</i> “blind person”	<i>a-kuul-ët</i> “he is blind”
	c. <i>kow</i> “head”	<i>na-kow</i> “clairvoyant” <i>b-kow</i> “head”	<i>a-kow-ët</i> “he has extraordinary knowledge”

This distinction is becoming obsolete, and many people just use the two words synonymously.

There is a set of independent object pronouns. Singular human objects, and 1st and 2nd plural objects are normally verbal pronominal suffixes. See section 4.2.7 Object Suffixes and section 7.7.1.2 Object pronouns. These suffixes are not agreement features as there is no verb/object agreement in Mankanya.

Table 3.5 shows the independent object pronouns. For 1st person plural exclusive, both 2nd person forms and class 1 singular a pronominal verbal suffix is used and these are shown in brackets. Like the subject pronouns the non-human pronouns are prefixed with the noun class prefix of the noun being replaced.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>naan</i>	<i>nja (incl)</i> <i>(-un) (excl)</i>
2 nd	<i>(-u)</i>	<i>(-an)</i>
Class		
1	<i>(-a)</i>	<i>baka</i>
2	<i>wa</i>	<i>ŋa</i>
3	<i>ka</i>	<i>ya</i>
4	<i>pa</i>	<i>ya</i>
5	<i>ba</i>	<i>ya</i>
6	<i>pa</i>	<i>ma</i>
7	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>
8		<i>ma</i>
9	<i>da</i>	<i>ya</i>
10	<i>na (unattested)</i>	

Table 3.5: Independent object pronouns

There is no morphological distinction made between direct and indirect objects, and the same pronouns or suffixes are used in both situations:

3.42 **Tukma akob baka**

tukma a- kob baka
Thukma c1s hit c1s

“Thukma hit them”

3.43 **Tukma aŋen baka kamiŋa**

tukma a- ŋen baka ka- miŋa
Thukma c1s give_(as_present) c1s c3s shirt

“Thukma gives a shirt to them”

As noted in section 3.3.3 above there are independent pronouns used with most nouns to express genitive relations like possession. Their use is illustrated in examples 3.44 and 3.45 but they will be discussed in more detail in section 7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction. The pronouns are listed in Table 3.6 below. The variants starting with t- are used by some, mainly older, speakers.

3.44 **upi** **wi** **naan**
 u- pi w- i naan
 C2S goat C2S GEN C1S
 “my goat”

3.45 **upi** **wi** **baka**
 u- pi w- i baka
 C2S goat C2S GEN C1S
 “their goat”

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>naan</i> (or <i>taan</i>)	<i>nja</i> (<i>incl</i>) <i>nun</i> (or <i>tun</i>) (<i>excl</i>)
2 nd	<i>nu</i> (or <i>tu</i>)	<i>nan</i> (or <i>tan</i>)
Class		
1	<i>nul</i> (or <i>tul</i>)	<i>baka</i> (or <i>bakan</i>)
2	<i>wa</i>	<i>ŋa</i>
3	<i>ka</i>	<i>ya</i>
4	<i>pa</i>	<i>ya</i>
5	<i>ba</i>	<i>ya</i>
6	<i>pa</i>	<i>ma</i>
7	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>
8		<i>ma</i>
9	<i>da</i>	<i>ya</i>
10	<i>na</i> (unattested)	

Table 3.6: Genitive Pronouns

Tables 3.7 and 3.8 summarise all the pronouns. Also included for comparison are the object pronominal forms used with the selectional suffix *-uj* described in the next chapter.

Singular				
Person	Subject	Object	Object suffix with -uj	Genitive
1 st	<i>nji</i>	<i>naan</i>	<i>-aan</i>	<i>naan (or taan)</i>
2 nd	<i>iwi</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>nu (or tu)</i>
Class				
1	<i>ul</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ul</i>	<i>nul (or tul)</i>
2	<i>wul</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>
3	<i>kul</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>
4	<i>pul</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>
5	<i>bul</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>
6	<i>pul</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>
7	<i>bul</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>
8				
9	<i>dul</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
10	<i>nul</i> (unattested)	<i>na</i> (unattested)	<i>na</i> (unattested)	<i>na</i> (unattested)

Table 3.7: All singular pronouns and pronominal suffixes

Plural				
Person	Subject	Object		Genitive
1 st	<i>nja (incl)</i> <i>un (excl)</i>	<i>nja (incl)</i> <i>-un (excl)</i>	<i>nja (incl)</i> <i>un (excl)</i>	<i>nja (incl)</i> <i>nun (or tun) (excl)</i>
2 nd	<i>an</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>nan (or tan)</i>
Class				
1	<i>bukal</i>	<i>baka</i>	<i>baka</i>	<i>baka (or bakan)</i>
2	<i>ɲul</i>	<i>ɲa</i>	<i>ɲa</i>	<i>ɲa</i>
3	<i>yul</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>
4	<i>yul</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>
5	<i>yul</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>
6	<i>mul</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
7	<i>mul</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
8	<i>mul</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
9	<i>yul</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>
10				

Table 3.8: All plural pronouns and pronominal suffixes

3.6 Summary of agreement prefixes

In the following chapters I will describe the subject agreement on verbs and the three different paradigms of agreement prefixes on noun modifiers. The following table summarises these along with the noun prefixes.

Class		Noun	Adj	Dem	Gen	Verb
1a	Sing	<i>a-</i>	<i>na-</i>	∅-	∅-	<i>a-</i>
1	Sing	<i>na-</i>				
	Plural	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bak-/bik-/buk-</i>	<i>bak-/bik-/buk-</i>	<i>ba-</i>
	Count					
2	Sing	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>wa-</i>
	Plural	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>
	Count					
3	Sing	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
	Plural	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>i-</i>
	Count					
4	Sing	<i>p(a)-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>pa-</i>
	Plural	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>i-</i>
	Count	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
5	Sing	<i>b(a)-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>ba-</i>
	Plural	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>i-</i>
	Count	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
6	Sing	<i>p-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>pa-</i>
	Plural	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>maN-</i>
	Count	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>
7	Sing	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>ba-</i>
	Plural	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>maN-</i>
	Count	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>
8		<i>m(a)(n)-</i>	<i>mn-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>maN-</i>
9	Sing	<i>d-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>da-</i>
	Plural	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>i-</i>
10		<i>n-</i>				<i>na-</i>

Table 3.9: Summary of agreement prefixes

Chapter 4 - The Verb

4.1 Word structure

As noted in section 3.2 - roots can be divided into three groups, nominal, verbal, and general. Verb words are constructed from verbal or general roots or stems.

4.1	stem		verb	
a.	<i>lemp</i>	“work”	<i>a-lemp</i>	“he works”
b.	<i>jip</i>	“dig”	<i>ba-jip</i>	“they dig”
c.	<i>buur</i>	“escape”	<i>d-buur</i>	“I escape”
d.	<i>ya</i>	“go”	<i>a-ya</i>	“he goes”

They can also be constructed from stems which are formed by a nominal root with a class changing stem as in the examples below.

4.2	stem		noun or adjective		verb	
a.	<i>week</i>	“big”	<i>u-week</i>	“big”	<i>a-week-a</i>	“he gets bigger”
			<i>na-week</i>	“elder sibling”		
b.	<i>naaf</i>	“idiot”	<i>na-naaf</i>	“idiot”	<i>a-naaf-a</i>	“he is stupid”
c.	<i>tiinku</i>	“small”	<i>u-tiinku</i>	“small”	<i>ba-tiink-ët</i>	“they are few”
d.	<i>joob</i>	“cold”	<i>u-joob</i>	“cold”	<i>u-joob-ët</i>	“it cools”

As this chapter is describing the morphology of verbs, for simplicity I will refer to all stems that are the basis of verb words as verbal stems. I will not therefore distinguish between stems that can only be used in verbs, and stems that can also be used in nouns.

Verbal stems can take various derivational suffixes to form another verbal stem with a different meaning.

Verbal stems when combined with inflectional affixes form a verbal word. Some verbal words have the syntactic role of an auxiliary, and add tense, aspect or modal information to the main lexical verb. There is no morphological distinction between auxiliaries and lexical verbs. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the use of auxiliaries.

4.2 Inflection

4.2.1 Subject prefixes

Generally, verbs take prefixes that agree with the subject in number and person, or nominal class.

4.3 **bantohi** **baṭiini**
 ba- ntohi ba- ṭiini
 C1P elder C1P speak
 “The elders speak”

4.4 **baṭiini**
 ba- ṭiini
 C1P speak
 “They speak”

4.5 **upi** **ufeer**
 u- pi u- feer
 C2S goat C2S graze
 “The goat grazes”

The full paradigm is given in the tables below:

Person	Noun Class	Prefix	Example	
Sing.				
1		<i>d-</i>	<i>djuk</i>	I learn
2		<i>i-</i>	<i>ijuk</i>	you learn
3	1	<i>a-</i>	<i>ajuk</i>	he/she learns
	2	<i>u-</i>	<i>upi udaan</i>	the goat drinks
	3	<i>ka-</i>	<i>katoḥ kajot</i>	the house falls
	4	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pdunk pajot</i>	the pot falls
	5	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bayeti bajot</i>	the coat falls
	6	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pmaṇa pjot</i>	the mango falls
	7	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bamaṇa bajot</i>	the mango tree falls
	9	<i>da-</i>	<i>dko dayiki</i>	the place is hot
	10	<i>na-</i>	<i>nñüij naṭi</i>	the little hyena runs

Table 4.1: Subject prefixes - singular

Person	Noun Class	Prefix	Example	
Plural				
1		<i>ɲ-</i>	<i>ɲjuk</i>	we learn
2		<i>na-</i>	<i>najuk</i>	you learn
3	1	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bajuk</i>	they learn
	2	<i>ɲa-</i>	<i>ɲpi ɲadaan</i>	the goats drink
	3	<i>i-</i>	<i>itoh ijot</i>	the houses fall
	4	<i>i-</i>	<i>idunk ijot</i>	the pots fall
	5	<i>i-</i>	<i>iyeti ijot</i>	the coats fall
	6	<i>maN-</i>	<i>mmanja manjot</i>	the mangos fall
	7	<i>maN-</i>	<i>mmanja manjot</i>	the mango trees fall
	8	<i>maN-</i>	<i>meel manjot</i>	the water falls
	9	<i>i-</i>	<i>ipekadu yi nu ipëni</i>	your sins are forgiven
Count Plural				
3	4	<i>ka-</i>	<i>kdunk ktëb kajot</i>	two pots fall
	5	<i>ka-</i>	<i>kyeti ktëb kajot</i>	two coats fall
	6	<i>ɲa-</i>	<i>ɲmanja ɲajot</i>	two mangos fall
	7	<i>ɲa-</i>	<i>ɲmanja ɲajot</i>	two mango trees fall

Table 4.2: Subject prefixes - plural

The first person plural verb agreement does not have the inclusive/exclusive distinction that is found in pronouns.

It is noticeable that all the consonantal 3rd person prefixes contain an *a-*. One possible analysis might therefore be that they are actually decomposable into *C- a-*, where *C* is the class prefix and *a-* indicates third person (*a-* does not indicate tense or aspect as it is always present). The exceptions to this would be the class prefixes that are not consonants. It would then have to be argued that third person *a-* is deleted when preceded by a vowel. Another problem is the *maN-* prefix where there is a nasal that follows the *a-*. The last problem is the existence of the 2nd person plural marker *na-*, which also contains an *a*. For these reasons I will use the simpler analysis that prefixes ending with *a* are non-decomposable.

The first person singular has three alternative forms: *m-* (syllabic consonant, never assimilated) when the verb is negative (see section 4.2.4), *N-* (pre-nasalisation of the first consonant) in certain subordinate verb forms (for example with the selectional suffix - see section 4.2.5), and *ka-* after the auxiliary *ji* “habitual” (section 4.2.6), and in a clause following a proposition headed by *woli* “if/when” (section 9.1.2).

Normal form:

4.6 **ddaan meel**
 d- daan meel
 1s. drink water

“I drink water”

Negative:

4.7 **mëndaan meel**
 m- ën- daan meel
 1S.NEG NEG drink water

“I don't drink water”

Subordinate:

4.8 **wi ndaanuḡ meel**
 wi n- daan -uḡ meel
 when 1S.SUB drink SEL water

“When I drank the water...”

With *woli*:

4.9 **woli abi , kafin uguk**
 woli a- bi ka- fin u- guk
 if C1S come 1S.HAB kill C2S chicken

“If he comes, I will kill the chicken”

In the last context the second person singular also has an alternative *k-*. For example:

4.10 **iji klemp na utaakal**
 i- ji k- lemp na u- taakal
 2S HAB 2S.HAB work with C2S evening

“You work in the evenings”

The class 1 plural prefix *ba-* can also be used as a general non-referential pronoun, indicating a vague someone or some people as the agent. This meaning can often be translated by the passive in English.

4.11 **bamoya na başin**
 ba- moy -a na ba- şin
 C1P bury C1S.OBJ with C1P father

“He was buried with his ancestors”

4.12 **Plaak pi bajaan badëtna pa**
 p- laak p- i ba- ja -aḡ ba- dët -na p- a
 C6S stone C6S GEN C1P HAB SEL C1P shut INSTR C4S OBJ

paşë wo pweek
 pa- şë wo p- week
 C6S SEQ be C6S older

“The stone that covered it (the well) was large” or “The stone that they covered it with was large”

- 4.13 **Toma i bajaan badu kbet**
 toma i ba- ja -aŋ ba- du k- bet
 Thomas GEN C1P HAB SEL C1P call C3P.CNT twins
 “Thomas, known as the twin...”

4.2.2 Serial

The *a-* prefix is also used in serial clauses (see section 9.2). In clause chaining the second and subsequent verb clusters (i.e. auxiliaries and main verbs) are inflected with the *a-* prefix regardless of the number, person or class of the subject.

- 4.14 **upi uŋi aneej katoh**
 u- pi u- ŋi a- neej ka- toh
 C2S goat C2S run SER enter C3S house
 “The goat ran and entered the house”

This prefix combines with the imperfective prefix *k-* (see section 4.2.8) if the action is not yet completed.

- 4.15 **dde kadaan**
 d- de k- a- daan
 1S eat IMPERF SER drink
 “I’m eating and then I will drink”

This combination of prefixes can also be found in other verbal constructions where there is an auxiliary. For example:

- 4.16 **dluŋ kanug ulibra uhalu**
 d- luŋ k- a- nug u- libra u- halu
 1S FUT IMPERF SER buy C2S book C2S new
 “I will buy a new book”

However, the combination of IMPERF *k-* with SER *a-* functions differently to the combination of IMPERF *k-* with the Class 1 Singular marker *a-*. In the latter case, IMPERF *k-* follows *a-*. For example, in the subordinate temporal clause:

- 4.17 **wi akyaan Dakar**
 wi a- k- ya -aŋ Dakar
 when C1S IMPERF go SEL Dakar
 “When he was going to Dakar...”

4.2.3 Persistentive prefix

When the persistentive auxiliary is used with a stative verb (see section 8.8.3) then the stative main verb is prefixed with a prenasalisation of the initial consonant of the root:

4.18 **Ahum nwo ʈi bgah**
 a- hum n- wo ʈ- i b- gah
 C1S PSTV PSTV be INT LOC.PROX C5S way
 “He was still on the road.”

4.19 **Ahum nlowi**
 a- hum n- low -i
 C1S PSTV PSTV be_far CMPL
 “He was still far away”

4.2.4 Negative

Negation of the verb is marked both with a morphological change plus a distinctive intonation pattern.

If the verb has completive aspect (see section 4.2.8), the surface segmental marking of the negative is a lengthening of the vowel of the subject prefix (if there is one), followed by a pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the stem. If this consonant is a nasal then it is lengthened. In the glosses in this description the negative morpheme is represented by *ën-*, a possible underlying form.

4.20 **Dama aantee**
 Dama a- ën- de -e
 Dama C1S NEG eat CMPL
 “Dama didn't eat”

Other examples are:

4.21	Affirmative	Negative
a.	<i>ba-juk-i</i> “they learnt”	<i>ba-an-juk-i</i> “they did not learn”
b.	<i>a-keṭ-i</i> “he is dead”	<i>a-an-keṭ-i</i> “he is not dead”
c.	<i>i-ŋal-i</i> “you loved”	<i>i-iŋ-ŋal-i</i> “you did not love”

There are two consonantal prefixes, the 1st person forms. As noted above in section 4.2.1 the 1st person singular has a special negative form *m-*, but the 1st person plural form is *ŋ-* as in affirmative sentences. With these two consonantal prefixes the negative does not cause any lengthening of the prefix.

4.22	Affirmative	Negative
a.	<i>d-juk-i</i> “I learnt”	<i>m-ën-juk-i</i> “I did not learn”
b.	<i>ŋ-ŋal-i</i> “we loved”	<i>ŋ-ëŋ-ŋal-i</i> “we did not love”

If the verb is in the imperfective (see section 4.2.8), then the *k-* prefix is used and that is what is pre-nasalised (/^hk/ but written in the orthography as “nk”)

4.23 **Dama aankde** **umaanan**
 Dama a- ën- k- de maanan
 Dama C1S NEG IMPERF eat rice

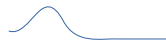
“Dama isn't eating the rice”

Other examples are:

4.24 Affirmative	Negative
a. <i>ba-juk</i> “they learn”	<i>ba-an-k-juk</i> “they don't learn”
b. <i>a-win</i> “he sees”	<i>a-an-k-win</i> “they don't see”
c. <i>i-tok</i> “you spoil”	<i>i-in-k-tok</i> “you don't spoil”
d. <i>d-juk</i> “I learn”	<i>m-ën-k-juk</i> “I don't learning”
e. <i>η-ηal</i> “we love”	<i>η-ëη-k-ηal</i> “we don't love”

All verbal negation has a distinctive rising and falling pitch. If only single verb words are considered then it would appear to be tonal and attached to the negative marking.

4.25



Dama aandee
 Dama a- ën- de -e
 Dama C1S NEG eat CMPL
 “Dama didn't eat”

4.26



Dama aankde **umaanan**
 Dama a- ën- k- de u- maanan
 Dama C1S NEG IMPERF eat C3S rice
 “Dama isn't eating the rice”

However, in relative clauses where the negative morpheme is found on the second verb word, the pitch pattern seems to be found on the initial verb word. For this reason I consider it a phenomenon of intonation rather than tone.

4.27



ñaaŋ anwooŋ **aanktaş**
 ñaaŋ a- n- wo -oŋ a- ën- k- taş
 person C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF follow
 “The person who does not follow”

4.2.5 Selectional suffixes

In certain constructions, for example relative clauses, the first verbal word requires the suffix *-uŋ*, which I have labelled the selectional suffix, glossed SEL. Its presence indicates that the clause containing this verb is selecting a certain item from amongst a possible range. There does not seem to be a similar suffix in related languages. Depending on the construction the item in question might be the subject or the object of the verb. A more detailed discussion of when it is used can be found in chapter 9.

The following example shows its use in a temporal clause.

4.28	wi	ndaanuŋ	meel
	wi	n- daan -uŋ	meel
	when	1S.SUB drink SEL	water

“When I drank the water...”

When *-uŋ* follows a vowel, the /u/ normally assimilates to that vowel quality, with a resulting long vowel.

4.29	a. <i>a-ya</i>	“he goes”	<i>wi a-ya-aŋ</i>	“when he went”
	b. <i>a-bi</i>	“he comes”	<i>wi a-bi-iŋ</i>	“when he came”
	c. <i>a-du</i>	“he calls”	<i>wi a-du-uŋ</i>	“when he calls”
	d. <i>a-de</i>	“he eats”	<i>wi a-de-eŋ</i>	“when he ate”

There are four exceptions to this rule.

Following the auxiliary *şë*, both the final vowel /ë/ and the /u/ become /a/.

4.30	<i>a-şë</i>	“he.SEQ”	<i>wi a-şa-aŋ</i>	“when he.SEQ”
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Following the auxiliary *ji*, both the final vowel /i/ and the /u/ become /a/

4.31	<i>a-ji a-nug</i>	“he.HAB buys”	<i>wi a-ja-aŋ nug</i>	“when he.HAB buys”
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Following *do* “do” an /l/ is inserted before *-uŋ*. When *do* is the auxiliary “INGR” - ingressive - this tends not to happen, though this is a tendency and not an exceptionless rule.

4.32	<i>a-do</i>	“he does”	<i>wi a-dol-uŋ</i>	“when he did”
------	-------------	-----------	--------------------	---------------

Following a verb which has the middle suffix *-a* (see section 4.2.9 below) both the final vowel of the middle suffix /a/ and the /u/ of the selectional suffix become /i/ (example 4.33a). Note that this is different to what happens when the suffix *-a* is 3rd person singular object (example 4.33b)

4.33	a. <i>a-naŋ-a</i>	“he stands up”	<i>wi a-naŋ-i-iŋ</i>	“when he stood up”
	b. <i>a-kob-a</i>	“he hits him”	<i>wi a-kob-ul-uŋ</i>	“when he hit him”

When the verb is followed by the 2PL suffix *-an* the selectional suffix becomes *-aŋ*.

- 4.34 **uko wi bakdolanəŋ**
 u- ko w- i ba- k- dol -an -aŋ
 C2S thing C2S GEN C1P IMPERF do 2P.OBJ SEL

“The thing that they are doing to you”

When the verb stem is reduplicated, then the behaviour of the selectional suffix depends on the context of the verb. In most situations the *-uŋ* suffix is attached to the initial verb stem:

- 4.35 **ul aŋaluŋ ŋal wa**
 ul a- ŋal -uŋ ŋal w- a
 C1S.subj C1S like SEL like C2S OBJ

“It was he who wanted it”

- 4.36 **biki nanuguŋ nug du ñaaŋ**
 bik- i na- nug -uŋ nug d- u ñaaŋ
 C1P GEN 2P buy SEL buy EXT LOC.DIST person

aloŋ nayaant
 a- loŋ na- yaant
 C1S INDEF C1S stranger

“those you had bought from a foreigner”

However, the causative suffix *-an* is added after the copy of the root, and then the selectional *-uŋ* suffix is added after:

- 4.37 **untaam wi bafal falanuŋ**
 u- ntaam w- i ba- fal fal -an -uŋ
 C2S livestock C2S GEN C1P cut cut CAUS SEL

“the meat that they had had cut up”

- 4.38 **ñaat ankbuk bukanuluŋ**
 ñ- aat a- n- k- buk buk- -an -ul -uŋ
 C1S woman SER COREF IMPERF produce C1P CAUS C1S.ALT.OBJ SEL

“the woman who is helping her give birth”

In one reduplication context *-uŋ* becomes *-aŋ*. This is following *wi* “when”, and the reduplication give a sense of immediacy.

- 4.39 **wi awinaŋ win baka**
 wi a- win -aŋ win baka
 when C1S see SEL see C2P.OBJ

“As soon as he saw them...”

- 4.40 **wi bapənaŋ pən ti**
 wi ba- pən -aŋ pən t- i
 when C1P go_out SEL go_out INT LOC.PROX

“As soon as they had left from there”

In this context when the stem ends with the middle suffix *-a*, there is no assimilation (marked orthographically with an apostrophe), as there would be with *-uŋ*, but the middle suffix still changes to *-i* before it.

4.41 **Wi baheli'aŋ hela**
 wi ba- hel -i -'aŋ hel -a
 when C1P disembark MID SEL disembark MID

“As soon as they got out the boat...”

As noted in section 4.2.1 above the 1st person singular prefix has the form *N-* when used in a word with the selectional suffix.

There is a rarer selectional suffix *-i*, which seems in current language to be synonymous with *-uŋ* but which in the past probably had some difference in meaning. The *-i* and *-uŋ* suffixes in this context were possibly derived from the *-i* and *-uŋ* demonstrative roots (see section 6.1.5 Demonstratives). Karlik (1972, 111) records a distinction between *-i* and *-uŋ* in Manjaku, where he describes *-uŋ* as emphatic.

4.2.6 Co-reference prefix

In relative constructions (for more detailed discussion see section 9.4.3), where the subject of relative clause is also in a grammatical relation with the main verb, the first verb word in the relative clause is marked with a prefix. This prefix is the pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the stem, and, if present, the pre-nasalisation of the imperfective marker *k-* (see section 4.2.8 Aspectual affixes). There is no other context where this co-reference marker is found. In examples 4.42 and 4.43 the subject of the relative clause is the object in the matrix clause. In example 4.44 the subject of the relative clause is also the subject in the matrix clause.

4.42 **dwin nalët ambomanuŋ blaañ**
 d- win na- lët a- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF make SEL C6S wrap

“I saw the tailor who made the dress”

4.43 **dwin nalët ankmbomanuŋ**
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uŋ
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL

blaañ

b- laañ

C6S wrap

“I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

4.44 **ñaaj ankndeej pnam**
 ñaaj a- n- k- n- de -ej p- nam
 person C1S COREF IMPERF COREF eat SEL C4S salt
aanhil kawo aankmaak
 a- ën- hil k- a- wo a- ën- k- maak
 C1S NEG be_able IMPERF SER be C1S NEG IMPERF be_ill
 “Someone who eats salt will not get ill”

For comparison 4.45 shows an example where the subject of the relative clause (“they” indicated by the 3P prefix *ba-*) is not in grammatical relation with the main verb *ɲal* “like”, and so there is no co-reference prefix.

4.45 **Aɲal iko yi bakbiinj kanug**
 a- ɲal i- ko y- i ba- k- bi -inj k- a- nug
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF FUT SEL IMPERF SER buy
 “She likes the things that they are going to buy”

4.2.7 Object Suffixes

4.2.7.1 Object Suffixes on Main Verbs

For most human objects the pronominal form is a verbal suffix. These are shown below.

Person	Pronoun	Example	
Singular			
1 st	- <i>in</i> ²	<i>akobin</i>	He hit me
2 nd	- <i>u</i>	<i>akobu</i>	He hit you (sg)
Class 1	- <i>a</i>	<i>akoba</i>	He hit him/her
Plural			
1 st (excl)	- <i>un</i>	<i>akobun</i>	He hit us
2 nd	- <i>an</i>	<i>akoban</i>	He hit you (pl)

Table 4.3: Object pronominal suffixes

The 1st plural inclusive pronoun, the class 1 plural pronoun, and all pronouns referring to non-human classes are separate words, and have been discussed in section 3.5. The syntax of objects will be discussed in section 7.1.1.

4.46 **Fukma akob Naala**
 tukma a- kob Naala
 Thukma C1S hit Nala
 “Thukma hits Naala”

2 Some people pronounce this pronoun *ën*.

4.47 **Fukma akoba**

ʔukma a- kob -a
 Thukma C1S hit C1S.OBJ

“Thukma hits her”

4.48 **Fukma akobun**

ʔukma a- kob -un
 Thukma C1S hit 1P.OBJ

“Thukma hits us”

4.2.7.2 Object Suffixes on Verbs with the Selectional Suffix

When the selectional suffix *-uj* is present, most object suffixes have a different form, and one becomes an independent word.

Person	Suffix	Example	
singular			
1 st	<i>aan</i>	<i>ankob-aan-uj</i>	who hit me
2 nd	<i>i</i>	<i>ankob-i-ij</i>	who hit you (sg)
Class 1	<i>ul</i>	<i>ankob-ul-uj</i>	who hit him/her
plural			
2 nd	<i>an</i>	<i>ankob-an-aj</i>	who hit you (pl)

Table 4.4: Object suffixes used with the selectional suffix

The 1st plural exclusive suffix becomes an independent word when the selectional suffix is used. This is shown in example 4.49. It is not a suffix as it comes after the selectional suffix which always marks the end of the verbal word.

4.49 **wi akobuj un**

wi a- kob -uj un
 when C1S hit SEL 1P.OBJ

“When he hit us, ...”

As described in section 4.2.5 above the class 1 singular object suffix and the middle voice suffix (which are both *-a* in main verbs) have a completely different form with the selectional suffix.

- 4.50 a. *a-naʔ-a* “he stands up” *wi a-naʔ-i-ij* “when he stood up”
 b. *a-kob-a* “he hits him” *wi a-kob-ul-uj* “when he hit him”

However, the change in the 2nd person singular from *-u* to *-i* with the selectional suffix results in a form that is identical to the allomorph of the middle voice suffix with the selectional suffix.

- 4.51 a. *a-naŋ-a* “he stands up” *wi a-naŋ-i-iŋ* “when he stood up”
 b. *a-kob-u* “he hits you” *wi a-kob-i-iŋ* “when he hit you”

4.2.8 Aspectual affixes

There are only two affixes that are related to tense and aspect. One of them, the prefix *k-* indicates imperfective. The opposite, perfective, is not marked morphologically. In some contexts the distinction between imperfective and perfective is not marked at all. This distinction (usually called *accompli/inaccompli* in French descriptions) is common in Atlantic languages. See for example (Soukka 2000; Segerer 2000; Bassene 2017). The other, the suffix *-i* (and its allomorphs), marks completive. Note that though *k-* and *-i* cannot co-occur, they are also not in complementary distribution.

All other tense and aspect distinctions are made by means of auxiliaries.

In this section I will describe the morphology of the affixes *k-* and *-i*; their meaning and use will be described in more detail along with the tense and aspect auxiliaries in section 8.

4.2.8.1 Imperfective

In neutral sentences, in the affirmative the imperfective/perfective distinction is unmarked.

- 4.52
 a. *a-daan* “he drinks/is drinking”
 b. *ba-poŋ* “they walk/are walking”

In the negative, the imperfective is marked with the prefix *k-*, but the perfective is unmarked.

- 4.53
 a. *a-an-k-daan* “he's not drinking” or “he will not drink”
 b. *a-an-daan* “he didn't drink”
 c. *ba-an-k-win* “they are not seeing” or “they will not see”
 d. *ba-an-win* “they didn't see”

In sentences where the verb requires a selectional suffix the imperfective is marked in the affirmative, and the perfective is not marked.

- 4.54 **Dwin nalët ankmbomanuŋ blaañ**
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ
 1s see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL C6S wrap
 “I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

- 4.55 **Dwin** **nalët** **ambomanuŋ** **blaañ**
 d- win na- lët a- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF make SEL C6S wrap
 “I saw the tailor who made the dress”

The negative with a selectional suffix requires different syntax, but again it is the imperfective that is marked:

- 4.56 **Ñiintŋ** **anwoonŋ** **aankbi**
 ñ- iintŋ a- n- wo -oŋ a- an- k- bi
 C2S man C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF come
amaaki
 a- maak -i
 C1S be_ill CMPL
 “The man who's not coming is ill”

The imperfective often co-occurs with the serial prefix *a-*, for example with future auxiliaries:

- 4.57 **Aluŋ** **kaniw** **katoh**
 a- luŋ k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

There is also a *k-* prefix used to negate the imperative but I analyse this as a separate morpheme.

4.2.8.2 Completive

Completive is marked with suffix *-i*. It is typically used with change of state verb stems, where it causes the state to be construed as current.

- 4.58 *a-dëm* “he is getting bigger” *a-dëm-i* “he is big”

It can also be used with action verbs in which the whole action is in view and is often assumed to be complete, and therefore in the past.

- 4.59 *a-daan* “he drinks” *a-daan-i* “he drank”

The completive *-i* makes the verb syntactically intransitive.

- 4.60 **Awula** **poot** **kë** **adaani**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL
 “She gave him wine and he drank”

- 4.61 * **Awula** **poot** **kë** **adaani** **pa**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i p- a
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL C4S OBJ
 “She gave him wine and he drank it”

Because of this the completive *-i* suffix never co-occurs or combines with object suffixes like *-u* (2s) or *-a* (c1s). It can combine with the middle voice – see example 4.74 below.

This seems to correspond with some uses of the perfective in other Atlantic languages. In the examples below similar morphemes are underlined:

4.62 Noon (Soukka 2000, 40:181)

Noh-ii tam-in

sun-DEF hot-PERF

“The sun is hot”

In Jola languages there is an *-e* suffix which gives a perfective meaning, but also seems to be related to constituent focus.

4.63 Bandial (Bassène 2007)

Atejo na-bbaj-e e-súg-ol

Atejo s3s-retourner-TAM CL3-village-PSS3s

“Atejo has returned to his village.”

4.64 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)

ñaa a-nifaan-au na-fel-e e-saa-ay

alors C1-vieux-DEF il.DEV-détacher-EN C3-mouton-DEF

“And so the old man untied the sheep.”

Hopkins also notes a *-i* derivational marker to which he gives the meaning “characterised by” but which also seems to have a function closer to the *-i* suffix in Mankanya.

4.65 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)

<i>moor</i>	“to sleep”	<i>móór-í</i>	“to be asleep”
<i>bol</i>	“to grill”	<i>ból-í</i>	“to be hot”

4.66 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)

jaat b-ala-ab bú-ból-í-ból-í m-áamak

aujourd'hui C5-soleil-DEF C5-brûler-NA-RDP c10-beaucoup

“It is very hot today.”

Additionally he notes that this suffix makes the verb intransitive, which, as noted above, also happens with the Mankanya *-i* suffix.

The completive *-i* can be used in the negative:

4.67

a. <i>a-an-daan-i</i>	“he didn't drink”
b. <i>ba-an-dēm-i</i>	“they didn't grow”

When the completive *-i* combines with a vowel at the end of a verb stem, then assimilation occurs with a resulting long vowel.

4.68

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| a. <i>ade</i> | “he eats” | <i>adee</i> | “he ate” |
| b. <i>baya</i> | “they go” | <i>bayaa</i> | “they went” |

A small number of verbs have stems that end with an *i* which is not the completive suffix:

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| 4.69 a. <i>awooni</i> | “he cries” |
| b. <i>atepi</i> | “he sows” |
| c. <i>d̥iini</i> | “I speak” |
| d. <i>ɲ̥taafi</i> | “we dream” |

With these words the completive suffix *-i* causes a lengthening of the final *i* of the stem.

- 4.70 **Nji kak d̥taafii**
 nji kak d- taafi -i
 1S again 1S dream CMPL
 “I also dreamt”

4.2.9 Middle voice

Verbs can be marked to indicate a middle voice, where the subject has some elements of being both the agent and the patient. In verbs that are not terminated by the selective suffix *-uŋ* the middle voice is marked by the suffix *-a*. This is identical in form to the class 1 singular object suffix which means some verbal words are ambiguous. However, when verbs end in *-uŋ* e.g. in relative clauses, the two morphemes have different forms (as noted in section 4.2.7.2).

The middle voice suffix is used for two functions, reflexivity, where the subject is the agent and the patient, and true middle voice, where the agent of the verb is not specified.

When the middle voice is used on its own there is no syntactic object.

Here are some examples that need to be translated by a reflexive in English:

4.71

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. <i>d̥ñow bapoŋ</i> | “I wash the children” | <i>d̥ñow-a</i> | “I wash myself” |
| b. <i>anaŋ</i> | “he is standing” | <i>anaŋ-a</i> | “he stands up” |
| c. <i>apuunk ñiiniŋ</i> | “he shaves the man” | <i>apuunk-a</i> | “he shaves himself” |
| d. <i>ajëmëŝ bdo</i> | “he extinguishes the fire” | <i>bdo bajëmŝ-a</i> | “the fire extinguishes itself” |

A passive type meaning is achieved by combining the middle voice suffix *-a* with the benefactive suffix *-ar*.

4.72

- | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| a. <i>dtib pmul</i> | “I cut the wood” | <i>dtib-ar-a</i> | “I was cut” |
| b. <i>pdum</i> | “to bite” | <i>ddum-ar-a</i> | “I was bitten” |

In context the agent is not known and it is not possible to specify the agent in a prepositional phrase, or by other syntactic means. However, this combination of *-ar* and *-a* does allow an object (*-a* reduces the valence but *-ar* increases it) and with this it is possible to specify a theme. For example:

4.73

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| <i>awoh imiṣa</i> | “he put on a shirt” | (active) |
| <i>awohara imiṣa</i> | “he was wearing a shirt” | (passive) |

Note that in some cases it is possible to add the completive suffix *-i*. When this occurs the two suffixes combine with the result of *-aa*. For example:

4.74

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| a. <i>bdoo bajēmṣa</i> | “the fire is extinguishing itself” |
| <i>bdoo bajēmēṣaa</i> | “the fire has extinguished itself”
(or the fire has been extinguished) |
| b. <i>meel manwala</i> | “the water is receding”
(lit. “the water is descending itself”) |
| <i>meel manwalaa</i> | “the water has gone down” |

4.2.10 Imperative

The affirmative imperative is formed by adding a suffix of the form *-an* or *-ani*. The 2nd person singular has no subject prefix, whereas the 2nd person plural has the normal subject prefix used in declarative verbs.

For example with the verb *poṣ* “walk”:

4.75

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| a. <i>poṣ-an</i> | “walk (2S)!” |
| b. <i>na-poṣ-an</i> | “walk (2P)!” |

With a few frequent monosyllabic roots, the form *-ani* (or an allomorph) is used when the imperative verb is used in isolation. Compare the isolated form in example 4.76a with example 4.76c.

4.76

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| a. <i>ya-ani</i> | “Go!” |
| b. <i>bi-ini</i> | “Come!” |
| c. <i>ya-an du batani</i> | “Go to the herd!” |

One verb behaves irregularly for the imperative, *jej* “take”. It doesn’t take the imperative suffix, and instead has a reduced root *nje* in the singular and *je* in the plural.

4.77

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| a. <i>nje btepi</i> | “Take the seed!” |
| b. <i>na-je btepi</i> | “Take(2p) the seed” |

When a pronominal object suffix is used, it combines with the imperative in different ways.

The 1st person singular *-in* combines with the *-an* to become *-aan*.

4.78 *na-tiink-aan* “Listen to me!”

The 1st person plural *-un* replaces the *-an*.

4.79 *na-tiink-un* “Listen to us!”

The class 1 singular *-a* is added after the *-an*.

4.80 *na-tiink-an-a* “Listen to him!”

The causative *-an* combines with the imperative *-an* to become *-aan*. This could lead to word forms that are ambiguous between causative and first person singular object.

4.81 *na-jinṭ-aan* “Make clean!”

There are two ways of creating a negative imperative, one morphological, shown here, and one analytical, shown in section 7.2.1. To create a negative imperative morphologically, the prefix *k-* is added to the stem.

4.82

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| a. <i>k-poṣ</i> | “don't walk! (2s)” |
| b. <i>na-k-poṣ-an</i> | “don't walk! (2p)” |

4.3 Derivation

All the verbal affixes which are derivational are suffixes.

Here is a list of the derivational suffixes that can be attached to verb stems. (allomorphs are given in brackets). Note that this is a list of the forms of the affixes. The following sections will be organised functionally, so multi-functional forms will be discussed in several sections. Equally, different forms but with the same function will be grouped together.

-al	stem category change (CHG) (section 4.3.1)
-an	causative (CAUS) (section 4.3.2)
-ar (-ir, -ad)	reciprocal (RCP) (section 4.3.3)
-ar (-ir, -ad)	benefactive (BEN) (section 4.3.4)
-ëb	extensive (EXT) (section 4.3.6)
-ënt	extensive (EXT) (section 4.3.6)
-ëş	causative (CAUS) (section 4.3.2)
	separative (SEP) (section 4.3.5)
-na	instrumental (INST)(section 4.3.7)

Some of the suffixes can be combined (sometimes with the deletion of an unstressed vowel). In the examples below * in the gloss indicates the meaning of the root is unknown because the unmodified root is unattested

<i>a-kan-ş-a</i>	3S-adhere-SEP-MID	“he takes off”
<i>a-jëm-ş-an</i>	3S-cool-SEP-CAUS	“he extinguishes”
<i>a-tib-ar-a</i>	3S-cut-BEN-MID	“he cuts himself”
<i>a-duw-an-a</i>	3S-call-CAUS-MID	“he is called”
<i>a-bom-and-ar</i>	3S-*.CAUS-BEN	“he plans”
<i>a-yook-ar-an</i>	3S-air-BEN-CAUS	“it takes off”
<i>a-pat-ş-ar</i>	3S-differ-CAUS-BEN	“he divides amongst”
<i>a-num-ënt-an</i>	3S-*.EXT-CAUS	“he offers to share”
<i>a-hoţ-al-ëş</i>	3S-leg-CHG-CAUS	“he adds”
<i>a-ya-ar-ad</i>	3S-go-DIR-BEN	“he goes to get someone”
<i>a-ţenk-ëb-ër</i>	3S-help-EXT-BEN	“he has the means”

4.3.1 Stem Category Change (-al)

The suffix *-al* changes a verbal stem into a nominal one. It is not very productive:

4.83	root	verb	noun or adjective
a.	<i>şub</i> “rain”	<i>u-şub</i> “it's raining”	<i>u-şub-al</i> “rain”
b.	<i>jeenk</i> “redden”	<i>p-jeenk</i> “to redden”	<i>u-jeenk-al</i> “red”
c.	<i>maak</i> “get ill”	<i>a-maak</i> “he's getting ill”	<i>na-maak-al</i> “invalid”

This suffix can also be used with nominal roots to produce a verbal stem, or with a verbal root without an apparent change of category. This only seems to happen in conjunction with other derivative morphemes, for example the causative *-ëş* (which is also not very productive). This sometimes results in a major change of meaning. This might indicate that the *-al* morpheme is not a recent innovation. Alternatively it might indicate that it was once not category changing and that the causative *-ëş* was used as verbalizer.

4.84	root	noun or adjective	verb
a.	<i>hoţ</i> “leg”	<i>ka-hoţ</i> “leg”	<i>a-hoţ-al-ëş</i> “he adds”
b.	<i>tum</i> “full”	<i>ka-tum-i</i> “full”	<i>u-tum-al-ëş</i> “it is filled up”

4.3.2 Causative (-an, -ëş)

The addition of the suffix *-an* gives a causative sense to the derived verb. For example:

4.85

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| a. <i>d-pën</i> “I’m leaving” | <i>d-pën-an</i> | <i>bapoç</i> | “I’m making the children leave” |
| b. <i>p-yiik</i> “to be hot” | <i>a-yiik-an</i> | <i>meel</i> | “he heats up the water” |
| c. <i>a-juk</i> “he’s learning” | <i>a-juk-an</i> | | “he’s teaching” |

The suffix *-ëş* (which is less productive than the suffix *-an*) also gives a causative sense, and is never found in combination with the *-an* causative.

4.86

- | | | | |
|---|--|------------------|----------------------------|
| a. <i>p-haab</i> “to leave ones mouth open” | | | |
| | | <i>p-haab-ëş</i> | “to open (e.g. a door)” |
| b. <i>p-yiik</i> “to be hot” | | <i>p-yiik-ëş</i> | “to heat up (e.g. a meal)” |
| c. <i>p-gar</i> “to separate oneself” | | <i>p-gar-ëş</i> | “to separate” |

Neither suffix is repeatable to create a double causative. An idea like “make them learn” would have to be expressed analytically using *do* “do” (see section 9.4.1.3 Manipulatives).

Note a verb with a 2nd person plural prefix and a causative ending *-an* is an identical form to a 2nd person plural imperative.

4.87

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| a. <i>na-juk-an</i> | “2P-learn-CAUS” | “You are teaching” |
| a. <i>na-juk-an</i> | “2P-learn-IMP” | “Learn!” |

For the combination of the causative *-an* and the imperative *-an* see example 4.81 above.

4.3.3 Reciprocal (-ar, -ir, -ad)

The addition of the suffix *-ar* (or its allomorphs *-ir* and *-ad*) can give a reciprocal meaning to the derived verb. That is, the subject must be plural (and can be more than just two individuals), and plural subject is both the agent of the verb and the undergoer. I have not found an example of the use of this suffix to give a chain meaning (e.g. A follows B follows C).

The allomorph *-ad* occurs when the verb stem ends in a liquid consonant, i.e. /l/ or /r/ (see examples 4.88 d and e)

The allomorph *-ir* seems only to occur after the verb *yit* “meet”.

4.88

a. <i>p-fiŋ</i>	“to kill”	<i>p-fiŋ-ar</i>	“to kill one another”
b. <i>p-laŋ</i>	“to contradict”	<i>p-laŋ-ar</i>	“to discuss”
			(Lit “to contradict one another”)
c. <i>p-yit</i>	“to meet”	<i>p-yiti-ir</i>	“to meet one another”
d. <i>p-ŋal</i>	“to love”	<i>p-ŋal-ad</i>	“love one another”
e. <i>p-şoor</i>	“to hate”	<i>p-şoor-ad</i>	“hate one another”

Note that with some verbs the suffix *-ar* can also have a benefactive meaning. See the examples in the next section.

The reciprocal *-ar* suffix reduces the syntactic valence. For example:

4.89

a. <i>Şompi aŋal Naala</i>	“Shompi loves Naala”
<i>Şompi na Naala aŋalad</i>	“Shompi and Naala love one another”
b. <i>nawulan Naala mboş</i>	“Greet Naala” (lit. give Naala the ground)
<i>nawuladan mboş</i>	“Greet one another”

4.3.4 Benefactive (-ar, -ir, -ad)

A benefactive meaning can be derived by the addition of the suffix *-ar* (or its allomorphs *-ir* and *-ad*). Like the reflexive, the allomorph *-ad* occurs when the verb stem ends in a liquid consonant, i.e. /l/ or /r/. The allomorph *-ir* occurs if the stem ends in *i* (see example 4.98b).

4.90

a. <i>p-duk</i>	“to leave”	<i>p-duk-ar</i>	“to leave for someone”
b. <i>p-nug</i>	“to buy”	<i>p-nug-ar</i>	“to buy for someone”
c. <i>p-lemp</i>	“to work”	<i>p-lemp-ar</i>	“to work for someone”
d. <i>p-fiŋ</i>	“to kill”	<i>p-fiŋ-ar</i>	“to kill for someone”

The benefactive *-ar* suffix increases the syntactic valence. For example:

4.91 **Şompi alemp**

Şompi a- lemp
Shompi C1S work

“Shompi works”

4.92 **Şompi alempar Naala**

Şompi a- lemp -ar Naala
Shompi C1S work BEN Nala

“Shompi works for Naala”

4.93 **Naala abuk napoṭ ñiint**
 Naala a- buk na- poṭ ñ- iint
 Nala C1S produce C1S child C1S male
 “Naala gave birth to a son”

4.94 **Naala abukar Şompi napoṭ ñiint**
 Naala a- buk -ar Şompi na- poṭ ñ- iint
 Nala C1AS produce BEN Shompi C1S child C1S male
 “Naala bore Shompi a son”

As noted in the previous section *-ar* can mean either reciprocal or benefactive. A benefactive use requires at least one object, and increases the syntactic valence. A reciprocal use must have a plural subject and reduces the syntactic valence. For example with *fiŋ* “kill”:

4.95 **Mankañ afiŋ upi**
 mankañ a- fiŋ u- pi
 Mankanya C1S kill C2S goat
 “Mankanya killed a goat”

4.96 **Mankañ afiŋar upi Dama**
 mankañ a- fiŋ -ar u- pi Dama
 Mankanya C1S kill BEN C2S goat Dama
 “Mankanya killed a goat for Dama”

4.97 **bantohi biki Bula bafiŋar**
 ba- ntohi bik- i Bula ba- fiŋ -ar
 C1P elder C1P GEN Bula C1P kill RCP
 “The elders of Bula were killing each other”

The benefactive can also be used with some verbs of motion with an object to give a directional sense towards the object, and often with a nuance of purpose.

4.98 a. *p-poṣ* “to walk” *p-poṣ-ar* “to walk towards”
 b. *p-bi* “to come” *p-bi-ir* “to come towards”

For example:

4.99 **uji uyaar ŋntaayi paaj na uloŋ**
 u- ji u- ya -ar ŋ- ntaayi paaj na u- loŋ
 C2S HAB C2S go BEN C2P demon six and C2S INDEF
ŋanwuṭuŋ apel wa
 ŋa- n- wuṭ -uŋ a- pel w- a
 C2P COREF be_ugly SEL SER be_more C2S OBJ
 “It (a spirit) goes to seven others who are worse than it”

4.100	batënt	naan	batëb	babiirën		pñoot
	ba- tënt	naan	ba- tëb	ba- bi	-ir -ën	p- ñoot
	C1P peer	1S.GEN	C1P two	C1P come	BEN 1S.OBJ	INF take

ḅtuh

b- tuh

C5S fishing

“Two of my peers came to me to take me fishing”

4.3.5 Separative (-ëş)

The addition of the suffix *-ëş* seems to give an inverted sense to the derived verb. However, the sense tends to be of separation, uncovering, opening, rather than a spread of senses (e.g. including covering, closing etc), so I will label it separative, rather than inersive.

4.101

a.	<i>d-gur u-meeş</i>	“I cover the table”	<i>d-gur-ëş u-meeş</i>	“I uncover the table”
b.	<i>p-dët</i>	“to close”	<i>p-dët-ëş</i>	“to open”
c.	<i>p-jij</i>	“to embark”	<i>p-jij-ëş</i>	“to disembark”
d.	<i>p-moy</i>	“bury”	<i>p-moy-ëş</i>	“dig up”

There are a number of verbs with this suffix where the root no longer exists on its own.

4.102

a.	<i>p-fat-ëş</i>	“undo”	<i>*pfat</i>
b.	<i>p-fën-ëş</i>	“unknot”	<i>*pfën</i>
c.	<i>p-wuñ-ëş</i>	“uncover, mix”	<i>*pwuñ</i>

With certain other words where the separative is used, the “unseparated” sense is not the root, but rather a differently derived stem.

4.103

a.	<i>p-woh-ëş</i>	“to undress”	<i>p-woh-ar-a</i>	“to dress”
b.	<i>p-nig-ëş</i>	“to open”	<i>p-tuh</i>	“to close”
		(also <i>p-nig-an</i>	“to lock”)

Example 4.103 b above seems to indicate a now lost root *nig* “close”, where “to lock” *p-nig-an* is INF-close-CAUS.

4.3.6 Extensive (-ënt, -ëb)

The suffix *-ënt* seems to widen the meaning of the derived verb, maybe be based on the idea of doing the action for a prolonged amount of time, or repeatedly.

4.104

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| a. <i>p-haab</i> | “to leave the mouth open” | <i>p-haab-ën̄t</i> | “to yawn” |
| b. <i>p-jej</i> | “to take” | <i>p-jej-ën̄t</i> | “to gather” |
| c. <i>p-lam</i> | “to swim” | <i>p-lam-ën̄t</i> | “to swim for pleasure” |
| d. <i>p-ya</i> | “to go” | <i>p-ya-an̄t</i> | “to travel” |

Note that following a vowel, the *ë* in the suffix changes its quality to match.

There are some verbs which have the *-ën̄t* suffix, but where the root is no longer used verbally without derivation. However, the resulting derived forms are compatible with the sense described above; sleeping is something that occurs over a prolonged period of time and breathing is something that occurs repeatedly.

4.105

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| a. <i>a-ŋoy-ën̄t</i> | “he sleeps” | <i>*a-ŋoy</i> | but <i>b-ŋoy</i> | “sleep (noun)” |
| b. <i>a-hef-ën̄t</i> | “he breathes” | <i>*a-hef</i> | but <i>u-hef-ën̄t</i> | “breath(noun)” |

The suffix *-ëb* seems to have the same meaning but it is rare.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 4.106 a. <i>p-jat</i> | “to drip” | <i>p-jat-ëb</i> | “to rain lightly” |
| | | | (i.e. “to drip repeatedly”) |

There is at least one verb that uses the *-ëb* suffix where the underived root is no longer used at all:

4.107

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| a. <i>p-funt-ëb</i> | “to whistle” | <i>*pfunt</i> |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|

4.3.7 Instrumental (-na)

The suffix *-na* (or *-.na* when the verb stem terminates with a vowel) gives an instrumental sense. That is to say the object following is now construed as the instrument of the action

4.108

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. <i>p-liik</i> | “to draw water” | <i>p-liik-na u-baldu</i> | “to draw water with a bucket” |
| b. <i>p-de</i> | “to eat” | <i>a-de-ena kataam</i> | “he eats with a spoon” |

Note that this suffix is not identical to the word *na* “with”. It is possible to use *na* with the instrumental *-na* in the same sentence. For example:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| 4.109 | ddeena | na | kataam |
| | d- de -ena | na | ka- taam |
| | 1s eat INSTR | with | C3S spoon |
- “I eat with a spoon”

With certain verbs of motion the suffix *-na* gives a sense of “through”:

4.110

- a. *p-ṭëp* “to pass” *a-ṭëp-na Tilen* “he went through Tilen”
 b. *p-neej* “to enter” *a-neej-na p-lëman* “he entered through the door”

4.3.8 Reduplication

Verbal stems can be completely reduplicated to the right, to alter the meaning in various ways. The reduplicated stem is written separately in the official orthography, in contrast to other languages in the BAK family e.g. Jola-Fonyi. Mankanya has no vowel harmony or tone to help determine phonological word boundaries and other evidence is ambiguous (see below).

Reduplication often adds a sense of continuity.

- 4.111 **dlemp lemp na iñen yi naan**
 d- lemp lemp na i- ñen y- i naan
 1S work work with C3P hand C3P GEN 1S.GEN

“I was working (all the time) with my hands”

Or it can give sense of completeness.

- 4.112 **ulemp wi nji nlempuŋ lemp**
 u- lemp w- i nji n- lemp -uŋ lemp
 C2S work C2S GEN 1S 1S.SUB work SEL work

pa an
 pa an
 in_order_to 2P.OBJ

“The work that I put so much effort into for you” Lit “the work that I worked for you”

It is also often found combined with the auxiliary *ba* “terminative”, to give a combined sense of having just done something (see section 8.8.7).

- 4.113 **Dba niim niim**
 d- ba niim niim
 1S TMTV marry marry

“I just got married”

- 4.114 **Abuk naan abaa keṭ keṭ**
 a- buk naan a- baa keṭ keṭ
 C1AS child 1S.GEN C1S TMTV die die

“My child has just died”

Reduplication is also found with the auxiliary *bi* “past” with a sense of immediacy.

4.115 **pmaak pabi pën pën ti a**
 p- maak pa- bi pën pën t- i a
 C4S illness C4S PST go_out go_out INT LOC.PROX OBJ
 “The illness immediately left him”

4.116 **pñaak pabi tañan tañan ptula**
 p- ñaak pa- bi tañ -an tañ -an p- tul -a
 C4S blood C4S PST stop CAUS stop CAUS INF pour_out MID
 “The blood immediately stopped flowing”

It can also be found with the combination of auxiliaries *do* “ingressive” and *bi* “past” (see section 8.10 Complex Auxiliary Verb Constructions) to again emphasise the completeness of an event that has already happened.

4.117 **Unuur udo bi yob yob**
 u- nuur u- do bi yob yob
 C2S day C2S INGR PST be_night-time be_night-time
 “The day had already become completely night”

4.118 **bado bi yeenk yeenk baluk bi**
 ba- do bi yeenk yeenk ba- luk b- i
 C1P INGR PST receive receive C5S payment C5S GEN

baka

baka

C1P.OBJ

“They have already received completely their reward”

4.119 **ado bi dinan dinan**
 a- do bi dinan dinan
 C1S INGR PST agree agree

“They have already agreed”

The whole stem gets repeated, but without any inflectional affixes. In example 4.120 *lut* “jump” is reduplicated, but is a bare stem anyway (as a perfective after the auxiliary *bi* “past”). *poş* “walk” is marked as imperfective with *k-* (and consequently *a-* “SER”) on the initial stem, but the prefixes are not reduplicated with the copy.

4.120 **Kë abi lut lut anaṭ abi**
 kë a- bi lut lut a- naṭ a- bi
 DS C1S PST jump jump SER stand SER PST

kapoş poş
 k- a- poş poş
 IMPERF SER walk walk

“He immediately jumped upright and started walking”

The selective suffix *-uŋ* is also not repeated (also see example 4.112 above)

- 4.121 **pn̄tuk** **pankd̄emuŋ** **d̄em**
 p- ntuk p- a- n- k- d̄em -uŋ d̄em
 C4S group C4S SER COREF IMPERF grow SEL grow
 “The crowd was continually growing”

Similarly, the imperative suffix *-an* is only attached to the main stem.

- 4.122 **Naŋ̄epan** **ŋ̄ep**
 na- ŋ̄ep -an ŋ̄ep
 2P pass IMP pass
 “Make way!”

In contrast derivational affixes are reduplicated. In example 4.123 the benefactive suffix *-ar* is reduplicated, and in 4.124 it is the causative suffix *-an*.

- 4.123 **balempar** **lempar** **naŋ̄ih**
 ba- lemp -ar lemp -ar na- ŋ̄ih
 C1P work BEN work BEN C1S chief
 “They continually serve the chief (in whatever they are doing)”

- 4.124 **aŋ̄e** **bi** **kaŋ̄aran** **ŋ̄aran**
 a- ŋ̄e bi k- a- ŋ̄ar -an ŋ̄ar -an
 SER SEQ PST IMPERF SER be_fast CAUS be_fast CAUS

- unuur** **ujinŋ̄**
 u- nuur u- jinŋ̄
 C2S day C2S clean
 “They waited desperately for dawn” (Lit: “They caused dawn to be fast”)

Object suffixes are attached to the main stem, not the copy.

- 4.125 **dkooŋ̄u** **kooŋ̄**
 d- kooŋ̄ -u kooŋ̄
 1S petition 2S.OBJ petition
 “I urge you”

- 4.126 **d̄ñehanu** **ñehan**
 d- ñehan -u ñehan
 1S request 2S.OBJ request
 “I plead with you”

- 4.127 **ado** **bi** **datan** **dat**
 a- do bi dat -an dat
 C1S INGR PST choose 2P.OBJ choose
 “He has already chosen you (pl)”

The fact that inflectional suffixes do not get reduplicated but derivational ones do is evidence that the copy is separate word.

4.128 **ado** **bi** **dat** **dat** **baka**
 a- do bi dat dat baka
 C1S INGR PST choose choose C2P.OBJ
“He has already chosen them”

Chapter 5 - Infinitives and Participles

In this short chapter I describe two word forms that fall between nouns and verbs. Infinitives and participles both have some verbal features and some nominal features, but infinitives are slightly more verbal, and participles are slightly more nominal.

5.1 Infinitives

The prefix *p-* is the mark of the infinitive form of the verb, and cannot co-occur with a subject prefix. This prefix is identical in form to that used on class 4 and class 6 nouns.

An infinite verb on its own appears to act exactly like a singular noun of class 4 or class 6 but as there is no plural to distinguish it, I will arbitrarily choose class 4. It can appear as a subject or object of another verb, and when a subject, the agreement prefix is *pa-*. For example:

5.1 **phomp paniink ubeeka b̄ti**
 p- homp pa- niink u- beeka b̄ti
 INF chatter C4S spread C2S town all

“The gossip spread throughout the town”

Infinitives can occur in a genitive phrases (see section 7.3.4.2)

5.2 **pkeṭ pi anin**
 p- keṭ p- i a- nin
 C4S death C4S GEN C1AS mother

“my mother's death”

5.3 **bko bi pme bnuura na buṭaan**
 b- ko b- i p- me b- nuura na b- uṭaan
 c7s object c7s GEN INF know C5S goodness and C5S evil

“the tree of knowing good and evil”

An infinite verb cannot take the completive suffix *-i* or the imperfective prefix *k-*. Neither does it have a negative form (see section 4.2.4). If an infinite verb needs to be negative then the infinitive prefix can be used with

a negative auxiliary like *wut* (as in example 5.4). Similarly it can be used with other auxiliaries for tense and aspect distinctions (example 5.5).

5.4 **uko unnuuriij uwo pwut**
 u- ko u- n- nuur -i -ij u- wo p- wut
 C2S thing C2S COREF be.good MID SEL C2S be INF leave

kade uyemaṭ
 k- a- de u- yemaṭ
 IMPERF SER eat C2S meat

“It is good to not eat meat” (Lit “The thing that is good is to leave eating meat”)

5.5 **bahepar pluṅ katiinka byaaṣ**
 ba- hepar p- luṅ k- a- tiink -a b- yaaṣ
 C1P ask INF FUT IMPERF SER hear C1S.OBJ C5S time

bloṅ

b- loṅ

C5S INDEF

“They asked to hear him another time.”

5.6 **bajukan baat pdo kalemp**
 ba- jukan b- aaṭ p- do k- a- lemp
 C1P teach C1P woman INF INGR IMPERF SER work

ṭi itoh yi baka
 ṭ- i i- toh y- i baka
 INT LOC.PROX C3P house C3P GEN C1P.OBJ

“They teach women to start working in their homes.”

5.7 **iko yi pluṅ kawaap**
 i- ko y- i p- luṅ k- a- waap
 C3P thing C3P GEN INF FUT IMPERF SER sell

“The things to be sold”

An infinitive can be the head of a clause which can include objects, verbal modifiers and adverbial phrases. The infinitival clause as a whole is nominal in nature and like an infinite verb word can be the subject or object of the verb in its matrix clause.

5.8 **Pwala katëmp paanwo nin uko**
 p- wala ka- tëmp pa- ën- wo nin u- ko
 INF come_down C3S circumcision C4S NEG be NEG C2S thing

uloṅ

u- loṅ

C2S INDEF

“To be circumcised is nothing”

5.9 **name pwul babukan iko inuura**
 na- me p- wul ba- buk -an i- ko i- nuura
 2P know INF give C1P child 2P.OBJ C3P thing C3P good
 “You know how to give your children good things”

5.10 **nhinan pdo uko mēnt bnuura**
 n- hinan p- do u- ko mēnt bnuura
 1S.SUB be_able_to INF do C2S thing that well
 “I am able to do this thing well”

An infinite verb word can also take object pronominal suffixes.

5.11 **Ñiint ahoŋ abi pkitun hēnk ba**
 ñ- iint a- hoŋ a- bi p- kit -un hēnk ba
 C1S man C1S which SER come INF meet 1P.OBJ NARR QUES
 “Who is that man coming to meet us?”

5.12 **Woli ñaaŋ aŋal plemparaan**
 woli ñaaŋ a- ŋal p- lemp -ar -aan
 if person C1S like INF work BEN 1S.OBJ
 “When someone wants to work for me”

Many general stems form nouns with a nominal prefix which is not *p-*. For example:

5.13 **infinitive noun**
 a. *p-lemp* “to work” *u-lemp* “the work”
 b. *p-gut* “to fight” *u-gut/ŋ-gut* “the fight/the fights”
 c. *p-kit* “to harvest” *ka-kit/i-kit* “the harvest/the harvests”
 d. *p-ki* “to dance” *u-ki/ŋ-ki* “the dance/the dances”

These verbal nouns cannot be used to replace an infinitive in structures like complements where the subject is the same as the subject of the matrix sentence (for example 5.12 above). Some structures, notably the progressive (see section 8.8.5 Progressive), require a verbal noun rather than an infinitive.

Some other stems can form nouns with a *p-* nominal prefix but the resulting word is not the infinitive, even though it looks and sounds identical. The two words have different meanings. A frequent example is *pde* “to eat” (an action) (infinitive) or “the meal (the thing being eaten)” (noun) (which is class 6 as the plural is *ide*). In the following examples 5.14 and 5.15 *pde* is a normal noun (note that in 5.15 *pde* is modified by an adjective) and in 5.16 and 5.17 it is an infinitive which has an agent.

5.14 **Baŋij pde abəkana**
 ba- ŋij p- de a- bėkan -a
 C1P bring C6S meal SER put_down C1S.OBJ
 “They brought a meal and put it down in front of him”

5.15 **ajuḡa** **pde** **plil**
 a- juḡ -a p- de p- lil
 C1S cook C1S.OBJ C6S meal C6S good
 “She cooked him a good meal”

5.16 **Naḡih** **aneenan** **bañaanḡ** **pde** **na** **pdaan**
 na- ḡih a- neenan ba- ñaanḡ p- de na p- daan
 C1S chief C1S forbid C1P person INF eat and INF drink
 “The chief forbade people to eat and drink”

5.17 **aya** **aneej** **aḡo** **pde**
 a- ya a- neej a- ḡo p- de
 C1S go SER enter SER sit INF eat
 “He went and entered and sat down to eat”

5.2 Participles

There is an *-i* suffix which can create a nominal stem from a verbal stem. This nominal stem can be used to create nouns or adjectives (depending on the semantics of the stem). I will refer to words created in this way as participles. This *-i* suffix behaves differently to the completive *-i* suffix (section 4.2.8). There are some similarities to the structure of the relative verb word (section 4.2.5 and 4.2.6) The participle suffix also behaves differently from the stem category changing suffix *-al*.

Some examples of participles are:

5.18 **batani**
 ba- tan -i
 C5S secure PTCP
 “herd”

5.19 **ptuhi**
 p- tuh -i
 C4S close PTCP
 “stopper”

5.20 **kabuki**
 ka- buk -i
 C3S produce PTCP
 “womb”

The word used to describe something as small is a common example of a participle used adjectivally. There is no adjective formed simply from the root *poḡ* as found in *napoḡ* “child”, but rather *poḡ* is treated as a verbal stem with the addition of the co-reference prefix *N-* and the participle suffix *-i*. The agreement prefixes used are the adjectival ones (*na-* in example 5.21 and *b-* in example 5.22, listed in chapter 6) rather the verbal ones (*a-* and

ba- respectively). Compare example 5.21 with the relative clause in example 5.23.

5.21 **napoṭ** **nampoṭi**
 na- poṭ na- m- poṭ -i
 C1S child C1S COREF be_small PTCP
 “small child”

5.22 **batani** **bmpoṭi**
 ba- tan -i b- mpoṭi
 C5S secure PTCP c7s small
 “small herd”

5.23 **napoṭ** **anfëṭuṇ** **du**
 na- poṭ a- n- fëṭ -uṇ d- u
 C1S child SER COREF dwell SEL EXT LOC.DIST
kañog **pliik**
 k- a- ñog p- liik
 IMPERF SER be_close C6S well
 “the child who lived near the well”

Other adjectives are built similarly.

5.24 **ñaanṇ** **nampaṭi**
 ñaanṇ na- m- paṭ -i
 person C1S COREF differ PTCP
 “someone different”

5.25 **unuur** **unjinṭi**
 u- nuur u- n- jinṭ -i
 C2S day C2S COREF be_clean PTCP
 “every and all day” (Lit: clean day)

When the head noun is the location or the instrument of the action of the participle then there is no co-reference prefix *N-* but instead there is the suffix *-n* which seems to be related to the causative derivation. This is shown in the examples below. Again note that the agreement is *d-* and *b-* (noun agreement), not *da-* and *ba-* (subject agreement).

5.26 **dko** **djuṇni**
 d- ko d- juṇ -n -i
 C9S place C9S cook CAUS PTCP
 “the cooking place”

5.27 **bdoo** **bjunni**
 b- doo b- juṇ -n -i
 C5S fire C5S cook CAUS PTCP
 “the cooking fire”

5.28 **bgah** **bneejni**
 b- gah b- neej -n -i
 C5S way C5S enter CAUS PTCP
 “the entry road”

5.29 **bgah** **byaani** **da**
 b- gah b- ya -an -i d- a
 C5S way C5S go CAUS CMPL C9S OBJ
 “the road leading there”

Compare these with with an adjective formed with the stem category changing suffix *-al*. This doesn't require any other morphemes apart from the agreement prefix.

5.30 **naših** **najeenkal**
 na- ših na- jeenk -al
 C1S chief C1S redder CHG
 “head chief” (Lit:red chief)

Participles cannot be marked morphologically as negative, nor can they take the imperfective prefix *k-* or the completive suffix *-i*.

A relative clause can be used to modify a noun that has been modified by a participle.

5.31 **dko** **dmoyni** **danwoonj**
 d- ko d- moy -n -i da- n- wo -onj
 C9S place C9S bury CAUS PTCP C9S COREF be SEL
du **uṭeēh** **meēt**
 d- u u- ṭeēh meēt
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field inside
 “the burial place that is in the field”

Participles can also be modified by adverbs.

5.32 **unuur** **unyimani** **maakan**
 u- nuur u- n- yiman -i maakan
 C2S day C2S COREF respect PTCP very
 “a very sacred day”

A participle can also be the head of a participle clause (see section 9.4.4). Compare example 5.33, which contains a participle clause *dbomanani ṭkaaru* “car repairing” with example 5.34 which contains a relative.

5.33 **añoot̚ ukaaru wi nun du**
 a- ñoot̚ u- kaaru w- i nun d- u
 C1S take C2S car C2S GEN 1P.poss EXT LOC.DIST

dko dbomanani ŋkaaru
 d- ko da- boman -an -i ŋ- kaaru
 C9S place C9S make CAUS PTCP C2P car
 “He took our car to the garage (lit. the car repairing place)”

5.34 **dko dambomanuŋ na iñen yi**
 d- ko da- m- boman -uŋ na i- ñen y- i
 C9S place C9S COREF make SEL and C3P hand C3P GEN

bañaan̄ bajën
 ba- ñaan̄ ba- jën
 C1P person C1P black

“a place made by human hands” (Lit: “... made by the hands of black men”)

Chapter 6 - Other word classes

6.1 Agreeing Noun Modifiers

6.1.1 Adjectives

As described in chapter 3, some nominal and general stems (i.e. all those stems that can take a nominal prefix) can take *any* nominal prefix, and the resulting word can be used to modify a noun (within the bounds of semantic possibility). I will refer to these words as adjectives. Their syntactic behaviour is described in section 7.3.2. Some of the nominal prefixes have a slightly different form when used in adjectives and these are highlighted in bold below.

Class	Sg	Plural	Count Plural
1	<i>na-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-</i>
2	<i>u-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
3	<i>ka-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>
4	<i>p-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>k-</i>
5	<i>b-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>k-</i>
6	<i>p-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
7	<i>b-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
8		<i>mn-</i>	
9	<i>d-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>k-</i>
10	<i>n-</i>		

Table 6.1: Adjective prefixes

Adjectives modifying any class 1 noun (whether or not the noun is in subclass 1a) take the main class 1 singular nominal prefix *na-* as shown in example 6.1.

Adjectives modifying class 4 and 5 nouns always use the *p-* and *b-* prefixes, even if the nouns use the *pa-* or *ba-* forms.

Adjectives modifying class 8 prefixes never contain an *a*. The normal form is *mn-*.

6.1 **ayiṭul** **nañog**
 a- yiṭ -ul na- ñog
 C1AS relative C1S.POSS C1S close
 “close relative”

6.2 **napoṭ** **nadēm**
 na- poṭ na- dēm
 C1S child C1S large
 “large child”

6.3 **katoḥ** **kajinṭ**
 ka- toḥ ka- jinṭ
 C3S house C3S clean
 “clean house”

6.4 **iyeeḥ** **ijon**
 i- yeeḥ i- jon
 C3P song C3P old
 “old song”

6.5 **napoṭ** **naweek**
 na- poṭ na- week
 C1S child C1S big
 “older child”

6.6 **katoḥ** **kaweek**
 ka- toḥ ka- week
 C3S house C3S big
 “big house”

6.7 **mnlilan** **mnweek**
 mn- lilan mn- week
 C8 happiness C8 big
 “great joy”

Sometimes adjectives can be used with the head noun understood, for example in 6.8 *naweek* means “the older one”. Furthermore some adjectives have become lexicalised, for example in 6.9 *naweek* means “older brother”.

6.8 **Naweek** **awo** **Dama**
 na- week a- wo Dama
 C1S older C1S be Dama
 “The elder was called Dama”

- 6.9 **Naweek** **Dama aya** **Dakar**
 na- week Dama a- ya Dakar
 C1S elder_sibling Dama C1S go Dakar
 “Dama's older brother is going to Dakar”

To form an attributive adjective from a verbal root, it is necessary to use the derivational stem category changing suffix *-al* to form a nominal stem.

- 6.10 **katoh** **kajeenkal**
 ka- toh ka- jeenk -al
 C3S house C3S redden CHG
 “red house”

- 6.11 **naşih** **najeenkal**
 na- şih na- jeenk -al
 C1S chief C1S redden CHG
 “red chief (king of the Mankanya)”

- 6.12 **kahoṭ** **kamaakal**
 ka- hoṭ ka- maak -al
 C3S leg C3S be_ill CHG
 “ill leg”

- 6.13 **bkow** **bmaakal**
 b- kow b- maak -al
 C5S head C5S be_ill CHG
 “aching head”

Predicational adjectival meaning with general or verbal stems is achieved by adding the completive suffix.

- 6.14 **napoṭ** **adëmi**
 na- poṭ a- dëm -i
 C1S child C1S grow CMPL
 “The child is big (or the child has grown)”

- 6.15 **upi** **umaaki**
 u- pi u- maak -i
 C2S goat C2S be_ill CMPL
 “The goat is ill”

Adjectives based on purely nominal stems can be used predicationally with the copula *wo*.

- 6.16 **uleef** **uwo** **ujoob**
 u- leef u- wo u- jooob
 C2S body C2S be C2S cold
 “I'm feeling fine” (Lit “the body is cold”)

6.17 **uhaaṣ** **uwo** **ujinṭ** **na** **nji**
 u- haaṣ u- wo u- jinṭ na nji
 C2S soul C2S be C2S clean with 1s

“My conscience is clear” (Lit “the spirit is clean with me”)

When adjectives are used predicationally with 1st and 2nd person subjects, there is no agreement in person – agreement is as if the subjects are class 1 nouns.

6.18 **Nawo** **bajinṭ**
 na- wo ba- jinṭ
 2P be C1P clean

“You are clean.”

6.19 **Dwo** **nayok**
 d- wo na- yok
 1s be C1S rich

“I am rich.”

Two adjectives have quantitative meanings - *tum* “lots” and *ntiinku*, “a little”.

6.20 **bañaan** **baṭum**
 ba- ñaan ba- tum
 C1P person C1P many

“many people”

6.21 **bañaan** **bantiinku**
 ba- ñaan ba- ntiinku
 C1P person C1P in_small_amount

“few people”

Though they are morphologically adjectives, their syntactic behaviour is slightly different – see section 7.3.7.

6.1.2 Determiners

Two noun modifiers form a different word class based on the agreement prefixes they take. These are *loŋ*, the indefinite marker which indicates an indefinite, but not generic, noun, and *ndoli* the individuation marker (“each” in English). Both of these are different from the root of the cardinal number 1 *lolan*. I will refer to these as determiners, though this is different from the determiner category in English.

The individuation marker seems to be a grammaticalised form of a participle based on the verb *do* “do”.

The agreement prefixes are similar to those for adjectives, with the only difference being in the class 1 singular form.

Class	Sg	Plural	Count Plural
1	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-</i>
2	<i>u-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
3	<i>ka-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>
4	<i>p-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>k-</i>
5	<i>b-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>k-</i>
6	<i>p-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
7	<i>b-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
8		<i>m-</i>	
9	<i>d-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>k-</i>
10	<i>n-</i>		

Table 6.2: Determiner prefixes

For class 1 singular nouns the agreement prefix is *a-* (unlike *na-* for adjectives, or zero for demonstratives). For class 1 plural nouns and all other noun classes, the agreement is the regular adjectival prefix.

6.22 **Bawaapa** **ñiinṭ** **aloṅ** **i** **katim**
ba- waap -a ñ- iinṭ a- loṅ i ka- tim
C1P sell C1S.OBJ C1S man C1S INDEF GEN C3S name

kawooṅ **Ṣompi**
ka- wo -oṅ Ṣompi
C3S be SEL Shompi

“They sold him to a man whose name was Shompi.”

6.23 **Woli** **aya** **jotna** **bañaanṭ** **biki** **kafah**
woli a- ya jotna ba- ñaanṭ bik- i ka- fah
if C1S FUT dive C1P person C1P gen C3S part

kaloṅ , **bañaanṭ** **biki** **kandukiinṭ**
ka- loṅ ba- ñaanṭ bik- i ka- n- duki -iṅ
C3S indef C1P person C1P GEN C3S COREF stay SEL

bahil **kaṭi**
ba- hil k- a- ṭi
C1P be_able IMPERF SER run

“If he attacks the people of one group, the people of the other group can escape.”

6.24 **Wal** **mēnṭ** **awayēṣ** **ñaanṭ** **andoli**
w- al mēnṭ a- wayēṣ ñaanṭ a- ndoli
C2S moment that C1S settle person C1S each

“At that moment he will judge each person”

6.25 **Aji** **tu** **ti** **ubeeka** **undoli**
 a- ji tu t- i u- beeka u- ndoli
 C1S HAB place INT LOC.PROX C2S town C2S each

ndeey

η- deey

C2P grain

“He put grain in each town”

The determiner pattern of agreement is used also used with cardinal numbers (section 6.1.3), demonstratives (section 6.1.5) and the interrogative *hoŋ* (section 6.6).

6.1.3 Cardinal numbers

The first 10 cardinal numbers are shown in the table below. Those that agree with the head noun have the agreement prefix shown as *CL-*.

<i>CL-loolan</i>	1	<i>paaj</i>	6
<i>CL-tëb</i>	2	<i>paaj na CL-loŋ</i>	7
<i>CL-wajënt</i>	3	<i>bakreŋ</i>	8
<i>CL-baakr</i>	4	<i>kañeen kalon</i>	9
<i>kañeen</i>	5	<i>iñeen</i>	10

Table 6.3: Numbers 1-10

The cardinal numbers show evidence of once being based around six. In particular *paaj* “6” is invariable, and “7” is “six and one” *paaj na ulon*, with *ulon* agreeing with the head noun. (There is also a difference in ordinal numbers above 6 – see section 6.1.4).

However, base 10 now dominates – higher numbers are formed using a tens and units system (see below). *Kañeen* “5” is related to *kañen* “hand” and *iñeen* “10” to *iñen* “hands”.

The numbers *CL-loolan* “1”, *CL-tëb* “2”, *CL-wajënt* “3” and *CL-baakr* “4” agree with the noun. As noted above, only part of *paaj na CL-loŋ* “7” agrees. The other numbers *kañeen* “5”, *paaj* “6”, *bakreŋ* “8”, *kañeen kalon* “9” and *iñeen* “10” are invariable.

6.26 **upi** **uloolan**

u- pi u- loolan

C2S goat C2S one

“one goat”

6.27 **ŋpi** **ŋtëb** ³
 ŋ- pi ŋ- tëb
 C2P goat C2P two
 “two goats”

6.28 **ŋpi** **paaj**
 ŋ- pi paaj
 C2P goat six
 “six goats”

6.29 **ŋşubal** **iñeen**
 ŋ- şubal iñeen
 C2P year ten
 “ten years”

The agreement follows the pattern of the determiners (section 6.1.2 above), i.e. class 1 is *a-* for singular and *ba-* for plural.

6.30 **ñaaj** **aloolan**
 ñaaŋ a- loolan
 person C1S one
 “one person”

6.31 **baaŋ** **batëb**
 b- aaŋ ba- tëb
 C1P woman C1P two
 “Two women”

With the nouns in classes 4, 5, 6, 7 (*p-/i-*, *b-/i*, *p-/m-*, *b-/m-*), the counted plural prefixes (*k-* or *ŋ-*) are used on both the noun and the number.

6.32 **dnug** **ppiiti**
 d- nug p- piiti
 1S buy C4S pen
 “I bought a pen”

6.33 **dnug** **ipiiti**
 d- nug i- piiti
 1S buy C4P pen
 “I bought some pens” or “I bought pens”

6.34 **dnug** **kpiiti** **ktëb**
 d- nug k- piiti k- tëb
 1S buy C4P.CNT pen C4P.CNT two
 “I bought two pens”

³ Note that the class 2 has no separate counted prefix, *ŋ-* is used for both counted and uncounted nouns.

For numbers above 10, the tens are conjoined to the units with the conjunction *na*.

6.35 **ηşubal iñeen na paaj - na - uloη**
 η- şubal iñeen na paaj na u- loη
 C2P year ten and six and C2S INDEF
 “seventeen years”

Multiples of ten, are indicated by compounding *iñeen* “ten” with a number between 2 and 9.

6.36 **ηşubal iñeen - paaj**
 η- şubal iñeen paaj
 C2P year ten six
 “sixty years”

The word for 100 is *iñeen-week* “big ten”. For numbers above 100, the hundreds are conjoined to the tens with *na*.

6.37 **ηşubal iñeen - week na iñeen na paaj -**
 η- şubal iñeen week na iñeen na paaj
 C2P year ten big and ten and six
na - uloη
 na u- loη
 and C2S INDEF
 “one hundred and seventeen years”

Multiples of a hundred are indicated with the word *yaaş*, (which as a noun *uyaaş* means “moment in time”) followed by a number between 2 and 9.

6.38 **ηşubal iñeen - week ηyaaş paaj**
 η- şubal iñeen week η- yaaş paaj
 C2P year ten big C2P time six
 “six hundred years”

6.1.4 Ordinals

There are distinct words for ordinal numbers up to the 6th. For 2nd to 6th the ordinal is formed by adding the suffix *-anṭën* to the cardinal number (with some adjustment in the case of 3rd). Those that agree with the head noun have the agreement prefix shown as *CL-*.

<i>CL-teek</i>	1 st
<i>CL-tëbanṭën</i>	2 nd
<i>CL-wajanṭën</i>	3 rd
<i>CL-baakanṭën</i>	4 th
<i>CL-ñeeenanṭën</i>	5 th
<i>paajanṭën</i>	6 th

Table 6.4: Ordinal numbers

6.39 **upi uteek**
 u- pi u- teek
 C2S goat C2S first
 “the first goat”

6.40 **ddaan uyaaş utëbanṭën**
 d- daan u- yaaş u- tëb -anṭën
 1S drink C2S time C2S two ORD
 “I drank a second time”

6.41 **bapoṭ biinṭ bateek**
 ba- poṭ b- iinṭ ba- teek
 C1P child C1P male C1P first
 “the first boys”

Ordinals 1st to 5th agree with the head noun using the adjectival agreement pattern given in table 6.1 above. Also note that 6th ordinal *paajanṭën*, like the cardinal 6, is invariable.

For numbers higher than 6 a different structure must be used, which uses the root *ṭënk*. For example:

6.42 **naşih naṭënk bakreṅ**
 na- şih na- ṭënk bakreṅ
 C1S chief C1S ORD eight
 “the eighth chief”

6.43 **ddaan** **uyaaş** **uṭenk** **iñeen** **ṛtëb** **na**
 d- daan u- yaaş u- ṭenk iñeen ṛ- tëb na
 1S drink C2S time C2S ORD ten C2P two and

uloolan

u- loolan

C2S one

“I drank for the twenty-first time” (in context “... umpteenth time”)

Here, *ṭenk* agrees with the head noun in the singular, also following the adjectival agreement pattern.

With the number “seventh”, the *loṛ* part agrees using the determiner agreement pattern, whereas the *ṭenk* follows the adjectival agreement pattern.

6.44 **naşih** **naṭenk** **paaj** **na** **aloṛ**
 na- şih na- ṭenk paaj na a- loṛ
 C1S chief C1S ORD six and C1S one

“the seventh chief”

6.1.5 Demonstratives

There are four possible demonstrative roots, depending on the degree of distance from the deictic centre.

Degree of distance	Demonstrative
near (proximal)	<i>i</i>
far (distal)	<i>uṛ</i>
very far	<i>undu/undi</i>
neutral (narrative)	<i>aṛ</i>

Table 6.5: Demonstratives

There is some variation with the third root with younger people tending to use *undi*, and older people saying *undu*. Maybe this reflects a lost distinction; compare this with the locatives *di* and *du* (see section 6.4 - Locatives)

The fourth root *aṛ* is not used to indicate things in real space. It is most often found in narratives to refer back to something just stated.

Prefixes for demonstratives differ from those used with adjectives.

Class	Sg	Plural	Count Plural
1	∅-	<i>bik-</i> <i>buk-</i> <i>bak-</i>	<i>bik-</i> <i>buk-</i> <i>bak-</i>
2	<i>w-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
3	<i>k-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-</i>
4	<i>p-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>k-</i>
5	<i>b-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>k-</i>
6	<i>p-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
7	<i>b-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ŋ-</i>
8		<i>m-</i>	
9	<i>d-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>k-</i>

Table 6.6: Demonstrative prefixes

Apart from demonstratives that agree with class 1 nouns, all other demonstrative prefixes are single consonants. As the roots are all vowel initial, the class 2 *u-* prefix is now interpreted as *w-*. Similarly in the classes that had a plural *i-* prefix, this is now interpreted as *y-*. The class 8 prefix is always *m-* and never *mn-*.

6.45 **upi** **ujënël** **wi**
 u- pi u- jënël w- i
 C2S goat C2S black C3S DEM.PROX
 “this black goat”

6.46 **ŋpi** **ŋtëb** **ŋi**
 ŋ- pi ŋ- tëb ŋ- i
 C2P goat C2P two C3P DEM.PROX
 “these two goats”

Demonstratives modifying singular class 1 nouns do not have a prefix.

6.47 **ñaaŋ** **i**
 ñaaŋ i
 person DEM.PROX
 “this person”

6.48 **nantohi** **uŋ**
 na- ntohi uŋ
 C1S elder DEM.DIST
 “that old man over there”

In the plural, class 1 nouns take one of the prefixes *bik-*, *buk-*, or *bak-* depending on the vowel of the root. This may reflect a historic phonological harmony process, but it is not productive in present day speech.

6.49 **bañaan** **biki**
 ba- ñaan bik- i
 C1P person C1P DEM.PROX
 “these people”

6.50 **bapoŋ** **bukuŋ**
 ba- poŋ buk- uŋ
 C1P child C1P DEM.DIST
 “those children over there”

6.51 **bantohi** **bakaŋ**
 ba- ntohi bak- aŋ
 C1P elder C1P DEM
 “these old people”

In her study on Mankanya, Trifkovič (1969, pp. 81–83) found examples of the demonstrative *i kuŋ* with singular nouns in classes 1 and 2, in free variation with *uŋ*, but I have not found this variant.

These demonstratives can be used independently as demonstrative pronouns.

6.52 **ašë** **kak** **awulën** **i**
 a- šë kak a- wul -ën i
 C1S SEQ again SER give 1S.OBJ DEM.PROX
 “he also gave me this one” (referring to a baby)

6.53 **aji** **na** **undu** **biini** **abi**
 a- ji na undu bi -ini a- bi
 C1S say and DEM.vdist come IMP C1S come
 “he says to another one ‘come’ and he comes”

6.54 **ploŋ** **pabi** **kadëm** **kapel**
 p- loŋ pa- bi k- a- dëm k- a- pel
 C4S INDEF C4S FUT IMPERF SER grow IMPERF SER be_more

pundu

p- undu
 C4S DEM.vdist
 “one will be greater than the other”

The demonstrative roots *i* and *uŋ* are also used in locatives (see section 6.4).

6.1.6 Genitive particle

The genitive particle *-i* is identical in form to the proximal demonstrative *-i*, and follows the same agreement pattern. It can be used to indicate a variety of relationships between two nouns.

6.55 **katoh ki naṣih**
 ka- toh k- i na- ṣih
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief
 “house of the chief”

6.56 **naṣih i Ko**
 na- ṣih i Ko
 C1S chief GEN Ko
 “king of Ko”

6.57 **pntuk pi biinṭ**
 p- ntuk p- i b- iinṭ
 C4S group C4S GEN C1P man
 “group of men”

6.58 **ptoof pi uṭeḥ**
 p- toof p- i u- ṭeḥ
 C4S half C4S GEN C2S field
 “middle of the field”

It is also used to introduce a relative clause when the head noun has the role of an object in the relative clause. (for more detail see section 9.4.3)

6.59 **iko yi banuguṇ**
 i- ko y- i ba- nug -uṇ
 C3P thing C3P GEN C1P buy SEL
 “the things they bought”

They can also be used with an implied head noun.

6.60 **biki Dakar**
 bik- i Dakar
 C1P GEN Dakar
 “those from Dakar” (implied head *bañaan* “people”)

6.61 **Wi Naala akñogun dko**
 w- i Naala a- k- ñog -uṇ d- ko
 C2S GEN Nala C1S IMPERF be_close SEL C9S place

di bafētun awin Dama
 d- i ba- fēt -uṇ a- win Dama
 C9S GEN C1P dwell SEL SER see Dama

“As Naala got close to where they lived, she saw Dama” (implied head *wal* “time”)

In example 6.61 the implied head noun is *wal* “moment/time”. This use is so frequent that *wi* has become grammaticalised to become a word with the meaning of “when” or “whilst”. I will use this gloss in all examples where this construction is used.

6.2 Invariable Noun Modifiers

6.2.1 Quantifiers

There are two invariable quantifiers that modify nouns and noun phrases, *bti* “all” and *ṭañ* “only”:

6.62 **ḡpi** **bti**
 ḡ- pi bti
 C2P goat all
 “all goats”

6.63 **bapoṭ** **biki** **Dama ṭañ**
 ba- poṭ bik- i Dama ṭañ
 C1P child C1P GEN Dama only
 “only Dama's children”

6.2.2 Invariable locative modifiers

There is a small group of words which modify nouns to give a location in relation to it. They each have a homophonous noun from which they were derived, but in contrast to that noun they have no number and neither agree with other words, nor trigger agreement. For this reason they don't fit the definition of adjectives. The locative modifiers are:

meet “inside”
bdig “outside”
duuṭ “on top/up high”
uṭeēh “under”

6.64 **ṭi** **bko** **bloṅ** **uṭeēh**
 ṭ- i b- ko b- loṅ uṭeēh
 INT LOC.PROX C7S object C7S INDEF under
 “under a tree”

6.65 **du** **pnkuṅ** **duuṭ**
 d- u p- nkuṅ duuṭ
 EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill on
 “on top of the hill”

Their syntactic behaviour is described in section 7.5, and is shown to be different to the five locative nouns:

kabaṅ “side”
kadun “front”
kamayu “left”
kadeeu “right”
kafet “back”

Notice that in this example of a locative noun, it does trigger agreement, unlike the locative modifiers.

6.66 **ʈi kadun ki katoh ki naʃih**
 ʈ- i ka- dun k- i ka- toh k- i na- ʃih
 INT LOC.PROX C3S front C3S GEN C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief
 “in front of the chief’s house”

6.2.3 Anaphoric demonstratives

In Mankanya there is an invariable anaphoric demonstrative, *mənʈ* or *mənʈan*. This is used in a discourse to indicate that the head noun refers to something previously introduced.

Trifkovič (1969, p. 84) says that there is a distinction of proximity between *mənʈ* and *mənʈan*. This is not something that occurs in my data.

6.67 **Wi nji kapənuʃ da , dka**
 wi nji ka- pən -uʃ d- a , d- ka
 when 1S.emph 1S.HAB go_out SEL C9S OBJ 1S have
wori mənʈan ʃubal paaj
 wori mənʈan ʃ- ʃubal paaj
 time that C2P year six
 “When I left there, I was at that time 6 years old”

It can also be used in conjunction with the definite demonstrative.

6.68 **Paapa aji ʃboman ʃnkuma ʃtəb .**
 paapa a- ji ʃ- boman ʃ- nkuma ʃ- təb
 daddy SER say 1P make C2P pig C2P two
ʃnkuma ʃtəb mənʈan ʃuʃ ʃafij bti .
 ʃ- nkuma ʃ- təb mənʈan ʃ- uʃ ʃa- fij bti
 C2P pig C2P two that C2P DEM.DIST C2P kill all
 “Dad told us to prepare two pigs. Both those pigs were killed”

6.3 Prepositions

There are three prepositions:

<i>te</i>	until/as far as
<i>ji</i>	like/before
<i>na</i>	with

The preposition *te* can be used with noun phrases that either indicate time or location.

6.69 **te hēnkuŋ**
 te hēnkuŋ
 until now
 “until now”

6.70 **te unuur mēnt**
 te u- nuur mēnt
 until C2S day that
 “until that day”

6.71 **te mnjint**
 te mn- jint
 until C9 dawn
 “until dawn”

6.72 **te du pnkuŋ duuŋ**
 te u p- nkuŋ duuŋ
 until LOC.DIST C5S hill up_there
 “to the top of the hill”

6.73 **aya te Byame**
 a- ya te Byame
 3S go until Byame
 “he went as far as Byame”

Te can also introduce a clause.

6.74 **te baweek biki naan baantaŋ**
 te ba- week bik- i naan ba- an- taŋ
 until C6S elder_sibling C2P GEN 1S.GEN 3P NEG follow

bgah mēntan
 b- gah mēntan
 C6S way that
 “until my brothers don't follow this way”

It is possible that *te* has been borrowed from an old form of Upper Guinea Kriol which has a Portuguese superstrate, or an old form of Portuguese. Modern Portuguese has *até* as in the following example:

6.75 Nós esperaremos *até* que ele se decida a cruzar o rio
 “We will wait *until* he decides to cross the river”

In modern Upper Guinea Kriol this construction has become *tok* as shown in the following example:

6.76 E fika la *tok* Jon muri
 “He stayed there *until* John died”

Ji introduces a comparison:

- 6.77 **Ddo pa patum ji njah ni baṭi**
 d- do a pa- tum ji nj- jah nj- i ba- ṭi
 1S do OBJ C4S many like C2P star C2P GEN C5S sky
 “I will make them (your offspring) as many as the stars in the sky”

- 6.78 **Bawo bayafan ji başin baka**
 ba- wo ba- yafan ji ba- şin baka
 C1P be C1P shepherd like C1P father C1P.POSS
 “They are shepherds like their ancestors”

To describe a verb, *ji* must be preceded with *awo* “be”.

- 6.79 **Anaṭ awo ji uniw**
 a- naṭ a- wo ji u- niw
 C1S stand SER be like C2S wall
 “He stood like a wall” (Lit “He stood, he is like a wall”)

- 6.80 **Bafooyën awo ji njbuş**
 ba- fooy -ën a- wo ji nj- buş
 C5S surround 1S.OBJ SER be like C2P dog
 “They surround me like dogs”

The word *ji* can also be used non-prepositionally with a clause (see section 9.4.2), and often in this case means “before”.

- 6.81 **Bka bi nu babi wo btişu**
 b- ka b- i nu ba- bi wo b- ttişu
 C7S possessions C7S GEN 2S.POSS C7S PST be C7S little
ji ndo kabi
 ji n- do k- a- bi
 before 1S.SUB INGR IMPERF SER come
 “You weren't very rich before I came”

It is likely that the preposition *ji* “like” has been grammaticalised from the verb *ji* “say”. This is a process that has been documented in other languages see (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 269)

The preposition *na* indicates either an accompaniment or an instrument.

- 6.82 **Bawo ṭi bteem na aşin**
 ba- wo ṭ- i b- teem na a- şin
 C1P be INT LOC.PROX C5S pirogue with C1AS father
baka
 baka
 C1P.OBJ
 “They were in the boat with their father”

6.83 **Baṭiini na a**
 ba- ṭiini na a
 C1P speak with OBJ
 “They spoke with him”

6.84 **Ado kë bafiṇa na kakej**
 a- do kë ba- fiṇ -a na ka- kej
 C1S do COMP C1P kill C1S.OBJ with C3S sword
 “He made them kill him with a sword”

6.85 **Afët wa na kakana**
 a- fët w- a na ka- kana
 C1S invert C2S OBJ with C3S calabash
 “He covered it with a calabash”

The word *na* can also be used as a conjunction between noun phrases:

6.86 **Naala na Dama banug ṇṭëb**
 Naala na Dama ba- nug ṇ- ṭëb
 Nala and Dama C1P buy C2P fish
 “Naala and Dama buy fish”

6.87 **Abuk biintṣ na baatṣ**
 a- buk b- iintṣ na b- aatṣ
 C1S produce C1P man and C1P woman
 “She had both boys and girls”

6.4 Locatives

Locatives are a combination of a root indicating distance and either the prefix *ṭ-* or *d-*. The prefix *ṭ-* usually indicates the interior of some conceptual space, or on its surface, so I refer to this as internal (gloss INT). The prefix *d-* indicates a more general location, conceptually viewed from outside, so is referred to as external (gloss EXT). Most uses of these locatives are syntactically prepositional.

Degree of distance	Internal	External
near (proximal)	<i>ṭi</i>	<i>di</i>
far (distal)	<i>ṭuṇ</i>	<i>du</i>

Table 6.7: Locatives

6.88 **Naala aňagani ƚi katoh**
 Naala a- ñagan -i ƚ- i ka- toh
 Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house

“Naala was sad in the house”

6.89 **Bawo na mben ƚi feƚ**
 ba- wo na m- BEN ƚ- i feƚ
 C1P be with c6p swelling INT LOC.PROX back

“They had humps on their backs”

6.90 **Djuk ƚi ƚugtor ƚşubal bakreƚ**
 d- juk ƚ- i ƚugtor ƚ- şubal bakreƚ
 1S learn INT LOC.PROX Ziguinchor C2P year eight

“I learnt in Ziguinchor for eight years” (The speaker is in Ziguinchor at the time of speaking)

6.91 **uƚeeh ƚi pmeş**
 u- ƚeeh ƚ- i p- meş
 C2S field INT LOC.PROX C4S royal_compund

“the field in the royal compound”

6.92 **Wi njukuƚ di untabanka**
 w- i n- juk -uƚ d- i u- ntabanka
 C2S GEN 1S.SEL learn SEL EXT LOC.PROX C2S village

“When I learnt in the village...” (The speaker is not in the village at the time of speaking)

6.93 **unuur wi nguran du Bula**
 u- nuur w- i nguran d- u Bula
 C2S day C2S GEN death_rite EXT LOC.DIST Bula

“The day of the death rite in Bula”

6.94 **Wal i apënuƚ na a du**
 w- al i a- pën -uƚ na a d- u
 C2S moment GEN C1S go_out SEL with OBJ EXT LOC.DIST

bdig

b- dig

C6S property

“At that time he left with him from the property”

These are the typical uses, but there is evidence that the *di/du* distinction is being eroded, with a degree of free variation between speakers.

The locatives *ƚi* and *ƚuƚ* can also be used adverbially.

6.95 **Aduk baka tuŋ**
 a- duk baka ṭ- uŋ
 C1S leave C1P.OBJ INT LOC.DIST
 “He left them there”

6.96 **Pënan ṭi !**
 pën -an ṭ- i
 go_out CAUS INT LOC.PROX
 “Leave here”

Also, by extension of the adverbial use, *tuŋ* can be used as a question word, often, but not always, accompanied by the question particle *ba*.

6.97 **Aharu awo tuŋ ba**
 a- har -u a- wo ṭ- uŋ ba
 C1S wife 2S.POSS C1S be INT LOC.DIST QUES
 “Where is your wife?”

6.5 Conjunctions

As seen above the word *na* can be used as an additive conjunction. For the alternative conjunction there is the word *këme*.

6.98 **ŋşubal ŋtëb këme ŋwajënt**
 ŋ- şubal ŋ- ṭëb këme ŋ- wajënt
 C2P year C2P two or C2P three
 “two or three years”

6.99 **ubuş udugar ñaaŋ këme untaam**
 u- buş u- dug -ar ñaaŋ këme u- ntaam
 C2S dog C2S make_noise BEN person or C2S livestock
 “The dog made a noise at either people or animals”

Këme can also be used to conjoin clauses:

6.100 **ṭiki nataş bgah këme nafiyaar**
 ṭiki na- taş b- gah këme na- fiyaar
 because_(of) 2P follow C6S way or 2P believe
uţup wi natiinkuŋ
 u- ţup w- i na- fiink -uŋ
 C2S speech C2S GEN 2P hear SEL
 “because you follow the law or because you believe the word that you heard”

There are also a number of subordinating conjunctions. All these words are invariable. Their use is discussed in more detail in section 9.4.

<i>pa</i>	goal
<i>ṭiki</i>	cause
<i>ukaaj</i> <i>kë</i>	reason
<i>woli</i>	conditional
<i>le</i>	conditional
<i>bë</i>	contrast

- 6.101 **Ala dko danwoon na nṭeeh** ,
 a- la d- ko da- n- wo -on na nṭ- teeḥ
 C1S seek C9S place C9S COREF be SEL with C2P field
pa phil kado kajaar .
 pa p- hil k- a- do ka- jaar
 in_order_to INF be_able IMPERF SER do C3S agriculture
 “He searched for a place with fields, in order to be able to farm”

- 6.102 **Mënhil ptiima blaañ bi**
 më- ën- hil p- tiima b- laañ b- i
 1S.NEG NEG be_able INF wear C5S wrap C5S DEM.PROX
ṭiki bañowi
 ṭiki ba- ñow -i
 because_(of) C5S wash CMPL
 “I can't wear this wrap because it is wet”

- 6.103 **Ṇya uṭeeh woli bnuur baanyiiki**
 Ṇ- ya u- ṭeeḥ woli b- nuur ba- an- yiik -i
 1P go C2S field if C7S sunlight C5S NEG be_hot CMPL
 “We're going to the field if it's not hot”

- 6.104 **ñaaj awinën le aḥṭen**
 ñaaj a- win -ën le a- ḥṭ -ën
 person C1S see 1S.OBJ if SER kill 1S.OBJ
 “If someone sees me they will kill me”

- 6.105 **Ṇnuur paaj - na - ulon Ṇaṭep le** ,
 Ṇ- nuur paaj na u- lon Ṇa- ṭep le
 C2P day six and C2S INDEF C2P pass when
kado uṣubal uṣub
 ka- do u- ṣubal u- ṣub
 1S.ALT do C2S rain C2S rain
 “When 7 days have passed, I will make it rain”

6.6 Interrogatives

There are six content interrogative words:

<i>in</i>	“who”
<i>we(l)</i>	“what”
<i>hum</i>	“what/how/how many”
<i>tuŋ</i>	“where”
<i>lum</i>	“when”
<i>hoŋ</i>	“which”

These words are all invariable apart from *hoŋ* which agrees with the noun that is being questioned. It has the same agreement pattern as the determiners.

in is used to question human subjects, objects or genitive “possessors”.

6.106 **In** **amaakuŋ** ?

in a- maak -uŋ
who C1S be_ill SEL

“Who is ill?”

6.107 **In** **i** **Tukma** **akobuŋ** ?

in i tukma a- kob -uŋ
who GEN Thukma C1S hit SEL

“Who did Thukma hit?”

6.108 **Iwo** **abuk** **in** **ba** ?

i- wo a- buk in ba
2S be C1AS child who QUES

“Whose child are you?”

Note that in example 6.106 the verb has the selectional suffix *-uŋ*, this is for reasons of focus. Similarly example 6.107 uses a relative construction with the genitive particle *i*, because the question word *in* has been fronted. This structure is found in other examples below. This is discussed in more detail in section 7.2.3.

We is used for non human subjects or objects and has variant *wel* before a vowel or semi vowel.

6.109 **Wel** **wi** **ikdoluŋ** ?

wel w- i i- k- dol -uŋ
what C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL

“What are you doing?”

Hum questions manner. This includes questioning someone's name. It also questions number.

6.110 **Hum di di ñiint i**
 hum d- i d- i ñ- iint i
 how C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN C1S man GEN

añoomuḡ aṭiini hēnk ?
 a- ñoom -uḡ a- ṭiini hēnk
 C1S dare SEL SER speak thus

“How does this man dare to speak like this?”

In this example the demonstrative and the genitive particle agree with *hum* using the class 9 prefix *d-*, the one used by default for all common nouns that don't fit into other classes (typically borrowed words).

6.111 **Katimu kawo hum ?**
 ka- tim -u ka- wo hum
 C3S name 2S.POSS C3S be how

“What is your name?”

6.112 **Kē woli ñaaṭ aandi pbi na**
 kē woli ñ- aaṭ a- an- di p- bi na
 DS when; if C1S woman C1S NEG accept INF come and

nji , kado hum ?
 nji ka- do hum
 1S.subj 1S.ALT do how

“What shall I do if the woman does not agree to come with me?”

6.113 **Nawo na ipoom hum ba ?**
 na- wo na i- poom hum ba
 2P be with C3P bread how QUES

“How many loaves do you have?”

Ṭuḡ questions location.

6.114 **Aharu awo ṭuḡ ba ?**
 a- har -u a- wo ṭ- uḡ ba
 C1S wife 2S.POSS C1S be INT LOC.DIST QUES

“Where is your wife?”

Lum questions time.

6.115 **Iluḡ kajun katiban lum ?**
 i- luḡ k- a- jun k- a- tiban lum
 2S FUT IMPERF SER begin IMPERF SER clear_(field) when

“When are you going to begin clearing?”

6.116 **Lum di di uko waŋ**
 lum d- i d- i u- ko w- aŋ
 when? C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN C2S thing C2S DEM

ukwoŋ ?
 u- k- wo -oŋ
 C2S IMPERF be SEL
 “When will this thing happen?”

hoŋ selects a particular instance from among several.

6.117 **Bañaaŋ biki bawo bahoŋ ba** ?
 ba- ñaaŋ bik- i ba- wo ba- hoŋ ba
 C1P person C1P DEM.PROX C1P be C1P which QUES

“Who are these people? (Lit: which are these people)”

6.118 **Iwo i pntaali phoŋ** ?
 i- wo i p- ntaali p- hoŋ
 2S be GEN C4S lineage C4S which

“You are from which family?”

6.7 Invariable Particles

There are a small number of invariable particles which have a grammatical function.

<i>nin</i>	negative
<i>ba</i>	interrogative tag
<i>i</i>	polar interrogative tag
<i>kě</i>	subject switch (different subject) (see chapter 267)
<i>keeri</i>	therefore

6.119 **nin uko uloŋ**
 nin u- ko u- loŋ
 NEG C2S thing C2S INDEF

“nothing”

6.120 **We wi ikdoluŋ ba** ?
 we w- i i- k- dol -uŋ ba
 what? C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL QUES

“What have you done?”

6.121 **Ñaaŋ akuŋa uliik i** ?
 ñ- aaŋ a- kuŋa u- liik i
 C1S woman C1S carry C2S peanuts QUES

“Is the woman carrying peanuts?”

6.122 **Kë untaayi uşë yeenk pben**
 kë u- ntaayi u- şë yeenk p- BEN
 DS C2S demon C2S SEQ receive C6S swelling
amëban , **kë Naala aşë neej aki**
 a- mëb -an kë Naala a- şë neej a- ki
 C1S carry CAUS DS Nala C1S SEQ enter C1S dance
 “The spirit took the hump and carried it, and Naala entered the ring and danced”

6.123 **Nawutan keeri kaťaaf uko**
 na- wut -an keeri k- a- ťaaf u- ko
 2P leave IMP in_that_case IMPERF SER worry C2S thing
wi faan
 w- i faan
 C2S GEN tomorrow
 “So don't worry about tomorrow!”

For more details on how these are used see sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1(*nin*), section 7.2.2 (*i*), section 7.2.3 (*ba*), section 11 (*kë*), sections 9.1.1 and 9.5.2.2 (*keeri*).

6.8 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs and some can also modify nouns or a limited number of adjectives.

buťaan badly
bnuura well
maakan greatly
ntiinku a little
kak again
lah contra factual
le irrealis
ťañ only

The adverbs *buťaan* “badly” and *bnuura* “well” are derived from the homophonous nouns *buťaan* “evil” and *bnuura* “good/well”.

6.124 **Dama awet buťaan**
 Dama a- wet buťaan
 Dama C1S sweep badly
 “Dama sweeps badly”

6.125 **Tiinkaan bnuura**
 tiink -a -an bnuura
 hear IMP 1S.OBJ well
 “Listen carefully to me!”

The adverb *maakan* “very”, in addition to modifying verbs, can also modify the adjectives *tum* “many/much” and *week* “large”

6.126 **Uko mënṭ ude Şompi maakan**
 u- ko mënṭ u- de Şompi maakan
 C2S thing that C2S eat Shompi very

“This thing worried Shompi a lot”

6.127 **Ado wo nayok naweek maakan**
 a- do wo na- yok na- week maakan
 C1S INGR be C1S rich C1S big very

“He became very rich”

6.128 **Dwul naweeku itaka itum**
 d- wul na- week -u i- taka i- tum
 1S give C1S elder_sibling 2S.poss C4P money C3P many

maakan

maakan

very

“I gave your brother lots of money”

The root *ntiinku* is used to create quantifying adjectives (see example 6.21 above) but as an invariable bare root it can be used to modify verbs.

6.129 **Bajon ntiinku du ukalabuş**
 ba- jon ntiinku d- u u- kalabuş
 C1P last a_little EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison

“They were in prison for a while”

The adverb *kak* is derived from the verb *kak* “return” which is also used as an auxiliary to indicate a repeat of the event. The adverb *kak* has a similar meaning as the auxiliary.

6.130 **Baaṭ bti bajej ŋa kak**
 b- aaṭ bti ba- jej ŋ- a kak
 C1P woman all C1P take C2P obj again

“All the women also took them.”

It can modify a noun to indicate “as well” or “also”.

6.131 **Şompi ul kak kë abuk napoṭ**
 Şompi ul kak kë a- buk na- poṭ
 Shompi 3S.SUBJ again DS C1AS child C1S child

ñiintṭ

ñ- iintṭ

C1S man

“Shompi, he also produced a son”

It can also be intensified by the adverb *makaan*.

- 6.132 **Baṣoora kak maakan**
 ba- ṣoor -a kak maakan
 C1P hate C1S.OBJ again very

“They hated him even more”

The adverb *le* is used to mark the verb that is irrealis and is used in some conditional constructions. Unlike other adverbs it appears between the verb and any object (except pronoun suffixes).

- 6.133 **Iwin le uko wi nu kjej**
 i- win le u- ko w- i nu k- jej
 2S see IRL C2S thing C2S GEN 2S.POSS 2S.ALT take

wa

w- a

C2S obj

“If you see your thing here, then take it.”

- 6.134 **Ñaaṅ awinën le afiṅën**
 ñaaṅ a- win -ën le a- fiṅ -ën
 person C1S see 1S.OBJ IRL SER kill 1S.OBJ

“If someone sees me, they will kill me.”

It appears between an auxiliary and the main verb

- 6.135 **Iwo le kaluk daaṣa lukan da**
 i- wo le k- a- luk daaṣa luk -an d- a
 2S must IRL IMPERF SER pay tax pay IMP C9S OBJ

“If you owe taxes, then pay them!”

The adverb *lah* gives a contrafactual meaning to the verb. It appears in the same position as *le*.

- 6.136 **Woli ṅdëman lah untoṅ**
 woli ṅ- dëm -an lah u- ntoṅ
 when; if 1P grow CAUS CNTRFACT C2S divinity

“If we had worshipped an idol...”

- 6.137 **Dhilan lah kadolu buṭaan**
 d- hilan lah k- a- dol -u b- uṭaan
 1S be_able CNTRFACT IMPERF SER do 2S.OBJ C5S evil

“I could harm you”

The adverb *ṭañ* “only”, is quantifier that modifies nouns (see example 6.63 above), but it also modifies verbs.

- 6.138 **Natiiman ṭañ**
 na- tiim -an ṭañ
 2P stay_still_and_keep_quiet IMP only

“Just keep quiet”

6.9 Sound symbolic modifiers

There is a closed class of words that modify adjectives or verbs that are monosyllabic of the form CVC and are invariable. They have very strict collocation rules and normally each one can only be used with one or two different words. For example *kafaatal feh* “brilliant white” where *feh* “brilliant” is a modifier that can only be used with *faatal* “white”. These words are sound symbolic, and I will refer to them as ideophones. Different from what is found in many other languages, Mankanya ideophones do not contain marginal or non-phonemic sounds.

6.139 **Katoh ki Naala kawo kafaatal feh**
 ka- toh k- i Naala ka- wo ka- faatal feh
 C3S house C3S GEN Naala C3S be C3S white very_(white)
 “Naala's house is very white”

6.140 **ajej puum abooṭan ṭi**
 a- jej p- uum a- booṭ -an ṭ- i
 C1S take C6S corpse SER wrap CAUS INT LOC.PROX

blaañ bfaatal feh
 b- laañ b- faatal feh
 C5S wrap C7S white very_(white)

“He took the body and wrapped it in a very white wrap”

6.141 **Nateek ampënuṭ ajeenk jud**
 na- teek a- m- pën -uṭ a- jeenk jud
 C1S first C1S COREF go_out SEL C1S redden very_(red)

“The first one to come out was very red”

6.142 **Bawoharana bayeti bjeenk**
 ba- wohar -an -a ba- yeti b- jeenk -al
 C1P dress CAUS C1S.OBJ C5S coat C5S redden CHG

jud

jud

very_(red)

“They dressed him in a very red coat”

6.143 **iṭup hënkun na ṅjint piṣ**
 i- ṭup hënkun na ṅ- jint piṣ
 2S speak now and C2P clean very_(clean)

“You now speak clearly (Lit: with clean words, i.e. not figuratively)”

6.144 **kë baṣë yomp juk aṭiinka**
 kë ba- ṣë yomp juk a- tiink -a
 DS C1P SEQ be_quiet very_(cold) SER hear C1S.OBJ

“then they became very quiet and listened to him”

Some of the more frequent ideophones are:

Modifier	Used with	
<i>baŋ</i>	<i>kay</i>	“dry”
	<i>yiik</i>	“hot”
<i>feh</i>	<i>faat</i>	“white”
<i>jud</i>	<i>jeenk</i>	“red”
<i>juk</i>	<i>joobēt</i>	“cold”
	<i>yomp</i>	“quiet”
<i>lot</i>	<i>now</i>	“wet”
<i>pēt</i>	<i>jën</i>	“black”
<i>piŋ</i>	<i>jinŋ</i>	“clean”
<i>rad</i>	<i>tam</i>	“hard”

Chapter 7 - Simple Syntax

This section will look at the simpler syntactic structures, firstly the monoclausal sentence, then the noun phrase.

7.1 Simple Sentence

There are four simple monoclausal sentence types in Mankanya: the basic verbal sentence, copulative sentence using *pwo*, sentences where the only verb is marked with the selectional suffix *-uŋ* and non-verbal sentences.

7.1.1 Basic Verbal Sentence

The simplest verbal sentence only has a verb. For example:

7.1 Ade

a- de
C1S eat

“He's eating”

7.2 Jukan !

juk -an
learn IMP

“Learn!”

Note that in 7.1 there is no pronoun in this clause. This is commonly the case as the verbal prefix provides sufficient information.

For some instances of tense, aspect or mode, a verbal complex of several verbal words is used instead of a single verbal word, where one or more auxiliaries modify a final lexical verb. The verbal system will be discussed in more detail in section 8.

7.3 Aluŋ kade

a- luŋ k- a- de
C1S FUT IMPERF SER eat

“He will eat”

7.4 **Ado bi de**
 a- do bi de
 C1S INGR PAST eat
 “He's already eaten”

Where there is a subject noun phrase, its normal unmarked position is before the verb:

7.5 **Upi udaan**
 u- pi u- daan
 C2S goat C2S drink
 “The goat is drinking”

As discussed in section 4.2.1 the verbal prefix agrees with the subject. More complex noun phrases are possible – here are some examples but they will be discussed in more detail in section 7.3 below.

7.6 **Şompi abi**
 Şompi a- bi
 Shompi C1S come
 “Shompi is coming”

7.7 **Ŋpi ŋtëb ŋweek ŋabi**
 ŋ- pi ŋ- tēb ŋ- week ŋa- bi
 C2P goat C2P two C2P big C2P come
 “The two big goats are coming”

7.8 **Katoh kajon kajot**
 ka- toh ka- jon ka- jot
 C3S house C3S old C3S fall
 “The old house is falling over”

7.9 **Bañaaŋ biki Bula baya**
 ba- ñaaŋ bik- i Bula ba- ya
 C1P person C1P GEN Bula C1P go
 “The people from Bula are going”

In a transitive clause, the unmarked position of the object is after the verb.

7.10 **Ade umaanan**
 a- de u- maanan
 C1S eat C2S rice
 “He's eating rice”

7.11 **Dama akob ubuş**
 Dama a- kob u- buş
 Dama C1S hit C2S dog
 “Dama hits the dog”

Some verbs of motion can take an object without the need of another word to express semantic notions like GOAL or SOURCE, where that object is a proper noun.

7.12 **Dama aya Dakar**

Dama a- ya Dakar

Dama C1S go Dakar

“Dama is going to Dakar”

7.13 **Dama aluŋ kabi Dakar**

Dama a- luŋ k- a- bi Dakar

Dama C1S FUT IMPERF SER come Dakar

“Dama will come from Dakar”

Otherwise the GOAL or SOURCE is encoded in a locative phrase (see section 7.5):

7.14 **Aya du kaloona meet**

a- ya d- u ka- loona meet

C1S go EXT LOC.DIST C3S canvas inside

“He went inside the tent”

7.15 **Bañaaŋ baŋum babi ʔi a**

ba- ñaaŋ ba- tum ba- bi ʔ- i a

C1P person C1P many C1P come INT LOC.PROX OBJ

“Many people are coming to him”

There are verbs that can be used to create ditransitive clauses, e.g. *pwul* “give” or *pñooŋ* “take”:

7.16 **Dama awul pmoh ubuŋ**

Dama a- wul p- moh u- buŋ

Dama C1S give C4S bone C2S dog

“Dama gives the dog a bone”

7.17 **Şompi aňooŋ upi Dakar**

Şompi a- ñooŋ u- pi Dakar

Shompi C1S take C2S goat Dakar

“Shompi takes the goat to Dakar”

Following Hasplemath (2005), ditransitive clauses involve a verb denoting transfer of an entity (T) from an agent (A) to a recipient (R). As can be seen from the examples above, Mankanya does not use any special coding for either R or T (a double object construction). And the preferred order is to have the object denoting T, the entity being transferred, closest to the verb. This is not fixed and the two objects can be inverted. Because there is no overt coding this can lead to ambiguity in out of context sentences.

When the recipient R is human, and a pronoun that is not an affix is used, then the human pronoun immediately follows the verb. More detail can be found in sections 3.5 and 4.2.7.

7.18 **Dama awul baka umaanan**
 Dama a- wul baka u- maanan
 Dama C1S give C1P.OBJ C2S rice
 “She give them some rice”

7.19 **Dama awulu umaanan**
 Dama a- wul -u u- maanan
 Dama C1S give 2S.OBJ C2S rice
 “Dama gives you (sg) some rice”

With verbs like *yil* “send” or *dook* “expel”, R can be encoded with a locative phrase (see section 7.5)

7.20 **Dyila du an**
 d- yil -a d- u an
 1S send C1S.OBJ EXT LOC.DIST 2P.OBJ
 “I sent him to you”

7.21 **Baluḡ kadookan du katoh**
 ba- luḡ k- a- dook -an d- u ka- toh
 C1P FUT IMPERF SER chase 2P.OBJ EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “They will chase you from the house”

Verbs can be modified by adverbs, which occur after the object

7.22 **Aḡal poonu abuk Dama maakan**
 a- ḡal poonu a- buk Dama maakan
 C1S like girl C1AS child Dama very
 “He loved Dama's daughter a lot”

7.1.1.1 Existence

A special case of the simple sentence is that which expresses existence. This type of sentence uses the verb *ka* which is normally translated as “have”. There is no explicit subject and the verbal prefix is class 2 singular *u-*. This might have historically referred to a subject like *wal* “moment”.

7.23 **Uka du ukalabuḡ naṭaṣa**
 u- ka d- u u- kalabuḡ na- ṭaṣa
 C2S have EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison C1S teenager_(boy)
 “There was in the prison, a young man.”

- 7.24 **Uka kak baat baloŋ**
 u- ka kak b- aat ba- loŋ
 C2S have again C1P woman C1P INDEF
- bannaŋuŋ alow ašë ten**
 ba- n- naŋ -uŋ a- low a- šë ten
 C1P COREF stand SEL SER be_{far} SER SEQ look_{at}
- “There were also some women there, standing at a distance, watching.”

Compare those examples with use of *ka* to mean “have”:

- 7.25 **Ayok maakan aka ŋntaam na itaka**
 a- yok maakan a- ka ŋ- ntaam na i- taka
 C1S be_{full} very SER have C2P livestock and C4P money
- “He was very rich; he had flocks and money.”

7.1.2 Sentence with “*wo*” as a copula

There are four types of clauses that use the verb *wo* as a copula. These are stative, equative, genitive and locative clauses. In other contexts *wo* functions as an auxiliary. See sections 8.8.5 and 8.9.1.

7.1.2.1 Stative clauses (adjectival)

In stative clauses the complement of *wo* is an adjectival phrase.

- 7.26 **Katoh ki Naala kawo kafaatal**
 ka- toh k- i Naala ka- wo ka- faatal
 C3S house C3S GEN Nala C3S be C3S white
- “Naala's house is white”
- 7.27 **Katoh ki Naala kaanwo kajënël**
 ka- toh k- i Naala ka- an- wo ka- jënël
 C3S house C3S GEN Nala C3S NEG be C3S black
- “Naala's house is not black”

7.1.2.2 Equative clauses (nominal)

In equative phrases the complement of *wo* is a noun phrase.

- 7.28 **Naala awo najukan**
 Naala a- wo na- jukan
 Nala C1S be C1S teacher
- “Naala is a teacher”
- 7.29 **Napoŋ ñaaŋ naweek awo abuk naan**
 na- poŋ ñ- aaŋ na- week a- wo a- buk naan
 C1S child C1S female C1S big C1S be C1AS child 1S.GEN
- “The big girl is my daughter”

7.1.2.1 Genitive clauses

An alienable genitive phrase can follow *wo*. Alienable genitive phrases will be discussed in section 7.3.4.2.

7.30 **Dama awo i pntuk pi Şompi**
 Dama a- wo i p- ntuk p- i Şompi
 Dama C1S be GEN C4S group C4S GEN Şompi
 “Dama is in Şompi's group”

7.31 **Pdiim pawo pi Naala**
 p- diim pa- wo p- i Naala
 C4S voice C4S be C4S GEN Nala
 “The voice is that of Naala”

7.1.2.2 Locative clauses

In locative clauses *wo* is followed by a locative phrase (see section 7.5).

7.32 **Ppiiti pawo ti kabaŋ ki praata**
 p- piiti pa- wo t- i ka- baŋ k- i p- raata
 C4S pen C4S be INT LOC.PROX C3S side C3S GEN C6S bowl
 “The pencil is next to the bowl”

7.33 **Awo du buro**
 a- wo d- u buro
 C1S be EXT LOC.DIST office
 “He is at the office (far from here)”

7.1.3 Selectional suffix sentence

Some sentences have the only verb in the clause marked with the selectional suffix *-uŋ*. They are typically used for marked focus or for topicalisation, and are similar to cleft sentences in English.

An example of topicalisation occurs in the following example. The context is that a man and his two wives Naala and Dama have been introduced. Naala has been described and then this sentence occurs:

7.34 **Ul i ñiint aţuuŋ ti**
 ul i ñ- iint a- ţu -uŋ t- i
 3s.subj GEN C1S man C1S place SEL INT LOC.PROX
uhaaş wi nul
 u- haaş w- i nul
 C2S soul C2S GEN 3s.poss
 “It was she who he loved” (Lit: “She who the man had put in his soul”)

The topic of the sentence (*ul* – referring to Naala) is the object of the verb *tu* “put”. The normal position of an object is after the verb, but the normal position for the topic is clause initial. Therefore to make the object the

topic, a relative clause structure (see section 9.4.3) is used to front the object. The only verb in this sentence is the one in the “relative clause”. A literal translation would be “She who the man had put in his soul” Note that no extra material (like “It was” in English) is needed.

Sometimes a clause like this is used to mark a change of topic. In example 7.35 below Spider is reintroduced, after an episode narrating the actions of another participant. Here Spider is the subject of the sentence so no fronting occurs to align it with the topic position. However, a structure is used similar to that of a relative clause where the subject of the relative clause is a constituent of the matrix sentence (see section 9.4.3.1). However, there is no co-reference morpheme *-N* (see section 4.2.6) because there is no matrix sentence. Again no extra material is required (*kë* is there for other reasons), and a literal translation would be “So Spider too who was in the house”

7.35 **Kë ulaar kak hënk uwoon du**
 kë u- laar kak hënk u- wo -on d- u
 DS C2S spider again Narr C2S be SEL EXT LOC.DIST

katoh ki nambaabu
 ka- toh k- i na- mbaabu
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S western

“In the same way the spider was at the European's house”

These structures are also used for marked focus, for example to correct something. A response to the question *Anug ɲtëb i ?* “Did he buy fish?” might be:

7.36 **A-a , uyemaɲ wi wi anugun**
 a-a u- yemaɲ w- i w- i a- nug -un
 no! C2S meat C2S DEM.PROX C2S GEN SER buy SEL

“No, it was meat that he bought”

And response to the question *Awin Dama ɲi katoh i ?* “Did he see Dama at the house?” might be:

7.37 **A-a , Naala i i awinun**
 a-a Naala i i a- win -un
 no! Nala DEM.PROX GEN C1S see SEL

“No, it was Naala who he saw”

7.38 **A-a , du ufeeru di di**
 a-a d- u u- feeru d- i d- i
 no! EXT LOC.DIST C2S market C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN

awinulun
 a- win -ul -un
 C1S see C1S.ALT.OBJ SEL

“No, it was at the market where he saw her”

Content interrogative clauses are often sentences like these. (See section 7.2.3)

7.39 **In amaakuŋ** ?
 in a- maak -uŋ
 who? C1S be_ill SEL
 “Who is ill?”

7.40 **Wel wi bakdoluŋ** ?
 wel w- i ba- k- dol -uŋ
 what? C2S GEN C1P IMPERF do SEL
 “What are they doing?”

In these examples the question word is in the normal topic position at the front of the clause. In example 7.39, marking the verb with the selectional suffix puts marked focus on the question word. In example 7.40 the question word is the object of the verb and a relative clause structure has been used to left shift it from the object position to the position for question words.

7.1.4 Non-verbal clauses

Some clauses do not contain a verb. They are typically used to present something.

For example these following two examples only contain a noun phrase followed by the genitive particle and a demonstrative.

7.41 **Babuk naan biki biki**
 ba- buk naan bik- i bik- i
 C1P child 1S.GEN C1P GEN C1P DEM.PROX
 “Here are my children”

7.42 **Katoh ki ki**
 ka- toh k- i k- i
 C3S house C3S GEN C3S DEM.PROX
 “This is the house”

As demonstratives and genitive particles share the same form, there are several possible analyses. Demonstratives have several different roots depending on distance (*i*, *uŋ*, *undi*, *undu*) but I have not found this type of clause with anything but an *i* root, so this would seem to imply that a genitive is involved. A genitive would require a noun phrase on either side of the genitive particle, and this could be the case if the last word was a demonstrative, which sometimes can be a full noun phrase (see section 7.3.5).

The other form of presentational clause consists of a noun phrase followed by *a*.

7.43 **Nji a !**
 nji a
 1S.emph OBJ

“It is I!”

7.44 **Ajug naan a !**
 a- jug naan a
 C1AS owner 1S.GEN OBJ

“It's my master”

It seems that *a* is an expletive pronoun.

7.2 Simple clausal modifications

7.2.1 Negative clauses

In a simple clause, negation of the verb is marked by morphological changes to the verb, and additionally a distinctive intonation (see section 4.2.4). However, there is no change to the syntax of the sentence. For example:

7.45 **Dama aanka napoŋ**
 Dama a- an- ka na- poŋ
 Dama C1S NEG have C1S child

“Dama doesn't have a child”

compared with:

7.46 **Dama aka napoŋ**
 Dama a- ka na- poŋ
 Dama C1S have C1S child

“Dama has a child”

Similarly the imperative shows no difference in syntax though the morphological negation is different.

7.47 **Kten kafet !**
 k- ten ka- fet
 NEG look_at C3S behind

“Don't look behind!”

Negation of imperatives can alternatively be expressed syntactically by using *wut* “leave” as an auxiliary, to create a prohibitive.

7.48 **Nawutan kado buṭaan**
 na- wut -an k- a- do b- uṭaan
 2P leave IMP IMPERF SER do C5S evil
 “Don't do evil!”

Where a negative subject or object is used (see section 6.7), the verb must also be expressed negatively, either with morphological negation as shown in 7.49, or by using the verb *wut* as in 7.50.

7.49 **Nin ñaaŋ aanwo da**
 nin ñaaŋ a- an- wo d- a
 NEG person C1S NEG be C9S OBJ
 “No-one is there”

7.50 **Nin ñaaŋ awutan kaduk uko uloŋ**
 nin ñaaŋ a- wut -an k- a- duk u- ko u- loŋ
 NEG person C1S leave CAUS IMPERF SER keep C2S thing C2S INDEF
 “No-one is to keep anything”

There is another negative structure that is used with selection suffix clauses and non-verbal clauses. In this case the clause starts with the anaphoric demonstrative *mënṭ* followed by a noun phrase. This is a very unusual construction and I currently cannot explain how this structure has developed.

7.51 **Mënṭ babak naan biki biki**
 mënṭ ba- buk naan bik- i bik- i
 that C1P child 1S.GEN C1P GEN C1P GEN
 “These aren't my children”

7.52 **Mënṭ nji djejuŋ kanteeri**
 mënṭ nji d- jej -uŋ ka- nteeri
 that 1S.SUJ 1S take SEL C3S knife
 “It wasn't me who took the knife”

7.53 **Mënṭ naweek naan awoon naṣih**
 mënṭ na- week naan a- wo -oŋ na- ṣih
 that C1S elder_sibling 1S.GEN C1S be SEL C1S chief
 “It isn't my brother who is chief”

7.2.2 Yes/No interrogative clauses

A simple declarative clause can be transformed into a Yes/No question by the addition of the tag *i* at the end of the sentence. There is no special intonation for these types of questions.

7.54 **Ñaaṭ** **akuṇa** **uliik**
 ñ- aaṭ a- kuṇa u- liik
 C1S woman C1S carry C2S peanuts
 “The woman is carrying peanuts”

7.55 **Ñaaṭ** **akuṇa** **uliik** **i** ?
 ñ- aaṭ a- kuṇa u- liik i
 C1S woman C1S carry C2S peanuts QUEST
 “Is the woman carrying peanuts?”

7.2.3 Content interrogative clauses

An interrogative word in a simple clause replaces the phrase that is being questioned.

7.56 **Ido** **we** ?
 i- do we
 2S do what?
 “You’re doing what?”

7.57 **Ika** **bapoṭ** **hum** ?
 i- ka ba- poṭ hum
 2S have C1P child how?
 “How many children do you have?”

7.58 **Iluṇ** **kajun** **katiban** **lum** ?
 i- luṇ k- a- jun k- a- tiban lum
 2S FUT IMPERF SER begin IMPERF SER clear_(field) when?
 “When are you going to start the clearing?”

7.59 **Iwo** **abuk** **in** **ba** ?
 i- wo a- buk in ba
 2S be C1AS child who? QUES
 “Whose child are you”

As noted in section 7.1.3 it is possible to advance the interrogative to the first place in the sentence using a structure similar to a relative clause.

7.60 **Wel** **wi** **ikdoluṇ** ?
 wel w- i i- k- dol -uṇ
 what? C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL
 “What are you doing?”

7.61 **Hum di ɲhilanuŋ kabelana**
 hum d- i ɲ- hilan -uŋ k- a- bel -an -a
 how? C9S GEN 1P be_able SEL IMPERF SER shield CAUS MID
maak pi SIDA ?
 maak p- i SIDA
 illness C4S GEN AIDS
 “How do we protect ourselves against AIDS?”

Note that in example 7.60 the genitive that introduces the structure agrees with *wel* “what” as if it is in noun class 2, probably by phonological analogy. In contrast *hum* “how” in example 7.61 causes agreement in class 9 because there is no noun class where the noun prefix is *h-*. *ɲuŋ* “where” causes similar agreement. The class 9 prefix *d-* is the one used by default for all common nouns that don’t fit into other classes (typically borrowed words) and also all proper nouns which describe locations.

The interrogative pronoun *in* “who” is normally at the beginning of the phrase. Note that even though *in* is the subject, and therefore in its normal position, the verb is marked with the selectional suffix, to mark focus.

7.62 **In ankkobuŋ plēmən ?**
 in a- n- k- kob -uŋ p- lēmən
 who? C1S COREF IMPERF hit SEL C4S door
 “Who’s knocking at the door?”

7.63 **In amaakuŋ ?**
 in a- maak -uŋ
 who? C1S be_ill SEL
 “Who is ill?”

Compare that with:

7.64 **Dama amaakuŋ**
 Dama a- maak -uŋ
 Dama C1S be_ill SEL
 “It’s Dama who is ill”

Notice that the verb agreement with *in* “who” is the singular of class 1, the noun class that contains the majority of human nouns.

When the object is being questioned and is a person then *in* is also used and is normally fronted with a relative clause.

7.65 **In i ɬukma akobuŋ ?**
 in i ɬukma a- kob -uŋ
 who? GEN Thukma C1S hit SEL
 “Who did Thukma hit?”

That example can be compared with the following which would be a marked form, used in echo questions.

- 7.66 **Tukma akob in ?**
 tukma a- kob in
 Thukma C1S hit who?
 “Thukma hit who?”

The question “Why?” is formed from *wel* “what” plus the existential verb *ka* and the complementiser *kë*. The question word is the subject of *ka*, so *ka* agrees in class 2, but is in marked focus (similar to example 7.63). The literal translation might be “What thing exists that you don’t believe him”

- 7.67 **Wel ukaaŋ kë naanfiyaara ?**
 wel u- ka -aŋ kë na- an- fiyaar -a
 what? C2S have SEL COMP 2P NEG believe OBJ
 “Why don’t you believe him?”

Here are some examples where the interrogative replaces the phrase in a clause where the verb *wo* is used as a copula. In examples 7.69 and 7.70, the question words are not fronted, but in contrast to the above example, these are the unmarked forms of these questions. This maybe related to the use of *wo* to give negative meaning in relative clauses (see section 9.4.3):

- 7.68 **In awoon naŋilan ?**
 in a- wo -uŋ na- ŋilan
 who? C1S be SEL C1S liar
 “Who is the liar?”

- 7.69 **Katimu kawo hum ?**
 ka- tim -u ka- wo hum
 C3S name 2S.POSS C3S be how?
 “What is your name?”

- 7.70 **Katohu kawo tuŋ ?**
 ka- toh -u ka- wo tu- uŋ
 C3S house 2S.POSS C3S be INT LOC.DIST
 “Where is your house?”

An interrogative can also replace a phrase in a non verbal clause.

- 7.71 **Wel wi wi ?**
 wel w- i w- i
 what? C2S GEN C2S DEM.PROX
 “What is this?”

An interrogative can replace a sentential complement.

7.72 **Wel wi ifiyaaruŋ ?**
 wel w- i i- fiyaar -uŋ
 what? C2S GEN C3P believe SEL

“What do you believe?”

With any content interrogative clause, it is possible to finish with the interrogative particle *ba*. Its usage is optional.

7.73 **In aŋuwiŋ pdo haŋ ba ?**
 in a- ŋuw -i -iŋ p- do haŋ ba
 who? SER place 2S.SEL.OBJ SEL INF do DEM QUES

“Who gave you permission to do this?”

7.74 **Aba do do we ba ?**
 a- ba do do we ba
 C1S CMLPTV do do what? QUES

“What has he just done?”

7.2.4 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses never have an explicit subject. Where there is a sequence of related imperatives clauses, the first verb is in the imperative and following verbs have the declarative form with a second person subject.

7.75 **ŋiin ibuuran ubida wi nu !**
 ŋi -in i- buur -an u- bida w- i nu
 run IMP 2S escape CAUS C2S life C2S GEN 2S.POSS

“Run and save your life!”

7.76 **Kten kafet ibot iwut**
 k- ten ka- fet i- bot i- wut
 NEG look_at C3S behind 2S do_something_next 2S leave

kanaŋ nin dko dloŋ ŋi
 k- a- naŋ nin d- ko d- loŋ ŋ- i
 IMPERF SER stand NEG C9S place C9S INDEF INT LOC.PROX

uŋaak wi !
 u- ŋaak w- i
 C2S country C2S DEM.PROX

“Don't look back and don't stop anywhere in this country!”

7.3 Noun Phrase

7.3.1 Structure

The head noun is normally first in the phrase followed by its modifiers.

7.77	bapoṭ	baweek	bawajënt
	ba- poṭ	ba- week	ba- wajënt
	C1P child	C1P big	C1P three
	N	ADJ	NUM

“Three big children”

However, when a noun phrase is negated the negative particle precedes the noun.

7.78	nin	ñaan
	nin	ñaan
	NEG	person
	NEG	N

“No-one”

Based on the examples I have in my corpus the most frequent order of the constituents is:

NEG N GENN ADJ PTCPP NUM ORD GENP DEM QUANT RELC

Where

NEG	Negative particle
N	Noun
GENN	Genitive Noun (Inalienable)
ADJ	Adjective or series of Adjectives
PTCPP	Participle Phrase
NUM	Cardinal Number
ORD	Ordinal Number
GENP	Genitive Phrase (Alienable)
DEM	Demonstrative
QUANT	Quantifier (including adjectival quantifiers)
RELC	Relative Clause

Relative clauses and participle clauses are dealt with in sections 9.4.3 and 9.4.4.

Here are some examples of noun phrases:

- 7.79 **bapoṭ** **baweek** **bawajënt** **biki**
 ba- poṭ ba- week ba- wajënt bik- i
 C1P child C1P big C1P three C1P GEN
 N ADJ NUM DEM
 “These three big children”
- 7.80 **bapoṭ** **baweek** **bawajënt** **biki** **bti**
 ba- poṭ ba- week ba- wajënt bik- i bti
 C1P child C1P big C1P three C1P GEN all
 N ADJ NUM DEM QUANT
 “All these three big children”
- 7.81 **nin** **ñaaŋ** (same as example 7.78)
 nin ñaaŋ
 NEG person
 NEG N
 “No-one”
- 7.82 **nin** **uko** **uloŋ**
 nin u- ko u- loŋ
 NEG C2S thing C2S INDEF
 NEG N DET
 “Nothing”
- 7.83 **bapoṭ** **biki** **Dama** **bti**
 ba- poṭ bik- i Dama bti
 C1P child C1P GEN Dama all
 N [GENP] QUANT
 “All Dama's children”
- 7.84 **bapoṭ** **biint** **biki** **Dama** **bti**
 ba- poṭ b iint bik- i Dama bti
 C1P child C1P man C1P GEN Dama all
 N ADJ [GENP] QUANT
 “All Dama's boys” (Lit. male children)
- 7.85 **baweek** **Dama** **bti**
 ba- week Dama bti
 C1P elder_sibling Dama all
 N GENN QUANT
 “All Dama's elder siblings”
- 7.86 **baweek** **Dama** **biint** **bti**
 ba- week Dama b iint bti
 C1P elder_sibling Dama C1P man all
 N GENN ADJ QUANT
 “All Dama's elder brothers”

7.87 **katoh ki naṣih ki**
 ka- toh k- i na- ṣih k- i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief C3S DEM.PROX
 N [GENP] DEM
 “This house of the chief”

7.88 **katoh ki naṣih i**
 ka- toh k- i na- ṣih i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief DEM.PROX
 N [GENP]
 “The house of this chief”

7.89 **iko yi bti**
 i- ko y- i bti
 C3P thing C3P DEM.PROX all
 N DEM QUANT
 “All these things”

7.90 **unuur uteek wi ufettu wi Şompi**
 u- nuur u- teek w- i u- festu w- i Şompi
 C2S day C2S first C2S GEN C2S feast C2S GEN Shompi
 N ORD [GENP [GENP]]
 “The first day of Shompi's feast”

7.91 **ḡpi ḡwajënt ḡteek**
 ḡ- pi ḡ- wajënt ḡ- teek
 C2P goat C2P three C2P first
 N NUM ORD
 “The first three goats”

7.92 **dko dmoyni danwoonj**
 d- ko d- moy -n -i da- n- wo -onj
 C9S place C9S bury CAUS PTCP C9S COREF be SEL
 N PTCP [RELP]

du uṭeḥ meet
 d- u u- teḥ meet
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field inside
]

“the burial place that is in the field”

7.93 **dko dhankni ḡdeey ḡi naan bti**
 d- ko d- hank -n -i ḡ- deey ḡ- i naan bti
 C9S place C9S keep CAUS PTCP C2P grain C2P GEN 1S.GEN all
 N [PTCP]
 “place for keeping all my grain”

- 7.94 **bṭeem** **bmpoṭi** **bbuurni**
 b- ṭeem b- m- poṭ -i b- buur -n -i
 C5S pirogue C5S COREF be_small PTCP C5S escape CAUS PTCP
 N PTCP PTCP
 “small rescue boat”

7.3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives follow the noun and agree with it.

- 7.95 **katoh** **kajinṭ**
 ka- toh ka- jinṭ
 C3S house C3S clean
 “clean house”

- 7.96 **iyeeh** **ijon**
 i- yeeh i- jon
 C3P song C3P old
 “old song”

- 7.97 **naṣih** **najeenkal**
 na- ṣih na- jeenk -al
 C1S chief C1S red CHG
 “red chief (paramount chief)”

- 7.98 **ṅnkaneel** **ṅmpoṭi** **ṅwaaṭ**
 ṅ- nkaneel ṅ- mpoṭi ṅ- waaṭ
 C2P sheep C2P small C2P female
 “small ewes”

- 7.99 **ṅnkaneel** **ṅwaaṭ** **ṅjēnal**
 ṅ- nkaneel ṅ- waaṭ ṅ- jēn -al
 C2P sheep C2P female C2P be_black CHG
 “black ewes”

There is some evidence of semantic ordering if there are multiple adjectives. For example the two adjectives that quantify, *tum* “many” and *ntiinku* “few”, must appear after any other adjectives.

- 7.100 **katoh** **kaweek** **katum**
 ka- toh ka- week ka- tum
 C3S house C3S big C3S many
 “Many big houses”

- 7.101 **meel** **mntiinku**
 meel m- ntiinku
 water C8 in_small_amount
 “a little water”

7.3.3 Cardinal Numbers

A cardinal number always follows the noun, but it can be before or after an adjective:

7.102 **kpiiti** **ktëb** **kweek**
 k- piiti k- tëb k- week
 C5P.DEF pen C5P.DEF two C5P.DEF big
 “Two big pens”

7.103 **kpiiti** **kweek** **ktëb**
 k- piiti k- week k- tëb
 C5P.DEF pen C5P.DEF big C5P.DEF two
 “Two big pens”

7.104 **kpiiti** **kjeenkak** **ktëb** **kweek**
 k- piiti k- jeenkak k- tëb k- week
 C5P.DEF pen C5P.DEF red C5P.DEF two C5P.DEF big
 “Two big red crayons”

7.3.4 Genitive Constructions

Mankanya has two slightly different forms of genitive construction, which I label in this thesis as alienable and inalienable. The inalienable construction consists of the genitive noun immediately following the head noun.

7.105 **aşin** **naşih**
 a- şin na- şih
 C1AS father C1S chief
 “the chief’s father”

The alienable construction requires the genitive particle.

7.106 **upi** **wi** **naşih**
 u- pi w- i na- şih
 C2S goat C2S GEN C1S chief
 “the chief’s goat”

For more detail see section 7.3.4.2.

In section 3.3.3 I listed the pronominal possessor suffixes which are used with inalienable nouns, and the pronouns that replace the possessor of an alienable noun. In this section I will show the two genitive constructions, which correspond to the two types of genitive relation.

I refer to these constructions as genitive to reflect the fact that they cover more relations than simple possession, for example relations such as origin, description or composition.

7.3.4.1 Inalienable Genitive Construction

The inalienable genitive construction is used with the small number of nouns that are inalienably possessed. These are the kinship terms found in noun class 1a, plus other kinship terms in class 1 like *naweeek* “elder sibling” and *nabuk* “offspring”.

In an inalienable genitive construction the genitive noun phrase is unmarked and follows the head noun without being preceded by any particle. Any adjectives must follow it.

7.107	a. <i>naweeek Naala</i>	Nala's older sibling
	b. <i>naweeek Naala niinṭ</i>	Nala's older brother
	c. <i>naweeek Naala anin Dama</i>	The older brother of Nala the mother of Dama
	d. <i>anin naṣih</i>	The chief's mother
	e. <i>babuk aṣin</i>	Siblings (father's offspring)

In addition there are a small number of other words from other classes e.g. *katim* “name”, *katoh* “house(hold)”, *ulemp* “work”, *uhaaṣ* “soul”, *uleef* “body”, which can use the either form of genitive construction. Often these other words are used with a possessive suffix for pronominal contexts, but full possessor noun phrases are usually headed by the genitive particle. Apart from *uleef* “body”, all body parts use the alienable genitive construction described in the next section.

7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction

Most nouns are alienably possessed. In this case the head noun is followed by a genitive phrase which is headed by the genitive particle. (See section 6.1.6). The genitive particle agrees with the head noun.

The genitive particle is followed either by a noun phrase (most of the examples below) or by a possessive pronoun (example 7.109 - see section 3.5 for the full paradigm).

An alienable genitive construction can be used to express a wide variety of relationships between the two nouns.

- Possession

7.108	katoh	ki	naṣih
	ka- toh	k- i	na- ṣih
	C3S house	C3S GEN	C1S chief
	“the chief's house”		

7.109	upi	wi	naan
	u- pi	w- i	naan
	C2S goat	C2S GEN	1S.GEN
	“my goat”		

7.110 **katoh ki naweek i skoola**
 ka- toh k- i na- week i skoola
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S leader GEN school
 “The head teacher's house”

7.111 **katoh ki aninun ñiinṭ**
 ka- toh k- i a- nin -un ñ- iinṭ
 C3S house C3S GEN C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man
 “My maternal uncle's house”

- Origin

7.112 **bañaaj biki Bula**
 ba- ñaaṭ bik- i Bula
 C1P person C1P GEN Bula
 “the people of Bula”

- Scope

7.113 **naṣih i bahula**
 na- ṣih i ba- hula
 C1S chief GEN C1P Mankanya
 “the king of the Mankanya”

- Type

7.114 **batani bi ṅnkuma**
 ba- tani bi ṅ- nkuma
 C5S herd PAST C2P pig
 “herd of pigs”

- Location

7.115 **ptoof pi bdëk**
 p- toof p- i b- dëk
 C4S half C4S GEN C5S sea
 “middle of the sea”

7.3.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives appear after adjectives and numbers in the noun phrase.

7.116 **katoh kaweek ki**
 ka- toh ka- week k- i
 C3S house C3S big C3S DEM.PROX
 “this big house”

7.117 **upi** **ujënal** **wuŋ**
 u- pi u- jën -al w- uŋ
 C2S goat C2S be_black CHG C2S DEM.DIST
 “that black goat”

7.118 **ŋpi** **ŋtëb** **ŋi**
 ŋ- pi ŋ- tëb ŋ- i
 C2P goat C2P two C2P DEM.PROX
 “these two goats”

The demonstrative can be used in embedded noun phrases (e.g. as part of a genitive phrase). Because such phrases occur between the head noun and the demonstrative, it can lead to sentences with different syntactic structure having the same surface word order. In the two examples below the word order is N GEN N DEM. Such situations are often disambiguated by the agreement on the demonstrative. So in 7.119 the demonstrative agrees with the head noun *katoh*, which shows that the sentence structure is [[N GEN N] DEM]. In example 7.120 the demonstrative agrees with the embedded noun *naših*, so the structure is [N GEN [N DEM]].

7.119 **katoh** **ki** **naših** **ki**
 ka- toh k- i na- ših k- i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief C3S DEM.PROX
 “This house of the chief”

7.120 **katoh** **ki** **naših** **i**
 ka- toh k- i na- ših i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief DEM.PROX
 “The house of this chief”

This is different to adjectives which appear before genitive phrases.

7.121 **katoh** **kaweek** **ki** **naših** **ki**
 ka- toh ka- week k- i na- ših k- i
 C3S house C3S big C3S GEN C1S chief C3S DEM.PROX
 “This big house of the chief”

7.3.6 Determiners

The position of the determiner *ndoli* “each” seems to be after adjectives but before genitive phrases.

7.122 **unuur** **undoli** **wi** **pnoorfën**
 u- nuur u- ndoli w- i p- noorfën
 C2S day C2S each C2S GEN INF rest
 “each day of rest”

7.123 **iko** **iwuṭaan** **indoli** **yi** **ḡleef**
 i- ko i- wuṭaan i- ndoli y- i ḡ- leef
 C3P thing C3P evil C3P each C3P GEN C2P body

ḡi **nja** **ḡaḡaluḡ**
 ḡ- i nja ḡa- ḡal -uḡ
 C2P GEN 1P.poss C2P like SEL

“every evil thing that our bodies desire”

The position of *loḡ* “indefinite” is quite variable.

7.124 **pnkuḡ** **ploḡ** **pweek**
 p- nkunḡ p- loḡ p- week
 C4S hill C4S INDEF C4S older

“a big hill”

7.125 **batani** **bweek** **bi** **ḡnkuma** **bloḡ**
 ba- tani b- week b- i ḡ- nkuma b- loḡ
 C5S herd C5S big C5S GEN C2P pig C5S INDEF

“a big herd of pigs”

7.126 **umpëlënt** **uloḡ** **ufaatal**
 u- mpëlënt u- loḡ u- faatal
 C2S horse C2S INDEF C2S white

“A white horse”

7.127 **ḡlemp** **ḡtum** **ḡloḡ**
 ḡ- lemp ḡ- tum ḡ- loḡ
 C2P work C2P many C2P INDEF

“many types of job”

7.128 **uṭeeh** **uloḡ** **umpaṭi**
 u- ṭeeh u- loḡ u- mpaṭ -i
 C2S field C2S INDEF C2S separately PTCP

“a different field”

7.129 **iko** **iloḡ** **iweek** **injaan**
 i- ko i- loḡ i- week i- n- ja -aḡ
 C3P thing C3P INDEF C3P big C3P COREF HAB SEL

ijeehan

i- jeehan

C3P shine

“some big things that shine”

7.3.7 Quantifiers

The two adjectives that quantify have been described in section 7.3.2 above. The invariable quantifiers *bti* “all, entirety” and *ṭaṇ* “only” occur at the end of a noun phrase, even after a relative clause.

- 7.130 **uṭaak** **bṭi**
 u- ṭaak bṭi
 C2S country all
 “the whole country”
- 7.131 **ḡko** **ḡmpoṭi** **bṭi**
 ḡ- ko ḡ- mpoṭi bṭi
 C2P animals C2P small all
 “all the little animals”
- 7.132 **uko** **uloolan** **ṭañ**
 u- ko u- loolan ṭañ
 C2S thing C2S one only
 “only one thing”
- 7.133 **bukal** **batëb** **bṭi**
 bukal ba- tëb bṭi
 3p.subj C1P two all
 “both of them”
- 7.134 **ḡwal** **ḡntiinku** **ṭañ**
 ḡ- wal ḡ- ntiinku ṭañ
 C2P time C2P in_small_amount only
 “just a little time”
- 7.135 **uko** **uloolan** **ṭañ**
 u- ko u- loolan ṭañ
 C2S thing C2S one only
 “only one thing”
- 7.136 **bañaḡ** **biki** **mboṣ** **bṭi**
 ba- ñaḡ bik- i mboṣ bṭi
 C1P person C1P GEN earth all
 “All the people of the world”
- 7.137 **uṭaak** **wi** **ikwinuḡ** **wuḡ** **bṭi**
 u- ṭaak w- i i- k- win -uḡ w- uḡ bṭi
 C2S country C2S GEN 2S IMPERF see SEL C2S DEM.DIST all
 “All that land that you see”
- 7.138 **abukul** **i** **aḡaluḡ** **ṭañ**
 a- buk -ul i a- ḡal -uḡ ṭañ
 C1AS child 3s.POSS GEN C1S like SEL only
 “only his son whom he loved”
- 7.139 **ḡko** **ḡmpoṭi** **ḡankyiṭuḡ** **bṭi**
 ḡ- ko ḡ- mpoṭi ḡa- n- k- yiṭ -uḡ bṭi
 C2P animals C2P small C2P COREF IMPERF fly SEL all
 “all the little flying animals”

Compare 7.139 with the position of the quantifying adjective in 7.140 which comes before the relative clause.

7.140 **Bañaaŋ baŋum banktiinkuluŋ**
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- tum ba- n- k- tiink -ul -uŋ
 C1P person C1P many C1P COREF IMPERF hear 3s.POSS SEL
 “many people who were listening to him”

Sometimes the invariable quantifiers occur at the end of noun phrase that is embedded in another noun phrase.

7.141 **ŋkaŋ bti ŋi baŋi**
 ŋ- kaŋ bti ŋ- i ba- ŋi
 C2P bird all C2P GEN C5S sky
 “All the birds of the air”

7.142 **iko inuura iweek bti yi**
 i- ko i- nuura i- week bti y- i
 C3P thing C3P good C3P big all C3P GEN

ikdoluŋ

i- k- dol -uŋ
 2S IMPERF do SEL
 “All the things that you are doing”

The invariable quantifiers normally occur after a demonstrative:

7.143 **iko yi bti**
 i- ko y- i bti
 C3P thing C3P DEM.PROX all
 “All these things”

7.144 **utaak wi bti**
 u- taak w- i bti
 C2S country C2S DEM.PROX all
 “All this country”

7.4 Infinitival clauses

As noted in section 5.1 the infinitive form of the verb, with prefix *p-*, cannot be used with a subject, but can take objects. The resulting clause is nominal in nature and can be used where noun phrases are used.

They can occur as the subject of a clause:

7.145 **Pwala** **katëmp** **paanwo** **nin uko**
 p- wala ka- tëmp pa- an- wo nin u- ko
 INF come_down C3S circumcision C4S NEG be NEG C2S thing

uloŋ

u- loŋ
 C2S INDEF

“To be circumcised is nothing”

They also occur as a complement, most commonly when the subject of the verb is the subject of the sentential complement.

7.146 **dŋal** **pnug** **kamiša** **kahalu**
 d- ŋal p- nug ka- miša ka- halu
 1s like INF buy C3S shirt C3S new

“I want to buy a new shirt”

They can be modified by adverbs which don’t normally modify nouns

7.147 **dŋal** **pjuk** **iyeeh** **yi** **nan** **yi**
 d- ŋal p- juk i- yeeh y- i nan y- i
 1s like INF learn C3P song C3P GEN 2P.POSS C3P GEN

bnuura

bnuura
 well

“I want to learn your songs well”

They can also be possessed:

7.148 **Mënt** **pbi** **pi** **nul** **paŋjuŋ** **uko**
 mënt p- bi p- i nul pa- ŋij -uŋ u- ko
 not INF come C4S GEN C1S.POSS C4S bring SEL C2S thing

mënt

mënt
 that

“It was not his coming that caused this thing”

7.149 **phaj** **pi** **naan**
 p- haj p- i naan
 INF suffer C4S GEN 1S.POSS

“my sufferings”

They can also be used with certain action verbs to indicate a purpose.

7.150 **dya** **pnug** **ulibra** **uhalu**
 d- ya p- nug u- libra u- halu
 1s go INF buy C2S book C2S new

“I’m going (in order to) buy a new book”

7.5 Locative phrases

A locative phrase is a phrase headed by one of the locative particles *ti*, *tuŋ*, *di*, *duŋ*, followed by a noun phrase.

7.151 **ti** **ptoof** **pi** **meel**
 t- i p- toof p- i meel
 INT LOC.PROX C4S half C4S GEN water
 “in the middle of the water”

7.152 **ti** **dko** **dloolan**
 t- i d- ko d- loolan
 INT LOC.PROX C9S place C9S one
 “in one place”

7.153 **du** **utaak** **wi** **baka**
 d- u u- taak w- i baka
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S country C2S GEN C2P.OBJ
 “in their country”

The noun phrase may contain one of four modifying locative nouns (*meet* “inside”, *bdig* “outside”, *uŋteh* “under”, *duuŋ* “on, on top”). These words do not agree with the noun as an adjective does, and appear at the end of the noun phrase. This is could be analysed as the nouns being in an inalienable relation (see section 7.3.4.2)

7.154 **ti** **upuur** **meet**
 t- i u- puur meet
 INT LOC.PROX C2S boat inside
 “inside the boat”

7.155 **ti** **bko** **bloŋ** **uŋteh**
 t- i b- ko b- loŋ uŋteh
 INT LOC.PROX C7S object C7S INDEF under
 “under a tree”

7.156 **du** **uleef** **bdig**
 d- u u- leef bdig
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S body outside
 “outside the body”

7.157 **du** **pnkuŋ** **duuŋ**
 d- u p- nkuŋ duuŋ
 EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill on
 “on top of the hill”

7.158 **ṭi** **mboṣ** **mi** **pndiiṣ** **duuṭ**
 ṭ- i mboṣ m- i p- ndiiṣ duuṭ
 INT LOC.PROX earth C8 GEN C4S desert on
 “on the surface of the desert floor”

There are also 5 locative nouns – *kabaṣ* “side”, *kadun* “front”, *kafet* “back”, *kadeenu* “right” and *kamayu* “left”, which can appear as the head of the noun phrase embedded in the locative phrase. They are all in noun class 3 with the *ka-* prefix, possibly because the last four nouns developed from adjectives modifying the noun *kabaṣ* “side”.

7.159 **ṭi** **kadun**
 ṭ- i ka- dun
 INT LOC.PROX C3S front
 “in front”

7.160 **ṭi** **kadeenu**
 ṭ- i ka- deenu
 INT LOC.PROX C3S right
 “on the right”

7.161 **ṭi** **kadun** **ki** **katoh** **ki**
 ṭ- i ka- dun k- i ka- toh k- i
 INT LOC.PROX C3S front C3S GEN C3S house C3S GEN

naṣih

na- ṣih

C1S chief

“in front of the chief’s house”

7.162 **ṭi** **kafet** **ki** **bṭeem**
 ṭ- i ka- fet k- i b- ṭeem
 INT LOC.PROX C3S behind C3S GEN C5S pirogue
 “behind the boat”

7.163 **ṭi** **kadeenu** **ki** **baka**
 ṭ- i ka- deenu k- i baka
 INT LOC.PROX C3S right C3S GEN C2P.OBJ
 “on their right”

7.164 **ṭi** **kamayu** **ki** **aṣin**
 ṭ- i ka- mayu k- i a- ṣin
 INT LOC.PROX C3S left C3S GEN C1AS father
 “on the left of the father”

Unlike the 3s possessive pronoun shown in example 7.163 above the 1s possessive pronoun is used with the inalienable form of genitive construction. Other possessives can be expressed either way.

7.165 **ṭi kadun naan**
 ṭ- i ka- dun naan
 INT LOC.PROX C3S front 1S.POSS
 “in front of me”

At least *deenu* and *mayu* can be used as adjectival roots in non locational phrases.

7.166 **pkēṣ pi nu pdeenu**
 p- kēṣ p- i nu p- deenu
 C4S eye C4S GEN 2S.POSS C4S right
 “your right eye”

Locatives can be either verbal complements, or adjuncts. This difference can be seen when the locative is fronted; the verb must use the selectional suffix when the locative is a complement, but can be unchanged when it is an adjunct (example 7.169).

7.167 **awin pliik ploṅ du uṭeeh**
 a- win p- liik p- loṅ d- u u- ṭeeh
 C1S see C6S well C4S INDEF EXT LOC.DIST C2S field
 “He saw a well in the field”

7.168 **Du ukalabuṣ mēntṭ di di**
 d- u u- kalabuṣ mēntṭ d- i d- i
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison that C9S DEM.PROX EXT GEN

Yotef awooṅ
 Yotef a- wo -oṅ
 Joseph C1S be SEL
 “It was in the prison where Joseph was”

7.169 **du uṭeeh awin pliik ploṅ**
 d- u u- ṭeeh a- win p- liik p- loṅ
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field C1S see C6S well C4S INDEF
 “In the field, he saw a well”

7.170 **abēkan napoṭ ṭi bko bloṅ**
 a- bēkan na- poṭ ṭ- i b- ko b- loṅ
 C1S put_down C1S child INT LOC.PROX C7S tree C7S INDEF
uṭeeh
 uṭeeh
 under
 “She put him down under the tree”

7.171 **bapēn du Ziguinchor**
 ba- pēn d- u Ziguinchor
 C1P go_out EXT LOC.DIST Ziguinchor
 “They left Ziguinchor”

Sometimes with verbs of motion the locative is dropped, the location becomes a simple noun phrase. Both the following examples are equivalent.

7.172 **aban du ubeeka**
 a- ban d- u u- beeka
 C1S arrive EXT LOC.DIST C2S town
 “He arrived at the town”

7.173 **aban ubeeka**
 a- ban u- beeka
 C1S arrive C2S town
 “He arrived at the town”

Locative particles are neutral with respect to directionality. For example the following sentences uses the locative particle *ʒi* where English requires “from” or “out of”.

7.174 **ʒenaan meel mntiinku**
 ʒen -aan meel m- ntiinku
 give_(as_present) 1S.OBJ water C8 in_small_amount
ʒi pdunku
 ʒ- i p- dunk -u
 INT LOC.PROX C4S pot 2S.POSS
 “Give me a little water from your pot”

Directionality is only expressed in some verbs, like *ya* “go” and *bi* “come”, where the direction is in relation to the speaker or by adding the derivative benefactive morpheme *-ar* to a neutral verb like *poş* “walk”.

7.175 **aya du katoh**
 a- ya d- u ka- toh
 C1S go EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “He's going to the house” / “He's going from the house”

7.176 **abi du katoh**
 a- bi d- u ka- toh
 C1S come EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “He's coming to the house” / “He's coming from the house”

7.177 **apoşar du katoh**
 a- poş -ar d- u ka- toh
 C1S walk BEN EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “He's walking towards the house”

Locative phrases can be also be used to express non-physical locations, e.g. *ʒi* and *ʒuʒ* are often used to express a location in time.

7.178 **ṭi wal wi**
 ṭ- i w- al w- i
 INT LOC.PROX C2S moment C2S DEM.PROX
 “at this time”

7.179 **ṭuṅ ṅnuur mēnṭan**
 ṭ- uṅ ṅ- nuur mēnṭan
 INT LOC.DIST C2P day that
 “in those days”

7.6 Temporal phrases

Temporal phrases have no specific syntactic form, they are simply noun, locative or prepositional phrases that express time.

A temporal noun phrase can be a simple time noun, or combinations of time nouns:

7.180 **Dko daluṅ kajeeh faan**
 d- ko da- luṅ k- a- jeeh faan
 C9S place C9S FUT IMPERF SER be_bright tomorrow
 “The weather will be good tomorrow” (Lit: The place will be bright tomorrow)

7.181 **Takal na utejan dyeeh**
 takal na d- tejan d- yeeh
 yesterday and C2S night C9S sing
 “Last night, I sang”

Or more complex noun phrases:

7.182 **Unuur uṭēbantēn , banaṭa na nfa**
 u- nuur u- tēb -antēn ba- naṭ -a na nfa
 C2S day C2S two ORD C1P stand MID and morning

kub

kub

early

“On the second day, they got up early”

They are commonly headless relative clauses, with the implied head noun being *wal* “moment, time”.

7.183 **Wi bapēnuṅ ṭi meel**
 wi ba- pēn -uṅ ṭ- i meel
 when C1P go_out SEL INT LOC.PROX water
 “When they came out of the water...”

7.184 **Wi ηnuur ηloŋ ηaṭəpuŋ**
 wi η- nuur η- loŋ ηa- ṭəp -uŋ
 when C2P day C2P INDEF C2P pass SEL
 “After some days had passed...”

7.185 **Wi unuur ujinṭuŋ**
 wi u- nuur u- jinṭ -uŋ
 when C2S day C2S be_clean SEL
 “When day broke...”

Temporal phrases are often placed at the beginning or end of a sentence. However, temporal phrases which are not relative clauses are also found immediately after the verb, before any object which is an independent word.

7.186 **Bade nṭa blant na nji**
 ba- de nṭa b- lant na nji
 C1P eat today C5S lunch and 1s.subj
 “They’re eating lunch with me today”

7.187 **Kë Naala ajej unuur mēntṭ bgah aya Dakar**
 kë Naala a- jej u- nuur mēntṭ b- gah a- ya Dakar
 DS Nala C1S take C2S day that C5S way SER go Dakar
 “So Naala set off that day to go to Dakar”

7.188 **Yaan faan na nfa du Dakar**
 ya -an faan na nfa d- u Dakar
 go Imp tomorrow and morning EXT LOC.DIST Dakar
 “Go tomorrow morning to Dakar”

In the following example, in order to put the focus on the time of the event, a relative clause is used to bring the time noun before the verb.

7.189 **Uko mēntṭ faan di di**
 u- ko mēntṭ faan d- i d- i
 C2S thing that tomorrow C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN

ukwooŋ

u- k- wo -oŋ
 C2S IMPERF be SEL
 “This thing will happen tomorrow”

Examples 7.178 and 7.179 in the previous section show locative phrases that express time.

Certain nouns which denote a part of the day e.g. *nfa* “morning” and *utejan* “night”, always appear in a prepositional phrase headed by *na* “with”.

7.190 **Na utejan mēnt bawul ašin baka**
 na u- tejan mēnt ba- wul a- şin baka
 and C2S night that C1P give C1AS father C1P.OBJ

poot

poot

wine

“That same night they gave their father wine”

7.191 **Şompi anaşa na nfa kub**
 Şompi a- naş -a na nfa kub
 Shompi C1S stand MID and morning early

“Shompi got up early in the morning”

7.7 Pronouns

7.7.1 Personal pronouns

In Mankanya personal pronouns indicate the person and number of the subject, and in the case of non-humans, the class. See sections 3.5 for the complete paradigm.

7.7.1.1 Independent subject pronouns

Independent subject pronouns are not often used in a neutral phrase to replace the subject noun or noun phrase. The subject prefix is sufficient to indicate the person, number and class of the subject. For example:

7.192 **Bakob babi**
 ba- kob ba- bi
 C1P drummer C1P come

“The drummers are coming”

7.193 **Babi**
 ba- bi
 C1P come

“They are coming”

7.194 **Upi ude**
 u- pi u- de
 C2S goat C2S eat

“The goat is eating”

7.195 **Ude**
 u- de
 C2S eat

“It eats”

The subject prefix on the verb is still required even when a pronoun is used as the subject.

Independent subject pronouns are used to express the subject, when the subject is in marked focus. They can either be used in an independent vocative phrase:

7.196 **Iwi** , **iyeeh**
 iwi i- yeeh
 2S.SUBJ 2S sing

“You, you sing”

Or in subject position:

7.197 **Kë ul ašë yomp yomp**
 kë ul a- šë yomp yomp
 DS 3S.SUBJ C1S SEQ be_quiet be_quiet

“But he remained silent”

They are also used if a pronoun is needed in a coordinated noun phrase:

7.198 **Šompi aya afët du pnkuŋ** ,
 Šompi a- ya a- fët d- u p- nkuŋ
 Shompi C1S go C1S dwell EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill

ul na babukul baať batëb
 ul na ba- buk -ul b- aať ba- tëb
 3S.SUBJ and C1P child 3S.POSS C1P female C1P two

“Shompi and his two daughters left to go and live in the hills”

7.199 **Ul na baťašarul baando hılan**
 ul na ba- řašar -ul ba- an- do hılan
 3S.SUBJ and C1P follower 3S.POSS C1P NEG INGR be_able

pde

p- de

INF eat

“He and his followers were not even able to eat”

7.200 **Nji na napoť ŋya Ziguinchor**
 ŋji na na- poť ŋ- ya Ziguinchor
 1S.SUBJ and C1S child 1P go Ziguinchor

“My child and I are going to Ziguinchor”

The 1st singular subject pronoun is also commonly used in relative clauses and other situations where the 1st person subject prefix is pre-nasalisation.

7.201 **bhoŋar bi nji ndoluŋ**
 b- hoŋ -ar b- i nji n- dol -uŋ
 C5S promise BEN C5S GEN 1S.SUBJ 1S.SEL do SEL

“the promise that I made”

7.202 **uko wi nji n̄tupuŋ**
 u- ko w- i n̄ji n- ̄tup -uŋ
 C2S thing C2S GEN 1S.SUBJ 1S.SEL announce SEL
 “the thing that I announced”

7.7.1.2 Object pronouns

Object pronouns follow the verb.

Most of the human object pronouns are suffixes which start with a vowel. Only the class 1 plural pronoun, which starts with a consonant is an independent word. All pronouns referring to non-human classes are also separate words.

7.203 **Fukma akob Naala**
 ̄tukma a- kob Naala
 Thukma C1S hit Nala
 “Thukma hits Naala”

7.204 **Fukma akoba**
 ̄tukma a- kob -a
 Thukma C1S hit 3s.OBJ
 “Thukma hits her”

7.205 **Fukma akob bapoŋ**
 ̄tukma a- kob ba- poŋ
 Thukma C1S hit C1P child
 “Thukma hits the children”

7.206 **Fukma akob baka**
 ̄tukma a- kob baka
 Thukma C1S hit C2P.OBJ
 “Thukma hits them”

7.207 **Fukma akob upi**
 ̄tukma a- kob u- pi
 Thukma C1S hit C2S goat
 “Thukma hits the goat”

7.208 **Fukma akob wa**
 ̄tukma a- kob w- a
 Thukma C1S hit C2S OBJ
 “Thukma hits it (goat)”

In a ditransitive clause where the pronoun is written as independent word, the pronoun always follows the verb.

7.209 **Fukma aṭen kamiṣa Ṣaja**
 ʔukma a- ʔen ka- miṣa Ṣaja
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3S shirt Ṣaja
 “Thukma gives a shirt to Ṣaja”

7.210 **Fukma aṭena kamiṣa**
 ʔukma a- ʔen -a ka- miṣa
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) OBJ C3S shirt
 “Thukma gives her a shirt”

7.211 **Fukma aṭen ka Ṣaja**
 ʔukma a- ʔen k- a Ṣaja
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3S OBJ Ṣaja
 “Thukma gives it to Ṣaja”

This is the case even for an indirect object.

7.212 **Fukma aṭen ikaalu upi**
 ʔukma a- ʔen i- kaalu u- pi
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3P food C2S goat
 “Thukma gives food to the goat”

7.213 **Fukma aṭen wa ikaalu**
 ʔukma a- ʔen w- a i- kaalu
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C2S OBJ C3P food
 “Thukma gives it the food”

When two non-human pronouns are used the direct object directly follows the verb.

7.214 **Fukma aṭen ya wa**
 ʔukma a- ʔen y- a w- a
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3P OBJ C2S OBJ
 “Thukma gives it (food) to it (goat)”

Normally the Mankanya avoid using two human pronouns together. The following example is possible but rare.

7.215 **Fukma awula a**
 ʔukma a- wul -a a
 Thukma C1S give 3s.OBJ OBJ
 “Thukma gives him to her”

7.7.2 Non-personal pronouns

7.7.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

I have already discussed demonstratives in section 7.3.5.

They can also be employed as demonstrative pronouns, replacing a complete noun phrase, in either object or subject positions.

7.216 **dɲal ki**
 d- ɲal k- i
 1S like C3S DEM.PROX
 “I want this one”

7.217 **ɲi ɲawo ɲnuura**
 ɲ- i ɲa- wo ɲ- nuur -a
 C2P DEM.PROX C2P be C2P be_good CMPL
 “These are good”

7.7.2.2 Indefinite pronoun

The indefinite marker, that is *CL-loŋ* where *CL* is the class prefix, can also be used as an indefinite pronoun, in either subject or object positions.

7.218 **Baloŋ baanji bahil pnug ya**
 ba- loŋ ba- an- ji ba- hil p- nug y- a
 C1P INDEF C1P NEG HAB C1P be_able INF buy C3P OBJ
 “Some people can't buy them”

7.219 **ɲloŋ ɲadaan meel**
 ɲ- loŋ ɲa- daan meel
 C2P INDEF C2P drink water
 “Some (animals) drank water”

Chapter 8 - Verb System

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will first discuss the lexical aspectual classes of verbs in Mankanya, and then how auxiliary verbs are used to create tense and aspect distinctions.

As noted previously, the main ways of making tense and aspect distinctions in Mankanya are analytic, rather than morphological. In particular extensive use is made of auxiliaries, most of which can be identified as being grammaticalised versions of lexical verbs. These auxiliaries combine with main verbs in auxiliary verb constructions (hereafter referred to as AVCs).

Some of the material in this chapter was first treated in Gaved (2014).

As explained in section 8.4.2, this chapter does not discuss lexical verbs which take a sentential complement (which may be non-finite). They will be dealt with in chapter 9, where I discuss complex clauses. Because of the nature of grammaticalisation, there are some cases where the distinction between auxiliary and lexical verb with sentential complement is fuzzy.

8.2 Lexical aspectual classes

Before discussing how morphology and auxiliaries add tense and aspectual information to a clause, it is necessary to consider the aspectual semantics of the lexical verb. Various classifications have been proposed, of which the most widely discussed is that of Vendler (1957), extended by various others, for example Van Valin (van Valin Jr 2005). Here I will use the framework used by Botne (1983) based on work by Freed (1979). He proposes that a verb describes an event that has three possible phases: an optional onset (O), a nucleus (N), and an optional coda (C). Aspectual classes are then defined by whether they include initial or final boundaries or both, and whether phases are punctual or durative.

The most easily identifiable verbs are activities which have a nucleus that describes something that with a duration, for example *yeh* “sing”. An event

of “singing” usually has a point where the singing starts, and some point where it ends. It could therefore simply be represented by:



However, it can also be viewed as having an onset phase (highlighted in English by “as I start to sing”) and a coda (in English “as I finished singing”).



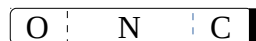
In a simple sentence like *dyeeh* “I sing”, activity verbs give no indication of beginning or ending, only the nucleus is profiled.

The duration of the nucleus could be extremely short, for example with semelfactive activity verbs like *kob* “hit”. It is rare for these verbs to have onset and coda phases, unless the context is a zoomed-in view of the time duration.



Such verbs have an iterative reading when used in a progressive form *awo ʔi pkob* “I am hitting” (see section 8.8.5).

Some events descriptions have a definite end; these are accomplishments in Vendler’s system. For example whereas *niw* “build” can be an activity without a clearly defined end, the event described by *aniw katoh* “He builds a house” finishes when the house is built. Another example is *ade pmaŋa* “he eats the mango” where the event finishes when the mango is all consumed. They have a resultant state e.g. the built house.



There are also semelfactive accomplishments, for example *kit* “break”:



These can be compared with change of state verbs like *dēm* “become big”, and *bon* “become thin” which have no clearly defined end point. There is an onset phase of starting to become the state, the nucleus is the process of becoming the state, and then there is the continuing coda of being in the state.



A significant indication of these change of state verbs is that they are not construed as in the past when used with the completive *-i* suffix (see section 8.5.1).

8.1 **Baṭoon** **ṭi** **uṭaak** **wi** **na** **nja**
 ba- ṭo -on ṭ- i u- ṭaak w- i na nja
 C1P sit IMP INT LOC.PROX C2S country C2S GEN and 1P.OBJ

udëmi

u- dëm -i
 C2S grow CMPL

“Let them live in this country with us - it is big”

Without the completive suffix (example 8.2) or when used with imperfective prefix *k-* (example 8.3), the nucleus (i.e. process of changing state) is profiled:

8.2 **Adëm** **te** **kë** **anin** **ado**
 a- dëm te kë a- nin a- do
 C1S grow until DS C1AS mother C1S INGR

kayana

kay -an -a
 be_dry CAUS C1S.OBJ

“He grew until he was weaned”

8.3 **Wi** **akñoguj** **ubeeka**
 wi a- k- ñog -uj u- beeka
 when C1S IMPERF be_close SEL C2S town

“As he was approaching the town...”

There are also a small number of “true” state verbs, where there is duration, but no beginning and end.

 N

An indicator of these verbs is that when used without the completive suffix *-i*, they indicate a current state. For example the verb *naṭ* “stand” in the next example:

8.4 **Aṣë** **win** **biinṭ** **bawajanṭ** **kë** **banat**
 a- ṣë win b- iinṭ ba- wajanṭ kë ba- nat
 C1S SEQ see C1P man C1P three DS C1P stand

du **kadunul**

d- u ka- dun -ul
 EXT LOC.DIST C3S front 3s.POSS

“Then he saw three men standing in front of him.”

Also when they are used with the imperfective *k-*, they can only have a future reading, (not a current reading like activities, or a coming-to-be reading like change of state verbs).

8.5 In aknaṭuŋ

in a- k- naṭ -uŋ
 who? C1S IMPERF stand SEL

“Who will stand?”

Derivation can change the aspectual class. For example whereas *naṭ* is a stative verb, *naṭa* (with the middle suffix *-a*) is an activity verb.

8.6 Anaṭa

a- naṭ -a
 C1S stand MID

“He stood up”

8.3 Auxiliaries and Auxiliary Verb Constructions

There are many different definitions for the term *auxiliary*. Heine (1993, 3–26) gives an overview of the different viewpoints which overlap in some cases. Anderson (2006, 4) gives this definition “an item on the lexical verb – functional affix continuum, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically bleached, and grammaticalised to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories...” Anderson contends that there probably cannot be a language independent formal criterion to determine whether a given element is a lexical verb or an auxiliary verb, so I will adapt his definition to give the following one specific to Mankanya: “a word that takes verbal inflection prefixes, whose stem has undergone some semantic bleaching and which modifies a verb to express tense, aspect or mood, or similar semantic values”

Anderson’s definition is based on work about the processes of grammaticalisation e.g. Heine (1993) and Heine and Kuteva (2002). Grammaticalisation is the combination of linguistic changes whereby over the course of time lexical items become grammatical items. In the context of auxiliaries, a common pattern has been found to be that lexical verbal items often become markers of tense, aspect and mode. Heine refers to this as the Verb-to-TAM chain, and Anderson, in the definition above, calls it the lexical verb – functional affix continuum. As lexical verbs move along this chain, they change semantically, morphosyntactically, morphologically and phonetically, though often each aspect changes at a different rate.

Very often an auxiliary verb is only partially responsible for the tense or aspect distinction brought to a clause, and it must be accompanied by other morpho-syntactic changes, and the whole is often referred to as an Auxiliary Verb Construction (AVC). This is illustrated in English by the progressive construction, *be -ing*, where only the combination of the auxiliary verb *be* with the verbal morpheme *-ing* that gives the progressive meaning. Using one without the other results in an ungrammatical clause.

8.4 Preliminary Information

The table below summarises the main auxiliary verb structures found. Most auxiliaries occur before the lexical verb they modify.

Structure	Example	Gloss
AGR-AUX ASP-SER-STEM	<i>a-luŋ k-a-niw katoh</i>	He will build a house
AGR-AUX STEM	<i>a-bi niw katoh</i>	He built a house
AGR-AUX AGR-STEM	<i>ba-ji ba-nug uṭëb</i>	They always buy fish
AGR-AUX LOC PFX-STEM	<i>ba-wo ʒi u-lemp</i>	They are working
AGR-AUX AGR-GEN INF-STEM	<i>ba-wo bik-i p-lemp</i>	They should work
AGR-AUX AGR-GEN ASP-SER-STEM	<i>ba-wo bik-i k-a-lemp</i>	They must work

Table 8.1: Auxiliary verb constructions

AGR	Agreement prefix
ASP	Aspectual prefix
AUX	Auxiliary
GEN	Genitive particle
LOC	Locative*
PFX	Nominal prefix
SER	Serial prefix
STEM	Verbal stem

*The only locative used in auxiliary constructions is *ʒi* - the internal proximal locative.

In the examples in this chapter, the auxiliary verb will be glossed with the sense of the overall construction. In some cases one form (e.g. *bi*) maybe glossed in different ways in different structures.

8.4.1 Analysis of k- a- prefixes

A number of different auxiliary constructions use the first structure in Table 8.1 above - for example the future with *luŋ* (for more detail see section 8.7.1).

8.7 Aluŋ	kaniw	katoh
a- luŋ	k- a- niw	ka- toh
C1S FUT	IMPERF SER build	C3S house

“He will build the house”

The lexical verb in this structure has the form *kaniw*. This is the stem *niw* “build” plus some prefixes. These prefixes are invariable. I have analysed these as *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial”, but an alternative might seem to

be the nominal class 3 singular prefix *ka-*, or the habitual first person singular prefix *ka-*. In the next few paragraphs I discuss why I prefer the first analysis.

Though the nominal prefix *ka-* can be used to create verbal nouns (see section 5.1), it is only used with certain stems. For example, *lemp* “work” does not form a verbal noun with *ka-* but with the class 2 prefix *u-*, i.e. *ulemp*.

8.8 **ulemp** **wi** **iñen** **yi** **naan**
 u- lemp w- i i- ñen y- i naan
 C2S work C2S GEN C3P hand C3P GEN 1S.GEN

“The work of my hands”

However, when it is used in the future construction with *luŋ* it still takes *k-* and *a-*.

8.9 **Aluŋ** **kalemp** **faan**
 a- luŋ k- a- lemp faan
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER work tomorrow

“He will work tomorrow”

The imperfective *k-* indicates an action that has not yet finished. For example:

8.10 **Alaalan** **umeeša** **wi** **akbomanuŋ**
 a- laalan u- meeša w- i a- k- boman -uŋ
 C1S feel C2S table C2S GEN C1S IMPERF make SEL

“She is touching the table that she is making”

So it is not unexpected to find an imperfective prefix used with the future as a future act is clearly not yet finished.

Further, when *luŋ* is used with *woli* “if”, the *k-* is dropped, though the future sense remains. It would seem that irrealis nature of *woli* makes the imperfective *k-* unnecessary.

8.11 ... **woli** **naluŋ** **aya** **ŋrisiya** **ti** **dmaas**
 woli na- luŋ a- ya ŋrisiya ɰ- i dmaas
 if 2P FUT SER go church INT LOC.PROX Sunday

ŋya **na** **baka**
 ŋ- ya na baka
 1P go and C1P.OBJ

“... if you go to church this Sunday, we will go with you”

This indicates that either there are two prefixes *k-* and *a-* or that *ka-* has been replaced by *a-*. If *ka-* were the class 3 singular nominal prefix then *a-* would also be expected to be a nominal prefix, the singular prefix of class 1.

This seems unlikely as that prefix is only used elsewhere on a very small group of kinship terms, e.g. *aşin* “father”.

It seems equally unlikely that this is the same as habitual first person singular prefix *ka-*, which in all other case is only found with first person singular subjects.

8.4.2 Verbs with infinitive complements

Verbs like *ŋal* “want”, or *numa* “need”, which take infinitival clauses as complements as an alternative to a nominal complement, are sometimes referred to as auxiliaries, but I will not be treating them as such in this section. Though semantically they could be said to indicate modality, there is no difference in their meaning when used with a nominal complement or an infinite verbal complement. There is no semantic bleaching, and therefore do not fit the definition of auxiliary given in section 8.1.

8.12 **Dŋal pju*k* iyee*h* yi nan**
 d- ŋal p- ju*k* i- yee*h* y- i nan
 1S like INF learn C3P song C3P GEN 2P.POSS
 “I want to learn your songs”

8.13 **Nanuma pde**
 na- numa p- de
 2P need INF eat
 “You need to eat”

8.5 Completive and Imperfective

The two main aspects that are morphologically marked in Mankanya are the completive and imperfective. Note that it is completive aspect that is marked, not perfective. Perfective aspect sees the event as a complete whole, regardless of whether the event has finished or not, whereas the aspect that is marked in Mankanya cannot be used with an unfinished event. As described in section 4.2.8 the imperfective aspect is marked in some contexts with the *k-* prefix, and completive aspect is marked in some contexts with the *-i* suffix. The two affixes cannot co-occur, but their distribution is not complementary.

8.5.1 Completive

The completive aspect in Mankanya describe the current state of an event where the end of the nucleus (if one exists) is in the past, relative to the speaker’s viewpoint. It cannot be used with future events.

In a simple declarative sentence it is marked with the *-i* suffix.

With change of state verbs, the completive aspect expresses the actual state. Depending on the context this may be either present or past and this is reflected in the free translations of the examples below.

8.14 **Naših aadebaṭi**
 na- ṣih a- deebaṭ -i
 C1S chief C1S be_angry CMPL
 “The chief was/is angry”

8.15 **Wal wi Paapa akkeṭuṅ**
 w- al w- i paapa a- k- keṭ -uṅ
 C2S moment C2S GEN daddy C1S IMPERF die SEL

uñogi
 u- ñog -i
 C2S be_close CMPL
 “The time when father was going to die was/is near”

8.16 **Ado wa kë uyimani**
 a- do w- a kë u- yiman -i
 C1S do C2S OBJ DS C2S respect CMPL
 “He made it sacred”

8.17 **Napoṭ aankeṭi**
 na- poṭ a- an- keṭ -i
 C1S child C1S NEG die CMPL
 “The child is/was not dead”

8.18 **Baji na Naala kë Şompi abukul**
 ba- ji na Naala kë Şompi a- buk -ul
 C1P say and Nala DS Shompi C1AS child 3s.POSS

abani
 a- ban -i
 C1S arrive CMPL
 “They told Nala that Shompi her son had arrived”

This can be diagrammed like this, where TT is the Topic Time and the grey box indicates the part of the event that is profiled by the *-i* suffix.

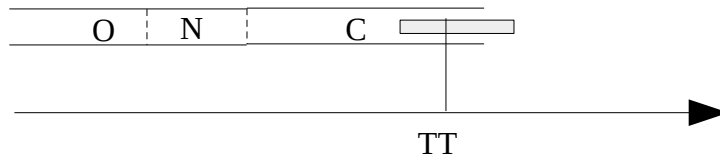


Diagram 8:1: Timeline of completive with change of state verbs

The sense is similar with purely stative verbs:

8.19 **Tenan baṭi , ifën ṅjah woli**
 ten -an ba- ṭi , i- fën ṅ- jah woli
 look_at IMP C5S sky 2S count C2P star if

ihinani

i- hinan -i
 C3P be_able_to CMPL

“Look at the sky, count the stars if you are able”

8.20 **Woli Ajugun aṅali , ṅluṅ**
 woli a- jug -un a- ṅal -i ṅ- luṅ
 if C1AS owner 1P.POSS C1S like CMPL 1P FUT

kawo bajeb

ka- wo ba- jeb
 C3S be C1P healthy

“If our Lord is willing, we will be healed”

8.21 **Ṣompi kë aṣë mēbana ṭi**
 Ṣompi kë a- ṣë mēb -an -a ṭ- i
 Shompi DS C1S SEQ carry CAUS C1S.OBJ INT LOC.PROX

kañen anaṭana kë anaṭi

ka- ñen a- naṭ -an -a kë a- naṭ -i
 C3S hand SER stand CAUS C1S.OBJ DS SER stand CMPL

“He took her in his hand, made her stand up and she stood”

For purely stative verbs, it seems that the completive is used to highlight the state.

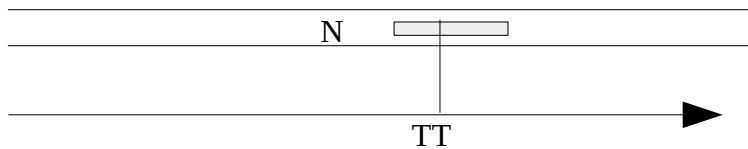


Diagram 8.2: Timeline of completive with pure state verbs

When used to describe activities or accomplishments, the event is interpreted as in the past.

8.22 **Wi adoluṅ kë bamuuri aduka**
 wi a- dol -uṅ kë ba- muur -i a- duk -a
 when C1S do SEL DS C1P cross CMPL C1S leave MID

aloolan

a- loolan
 C1S one

“When he had made them cross, he was left alone”

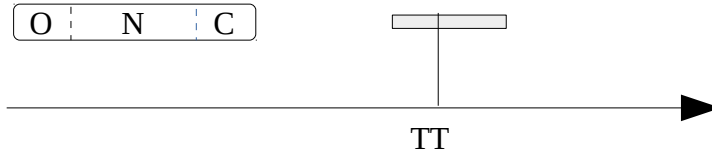


Diagram 8.3: Timeline of completive with activity and accomplishment verbs

The event described can be a negative activity as in example 8.23. Here the negative activity is explicitly temporally bound by the first half of the sentence.

8.23 **Aṭo da ḡnuur ḡwajaṅṅ aantee**
 a- ṭo d- a ḡ- nuur ḡ- wajaṅṅ a- an- de -e
 C1S sit C9S OBJ C2P day C2P three C1S NEG eat CMPL
aandaani
 a- an- daan -i
 C1S NEG drink CMPL

“He stayed there three days, not eating, not drinking”

The completive *-i* makes the verb syntactically intransitive.

8.24 **Awula poot kë adaani**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL

“She gave him wine and he drank”

8.25 * **Awula poot kë adaani pa**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i p- a
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL C4S OBJ

“She gave him wine and he drank it”

8.26 * **Awula poot kë awaapi pa Dama**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- waap -i p- a Dama
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S sell CMPL C4S OBJ Dama

“She gave him wine and he sold it to Dama”

This de-transitivisation highlights the action, rather than the object, and converts accomplishment verbs into activities. In example 8.27 and 8.28 what is important is the eating and drinking, not what was eaten or drunk.

8.27 **Ayiṣa kë adee abot**
 a- yiṣ -a kë a- de -e abot
 C1S serve_out_(food) C1S.OBJ DS C1S eat CMPL and

awula poot kë adaani
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL

“She served him and he ate, gave him wine and he drank”

8.28 **Wi wi ayaan aliiik**
 w- i w- i a- ya -aŋ a- liik
 C2S DEM.PROX C2S GEN C1S go SEL SER draw_water
ubuuli atuman awul napoŋ kë adaani
 u- buuli a- tuman a- wul na- poŋ kë a- daan -i
 C2S gourd SER fill SER give C1S child DS C1S drink CMPL
 “Going to the well, she drew water in a gourd, filled it and gave it to the child, and he drank”

8.29 **Babuki o baambuki** ,
 ba- buk -i o ba- am- buk -i
 C1P produce CMPL or C1P NEG produce CMPL
bawayşëri , baamba ba bniim
 ba- wayşër -i ba- am- ba ba b- niim
 C5S disperse CMPL C5S NEG finish finish C5S marriage
 “With children or without children, separated, their marriage is not finished”

In relative and other clauses that are marked with *-uŋ* it is not possible to use the completive *-i*.

8.30 **Wi abanuŋ du Fugtor**
 wi a- ban -uŋ d- u Fugtor
 when C1S touch SEL EXT LOC.DIST Ziguinchor
 “When she arrived at Ziguinchor”

8.31 **Baŋupa uko bti wi badoluŋ**
 ba- ŋup -a u- ko bti w- i ba- dol -uŋ
 C1P speak C1S.OBJ C2S thing all C2S GEN C1P do SEL
na wi bajukanuŋ
 na w- i ba- juk -an -uŋ
 and C2S GEN C1P learn CAUS SEL
 “They told him all the things that they had done and taught”

8.32 **plaak pandëmuŋ maakan**
 p- laak pa- n- dëm -uŋ maakan
 C6S stone C6S COREF grow SEL very
 “A stone that was very large”

8.33 **Dwin nalët ambomanuŋ blaañ**
 d- win na- lët a- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF make SEL C6S wrap
 “I saw the tailor who made the dress”

In these cases the detransitisation that is found with *-i* suffix does not occur.

8.5.2 Imperfective

Imperfective is not usually marked in a simple affirmative declarative sentence. As noted in section 4.2.8.1 it is marked with *k-* in a variety of other situations.

It is found in relative and other clauses that are marked with *-uj*. Compare example 8.34 with example 8.33 above .

8.34 **Dwin nalët ankmbomanuŋ**
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uŋ
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL

blaañ

b- laañ

C6S wrap

“I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

Without any other auxiliaries the imperfective profiles the nuclear phase of an event. As it does not reference the end of the event there is no difference of interpretation between activity and accomplishment verbs.

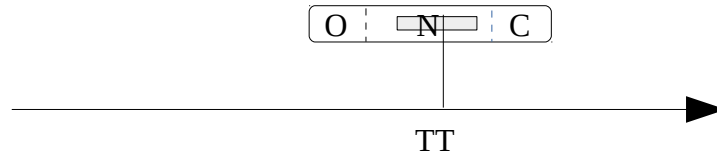


Diagram 8:4: Timeline of imperfective with activity and accomplishment verbs

Compare also the following two temporal clauses with the change of state verb *ñog* “become near”:

8.35 **Wi nakuul añoguŋ**
 wi na- kuul a- ñog -uŋ
 when C1S blind C1S be close SEL

“When the blind man had come close\When the blind man was near”

8.36 **Wi nakuul akñoguŋ**
 wi na- kuul a- k- ñog -uŋ
 when C1S blind C1S IMPERF be_close SEL

“As the blind man was\is approaching”

Whereas the first example profiles the coda, i.e. the current state, the imperfective *k-* profiles the nucleus, the changing state.

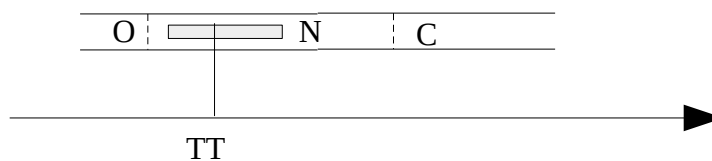


Diagram 8:5: Timeline of imperfective with change of state verbs

The imperfective is always marked in negatives:

- 8.37 **Dama aankde umaanan**
 Dama a- an- k- de u- maanan
 Dama C1S NEG IMPERF eat C3S rice
 “Dama isn't eating the rice”

After a *kë* that is acting as a complementiser (COMP), the imperfective is marked if the event after the *kë* is occurring at the same time as the event before the *kë*. So in example 8.38 the walking *ikpoş* occurred the same time as the hearing *d̥iink*.

- 8.38 **D̥iink kë ikpoş ʈi uwoorta**
 d- tiink kë i- k- poş ʈ- i u- woorta
 1s hear COMP 2S IMPERF walk INT LOC.PROX C2S garden
kë nl̥nki
 kë n- l̥nk -i
 DS 1S.SUB be_afraid CMPL
 “I heard you walking in the garden and I was afraid”

- 8.39 **aşë win udu kë ukpën**
 a- şë win u- du kë u- k- pën
 SER SEQ see C2S smoke COMP C2S IMPERF go_out
da
 d- a
 C9S OBJ
 “and he saw smoke rising there”

- 8.40 **Naşibaṭi ayeṇ napoṭ kë akdë**
 na- şibaṭi a- yeṇ na- poṭ kë a- k- d̥em
 C1S God C1S guard C1S child DS C1S IMPERF grow
 “God was with the boy as he grew up”

Otherwise after a *kë*, if the verb has object arguments it is unmarked for aspect.

- 8.41 **Awul wa nalemparul kë ajuṇ**
 a- wul w- a na- lemp -ar -ul kë a- juṇ
 C1S give C2S OBJ C1S work BEN 3s.POSS DS C1S cook
aṭaran
 a- ṭar -an
 SER be_fast CAUS
 “He gave it to his servant and she cooked it quickly”

- 8.42 **Awin kë mboş manjun pkay**
 a- win kë m- boş man- jun p- kay
 C1S see DS C8 earth C8 begin INF be_dry
 “He saw that the land had begun to dry”

If it has no object arguments then it is marked with the completive *-i* (see example 8.24 above).

8.6 Functional Overview

Tense			
Future	AGR- <i>luŋ</i> ASP-SER-STEM AGR- <i>ya</i> ASP-SER-STEM AGR- <i>bi</i> ASP-SER-STEM	<i>aluŋ kaniw katoh</i> <i>aya kaniw katoh</i> <i>abi kaniw katoh</i>	He will build a house
Past	AGR- <i>bi</i> STEM	<i>abi de</i>	He ate
Aspect			
Sequential	AGR- <i>šë</i> STEM	<i>aya Dakar, ašë nug ŋṭëb</i>	He went to Dakar, and then he bought fish
Habitual	AGR- <i>ji</i> AGR2-STEM	<i>aji alemp</i>	He usually works
Continuative	AGR- <i>jon</i> ASP-SER-STEM	<i>ajon kalemp</i>	He's still working
Persistent	AGR- <i>hum</i> ASP-SER-STEM	<i>ahum kalemp</i>	He's still working
Ingressive	AGR- <i>doo</i> STEM	<i>adoo de</i>	until he eats
Repetitive	AGR- <i>kak</i> SER-STEM	<i>akak abi</i>	He's coming again
Progressive	AGR- <i>wo</i> <i>ṭi</i> PFX-STEM	<i>awo ṭi ulemp</i>	He's working
Terminative	AGR-STEM1 SER- <i>ba</i> STEM2	<i>ade aba daan</i>	He drank after he ate
Mode			
Obligative	AGR- <i>wo</i> GEN INF-STEM	<i>awo i plem</i>	He must work
Epistemic	AGR- <i>wo</i> GEN ASP-SER-STEM	<i>awo i kabi</i>	He should work

8.7 Tense

8.7.1 Future

The first tense that I will consider is the future, that is the Topic Time (TT) is in the future with respect to the Time of Utterance (TU).

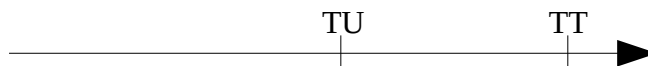


Diagram 8:6: Timeline of future tense

To indicate that something will happen in the future, it is possible to use three different auxiliaries: *luŋ* which cannot be used as a lexical verb (see discussion below), *ya* which as a lexical verb means “go, move away from the speaker”, and *bi* which as a lexical verb has the sense of “come, move towards the speaker”. Though there might have been differences in the past, current speakers do not consistently differentiate. In informal speech *ya* seems now to predominate, but the translation of the New Testament into Mankanya (translated over the period 2000-2010) mostly uses *luŋ*.

8.43 **aluŋ** **kaniw** **katoh**
 a- luŋ k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

8.44 **aya** **kaniw** **katoh**
 a- ya k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

8.45 **abi** **kaniw** **katoh**
 a- bi k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

All three auxiliaries can be used with any verb stem, and there seems to be no restriction on which verbs they can be used with.

8.46 **Naluŋ** **kame** **manjoonan**
 na- luŋ k- a- me ma- njoonan
 2P FUT IMPERF SER know C8 truth
 “You will know the truth”

8.47 **Baluŋ** **kakeŋ** **jibi** **ŋlimariya** **ŋajaan**
 ba- luŋ k- a- keŋ jibi ŋ- limariya ŋa- ja -aŋ
 C1P FUT IMPERF SER die like 1P animal C2P HAB SEL

ŋakeŋ
 ŋa- keŋ
 C2P die
 “They will die like animals”

8.48 **ŋdeey** **ŋaluŋ** **katum**
 ŋ- deey ŋa- luŋ k- a- tum
 C2P grain C2P FUT IMPERF SER many
 “There will be much grain”

Note that in example 8.48 above, the future is profiling the nucleus/coda of a change of state verb, i.e. indicating that the state will be reached.

An important common feature is that the lexical verb in the construction is marked with the prefix *k-* “imperfective”. This is especially important because using *bi* without the imperfective marker gives the sense of something in the past (see section 8.7.2 below). The future is incompatible with the completive aspect *-i*.

The auxiliary *luŋ* no longer exists as an independent lexical verb. It is further along the grammaticalisation chain from lexical verb to functional affix than the other future auxiliaries and this is an indication that it is the oldest of the three future forms. What it might have developed from is not clear. Possibly it might have originated from a verb terminated with the subordinating suffix *-uŋ*. A candidate for this could be *la* “look for”, which inherently has a semantic component of incompleteness. There is a similar notion of futurity in the English expression “looking to do something” as in “I’m looking to work in the field of linguistics”. *la* and *uŋ* could have combined to form *luuŋ* which then shortened to *luŋ*. Evidence in favour of this possibility is that when used in a situation where the *-uŋ* suffix would normally be used, e.g. in a relative clause, *luŋ* does not take this suffix.

8.49 **Unuur wi akluŋ kakeŋ**
 u- nuur w- i a- k- luŋ k- a- keŋ
 C2S day C2S GEN C1S IMPERF FUT IMPERF SER die
 “The day when he will die”

Compare this to another verb that ends with *uŋ* - *juŋ* “cook”

8.50 **kapoom ki ajuŋuŋ**
 ka- poom k- i a- juŋ -uŋ
 C3S bread C3S GEN C1S cook SEL
 “The bread that she had baked”

Another possibility is found in the fact that *uŋ* also exists as a distal demonstrative stem, and this may have somehow combined with the same verb *la* “look for”. Cross-linguistically, spatial distance is sometimes a metaphor for temporal distance.

However, neither of these grammaticalisation chains are documented in Heine and Kuteva (2002).

The second future auxiliary structure that I will look at is that which is formed by using *ya* as an auxiliary. The lexical meaning of *ya* is “go, move away from the speaker”

8.51 **Bantohi baya untabanka**
 ba- ntohi ba- ya u- ntabanka
 C1P elder 3P go C2S village
 “The elders are going to the village”

But in the following example it adds the sense of future.

- 8.52 **aya kaniw katoh** (repeat of example 8.44)
 a- ya k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

Ya can also be used with a verbal complement, a stem with the infinitive *p-* prefix, with the sense of going somewhere with the purpose of doing something.

- 8.53 **Şompi aya pyit aşin**
 Şompi a- ya p- yit a- şin
 Shompi C1S go INF meet C1S father
 “Shompi is going to meet his father”

This construction still has the sense of motion, but the event of meeting is in the future. Constructions like this probably influenced the development of *ya* as an auxiliary with the *k- a-* prefixes on the lexical verb.

The grammaticalisation of verbs meaning “go” into future auxiliaries is attested in many languages. Here are a couple of examples:

- 8.54 Zulu (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 163)

- a **baya eGoli**
 ba- ya e- Goli
 3:PL- go LOC- Johannesburg
 “They are going to Johannesburg”

- b **bayakufika**
 ba- ya- ku- fika
 3:PL- go INF arrive
 “They will arrive”

- 8.55 Igbo (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 164)

- a **ó gà àbyá**
 he go come:NOMIN
 “He's going to come”

The third way of indicating future is with the verb *bi* as an auxiliary.

- 8.56 **Abi kaniw katoh** (Repeat of example 8.45)
 a- bi k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

As seen in section 8.7.2, this verb has a lexical meaning of “come, motion towards”.

The grammaticalisation chain of a verb with the sense of “come” into a future tense marker is, like go, not unusual. Here are some further examples from Heine and Kuteva:

8.57 Bambara (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 76)

a **ù tɛ nà**
3:PL NEG:AUX come
“They didn't come”

b **à ná sà**
3:SG FUT die
“He will die” (= everyone has to die someday)

8.58 Zulu (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 77)

a **ngiyeza**
ngi- ye- za
1:SG- ?- come
“I'm coming”

b **uzakufika**
u- za- ku- fika
2:SG- come INF arrive
“He'll arrive”⁴

Whereas Zulu uses both come and go to differentiate between near and distant future, the Mankanya speakers I have asked do not seem to be able to make a similar distinction between the three different auxiliaries used to form the future in their language. Some mention the motion component in *ya* and *bi*. Others have the intuition that *ya* and *bi* refer to nearer future than *luj*. However, there seems to be no consistent distinction.

It would seem fairly unusual for *bi* to have grammaticalised both as a future auxiliary and as a past auxiliary. The fact that *bi* as a past auxiliary seems to have developed along the chain (where *bi* is modifying the lexical verb *de* “eat”) *abi ade* > (*abii de* ?) > *abi de* might indicate that the process of changing to the past marker has been going on for some time. This would in turn suggest that *bi* as a future marker is a more recent innovation. Further research is needed, including a comparison with related and neighbouring languages, to be more certain.

When used in the negative, all the future structures have the negative prefix on the auxiliary. Compare this to the negative version of the PAST use of *bi* in example 8.74.

4 This is the translation given in Heine and Kuteva, though if the gloss is correct it should be “You'll arrive”.

8.64 **Ñiint̃ abi ya du uṭaak**
 ñ- iint̃ a- bi ya d- u u- ṭaak
 C1S man C1S PST go EXT LOC.DIST C2S country

unlowuŋ

u- n- low -uŋ

C2S COREF be_apart SEL

“The man went to a far country (lit: a country that was far)”

8.65 **Ibi bi pṭokun i**
 i- bi bi p- ṭok -un i
 2S PST come INF break 1P.OBJ QUEST

“Did you come to destroy us?”

The lexical verb in this structure is just a bare stem, without prefixes, and this is invariable.

When used with a purely stative verb like *ṭaf* “be old” and *naṭ* “be standing” it describes the state in the past.

8.66 **Ṣompi abi ṭaf**
 Ṣompi a- bi ṭaf
 Shompi C1S PST grow_old

“Shompi was old.”

Compare this with the completive affix *-i* (see 8.5.1 above) which profiles the current state of a stative verb.

8.67 **Dṭafi**
 d- ṭaf -i
 1S grow_old CMPL

“I am old.”

Similarly with change of state verbs like *noor* “become tired”

8.68 **Pntaali pi nu pabi noor**
 p- ntaali p- i nu pa- bi noor
 C4S lineage C4S GEN 2S.POSS C4S PST get_tired

“Your descendants are weary.”

8.69 **Baṭeṭan babi ṭum**
 ba- ṭeṭan ba- bi ṭum
 C1P priest C1P PST be_numerous

“There were many priests.”

The verb which is being used as an auxiliary in this structure has a lexical meaning of “come, motion towards”. It is clear that in example 8.64 it cannot have that meaning as it would be incompatible with the meaning of the main verb “go, motion away”.

8.70 **Babuk naan babi Dakar**
 ba- buk naan ba- bi Dakar
 C1P child 1S.GEN C1P come Dakar

“My children are coming to Dakar”

The verb *bi* can be followed by an infinitive verb, with the meaning of coming in order to do something.

8.71 **Abi pyit na iwi**
 a- bi p- yit na iwi
 C1S come INF meet and 2S

“He's coming to meet you”

In example 8.72, *bi* as a lexical verb is the beginning of a serial structure, and the following lexical verb is prefixed with *a-*, the serial prefix, which is indicating a separate action (see section 9.2 for more detail on serial structures).

8.72 **Uñiiṅ na umaalu ṅabi anaṭ**
 u- ñiiṅ na u- maalu ṅa- bi a- naṭ
 C2S hyena and C2S hare C2P come SER stand

ṭi ptoof
 ṭ- i p- toof
 INT LOC.PROX C4S half

“Hyena and Hare came and stood in the middle.”

When *bi* is used as an auxiliary in a structure where the selective marker *-uṅ* is needed, as in example 8.73, the stem is now also prefixed by the serial marker *a-*. This would seem to indicate that the auxiliary structure has developed from the serial structure and that the serial *a-* has been elided after the *i* of *bi*.

8.73 **pliik pi balempar naṣih babiṅ**
 p- liik p- i ba- lempar na- ṣih ba- bi -iṅ
 C6S well C4S GEN C1P servant C1S chief C1P PST SEL

aṭeha
 a- ṭeh -a
 SER seize MID

“the wells that the servants of the chief had seized”

In the negative, the negative prefix is applied to the auxiliary *bi*.

8.74 **Naala aambi buk**
 Naala a- am- bi buk
 Nala C1S NEG PST produce

“Nala hadn't borne any children”

The grammaticalisation chain of a verb meaning “come” to a past tense marker is not uncommon. It occurs in French:

8.75 **Je viens de manger**
 1S.SUB come.PRES from to_eat

“I just ate”

and in other languages e.g. Yoruba (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 73)

8.76 **O ti lo**
 HE come:out go

“He has gone”

8.7.3 Sequential

When one event follows on from another, the verb *şë* is used. I have labelled this as sequential, glossed as SEQ. This could be viewed as relative time tense, i.e. the event marked by it takes place after, or simultaneously, with the event described by the previous verb. The amount of time between the two events is not significant. This could be diagrammed like this, where the first event occurs at Topic Time 1 (TT1), and the second event at Topic Time 2 (TT2). The Time of Utterance is not significant.

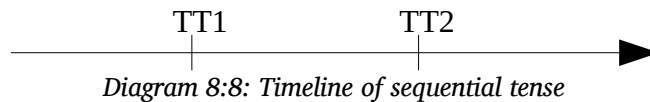


Diagram 8:8: Timeline of sequential tense

8.77 **Baya Dakar aşë nug ɲtëb**
 ba- ya Dakar a- şë nug ɲ- tëb
 C1P go Dakar SER SEQ buy C2P fish

“They went to Dakar, and then bought some fish”

8.78 **Dpoş aşë yeeh**
 d- poş a- şë yeeh
 1S walk SER SEQ sing

“I sing as I walk”

In some contexts the time component is completely missing and the meaning is simply “and also”.

8.79 **Naweek awo Dama aşë wo**
 na- week a- wo Dama a- şë wo
 C1S elder_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be

aannuura ti bten
 a- an- nuura t- i b- ten
 SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks

“The eldest was Dama, but she wasn't pretty to look at”

It is not always used with a serial prefix, as shown by example 8.80:

8.80 **Kë** **baaṭ** **batëb** **bukuṅ** **baṣë** **wo** **na**
 kë b- aaṭ ba- tēb buk- uṅ ba- ṣë wo na
 DS C1P woman C1P two C1P DEM.DIST C1P SEQ be and

m̄ben **ṭi** **feṭ**
 m- ben ṭ- i feṭ
 C6P swelling INT LOC.PROX back

“But these two women had humps on their backs”

There is no lexical meaning for this verb.

When used in a construction that requires the *-uṅ* marker, the final word form is *ṣaaṅ*. This seems to imply that the original form was *ṣa*.

Phonological degradation is a typical part of the process of grammaticalisation.

8.81 **Wal** **wi** **Dama aṣaaṅ** **atenën**
 w- al w- i Dama a- ṣa -aṅ a- ten -ën
 C2S moment C2S GEN Dama C1S SEQ SEL C1S look_at 1S.OBJ

“Then, at that moment, Dama looked at me”

8.8 Aspectual constructions

8.8.1 Habitual

The auxiliary *ji* is used to denote a *habitual* aspect - defined by Comrie (1976, 27) as “describing a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time” It will be glossed as HAB.

8.82 **Aji** **lemp di** **Dakar**
 a- ji lemp d- i Dakar
 C1S HAB work EXT LOC.PROX Dakar

“He works (all the time) in Dakar”

The event is not necessarily of long duration, however over the period of the topic time (which may be an undefined extended duration) the event will always happen (often multiple times).

8.83 **Baji** **bawul** **naṣih** **kafah** **kañeenanṭën**
 ba- ji ba- wul na- ṣih ka- fah ka- ñeen -anṭën
 C1P HAB C1P give C1S chief C3S part C3S five ORD

ṭi **iko** **yi** **bakituṅ**
 ṭ- i i- ko y- i ba- kit -uṅ
 INT LOC.PROX C3P thing C3P GEN C1P harvest SEL

“They give the king a fifth of what they harvest”

8.84 **Bañaaŋ banwoonj na uşal untuŋa**
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- n- wo -oŋ na u- şal u- ntuŋa
 C1P person C1P COREF be SEL with C2S mind C2S wise

baji bakaŋ
 ba- ji ba- keŋ
 C1P HAB C1PC1P die
 “Wise men always die”

8.85 **Nanoh naniim aji lilan woli**
 na- noh na- niim a- ji lilan woli
 C1S friend C1S bridegroom C1S HAB be_happy if

aŋiink pdiim pi naniim
 a- tiink p- diim p- i na- niim
 C1S hear C4S voice C4S GEN C1S bridegroom
 “The friend of the bridegroom is happy when he hears the bridegroom's voice”

The habitual construction uses the verb *ji*, which when used lexically means “to say”.

8.86 **Woli pde baji “ Pde pi**
 woli p- de ba- ji p- de p- i
 WHEN; IF C6S meal C1P say C6S meal C6S GEN

bayaanŋ pi pi
 ba- yaanŋ p- i p- i
 C1P stranger C6S DEM.PROX C6S DEM.PROX
 “When they brought the meal they said 'This is the strangers' meal' ”

It can also be used as a quotative marker with other speech verbs.

8.87 **Kë bangooli başë teema aji**
 kë ba- ngooli ba- şë teem -a a- ji
 DS C1P soldier C1P SEQ reply C1S.OBJ SER say

nayaanŋ aloŋ ankuŋiŋ pdunk
 na- yaanŋ a- loŋ a- n- kuŋ -i -iŋ p- dunk
 2P stranger C1S INDEF C1S COREF be_burdened MID SEL C4S pot

akbiŋ yeeh
 a- k- bi -iŋ yeeh
 SER IMPERF come SEL sing

“The soldiers responded that a stranger carrying a pot was coming along singing”

This grammaticalisation chain from the verb “to say” to an auxiliary giving the habitual meaning is not documented in Heine and Kuteva (2002), and so may be unusual.

A feature of the habitual which is different from all the other AVCs in Mankanya is that the lexical verb agrees with the subject. In addition the

prefixes used are an unusual set. With any non-human subject, and with 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural human subjects, the lexical verb takes the same subject prefixes as the auxiliary, that is to say the normal verb prefixes. For example:

8.88 **Bniim** **baji** **batan** **na** **uwit**
 b- niim ba- ji ba- tan na u- wit
 C5S marriage C5S HAB C5S secure and C2S cow

waat

w- aat

C2S female

“The marriage is normally secured with a cow.”

However, for singular human subjects a different set is used. For 1st person singular human subjects the lexical verb takes the prefix *ka-*. This seems to be different to the combination of *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” found in other constructions, in that in those constructions the *k-* *a-* is invariable as regards the person, number and class of the subject. Also apart from the invariable serial *a-*, everywhere else *a-* is associated with 3rd person subjects. It also unlikely to be the class 3 singular prefix *ka-*, which would also be very unusual if attached only to the 1st person singular.

A 2nd person singular human subject takes the prefix *k-*. For similar reasons to those stated above this seems to be different from the imperfective *k-*.

For 3rd person singular subjects the lexical verb takes no prefix.

Using *ka-* for 1st person singular, and *k-* for 2nd person singular is also attested in a different structure. That is in a clause following a clause introduced by the conditional *woli*, where the second cause depends on the condition of the first clause.

8.89 **Woli** **uunwo** , **kame**
 woli u- un- wo ka- me
 if C2S NEG be 1S.ALT know

“If it is not so, I will know.”

8.90 **Woli** **iinkakana** , **kkeṭ** **iwi**
 woli i- in- kak -an -a k- keṭ iwi
 if 2S NEG return CAUS C1S.OBJ 2S.ALT die 2S.SUBJ

na **biki** **katohu**

na bik- i ka- toh -u

and C1P GEN C3S house 2S.POSS

“If you don’t return her, you and all your household will die”

I can see no relationship between the habitual and the conditional with *woli*. I suggest that these maybe traces of a historical system of prefixes. It is interesting that Karlik notes that one of the prefix sets in Manjaku also has

ka- and *k-* (Karlik 1972, 266). This seems to parallel the Mankanya usage with *woli*, but not that of the habitual.

In the negative, it is the auxiliary *ji* that takes the negative prefix. Unlike the future negative structures, the imperfective prefix *k-* is not required.

8.91 **Unuur ji wuŋ , waanji uŋilma**
 u- nuur ji w- uŋ wa- an- ji u- ŋilma
 C2S day like C2S DEM.DIST C2S.NEG NEG HAB C2S forget
 “A day like that will not be forgotten”

If the habitual auxiliary *ji* is used with the *-uŋ* marker, they combine in an unusual way to form *jaan*. For example:

8.92 **Ajaan ajuŋ**
 a- ja -aŋ a- juŋ
 C1S HAB SEL SER cook
 “It is she who does the cooking.”

In no other place in Mankanya do /i/ and /o/ combine to form /aa/. More usually the *-uŋ* added to stem ending in *i* results in a long vowel. For example with the verb *bi* to come.

8.93 **Naala awo wo ŋi ŋwooni wi**
 Naala a- wo wo ŋ- i ŋ- wooni wi
 Nala C1S be be INT LOC.PROX C2P tears when

Dama abiin
 Dama a- bi -in
 Dama C1S come SEL
 “Naala was crying when Dama came”

This maybe an indication that the verb was originally *ja*. This is similar to the sequential (section 8.7.3) where the phonological change with *-uŋ* suggests a different historical form.

The other thing to note in example 8.92 is that now the lexical verb has the prefix *a-*. This is similar behaviour to the lexical verb used with the PAST auxiliary *bi* in example 8.73.

8.8.2 Continuative

Events that are ongoing at the time of speaking and where the focus is on the duration are expressed with the auxiliary *jon*. It can often be translated into English by “still”. I will refer to it as continuative, to distinguish it from two other constructions that signify a continuous aspect, the progressive (section 8.8.5) and the persistive (section 8.8.3). The progressive describes an event that is ongoing without any other special focus. The persistive is close in meaning to the continuative, but whereas the continuative highlights the fact that the duration is longer than

expected, the persistive highlights the fact that the end of the event has not yet come. Following an idea from Botne (1983), these could be considered as external and internal views of the event.

The continuative can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Topic Time (TT) occurs during the Situation Time (SitT), and the Situation Time is longer than some Reference Situation Time.

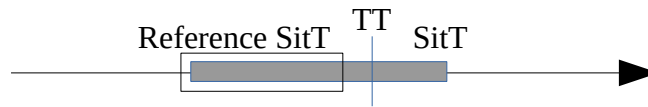


Diagram 8:9: Time of the continuative aspect

8.94 **Ajon kalemp**
 a- jon k- a- lemp
 C1S CONT IMPERF SER work
 “He's still working”

8.95 **Kë baanjon kaka bakiij**
 kë ba- an- jon k- a- ka ba- kiij
 DS C1P NEG cont IMPERF SER have C1P thief
 “They still didn't have the thieves”

8.96 **Bañaaḡ batiinka , ṭiki ajon**
 ba- ṅaaḡ ba- tiink -a , ṭiki a- jon
 C1P person C1P hear C1S.OBJ because (of) C1S CONT
kañoḡarën baka dayaamu di
 k- a- ṅoḡar -ën baka dayaamu d- i
 IMPERF SER be_surprised CAUS C1P.OBJ magic C9S GEN
ajaḡ ado
 a- ja -aḡ a- do
 C1S HAB SEL C1S do

“The people listened to him, because he continued to amaze them with the magic that he did”

It can also have a meaning similar to the habitual but with the focus on the extended duration.

8.97 **Ajon kayit da na banohul**
 a- jon k- a- yit d- a na ba- noh -ul
 C1S cont IMPERF SER meet C9S OBJ and C1P friend 3s.POSS
 “He often met there with his friends”

8.98 **Aya aneej da , jibi ajonuŋ**
 a- ya a- neej d- a jibi a- jon -uŋ
 C1S go SER enter C9S OBJ like SER cont SEL

kado

k- a- do
 IMPERF SER do
 “He went there as he always did”

As a lexical verb *jon* means “stay”, or “to do something for a while”.

8.99 **Ajon pših ŋiki aya pa**
 a- jon p- ših ŋiki a- ya p- a
 C1S last C6S kingdom/throne because_(of) SER go C6S OBJ

nampoŋi

na- mpoŋi
 C1S small
 “He lasted a long time on the throne, as he ascended to it as a child”

8.100 **Aluŋ kaniw jibi ajonuŋ**
 a- luŋ k- a- niw jibi a- jon -uŋ
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build like SER last SEL

“He will build as he always does”

8.101 **Wi baŋoŋ ajon ŋi utaak**
 wi ba- ŋo -oŋ a- jon ŋ- i u- taak
 when C1P sit SEL SER last INT LOC.PROX C2S country

“When they had stayed a long time in the town...”

8.102 **Baloŋ bañehana aŋo da ajon**
 ba- loŋ ba- ñehan -a a- ŋo d- a a- jon
 C1P INDEF C1P request C1S.OBJ C1S sit C9S OBJ SER last

kë aandinani

kë a- an- dinan -i
 DS C1S NEG agree CMPL
 “Some of them asked him to stay with them for a while, but he refused”

This progression from a verb meaning “stay” to continuative auxiliary is documented by Heine and Kuteva, for example in German:

8.103 (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 255)
Er ist beim Reiten geblieben
 He is at riding remain:PARTCP
 “He stuck to horseback riding”

8.8.3 Persistentive

Events that are ongoing at the time of speaking and where the focus is on the fact that they have not finished are expressed with the auxiliary *hum*. This is in contrast to the continuative (see section 8.8.2) with the auxiliary *jon* which profiles the duration of an ongoing event. The persistentive could be considered as an internal view of the continuity of the event.

The persistentive can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Topic Time (TT) occurs during the Situation Time (SitT), and the Situation Time End is in the future relative to the topic time.



Diagram 8:10: Timeline of the persistentive aspect

With activity verbs the imperfective prefix is required:

8.104 **Bahum kaṭēlṣēr**
 ba- hum ka- ṭēlṣēr
 C1P PSTV C3S exchange

“They were still discussing.”

8.105 **Wi Naala ahumuṣ kaṭiini**
 wi Naala a- hum -uṣ k- a- ṭiini
 when Nala C1S PSTV SEL IMPERF SER speak

“When Naala was still talking...”

With stative verbs, the prefix is the pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the root (resulting in a long nasal if that consonant is a nasal).

8.106 **Ṣompi ahum nnaṭ ṭi kadun**
 Ṣompi a- hum n- naṭ ṭ- i ka- dun
 Shompi C1S PSTV PSTV stand INT LOC.PROX C3S front

ki Naala
 k- i Naala
 C3S GEN Nala

“He was still standing in front of Nala.”

8.107 **Ahum nwo ṭi bgah**
 a- hum n- wo ṭ- i b- gah
 C1S PSTV PSTV be INT LOC.PROX C5S way

“He was still on the road.”

For change of state verbs, the completive suffix *-i* is required as well as the nasal prefix.

8.108 **Ahum nlowi**

a- hum n- low -i
 C1S PSTV PSTV be_far CMPL

“He was still far away”

As a lexical verb *hum* has the similar sense of “to still be”.

8.109 **Ahum du dko di**

a- hum d- u d- ko d- i
 C1S still_be EXT LOC.DIST C9S place C9S GEN

“He was still in that place”

8.110 **ŋhum ti nfa mpoŋi**

ŋ- hum t- i nfa mpoŋi
 1P still_be INT LOC.PROX morning small

“We are still in the early morning”

8.111 **Paapa ahum najeb i**

paapa a- hum na- jeb i
 daddy C1S still_be C1S healthy GEN

“Is father still healthy?”

8.8.4 Ingressive

Focus on the beginning of the event is known as ingressive aspect (glossed INGR), and this is indicated in Mankanya by using the verb *do* (which phonologically becomes *doo* in the example below). It can be followed either by a bare verbal stem or by a stem prefixed by *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial”.

This can be shown on the time line diagram below where the topic time (TT) is at the beginning of the Situation Time (SitT).

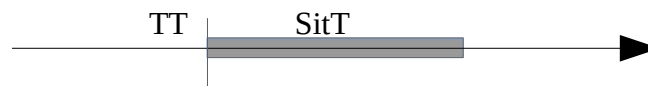


Diagram 8.11: Timeline of the ingressive aspect

8.112 **Aya adoo ban ubeeka**

a- ya a- doo ban u- beeka
 C go SER INGR arrive C2S town

“He₁ went, until he₁ arrived at the town”

8.113 **Bañaaŋ** **batum** **babi** **añoga** **kë**
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- tum ba- bi a- ñog -a kë
 C1P person C1P many C1P come SER be_close C1S.OBJ DS

adoo **paya** **ti** **bteem** **bloŋ** **aço**
 a- doo paya t- i b- teem b- loŋ a- ço
 C1S INGR climb INT LOC.PROX C5S pirogue C5S INDEF SER sit
 “Many people came and crowded him to the point that he got into a boat and sat down”

The verb *do* has the lexical meaning of “to do, to make”.

8.114 **Ado** **uko** **ji** **ŋşubal** **ŋtëb**
 a- do u- ko ji ŋ- şubal ŋ- tëb
 C1S do C2S thing like C2P year C2P two
 “He does this thing for two or three years...”

8.115 **Ddo** **bane** **uniw** **afoyan** **katoh**
 d- do ba- ne u- niw a- foy -an ka- toh
 1S do C5S last_year C2S wall SER encircle CAUS C3S house

naan

naan

1S.GEN

“Last year I built a wall around my house.”

Heine and Kuteva (2002) do not document this as a grammaticalisation chain.

When used with a bare stem, *do* becomes *doo*, as in example 8.112. This seems to indicate that the underlying form is in fact *do* followed by the stem prefixed with the *a-* “serial” prefix, and that there has been an assimilation of the *a-* to produce a long *o*.

8.116 **kë** **bantohi** **badoo** **win** **kë** **Nabanka** **Biyagi**
 kë ba- ntohi ba- doo win kë Nabanka Biyagi
 DS C1P elder 3P INGR see DS Nabanka Biyagi

apel

a- pel baka

C1S be_more C1P.OBJ

“The elders came to see that Nabanka Biyagi was stronger than them”

This analysis is confirmed when *do* is used in a relative clause and is therefore followed by *-uŋ* (which phonologically becomes *-oŋ*). The *a-* prefix on the stem now reveals itself.

8.117 **Tenan** , **Naala** , **i** **nayiṭuŋ** ,
 ten -an Naala i na- yiṭ -uŋ
 look_at IMP Nala GEN 2P be_related_to SEL
andooŋ **awo** **naṭaf** **awo** **kak** **na**
 a- n- do -oŋ a- wo na- ṭaf a- wo kak na
 C1S COREF INGR SEL C1S be C1S elderly C1S be again with
kayiŋ
 ka- yiŋ
 C3S stomach

“Look, Naala, your relative, who has reached old age, is also pregnant”

With change of state verbs the end of nucleus is profiled by this construction.

8.118 **Bade** **bṭi** **adoo** **yok**
 ba- de bṭi a- do -o yok
 C1P eat all SER INGR be_full

“They ate it all until they were full”

This could be diagrammed like this:

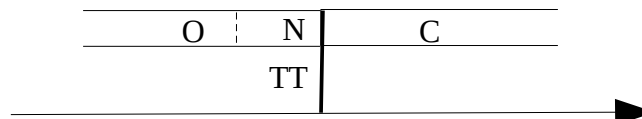


Diagram 8:12: Time line of ingressive aspect with change of state verbs

8.119 **Bawo** **katap** **baka** **mnlaak**
 ba- wo k- a- tap baka mn- laak
 C1P must IMPERF SER shoot C1P.OBJ c6p stone

badoo **bakeṭ**
 ba- do -o ba- keṭ
 C1P INGR c7s die

“They₁ must throw stones at them₂ until they₂ are dead”

This construction can sometimes have the sense of a contra-expectational addition as in the following example:

8.120 **ŋko** **ŋi** **uṭeeh** **ŋabi** **bṭi**
 ŋ- ko ŋ- i u- ṭeeh ŋa- bi bṭi
 C2P animals C2P GEN C2S field C2P come all
pmaar **wa** **kë** **umaalu** **umpokuŋ**
 p- maar w- a kë u- maalu u- m- pok -uŋ
 INF be_present C2S OBJ DS C2S hare C2S COREF refuse SEL

ulemp **udoo** **bi**
 u- lemp u- doo bi
 C2S work C2S INGR came

“All the wild animals came to witness it, even Hare who had refused to work came”

In the negative, it is the auxiliary *do* that takes the negative prefix.

- 8.121 **Baluk bi kli bakreŋ**
 ba- luk b- i k- li bakreŋ
 C5S payment C5S GEN C4P.DEF moon EIGHT
- baandoo kēš pa ñaaŋ andoli**
 ba- an- do -o kēš pa ñaaŋ a- ndoli
 C5S NEG INGR be_enough in_order_to person C1S each
- ayeenk bnduŋ**
 a- yeenk b- nduŋ
 C1S receive C5S bit
 “Eight months wages would not be enough for each person to have a bit (of food)”

8.8.5 Progressive

The construction used to describe the progressive aspect uses the structure *wo ʔi* and followed by a verbal noun. The word *ʔi* is a preposition meaning “inside something near”. So the literal sense of this structure is to be “in the doing of something”.

This can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Topic Time (TT) occurs during the Situation Time (SitT).

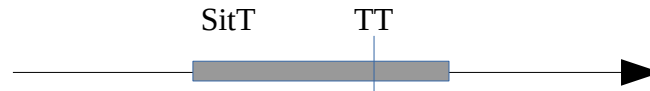


Diagram 8:13: Timeline of progressive aspect

- 8.122 **Naala awo ʔi bŋoy bweek**
 Naala a- wo ʔ- i b- ŋoy b- week
 Nala C1S be INT LOC.PROX C5S sleep C5S big
 “Naala is sleeping deeply”
- 8.123 **Baniw bawo ʔi ulemp**
 ba- niw ba- wo ʔ- i u- lemp
 C1P mason C1P be INT LOC.PROX C2S work
 “The builders are working”
- 8.124 **Dwo ʔi pboman uniw kë**
 d- wo ʔ- i p- boman u- niw kë
 1S be INT LOC.PROX C4S make C2S wall DS
- ukaaru ušë jotna wa awat**
 u- kaaru u- šë jotna w- a a- wat
 C2S car C2S SEQ hit_against C2S OBJ SER bring_down
 “I was building the wall when the car knocked it down.”

8.125 **Kë bantohi bawo ți plațar**
 kë ba- ntohi ba- wo ți i p- laț -ar
 DS C1P elder 3P be INT LOC.PROX C4S discuss RCP
wal mënțan wuț bațum
 w- al mënțan w- uț ba- țum
 C2S moment that C2S DEM.DIST C1P be_many
 “And during that time many of the elders were in discussion”

For some verbs, for example *boman* “make” in example 8.124 and *lațar* “discuss” in example 8.125, the verbal noun and the infinitive forms are identical. This is not the case for verbs like *șoy* “sleep” and *lemp* “work” (examples 8.122 and 8.123). The infinitive forms of those verbs can be seen being used in infinite complements, for example:

8.126 **Bapok plem̐p**
 ba- pok p- lemp
 C1P refused INF work
 “They refused to work”

The verb *wo*, when not used in an auxiliary verb construction is normally translated by “to be”, and is used in existential and descriptive clauses.

8.127 **Katim naan kawo Naala**
 ka- tim naan ka- wo Naala
 C3S name 1S.GEN C3S be Nala
 “My name is Naala”

- 8.128 **Naweeek awo Dama ašë wo**
 na- week a- wo Dama a- šë wo
 C1S elder_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be
- aannuura ti bten , natëbëntën**
 a- an- nuura t- i b- ten na- tëb -ëntën
 C1S NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks C1S two ORD
- awooj nanuura maakan awo Naala**
 a- wo -oŋ na- nuura maakan a- wo Naala
 C1S be SEL C1S beauty very C1S be Nala

“The eldest was Dama who was not beautiful to look at; it was the second who was a great beauty, she was called Naala”

The verb *wo* when used as an auxiliary is also used to express obligative and epistemic modality, see section 8.9.1 below.

8.8.6 Repetitive

An event that is happening for a second time or is being done in addition to a previous action can be indicated by using the verb *kak* as an auxiliary. This is different, though related to the adverb *kak* “again”. This will be glossed as REP for repetitive.

This can be shown on the time line diagram as:

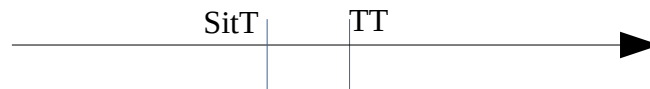


Diagram 8:14: Timeline of repetitive aspect

- 8.129 **Akak abi**
 a- kak a- bi
 C1S REP SER come
 “He's coming back again” or “He's also coming”
- 8.130 **Dkak aŋupan uko wi**
 d- kak a- ŋup -an u- ko w- i
 1S REP SER announce 2P.OBJ C2S thing C2S GEN
 “Again, I tell you this thing”
- 8.131 **Akak amobana kayiŋ abuk**
 a- kak a- mob -an -a ka- yiŋ a- buk
 C1S REP SER catch CAUS MID C3S stomach SER produce
- napoŋ ñiinŋ**
 na- poŋ ñ- iinŋ
 C1S child C1S male
 “She again became pregnant and gave birth to a son”

- 8.132 **Pakak awo uki wi blaata**
 pa- kak a- wo u- ki w- i b- laata
 C4S REP SER be C2S dance C2S GEN C5S metal_drum
 “It is also used in the 'blaata' dance”

In the negative it can be translated as “no longer”, literally “did not again”. It does not preclude the event happening again, just that the event has not happened between the Situation Time and the Topic Time.

- 8.133 **Baankak awul un balemparu**
 ba- an- kak a- wul un ba- lemp -ar -u
 C1P NEG REP SER give 1P.SUBJ C1P work BEN 2S.POSS

pbooli

- p- booli
 C4S reed
 “They would no longer give us, your workers, straw”

As a lexical verb *kak* means to “return”, or “turn around”

- 8.134 **Wi Dama akakuŋ du bhër**
 wi Dama a- kak -uŋ d- u b- hër
 when Dama C1S return SUB EXT LOC.DIST C5S hole

- aanŋenk da Şompi**
 a- an- ŋenk d- a Şompi
 SER NEG find C9S OBJ Shompi

“When Dama returned to the hole, she didn't find Shompi there”

When used as an auxiliary in a clause with *-uŋ*, *-uŋ* is attached to *kak* and there are no other significant changes.

- 8.135 **Şompi i bakakuŋ adu Piyeer**
 Şompi i ba- kak -uŋ a- du Piyeer
 Shompi GEN C1P REP SUB SER call Peter

“Shompi, who was also called Pierre”

8.8.7 Terminative

There are two structures which profile the termination of an event, which both use the same auxiliary *ba*. As a full verb *ba* has the sense “to finish”. I label this “terminative” (TMTV) in order to distinguish it from the completive aspect.

When used with an infinitive the fact that the event is finished is profiled. This can be shown on a time line diagram as:

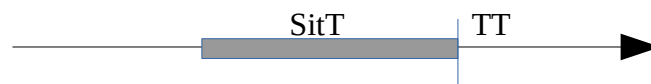


Diagram 8:15: Timeline of terminative aspect with infinitive

- 8.136 **Wi Naala abaaŋ p̄iini na Dama**
 wi Naala a- ba -aŋ p- iini na Dama
 when Nala C1S TMTV SEL INF speak with Dama
 “When Naala had finished talking with Dama...”

- 8.137 **Wal wi bakbaaŋ p̄up**
 w- al w- i ba- k- ba -aŋ p- up
 C2S moment C2S GEN C1P IMPERF TMTV SEL INF speak
 “As they were finishing speaking...”

- 8.138 **Doon kala pba p̄jom na a**
 do -on k- a- la p- ba p- jom na a
 INGR IMP IMPERF SER seek INF TMTV INF argue with OBJ
 “Try hard to stop arguing with him”

It can also be used with a lexical verb with a serial prefix (and in normal speech the two *a* vowels become one long vowel). This construction has the meaning of the event happening after an unexpected length of time, or after other events.

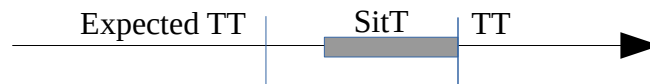


Diagram 8:16: Timeline of terminative aspect with verb with serial prefix

- 8.139 **Abuk aŋin aba ap̄en**
 a- buk a- ŋin a- ba a- p̄en
 C1AS child C1AS father C1S TMTV SER go_out
 “His brother finally came out” (Context: birth of twins)

- 8.140 **Adookar na a ado ŋnuur paaj na**
 a- dook -ar na a a- do ŋ- nuur paaj na
 C1S chase BEN and OBJ SER do C2P day six and
uloŋ aba amoba
 u- loŋ a- ba a- mob -a
 C2S INDEF SER TMTV SER catch C1S.OBJ
 “He chased him for seven days before catching him”

This auxiliary can also be used to mean “never”. To obtain this meaning it is used in an unusual construction – in addition to the negative, it always has the selective suffix *-aŋ* (underlying *-uŋ*) and the lexical verb requires the middle prefix *-a*.

- 8.141 **Aambaŋ kapoŋa**
 a- am- ba -aŋ k- a- poŋ -a
 C1S NEG TMTV SEL IMPERF SER walk MID
 “He had never walked.”

8.142 **Mëmbaan** **kapoka** **nin**
 m- ëm- ba -aŋ k- a- pok -a nin
 1S.NEG NEG TMTV SEL IMPERF SER refuse C1S.OBJ NEG

pdo uko wi ijakuŋ
 p- do u- ko w- i i- jak -uŋ
 INF do C2S thing C2S GEN 2S tell SEL

“I have never refused to do anything you asked me to do.”

When combined with a reduplicated stem and an activity verb it usually means that the activity was completed very recently.

8.143 **Naŋijan** **ŋtëb** **ŋi** **nabaan** **amob**
 na- ŋij -an ŋ- tëb ŋ- i na- ba -aŋ a- mob
 2P bring IMP C2P fish C2P GEN 2P TMTV SEL SER catch

mob ŋuŋ
 mob ŋ- uŋ
 catch C2P DEM.DIST

“Bring those fish you have just caught!”

Similarly with a change of state verb, the change of state has occurred very recently.

8.144 **Abuk** **naan** **aba** **akeŋ** **keŋ**
 a- buk naan a- ba a- keŋ keŋ
 C1AS child 1S.GEN C1S TMTV SER die die

“My child has just died”

With a reduplicated state verb the sense it can have the sense “completely” or “fully”

8.145 **Baŋaŋarul** **baba** **añoŋar** **ñoŋar**
 ba- ŋaŋar -ul ba- ba a- ñoŋar ñoŋar
 C1P follower 3S.POSS C1P TMTV SER be_surprised be_surprised

maakan
 maakan
 very

“His followers were completely amazed”

It can also mean a contra-expectation end result, e.g.

8.146 **pmaak** **paba** **adëm** **dëm**
 p- maak pa- ba a- dëm dëm
 C4S illness C4S TMTV SER grow grow

“The illness ended up getting worse”

8.147 **aba** **ahuuran** **huuran** **maakan**
 a- ba a- huuran huuran maakan
 C1S TMTV SER cry_out cry_out very

“He ended up shouting louder”

Lexically it can follow a verb, meaning “to finish”, optionally with a time complement.

8.148 **Naala aṭo du katohul aba**
 Naala a- ṭo d- u ka- toh -ul a- ba
 Nala C1S sit EXT LOC.DIST C3S house 3S.POSS SER finish

pli

p- li

C4S month

“Naala stayed at his house for a month” (Lit: “Naala stayed at his house, finished a month”)

8.149 **Bayeeh aba , aṣë pën**
 ba- yeeh a- ba a- ṣë pën
 C1P sing SER finish SER SEQ go_out

“They left after they had sung”

8.150 **Wi badaanuṅ aba , baneej katoh**
 wi ba- daan -uṅ a- ba ba- neej ka- toh
 when C1P drink SUB SER finish C1P enter C3S house

“When they had drunk, they entered the house”

The use of a terminative auxiliary that occurs after the main verb appears to be an areal feature. Ndao comments that this is a feature borrowed from Upper Guinea Creole (Ndao 2011, 183). This is supported by the fact that a post-verbal morpheme *ba* indicating anteriority is described in Kihm's grammar of Upper Guinea Creole (Kihm 1994, 14:99–108).

8.9 Modal constructions

Auxiliary constructions are also used to make modal distinctions.

8.9.1 Obligative and Epistemic

Two forms of modality are expressed by using *wo* “be” in conjunction with the genitive marker *i*. The first which I have labelled Obligative, seems to indicate deontic modality, i.e. it indicates that something must be done because it is required, or because it is a logical necessity. Deontic modality in English is illustrated in the sentence “The car must be ready tonight, so that I can use it tomorrow”. The other form, Epistemic, indicates more that the speaker believes something should happen. This is illustrated in English by “He should be coming, as he told me yesterday that he would come”. The two constructions differ in that the Epistemic is expressed using the infinitive prefix *p-*, whereas Obligative modality is expressed with the stem prefixed by the *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” prefixes.

8.151 **Ddo bane uniw afoyan**
 d- do ba- ne u- niw a- foy -an
 1S do C5S last_year C2S wall SER encircle CAUS
katoh naan ašë wo i pwat wa
 ka- toh naan a- šë wo i p- wat w- a
 C3S house 1S.GEN SER SEQ be GEN INF bring_down C2S OBJ
hënkuj
 hënkuj
 now
 “Last year I built a wall around my house, but this year I have to knock it down.”

8.152 **Kë woli iwo i pya țiki inuh**
 kë woli i- wo i p- ya țiki i- nuh
 DS if 2S be GEN INF go because_(of) 2S miss
katoh ki șaaș ...
 ka- toh k- i șaaș
 C3S house C3S GEN your_father
 “If you must go because you miss your father's house...”

8.153 **Iko mënț iwo yi kawo**
 i- ko mënț i- wo y- i k- a- wo
 C4P thing that 2S be C4P GEN IMPERF SER be
 “These things must happen”

8.154 **Ñaaņ ankbanuņ pnkuņ awo**
 ñaaņ a- n- k- ban -uņ p- nkuņ a- wo
 person C1S COREF IMPERF touch SUB C4S hill SER be
i kakeț
 i k- a- keț
 GEN IMPERF SER die
 “Anyone who touches the hill, will definitely die”

8.155 **Anğaluņ pwo naweek ți**
 a- n- ŋal -uņ p- wo na- week ț- i
 C1S COREF like SUB INF be C1S leader INT LOC.PROX
an awo i kawo nalempar
 an a- wo i k- a- wo na- lempar
 2P.OBJ SER be GEN IMPERF SER be C1S servant
batëntul
 ba- batënt -ul
 C1P peer 3S.POSS
 “The one who wants to be a leader must be a servant to his peers”

The *i* after the *wo* agrees with the subject of *wo* for non-human subjects (see example 8.153 above). I have analysed it as the genitive marker and it can be seen to occur in that position after *wo* when used with a nominal.

- 8.156 **Baji meel muŋ manwo mi baka**
 ba- ji meel m- uŋ man- wo m- i baka
 C1P say water C8 DEM.DIST C8 be C8 GEN C1P.OBJ
 “They said that this water is theirs”

There are two other analytical possibilities, either the demonstrative *i* and or a new homophonous particle. I rule out the first as I have no evidence of the demonstrative in that position. For the second, it seems to unnecessarily complicate the system when an existing particle has already been identified as being used in that position.

In the negative, the auxiliary *wo* takes the negative prefix, and the sense becomes an obligation for something not to happen – e.g “this thing must not happen”.

- 8.157 **Ñaaŋ aloŋ aanwo i kame**
 ñaaŋ a- loŋ a- an- wo i k- a- me
 person C1S INDEF C1S NEG be GEN IMPERF SER whether
kë abi ɕi dko di
 kë a- bi ɕ- i d- ko d- i
 DS C1S come INT LOC.PROX C9S place C9S DEM.PROX
 “No-one must know that someone has come to this place”
 (Lit: “Someone must not know ...”)

Similarly when used in a relative clause, it is the auxiliary *wo* that takes the suffix *-uŋ*.

- 8.158 **uko wi bawooŋ i kado**
 u- ko w- i ba- wo -oŋ i k- a- do
 C2S thing C2S GEN C1P be SEL GEN IMPERF SER do
 “The thing they must do”

8.9.2 Prohibitive

The prohibitive is formed with the auxiliary *wut* and followed by the lexical verb prefixed by the *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” prefixes.

- 8.159 **ŋwut kafiŋa**
 ŋ- wut k- a- fiŋ -a
 1P PRHB IMPERF SER kill C1S.OBJ
 “Let's not kill him.”

- 8.160 **Aji na baka bawut kaɕup nin ñaaŋ**
 a- ji na baka ba- wut k- a- ɕup nin ñaaŋ
 C1S say with C1P.OBJ C1P PRHB IMPERF SER speak NEG person
 “He told them not to tell anyone.”

It is often found as an imperative:

8.161 **Wutan kalënk**
 wut -an k- a- lënk
 PRHB IMP IMPERF SER be_afraid
 “Don't be afraid!”

8.162 **Nawutan kafiŋa**
 na- wut -an k- a- fiŋ -a
 2P PRHB IMP IMPERF SER kill C1S.OBJ
 “Don't kill him!”

But it is also found with the causative in the 3rd person.

8.163 **Itim yaŋ iwutan**
 i- tim y- aŋ i- wut -an
 C3P name C3P DEM C3P PRHB CAUS
katiinkana **ti** **itum** **yi**
 k- a- tiink -an -a t- i i- tum y- i
 IMPERF SER hear CAUS MID INT LOC.PROX C3P mouth C3P GEN
nan
 nan
 2P.POSS

“These names mustn't be heard on your lips.”

8.164 **Nin aloŋ awutan kapën**
 nin a- loŋ a- wut -an k- a- pën
 NEG C1S INDEF C1S prhb CAUS IMPERF SER go_out
du dko di
 d- u d- ko d- i
 EXT LOC.DIST C9S place C9S DEM.PROX

“No-one must leave this place.”

8.165 **Bawutan kaneej ubeeka**
 ba- wut -an k- a- neej u- beeka
 C1P PRHB CAUS IMPERF SER enter C2S town

“They must not enter the town.”

Lexically *wut* has the meaning “to prevent/to abandon/to let go”

8.166 **Bawut du ŋteeh ŋntaam ŋi**
 ba- wut d- u ŋ- teeh ŋ- ntaam ŋ- i
 C1P leave EXT LOC.DIST C2P field C2P livestock C2P GEN

baka

baka

C1P.OBJ

“They left their livestock in the field.”

8.167 **Baankwut nin katoḥ kaloḡ**
 ba- an- k- wut nin ka- toḥ ka- loḡ
 C1P NEG IMPERF leave NEG C3S house C3S INDEF

kanaḡ
 k- a- naḡ
 IMPERF SER stand

“They will not leave one house standing.”

8.10 Complex Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Auxiliaries can be combined to create more complex AVCs.

A common combination is the ingressive *do* followed by the past *bi*. The emphasis is on the fact that the start of the event has happened in the past. With an activity verb the activity is understood to be complete. If the verb is a change of state verb, then that state is understood to have been changed to in the past. For a stative verb the emphasis is on the fact that the state has existed for some time.

This can be shown on the time line diagram as below, where the Topic Time (TT) emphasises the beginning of the Situation Time (SitT), and the Situation Time (SitT) is completed before the Time of Assessment (TA).

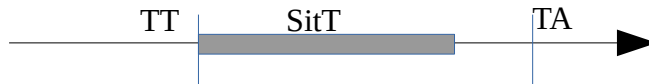


Diagram 8:17: Timeline of ingressive and past combined

8.168 **Ddo bi ṭupan**
 d- do bi ṭup -an
 1S INGR PST speak 2P.OBJ

“I have already told you.”

8.169 **Bañaaḡ mēnt̃ ado bi dat dat baka**
 ba- ñaaḡ mēnt̃ a- do bi dat dat baka
 C1P person that C1S do PST choose choose C1P.OBJ

“These people he had already chosen.”

8.170 **Ado bi keḡ**
 a- do bi keḡ
 C1S INGR PST die

“He is/was already dead”

8.171 **Bṭeem bado bi low low pkay**
 b- ṭeem ba- do bi low low p- kay
 C5S pirogue C1P INGR PST be_far be_far C4S dry_land

“The boat was already far from dry land”

8.172 **Bado bi wo baristoŋ ʦi ŋrisiya**
 ba- do bi wo ba- ristoŋ ʦ- i ŋrisiya
 C1P INGR PST be C1P Christian INT LOC.PROX church

evanjelik

evanjelik

Evangelical

“They were already Christians in the Evangelical church”

8.173 **Ado bi ka ka itaka itum**
 a- do bi ka ka i- taka i- tum
 C1S INGR PST have have C4P money C3P many

“He already had a lot of money”

If the root is prefixed by the *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” prefixes, then, as expected, the event is not complete and is still ongoing.

This can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Time of Assessment (TA) is now during the Situation Time (SitT):

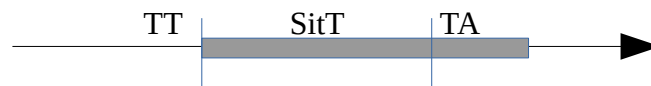


Diagram 8:18: Timeline of ingressive and past auxiliaries with imperfect prefix

8.174 **ŋme na manjoonan kë nado bi**
 ŋ- me na ma- njoonan kë na- do bi
 1P know and C8 truth DS 2P INGR PST

kado haŋ

k- a- do haŋ

IMPERF SER do DEM

“We really know that you are already doing this”

The order of auxiliaries is fixed; the ingressive *do* must proceed the past *bi*. Inverting the order gives an ungrammatical sentence, or sentence with a different meaning. For example:

8.175 **ʦiki abi kado**
 ʦiki a- bi k- a- do
 because_(of) C1S PST IMPERF SER INGR

karab napoŋ pa pfiŋa
 k- a- rab na- poŋ pa p- fiŋ -a
 IMPERF SER search_out C1S child in_order_to INF kill C1S.OBJ

“... because he was going to start looking for the child in order to kill him”

When the *do bi* combination is used in a clause, for example a relative clause, it is the ingressive *do* which takes the selective marker *-uŋ* (which phonologically changes to *-oŋ*).

8.176 ... **kë bakak awo bukal batëb bti**
 kë ba- kak a- wo bukal ba- tëb bti
 DS 3P REP SER be 3P.SUBJ C1P two all
bañaan bandoon abi taf taf
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- n- do -oŋ a- bi taf taf
 C1P person 3P COREF INGR SEL SER PST grow_old grow_old
 “They were also, both of them, already very old.”

It is interesting that in this situation, the past *bi* is now preceded by the serial prefix *a-*. This would seem to indicate again that the structure has developed from a serial verb structure. However, in the simple form *do bi* is not *doo bi*, as in example 8.117 where *do* is used on its own as an ingressive. This suggests that *do bi* has undergone a further step of grammaticalisation towards becoming a single word *dobi*. This process can be seen in English in the development of the Modern English word “because” from the two words in Middle English “by cause”. Further evidence to strengthen this proposal is that many newly literate Mankanya will write *do bi* as *dobi*.

In the negative it is the first auxiliary *do* that takes the negative marker.

This could be diagrammed like this, where the Topic Time (TT) is before the both the Time of Assessment (TA), and the Situation Time (SitT).

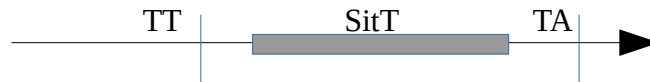


Diagram 8:19: Timeline of negative of ingressive and past auxiliaries

8.177 **Baando bi wata wal mēŋ**
 ba- an- do bi wat -a w- al mēŋ
 C1P NEG INGR PST bring_down C1S.OBJ C2S moment that
ukalabuş
 u- kalabuş
 C2S prison

“They had not yet at that time put him in prison”

This negative combination of auxiliaries can also be found combined with the persistive *hum*. This gives the sense of “still had not yet”. In the diagram the Topic Time is profiled as being before some Expected Topic Time.

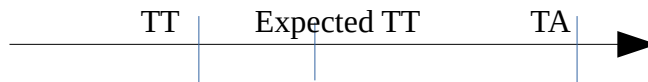


Diagram 8:20: Timeline of persistive of ingressive and past auxiliaries

8.178 **Bahum baando bi piinŋ**
 ba- hum ba- ën- do bi piinŋ
 C1P pstv C1P NEG INGR PST lie_down

“They still hadn't slept”

The sequential marker *şë* is always the first auxiliary when used in combination with other auxiliaries.

8.179	kë	untaayi	uşë	do	bi	neej	ti	
	kë	u- ntaayi	u- şë	do	bi	neej	ti	i
	DS	C2S spirit	C2S SEQ	INGR	PST	enter	INT	LOC.PROX

Şompi

Şompi

Shompi

“... but the spirit had already entered Shompi”

8.180	Kë	bañaaj	batum	başë	ji	baya	
	kë	ba- ñaaj	ba- tum	ba- şë	ji	ba- ya	
	DS	C1P person	C1P many	C1P SEQ	HAB	C1P go	

du a

d- u a

EXT LOC.DIST OBJ

“And many people kept coming to where he was”

The habitual *ji* proceeds *do* and *bi*.

8.181	aloj	aji	do	bi	banën	da	
	a- loj	a- ji	do	bi	ban -ën	d- a	
	C1S INDEF	SER HAB	INGR	PST	arrive CAUS	C9S OBJ	

uteek

u- teek

C2S first

“Someone always gets there first”

However, I have also found this example where the ingressive *do* precedes the habitual:

8.182	ido	kaji		kaluj	kabi	
	i- do	k- a- ji		ka- luuj	k- a- bi	
	2S INGR	IMPERF SER HAB		2S.HAB FUT	IMPERF SER	come

“You should come regularly”

So it seems that the order of the auxiliaries is not completely fixed, and some can be moved to create different nuances. Further research is needed in this area.

Chapter 9 - Complex clauses

In this chapter I will examine the ways in which clauses in a multiple clause sentence combine. The first part of the chapter will look at the various forms that exist in Mankanya for combining clauses. Then I will go on to discuss how those forms are used to represent various semantic relations between clauses.

The first section is subdivided into two subsections, those forms where a word or words is used to join two clauses, or link one clause to some constituent of another, and those which are joined or linked by the use of verb forms.

The first of these subsections is further subdivided depending on whether one of the clauses requires syntactic or morphological modification which could not appear in a simple neutral clause. Where the clausal relation requires no changes the clauses are said to be balanced, otherwise a clause which requires changes is said to be de-ranked.

9.1 Clauses joined by linking words

9.1.1 Balanced clauses

The following words can be used to link two formally equal clauses:

<i>këme</i>	alternative
<i>hënk</i>	result
<i>keeri</i>	result
<i>ṭiki</i>	cause
<i>bë</i>	negative while

The word *këme* joins two clauses in a disjunctive alternative relation (section 9.5.5.1).

9.1	Iwi	ti		uleefu		ijakuŋ	uko
	iwi	ti	i	u-	leef	-u	i- jak -uŋ u- ko
	2S	INT	LOC.PROX	C2S	body	2S.POSS	2S tell SEL C2S thing
	waŋ	kēme	baloŋ	baɕupuŋ	haŋ		
	w-	aŋ	kēme	ba-	loŋ	ba- ɕup	-uŋ haŋ
	C2S	DEM	or	C1P	INDEF	C1P announce	SEL DEM
	ti	nji					
	ti	i	nji				
	INT	LOC.PROX	1S				

“Did you say this or did someone else say this about me?”

The word *hēnk* introduces a result clause (section 9.5.2.2).

9.2	Jakan	na	baka	iwo	aɕa'naan	hēnk
	jakan	na	baka	i- wo	a- ɕa'	naan hēnk
	tell	and	C1P.OBJ	2S be	C1AS young_sibling	1S.GEN so
	iɕu	bamēbanaan	bnuura			
	i- ɕu	ba- mēb -an -aan	b- nuura			
	2S	place	C1P. attach CAUS	1S.OBJ	C5S goodness	

“Say that you are my sister, so that you will cause them to be good to me”

9.3	ŋdeey	ŋuŋ	bahank	ŋa	pa		
	ŋ- deey	ŋ- uŋ	ba- hank	ŋ- a	pa		
	C2P	grain	C2P DEM.DIST	C1P keep	C2P OBJ in_order_to		
	ŋɕubal	paaj	na	uloŋ	ŋi	ubon	hēnk
	ŋ- ɕubal	paaj	na	u- loŋ	ŋ- i	u- bon hēnk	
	C2P	year	six	and	C2S INDEF	C2P GEN C2S hunger so	
	bañaanŋ	biki	uɕaak	bawutna			
	ba- ñaanŋ	bik- i	u- ɕaak	ba- wut -na			
	C1P	person	C1P GEN	C2S country	C1P leave INSTR		
	kakeɕ						
	k-	a-	keɕ				
	IMPERF	SER	die				

“This grain will be kept for the seven years of famine so the people of the country will not die”

The word *keeri* introduces a result clause (section 9.5.2.2).

9.4	Babuk	baɕih	keeri	baanwo	i
	ba- buk	ba- ɕih	keeri	ba- an- wo	i
	C1P	child	C1P chief	in_that_case	C1P NEG must GEN
	kaluk				
	k-	a-	luk		
	IMPERF	SER	pay		

“Therefore chiefs’ children don't have to pay.”

9.5 **Keeri idinan iyeenk uko wi**
 keeri i- dinan i- yeenk u- ko w- i
 in_that_case 2S agree 2S receive C2S thing C2S gen

nwuliij

n- wul -i -iŋ
 1S.SUB give 2S.SUB.OBJ sel

“So please accept the thing that I give you.”

9.6 **Ṭupun keeri , we wi iṣaluŋ**
 ṭup -un keeri , we w- i i- ṣal -uŋ
 speak 1P.OBJ in_that_case what C2S GEN 2S think SEL

“So tell us what you think.”

The word *ṭiki* introduces a cause clause (section 9.5.2.1) and it is never sentence initial.

9.7 **Dduka Dakar ṭiki dmaaki**
 d- duk -a Dakar ṭiki d- maak -i
 1S leave MID Dakar because 1S be_ill CMPL

“I stayed in Dakar because I was ill”

9.8 **Naṭiin iñaay na utaak bti**
 naṭ -i -in i- ñaay na u- taak bti
 stand MID IMP 2S walk_about with C2S country all

ṭiki dluŋ kawulu wa
 ṭiki d- luŋ k- a- wul -u w- a
 because_(of) 1S FUT IMPERF SER give 2S.OBJ C2S OBJ

“Get up and walk about all this land, because I will give you it.”

9.9 **Babi bti ṭi a ṭiki batiink**
 ba- bi bti ṭ- i a ṭiki ba- tiink
 C1P come all INT LOC.PROX OBJ because_(of) C1P hear

uko wi adoluŋ
 u- ko w- i a- dol -uŋ
 C2S thing C2S GEN C1S do SEL

“They all came to him because they had heard of the things he had done.”

The word *bě* is a contrastive marker (section 9.5.4.4), and is most frequently used with a negative clause.

9.10 **Aji ṭi uṣalul agar**
 a- ji ṭ- i u- ṣal -ul a- gar
 C1S say INT LOC.PROX C2S mind 3s.POSS C1S scatter

baniw na a bě aankṭup bañaan
 ba- niw na a bě a- ěn- k- ṭup ba- ñaan
 C5S fiancé(e) and OBJ CNTR C1S NEG IMPERF speak C1P person

“He thought that he would break off the engagement but not tell anyone”

9.11	Iten		ṭi		iko		yi		naan	bti		
	i-	ten	ṭ-	i	i-	ko	y-	i	naan	bti		
	2S	look_at	INT	LOC.PROX	C3P	thing	C3P	GEN	1S.GEN	all		
	bë	iinwin		win	nin	kako		kalonj	ki			
	bë	i-	in-	win	win	nin	ka-	ko	ka-	lonj	k-	i
	CNTR	2S	NEG	see	see	NEG	C3S	container	C3S	INDEF	C3S	GEN
	nu											
	nu											
	2S.POSS											

“You looked through all my things, but didn't find any pot of yours”

9.1.2 Relations requiring deranking

The following words can be used to link clauses either to other clauses or a constituent within a clause. They require the clause that they introduce, at least in some contexts, to be deranked, i.e. to have a syntactic or morphological modification which could not appear in a simple neutral clause.

<i>jibi</i>	comparison or cause
<i>ji</i>	comparison or cause
<i>pa</i>	goal
<i>woli</i>	irrealis
<i>le</i>	irrealis
<i>ukaanj kē</i>	cause
<i>Ci</i>	genitive (C is an agreement prefix)

The following features are found in deranked clauses, though not necessarily together:

- selective suffix *-unj* on verb
- nasalisation as 1s prefix
- required marking of imperfective aspect
- alternative 1s and 2s prefixes *ka-* and *k-*

Clauses introduced by the word *jibi* require the selective marker *-unj* on the verb. It has two uses – to indicate manner (section 9.4.2.2) or to indicate a cause (section 9.5.2.3).

9.12	Alunj		kaniw		jibi	ajonunj		kado				
	a-	luŋ	k-	a-	niw	jibi	a-	jon	-unj	k-	a-	do
	C1S	FUT	IMPERF	SER	build	like	C1S	last	SEL	IMPERF	SER	do

“He will build as he always does”

9.13 **Jibi awoonj aankak afiyaara** ,
 jibi a- wo -onj a- an- kak a- fiyaar -a
 like C1S be SEL SER NEG REP SER believe C1S.OBJ

aşë tıp pyaanť
 a- şë tıp p- yaanť
 SER SEQ announce INF go_visiting

“As he still didn't believe her, he said he was going to go on a voyage”

The use of *jibi* also requires the subordinate version of the 1st person singular prefix, i.e. prenasalisation of the following consonant, rather than *d-*.

9.14 **Dňal kakakalëšan ntiink jibi**
 d- ñal k- a- kakalëş -an ntiink jibi
 1S like IMPERF SER repeat 2P.OBJ a_little like
nwoonj tfa ti kpoť
 n- wo -onj tfa t- i k- poť
 1S.SEL be SEL in_the_past INT LOC.PROX C3S childhood

“I want to tell you a little of what I was like as a child”

9.15 **Dlempar aşinan jibi nhiniñ bti**
 d- lemp -ar a- şin -an jibi n- hina -iñ bti
 1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS like 1S.SEL be_strong SEL all

“I worked for your father as much as I could”

It seems likely that *jibi* is related to *ji*. A clausal comparison is introduced by *jibi*, whereas *ji* can introduce a clausal comparison or a simple nominal comparison (see 9.16 below and section 9.4.2.2).

9.16 **Abi kayoora yooraj plaak**
 a- bi k- a- yooraj yooraj ji p- laak
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER drown drown like C6S stone

“He began to sink like a stone”

In Karlik's description of the related language Manjaku (Karlik, 1972, p. 215) he describes a structure which has *bi* surrounding a causality or manner clause. This could indicate a common source for Manjaku *bi* and Mankanya *jibi*. Unfortunately, he only gives an example of its use in a time clause. (example updated to current orthography).

9.17 **Koulon bi ndo bi nşi napať**
 something when I(PAST) when I.was child

“Something from the time when I was a child”

The word *pa* introduces a clause expressing a purpose (section 9.5.2.1). Karlik (1972) describes the same word in Manjaku and suggests that it is borrowed from Kriol.

When the subject of the clause expressing the purpose is identical to the subject of the matrix clause, the verb in the purpose clause takes an infinitive prefix.

9.18 **Ŋya duuṭ pa pmeer bahula**
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa p- meer ba- hula
 1P go up_there in_order_to INF get_to_know C1P Mankanya
 “We're going to the Casamance to get to know the Mankanya”

If the subject of the purpose clause is different and in the first person singular, then the first person singular subordinate prefix is used.

9.19 **Ŋya duuṭ pa nihil njukan**
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa n- hil n- jukan
 1P go up_there in_order_to 1S be_able 1S teach

uhula

u- hula

C3S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that I can teach Mankanya”

Otherwise no particular morphological changes are necessary in the purpose clause.

9.20 **Ŋya duuṭ pa Dama ahil ajukan**
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa Dama a- hil a- jukan
 1P go up_there in_order_to Dama C1S be_able C1S teach

uhula

u- hula

C2S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that Dama can teach Mankanya”

Woli introduces a clause that describes something that either does not exist yet, or is not known to exist, or may or may not be true. It can be used for future events which are sure, as well for conditional events (section 9.5.1.3).

The *woli* clause may appear before or after the main clause it relates to. If the *woli* clause appears first then the normal 1st and 2nd person prefixes *d-* and *i-* cannot be used in the main clause. Instead the alternatives *ka-* and *k-* must be used.

9.21 **Woli dtar abi kabi de**
 woli d- tar a- bi ka- bi de
 when; if 1S be_fast SER come 1S.ALT FUT eat
 “If I come back quickly, I'll eat”

9.22 **ŋya uṭeeh woli bnuur baanyiiki**
 ŋ- ya u- ṭeeh woli b- nuur ba- an- yiik -i
 1P go C2S field when; if C7S sunlight C7S NEG be_hot CMPL
 “We will go to the fields, if it isn't too hot”

9.23 **Tenan baṭi , ifën ṅjah woli**
 ten -an ba- ṭi , i- fën ṅ- jah woli
 look_at IMP C5S sky 2S count C2P star when; if
ihinani
 i- hinan -i
 2S be_able CMPL

“Look at the sky, count the stars if you are able”

9.24 **Woli abi , ṅfiṅ uguk**
 woli a- bi , ṅ- fiṅ u- guk
 when; if C1S come 1P kill C2S chicken
 “If/When he comes we will kill a chicken”

When the *woli* clause is in the past the clause is additionally marked with the word *lah* to indicate a contrafactual statement. Compare the following example with example 9.24 above.

9.25 **Woli abi lah , ṅfiṅ uguk**
 woli a- bi lah , ṅ- fiṅ u- guk
 when; if C1S come CNTRFACT 1P kill C2S chicken
 “If he had come, we would have killed a chicken”

When the *woli* clause contains an auxiliary with future meaning (*luṅ, ya, bi*) the main verb is not prefixed with *k-* imperfective prefix (example 9.26), as would be normal (example 9.27). It would seem that irrealis nature of *woli* makes the imperfective *k-* unnecessary.

9.26 **Woli naluṅ aya ṅrisiya ṅya na baka**
 woli na- luṅ a- ya ṅrisiya ṅ- ya na baka
 when; if 2P FUT SER go church 1P go and C1P.OBJ
 “If you are going to go to church, we will come with you.”

9.27 **Naluṅ kaya ṅrisiya**
 na- luṅ k- a- ya ṅrisiya
 2P FUT IMPERF SER go church
 “You are going to go to church”

The particle *le* marks a clause in the same way *woli* does; it indicates that the clause is irrealis. Unlike *woli* it occurs after the verb.

9.28 **Apiitaar le naṣë fën te iñeen**
 a- piitaar le na- ṣë fën te i- ñeen
 C1S whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten
 “When he whistles, you'll count to ten”

If the subject in the clause marked with *le* is in the first person singular, the subordinate prefix *N-* is used. This is different to a clause with *woli*.

9.29 **Mpiitaar le naşë fën te iñeen**
 m- piitaar le na- şë fën te i- ñeen
 1S.SEL whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten
 “When I whistle, you’ll count to ten”

Like *woli*, the clause following *le* can be used with the contrafactual *lah*, to indicate a possible event that did not occur.

9.30 **Awul le lah awul kaţuman**
 a- wul le lah a- wul k- a- tum -an
 C1S give IRL CNTRFACT C1S give IMPERF SER be_numerous CAUS
 “If he had given, he would have given a lot”

When there is an auxiliary, then *le* is placed after the auxiliary.

9.31 **nluŋ le ka itaka kaniw katoh**
 n- luŋ le ka i- taka ka- niw ka- toh
 1S.SEL FUT IRL have C4P money 1S.ALT build C3S house
kaweek
 ka- week
 C3S big
 “If I have the money I will buy a big house”

This example also illustrates that like *woli*, the dependent clause requires the alternative version of the 1st and 2nd person singular verb prefixes.

Two clauses can be linked together with the verbal expression *ukaŋ kë*.

9.32 **Dmaaki ukaŋ kë dduka Dakar**
 d- maak -i u- ka -aŋ kë d- duk -a Dakar
 1S be_ill CMPL C2S have SEL COMP 1S leave MID Dakar
 “I was ill, and for this reason I stayed in Dakar”

Note that example 9.7 and 9.32 are complementary and describe the same events.

Ukaŋ seems to be composed of *u-* “C2S”, *ka* “have” and the subordinate suffix *-uŋ*. The word *uka* is used sometimes as an existential introducer. The use of the class 2 singular prefix here may be related to its use in *uko* “thing”.

9.33 **Uka du ukalabuş naţaşa**
 u- ka d- u u- kalabuş na- ţaşă
 C2S have EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison C1S teenager_(boy)
aloŋ anwooŋ nalemp i naşih i
 a- loŋ a- n- wo -oŋ na- lemp i na- şih i
 C1S INDEF C1S COREF be SEL C1S worker GEN C1S chief GEN
bayeŋ
 ba- yeŋ
 C1P guard

“There was in the prison, a young man, who was a servant of the chief guard”

Note that the subordinate form of the first person singular prefix is required after *ukaŋ kë*.

The expression *ukaŋ kë* can occur at the beginning of a sentence to refer to something in the previous sentence.

9.34 a) **Anaţa ți pkeţ !**
 a- naţ -a ți i p- keţ
 C1S stand MID INT LOC.PROX C4S death

“He's come back from the dead”

b) **Ukaŋ kë aka mnhina mi**
 u- ka -aŋ kë a- ka mn- hina m- i
 C2S have SEL COMP C1S have C8 power C6P DEM.PROX

pdo mlagre !

p- do m- lagre
 INF do C8 miracle

“It's for this reason that he has power to do miracles”

The genitive marker *-i* is used to introduce a relative clause where the antecedent of the relative clause is a non-subject in the relative clause. The genitive agrees with the antecedent. This word has probably grammaticalised from the proximal demonstrative *-i*. Further, its use in relative clauses is possibly the source of its use as the genitive particle.

As its function in relative clauses (introducing an element which modifies the head noun) is the same as that of the genitive marker, I have to chosen to gloss it as GEN rather than DEM.PROX or something new.

In relative clauses introduced by *-i*, the first verb word takes the subordinate suffix *-uŋ* and when relevant the imperfective prefix *k-*.

9.35 **Alaalan umeeşa wi akbomanuŋ**
 a- laalan u- meeşa w- i a- k- boman -uŋ
 C1S feel C2S table C2S GEN C1S IMPERF make SEL

“She's touching the table that she's making”

9.36 **Aṅal iko yi baknugun**
 a- ṅal i- ko y- i ba- k- nug -un
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF buy SEL
 “She likes the things that they buy”

If the relative clause has a first person singular subject then the subordinate prefix *N-* is used.

9.37 **Ado uko wi njakulun**
 a- do u- ko w- i n- jak -ul -un
 C1S do C2S thing C2S GEN 1S.SUB tell C1S.ALT.OBJ SEL
 “He is doing the thing that I told him to do.”

9.2 Clauses linked by verbal forms

Clauses can be linked together without any linking words. If the subject in a clause is unchanged from the previous clause, then the subject prefix on the verb is substituted by *a-* which I have glossed as *SER* for serial. This prefix is identical in form to the subject prefix when the subject is a class 1 singular noun.

9.38 **Ukaṅa ujohara aṅog baka**
 u- kaṅa u- johara a- ṅog baka
 C2S sort_of_bird C2S move_(a_little) SER be_close C1P.OBJ
akak afuut kayeeh
 a- kak a- fuut ka- yeeh
 SER REP SER splash C3S song
 “The bird moved, came closer to them, and started singing again.”

9.39 **Kë baṭooli abomandër aṭonkandër bti**
 kë ba- ṭool -i a- bomandër a- ṭonkandër bti
 DS C1P straight CMPL SER get_ready SER gather_together all
ṭun pnduud pi naṣih nafeey
 ṭ- un p- nduud p- i na- ṣih na- Feeey
 INT LOC.DIST C6S compound C4S GEN C1S chief 2P Feeey
aya
 a- ya
 SER go

“And straight away, they got themselves ready, and gathered together in the chief of the Nafeey's compound, and then left”

Example 9.38 shows that auxiliaries can be used with local scope in serial clauses, and example 9.39 shows the use of an adverbial locational phrase.

Negation always has local scope.

- 9.40 **Dama ade aṣiṣ aaṅṅoyēnti**
 Dama a- de a- ṣiṣ a- aṅ- ṅoyēnt -i
 Dama C1S eat SER go_home SER NEG sleep CMPL
 “Dama ate, went home, but she didn’t sleep”

The following example shows that some auxiliaries can have a scope across the following clauses. The future auxiliary *bi* effects all the following clauses, and all the verbs need to be prefixed by the imperfective *k-*.

- 9.41 **Ñaaṅ aloṅ abi kabop**
 ñaaṅ a- loṅ a- bi k- a- bop
 person C1S INDEF C1S FUT IMPERF SER hide_oneself
kado kaṭiink nja
 k- a- do k- a- ṭiink nja
 IMPERF SER INGR IMPERF SER hear 1P.OBJ
kabot kame uko
 k- a- bot k- a- me u- ko
 IMPERF SER do_something_next IMPERF SER know C2S thing
wi ṅkaaṅ
 w- i ṅ- ka -aṅ
 C2S GEN C2P have SEL
 “Someone will hide, and hear us and know what we have”

When the subject changes then the particle *kë* is used to show a change of subject. Compare the following two examples:

- 9.42 **Şompi akob baka aṣë ya**
 Şompi a- kob baka a- ṣë ya
 Şompi C1S hit 3P.OBJ SER SEQ go
 “Şompi hit Nala and then he (Şompi) left”
- 9.43 **Şompi akob baka kë aya**
 Şompi a- kob baka kë a- ya
 Şompi C1S hit 3P.OBJ DS C1S go
 “Şompi hit Nala and she (Naala) left”

There will be more discussion on the use of *kë* in section 11.

An instrumental suffix *-na* on the verb in the second clause can be used to express purpose (section 9.5.2.3):

- 9.44 **Aṭup** **baka** **uko** **wi** **awinuṭ**
 a- ṭup baka u- ko w- i a- win -uṭ
 C1S announce C1P.OBJ C2S thing C2S GEN C1S see SEL
- bawutna** **kaya** **ṭi** **dko**
 ba- wut -na k- a- ya ṭ- i d- ko
 C5S leave INSTR IMPERF SER go INT LOC.PROX C9S place
- duṭ**
 d- uṭ
 C9S DEM.DIST
- “He told them what he had seen so that they did not go there”

- 9.45 **Wulun** **kak** **bṭepi** **ṅhilna** **ṅwo**
 wul -un kak b- tepi ṅ- hil -na ṅ- wo
 give 1P.POSS again c7s seed 1P be_able INSTR 1P be
- bajeb**
 ba- jeb
 C1P healthy
- “Give us grain, so that we can be live.”

- 9.46 **Bañaaṅ** **bawula** **ṅntaam** **ṅi**
 ba- ñaaṅ ba- wul -a ṅ- ntaam ṅ- i
 C1P person C1P give C1S.OBJ C2P livestock C2P GEN
- baka** **ahilna** **ade**
 baka a- hil -na a- de
 C1P.OBJ SER be_able INSTR SER eat
- “The people gave him their livestock, so that they could eat.”

If the purpose clause has the same subject then a serial prefix *a-* is used.

- 9.47 **Dwaap** **mlemani** **alukna** **Dama**
 d- waap m- lemani a- luk -na Dama
 1S sell C6P orange SER pay INSTR Dama
- “I sold some oranges in order to pay Dama”

- 9.48 **Ajaan** **awul** **naṣih** **najeenk**
 a- ja -aṅ a- wul na- ṣih na- jeenk -al
 C1S HAB SEL C1S give C1S chief C1S redder CHG
- kalomar** **aneejna** **pṣih**
 ka- lomar a- neej -na p- ṣih
 C3S key SER enter INSTR C6S kingdom/throne
- “It is he who gives the king the key in order to enter the kingdom”

If the purpose clause is a different subject and the first person singular then the prefix must be the subordinate form *N-*.

9.49 **Awulin** **kakoopa** **ndaanna**
 a- wul -in ka- koopa n- daan -na
 C1S give 1S.OBJ C3S glass 1S.SEL drink INSTR
 “He gave me the cup so that I can drink”

Clauses can be linked by marking the second verb with an auxiliary like *şë*. This is often used for temporal sequencing (section 9.5.1.1), but can also be used for same event addition (section 9.5.4.2).

9.50 **Dñowa** **aşë** **wohara**
 d- ñow -a a- şë wohara
 1S wash MID SER SEQ wear_(clothes)
 “I wash and then get dressed”

9.51 **Bko** **babi** **dëm** **bnuura** **aşë** **keţ**
 b- ko ba- bi dëm bnuura a- şë keţ
 C7S tree C7S PAST grow well SER SEQ die
 “The tree grew well and then it died”

9.3 Semantics of clause relations

This section describes the semantics of clause relations, and how the various forms described above are used to express those semantics.

In this section I will use two overlapping frameworks to classify these clause relations. Firstly I will use the work of Cristofaro (2005) to describe subordinate clauses, and then the work of Dixon (2009) to describe other clause types. The two classification overlap in describing adverbial clauses and where this occurs I shall refer back to previous relevant sections.

9.4 Subordinate clauses

Cristofaro (2005) categorises semantically subordinate clauses into three groups depending on how the State of Affairs (SoA) described by each clause relates to each other.

- Complement clauses – one SoA entails that another SoA is referred to.
- Adverbial clauses – one SoA corresponds to circumstances where another SoA takes place.
- Relative clauses – a participant of the main SoA is identified within a set of possible referents by mentioning some other SoA in which they take part.

Semantically subordinate clauses are not necessarily syntactically subordinate clauses.

9.4.1 Complement clauses

Cristofaro further divides up complement clauses into the following subgroups:

- Modals (must, can, be able to)
- Phasals (start, begin, stop)
- Manipulatives (order, make, persuade)
- Desideratives ('want', etc)
- Perceptions (see, hear)
- Knowledge (know)
- Propositional attitude (think, believe)
- Utterance (say, tell)

9.4.1.1 Modals

Modal complement clauses always have the same subject as the matrix clause. They use auxiliary verb constructions already described in chapter 8.

Obligation uses the form *wo i ka-* structure:

9.52 **ŋwo i kapoş** **ŋnuur** **ŋwajanţ**
 ŋ- wo i k- a- poş ŋ- nuur ŋ- wajanţ
 1P must GEN IMPERF SER walk C2P day C5P.cnt three

"We must walk three days."

9.53 **iko mēnt iwo yi kawo**
 i- ko mēnt i- wo y- i k- a- wo
 C3P thing that C3P be C3P GEN IMPERF SER be

"These things must happen."

Negating the auxiliary can mean negation of the obligation as in 9.54 or obligation to not do something as in 9.55.

9.54 **Babuk başih baanwo i kaluk**
 ba- buk ba- şih ba- an- wo i k- a- luk
 C1P child C1P chief C1P NEG must GEN IMPERF SER pay

"Children of chiefs do not have to pay."

9.55 **Baanwo kapaya pnkuŋ**
 ba- an- wo k- a- pay -a p- nkuŋ
 C1P NEG must IMPERF SER raised MID C4S hill

"They must not climb the hill."

Obligation to not do something can be more explicitly expressed with the auxiliary construction *wut ka-*

9.56 **Nawutan kalow maakan**
 na- wut -an k- a- low maakan
 2P leave IMP IMPERF SER be_apart very

“You must not go far”

Ability is expressed with the auxiliary construction *hil ka-*.

9.57 **ŋhil kado kañaay na**
 ŋ- hil k- a- do k- a- ñaay na
 1P be_able IMPERF SER INGR IMPERF SER walk_about and

utaak

u- taak

C2S country

“We can begin to move freely around the country.”

9.58 **Nin ñaaŋ aanhil kalempar**
 nin ñaaŋ a- an- hil k- a- lemp -ar
 NEG person C1S NEG be_able IMPERF SER work BEN

baših batëb

ba- ših ba- tëb

C1P chief C1P two

“No-one is able to work for two masters”

9.59 **Ihinan kajebanaan**
 i- hinan k- a- jeban -aan
 2S be_able_to IMPERF SER heal 1S.OBJ

“You can heal me”

The verb *hinan* (which appears in free variation with *hilan* and *hil*) has the sense of “to be able to”. It appears as an auxiliary either with the infinitive prefix *p-* or with the serial prefix *a-* (often prefixed by the imperfective *k-*).

The difference in meaning between the two structures tends to vary somewhat between speakers (and sometimes the same speaker at different times will use the two structures to mean the same thing).

When used with the infinitive marker *p-* it the core meaning seems be “to have the ability to do something”.

9.60 **Ahinan pyeeh**
 a- hina p- yeeh
 C1S be_able_to INF sing

“He can sing”

The ability can be either internal ability, or ability within external constraints.

It can be used for both future and past events. Compare the following two examples from the same text.

9.61 **ŋtëb** **ŋakeŋ** , **bdëk** **bapuŋ** , **bañaan**
 ŋ- t̥ëb ŋa- keŋ b- d̥ëk ba- puŋ ba- ñaan
 C2P fish C2P die C5S sea C1P rot C1P person

baankak **ahil** **pdaan** **ti** **meel**
 ba- ën- kak a- hil p- daan t̥- i meel
 C1P NEG REP SER be_able INF drink INT LOC.PROX water

mi **ba**
 m- i b- a
 C8 GEN C5S OBJ

“The fish will die, the river smell, and people will not even be able to drink its water”

9.62 **ŋtëb** **ŋakeŋi** , **kë** **bdëk** **bapuŋi** ,
 ŋ- t̥ëb ŋa- keŋ -i kë b- d̥ëk ba- puŋ -i
 C2P fish C2P die CMPL DS C5S sea C5S rot CMPL

bañaan **baankak** **ahil** **pdaan** **meel**
 ba- ñaan ba- ën- kak a- hil p- daan meel
 C1P person C1P NEG REP SER be_able INF drink water

“The fish died, the river smelt, and people were not even be able to drink water”

When followed by a verb with just the serial prefix *a-* the meaning is similar, but the event is in the past.

9.63 **Bahil** **apoŋ** **pnak** **na** **utejan**
 ba- hil a- poŋ p- nak na u- t̥ëjan
 C1P be_able SER walk C4S daytime and C2S night

“They were able to walk night and day”

9.64 **Ahil** **anaŋ** **ti** **kadunan**
 a- hil a- naŋ t̥- i ka- dun -an
 C1S be_able SER stand INT LOC.PROX C3S front 2P.POSS

“He is able to stand in front of you”

When the imperfective *k-* is present the construction has a more modal meaning. The exact sense depends on context, ranging from a permissive “Let him do something”, to a more conditional “he could do something”.

9.65 **Ahinan** **kayeeh**
 a- hina k- a- yeeh
 C1S be_able_to IMPERF SER sing

“Let him sing”

9.66 **Ahinan** **katokun** **ulemp**
 a- hina k- a- tok -un u- lemp
 C1S be_able_to IMPERF SER ruin 1S.OBJ C2S work

“He could ruin our work”

9.4.1.2 Phasals

Phasal subordinates where the matrix verb is *jun* “begin” or *ṭañan* “stop”, are not introduced by a complementiser. The subject of the subordinate clause is always the same as the matrix clause, and the subordinate clause is headed by an infinitive.

9.67 **Aṣë jun pkul Naala ajugul**
 a- ṣë jun p- kul Naala a- jug -ul
 C1S SEQ begin INF despise Nala C1AS owner 3s.POSS
 “Then she began to hate Naala, her mistress”

9.68 **Aṣë jun pjukan baka**
 a- ṣë jun p- jukan baka
 C1S SEQ begin INF teach C1P.OBJ
 “Then he began to teach them”

9.69 **Baṭañan pniw ubeeka**
 ba- ṭañ -an p- niw u- beeka
 C1P stop CAUS INF build C2S town
 “They stopped building the town”

9.70 **Aṭañan plempar nja**
 a- ṭañ -an p- lemp -ar nja
 C1S stop CAUS INF work BEN 1P.OBJ
 “She stopped working for us.”

These phasal verbs can also just take a noun that describes an action as a complement.

9.71 **Aṭañan kabuk**
 a- ṭañ -an ka- buk
 C1S stop CAUS C3S birth
 “She stopped giving birth”

9.72 **Naṣë ṅal pdo baka baṭañan ulemp**
 na- ṣë ṅal p- do baka ba- ṭañ -an u- lemp
 2P SEQ like INF do C1P.OBJ C1P stop CAUS C2S work
 “You want them to stop the work”

Beginning can also be expressed with the ingressive auxiliary *do*.

9.73 **Mëṅṅal bayafan biki nja bado**
 më- ṅ- ṅal ba- yafan bik- i nja ba- do
 1S.NEG NEG like C1P shepherd C1P GEN 1P.POSS C1P INGR

kaṅom

k- a- ṅom
 IMPERF SER dispute

“I don't want our shepherds to begin arguing”

9.4.1.3 Manipulatives

What Cristofaro calls manipulatives are expressed with *do* “do/make” and the subordinate clause is normally introduced by the word *kë*.

9.74 **Ado** **kë** **batuman** **ḡṣaaku**
 a- do kë ba- tum -an ḡ- ṣaaku
 C1S do COMP C1P be_numerous CAUS C2P bag
 “He made them fill the sacs”

9.75 **Naṣih** **i** **bayeḡ** **ado** **kë** **Ṣompi**
 na- ṣih i ba- yeḡ a- do kë Ṣompi
 C1S chief GEN C1P guard C1S do COMP Shompi
aklempar **baka**
 a- k- lemp -ar baka
 C1S IMPERF work BEN C1P.OBJ
 “The head guard made Shompi work for them”

9.76 **Bado** **kë** **bapënan** **baka** **ṭi**
 ba- do kë ba- pën -an baka ṭ- i
 C1P do COMP C1P go_out CAUS C1P.OBJ INT LOC.PROX
dko
 d- ko
 C9S place
 “They₁ made them₂ take them₃ from the place”

9.77 **Aṣë** **do** **kë** **bawul** **napoṭ** **kë** **adee**
 a- ṣë do kë ba- wul na- poṭ kë a- de -e
 C1S SEQ do COMP C1P give C1S child DS C1S eat CMPL
 “Then he made them give the child something to eat”

9.78 **Aṣë** **do** **kë** **nwin** **babuku**
 a- ṣë do kë n- win ba- buk -u
 C1S SEQ do COMP 1S.SEL see C1P child 2S.OBJ
 “Then he allowed me to see your children”

9.79 **Naṣibaṭi** **ado** **kë** **nṭilma** **unoor**
 na- ṣibaṭi a- do kë n- ṭilma u- noor
 C1S God C1S do COMP 1S.SEL forget C2S tiredness

wi **naan** **bṭi**
 w- i naan bṭi
 C2S GEN 1S.GEN all
 “God makes me forget all my tiredness”

- 9.80 **Ado wa kē uyimani** (same as ex. 7.16)
 a- do w- a kē u- yiman -i
 C1S do C2S OBJ COMP C2S respect IMP
 “He made it sacred”

Occasionally the *kē* is dropped.

- 9.81 **DDo baka bapēn**
 d- do baka ba- pēn
 1S do C1P.OBJ C1P go_out
 “I made them leave”

9.4.1.4 Desideratives

Desire is expressed with the verb *ŋal* “want/love”. If the subject is different in the main clause and the complement clause, and the subject of the complement clause is the first person singular then the subordinate version of that prefix is used.

- 9.82 **Naŋal nwutanan naŋih i**
 na- ŋal n- wut -an -an na- ŋih i
 2P loved 1S.SEL leave CAUS 2P.OBJ C1S chief quest
 “Do you want me to release the chief to you?”

- 9.83 **Dŋal name kē djon ŋal pbi**
 d- ŋal na- me kē d- jon ŋal p- bi
 1S like 2P know COMP 1S cont like INF come
du an
 d- u an
 EXT LOC.DIST 2P.OBJ

“I want you to know that I have for a long time wanted to come to you”

If the subject is the same then the infinitive form of the first verb word is used, or the *k-* *a-* prefix. The difference between the two structures needs research, but it seems that most cases of the infinitive relate to past states.

- 9.84 **Dŋal maakan pwinan**
 d- ŋal maakan p- win -an
 1S like very INF see 2P.OBJ
 “I really wanted to see you”

- 9.85 **Aanŋal ppeeta ŋi kadun**
 a- an- ŋal p- peeṭ -a ṭ- i ka- dun
 C1S NEG want INF reveal MID INT LOC.PROX C3S front
ki bañaan
 k- i ba- ñaan
 C3S GEN C1P person
 “He did not want to reveal himself in front of the people.”

9.86 **Iᅇal kaya na ᅇiintᅇ i i**
 i- ᅇal k- a- ya na ᅇ- iintᅇ i i
 2S want IMPERF SER go with C1S man DEM.PROX quest
 “Do you want to go with this man?”

9.87 **Naweeku aᅇal kafiᅇu**
 na- week -u a- ᅇal k- a- fiᅇ -u
 C1S elder_sibling 2S.POSS C1S like IMPERF SER kill 2S.POSS
 “Your brother wants to kill you”

9.4.1.5 Perceptions

Perception verbs like *win* “see” and *tiink* “hear/feel” use the word *kē* to introduce a complement clause. No other changes are required in the complement clause. Note in example 9.89 that there is no change of subject, which shows that *kē* is acting as a complementiser and not a change of subject marker.

9.88 **Awin kē mboᅇ manjun pkay**
 a- win kē m- boᅇ man- jun p- kay
 C1S see COMP C8 earth C8 begin INF be_dry
 “He saw that the land was beginning to dry.”

9.89 **Dwin kē dhil kado da**
 d- win kē d- hil k- a- do d- a
 1S see COMP 1S be_able IMPERF SER do C9S OBJ

ulemp unuura
 u- lemp u- nuura
 C2S work C2S good
 “I saw that I was able to do good work there.”

9.90 **Atiink plul kē palul maakan**
 a- tiink p- lul kē pa- lul maakan
 C1S hear C4S flute COMP C4S blow very
 “He heard the flute blow loudly.”

The imperfective prefix *k-* is used where an action is occurring at the time of perception.

9.91 **ᅇompi akat kēᅇ aᅇē win kē Dama**
 ᅇompi a- kat kēᅇ a- ᅇē win kē Dama
 Shompi C1S raise_(eyes) eye SER SEQ see COMP Dama

akbi
 a- k- bi
 SER IMPERF come
 “Shompi lifted his eyes and saw that Dama was coming.”

- 9.92 **Dtiink** **kë** **ikpoş** **ti** **uwoorta**
 d- tiink kë i- k- poş ti i u- woorta
 1S hear COMP 2S IMPERF walk INT LOC.PROX C2S garden
 “I heard you walking in the garden.”

- 9.93 **Atiink** **bapoş** **kë** **bakhuuran**
 a- tiink ba- poş kë ba- k- huuran
 C1S hear C1P child COMP C1P IMPERF cry_out
 “He heard the children shouting.”

In the following two examples the imperfective prefix *k-* is not used. In the first the change of state has happened, in the second the action has not happened.

- 9.94 **Awin** **kë** **Naala** **adëmi**
 a- win kë Naala a- dëm -i
 C1S see COMP Nala C1S grow CMPL
 “He saw that Naala had grown.”

- 9.95 **Ŋwin** **bnuura** **kë** **baambi** **hil** **pneej**
 ŋ- win bnuura kë ba- am- bi hil p- neej
 1P see well COMP C1P NEG past be_able INF enter
du **dko**
 d- u d- ko
 EXT LOC.DIST C9S place
 “We saw clearly that they had not been able to enter the place.”

The same structure with *kë* as a complementiser is used when *tiink* is used figuratively.

- 9.96 **Atiink** **ti** **uleeful** **kë**
 a- tiink ti i u- leef -ul kë
 C1S hear INT LOC.PROX C2S body 3s.POSS COMP
ajebi
 a- jeb -i
 C1S recover CMPL
 “He realised that he had been healed.”

9.4.1.6 Knowledge

The verb *me* “know” is used to express knowledge. Where it used with a subordinate clause, that clause is introduced by the complementiser *kë*. No other changes are required in the complement clause.

- 9.97 **Name** **kë** **dlempar** **aşinan**
 na- me kë d- lemp -ar a- şin -an
 2P know COMP 1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS
 “You know that I work for your father.”

- 9.98 **Bame** **kë** **akeṭi**
 ba- me kë a- keṭ -i
 C1P know COMP C1S die CMPL
 “They know that he is dead.”

- 9.99 **Bañaaṅ** **bukuṅ** **baamme** **kë** **nduba**
 ba- ñaaṅ buk- uṅ ba- am- me kë nduba
 C1P person C1P DEM.DIST C1P NEG know COMP boy
uṅ **awo** **ṭi** **btuur** **meeṭ**
 uṅ a- wo ṭ- i b- tuur meeṭ
 DEM.DIST C1S be INT LOC.PROX C5S coffin inside
 “Those people didn't know that that boy was inside the coffin.”

- 9.100 **Dme** **kë** **dṭo** **ṭi** **na** **an** **bṭi**
 d- me kë d- ṭo ṭ- i na an bṭi
 1S know COMP 1S sit INT LOC.PROX with 2P.OBJ all
 “I know that I am staying with you.”

9.4.1.7 Propositional attitude

The verb *fiyaar* “believe” is used to denote propositional attitude. It can be used with a noun, but where it used with a subordinate clause, that clause is introduced by the complementiser *kë*. No other changes are required in the complement clause.

- 9.101 **Afiyaar** **kë** **dwoona** **du** **Ziguinchor**
 a- fiyaar kë d- woona d- u Ziguinchor
 C1S believe COMP 1S come_from EXT LOC.DIST Ziguinchor
 “He thought that I came from Ziguinchor.”

- 9.102 **Baanfiyaar** **kë** **abi** **wo** **nakuul**
 ba- an- fiyaar kë a- bi wo na- kuul
 C1P NEG believe COMP C1S past be C1S blind
 “They didn't believe that he had been blind”

9.4.1.8 Utterance

Speech is always introduced by the verb *ji* “speak”. This can be used on its own, or after a speech verb like *teem* “answer”, where it is prefixed with the serial prefix *a-*.

9.103 **Ulioŋ unwooŋ i uŝih ujej**
 u- lion u- n- wo -oŋ i u- ŝih u- jej
 C2S lion C2S COREF be SEL GEN C2S chief C2S take

bɕup aji ulemp ubaa
 b- ɕup a- ji u- lemp u- ba -a
 C5S speech SER say C2S work C2S finish CMPL
 “The lion who was the king spoke up and said ‘The work is finished’ ”

9.104 **Woli baɕij pde baji pde pi**
 woli ba- ɕij p- de ba- ji p- de p- i
 if C1P bring C6S meal C1P say C6S meal C4S GEN

bayaantɕ pi pi
 ba- yaantɕ p- i p- i
 C1P stranger C4S GEN C4S DEM.PROX
 “When they brought them the meal they said ‘This is the stranger's meal’ ”

9.105 **Kë bangooli baŝë teema aji**
 kë ba- ngooli ba- ŝë teem -a a- ji
 DS C1P soldier C1P SEQ reply C1S.OBJ SER say

nayaantɕ aloŋ ankuŋiij pdunk
 na- yaantɕ a- loŋ a- n- kuŋ -i -iŋ p- dunk
 C1S stranger C1S INDEF C1S COREF be_burdened MID SEL C4S pot
akbiij
 a- k- bi -iŋ
 C1S IMPERF come SEL
 “And the soldiers replied ‘It is a stranger carrying a pot who is coming’ ”

9.106 (**Uloŋ**)... **aŝë do kahuuh**
 u- loŋ a- ŝë do k- a- huuh
 C2S elephant SER SEQ INGR IMPERF SER shout
aji nabiini , nabiini .
 a- ji na- bi -ini na- bi -ini
 SER say 2P come IMP 2P come IMP
 “Elephant started to shout out crying ‘come! Come!’ ”

The only difference between direct and indirect discourse is the verbal prefix.

9.107 **Uji uwo wi pdo ukoolan**
 u- ji u- wo w- i p- do u- koolan
 C2S say C2S must C2S GEN INF do C2S one_thing
 “He said that he had to do one thing”

The verb *ŝal* also uses this structure. This verb is usually translated as “think”, but rather than propositional attitude, the use of *ji* suggests that it may rather denote internal speech, e.g “he said to himself”.

9.108 **Dşal aji i awutaruŋ itaka**
 d- şal a- ji i a- wut -ar -uŋ i- taka
 1S think SER say GEN C1S leave BEN SEL C4P money

itum a
 i- tum a
 C3P many OBJ

“I think it was the one who was let off the biggest amount of money.”

9.109 **Bañaaŋ başal aji dwo in ba ?**
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- şal a- ji d- wo in ba
 C1P person C1P think SER say 1S be who? ques

“Who do people think I am?” (Lit: “people think I am who?”)

şal can also be used with an infinitive when the subject of the complement clause is the same as the subject of the main clause.

9.110 **Aşal pwutanaan**
 a- şal p- wutan -aan
 C1S think INF release 1S.OBJ

“He₁ thought that he₁ would release him₂.”

9.111 **Başal pgarën na an**
 ba- şal p- gar -ën na an
 C1P think INF scatter 1S.OBJ and 2P.OBJ

“They thought that they would separate me and you.”

9.4.2 Adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause is one where the State of Affairs described by the subordinate clause corresponds to circumstances where, when or how the State of Affairs described by the matrix clause takes place.

9.4.2.1 Temporal clauses

As shown in section 6.3 *te* “until” can either be followed by a noun phrase or by a clause.

The verbs in the clause introduced by *te* use the subordinate form of the prefix for the first person singular. There are no other morphological or syntactic changes in the adverbial clause.

9.112 **Naduka** **ti** **kawo** **ukalabuş**
 na- duk -a ɬ- i k- a- wo u- kalabuş
 2P leave MID INT LOC.PROX IMPERF SER be C2S prison
te ndo ten me ɲɬup ɲi nan
 te n- do ten me ɲ- ɬup ɲ- i nan
 until 1S.SEL INGR look_at know C2P speech C2P GEN 2P.POSS
ɲajoonani
 ɲa- joonan -i
 C2P be_true CMPL
 “You will stay in prison until I know that what you say is true”

9.113 **te baweek biki naan baanɬaş**
 te ba- week bik- i naan ba- an- ɬaş
 until C6S elder_sibling C2P GEN 1S.GEN 3P NEG follow
bgah mënɬan
 b- gah mënɬan
 C6S way that
 “until my brothers don't follow that way”

9.114 **Abi wo wo da te kanşëntën**
 a- bi wo wo d- a te ka- nşëntën
 C1S PAST be be C9S OBJ until C3S umbilical_cord
kajot jot
 ka- jot jot
 C3S fall fall
 “She stays there until the umbilical cord falls off”

The *te* clause is quite mobile. In example 9.115 it occurs in the middle of the main clause, just after the subject.

9.115 **Dko mënɬ te du umbaɲ wi**
 d- ko mënɬ te d- u u- mbaɲ w- i
 C9S place that until EXT LOC.DIST C2S side C2S GEN
ubeeka dawo na itant
 u- beeka da- wo na i- tant
 C2S town C9S be with C3P river
 “That area, as far as the town, was well irrigated” (Lit: was with rivers)

A temporal relation indicating an end point can be expressed with the word *ji* “before”, which is homophonous with *ji* “like” (section 9.4.2.2 below).

9.116 **ɲɲal ptiiş ji uşubal ubi uşub**
 ɲ- ɲal p- tiiş ji u- şubal u- bi u- şub
 1P like INF go_home before C2S rain C2S PAST C2S rain
 “We want to go before it rains”

This construction can only be used if the action expressed in the first clause will happen in the future. The futurity need not be expressed syntactically with a future auxiliary.

As with the *tə* the verbs in the second clause use the subordinate form for the first person singular.

9.117 **Dya kawina ji mbi**
 d- ya k- a- win -a ji m- bi
 1S FUT IMPERF SER see C1S.OBJ before 1S.SEL FUT
ndo kakeṭ
 n- do k- a- keṭ
 1S.SEL INGR IMPERF SER die
 “I will see him before I die”

To describe a specific time, or duration of time a clause introduced by *wi* “when/while” is used. This is in fact a headless relative clause (see section 9.4.3.5) with an implicit head *wal* “time”. (So *wi* is actually *w- i* “C2S GEN”). The verb is marked like other relative clauses where the antecedent is a non-subject, i.e. with a selectional suffix *-uŋ*, and where appropriate, the imperfective prefix *-k-* (see section 9.4.3.2).

9.118 **Wi abanuŋ ašë jot di meel**
 wi a- ban -uŋ a- šë jot d- i meel
 when C1S touch SEL SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.PROX water
 “When she arrived, she fell in the water”

9.119 **Wi ŋdeen aba , ŋṭiiš**
 wi ŋ- de -eŋ a- ba ŋ- ṭiiš
 when 1P eat SEL SER CMPLTV 1P go_home
 “When we had finished eating, we went home”

9.120 **Wi Naala akñoŋuŋ dko di**
 wi Naala a- k- ñog -uŋ d- ko d- i
 when Nala C1S IMPERF be_close SEL C9S place C9S GEN
bafëṭuŋ awin Dama
 ba- fëṭ -uŋ a- win Dama
 C1P dwell SEL SER see Dama
 “As Naala got close to where they lived, she saw Dama”

9.4.2.2 Manner

As shown in section 9.1.2 *ji* “like” can be followed by a clause to show hypothetical manner.

9.121 **Dṭaafi** **kë** **uwo** **wo** **ji** **dnaṭ** **ṭi**
 d- ṭaafi kë u- wo wo ji d- naṭ ṭ- i
 1S dream DS C2S be be like 1S stand INT LOC.PROX

kabaṅ **ki** **bdëk**
 ka- baṅ k- i b- dëk
 C3S side C3S GEN C5S sea

“I dreamt that I was standing at the side of the river”

The word *jibi* shows real manner:

9.122 **Aluṅ** **kaniw** **jibi** **ajonuṅ**
 a- luṅ k- a- niw jibi a- jon -uṅ
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build like SER last SEL

kado

k- a- do
 IMPERF SER do

“He will build as he always does”

9.123 **Baloṅ** **bado** **jibi** **bameeṅ** **di**
 ba- loṅ ba- do jibi ba- me -eṅ d- i
 C1P INDEF C1P do like C1P know SEL EXT LOC.PROX

ikow **yi** **baka**
 i- kow y- i baka
 C5P head C3P GEN C1P.POSS

“Some did as they thought they should”

9.4.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are those where a participant of the main state of affairs is identified within a set of possible referents by mentioning some other state of affairs in which they take part.

Relative clauses in Mankanya occur after the head noun that they are modifying, towards the end of the nominal phrase.

Syntactically there are two different structures, depending on whether or not the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause.

9.4.3.1 Antecedent is the Subject of the Relative Clause

When the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause there is no word, relative pronoun or otherwise, that introduces the relative clause. Instead the first verbal word is marked to indicate that the subject of the verb also has a grammatical role in the matrix sentence. As noted in section 4.2.6, this mark is a prefix that is realised by the pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the stem. If this consonant is a nasal, then that nasal is lengthened. If present, the imperfective prefix *k-* is prenasalised, in addition to the nasal before the stem. I gloss this prefix COREF for coreference.

The first verb word is also marked with the selectional suffix *-uj*.

9.124 **ateem naan ambukuŋ ni**
 a- teem naan a- m- buk -uj ni
 C1AS grandparent 1S.GEN C1S COREF produce SEL my_mother
 “My maternal grandmother (Lit: my grandparent who gave birth to my mother)”

9.125 **praata panjotuŋ**
 p- raata pa- n- jot -uj
 C6S bowl C6S COREF fall SEL
 “The bowl which fell”

9.126 **Dwin nalët ambomanuŋ blaañ**
 d- win na- lët a- m- boman -uj b- laañ
 1S see C1S tailor C1Sa COREF make SEL C5S wrap
 “I saw the tailor who made the dress”

9.127 **Dwin nalët ankmbomanuŋ blaañ**
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uj b- laañ
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL C5S wrap
 “I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

9.128 **Dwin nalët anknuŋ**
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- n- nuŋ
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF FUT
kaboman blaañ
 k- a- boman b- laañ
 IMPERF SER make C5S wrap
 “I saw the tailor who is going to make the dress”

As the antecedent is the subject of the verb in the relative clause, that verb agrees with the antecedent.

9.129 **Anug ŋntaam ŋambukiŋ uteek**
 a- nug ŋ- ntaam ŋa- m- buk -i -iŋ u- teek
 C1S buy C2P livestock C2P COREF produce MID SEL C2S first
 “He bought the animals that were born first”

9.130 **kanëm kankmbiŋ**
 ka- nëm ka- n- k- m- bi -iŋ
 C3S week C3S COREF IMPERF C8 come SEL
 “Next week” (lit. “the week that is coming”)

To express a negative, a different structure is used, as the negative is also marked with prenasalisation of the verb stem. The verb *wo* “to be” is introduced at the beginning of the verbal complex and takes the subordinating suffix and the coreferential prefix. The next verbal word

(either main verb or auxiliary), takes the negative marker. Note that *wo* is never marked for imperfective.

9.131 **Ñiint̃** **anwooñ** **aambi** **amaaki**
 ñ- iint̃ a- n- wo -oñ a- am- bi a- maak -i
 C2S man C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG come C1S be_ill CMPL
 “The man who hasn't come is ill”

9.132 **Ñiint̃** **anwooñ** **aankbi**
 ñ- iint̃ a- n- wo -oñ a- an- k- bi
 C2S man C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF come
amaaki
 a- maak -i
 C1S be_ill CMPL
 “The man who's not coming is ill”

9.133 **Dwin** **nalët** **anwooñ** **aankluŋ**
 d- win na- lët a- n- wo -oñ a- an- k- luŋ
 1s see C1S tailor C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF FUT
kaboman **blaañ**
 k- a- boman b- laañ
 IMPERF SER make C5S wrap
 “I saw the tailor who is not going make the dress”

Note that both *wo* and the second verbal word agree with the subject of the relative clause as shown clearly in example 9.132 above.

9.134 **Dwo** **na** **biint̃** **batëb** **banwooñ**
 d- wo na b- iint̃ ba- tëb ba- n- wo -oñ
 1s be and C1P man C1P two C1P COREF be SEL
baando **bi** **de**
 ba- an- do bi de
 C1P NEG INGR PAST eat
 “I am with two men who haven't yet eaten”

9.4.3.2 Antecedent is a non-Subject in the Relative Clause

When the antecedent of the relative clause is some other than the subject in that clause, the relative clause is introduced by the word *-i* which agrees with the antecedent. As already mentioned in section 9.1.2 I have chosen to gloss it as GEN “genitive” as its function is the same (introducing an element which modifies the head noun).

As with other relative clauses, the first verb word takes the selective suffix *-uŋ* and when necessary the imperfective prefix *k-*.

9.135 **Alaalan umeeşa wi akbomanuŋ**
 a- laalan u- meeşa w- i a- k- boman -uŋ
 C1S feel C2S table C2S GEN C1S IMPERF make SEL
 “She's touching the table that she's making”

9.136 **Aŋal iko yi baknuguŋ**
 a- ŋal i- ko y- i ba- k- nug -uŋ
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF buy SEL
 “She likes the things that they buy”

9.137 **Aŋal iko yi bakbiŋ kanug**
 a- ŋal i- ko y- i ba- k- bi -iŋ k- a- nug
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF FUT SEL IMPERF SER buy
 “She likes the things that they are going to buy”

9.138 **Ŋşë pënan kakaarta ki aşinun**
 ŋ- şë pënan ka- kaarta k- i a- şin -un
 1P SEQ take_out C3S card C3S GEN C1AS father 1P.OBJ
apiitun un
 a- piit -uŋ un
 C1S write SEL 1P.subj
 “We got out the map that our father had drawn us”

9.139 **Mënte uko wi ijakuŋ**
 më- n- te u- ko w- i i- jak -uŋ
 1S.NEG NEG hear C2S thing C2S GEN 2S tell SEL
 “I didn't understand what you said”

To express a negative the verb *wo* is used in the same way as was noted in section 9.4.3.1 above.

9.140 **Ado ulemp wi bawooŋ**
 a- do u- lemp w- i ba- wo -oŋ
 C1S do C2S work C2S GEN C1P be SEL

baaŋŋali
 ba- aŋ- ŋal -i
 C1P NEG like CMPL
 “He does the work that they don't like”

9.141 **Aŋal iko yi bawooŋ baanji banug**
 a- ŋal i- ko y- i ba- wo -oŋ ba- an- ji ba- nug
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P be SEL C1P NEG HAB C1P buy
 “She likes the things that they don't usually buy”

With ditransitive clauses the same structure is used with either object, as shown in the examples below.

- 9.147 **Uwit ukaş na upi ukaş ŋi**
 u- wit u- kaş na u- pi u- kaş ŋ- i
 C2S cow C2S male and C2S goat C2S male C2P GEN
- baţuuŋ pñaak pi ŋa ʦi**
 ba- ʦu -uŋ p- ñaak p- i ŋ- a ʦ- i
 C1P place SEL C4S blood C4S GEN C2P OBJ INT LOC.PROX
- dko dyimanaan maakan**
 d- ko d- yiman -a -an maakan
 C9S place C9S respect MID CAUS very
- “the male cow and the male goat, whose blood had been put in the very sacred place”

- 9.148 **Dwin ñiinʦ i nmeeŋ abukul**
 d- win ñ- iinʦ i n- me -eŋ a- buk -ul
 1S see C1S man GEN 1S know SEL C1AS child 3S.POSS
- “I saw the man whose child I know”

9.4.3.5 Headless relative clauses

Relative clauses where the head is not explicit are often found.

- 9.149 **Bannooruŋ baanji baya**
 ba- n- noor -uŋ ba- an- ji ba- ya
 C1P COREF get_tired SEL C1P NEG HAB C1P go
- “Those who were tired didn't go”

- 9.150 **Biki nwinuŋ du baankmbi**
 bik- i n- win -uŋ d- u ba- an- k- m- bi
 C1P GEN 1S see SEL EXT LOC.DIST C1P NEG IMPERF NEG come
- “Those I saw there aren't coming”

9.4.3.6 Relative clause semantics

Relative clauses which have an explicit head can be divided into two types, those that are restrictive, and those that non-restrictive. A restrictive relative clause identifies the head amongst several possible referents. A non-restrictive clause adds additional information to the head.

Not all languages permit both types, but relative clauses of both types are found in Mankanya, and there is no morpho-syntactic distinction.

Example 9.151 from the beginning of a story, shows two non-restrictive relative clauses. Each add extra information and each could be removed from the sentence, and it would still make sense.

- 9.151 **Ubi ka tfa , di untanka**
 u- bi ka tfa d- i u- ntanka
 C2S past have in_the_past EXT LOC.PROX C2S village
- uloŋ , ñiinṭ nawaap naŋaf**
 u- loŋ ñ- iinṭ na- waap na- ŋaf
 C2S INDEF C1S man C1S seller C1S elderly
- ammaakuŋ aniimar na napoŋ ñaaŋ**
 a- m- maak -uŋ a- niim -ar na na- poŋ ñ- aaŋ
 C1S COREF be_ill SEL C1S marry BEN and C1S child C1S woman
- nanuura i bapoŋ baŋaŋa biki**
 na- nuura i ba- poŋ ba- ŋaŋa bik- i
 C1S beauty GEN C1P child C1P teenager_(boy) C1P GEN
- untanka bti baŋaluŋ**
 u- ntanka bti ba- ŋal -uŋ
 C2S village all C1P like SEL
- “Once, there was an old ill man who married a beautiful young woman,
 who all the boys in the village loved”

Later on in the same story, there is an example of a restrictive relative clause:

- 9.152 **kë ñaaŋ aŋë ya aya ŋup**
 kë ñ- aaŋ a- ŋë ya a- ya ŋup
 DS C1S woman SER SEQ go SER go announce
- baniw , ul i aŋaluŋ maakan**
 ba- niw ul i a- ŋal -uŋ maakan
 C5S fiancé(e) 3s.subj GEN C1S like SEL very
- “The woman went to talk to her beloved, he who loved her a lot”

Here the relative clause identifies which boy is being talked about amongst the ones who have been introduced in the story, the one “who loved her a lot”. Similarly later in the same story, this boy is referred to in the same way.

- 9.153 **ame kë naŋaŋa i ñaaŋ**
 a- me kë na- ŋaŋa i ñ- aaŋ
 C1S know COMP C1S teenager_(boy) GEN C1S woman
- aŋaluŋ maakan aya pfer baniw**
 a- ŋal -uŋ maakan a- ya p- fer ba- niw
 C1S like SEL very SER go INF spend_the_night C5S fiancé(e)
- “He knew that the boy who the girl loved a lot was going to spend the night with her”

Here are several other examples of restrictive relative clauses.

9.154 **Aşë** **ji** « **bayaanṭ** **bambaanṭ**
 a- şë ji ba- yaanṭ ba- m- ba -anṭ
 SER SEQ say C1P stranger C1P COREF CMPLTV SEL
abi **kë** **ṛşë** **kijana** »
 a- bi kë ṛ- şë kij -an -a
 SER come DS 1P SEQ steal CAUS MID
 “They said ‘The strangers who have just come are robbing us’ ”

9.155 **ñaanṭ** **anduwaniṭ** **Nabanka** **Biyagi**
 ñaanṭ a- n- duw -an -i -iṭ Nabanka Biyagi
 person SER COREF call CAUS MID SEL Nabanka Biyagi
aşë **wo** **da** ,
 a- şë wo d- a
 SER SEQ be C9S OBJ
 “A person called Nabanka Biyagi was there”

9.4.4 Participle clauses

Semantically, participle clauses in Mankanya would be classed as relative clauses. However, they are formally different.

As already described in section 5.2, participles agree with the noun they are modifying using adjectival agreement markers, rather than the verbal agreement markers used with relatives. Further, participles cannot be marked morphologically as negative, nor can they take the imperfective prefix *k-*.

A participle can also be the head of a participle clause, and the following two examples are repeated from that section. Compare example 9.156, which contains a participle clause *dbomanani ṛkaaru* “car repairing” with example 9.157 which contains a relative.

9.156 **añoṭ** **ukaaru** **wi** **nun** **du**
 a- ñooṭ u- kaaru w- i nun d- u
 C1S take C2S car C2S GEN 1P.POSS EXT LOC.DIST
dko **dbomanani** **ṛkaaru**
 d- ko da- boman -an -i ṛ- kaaru
 C9S place C9S make CAUS PTCP C2P car
 “He took our car to the garage (lit. the car repairing place)”

9.157 **dko** **dambomanuṭ** **na** **iñen** **yi**
 d- ko da- m- boman -uṭ na i- ñen y- i
 C9S place C9S COREF make SEL and C3P hand C3P GEN
bañaanṭ **bajën**
 ba- ñaanṭ ba- jën
 C1P person C1P black
 “a place made by human hands”

9.5 Other types of clause linking

Dixon classifies semantic types of clause linking in Dixon (2009). This classification only relates to clause linkages which are not relative clauses or complement clauses. This means that adverbial clauses are found in both his classification, and Cristofaro's, and so I have already described them in section 9.4.2. This is Dixon's classification, with his numbering:

	Linking type
I	Temporal
Is	Temporal Succession
Ir	Relative Time
Ic	Conditional
II	Consequence
IIc	Cause
IIr	Result
IIp	Purpose
III	Possible Consequence
IV	Addition
IVu	Unordered addition
IVs	Same event addition
IVe	Elaboration
IVc	Contrast
V	Alternatives
Vd	Disjunction
Vr	Rejection
Vs	Suggestion
VI	Manner
VIr	Real
VIh	Hypothetical

Table 9.1: Dixon's classification of clause relations

9.5.1 Temporal (I)

9.5.1.1 Temporal Succession (Is)

As noted in section 8.7.3 and also section 9.2 the primary use of *şë* is to indicate a successive event, and it is commonly found in serial clause constructions:

- 9.158 **Bko** **babi** **dëm** **bnuura** **aşë** **keṭ**
 b- ko ba- bi dëm bnuura a- şë keṭ
 C7S tree C7S PAST grow well SER SEQ die
 “The tree grew well and then it died”

9.5.1.2 Relative Time (Ir)

Relative time is achieved with adverbial temporal clauses that begin with *wi* or *wal wi*. These have been described in section 9.4.2.1.

- 9.159 **Wi** **abanuṭ** **aşë** **jot** **di** **meel**
 wi a- ban -uṭ a- şë jot d- i meel
 when C1S touch SEL SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.PROX water
 “When she arrived, she fell in the water”

9.5.1.3 Conditional (Ic)

Conditional clause relations can be marked in two ways, the clause initial word *woli* or the verb following word *le* (see also section 9.1.2). Both words mark irrealis so give no information about the probability of the condition becoming true, only that it is not true at the time of utterance.

- 9.160 **Woli** **dṭar** **abi** **kabi** **de**
 woli d- ṭar a- bi ka- bi de
 when; if 1S be_fast SER come 1S.ALT FUT eat
 “If I come back quickly, I’ll eat”

- 9.161 **ŋya** **uṭeḥ** **woli** **bnuur**
 ŋ- ya u- ṭeḥ woli b- nuur
 1P go C2S field when; if C7S sunlight

baanyiiki

- ba- an- yiik -i
 C7S NEG be_hot CMPL
 “We will go to the fields, if it isn’t too hot”

- 9.162 **Tenan** **baṭi** , **ifën** **ŋjah** **woli**
 ten -an ba- ṭi i- fën ŋ- jah woli
 look_at IMP C5S sky 2S count C2P star when; if

ihinani

- i- hinan -i
 2S be_able CMPL
 “Look at the sky, count the stars if you are able”

- 9.163 **Woli** **abi** , **ŋfiṅ** **uguk**
 woli a- bi ŋ- fiṅ u- guk
 when; if C1S come 1P kill C2S chicken
 “If/When he comes we will kill a chicken”

9.164 **Woli naluŋ aya ŋrisiya ŋya na baka**
 woli na- luŋ a- ya ŋrisiya ŋ- ya na baka
 when; if 2P FUT SER go church 1P go and C1P.OBJ
 “If you are going to go to church, we will come with you.”

9.165 **Apiitaar le naşë fën te iñeen**
 a- piitaar le na- şë fën te i- ñeen
 C1S whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten
 “When he whistles, you’ll count to ten”

9.166 **Mpiitaar le naşë fën te iñeen**
 m- piitaar le na- şë fën te i- ñeen
 1S.SEL whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten
 “When I whistle, you’ll count to ten”

9.167 **nluŋ le ka itaka kaniw katoh**
 n- luŋ le ka i- taka ka- niw ka- toh
 1S.SEL FUT IRL have C4P money 1S.ALT build C3S house
kaweek
 ka- week
 C3S big
 “If I had the money I would buy a big house”

9.5.2 Consequence (II)

9.5.2.1 Cause (IIc)

There are three ways of marking a causal semantic relation, the words *jibi* and *ṭiki* and the expression *ukaarj kë* (see also sections 9.1.1 and 9.1.2).

The words *jibi* and *ṭiki* both mark the semantic supporting clause. *Ṭiki* requires no syntactic changes to the clause it introduces, whereas *jibi* requires the verb in the clause it introduces to have the selection suffix *-uŋ*, and the subordinate version of the 1s prefix *N-*.

9.168 **Dduka Dakar ṭiki dmaaki**
 d- duk -a Dakar ṭiki d- maak -i
 1S leave MID Dakar because 1S be_ill CMPL
 “I stayed in Dakar because I was ill”

9.169 **Jibi awooŋ aankak afiyaara**
 jibi a- wo -oŋ a- an- kak a- fiyaar -a
 like C1S be SEL SER NEG REP SER believe C1S.OBJ

aşë ṭup pyaanṭ
 a- şë ṭup p- yaanṭ
 SER SEQ announce INF go_visiting
 “As he still didn't believe her, he said he was going to go on a voyage”

9.170 **Dlempar aṣinan jibi nhiniṅ bṭi**
 d- lemp -ar a- ṣin -an jibi n- hina -iṅ bṭi
 1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS like 1S.SEL be_strong SEL all
 “I worked for your father as much as I could.”

The expression *ukaṅ kē* mark the semantic focal clause.

9.171 **Dmaaki ukaṅ kē dduka Dakar**
 d- maak -i u- ka -aṅ kē d- duk -a Dakar
 1S be_ill Cmpl C2S have SEL COMP 1S leave MID Dakar
 “I was ill, and for this reason I stayed in Dakar”

9.5.2.2 Result (Iir)

Result is most often expressed with the word *hēnk* (see also sections 9.1.1).

9.172 **Jakan na baka iwo aṭa'naan**
 jakan na baka i- wo a- ṭa' naan
 tell and C1P.OBJ 2S be C1AS young_sibling 1S.GEN
hēnk iṭu bamēbanaan bnuura
 hēnk i- ṭu ba- mēb -an -aan b- nuura
 so 2S place c7s attach CAUS 1S.OBJ c5s goodness
 “Say that you are my sister, so that you will cause them to be good to me”

9.173 **ṅdeey ṅuṅ bahank ṅa pa**
 ṅ- deey ṅ- uṅ ba- hank ṅ- a pa
 C2P grain C2P DEM.DIST C1P keep C2P OBJ in_order_to
ṅṣubal paaj na uloṅ ṅi ubon hēnk
 ṅ- ṣubal paaj na u- loṅ ṅ- i u- bon hēnk
 C2P year six and C2S INDEF C2P GEN C2S hunger so
bañaṅ biki uṭaak bawutna
 ba- ñaaṅ bik- i u- ṭaak ba- wut -na
 C1P person C1P GEN C2S country C1P leave INSTR
kakeṭ
 k- a- keṭ
 IMPERF SER die
 “This grain will be kept for the seven years of famine so the people of the country will not die”

Result can also be expressed with the word *keeri*.

9.174 **Nawutan keeri kaṭaaf uko**
 na- wut -an keeri k- a- ṭaaf u- ko
 2P leave IMP in_that_case IMPERF SER worry C2S thing
wi faan
 w- i faan
 C2S GEN tomorrow
 “So don't worry about tomorrow!”

9.175 **Dşal keeri aji mënkkak**
 d- şal keeri a- ji m- ën- k- kak
 1S think in_that_case SER say 1S.NEG NEG IMPERF return

pwinan

p- win -an
 INF see 2P.OBJ

“I decided, therefore, not to come back and see you.”

9.5.2.3 Purpose (Iip)

Purpose clauses are introduced by the word *pa*, with either an infinitive for the same subject, N- for a different 1 singular subject, or normal verb subject prefixes in all other cases (see also section 9.1.2).

9.176 **Ŋya duuṭ | pa nihil njukan**
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa n- hil n- jukan
 1P go up_there in_order_to 1S be_able 1S teach

uhula

u- hula
 C3S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that I can teach Mankanya”

9.177 **Ŋya duuṭ | pa pmeer bahula**
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa p- meer ba- hula
 1P go up_there in_order_to INF get_to_know C1P Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance to get to know the Mankanya”

9.178 **Ŋya duuṭ | pa Dama ahil**
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa Dama a- hil
 1P go up_there in_order_to Dama C1S be_able

ajukan uhula

a- jukan u- hula
 C1S teach C2S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that Dama can teach Mankanya”

9.179 **Aşë do kë bayaarada Faara**
 a- şë do kë ba- ya -ar -ad -a Faara
 C1S SEQ do DS C1P go DIR BEN C1S.OBJ Sara

pa aniima

pa a- niim -a
 in_order_to C1S marry C1S.OBJ

“He made them go and fetch Sarah, so that he could marry her.”

Purpose clauses which have the same subject as the initial clause can also be introduced by adding the imperfective prefix in front of the serial prefix.

9.180 **Babi ajip kakab bdëk**
 ba- bi a- jip kakab b- dëk
 C1P PST SER dig next_to C5S sea

kakaana meel mnuura
 k- a- ka -an -a meel m- nuura
 IMPERF SER have CAUS C1S.OBJ water C8 good
 “They dug wells near the river, in order to have fresh water.”

9.181 **Dṭi ṭi kabuurna Naala**
 d- ṭi ṭi k- a- buur -n -a Naala
 1S run run IMPERF SER escape CAUS MID Nala
 “I was running in order to escape Naala.”

9.182 **Bañooṭa te du pnkuṭ duuṭ**
 ba- ñooṭ -a te d- u p- nkuṭ duuṭ
 C1P take C1S.OBJ until EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill on

kahilna kawuuka
 k- a- hil -n -a k- a- wuuk -a
 IMPERF SER be_able CAUS MID IMPERF SER push C1S.OBJ

du uṭeh
 d- u u- ṭeh
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field
 “They took him to the top of a hill, in order to push him off.”

Purpose can also be expressed by an instrumental suffix *-na* on the verb in the second clause:

9.183 **Wulun kak bṭepi ṅhilna ṅwo**
 wul -un kak b- ṭepi ṅ- hil -na ṅ- wo
 give 1P.POSS again c7s seed 1P be_able INSTR 1P be

bajeb
 ba- jeb
 C1P healthy

“Give us grain, so that we can be live.”

9.5.3 Possible Consequence (III)

Mankanya does not have a specific way of marking possible consequence, but instead uses the *wutna ka-* construction to express negative purpose:

9.184 **Yaan du pnkuṭ iwutna**
 ya -an d- u p- nkuṭ i- wut -na
 go IMP EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill 2S leave INSTR

kakeṭ
 k- a- keṭ
 IMPERF SER die

“Flee to the hills, so that you will not die” (instead of lest you “die”)

9.5.4 Addition (IV)

9.5.4.1 Unordered addition (IVu)

Clauses in an unordered addition relation are joined by the word *kë* (see also section 10).

- 9.185 **Dwo** **ti** **kañog** **pliik** **kë**
 d- wo t- i ka- ñog p- liik kë
 1S be INT LOC.PROX C3S area_near C6S well DS
baaṭ **biki** **ubeeka** **bakpën** **pbi**
 b- aat bik- i u- beeka ba- k- pën p- bi
 C1P woman C1P GEN C2S town C1P IMPERF go_out INF come
kaliik **meel**
 k- a- liik meel
 IMPERF SER draw_water water
 “I am near the well, and the women of the town are coming to draw water.”

- 9.186 **Wi** **abaaj** **ptiini** **na** **Şompi** **aşë** **ya**
 wi a- ba -aṭ p- tiini na Şompi a- şë ya
 when C1S tmtv SEL INF speak and Shompi SER SEQ go
kë **Şompi** **aṭiiş** **katohul**
 kë Şompi a- tiiş ka- toh -ul
 DS Shompi C1S go_home C3S house 3s.POSS
 “When he had finished speaking to Shompi, he left and Shompi returned to his house.”

9.5.4.2 Same event addition (IVs)

Same event addition is achieved by marking the second clause with the auxiliary *şë*. As the event normally has the same subject the second verb prefix is a serial prefix *a-* (see also section 9.2).

- 9.187 **Akat** **këş** **aşë** **win** **biinṭ** **bawajanṭ**
 a- kat këş a- şë win b- iinṭ ba- wajanṭ
 C1S raise_(eyes) eye SER SEQ see C1P man C1P three
kë **baaṭ** **du** **kadunul**
 kë ba- naṭ d- u ka- dun -ul
 DS C1P stand EXT LOC.DIST C3S front 3s.POSS
 “He lifted his eyes and saw two men standing in front of him”
- 9.188 **Batëb** **ti** **biinṭ** **bukuṅ**
 ba- tëb t- i b- iinṭ buk- uṅ
 C1P two INT LOC.PROX C1P man C1P DEM.DIST
bapënna **da** **aşë** **ya** **Fugtor**
 ba- pën -na d- a a- şë ya Fugtor
 C1P go_out cfg C9S OBJ SER SEQ go Ziguinchor
 “Two of the men left there, going to Ziguinchor”

9.5.4.3 Elaboration (IVE)

Elaboration is achieved simply by juxtaposing two clauses.

9.189 **Kë Faara ašë wo aanhil pbuk**
 kë Faara a- šë wo a- ën- hil p- buk
 DS Sara SER SEQ be C1S NEG be_able INF give_birth

aanka napoŋ
 a- ën- ka na- poŋ
 C1S NEG have C1S child

“But Sarah was unable to give birth, she had no children.”

9.5.4.4 Contrast (IVc)

Contrast is often shown by the use of the verbal expression *ašë wo* followed by a finite verb (see also section 9.2).

9.190 **Dwin Našibaŋi na kēš naan ašë wo**
 d- win Našibaŋi na kēš naan a- šë wo
 1S see God and eye 1S.GEN SER SEQ be

mēnkeŋi
 m- ën- keŋ -i
 1S.NEG NEG die CMPL

“I saw God with my own eyes, but I didn't die”

9.191 **Naweeek awo Dama ašë wo**
 na- week a- wo Dama a- šë wo
 C1S elder_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be

aannuura ŋi bten
 a- ën- nuura ŋ- i b- ten
 SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks

“The elder one was Dama, but she was not beautiful to look at”

9.192 **baŋa'ul babi du dko**
 ba- ŋa -ul ba- bi d- u d- ko
 C1P young_sibling 3s.POSS C1P come EXT LOC.DIST C9S place

di awooŋ ašë wo baanhinan
 d- i a- wo -oŋ a- šë wo ba- ën- hinan
 EXT LOC.PROX C1S be SEL SER SEQ be C1P NEG be_able_to

añoŋa ŋiki bañaŋ
 a- ñog -a ŋiki ba- ñaŋ
 SER be_close C1S.OBJ because_(of) C1P person

batumi
 ba- tum -i
 C1P be_numerous CMPL

“His brothers came to the place where he was, but they couldn't get near because there were so many people”

9.193 **Abel awo nayafan , kë Kayin ašë wo**
 abel a- wo na- yafan kë Kayin a- šë wo
 Abel C1S be C1S shepherd DS Cain C1S SEQ be

najaar

na- jaar

C1S farmer

“Abel was a shepherd, but Cain was a farmer”

9.194 **Iwin kë Şompi abuk paapa ajab**
 i- win kë Şompi a- buk paapa a- jab
 2s see DS Shompi C1AS child daddy C1S grow

uleef kë nji nšë wo na katël
 u- leef kë nji n- šë wo na ka- tël
 C2S body DS 1s 1s.SUB SEQ be and C3S skin_(of_person)

kajinŋ

k- a- jinŋ

IMPERF SER be_clean

“You know that Shompi my brother is hairy, but I have smooth skin”

Where the subjects are different the different subject marker *kë* is sometimes used to highlight the contrast (also see section 11):

9.195 **ŋjugude ŋatool pdëpa ŋi**
 ŋ- jugude ŋa- tool p- dëp -a ŋ- i
 C2P vulture C2P leave INF heap MID INT LOC.PROX

ŋntaam ŋankeŋuŋ ŋuŋ kë Şompi
 ŋ- ntaam ŋa- n- keŋ -uŋ ŋ- uŋ kë Şompi
 C2P livestock C2P COREF die SEL C2P DEM.DIST DS Shompi

ašë dook ŋa
 a- šë dook ŋ- a
 SER SEQ chase C2P OBJ

“Vultures straight away descended on the cattle that were dead, and Shompi chased them”

9.196 **babi pyompana , kë ašë pok**
 ba- bi p- yompan -a kë a- šë pok
 C1P come INF calm C1S.OBJ DS C1S SEQ refuse

“They came to calm him but he refused”

There are some cases where contrast is just implied:

9.197 **Abi ŋal pfiŋa , ašë ŋi**
 a- bi ŋal p- fiŋ -a a- šë ŋi
 C1S PST like INF kill C1S.OBJ SER SEQ be_afraid_of

bañaanŋ

ba- ñaanŋ

C1P person

“He₁ wanted to kill him₂ but he₁ was afraid of the people”

9.198 **Mënt ul akdukiin na iko**
 mënt ul a- k- duki -iŋ na i- ko
 that 3s.subj C1S IMPERF stay SEL and C3P thing
yi nu , napoŋ i ikbukun
 y- i nu na- poŋ i i- k- buk -uŋ
 C3P GEN 2S.POSS C1S child GEN 2S IMPERF produce SEL
akdukiin na ya
 a- k- duki -iŋ na y- a
 C1S IMPERF stay SEL and C3P OBJ
 “He won't inherit your things, it's the child who you will engender who will inherit them”

Note that *şë* on its own is not contrastive.

9.199 **aten uŋaak bti aşë win udu**
 a- ten u- ŋaak bti a- şë win u- du
 C1S look_at C2S country all SER SEQ see C2S smoke
kë ukpën da
 kë u- k- pën d- a
 DS C2S NEG go_out C9S OBJ
 “He looked at all the country and saw smoke rising there”

Neither is a redundant *kë*:

9.200 **Aŋup baka uko unŋëpuŋ , kë**
 a- ŋup baka u- ko u- n- ŋëp -uŋ kë
 C1S speak C1P.OBJ C2S thing C2S COREF pass SEL DS
başë lënk maakan
 ba- şë lënk maakan
 C1P SEQ tremble very
 “He told them what had happened and they were very afraid”

The word *bë* is a contrastive marker and is most frequently used with a negative clause.

9.201 **Iten ți iko yi naan bti**
 i- ten ți- i i- ko y- i naan bti
 2S look_at INT LOC.PROX C3P thing C3P GEN 1S.GEN all
bë iinwin win nin kako kalon ki
 bë i- in- win win nin ka- ko ka- lon k- i
 CNTR 2S NEG see see NEG C3S container C3S INDEF C3S GEN
nu
 nu
 2S.POSS

“You looked through all my things, but didn't find any pot of yours”

9.202 **Aji** **ti** **uşalul** **agar**
 a- ji ʃ- i u- şal -ul a- gar
 C1S say INT LOC.PROX C2S mind 3s.POSS C1S scatter
baniw **na** **a** **bë** **aankʃup** **bañaan**
 ba- niw na a bë a- ën- k- ʃup ba- ñaan
 C5S fiancé(e) and OBJ CNTR C1S NEG IMPERF speak C1P person
 “He thought that he would break off the engagement but not tell anyone”

When the initial clause is also negative, it is often translated by “until”.

9.203 **Mënhil** **kado** **nin** **uko**
 m- ën- hil k- a- do nin u- ko
 1S.NEG NEG be_able IMPERF SER do NEG C2S thing
uloŋ **bë** **iindo** **bi** **ban** **da**
 u- loŋ bë i- in- do bi ban d- a
 C2S INDEF CNTR 2S NEG INGR PST arrive C9S OBJ
 “I can do nothing until you have arrived there.” (Lit “... while you have not arrived there”)

9.204 **Mënkde** **bë** **mëntup** **uko**
 m- ën- k- de bë m- ën- ʃup u- ko
 COREF NEG IMPERF eat CNTR COREF NEG speak C2S thing
wi **nji** **nwoon** **i** **kaʃup**
 w- i nji n- wo -oŋ i k- a- ʃup
 C2S GEN 1S 1S.SUB must SEL GEN IMPERF SER speak
 “I will not eat until I have said the thing I must say.” (Lit “... while I have not said the thing I must say”)

9.205 **Nin** **aloŋ** **awutan** **kamuur**
 nin a- loŋ a- wut -an k- a- muur
 NEG C1S INDEF C1S prhb CAUS IMPERF SER cross
plëman **bë** **nfa** **maambani**
 p- lëman bë nfa ma- am- ban -i
 C4S door CNTR morning C8 NEG arrive CMPL
 “No-one must go out the door until morning.” (Lit “... while morning has not arrived”)

9.5.5 Alternatives (V)

9.5.5.1 Disjunction (Vd)

For a symmetrical disjunctive alternative relation between two clauses the word *këme* is used (see also section 9.1.1):

9.206 **Alemp** **ti** **uʃeeh** **këme** **aya** **ubeeka**
 a- lemp ʃ- i u- ʃeeh këme a- ya u- beeka
 C1S work INT LOC.PROX C2S field or C1S go C3S town
 “He's working in the field or he's gone to town”

- 9.207 **Woli baanfiyaaru awo baantiinku**
 woli ba- an- fiyaar -u a- wo ba- an- tiink -u
 if C1P NEG believe 2S.POSS SER be C1P NEG hear 2S.POSS
 “If they don't believe you or listen to you...”

9.5.5.2 Rejection (Vr)

The construction of *wo* + negative verb seems to give a rejection type relationship between clauses (see also section 9.2):

- 9.208 **Awuluṅ un mnhina manwoon**
 a- wul -uṅ un mn- hina ma- n- wo -oṅ
 C1S give SEL 1P.subj C8 power C8 COREF be SEL
mi pdolan naya kadun awo maanwo
 m- i p- dol -an na- ya ka- dun a- wo ma- ən- wo
 C8 GEN INF do CAUS 2P go C3S front SER be C8 NEG be
mi pdolan natoka
 m- i p- dol -an na- toka
 C8 GEN INF do CAUS 2P be_broken
 “It was he who gave us the authority for advancing you instead of damaging you”

9.5.5.3 Suggestion (Vs)

A suggestion type relationship occurs with the verb *hokan* “to prefer”. The dispreferred clause is introduced with *kë di*:

- 9.209 **ḡhokan kado kalempar baka**
 ḡ- hokan k- a- do k- a- lemp -ar baka
 1P prefer IMPERF SER do IMPERF SER work BEN C1P.OBJ
kë di pkeṭ ṭi pndiiṣ
 kë d- i p- keṭ ṭ- i p- ndiiṣ
 DS C9S DEM.PROX INF die INT LOC.PROX C4S desert
 “We prefer to be made to work for them, rather than to die in the desert”

- 9.210 **Uhokan ñaaṅ ahaj ṭi pdo**
 u- hokan ñaaṅ a- haj ṭ- i p- do
 C2S prefer person C1S suffer INT LOC.PROX INF do
bnuura kë di ahaj ṭi pdo
 bnuura kë d- i a- haj ṭ- i p- do
 well DS C9S DEM.PROX C1S suffer INT LOC.PROX INF do
buṭaan
 b- uṭaan
 C5S evil

“It is preferable for someone to suffer whilst doing good, rather than to suffer in doing evil”

9.5.6 Manner (VI)

9.5.6.1 Real (VIr)

Real manner relations are created with a *jibi* adverbial clause (see section 9.4.2.2).

9.211 **Aluŋ kaniw jibi ajonuŋ**
 a- luŋ k- a- niw jibi a- jon -uŋ
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build like SER last SEL

kado

k- a- do
 IMPERF SER do

“He will build as he always does”

9.5.6.2 Hypothetical (VIh)

Hypothetical manner relations are created with a *ji* adverbial clause (see section 9.4.2.2).

9.212 **Dtaafi kë uwo wo ji dnaŋ ti**
 d- taafi kë u- wo wo ji d- naŋ t- i
 1S dream DS C2S be be like 1S stand INT LOC.PROX

kabaŋ ki bdëk
 ka- baŋ k- i b- dëk
 C3S side C3S GEN C5S sea

“I dreamt that I was standing at the side of the river”

9.6 Conclusion

The formal structures used for the various semantic relations suggested by Cristofaro and Dixon between them show a wide variety, and few correlates.

Looking at the subordinate clauses of Cristofaro’s classification we can see three main groups, based on the complementiser, either *kë*, *aji* or no complementiser. But apart from knowledge and propositional attitude using the same structure (but different verbs), all other types are distinctive.

This is equally true of the types given by Dixon where the majority have no formal features beyond the linking word.

	<i>kë</i>	<i>aji</i>	Alternative 1s prefix	p-	k- a-	Imperfective marked
Phasals				✓		
Modals				✓	✓	
Desideratives			✓	✓	✓	
Manipulatives	✓		✓			✓
Perceptions	✓					✓
Knowledge	✓					
Propositional attitude	✓					
Utterance		✓				

Table 9.2: Summary of formal differences in subordinate clause types

Chapter 10 - Coherence in Texts

In this chapter I will discuss some of the different ways of creating continuity and discontinuity above the sentence level to make texts coherent. Most of the examples will come from texts of a narrative genre. I start with a discussion of participant reference, and then goes on to describe various renewal devices and other points of departure.

This is only an overview, and an in depth study is a matter for another thesis.

10.1 Participant reference

A primary aspect of what makes a text coherent is how participants are referenced from sentence to sentence within it. For the purpose of this discussion, a participant in a text is any entity that plays an ongoing role, and so may be human, animal or inanimate. Participants can be divided into major participants that play a significant role in the story and minor participants who do not. A participant is introduced, and once introduced they are referenced by noun, pronoun, or just a verbal prefix and the following sections describe how this is done in Mankanya.

10.1.1 Introduction of participants

New participants in a text are introduced with a noun phrase often followed by adjectives, a relative clause or a noun phrase in apposition.

10.1 **Dka** **nantohi** **ajug** **katoh**
d- ka na- ntohi a- jug ka- toh
1S have C1S elder C1AS owner C3S house

anniimuŋ **baaŋ** **batëb**
a- n- niim -uŋ b- aaŋ ba- tëb
C1S COREF marry SUB C1P woman C1P two

“I’ll tell you about an old man, head of his household, who had married two wives.”

Example 10.1 is from the beginning of a story, and starts with a formulaic introduction *dka* “I have”, and the participant being introduced is the syntactic object of that verb. Here there is no proper noun, but the common noun *nantohi* “old man”, is followed by a descriptive noun phrase and a descriptive relative clause.

10.2 **Ubi ka tfa , di untanka**
 u- bi ka tfa , d- i u- ntanka
 C2S PST have in_the_past EXT LOC.PROX C2S village
uloŋ , ñiint nawaap naŋaf
 u- loŋ , ñ- iint na- waap na- ŋaf
 C2S INDEF C1S man C1S seller C1S elderly
ammaakuŋ aniimar na napoŋ ñaŋ
 a- m- maak -uŋ a- niim -ar na na- poŋ ñ- aŋ
 C1S COREF be_ill SUB C1S marry BEN with C1S child C1S woman
 ”There was once, in a village, an old ill seller, who married a young woman.”

Example 10.2 is also from the beginning of a story, and starts with a different formulaic introduction *ubi ka tfa* “it had in the past”, roughly equivalent to the English “Once upon a time”. This is followed by a geographical scene-setting clause, before the participant is introduced as the object, again with a descriptive noun phrase, and a relative clause. The sentence finishes with a scene-setting action clause.

Note that in the last two examples, the two characters are major participants. Despite not having names their importance is marked by the absence of the indefinite particle *-loŋ*. Contrast this with the following introduction of a minor participant:

10.3 **Kë ñaŋ aloŋ naŋaf kë aŋe win**
 kë ñ- aŋ a- loŋ na- ŋaf kë a- ŋe win
 DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS SER SEQ see
jibi Naala aŋagani ti katoh
 jibi Naala a- ñagan -i ŋ- i ka- toh
 like Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.prox C3S house
 “An old lady saw that Naala was sad in the house”

In example 10.4 a character is introduced mid-narrative, along with some minor characters (the villagers), where the major characters are Hare and Hyena. She is introduced with a proper name, and a descriptive noun phrase in apposition.

10.4 **Kë Țwaraati ahar umaalu na bayiȚ**
 kë Țwaraati a- har u- maalu na ba- yiȚ
 DS Țwaraati C1AS wife C2S hare and C1P relative

baka bti kë babi aȚoo awooni
 baka bti kë ba- bi a- Țo a- wooni
 C1P.OBJ all DS C1P come SER sit SER cry

“Țwaraati, wife of the hare, with all their relatives, came, sat and cried.”

Again in example 10.5 a minor character in the text (here an historical chief), is introduced with proper name and descriptive noun phrase.

10.5 **AȚë wo kë Jonu abuk Unjon**
 a- Țë wo kë Jonu a- buk Unjon
 SER SEQ be DS Jonu C1AS child Unjon

apayan pȚih
 a- pay -an p- Țih
 SER raised CAUS C6S kingdom/throne

“So, Jonu, Unjon's son, was raised to the throne.”

In animal stories major participants are often just introduced with a common noun used as a proper name.

10.6 **Umaalu na UloȚ Țawo Ți**
 u- maalu na u- loȚ Ța- wo Ț- i
 C2S hare and C2S elephant C2P be INT LOC.PROX

dko dlolan
 d- ko d- lolan
 C9S place C9S one

“Hare and Elephant lived in the same place”

Sometimes the common nouns are formally converted to proper names by replace the class prefix *u-* with prefix *Ț-*.

10.7 **ȚȚiiȚu na Țmaalu baȚiini unuur**
 Ț- ȚiiȚu na Ț- maalu ba- Țiini u- nuur
 NAME hyena and NAME hare C1P speak C2S day

uloȚ pluȚ kaya pkiiȚ maaj
 u- loȚ p- luȚ k- a- ya p- kiiȚ maaj
 C2S INDEF INF FUT IMPERF SER go INF steal millet

“Hyena and Hare talked one day of going to steal some millet”

It is notable that unlike many languages, demonstratives play no role in the introduction of participants.

10.1.2 Participants which are syntactic subjects

Once a participant has been introduced, further reference to it depends on its context.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) suggest a way of describing participant reference in relation to the following contexts.

- the subject is the same as the previous proposition.
- the subject is the hearer of the preceding reported discourse
- the subject was as non-subject in the previous proposition
- all other cases of change of subject

Languages generally have a default rule for each of these cases, which is sometimes over-ridden for stylistic reasons.

I will now consider each of the above contexts.

Where the subject of a proposition is the same as the subject of the previous proposition then no noun or pronoun is needed and the verb takes the serial verb prefix *a-*.

Example 10.8 from an animal folk tale has two participants Hare and Tortoise, which although anthropomorphised, still take the class 2 prefixes normal for animals. The first verb therefore has the class 2 plural prefix *ɲa-*. However, though they continue to be the subject in the following two verbal groups, the prefix is substituted by *a-* in both cases.

10.8 **Umaalu na Uloɲ ɲawo ɰi**
 u- maalu na u- loɲ ɲa- wo ɰ- i
 C2S hare and C2S elephant C2P be INT LOC.PROX
dko dloolan ašë win ñaaɰ nanuura
 d- ko d- loolan a- šë win ñ- aaɰ na- nuura
 C9S place C9S one SER SEQ see C1S woman C1S beauty
maakan ašë wo ɰi pla'a
 maakan a- šë wo ɰ- i p- la' -a
 very SER SEQ be INT LOC.prox INF seek C1S.OBJ
 “Hare and Elephant lived in the same place, and they saw a beautiful woman, and they were courting her”

The same thing can be seen in example 10.9. The house is noun class 3 with a prefix *ka-*, but the second verbal group is prefixed with *a-*.

10.9 **Katohul kabi wo kajeenkal ašë**
 ka- toh -ul ka- bi wo ka- jeenk -al a- šë
 C3S house 3s.poss C3S PST be C3S redder CHG SER SEQ
kak hënkuj kafaatal
 kak hënkuj ka- faatal
 become now C3S white
 “His house was red, but now it is white”

Example 10.10 illustrates the same situation with human participants though this example doesn't have a noun as an initial subject.

10.10 **Babi abi juk uhula aṭup**
 ba- bi a- bi juk u- hula a- ṭup
 C1P come SER PST learn C2S Mankanya SER announce
wa akuṭ apiit wa
 w- a a- kuṭ a- piit w- a
 C2S OBJ SER also_be SER write C2S OBJ
 “They came and they learnt Mankanya, spoke it and also wrote it”

If the subject is the hearer of the preceding reported discourse then a nominal phrase is normally used.

10.11a **Kë uñiiṅ uji na upi « Iwi ,**
 kë u- ñiiṅ u- ji na u- pi iwi
 DS C2S hyena C2S say and C2S goat 2s
iji ktoon di meetṭ »
 i- ji k- toon d- i meetṭ
 2S HAB 2S.ALT urinate EXT LOC.prox inside
 “Hyena said to Goat ‘You urinate inside’ ”

b **Kë upi uteem wa aji ...**
 kë u- pi u- teem w- a a- ji
 DS C2S goat C2S reply C2S OBJ SER say
 “And Goat answered ‘...’ ”

When the subject participant was a non-subject in the preceding proposition then the standard agreeing verb prefix is used.

10.12 **kë najaar akak aya tap wa kë**
 kë na- jaar a- kak a- ya tap w- a kë
 DS C1S farmer C1S REP SER go shoot C2S OBJ DS
uwooni aya
 u- wooni a- ya
 C2S cry SER go

“The farmer also shot him (the goat’s child), and he (the goat’s child) cried and left.”

In all other cases where the subject changes then a noun phrase is used.

10.13 **Kë wal wi ubaldu udaqrënuṅ**
 kë w- al w- i u- baldu u- daqrën -uṅ
 DS C2S moment C2S GEN C2S bucket C2S raise SUB
du pliik , kë meel makpën
 d- u p- liik , kë meel ma- k- pën
 EXT LOC.dist C6S well DS water C8 IMPERF go_out
 “As the bucket was raised from the well, the water came out”

The previous two examples also have the *kë* different subject marker which is explained in more detail in chapter 11.

10.1.3 Participants which are not syntactic subjects

In most cases, after their first mention, participants that are not subjects in the current proposition, are referenced by object pronouns or suffixes.

This is the case when the non subject participant was a subject in the previous proposition.

10.14 **kë uñiiŋ uşë gaŋ ituk kë başë**
 kë u- ñiiŋ u- şë gaŋ i- tuk kë ba- şë
 DS C2S hyena C2S SEQ vomit C3P manioc DS C1P SEQ

mob wa

mob w- a
 catch C2S OBJ

“And Hyena vomited manioc and so they hit him”

10.15 a **Wi abanuŋ aşë jot di meel**
 wi a- ban -uŋ a- şë jot d- i meel
 when C1S touch SUB SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.prox water

“When she arrived she threw herself in the water”

b **Kë meel mankak alutana apënan**
 kë meel man- kak a- lut -an -a a- pën -an
 DS water C8 REP SER jump CAUS C1S.OBJ SER go_out CAUS

bdig

b- dig
 c5S outside

“and the water threw her out again, and she landed outside”

It is also the case when the participant was not a subject in the preceding proposition. In the following example Hare and Hyena are *bakan* “them” in both propositions.

10.16 **Aneejan bakan ɬi untabanka ala**
 a- neejan bakan ɬ- i u- ntabanka a- la
 SER insert C1P.OBJ INT LOC.prox C2S village SER seek

bakan meeɬ katoh kanuura

bakan meeɬ ka- toh ka- nuura
 C1P.OBJ inside C3S house C3S good

“They₁ (villagers) brought them₂ (Hare and Hyena) into the village and they₁ looked for a nice room for them₂”

10.17 **ahaabëş inkuti yi bahankuŋ**
 a- haabëş i- nkuti y- i ba- hank -uŋ
 C1S open C4P granary C4P GEN C1P keep SUB

ŋdeey ašë waap ŋa bañaan
 ŋ- deey a- šë waap ŋ- a ba- ñaan
 C2P grain SER SEQ sell C2P OBJ C1P person

“He opened the granary where they had stored the grain and sold it to the people”

Sometimes however, if the participant is a 3rd person object in both propositions then it can be omitted in the second one.

10.18 **Kë untaayi ušë yeenk pben**
 kë u- ntaayi u- šë yeenk p- BEN
 DS C2S demon C2S SEQ receive C6S swelling

amëban

a- mëb -an

SER carry CAUS

“The spirit took the lump, and carried it”

10.19 **Ajej plaak ploŋ apafna bkow**
 a- jej p- laak p- loŋ a- paf -na b- kow
 C1S take C6S stone C4S INDEF C1S put INSTR C5S head

“He took the stone and lay his head on it”

10.20 **Amar pko ploŋ ti**
 a- mar p- ko p- loŋ t- i
 C1S pick_(fruit_etc.) C6S fruit C6S INDEF INT LOC.PROX

bko mënŋ ade , akak awul
 b- ko mënŋ a- de a- kak a- wul
 C7S tree that SER eat SER return SER give

ayinul , kë adee .
 a- yin -ul kë a- de -e
 C1AS husband 3S.POSS DS C1S eat CMPL

“She picked some fruit from that tree, ate it, and returned to her husband, gave him some, and he ate”

This can also be the case with double object verbs.

10.21 **Ajej kapoom akitëş ka awul**
 a- jej ka- poom a- kit -ëş k- a a- wul
 C1S take C3S bread SER break CAUS C3S OBJ SER give

baka

baka

C1P.OBJ

“He took the bread, broke it and gave it to them”

10.22 (**Balaat**)... **apënan**
 ba- laaṭ a- pën -an
 C1P Balante_(from_Guinea-Bissau) SER go_out CAUS
napoṭ ñaaṭ neegani , awula
 na- poṭ ñ- aaṭ n- eegani a- wul -a
 C1S child C1S woman C1S teenage_girl SER give C1S.OBJ
 “The Balantas brought out a young woman and gave (her) to him”

In a presentation, Cobbinah (2018) noted similar behaviour in the related languages of Jóola Kujireray and Bainounk Gubëeher.

When a non-subject participant has played no role in the previous proposition, then normally a full noun phrase is used.

10.23 a **kë umaalu ugat pdede**
 kë u- maalu u- gat p- de de
 DS C2S hare C2S vomit C6S meal meal
 “Hare only vomited the meal”

b **kë uñiiṅ uṣë gat ituk**
 kë u- ñiiṅ u- ṣë gat i- tuk
 DS C2S hyena C2S SEQ vomit C3P manioc
 “But Hyena vomited manioc”

10.1.4 VIP strategies

Sometimes, there are quite long passages in texts that do not follow the default behaviours given above. This is usually because a major character is being specially treated. The special treatment of a major character is referred to as using a VIP (Very Important Person) strategy by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) as the character is receiving special treatment like a real life VIP.

For example in the story “Hare and Hyena steal some millet”:

10.24 **Aji na uhar wa uya kë najaar**
 a- ji na u- har w- a u- ya kë na- jaar
 SER say and C2S wife C2S poss C2S go DS C1S farmer
akak aya tap wa kë uwooni aya kë
 a- kak a- ya tap w- a kë u- wooni a- ya kë
 C1S REP SER go shoot C2S OBJ DS C2S cry SER go DS
ukak aji na wa «...»
 u- kak a- ji na w- a
 C2S REP SER say and C2S OBJ

“He told his wife to go, but the farmer hit her too. She cried and went back and he (Hyena) said to her”

Look at the passage laid out in chart 10.1 on page 257. The references follow the rules described above, until the last one. Here we would expect a

new noun phrase as the action switches from Hyena’s wife back to Hyena. However, we find Hyena referred to here just by a verbal prefix.

This seems to be possible as Hyena is the major participant. As we will see in Chapter 11 *kë* marks a switch in participant so we know the *u-* prefix does not refer to Hyena’s wife.

Noun Phrase (subject)	Verb	Noun Phrase (Object)
	Aji Ser.say “He said” (Hyena)	na uhar wa with C2s.wife C2s.GEN “to his wife” (Hyena’s wife)
	uya C2s.go “she went” (Hyena’s wife)	
kë najaar DS C1s.farmer “but the farmer”	akak aya tap C1s.REP SER.go hit “he also hit” (Farmer)	wa 3s.OBJ “her” (Hyena’s wife)
kë DS “and”	uwooni C2s.cry “she cried” aya SER.go “she left” (Hyena’s wife)	
kë DS “and”	ukak aji C2s.encore SER.say “he said again” (Hyena)	na wa with C2s.OBJ “to her” (Hyena’s wife)

Chart 10.1: A VIP strategy

Another example can be found in a different text.

10.25 **Kë bawat ubaldu du pliik kë**
 kë ba- wat u- baldu d- u p- liik kë
 DS C1P bring_down C2S bucket EXT LOC.dist C6S well DS
udo do kluṅ meel kë mampën ado ɬar
 u- do do kluṅ meel kë mam- pën a- do ɬar
 C2S INGR do water DS C8 go_out SER do be_fast
ɬar ɬar kë ukak atiink
 ɬar ɬar kë u- kak a- tiink
 be_fast be_fast DS C2S REP SER hear

“Now they (the women) dropped the bucket down the well, it started to go 'klung', the water slopped out, going 'thar, thar, thar', and he heard it again.”

The last *u-* in *ukak* refers to Hare, even though the bucket uses the same prefix.

In the both the previous examples, the sentence cited is the second repetition of a similar event, and so this could make it easier for the strategy to work as the hearer is expecting the same character to act.

10.2 Linking

Various devices are used to link sentences, paragraphs or episodes in a text.

10.2.1 Demonstrative *aŋ*

A common method of linking propositions is using the neutral demonstrative *aŋ* often in combination with the word *ko* “thing”. In example 10.26 proposition b opens with *uko way* “this thing” which refers back to the whole of proposition a.

10.26 a. **Dwul naweeku itaka itum**
 d- wul na- week -u i- taka i- tum
 1S give C1S elder_sibling 2S.POSS C4P money C4P many

maakan

maakan

very

“I’m giving you brother lots of money.”

b. **Uko waŋ ukyuujun bañaan bti**
 u- ko w- aŋ u- k- yuuj -uŋ ba- ñaan bti
 C2S thing C2S DEM C2S IMPERF show SEL C1P person all
banwoon na iwi kë iwo najinŋ
 ba- n- wo -oŋ na iwi kë i- wo na- jinŋ
 C1P COREF be SEL and 2S DS 2S be C1S clean
ti uko unŋepuŋ
 ti- i u- ko u- n- t̥ep -uŋ
 INT LOC.PROX C2S thing C2S COREF pass SEL
 “This shows all those who are with you that you are pardoned of the thing that happened”

In example 10.27 proposition b starts with *ñiinŋ aŋ* “this man” referring back to the man introduced in proposition a.

10.27 a. **Ñiinŋ aloŋ i bajaan bado**
 ñ- iinŋ a- loŋ i ba- ja -aŋ ba- do
 C1S man C1S INDEF GEN C1P HAB SEL C1P do

Korneliyut
 Korneliyut
 Cornelius
 “There was a man called Cornelius”

b. **Ñiinŋ aŋ aji dëman akuŋ afiyaar**
 ñ- iinŋ aŋ a- ji dëm -an a- kuŋ a- fiyaar
 C1S man DEM C1S HAB grow caus SER also_be SER believe

Naşibaŋi
 Naşibaŋi
 God
 “This man believed and worshipped God”

Example 10.28 starts with a temporal clause containing the noun phrase *iko yaŋ* “this thing”, referring to the events described in preceding sentences.

10.28 **Wi iko yaŋ iŋepuŋ ajon , kë**
 wi i- ko y- aŋ i- t̥ep -uŋ a- jon kë
 when C3P thing C3P dem C3P pass SEL C1S last DS
başë bi aji na Naala : « Şaaş
 ba- şë bi a- ji na Naala şaaş
 C1P SEQ PST SER say and Nala your_father
amaaki . »
 a- maak -i
 C1S be_ill CMPL
 “Sometime later, Naala was told 'Your father is ill' ”

10.2.2 Renewal

Another linking method is the use of renewal, that is the use of structures that repeat something already stated in the text.

10.2.2.1 Nominal renewal

A frequent form of nominal renewal is the structure *NOUN mënṭan Cuṭ* where *C* is a nominal prefix, *mënṭan* is an invariable demonstrative and *uṭ* is the distal demonstrative root. It is only the distal demonstrative *uṭ* that is used in this construction and not the others i.e. *i* proximal, *undu* extra-distal and *aṭ* neutral.

10.29 **Uṣë** **kaban** **ṭi** **bko** **mënṭan**
 u- ṣë k- a- ban ṭ- i b- ko mënṭan
 C2S SEQ IMPERF SER arrive INT LOC.prox c7s tree DEM
buṭ , **aṣë** **jun** **uteek** ...
 b- uṭ a- ṣë jun u- teek
 C5S DEM.dist SER SEQ begin C2S first
 “He arrived at that tree and he started first..”

10.30 **Kë** **baṭaṣa** **mënṭan** **bukuṭ** , **ñaṭ**
 kë ba- ṭaṣa mënṭan buk- uṭ ñaṭ
 DS C1P teenager_(boy) DEM C1P DEM.DIST person
anduwaniiṭ **Nabanka** **Biyagi** **aṣë** **wo**
 a- n- duw -an -i -iṭ Nabanka Biyagi a- ṣë wo
 C1S COREF call CAUS MID SUB Nabanka Biyagi C1S SEQ be
da ...
 d- a
 C9S OBJ
 “Amongst those boys, there was someone called Nabanka Biyagi”

Sometimes this form of renewal is used with the word *wori* “moment” to create a temporal renewal.

10.31 **Kë** **uṣë** **pën** **wori** **mënṭan** **wuṭ** , **kë**
 kë u- ṣë pën wori mënṭan w- uṭ kë
 DS C2S SEQ go_out time DEM C2S DEM.dist DS
ṇakak **untanka**
 ṇa- kak u- ntanka
 C2P return C2S village
 “At that moment, he got out, and they returned to the village”

A nominal renewal of this form can refer to a whole situation, rather than a participant, or one aspect of it.

10.32 **Kë Dama ašë win kë ayin baka**
 kë Dama a- šë win kë a- yin baka
 DS Dama SER SEQ see COMP C1AS husband C1P.OBJ

aŋal Naala apela
 a- ŋal Naala a- pel -a
 C1S like Nala SER be_more C1S.OBJ

“Dama saw that their husband loved Nala more than her”

Ŧi duŋ mënŋan duŋ di
 Ŧ- i d- uŋ mënŋan d- uŋ d- i
 INT LOC.PROX C9S DEM.DIST DEM C9S DEM.dist C9S GEN
di Dama abaŋ kabi ŝoor
 d- i Dama a- ba -aŋ k- a- bi ŝoor
 C9S DEM.PROX Dama C1S CMPLTV SUB IMPERF SER PST hate
ŝoor Naala ..
 ŝoor Naala
 hate Nala

“In this situation, Dama began to hate Nala.”

10.2.2.2 Verbal renewal

It is also possible to use verbal renewal, where a verbal part of the sentence is repeated. Example 10.33 comes from the start of a new episode in a story. Elephant has succeeded in trapping Hare, and the next episode tells of his return to the village. The clause *ušë tuh wa Ŧi bhër* “he trapped him in the hole” in sentence 10.33a closes an episode, and a new episode is started by repeating the same phrase (with just a slight modification) in 10.33b.

10.33 a **Uwajaŋŧën kë uloŋ ušë tuh wa**
 u- waj -aŋŧën kë u- loŋ u- šë tuh w- a
 C2S three ORD DS C2S INDEF C2S SEQ close C2S OBJ
Ŧi bhër
 Ŧ- i b- hër
 INT LOC.PROX C5S hole

b **Wal wi ušaŋ atuh wa**
 w- al w- i u- ša -aŋ a- tuh w- a
 C2S moment C2S GEN C2S SEQ SUB SER close C2S OBJ
Ŧi bhër , kë ušë Ŧij mnob
 Ŧ- i b- hër , kë u- šë Ŧij m- nob
 INT LOC.PROX C5S hole DS C2S SEQ bring C8 honey
muŋ ...
 ma- uŋ
 C8 DEM.DIST

“The third time he closed him in the hole. When he had closed him in the hole, he took the honey ...”

Later in the same story there is another example of verbal renewal. This time the renewal (the repetition of *uṣë pën* “he got out”) marks the start of the conclusion.

10.34 **umaalu** **kë** **uṣë** **pën** , **aṣë** **mook**
 u- maalu kë u- ṣë pën a- ṣë mook
 C2S hare DS C2S SEQ go_out SER SEQ hug
Ṭwaraaṭi **aji** : « ... »
 Ṭwaraaṭi a- ji
 Tswaraatsi SER say

Kë **uṣë** **pën** **wori** **mënṭan** **wuṅ** **kë**
 kë u- ṣë pën wori mënṭan w- uṅ kë
 DS C2S SEQ go_out time that C2S DEM.DIST DS
ṇakak **untanka**
 ṇa- kak u- ntanka
 C2P return C2S village

“Hare got out of the hole, embraced Tswaraatsi and said ' ... '. When he had got out, they went to the village”

Example 10.35 shows a verbal renewal in the story of Nabanka Biyagi. After a war Nabanka Biyagi finally becomes king. Then the narrator gives us some background information about the royal compound. To restart the main narrative the narrator uses verbal renewal (the repetition of *aneejan pṣih* “he became king”).

10.35 **Nabanka** **Biyagi** **kë** **anaṭa** , **kë**
 Nabanka Biyagi kë a- naṭ -a kë
 Nabanka Biyagi DS C1S stand MID DS
bahula **baṭeṇana** , **kë** **aneejan**
 ba- hula ba- ṭeṇan -a kë a- neejan
 C1P Mankanya C5S sacrifice MID DS C1S insert
pṣih
 p- ṣih
 C6S kingdom/throne

[.. Sentences containing background information not shown for clarity...]

Kë **Nabanka** **Biyagi** **kë** **aneejan** **pṣih**
 kë Nabanka Biyagi kë a- neejan p- ṣih
 DS Nabanka Biyagi DS C1S insert C6S kingdom/throne

“Nabanka Biyagi stood up, the Mankanya made sacrifices, and he became king. (Background information about the name of the place) Nabanka Biyagi became king...”

These examples show that verbal renewal is a device that is used to provide coherence, while at the same time marking important points in the text e.g. episode changes.

10.3 Points of departure

In a text there are often discontinuities in the thread of the story, and these can be a jump in time, a change of location, or a change of reference.

The structures that occur at discontinuities to maintain cohesion are sometimes referred to as points of departure. Points of departure in Mankanya are usually sentence initial.

Temporal points of departure are often time noun phrases.

10.36 **Ṭi** **uṣubal** **uloŋ** , **ṭi**
 ṭ- i u- ṣubal u- loŋ ṭ- i
 INT LOC.prox C2S rain C2S INDEF INT LOC.prox
wal **wi** **mnkaaju** ,
 w- al w- i m- nkaaju
 C2S moment C2S GEN c6p cashew_apple
 “One year, at the time of the cashew harvest ...”

10.37 **Na** **utaakal** **uket** , **wal** **wi**
 na u- taakal u- keṭ w- al w- i
 and C2S evening C2S die C2S moment C2S GEN
nantohi **ayaṅ** , **kë** **ñaaṭ** **aṣë** **ya**
 na- ntohi a- ya -aṅ kë ñ- aaṭ a- ṣë ya
 C1S elder C1S go SUB DS C1S woman SER SEQ go
aya **ṭup** **baniw**
 a- ya ṭup ba- niw
 SER go announce C5S fiancé(e)
 “In the middle of the night, when the old man had gone, the woman went to talk with her lover ”

They can also be headless relative clauses, with an implied head of *wal* “time”.

Locational points of departure can be locative phrases:

10.38 **Ṭi** **p̄toof** **pi** **bnkan** **kë**
 ṭ- i p- toof p- i b- nkan kë
 INT LOC.prox C4S half C4S GEN C5S salt-marsh DS
ṇaṣë **ṭo** **pfaaṣër** **bka** **bi** **ṇa**
 ṇa- ṣë ṭo p- faaṣër b- ka b- i ṇ- a
 C2P SEQ sit INF share_out c7s possessions c7s GEN C2P OBJ
 “In the middle of the salt-marsh, they stopped to share out their gains ”

However, narratives often keep the “spotlight” on the main participants, so changes of location are often connected with a movement verb.

10.39 **Aşë** **tool** **aban** **tuŋ** **kawuj**
 a- şë tool a- ban ʈ- uŋ ka- wuj
 SER SEQ leave SER arrive INT LOC.dist C3S entrance

untabanka

u- ntabanka

c2s village

“They left and arrived at the entrance of a village”

10.40 **Wi** **nyaan** **aban** **ti** **Gambi**
 wi ŋ- ya -aŋ a- ban ʈ- i Gambi
 when 1P go SUB SER arrive INT LOC.prox Gambia

awala **ti** **pmuur** **bdëk**
 a- wala ʈ- i p- muur b- dëk
 SER come down INT LOC.prox INF cross C5S sea

“When we had gone a while, we arrived in Gambia, and got down to cross the river”

Sometimes a point of departure can be giving a reason for the following action, for example using *jibi*.

10.41 **Jibi** **untanka** **upoŋ** , **kë** **baniw**
 jibi u- ntanka u- poŋ -uŋ kë ba- niw
 like c2s village c2s be small SUB DS c5s fiancé(e)

ñaat **natëbëntën** **ame** ...
 ñ- aat na- tëb -ëntën a- me
 c1s woman c1s two ORD SER know

“As the village was small, the second lover knew...”

10.42 **Jibi** **ŋko** **ŋundu** **naşaan** **awo**
 jibi ŋ- ko ŋ- undu na- şa -aŋ a- wo
 like c2p animals c2p DEM.VDIST c2p SEQ SUB SER be

ti **bwuukar** , **awuuk** **ukomal**
 ʈ- i b- wuuk -ar a- wuuk u- komal
 INT LOC.prox c5s push RCP SER push c2s hippo

“As those animals were pushing, they pushed the hippo”

Another common point of departure structure is the use of *hënk* followed by a relative structure introduced by *di*, which bases the new action on what has just gone on before.

10.43 **Kë hēnk di abaaŋ kabi**
 kë hēnk d- i a- ba -aŋ k- a- bi
 DS so C9S GEN C1S cmpltv SUB IMPERF SER past

duka duka ʈi pdo na Naala
 duka duka ʈ- i p- do na Naala
 stay stay INT LOC.PROX INF do and Nala

“So this is what she (Dama) kept doing to Nala.”

10.44 **Kë hēnk di Naala ayaaŋ na utejan**
 kë hēnk d- i Naala a- ya -aŋ na u- tejan
 DS so C9S GEN Nala C1S go SUB and C2S night

aʈenk ŋntaayi
 a- ʈenk ŋ- ntaayi
 SER find C2P demon

“And so Nala went at night, she found the spirits ...”

10.45 **Kë hēnk di Dama akaaŋ aya na**
 kë hēnk d- i Dama a- ka -aŋ a- ya na
 DS so C9S GEN Dama C1S REP SUB SER go and

utejan aya ʈenk ŋntaayi
 u- tejan a- ya ʈenk ŋ- ntaayi
 C2S night SER go find C2P demon

“And so Dama also went at night, she found the spirits ...”

Chapter 11 - The particle *kë*

This chapter discusses the particle *kë* which is found throughout natural texts, but is far less frequently found in elicited sentences. Trifkovič (1969) glosses it simply as NARR (for narrative particle) in her texts at the back of her volume, and doesn't describe it at all. When asked the meaning of the particle, native speakers tend to say “and” or “but”, which could be translations in certain contexts, but inadequately describes its behaviour.

It's major use is to mark a different subject:

11.1 **Kë nduba akak atëfa aṭi , kë**
 kë nduba a- kak a- tēfa a- ṭi , kë
 DS boy C1S REP SER land_on_ones_feet SER run DS
nanug btuur kë aṭi , kë naṭoṅ
 na- nug b- tuur kë a- ṭi , kë na- ṭoṅ
 C1S buyer C5S coffin DS C1S run DS C1S driver
ukaaru akak aṭi
 u- kaaru a- kak a- ṭi
 C2S car C1S REP SER run

“The boy landed on his feet and ran off, the owner of the coffin ran off, and the driver of the car he also ran off.”

But it is not required, and in some cases (particularly between sentences) a different subject is not marked explicitly with *kë*:

11.2 a **Napoṭ aṅowna du meeṭ ,**
 na- poṭ a- ṅow -n -a d- u meeṭ
 C1S child C1S wash CAUS MID EXT LOC.DIST inside
uko unwoyi , du meeṭ meeṭ .
 u- ko u- n- woy -i d- u meeṭ meeṭ
 C2S thing C2S coref be ptcp EXT LOC.DIST inside inside

“The child was washed inside, this thing is done inside”

b **Ñaaṭ** **ambukuṅ** **aji** **le** **aji**
 ñ- aaṭ a- m- buk -uṅ a- ji le a- ji
 C1S woman C1S COREF produce SEL C1S HAB IRL SER HAB
apën **bdig** , **aya** **ya** **kañowa**
 a- pën b- dig a- ya ya k- a- ñowa
 SER go_out C5S outside SER go go IMPERF SER wash_oneself
 “The woman who has given birth, if she goes outside, it is to wash”

In some situations it occurs with the same subject:

11.3 **Wori mënṭan ṅwo ṅji na Bernard na Marcel**
 wori mënṭan ṅ- wo ṅji na Bernard na Marcel
 time that 1P be 1S and Bernard and Marcel

kë ṅpok pya ṅrisiya
 kë ṅ- pok p- ya ṅrisiya
 DS 1P refuse INF go church

“At that time we were me and Bernard and Marcel, and we refused to go to church”

11.1 Clause chaining and switch reference

One of the primary uses of the particle *kë* is to mark a different subject in a clause chain. Therefore its gloss is DS (Different Subject).

In section 9.2 I described the fact that sentences can be formed of multiple non-subordinate clauses, juxtaposed without connectors. This phenomenon, known as clause chaining, is found elsewhere in Africa (Heine and Nurse, 2007) as well as other parts of the world, for example Papuan languages (Foley, 1986) Where the subject of a clause is the same as the previous one, the verb takes a special agreement prefix *a-*. However, this special prefix is identical to the prefix used for singular, class 1 nouns. Therefore there could be an ambiguity in certain situations, and *kë* can be used to clearly mark when a subject has changed.

To illustrate this, consider the multi-clause sentence from the “Two Humpbacked Wives” text shown in example 11.4 below. I have noted the subject of each clause in the right hand column.

This sentence consists of a chain of seven clauses, with no connecting words (apart from *kë*) between them. Chaining is common in narrative texts, though this example is longer than average.

<p>11.4</p> <p>a: Kë hënk di Naala ayaan na utejan kë hënk d- i Naala a- ya -an na u- tejan DS so C9S GEN Nala C1S go SEL and C2S night “So Naala went at night”</p> <p>b: aṭënk ṅntaayi a- ṭënk ṅ- ntaayi SER find C2P demon “she found the spirits”</p> <p>c: kë ṅado ptoof kë ṅa- do p- toof DS C2P do C4S half “they made a circle”</p> <p>d: aki a- ki SER dance “they danced”</p> <p>e: kë aṣë ban kë a- ṣë ban DS C1S SEQ arrive “she arrived”</p> <p>f: anaṭ a- naṭ SER stand “she stood”</p> <p>g: akob iñen na ṅa a- kob i- ñen na ṅ- a C1S hit C3P hand and C2P OBJ “clapped with them”</p> <p>“So Naala went at night, found the spirits dancing in a circle, went up to them, stopped and clapped with them”</p>	<p>Subject Naala</p> <p>Naala</p> <p>spirits</p> <p>spirits</p> <p>Naala</p> <p>Naala</p> <p>Naala</p>
--	--

When the same subject does several actions in a chain the verbal agreement prefix is substituted by *a-* on second and subsequent verbs. We can't see this when the subject is a singular human, as the prefix is already *a-*, but this phenomenon is illustrated in clauses c and d in the example (repeated below).

c: **kë** **ɲado** **ptoof**
 kë ɲa- do p- toof
 DS C2P do C4S half
 “they made a circle”

d: **aki**
 a- ki
 SER dance
 “they danced”

The spirits *ɲntayi* form a circle and dance. On the first verb, they are referred to by the full prefix form *ɲa-*, but the special *a-* prefix is used on the second verb.

If we now consider the final three clauses, Naala is again the subject.

e: **kë** **aşë** **ban**
 kë a- şë ban
 DS C1S SEQ arrive
 “she arrived”

f: **anaɕ**
 a- naɕ
 SER stand
 “she stood”

g: **akob** **iñen** **na** **ɲa**
 a- kob i- ñen na ɲ- a
 C1S hit C3P hand and C2P OBJ

“clapped with them”

Here Naala is again the subject. But without *kë* there would be no way of telling the referent of the verb prefix. The *kë* indicates that there has been a switch to a different subject.

If we look again at the whole sentence, and look for where *kë* is used, we see that it occurs at the beginning of clauses a, c, and e. Leaving aside the beginning of the sentence, we can see that the *kë* occurs each time the subject changes. That is, Naala is the subject of clauses a-b, the spirits are the subject of clauses c-d (introduced by a *kë*) and Naala is again the subject of the final clauses e-g, (and *kë* again marks this switch of subject).

It should be noted that *kë* is used even though there are other indications that the subject is different, e.g. verb prefix in clause c *ɲa-* can only refer to the spirits.

A second example from the “Two Humpbacked Wives” text illustrates another situation where *kë* is used:

11.5 **Wi** **ɣakiɲ** **aban** **ɕi** **a**
 wi ɣa- ki -iɲ a- ban ɕ- i a
 when C2P dance SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX OBJ
kë **aşë** **ji** **na** **wi** **akabiranuɲ**
 kë a- şë ji na w- i a- kab -ir -an -uɲ
 DS C1S SEQ say with C2S GEN SER be_near_to RCP CAUS SEL
 “When they were dancing and they arrived at her, she asked her neighbour
 ...”

Here the first clause is actually a subordinate temporal clause, but *kë* is used in the same way as in example 11.4. The subject of the subordinate *wi* clause is the spirits (shown by the *ɣa-* prefix), but Naala is the subject of the main clause. The *kë* indicates a different subject and makes clear the referent of the subject prefix on the first main clause verb.

The *kë* is not obligatory after a *wi* clause. This is illustrated in the following sentence where there is a *wi* clause, but no change of subject means no *kë* is needed.

11.6 **Wi** **uwoon** **uunwina** **aşë** **ya** **na**
 wi u- wo -oɲ u- un- win -a a- şë ya na
 when C2S be SEL C2S NEG see C1S.OBJ SER SEQ go and
pa
 pa
 in_order_to

“When it (the spirit) could not find her, it went with it (the hump).”

However, in the “Hare and the Elephant” text, a similar structure *does* use *kë*, even though the subject has not changed. This would seem to indicate that *kë* sometimes has a broader discourse function.

11.7 **Wal** **wi** **uşaan** **atuh** **wa**
 w- al w- i u- şa -aɲ a- tuh w- a
 C2S moment C2S GEN C2S SEQ SEL SER close C2S OBJ
ɕi **bhër** ,
 ɕ- i b- hër
 INT LOC.PROX C5S hole
kë **uşë** **ɕij** **mnob** **muɲ** **akakanan**
 kë u- şë ɕij m- nob ma- uɲ a- kak -an -an
 DS C2S SEQ bring C8 honey C8 DEM.DIST
aya **di** **untanka**
 a- ya d- i u- ntanka
 SER go EXT LOC.PROX C2S village

“When he (Elephant) had closed him (Hare) in the hole, he took the honey and returned to the village.”

Kë is also found in sentence initial position. This was seen in example in example 11.4 and is also seen in the following examples:

11.8 **Kë biki untanka bti bați abi**
 kë bik- i u- ntanka bti ba- ti a- bi
 DS C1P GEN C2S village all C1P run SER come

ayit

a- yit

SER meet

“Then all the villagers came running to meet together.”

11.9 **Kë Țwaraati , ahar umaalu , na**
 kë Țwaraati a- har u- maalu na
 DS Țwaraatsi C1AS wife C2S hare and

bayiț baka bti kë babi ațoo awooni
 ba- yiț baka bti kë ba- bi a- țo a- wooni
 C1P relative C1P.GEN all DS C1P come SER sit SER cry

“Țwaraati, Hares wife, and all their relations, sat down and cried.”

11.10 **Kë ñaaț aloț națaf kë așë win**
 kë ñ- aaț a- loț na- țaf kë a- șë win
 DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS C1S SEQ see

jibi Naala aňagani ți katoh
 jibi Naala a- ñagan -i ț- i ka- toh
 like Nala C1S be sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house

“An old lady saw how Naala was sad and staying in the house.”

This sentence initial *kë* can also occur after adverbial points of departure, and renewals.

11.11 **ți pla a mënțan puț kë**
 ți i p- la a mënțan p- uț kë
 INT LOC.PROX INF seek OBJ that C4S DEM.DIST DS

umaalu ubi gaňir aka ñaaț
 u- maalu u- bi gaňir a- ka ñ- aaț
 C2S hare C2S PST win SER have C1S woman

“In this courting, Hare succeeded in winning the women.”

11.12 **Uwajantën kë uloț ușë tuh wa**
 u- waj -antën kë u- loț u- șë tuh w- a
 C2S three ORD DS C2S INDEF C2S SEQ close C2S OBJ

ți bhër
 ți i b- hër
 INT LOC.PROX C5S hole

“The third time, Elephant closed him into the hole.”

In the wider context of these examples, *kë* is still marking a different subject.

This is also illustrated by the following single sentence example which has full noun phrases for most of the subjects:

11.13

Kë	başë	ya	pla	mnob	na	Subject Hare and Elephant		
<i>kë</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>şë</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>la</i>		<i>m-</i>	<i>nob</i>
DS	C1P	SEQ	go	INF	seek	C8	honey	and
umaalu	kë	bko	başë	wo		Tree		
<i>u-</i>	<i>maalu</i>	<i>kë</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ba-</i>		<i>şë</i>	<i>wo</i>
C2S	hare	DS	c7s	object	c7s	SEQ	be	
kë	bko	başë	wo			Tree		
<i>kë</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>şë</i>	<i>wo</i>			
DS	c7s	object	c7s	SEQ	be			
akab		ti	pliik			Tree		
<i>a-</i>	<i>kab</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>liik</i>			
SER	be_near_to	INT	LOC.PROX	C6S	well			
awo	na	bhër				Tree		
<i>a-</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>hër</i>				
SER	be	and	C5S	hole				
kë	bnob	bawo	da			bee hive		
<i>kë</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>nob</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>d-</i>		<i>a</i>	
DS	C5S	beehive	C5S	be	C9S		OBJ	

“So they (along with Hare) went to look for honey. Now there was a tree (*bko*) near to the well and it had a hole and there was a bee hive there.”

We see therefore that a primary use of *kë* is used to mark a change of subject, but if there are other indications that the subject has changed (e.g. different verb prefixes) then its presence is not obligatory. It is also occasionally used when there is no change of subject for reasons that need more research.

11.2 *Kë* after a noun phrase

Though the main use of *kë* is clause initially for marking a different subject it can also be found between a subject noun phrase and the verb. The following examples illustrate this.

11.14 **Kë** **Ṭwaraati** **kë** **aşë** **bi** , **akak**
 kë Ṭwaraaṭi kë a- şë bi a- kak
 DS Ṭswaraatsi DS C1S SEQ come SER REP
awat **ubaldu** **wi** **nul** **ṭuṅ**
 a- wat u- baldu w- i nul ṭ- uṅ
 SER bring_down C2S bucket C2S GEN 3s.poss INT LOC.DIST
pliik
 p- liik
 C6S well

“So Tsewaratsi came, and she also lowered her bucket into that well”

11.15 **Kë** **ñaaṭ** **aloṅ** **naṭaf** **kë** **aşë** **win**
 kë ñ- aaṭ a- loṅ na- ṭaf kë a- şë win
 DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS C1S SEQ see
jibi Naala aṅagani ṭi katoh .
 jibi Naala a- ṅagan -i ṭ- i ka- toh
 like Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house
 “An old lady saw how Naala was sad and staying in the house.”

In these examples the first *kë* each time marks a subject switch, but the second does not seem to have the same function. It does not occur every time there is a subject switch followed by a noun or noun phrase. The second *kë*, between the subject noun or noun phrase seems to highlight the subject.

One possible reason for this highlighting function is contrast. In the following example there is partitive contrast between all the spirits in sentence 11.16a and the one who had taken Nala's hump in 11.16b. (There are several occurrences of *kë* in this example, including the complementising *kë* COMP. The relevant one is underlined in sentence 11.16b.)

11.16a **Kë** **ḡntaayi** **ḡaduka** **ki** **ki**
 kë ḡ- ntaayi ḡa- duk -a ki ki
 DS C2P demon C2P leave MID dance dance
ṭuṅ **te** **kë** **unuur** **udo** **jint** **kë**
 ṭ- uṅ te kë u- nuur u- do jint kë
 INT DEM.DIST until COMP C2S day C2S INGR be_clean DS
ḡaşë **jun** **pwayşër** .
 ḡa- şë jun p- wayşër
 C2P SEQ begin INF disperse

“The spirits stayed dancing there until daybreak, and then they started to disperse”

b **Unṣaan** **ayeenk** **pben** **ṭi**
 u- n- ṣa -aṅ a- yeenk p- ben ṭ- i
 C2S COREF SEQ SEL C1S receive C4S swelling INT LOC.PROX
Naala **kë** **uṣë** **kak** **ala** **ñaan** **anwuluṅ**
 Naala kë u- ṣë kak a- la ñaan a- n- wul -uṅ
 Nala DS C2S SEQ again SER seek person C1S COREF give SEL
wa **napoṭ** .
 w- a na- poṭ
 C2S OBJ C1S child
 “The one who had taken the lump from Nala, looked again for the one who had given him the 'child' ”

It is also sometimes used as a way of introducing new characters:

11.17 **Kë** **ṭwaraati** , **ahar** **umaalu** , **na**
 kë ṭwaraati a- har u- maalu na
 DS ṭswaraatsi C1AS wife C2S hare and
bayiṭ **baka** **bti** , **kë** **babi** ...
 ba- yiṭ baka bti kë ba- bi
 C1P relative C1P.OBJ all DS C1P come
 “Then Tsewaratsi, Hare’s wife, and all their relations came ...”

This is the first time in this story that Tsewaratsi has been mentioned. It is also the beginning of a new discourse unit.

11.18 **Kë** **ñaaṭ** **aloṅ** **naṭaf** **kë** **aṣë** **win**
 kë ñ- aaṭ a- loṅ na- ṭaf kë a- ṣë win
 DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS SER SEQ see
jibi **Naala** **añagani** **ṭi** **katoh**
 jibi Naala a- ñagan -i ṭ- i ka- toh
 like Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house
 “An old lady saw how Naala was sad and staying in the house.”

Here an old lady, a minor character, is introduced. As in the previous example this also begins a new discourse unit.

Sometimes its only use is to mark a new discourse unit. The following example from the story of Nabanka Biyagi comes after a non-event line discursion about why the royal compound is a symbol for the Mankanya people. The sentence starts a new discourse unit describing the events after Nabanka Biyagi (who is no longer a new character) becomes king.

11.19 **Kë** **Nabanka** **Biyagi** **kë** **aneejan** **pṣih**
 kë Nabanka Biyagi kë a- neejan p- ṣih
 DS Nabanka Biyagi DS SER insert C6S kingdom/throne
 “So Nabanka Biyagi became king”

Here is another example from the “Hare and the Elephant” This starts a new discourse unit where Tsewaratsi’s actions reveal where Hare is trapped.

11.20 **Kë** **Ṭwaraati** **kë** **aşë** **bi** **akak**
 kë Ṭwaraaṭi kë a- şë bi a- kak
 DS Ṭswaraatsi DS SER SEQ came SER return
awat **ubaldu** **wi** **nul** **ṭuṅ**
 a- wat u- baldu w- i nul ṭ- uṅ
 SER bring_down C2S bucket C2S GEN 3s.poss INT LOC.DIST
pliik
 p- liik
 C6S well

“So Tsewaratsi came, and she also lowered her bucket into that well”

In all these examples above the *kë* between noun phrase and verb has occurred with the sentence initial *kë* marking a different subject. However, in the “Hare and Elephant” there are several places where *kë* does *not* occur in this position, even though there is a sentence initial *kë* marking a different subject. This shows it is not obligatory in this situation.

11.21 **kë** **umaalu** **ubi** **gañir** **aka** **ñaaṭ**
 kë u- maalu u- bi gañir a- ka ñ- aaṭ
 DS C2S hare C2S PST win C1S have C1S woman
 “..Hare won the girl”

Udeeb **kë** **uşë** **de** **uloṅ**
 u- deeb kë u- şë de u- loṅ
 C2S anger DS C2S SEQ eat C2S INDEF
 “Elephant got angry” (Lit. “Anger ate Elephant”)

Here the *kë* highlights *udeeb* ‘anger’, and this indicates the beginning of a new discourse section. However, there is no sentence initial *kë* which would normally be associated with a different subject.

A similar situation occurs later in the story, after the women have lowered their bucket.

11.22 **kë** **ukak** **atiink** , **aşë** **ji** :“....”
 kë u- kak a- tiink a- şë ji
 DS C2S REP SER hear SER SEQ say
 “He (Hare) heard it again and said “....” ”

Ṭwaraati **kë** **aşë** **hanṭla**
 Ṭwaraaṭi kë a- şë hanṭla
 Ṭswaraatsi DS C1S SEQ look_up
 “Tsewaratsi lifted her eyes ...”

It seems that where *kë* is used after the noun phrase, *kë* as a different subject marker before it is optional. This could be an indication that historically the *kë* after the noun phrase was in fact the same particle but has been moved to highlight the subject.

Though there are some instances where the use of *kë* after the noun phrase can be explained by contrast, the majority of cases of this usage of *kë* seem to mark the beginning of a new discourse unit. This might be considered a natural extension of its use, as often (but not always) the beginning of a discourse unit is in some way contrastive with the preceding unit.

Here is a breakdown of the discourse units in a story about Hare and Elephant. Where *kë* is used with a noun phrase the first part of each sentence of the unit is shown, and the *kë* is underlined. Some sentences also have a *kë* at the beginning of sentence indicating a different subject.

Introduction and background	1-2	
Elephant gets angry	3-4	<i>Udeeb <u>kë</u> uşë de uloŋ</i>
Elephant tricks Hare and shuts him in a hole	5-7	<i>Kë uloŋ <u>kë</u> uwini</i>
Elephant returns to the village and tells his story	8-9	
Hare's wife's reaction	10	<i>Kë ʦëwaraati, ahar umaalu, na bayiŋ baka bi <u>kë</u> babi</i>
Women draw water and hear Hare singing	11-14	
Hare's wife draws water and hears Hare singing	15-17	<i>Kë ʦëwaraati <u>kë</u> aşë bi</i>
Hare's wife tells women to draw water again and Hare sings again	18-20	<i>ʦëwaraati <u>kë</u> aşë ji na baat bukuŋ</i>
Hare's wife finds Hare and lets him out	21	<i>ʦëwaraati <u>kë</u> aşë hanŋla</i>
They return to village and conclusion	22-24	

The frequency of this usage of *kë* varies from text to text.

11.3 *Kë* with *hënk di*

Kë at the beginning of a sentence is sometimes combined with *hënk di* 'like this'. This is used three times in the "Two wives" story. The first time it introduces a summary statement that closes the introductory section.

11.23	Kë hënk di	abaan	kabi
	kë hënk d- i	a- ba -aŋ	k- a- bi
	DS so EXT LOC.PROX	C1S CMLPTV SEL	IMPERF SER PST
	duka duka ʈi	pdo na Naala te kë	
	duka duka ʈ- i	p- do na Naala te kë	
	stay stay INT LOC.PROX	INF do and Nala until DS	
	bado bot	awo ʈi	ploolan
	ba- do bot	a- wo ʈ- i	p- loolan
	C1P INGR do_something_next	SER be INT LOC.PROX	C4S one
	na ñiinʈ kë ñaaʈ	aji bi duka duka	
	na ñ- iinʈ kë ñ- aaʈ	a- ji bi duka duka	
	and C1S man DS C1S woman	C1S HAB PST stay stay	
	kañagan ʈuŋ	katoh	
	k- a- ñagan ʈ- uŋ	ka- toh	
	IMPERF SER be_sad	INT LOC.DIST C3S house	

“So this is what she (Dama) kept doing to Naala until she and her husband were in agreement, and the woman (Naala) was sad and stayed in the house.”

The other two examples are parallel, and are the introductory clauses of each of Naala and Dama’s attempts to remove their humps. In these examples, though there is a subject switch, there is also a proper noun, so the *kë* is not required in order to disambiguate.

11.24	Kë hënk di	Naala ayaan	na
	kë hënk d- i	Naala a- ya -aŋ	na
	DS so EXT LOC.PROX	Nala C1S go SEL	with
	utejan aʈënk ɲntaayi		
	u- tejan a- ʈënk ɲ- ntaayi		
	C2S night SER find C2P demon		

“And so Naala went at night, she found the spirits ...”

11.25	Kë hënk di	Dama akaan	aya
	kë hënk d- i	Dama a- ka -aŋ	a- ya
	DS so EXT LOC.PROX	Dama C1S REP SEL	SER go
	na utejan aya ʈënk ɲntaayi		
	na u- tejan a- ya ʈënk ɲ- ntaayi		
	with C2S night SER go find C2P demon		

“And so Dama also went at night, she found the spirits ...”

Another example of this construction can be found in the story of Nabanka Biyagi which tells his rise to the chiefdom of all the Mankanya, and the building of the first royal compound. *Kë hënk di* is found at the end of the introductory section describing the expansion of Bula the chief village.

11.26 **Kë hënk di ɲtaak ɲi**
 kë hënk d- i ɲ- taak ɲ- i
 DS so C9S DEM.PROX C2P country C2P GEN
namehaɲ ɲuɲ bɛi ɲakyaaɲ ya aya
 na- meh -aɲ ɲ- uɲ bɛi ɲa- k- ya -aɲ ya a- ya
 2P know SEL C2P DEM.DIST all C2P IMPERF go SEL go SER go
aya
 a- ya
 SER go

“And so it was that all those villages that you know were appearing.”

The expression *hënk di* does not require a *kë* as it also found twice in that story without it.

The first occurs at the end of the second section which describes how the older men have begun to fight over who will be king.

11.27 **Kë ugut umeet ubi bot**
 kë u- gut u- meet u- bi bot
 DS C2S war C2S interior C2S PST do_something_next
aneejan
 a- neejan
 SER insert
 “And so a mystic war started.”

Hënk di bawooɲ abi fiɲar fiɲar
 hënk d- i ba- wo -oɲ a- bi fiɲ -ar fiɲ -ar
 so C9S DEM.PROX C1P be SEL SER PST kill DIST kill DIST
te kë naɣih nafeey aɣë ka pnduud
 te kë na- ɣih na- Feey a- ɣë ka p- nduud
 until COMP C1S chief C1S Feey C1S SEQ have C6S compound
pi nul pi abëkani baɣaɣa
 p- i nul p- i a- bëkan -i ba- ɣaɣa
 C4S GEN 3s.poss C4S GEN SER put_down CMPL C1P teenager_(boy)
biki nul da
 bik- i nul d- a
 C1P GEN 3s.poss C9S OBJ

“So like this they started killing each other until the chief of the Nafeey formed his group of those who had been initiated there.”

Kë baṭaṣa mēnṭan bukuṅ ñaaṅ
 kë ba- ṭaṣa mēnṭan buk- uṅ ñaaṅ
 DS C1P teenager_(boy) that C1P DEM.DIST person
anduwaniṅ Nabanka Biyagi aṣë wo
 a- n- duw -an -i -iṅ Nabanka Biyagi a- ṣë wo
 SER COREF call CAUS MID SEL Nabanka Biyagi C1S SEQ be
da kë aṣaaṅ awo naweek baka
 d- a kë a- ṣa -aṅ a- wo na- week baka
 C9S OBJ DS C1S SEQ SEL C1S be C1S elder_sibling C1P.GEN
 “Amongst those initiates, there was someone who was called Nabanka
 Biyagi, and he was the eldest.”

Here the *hēnk di* still serves as a summariser, but the marker *kë* appears on the sentence before, and on the following sentence which is the beginning of a new episode.

The second occurs at the end of the story as a conclusion.

11.28 **Hēnk di Nabanka Biyagi aneejanuṅ**
 hēnk d- i Nabanka Biyagi a- neej -an -uṅ
 so C9S DEM.PROX Nabanka Biyagi C1S enter CAUS SEL
apaṣ Pmeṣ
 a- paṣ p- meṣ
 SER create C4S royal_compund
 “So this was how Nabanka Biyagi became king and founded Pmesh”

Here *kë* is not used in any of the immediately surrounding sentences.

As both *kë* and *hēnk di* separately are used to mark discourse units it may be that using them together emphasises this marking.

11.4 What sort of information does *kë* occur with?

Some languages have words for marking discourse units which are only found in either background material or in the main event line. This is not the case in Mankanya with *kë* as it occurs in both situations. For example, the following excerpt is from the introductory section of the “Two Humpbacked Wives”, describing the household situation of the two wives. All the sentences are background material, but *kë* is found in sentences 11.29a and 11.29c.

11.29a **Kë baat batëb bukuṅ baṣë wo**
 kë b- aat ba- tēb buk- uṅ ba- ṣë wo
 DS C1P woman C1P two C1P DEM.DIST C1P SEQ be
na mben ṭi feṭ .
 na m- BEN ṭ- i feṭ
 and c6p swelling INT LOC.PROX back
 “And these two women had humps on their backs”

b **Anwooŋ** **nawee** **i** **katoh** **awo**
 a- n- wo -oŋ na- week i ka- toh a- wo
 C1S COREF be SEL C1S elder_sibling GEN C3S house C1S be

na pben pmpoŋi .
 na p- BEN p- mpoŋi
 with C4S swelling C4S small
 “The eldest in the household had a small hump.”

c **Kë pi anwooŋ Naala pawooŋ**
 kë p- i a- n- wo -oŋ Naala pa- wo -oŋ
 DS C4S GEN C1S COREF be SEL Nala C6S be SEL
pweek kë aŝaaŋ akaana kanuura
 p- week kë a- ŝa -aŋ a- ka -an -a ka- nuura
 C4S older DS C1S SEQ SEL SER have CAUS MID C3S beauty
maakan .
 maakan
 very

“But Naala’s was big, though she had great beauty.”

d **Ul i ñiint̃ aŋuŋ ɕi uhaaŝ**
 ul i ñ- iint̃ a- ɕu -uŋ ɕ- i u- haaŝ
 3s.subj GEN C1S man C1S place SEL INT LOC.PROX C2S soul
wi nul .
 w- i nul
 C2S GEN 3s.poss
 “It was her that the husband loved.”

In the story of Hare and Elephant *kë* introduces a reminder of background information at the start of a new section.

11.30 **Kë iŝë me bko buŋ bakab**
 kë i- ŝë me b- ko b- uŋ ba- kab
 DS 2S SEQ know c7s object c7s DEM.DIST c7s be_near_to
ɕi dko di plii **pi**
 ɕ- i d- ko d- i p- liik p- i
 INT LOC.PROX C9S place EXT LOC.PROX C6S well C4S GEN
untanka wi bañaŋ bakliiknuŋ
 u- ntanka w- i ba- ñaaŋ ba- k- liik -n -uŋ
 C2S village C2S GEN C1P person C1P IMPERF draw_water CAUS SEL
 “Now you know that tree is near to the village well where people draw water.”

For examples of *kë* used in the main event line, we could look at many of the examples already given. Here are two more:

11.31	Kë	bawat		ubaldu	du		pliik			
	kë	ba- wat		u- baldu	d- u		p- liik			
	DS	C1P	bring_down	C2S	bucket	EXT	LOC.DIST	C6S	well	
	kë	udo	do	kluj	meel	kë	mampën	ado	tar	
	kë	u- do	do	kluj	meel	kë	mam- pën	a- do	tar	
	DS	C2S	INGR	do	water	DS	C8	go_out	SER	do
	tar	tar	kë	ukak	atiink					
	tar	tar	kë	u- kak	a- tiink					
			DS	C2S	REP	SER	hear			

“Now they (the women) dropped the bucket down the well, it started to go 'klung', the water slopped out, going 'thar, thar, thar', and he heard it again.”

11.32	Kë	untaayi	uşë	yeenk	pben					
	kë	u- ntaayi	u- şë	yeenk	p- BEN					
	DS	C2S	demon	C2S	SEQ	receive	C6S	swelling		
	amëban	kë	Naala	aşë	neej	aki				
	a- mëb	-an	kë	Naala	a- şë	neej	a- ki			
	SER	carry	CAUS	DS	Nala	C1S	SEQ	enter	SER	dance

“So the spirit took the hump and held it, and Naala entered the ring and danced”

11.5 Summary

This chapter has given a brief overview of some of the uses of *kë*.

The primary function of *kë* with event line clauses seems to be that of signalling a switch in subject but it is occasionally used where there is no switch of subject.

Sometimes *kë* appears after the subject noun phrase, in order to mark that noun phrase, either for the purpose of contrast, or maybe for the introduction of a new character.

However, *kë* is sometimes used when the subject has not changed. Often these occur at the beginning of a new discourse unit, and highlight this change.

A more in-depth study of the discourse level uses of this word is required.

Chapter 12 - Glossed Texts

12.1 Two women who had humps

The following text was written in 2003 by an unknown author connected to the Mankanya literacy program in Goudomp run by Pkumel (the Mankanya cultural association) and SIL. It was written to go into a booklet of folk tales and was edited to correct orthographic errors.

The initial number of each line indicates the paragraph number, the second the sentence within that paragraph.

Ñiinṭ na baharul batëb banwooṅ na mben ṭi feṭ

(A man and his two wives who had humps on their backs)

1.1 **Dka nantohi ajug katoh**
 d- ka na- ntohi a- jug ka- toh
 1s have C1S elder C1AS owner C3S house

anniimuṅ baat batëb .
 a- n- niim -uṅ b- aaṭ ba- tëb
 C1S COREF marry SEL C1P woman C1P two

“There was once an old man who had married two women”

1.2 **Naweeek awo Dama aṣë wo**
 na- week a- wo Dama a- ṣë wo
 C1S elder_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be

aannuura ṭi bten , natëbëntën
 a- ën- nuura ṭ- i b- ten na- tëb -ëntën
 SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks C1S two ORD

awooṅ nanuura maakan awo Naala .
 a- wo -oṅ na- nuura maakan a- wo Naala
 C1S be SEL C1S beauty very C1S be Nala

“The elder was Dama, and she was not beautiful; the second was very beautiful and was called Naala”

1.3 **Kë baat batëb bukuŋ başë wo na**
 kë b- aat ba- tëb buk- uŋ ba- şë wo na
 DS C1P woman C1P two C1P DEM.DIST C1P SEQ be with

mben ti feŋ .
 m- BEN t- i feŋ
 c6p swelling INT LOC.PROX back

“But these two women had humps on their backs”

1.4 **Anwoon naweek i katoh awo**
 a- n- wo -oŋ na- week i ka- toh a- wo
 C1S COREF be SEL C1S big GEN C3S house C1S be

na pben pmpoŋi .
 na p- BEN p- mpoŋi
 with C6S swelling C6S small

“The one who eldest in the house had a small hump”

2.1 **Kë pi anwoon Naala pawoon**
 kë p- i a- n- wo -oŋ Naala pa- wo -oŋ
 DS C6S GEN C1S COREF be SEL Nala C6S be SEL

pweek , kë aŋaŋ akaana kanuura
 p- week kë a- ŋa -aŋ a ka -a -na ka- nuura
 C6S older DS SER SEQ SEL 1S rfx C3S beauty

maakan .

maakan

very

“Naala's hump was big, but she had great beauty”

2.2 **Ul i ñiint aŋuun ti**
 ul i ñ- iint a- ŋu -uŋ t- i
 3s.subj DEM.PROX C1S man C1S place SEL INT LOC.PROX

uhaaş wi nul .

u- haaş w- i nul
 C2S soul C2S GEN 3s.POSS

“The husband loved her”

2.3 **Kë Dama aşë win kë ayin baka**
 kë Dama a- şë win kë a- yin baka
 DS Dama C1S SEQ see COMP C1AS husband C1P.OBJ

aŋal Naala apel a .

a- ŋal Naala a- pel a
 C1S like Nala SER be_more OBJ

“But Dama saw that their husband loved Naala more than her”

2.4 **Ṭi** **duṅ** **mēnṭan** **duṅ**
ṭ- i d- uṅ mēnṭan d- uṅ
INT LOC.PROX C9S DEM.DIST that C9S DEM.DIST
di **di** **Dama** **abaṅ** **kabi**
d- i d- i Dama a- ba -aṅ k- a- bi
C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN Dama C1S finish SEL IMPERF SER PST
ṣoor **ṣoor** **Naala** **kakak** **ṭi** **a**
ṣoor ṣoor Naala k- a- kak ṭ- i a
hate hate Nala IMPERF SER return INT LOC.PROX OBJ
kakar **na** **ṅnuur** , **kakuut**
k- a- kar na ṅ- nuur k- a- kuut
IMPERF SER insult with C2P day IMPERF SER slander
kaji **na** **ñiintṣ** **me** **aṅal** **ṅal** **ñaṅ**
k- a- ji na ñ- iintṣ me a- ṅal ṅal ñaṅ
IMPERF SER laugh with C1S man know C1S like like person
anwoṅ **na** **pben** **pweek** **puṅ**
a- n- wo -oṅ na p- BEN p- week p- uṅ
C1S COREF be SEL with C6S swelling C4S older C4S DEM.DIST
“Because of this Dama began to hate Naala, and began to insult her every
day, slandering her, saying to her husband how could he love someone who
had such a big hump”

2.5 **Kë** **hēnk** **di** **abaṅ** **kabi** **duka**
kë hēnk d- i a- ba -aṅ k- a- bi duka
DS like_that C9S GEN C1S finish SEL IMPERF SER PST stay
duka **ṭi** **pdo** **na** **Naala** **te** **kë** **bado**
duka ṭ- i p- do na Naala te kë ba- do
stay INT LOC.PROX INF do with Nala until DS C1P INGR
bot **awo** **ṭi** **ploolan** **na**
bot a- wo ṭ- i p- loolan na
do_something_next SER be INT LOC.PROX C4S one with
ñiintṣ **kë** **ñaṅ** **aji** **bi** **duka** **duka**
ñ- iintṣ kë ñ- aaṅ a- ji bi duka duka
C1S man DS C1S woman C1S HAB PST stay stay
kañagan **ṭuṅ** **katoh**
k- a- ñagan ṭ- uṅ ka- toh
IMPERF SER be_sad INT LOC.DIST C3S house
“She kept doing this to Naala until her husband agreed with her, and Naala
stayed unhappily in the house”

3.1 **Kë ñaaṭ aloṅ naṭaf kë aṣë win**
 kë ñ- aaṭ a- loṅ na- ṭaf kë a- ṣë win
 DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS C1S SEQ see

jibi Naala aṅagani ṭi katoḥ .
 jibi Naala a- ñagan -i ṭ- i ka- toḥ
 like Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house
 “Then an old lady saw how Naala was in the house, unhappy”

3.2 **Abi ajaka : « Woli iṅal pka**
 a- bi a- jak -a Woli i- ṅal p- ka
 C1S come SER tell C1S.OBJ if 2S like INF have

ukëra ṭuṅ ayinu , kya
 u- këra ṭ- uṅ a- yin -u k- ya
 C2S success INT LOC.DIST C1AS husband 2S.POSS IMPERF go
na utejan du kabaṅ ki unkintar
 na u- tejan d- u ka- baṅ k- i u- nkintar
 with C2S night EXT LOC.DIST C3S side C3S GEN C2S garden

wi nan .
 w- i nan
 C2S GEN 2P.POSS

“She said to her ‘If you want to have success with your husband, go at night to the side of your garden ”

3.3 **Iṭënk ṅntaayi da ṅado ptoof**
 i- ṭënk ṅ- ntaayi d- a ṅa- do p- toof
 C3P find C2P spirit C9S OBJ C2P do C4S half

kaki .
 k- a- ki
 IMPERF SER dance

“You’ll find spirits there, doing the circle dance”

- 3.4 **Işale ban da knaṭ**
 i- şa -le ban d- a k- naṭ
 2S SEQ irr arrive C9S OBJ 2S.ALT stand
- kanaakiir na ŋa , kakob**
 k- a- naaki -ir na ŋ- a k- a- kob
 IMPERF SER join RCP with C2P OBJ IMPERF SER hit
- iñen maakan , wal wi**
 i- ñen maakan w- al w- i
 C3P hand very C2S moment C2S GEN
- ŋakfoşaruṅ kaban ṭi**
 ŋa- k- foy -ş -ar -uṅ k- a- ban ṭ- i
 C2P IMPERF encircle CAUS BEN SEL IMPERF SER arrive INT LOC.PROX
- iwi , kşë ji na wi ikabiranuṅ**
 iwi k- şë ji na w- i i- kabir -an -uṅ
 2S 2S.ALT SEQ say with C2S GEN 2S be_next_to CAUS SEL
- , mēbanan napoṭ ŋji dkaaṅ pki** (
 mēb -an -an na- poṭ ŋji d- ka -aṅ p- ki
 attach CAUS IMP C1S child 1s 1s have SEL INF dance
- napoṭ mēnt awooṅ pben puṅ**).
 na- poṭ mēnt a- wo -oṅ p- BEN p- uṅ
 C1S child that C1S be SEL C6S swelling C4S DEM.DIST
- “When you arrive there, stop and join in with them and clap loudly. When the circling arrives with you, say to the person who is now next to you "hold the baby, it's my turn to dance" (this baby is that hump)”
- 3.5 **Wi kneejuṅ ptoof kaki** ,
 wi k- neej -uṅ p- toof k- a- ki
 when IMPERF enter SEL C4S half IMPERF SER dance
- kşë pën na bundu kabi**
 k- şë pën na b- undu k- a- bi
 2S.ALT SEQ go_out with C5S DEM.VDIST IMPERF SER FUT
- kado kaṭi ṭi pya katoh**
 k- a- do k- a- ṭi ṭ- i p- ya ka- toh
 IMPERF SER INGR IMPERF SER run INT LOC.PROX INF go C3S house
- . »
- “When you enter the middle of the dance, go out the other side, then start running to go home’ ”

4.1 **Kë hënk di Naala ayaan na utejan**
 kë hënk d- i Naala a- ya -aŋ na u- tejan
 DS like_that C9S GEN Nala C1S go SEL with C2S night
aţënk ŋtaayi kë ŋado ptoof aki , kë
 a- ţënk ŋ- ntaayi kë ŋa- do p- toof a- ki kë
 C1S find C2P spirit DS C2P do C4S half SER dance DS
aşë ban anaţ akob iñen na ŋa
 a- şë ban a- naţ a- kob i- ñen na ŋ- a
 SER SEQ arrive SER stand SER hit C3P hand with C2P OBJ
 “So Naala went at night, found the spirits that were doing the circle dance,
 and went up to them, stood and clapped hands with them.”

4.2 **Wi ŋakiŋ aban ŋi a**
 w- i ŋa- ki -iŋ a- ban ŋ- i a
 C2S GEN C2P dance SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX OBJ
kë aşë ji na wi akabiranuŋ
 kë a- şë ji na w- i a- kab -ir -an -uŋ
 DS C1S SEQ say with C2S GEN SER be_near_to RCP CAUS SEL
 : « **Mëbanan napoţ i , nji dkaan**
 mëb -an -an na- poţ i nji d- ka -aŋ
 attach CAUS IMP C1S child DEM.PROX 1S 1S have SEL
pki
 p- ki
 INF dance

“When their dancing arrived with her, she said to the person who was now next to her “hold this baby, it's my turn to dance””

5 **Kë untaayi uşë yeenk pben**
 kë u- ntaayi u- şë yeenk p- BEN
 DS C2S spirit C2S SEQ receive C6S swelling
amëban , kë Naala aşë neej aki
 a- mëb -an kë Naala a- şë neej a- ki
 SER attach CAUS DS Nala C1S SEQ enter SER dance
 “So the spirit took the hump and held it, and Naala entered the dance”

6.1 **Aban ŋuŋ aşë pën na bgah**
 a- ban ŋ- uŋ a- şë pën na b- gah
 C1S arrive INT LOC.DIST SER SEQ go_out with C5S way
bloŋ , aşë bi kaţi ŋi
 b- loŋ a- şë bi k- a- ŋi ŋ- i
 C5S INDEF SER SEQ FUT IMPERF SER run INT LOC.PROX
pya katoh
 p- ya ka- toh
 INF go C3S house
 “She arrived there, then left by another path, and began to run to come home”

6.2 **Aban aneej meet apiinṭ** .
 a- ban a- neej meet a- piinṭ
 C1S arrive SER enter room SER lie_down
 “She arrived, entered inside and slept”

6.3 **Kë ḡntaayi ḡaduka ki ki ṭuṅ**
 kë ḡ- ntaayi ḡa- duk -a ki ki ṭ- uṅ
 DS C2P spirit C2P leave MID dance dance INT DEM.DIST
te kë unuur udo jinṭ kë ḡaşë jun
 te kë u- nuur u- do jinṭ kë ḡa- şë jun
 until DS C2S day C2S INGR be_clean DS C2P SEQ begin
pwayşër .
 p- wayşër
 INF disperse
 “The spirits stayed dancing until day broke and then they began to leave”

6.4 **Unşaaṅ ayeenk pben ṭi**
 u- n- şa -aṅ a- yeenk p- BEN ṭ- i
 C2S COREF SEQ SEL SER receive C6S swelling INT LOC.PROX
Naala kë uşë kak ala ṅaaṅ anwuluṅ
 Naala kë u- şë kak a- la ṅaaṅ a- n- wul -uṅ
 Nala DS C2S SEQ turn SER seek person SER COREF give SEL
wa napoṭ .
 w- a na- poṭ
 C2S OBJ C1S child
 “The spirit who had taken the hump from Naala began to go around looking for the person who had given him the baby”

6.5 **Wi uwoonṅ uunwina aşë ya**
 w- i u- wo -oṅ u- un- win -a a- şë ya
 C2S GEN C2S be SEL C2S NEG see C1S.OBJ SER SEQ go
na pa .
 na p- a
 with C6S OBJ
 “When it couldn't see her, it left with it”

7.1 **Kë Dama aşë naṭa na nfa awin Naala**
 kë Dama a- şë naṭa na nfa a- win Naala
 DS Dama SER SEQ get_up with morning C1S see Nala
jibi ahetuṅ aşë ji akak
 jibi a- het -uṅ a- şë ji a- kak
 like C1S straighten_up SEL SER SEQ HAB SER become
apënan pben pi nul .
 a- pën -an p- BEN p- i nul
 SER go_out CAUS C6S swelling C6S GEN 3s.POSS
 “When Dama got up in the morning, she how Naala was straightened up, and how she had become, and that she had removed her hump”

7.2 « **Ayinun** **afiyaar** **kadukin**
 a- yin -un a- fiyaar k- a- duk -in
 C1AS husband 1P.OBJ C1S believe IMPERF SER leave 1S.OBJ
 » ; **aşë** **deebaṭ** **ado** **jot** **afiita** .
 a- şë deebaṭ a- do jot a- fiita
 C1S SEQ be_angry C1S INGR fall SER faint

“‘Our husband will think of leaving me!’ and she got so angry that she fainted.”

8.1 **Kë Naala na pjoob bkw pi nul**
 kë Naala na p- joo**b** b- kow p- i nul
 DS Nala with INF cool C5S head C4S GEN 3s.POSS
aṭupa **jibi adoluṅ** **kë pben pi**
 a- ṭup -a jibi a- dol -uṅ kë p- BEN p- i
 C1S speak C1S.OBJ like C1S do SEL DS C6S swelling C6S GEN
nul pado pën .
 nul pa- do pën
 3s.POSS C6S INGR go_out

“But Naala was kind, and told her how she had made her hump go”

8.2 **Kë hënk di Dama akaaṅ aya na**
 kë hënk d- i Dama a- ka -aṅ a- ya na
 DS like_that C9S GEN Dama C1S REP SEL SER go with
utejan aya ṭënk ṅntaayi kë ṅado ptoof
 u- tejan a- ya ṭënk ṅ- ntaayi kë ṅa- do p- toof
 C2S night SER go find C2P spirit DS C2P do C4S half
aki , kë aşë ban abi ya ya
 a- ki kë a- şë ban a- bi ya ya
 SER dance DS SER SEQ arrive SER PST go go
di wi Naala awuluṅ pben
 d- i w- i Naala a- wul -uṅ p- BEN
 C9S DEM.PROX C2S GEN Nala C1S give SEL C6S swelling
anaṭ akob iñen .
 a- naṭ a- kob i- ñen
 SER stand SER hit C3P hand

“So Dama also went at night and found the spirits doing circle dancing; she arrived and went straight to the place where the spirit to whom Naala had given her hump was, stood and clapped her hands”

8.3 **Wi** **ɲakiin** **aban** **ɿ** **a** **kë**
w- i ɲa- ki -in a- ban ɿ- i a kë
C2S GEN C2P dance SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX OBJ DS
aşë **ji** **na** **wa** **umëbana**
a- şë ji na w- a u- mëb -an -a
SER SEQ say with C2S OBJ C2S attach CAUS MID
napoɽul **akiina** , **akaan** **pki**
na- poɽ -ul a- ki -in -a a- ka -an p- ki
C1S child 3s.POSS SER dance CAUS MID C1S REP SEL INF dance

“When the dancing arrived at her, she asked it to hold her baby as it was her turn to dance, so that she could dance”

9.1 **Kë** **untaayi** **uşë** **ji** : « **Yow** !
kë u- ntaayi u- şë ji yow
DS C2S spirit C2S SEQ like yes!

“And the spirit said "Wait a minute!" ”

9.2 **Hënk** **di** **aloŋ** **ajaknuŋ**
hënk d- i a- loŋ a- jak -n -uŋ
like_that C9S GEN C1S INDEF C1S tell 1s.OBJ SEL
mmëbana **napoɽ** **takal** **aşë** **ɿ**
m- mëb -an -a na- poɽ takal a- şë ɿ
1s.SUB attach CAUS MID C1S child yesterday SER SEQ run
adukaraan **a** , **naam** **iwi** **a** ?
a- duk -ar -aan a naam iwi a
SER leave BEN 1s.OBJ OBJ resemble 2s OBJ

“ "It was like this that someone asked me to carry their baby yesterday, and ran, leaving it with me - don't you look like her?" ”

9.3 **Nje** **a** **awi** . »
nje a a- wi
take OBJ C1S here_is

“ "Take him, here he is" ”

9.4 **Kë Dama ayeenk anaakrën na pi**
 kë Dama a- yeenk a- naakrën na p- i
 DS Dama C1S receive SER mix with C6S GEN
nul , ado pweek , aşë kowa pya
 nul a- do p- week a- şë kowa p- ya
 3s.POSS SER do C6S older SER SEQ be_ashamed INF go
na pa katoh , aşë bi kați ți
 na p- a ka- toh a- şë bi k- a- ți ți
 with C6S OBJ C3S house SER SEQ PST IMPERF SER run run
pya kajot di bdëk kakeț .
 p- ya ka- jot d- i b- dëk k- a- keț
 INF go C3S fall EXT LOC.PROX C5S sea IMPERF SER die

“So Dama received it, and mixed it with hers, which became big; she was ashamed to go with it to the house and so straight away ran to throw herself in the sea, in order to die.”

9.5 **Wi abanuț aşë jot di meel**
 w- i a- ban -uț a- şë jot d- i meel
 C2S GEN C1S arrive SEL SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.PROX water

“When she arrived, she threw herself in the water.”

9.6 **Kë meel mankak alutana**
 kë meel man- kak a- lut -an -a
 DS water C8 REP SER jump CAUS C1S.OBJ
apënan bdig aşë jaka , nji ,
 a- pën -an b- dig a- şë jak -a nji
 SER go_out CAUS C5S outside SER SEQ tell C1S.OBJ 1s
mnnkyeenk ñaaņ nado bwuțaan .
 mn- n- k- yeenk ñaaņ na- do b- wuțaan
 C8 NEG IMPERF receive person C1S doer c7s evil

“But the sea threw her back again, out of the water and said to her “Me, I don't accept evil people!” ”

12.2 A voyage to the Casamance

The following text was transcribed from an oral recording with the help of the speaker. He had been asked to relate an incident that involved him, and he told the story of the first time he had returned with his brother to the Casamance area of Senegal as a teenager. The story is being told in Dakar.

1 **Wi** **ŋwoon** **i** **pya** **duuŋ** , **pya**
 wi ŋ- wo -on i p- ya duuŋ p- ya
 when 1P be SEL GEN INF go up_there INF go
pme **duuŋ** , **kë** **aşınun** **kë** **aşë**
 p- me duuŋ kë a- şın -un kë a- şë
 INF know up_there DS C1AS father 1P.OBJ DS SER SEQ
piitun **kakaarta** **pa** **ŋmeena**
 piit -un ka- kaarta pa ŋ- me -an -a
 write 1P.OBJ C3S card in_order_to C2P know CAUS MID
bgah **bnuura**
 b- gah bnuura
 C5S way well

“When we had to go to the Casamance, to get to know the Cassamance, our father drew us a map, so that we would know the right route”

2 **Wi** **ŋyeenkun** **kakaarta** **mënŋën** **kun**
 wi ŋ- yeenk -un ka- kaarta mënŋën k- un
 when 1P receive SEL C3S card that C3P.cnt DEM.DIST
aya **ala** **ukaaru** **apaya** **atool** **aya**
 a- ya a- la u- kaaru a- paya a- tool a- ya
 SER go SER seek C2S car C1S climb SER leave SER go
 “When we had received this map, we went and looked for a minibus, climbed in and straight away we left”

3 **Wi** **ŋyaan** **aban** **ŋi** **Gambi**
 wi ŋ- ya -an a- ban ŋ- i Gambi
 when 1P go SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX Gambia
awala **ŋi** **pmuur** **bdëk**
 a- wala ŋ- i p- muur b- dëk
 SER come_down INT LOC.PROX INF cross C5S sea
 “When we had gone a while, we arrived in Gambia, and got out to cross the river”

4 **Wi** **ɲwaliɲ** **kë** **bapayan** **ɲkaaru**
 wi ɲ- wala -iɲ kë ba- pay -an ɲ- kaaru
 when 1P come_down SEL DS C1P raised CAUS C2P car
kë un **ɲpaya** **bak** **na** **ihoɥ** , **ado** **nug**
 kë un ɲ- paya bak na i- hoɥ a- do nug
 DS 1P.subj 1P climb ferry and C3P leg SER INGR buy
iko **yi** **de** **ɥuɲ** , **ade**
 i- ko y- i de ɥ- uɲ a- de
 C3P thing C3P GEN eat INT LOC.DIST SER eat
 “When we had got out, they embarked the minibus, and we got onto the
 ferry on foot, then bought some things to eat there, and ate.”

5 **Wi** **ɲmuuruɲ** **bdëk** **umba** **wundu**
 w- i ɲ- muur -uɲ b- dëk u- mba w- undu
 C2S GEN 1P cross SEL C5S sea C2S side C2S DEM.vdist
akak **ajej** **ukaaru** **mënɥan** **haɲ** **aɥool** **pya**
 a- kak a- jej u- kaaru mënɥan haɲ a- ɥool p- ya
 SER REP SER take C2S car that DEM SER leave INF go
duuɥ
 duuɥ
 up_there

“When we had crossed the river to the other side, we again took that
 minibus, and set off to go the Casamance”

6 **Wi** **ɲdoonɲ** **aya** **aban** **kañog**
 w- i ɲ- do -oɲ a- ya a- ban k- a- ñog
 C2S GEN 1P INGR SEL SER go SER arrive IMPERF SER be_close
duuɥ **kë** **ɲpaɥ bgah** **ɲi** **Diaroume** ,
 duuɥ kë ɲ- paɥ bgah ɲ- i Diaroume
 up_there DS 1P junction C2P GEN Diaroume

“When we had arrived in the Casamance, at the Diaroume junction,”

7 **ime** **iko** **yi** **duuɥ** , **iko**
 i- me i- ko y- i duuɥ i- ko
 2S know C3P thing C3P GEN up_there C3P thing

ide **yi** **duuɥ**
 i- de y- i duuɥ
 C3P edible C3P GEN up_there

“(you know the Casamance, the things that are eaten in the Casamance”

8 **woli iwo ʈi iji tam baloŋ**
 woli i- wo ʈ- i i- ji tam ba- loŋ
 if C3P be INT LOC.PROX C3P HAB be_hard C1P INDEF
baanji bahil pnug ya kë ado
 ba- an- ji ba- hil p- nug y- a kë a- do
 C1P NEG HAB C1P be_able INF buy C3P OBJ DS SER do
ya bnuura
 y- a bnuura
 C3P OBJ well

“if they are here, they are expensive, some people cannot buy them and prepare them well)”

9 **Kë ɲšë jun pnug uliik kë**
 kë ɲ- šë jun p- nug u- liik kë
 DS 1P SEQ begin INF buy C2S peanuts COMP
unjuŋi kë ɲbi kanug nug ,
 u- n- juŋ -i kë ɲ- bi k- a- nug nug
 C2S COREF cook SEL DS 1P FUT IMPERF SER buy buy
anug mnaana anugran iko atuman
 a- nug m- naana a- nug -r -an i- ko a- tuman
 C1S buy c6p banana SER buy DIST CAUS C3P thing SER fill
uʈak wi ɲwoonaanug
 u- ʈak w- i ɲ- woona -an -uŋ
 C2S bag C2S GEN 1P come_from CAUS SEL

“We began to buy cooked peanuts, and we were buying here and there, we bought bananas, we bought things everywhere, and we filled the sack that we had brought with us”

10 **Wi ɲyaan aban du karat ki**
 wi ɲ- ya -aŋ a- ban d- u karat k- i
 when 1P go SEL SER arrive EXT LOC.DIST garage C3S GEN
ɲkaaru kë ukaaru kë unaʈi kë
 ɲ- kaaru kë u- kaaru kë u- naʈ -i kë
 C2P car DS C2S car DS C2S stand CMPL DS
ɲwala
 ɲ- wala
 1P come_down

“When we arrived at the bus garage, the minibus stopped, and we got out”

11 **kë** **ɲşë** **pënan** **kakaarta** **ki**
 kë ɲ- şë pën -an ka- kaarta k- i
 DS 1P SEQ go_out IMP C3S card C3S GEN
aşinun **apiituŋ** **un** **apiituŋ**
 a- şin -un a- piit -uŋ un a- piit -uŋ
 C1AS father 1P.OBJ C1S write SEL 1P.subj C1S write SEL
bgah **bti** **jibi** **ɲwoon** **kaşaş** **bgah**
 b- gah bti jibi ɲ- wo -oŋ k- a- şaş b- gah
 C5S way all like 1P be SEL IMPERF SER follow C5S way
 “we got out the map that our father had drawn us, on which he drawn the
 whole route that we had to follow”

12 **kë** **aya** **kaban** **te** **ɲënkhepar**
 kë a- ya k- a- ban te ɲ- an- k- hepar
 DS SER go IMPERF SER arrive until 1P NEG IMPERF ask
 “for us to arrive without asking.”

13 **Wi** **ɲtenuŋ** **kakaarta** **mëntan** **kuŋ**
 wi ɲ- ten -uŋ ka- kaarta mëntan k- uŋ
 when 1P look_at SEL C3S card that C3P.cnt DEM.DIST
bti **aşë** **tool** **aşaş** **bgah** **bi**
 bti a- şë tool a- şaş b- gah b- i
 all SER SEQ leave SER follow C5S way C5S DEM.PROX
ayuujuŋ **ti** **kakaarta**
 a- yuuŋ -uŋ ti- i ka- kaarta
 C1S show SEL INT LOC.PROX C3S card
 “When we had looked at the map, we straight away followed the route that
 he had showed us on the map”

14 **aşaş** **şaş** **bgah** **te** **ado** **ya** **aneej**
 a- şaş şaş b- gah te a- do ya a- neej
 SER follow follow C5S way until SER INGR go SER enter
du **katoŋ** **ki** **aninun** **niint**
 d- u ka- toŋ k- i a- nin -un n- iint
 EXT LOC.DIST C3S house C3S GEN C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man
 “and followed it until we arrived and entered our uncle's house”

15 **Wi** **ɲbanuŋ** **awul** **mnteeña**
 wi ɲ- ban -uŋ a- wul m- nteeña
 when 1P arrive SEL SER give C8 greetings
 “When we arrived, we gave our greetings”

16 **Nin aloŋ ɕi katoh**
 nin a- loŋ ɕ- i ka- toh
 NEG C1S INDEF INT LOC.PROX C3S house

aanyikrënun

a- ën- yikrën -un
 C1S NEG recognise 1P.OBJ

“No-one in the house recognised us”

17 **Aninun ñiinɕ aando yikrënun**
 a- nin -un ñ- iinɕ a- an- do yikrën -un
 C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man C1S NEG INGR recognise 1P.OBJ

parce que **wi awinuŋ un uŋoni**
 wi a- win -uŋ un u- jon -i
 when C1S see SEL 1P.subj C2S last CMPL

“Our uncle didn’t even recognise us, because it was a long time since he had last seen us”

18 **ŋhoj wori mënɕan bapoɕ bampoɕi**
 ŋ- hoj wori mënɕan ba- poɕ ba- m- poɕ -i
 1P be_still time that C1P child C1P COREF be_small PTCP

te ado ya adëm
 te a- do ya a- dëm
 until SER INGR go SER grow

“We were still, at that time, small children and since then we had been growing”

19 parce que **wori mënɕan ŋji dka ŋɕubal iñeen**
 wori mënɕan ŋji d- ka ŋ- ɕubal i- ñeen
 time that 1S 1S have C2P year C3P ten

na ŋpaaj na uloolan
 na ŋ- paaj na u- loolan
 and 1P six and C2S one

“because I was seventeen at that time”

20 **ukaaj kë baanyikrën un**
 u- ka -aŋ kë ba- an- yikrën un
 C2S have SEL DS C1P NEG recognise 1P.subj

“and so that’s why they didn’t recognise us”

21 **Wi ŋji kapënuŋ da , dka wori**
 wi ŋji ka- pën -uŋ d- a d- ka wori
 when 1S 1S.ALT go_out SEL C9S OBJ 1S have time

mënɕan ŋɕubal paaj
 mënɕan ŋ- ɕubal paaj
 that C2P year six

“When I left there I had been six years old”

22 **Baṭoo** **ḡṣubal** **iñeen** **na** **uṣubal** , **kë**
 ba- ṭo -o ḡ- ṣubal i- ñeen na u- ṣubal kë
 C1P sit CMPL C2P year C3P ten and C2S rain DS

baanwinën **ukaḡṣ kë** **baanyikrënën**
 ba- an- win -ën u- ka -aḡṣ kë ba- an- yikrën -ën
 C1P NEG see 1S.OBJ C2S have SEL DS C5S NEG recognise 1S.OBJ

na aṭa **naan bṭi**
 na a- ṭa naan bṭi
 and C1AS young_sibling 1S.GEN all

“Eleven years had passed without them seeing me and this is why they didn't recognise either me or my brother”

23 **kë mbaa** **ṭoo** **ṭuḡ** **aṭup** **bakan**
 kë m- baa ṭo -o ṭ- uḡ a- ṭup bakan
 DS 1S.SUB tmtv sit CMPL INT LOC.DIST C1S speak C1P.OBJ

bṭi dko **di** **ḡpënuḡ** **kë babaa**
 bṭi d- ko d- i ḡ- pën -uḡ kë ba- baa
 all C9S place EXT LOC.PROX 1P go_out SEL DS C1P tmtv

leṣ

leṣ

remember

“I ended up staying there and telling them all where we came from and they finally remembered”

24 **aninun** **ñiinṭ** **kë alilani**
 a- nin -un ñ- iinṭ kë a- lil -an -i
 C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man DS C1S be_good CAUS CMPL

na aharul **bṭi**
 na a- har -ul bṭi
 and C1AS wife 3s.POSS all

“Our uncle was very pleased and so was his wife”

25 **Kë bapënan** **iko** **yi** **de** , **iko**
 kë ba- pën -an i- ko y- i de i- ko
 DS C1P go_out CAUS C3P thing C3P GEN eat C3P thing

yi **de yi** **duuṭ**
 y- i de y- i duuṭ
 C3P GEN eat C3P GEN up_there

“They got out things to eat, things to eat from the Casamance”

26 **unkaara** , **mkonkombra** , **mnkem** **kë** **ɲde**
 u- nkaara m- konkombra mn- kem kë ɲ- de
 C2S peanuts C6P cucumber C6P palm_nut DS 1P eat

ɕuɲ **bti** **kë** **balilani**
 ɕ- uɲ bti kë ba- lil -an -i
 INT LOC.DIST all DS C1P be_good CAUS CMPL

“Peanuts, cucumbers, palm nuts, and we ate from them all and they were happy”

27 **Faan** **kë** **afiɲarun** **unkuma** , **adu**
 faan kë a- fiɲ -ar -un u- nkuma a- du
 tomorrow DS C1S kill BEN 1P.OBJ C2S pig SER call

bañaanɲ **ado** **mnlilan**
 ba- ñaanɲ a- do mn- lilan
 C1P person SER do C8 happiness

“The following day he killed a pig for us, and called people to show their happiness”

28 **Wi** **ɲtoonɲ** **ɕuɲ** **ɲnuur**
 wi ɲ- ɕo -onɲ ɕ- uɲ ɲ- nuur
 when 1P sit SEL INT LOC.DIST C2P day

ɲanduki **kë** **pwin** **bayiɕun**
 ɲa- n- duk -i kë p- win ba- yiɕ -un
 C2P COREF leave PTCP DS INF see C1P relative 1P.OBJ

“While we stayed there the rest of the days that were left for seeing our relatives”

29 **kë** **ɲşë** **ji** **ɲya** **ɕi** **ɲntabanka**
 kë ɲ- şë ji ɲ- ya ɕ- i ɲ- ntabanka
 DS 1P SEQ HAB 1P go INT LOC.PROX C2P village

ɲmpoɕi **ɲuɲ**
 ɲ- mpoɕi ɲ- uɲ
 C2P small C2P DEM.DIST

“we went to those little villages”

30 **Antidi** **ɲba** **pnoorfën** **pi** **ɲyaanɲ**
 antidi ɲ- ba p- noorfën p- i ɲ- ya -anɲ
 before 1P tmtv C4S rest C4S GEN 1P go SEL

ɲñaay **bayiɕun** **bti** **Fugtor** **ame**
 ɲ- ñaay ba- yiɕ -un bti Fugtor a- me
 1P walk_about C1P relative 1P.OBJ all Ziguinchor SER know

bakan **bti** .
 bakan bti
 C1P.OBJ all

“Before we finished the holiday we had taken, we went around all our Ziguinchor relatives to know them all” (*antidi* is a Creole word)

31 **Unuur wi ηk̄t̄īṣuŋ , baando**
 u- nuur w- i η- k- t̄īṣ -uŋ ba- an- do
 C2S day C2S GEN 1P IMPERF go_home SEL C1P NEG INGR

ηal ηt̄īṣ

ηal η- t̄īṣ

like 1P go_home

“The day that we left, they didn't even want us to go”

32 **ηtaalad na bakan tuŋ bti ,**
 η- taal -ad na bakan t̄- uŋ bti
 1P get_used_to RCP and C1P.OBJ INT LOC.DIST all

wi ηk̄t̄īṣuŋ , un ηendo ηal
 w- i η- k- t̄īṣ -uŋ un η- an- do ηal
 C2S GEN 1P IMPERF go_home SEL 1P.subj 1P NEG INGR like

pt̄īṣ

p- t̄īṣ

INF go_home

“We had got know all of them there and when we were going home, we also didn't want to leave”

33 **Parce que baतालad bi ηतालadun**
 ba- taalad b- i η- taal -ad -uŋ
 C1P relationship C1P GEN 1P get_used_to RCP SEL

na bakan , ηbi ηal ηal pto da .
 na bakan η- bi ηal ηal p- to d- a
 and C1P.OBJ 1P PST like like INF sit C9S OBJ

“Because of the relationships we had made, we just wanted to stay”

34 **Ma ηdohara pli ploodan aṣe t̄īṣ**
 ma η- do -hara p- li p- loolan a- ṣe t̄īṣ
 but 1P do CONC C4S month C4S one SER SEQ go_home

kē bañaan kē balilan tuŋ bti

kē ba- ñaan kē ba- lil -an t̄- uŋ bti

DS C1P person DS C1P be_good CAUS INT DEM.DIST all

“But even though we had stayed only a month before leaving, they were all happy there”

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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift beschrijft de grammatica van het Mankanya, een taal oorspronkelijk uit Guinee-Bissau, maar ook gesproken in het zuiden van Senegal en in Gambia. Deze beschrijving bevat twaalf hoofdstukken en is gebaseerd op taalgegevens die verzameld zijn tussen 1999 en 2012, in de tijd dat de auteur in Senegal woonde.

In hoofdstuk 1 wordt de Mankanya bevolking geïntroduceerd, samen met hun taal, het gebied waar ze wonen en relevante sociolinguïstische achtergrondinformatie.

Hoofdstuk 2 biedt een overzicht van de fonologie van de taal. Mankanya heeft 51 fonemen: 38 medeklinkers en 13 klinkers. Bijzondere medeklinkers zijn de stemloze interdentale wrijfklank /θ/, de stemloze retroflexe plofklank /t/ en de stemloze retroflexe wrijfklank /ʂ/. Er zijn 4 neusklanken en 16 medeklinkers die voorafgegaan kunnen worden door een neusklank. Het klinkersysteem is asymmetrisch met meer achter- dan voorklinkers. Elke klinker, behalve de centrale midden klinker, heeft een lange en een korte variant. Er is geen klinkerharmonie en geen betekenis onderscheidende toon.

Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft de morfologie van de zelfstandige naamwoorden. De meeste woorden in het Mankanya bestaan uit meerdere morfemen. Aan de wortel kunnen achtervoegsels worden toegevoegd om afleidingen te vormen. Vervoegingen maakt de taal met voor- en achtervoegsels. Veel wortels kunnen functioneren als zelfstandig naamwoord of als werkwoord. De uiteindelijke woordklasse is afhankelijk van het gebonden morfeem. De meeste bijvoeglijke naamwoorden hebben voorvoegsels die overeenkomen met het voorvoegsel van het zelfstandig naamwoord dat ze modificeren. Dit systeem van corresponderende voorvoegsels is de basis om zelfstandige naamwoorden in te delen in 10 naamwoordklassen. Elke naamwoord klasse kent drie verschillende voorvoegsels: voor enkelvoud, meervoud en telbaar meervoud. Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft ook achtervoegsels die bezit aanduiden, bezittelijke voornaamwoorden en persoonlijke voornaamwoorden voor onderwerp en object (lijdend of meewerkend voorwerp).

Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de werkwoord morfologie. De voorvoegsels voor onderwerp corresponderen in persoon en getal. De eerste persoon enkelvoud heeft aparte voorvoegsels voor inclusief en exclusief. In constructies waarin meerdere zinnen achter elkaar staan zonder voegwoorden, is het onderwerpsvoorvoegsel gereduceerd tot het seriële voorvoegsel *a-*. Ontkenning wordt gemarkeerd in de werkwoordsvorm door een voorvoegsel tussen het onderwerpsvoorvoegsel en de stam van het werkwoord. Het object is een achtervoegsel dat persoon en getal aangeeft.

Twee gebonden morfemen worden gebruikt voor aspect, het voorvoegsel *k-* dat onvoltooide tijd aangeeft en het achtervoegsel *-i* dat markeert dat de actie van het werkwoord afgesloten is. Naast de lijdende en de bedrijvende vorm heeft de taal ook een vorm, aangeduid met het achtervoegsel *-a*, voor acties die hier semantisch tussen in liggen. Er zijn acht achtervoegsels om werkwoord afleidingen mee te maken. Combinaties zijn mogelijk. Het zijn onder andere de causatieve, de instrumentele en de benefactieve afleiding en de wederkerige vorm.

Hoofdstuk 5 beschrijft infinitieven en deelwoorden, die beide zowel verbale als nominale eigenschappen hebben. Infinitieven hebben het voorvoegsel *p-* in plaats van een onderwerpsvoorvoegsel en kunnen het hoofd zijn van een infinitief-zin. Infinitieven hebben geen vervoegingen, afleidingen zijn wel mogelijk. Een infinitief-zin kan het onderwerp of het object zijn van een ander werkwoord in de zin.

Deelwoorden worden gevormd door middel van het achtervoegsel *-i*. Zij hebben nominale voorvoegsels. Afhankelijk van de betekenis van de stam functioneren ze als zelfstandige of bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. Zij kunnen het hoofd zijn van een bijzin.

Hoofdstuk 6 beschrijft andere woordklassen. Woorden die iets zeggen over het zelfstandig naamwoord zijn onder te verdelen twee groepen. In de eerste groep hebben woorden een voorvoegsel dat correspondeert met de naamwoord klasse van het zelfstandig naamwoord (bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, lidwoorden, telwoorden en rangtelwoorden, aanwijzende en bezittelijke voornaamwoorden). De woorden in de tweede groep zijn onveranderlijk en corresponderen niet (hoeveelheidsaanduidingen, onveranderlijke bepalingen van plaats, anaforische aanwijzende voornaamwoorden). Woorden die corresponderen hebben hetzelfde voorvoegsel als dat van het zelfstandig naamwoord, of wat daarop lijkt. Er zijn twee paradigma's die enigszins van elkaar verschillen afhankelijk van de woordklasse. Hoewel telwoorden en rangtelwoorden meestal corresponderen, zijn sommige onveranderlijk.

Andere kleine woordklassen in dit hoofdstuk zijn voorzetsels, bijwoorden van plaats, voegwoorden, vraagwoorden, bijwoorden en idiofonen (woorden die bijvoorbeeld een geluid nabootsen).

Hoofdstuk 7 beschrijft de eenvoudige grammaticale constructies. De eenvoudigste zin is een enkel woord, meestal een werkwoord. De woordvolgorde in een ongemarkeerde bevestigende zin is onderwerp, werkwoord, object. Zinnen met *wo* als koppelwerkwoord drukken een toestand uit, stellen twee zaken aan elkaar gelijk, of duiden bezit of een plaats aan. Er zijn ook zinnen waarin het enige werkwoord in de zin gemarkeerd is door het achtervoegsel *-uŋ*, dat specifiek gebruikt wordt voor focusmarkering of topicalisatie. Er zijn ook zinnen zonder werkwoord, deze worden gewoonlijk gebruikt om iets te introduceren.

Basismodificaties creëren negatieve zinnen, ja/nee vraagzinnen, open vraagzinnen en zinnen met een gebiedende wijs.

Zinsdelen met een zelfstandig naamwoord hebben gewoonlijk het zelfstandig naamwoord aan het begin, gevolgd door woorden die er iets over zeggen. Bezitsaanduidingen beginnen meestal met een partikel. Een klein aantal zelfstandige naamwoorden echter staat de aanwezigheid van dit partikel niet toe.

Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft ook infinitief-zinnen en bepalingen van plaats en tijd.

Persoonlijke voornaamwoorden worden normaal gesproken niet gebruikt voor het onderwerp in ongemarkeerde bevestigende zinnen. Zij kunnen wel gebruikt worden om focus aan te geven of één van de personen in een meervoudig onderwerp. Persoonlijke voornaamwoorden voor lijdend- of meewerkend voorwerp volgen op het werkwoord en staan altijd dicht bij het werkwoord dan een zelfstandig naamwoord, of het nu een lijdend of meewerkend voorwerp betreft.

Aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en de markeerder voor een onbepaalde persoon kunnen ook gebruikt worden als persoonlijke voornaamwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 8 beschrijft het werkwoordssysteem. Mankanya maakt de meeste verschillen in tijd, aspect en modaliteit door middel van hulpwerkwoorden die aan het hoofdwkwoord voorafgaan. Sommige hulpwerkwoorden, zoals *ya* "gaan" dat als hulpwerkwoord voor de toekomstige tijd fungeert, komen ook voor als hoofdwkwoord. De combinatie van een hulpwerkwoord en een hoofdwkwoord wordt in dit boek een hulpwerkwoordconstructie genoemd.

De aspecten dat een actie afgesloten is of dat die nog voortduurt worden morfologisch gemarkeerd met respectievelijk *-i* en *-k*. Daarnaast komt *-k* met dezelfde aspectuele functie ook voor in hulpwerkwoordconstructies.

Voor toekomstige tijd gebruiken de meeste sprekers *luŋ* “gaan”, of *ya* “gaan” en *bi* “komen”, gecombineerd met het bovengenoemde aspectuele *-k* op het hoofdwkwoord. Verleden tijd wordt gemarkeerd met *bi*, maar zonder *-k*.

Een actie die volgt op een eerdergenoemde actie, wat beschouwd kan worden als relatieve tijd, wordt gemarkeerd door het hulpwerkwoord *ʒə*.

Constructies met andere hulpwerkwoorden die een aspect aangeven zijn: *ji* voor een actie die gewoonlijk uitgevoerd wordt, *jon* voor een actie die doorgaat, *hum* voor een actie die volgehouden wordt, *do* voor een actie die start, *wo ʔi* voor een actie die aan de gang is, *kak* voor een actie die herhaald wordt en *ba* voor een actie die gestopt wordt.

Noodzakelijkheid en epistemische modaliteit kunnen worden uitgedrukt met het woord *wo* gevolgd door het genitieve partikel *i* en het hoofdwkwoord. Het hoofdwkwoord heeft het voorvoegsel *p-* bij noodzakelijkheid en *k-* en *a-* voor epistemische modaliteit.

Een verbod wordt gemarkeerd door het hulpwerkwoord *wut*.

Sommige hulpwerkwoorden kunnen samen voorkomen in een zin, zoals *do* (een actie starten) en *bi* (verleden tijd), die samen betekenen dat het begin van een actie in het verleden ligt.

Hoofdstuk 9 beschrijft meer complexe zinstypen, beginnend met een overzicht van de gevonden gevallen, gevolgd door een beschrijving van de manier waarop deze gebruikt worden om verschillende semantische relaties te vertegenwoordigen. Zinnen kunnen aan elkaar gekoppeld worden door verbindingswoorden. Sommige daarvan vereisen dat één van de zinnen van een hoofd- een bijzin wordt, d.w.z. dat die zin een morfologische verandering ondergaat die verder niet voorkomt in hoofdzinnen. In sommige gevallen kunnen zinnen aan elkaar verbonden worden zonder voegwoord, maar met een aangepaste werkwoordsvorm in één van de zinnen.

De semantiek van bijzinnen wordt beschreven met de typologie die voorgesteld is door Cristofaro (2005): de hoofdindeling is complement, bijwoordelijke bijzin en relatieve bijzin. Hoofdzinnen worden beschreven met de typologie die Dixon (2009) voorgesteld heeft.

Hoofdstuk 10 bespreekt enkele van de methoden om van een tekst een samenhangend geheel te maken. De bekende strategieën voor de verwijzing

naar karakters zijn beschreven met de theorie van Dooley en Levinsohn (2001). Kenmerkend is dat persoonlijke voornaamwoorden niet worden gebruikt als het voorvoegsel van het werkwoord voldoende duidelijk maakt naar wie het onderwerp verwijst. Voornaamwoorden voor lijdend- en meewerkend voorwerp worden gebruikt, maar in sommige omstandigheden kunnen ze weggelaten worden.

Enkele manieren om delen van een tekst aan elkaar te verbinden worden toegelicht: zoals het gebruik van het neutrale aanwijzende voornaamwoord *aŋ*, of herhaling van het zelfstandig naamwoord of van het werkwoord.

Wisselingen in een verhaal worden aangeduid met een nieuwe start, gewoonlijk aan het begin van de zin. Een nieuwe start in de tijdlijn is vaak een bepaling van tijd. Een nieuwe locatie wordt meestal aangegeven door een bepaling van plaats.

Hoofdstuk 11 bespreekt het partikel *kě* dat veel voorkomt in spontane tekst, maar veel minder in zinnen verkregen tijdens veldwerk. Eén van de hoofdfuncties van dit partikel is om een wisseling van onderwerp te markeren in constructies met meerdere zinnen achter elkaar zonder voegwoorden. Het is echter ook gevonden in situaties waarin het onderwerp dezelfde referentie houdt, wat erop kan duiden dat het een bredere discourse functie heeft.

Als het gebruikt wordt om een wisseling van onderwerp te markeren, dan staat *kě* aan het begin van de zin. Er zijn gevallen waarin het volgt op het onderwerp, soms samen met *kě* aan het begin van de zin. Het lijkt erop dat dit het onderwerp extra onder de aandacht brengt, ofwel om het te benadrukken, of om een nieuw karakter te introduceren.

Hoofdstuk 12 bevat twee teksten met een letterlijke vertaling. De ene is een volksverhaal, de andere is een persoonlijk verhaal in de ik-vorm.

Curriculum vitae

Timothy John Drew Gaved was born in Bromley, England on 21st January 1965. He completed his secondary education at Kelsey Park School, Beckenham, England in 1983, and then studied Electronic Engineering at the University of Essex, England where he received a BSc (Hons) in 1986. After a period of work in software engineering, he began working with SIL International in Senegal in 1999. From 1999-2012 he lived in Dakar and worked as a linguistic specialist, helping develop the languages of the region. As well as working with the Mankanya language, he was also involved with training and the coordination of SIL's linguistic activities. In 2012 he returned to England and studied part time at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and received an MA in Linguistics in 2014. At the end of 2014 he became an external PhD student with Leiden University. Currently he works for SIL West Africa as a linguistics consultant, concentrating on the languages of Côte d'Ivoire.