



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and the Gambia

Gaved T.J.D.

Citation

A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and the Gambia. (2020, November 5). *A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and the Gambia. LOT dissertation series.* LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/138134>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/138134>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/138134> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Gaved, T.J.D.

Title: A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and the Gambia

Issue Date: 2020-11-05

A Grammar of Mankanya

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

Published by
LOT
Kloveniersburgwal 48
1012 CX Amsterdam
The Netherlands

phone: +31 20 525 2461
e-mail: lot@uva.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: photo by Timothy Gaved of Mankanya hats, past and present, on a traditional cloth.

ISBN: 978-94-6093-346-2
NUR: 616

Copyright © 2020: Timothy Gaved. All rights reserved.

A Grammar of Mankanya

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

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 5 november 2020
klokke 16.15 uur

door

Timothy J. D. Gaved

geboren te Bromley, Engeland
in 1965

Promotor:

Prof.dr. Maarten Mous

Co-promotor:

Dr. Victoria Nyst

Promotie commissie: Prof.dr. Maarten Kossmann

Prof.dr. Friederike Lüpke (University of Helsinki)

Prof.dr. Konstantin Pozdniakov

(CNRS & INALCO, Paris)

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	vii
Abbreviations.....	ix
Acknowledgements.....	xi
Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	1
1.1 Sociolinguistic situation.....	1
1.2 Previous work.....	4
1.3 Data sources.....	4
1.4 Language overview.....	5
1.4.1 Phonology.....	5
1.4.2 Orthography.....	6
1.4.3 Morphology and syntax.....	6
Chapter 2 - Phonology.....	9
2.1 Introduction.....	9
2.2 Phonemic tables.....	9
2.2.1 Consonant phonemes.....	9
2.2.2 Vowel Phonemes.....	11
2.2.3 The mid central vowel /ə/ and [Pə] prefixes.....	11
2.3 Contrasts.....	12
2.3.1 Labials and Dentals.....	13
2.3.2 Alveolars and Retroflexes.....	14
2.3.3 Palatals.....	19
2.3.4 Velars.....	20
2.3.5 Vowels.....	21
2.4 Allophones and their distribution.....	25
2.5 Interpretation.....	25
2.5.1 Interpretation between vowels and consonants.....	25
2.5.2 Interpretation between units and sequences.....	26
2.5.2.1 Prenasals.....	26
2.5.2.2 Long vowels.....	27
2.5.3 Glottal stop.....	27
2.6 Syllables.....	27
2.7 Word schemas.....	28
2.8 Occurrences and co-occurrence restrictions.....	28
2.9 Interpretation.....	29
2.10 Accent.....	29
2.11 Tone.....	29
Chapter 3 - Nouns and Nominals.....	31
3.1 Basic word classes.....	31
3.2 Word structure.....	31
3.3 Noun morphology.....	33

3.3.1 Class prefixes.....	33
3.3.1.1 Noun class semantics.....	37
3.3.1.2 Irregularities.....	41
3.3.1.3 Proper noun marker.....	42
3.3.2 Special cases.....	42
3.3.2.1 Proper Nouns.....	42
3.3.2.2 Borrowed words.....	43
3.3.3 Possessor suffixes.....	43
3.3.4 Derivational suffixes.....	44
3.4 Compound Nouns.....	45
3.5 Pronouns.....	45
3.6 Summary of agreement prefixes.....	49
Chapter 4 - The Verb.....	51
4.1 Word structure.....	51
4.2 Inflection.....	52
4.2.1 Subject prefixes.....	52
4.2.2 Serial.....	55
4.2.3 Persistive prefix.....	55
4.2.4 Negative.....	56
4.2.5 Selectional suffixes.....	58
4.2.6 Co-reference prefix.....	60
4.2.7 Object Suffixes.....	61
4.2.7.1 Object Suffixes on Main Verbs.....	61
4.2.7.2 Object Suffixes on Verbs with the Selectional Suffix.....	62
4.2.8 Aspectual affixes.....	63
4.2.8.1 Imperfective.....	63
4.2.8.2 Completive.....	64
4.2.9 Middle voice.....	66
4.2.10 Imperative.....	67
4.3 Derivation.....	68
4.3.1 Stem Category Change (-al).....	69
4.3.2 Causative (-an, -ëş).....	70
4.3.3 Reciprocal (-ar, -ir, -ad).....	70
4.3.4 Benefactive (-ar, -ir, -ad).....	71
4.3.5 Separative (-ëş).....	73
4.3.6 Extensive (-ënt, -ëb).....	73
4.3.7 Instrumental (-na).....	74
4.3.8 Reduplication.....	75
Chapter 5 - Infinitives and Participles.....	79
5.1 Infinitives.....	79
5.2 Participles.....	82
Chapter 6 - Other word classes.....	87

6.1 Agreeing Noun Modifiers.....	87
6.1.1 Adjectives.....	87
6.1.2 Determiners.....	90
6.1.3 Cardinal numbers.....	92
6.1.4 Ordinals.....	95
6.1.5 Demonstratives.....	96
6.1.6 Genitive particle.....	98
6.2 Invariable Noun Modifiers.....	100
6.2.1 Quantifiers.....	100
6.2.2 Invariable locative modifiers.....	100
6.2.3 Anaphoric demonstratives.....	101
6.3 Prepositions.....	101
6.4 Locatives.....	104
6.5 Conjunctions.....	106
6.6 Interrogatives.....	108
6.7 Invariable Particles.....	110
6.8 Adverbs.....	111
6.9 Sound symbolic modifiers.....	114
Chapter 7 - Simple Syntax.....	117
7.1 Simple Sentence.....	117
7.1.1 Basic Verbal Sentence.....	117
7.1.1.1 Existence.....	120
7.1.1.2 Sentence with “wo” as a copula.....	121
7.1.2.1 Stative clauses (adjectival).....	121
7.1.2.2 Equative clauses (nominal).....	121
7.1.2.3 Genitive clauses.....	122
7.1.2.4 Locative clauses.....	122
7.1.3 Selectional suffix sentence.....	122
7.1.4 Non-verbal clauses.....	124
7.2 Simple clausal modifications.....	125
7.2.1 Negative clauses.....	125
7.2.2 Yes/No interrogative clauses.....	126
7.2.3 Content interrogative clauses.....	127
7.2.4 Imperative clauses.....	130
7.3 Noun Phrase.....	131
7.3.1 Structure.....	131
7.3.2 Adjectives.....	134
7.3.3 Cardinal Numbers.....	135
7.3.4 Genitive Constructions.....	135
7.3.4.1 Inalienable Genitive Construction.....	136
7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction.....	136
7.3.5 Demonstratives.....	137

7.3.6 Determiners.....	138
7.3.7 Quantifiers.....	139
7.4 Infinitival clauses.....	141
7.5 Locative phrases.....	143
7.6 Temporal phrases.....	147
7.7 Pronouns.....	149
7.7.1 Personal pronouns.....	149
7.7.1.1 Independent subject pronouns.....	149
7.7.1.2 Object pronouns.....	151
7.7.2 Non-personal pronouns.....	152
7.7.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns.....	152
7.7.2.2 Indefinite pronoun.....	153
Chapter 8 - Verb System.....	155
8.1 Introduction.....	155
8.2 Lexical aspectual classes.....	155
8.3 Auxiliaries and Auxiliary Verb Constructions.....	158
8.4 Preliminary Information.....	159
8.4.1 Analysis of k- a- prefixes.....	159
8.4.2 Verbs with infinitive complements.....	161
8.5 Completive and Imperfective.....	161
8.5.1 Completive.....	161
8.5.2 Imperfective.....	166
8.6 Functional Overview.....	168
8.7 Tense.....	168
8.7.1 Future.....	168
8.7.2 Past.....	173
8.7.3 Sequential.....	176
8.8 Aspectual constructions.....	177
8.8.1 Habitual.....	177
8.8.2 Continuative.....	180
8.8.3 Persistive.....	183
8.8.4 Ingressive.....	184
8.8.5 Progressive.....	187
8.8.6 Repetitive.....	189
8.8.7 Terminative.....	190
8.9 Modal constructions.....	193
8.9.1 Obligative and Epistemic.....	193
8.9.2 Prohibitive.....	195
8.10 Complex Auxiliary Verb Constructions.....	197
Chapter 9 - Complex clauses.....	201
9.1 Clauses joined by linking words.....	201
9.1.1 Balanced clauses.....	201

9.1.2 Relations requiring deranking.....	204
9.2 Clauses linked by verbal forms.....	210
9.3 Semantics of clause relations.....	213
9.4 Subordinate clauses.....	213
9.4.1 Complement clauses.....	214
9.4.1.1 Modals.....	214
9.4.1.2 Phasals.....	217
9.4.1.3 Manipulatives.....	218
9.4.1.4 Desideratives.....	219
9.4.1.5 Perceptions.....	220
9.4.1.6 Knowledge.....	221
9.4.1.7 Propositional attitude.....	222
9.4.1.8 Utterance.....	222
9.4.2 Adverbial clauses.....	224
9.4.2.1 Temporal clauses.....	224
9.4.2.2 Manner.....	226
9.4.3 Relative clauses.....	227
9.4.3.1 Antecedent is the Subject of the Relative Clause.....	227
9.4.3.2 Antecedent is a non-Subject in the Relative Clause.....	229
9.4.3.3 Object pronouns in Relative Clauses.....	231
9.4.3.4 Antecedent is a modifier in a genitive phrase in a Relative Clause.....	231
9.4.3.5 Headless relative clauses.....	232
9.4.3.6 Relative clause semantics.....	232
9.4.4 Participle clauses.....	234
9.5 Other types of clause linking.....	235
9.5.1 Temporal (I).....	235
9.5.1.1 Temporal Succession (Is).....	235
9.5.1.2 Relative Time (Ir).....	236
9.5.1.3 Conditional (Ic).....	236
9.5.2 Consequence (II).....	237
9.5.2.1 Cause (IIc).....	237
9.5.2.2 Result (IIR).....	238
9.5.2.3 Purpose (IIP).....	239
9.5.3 Possible Consequence (III).....	240
9.5.4 Addition (IV).....	241
9.5.4.1 Unordered addition (IVu).....	241
9.5.4.2 Same event addition (IVs).....	241
9.5.4.3 Elaboration (IVe).....	242
9.5.4.4 Contrast (IVc).....	242
9.5.5 Alternatives (V).....	245
9.5.5.1 Disjunction (Vd).....	245

9.5.5.2 Rejection (Vr).....	246
9.5.5.3 Suggestion (Vs).....	246
9.5.6 Manner (VI).....	247
9.5.6.1 Real (VIr).....	247
9.5.6.2 Hypothetical (VIh).....	247
9.6 Conclusion.....	247
Chapter 10 - Coherence in Texts.....	249
10.1 Participant reference.....	249
10.1.1 Introduction of participants.....	249
10.1.2 Participants which are syntactic subjects.....	251
10.1.3 Participants which are not syntactic subjects.....	254
10.1.4 VIP strategies.....	256
10.2 Linking.....	258
10.2.1 Demonstrative <i>aŋ</i>	258
10.2.2 Renewal.....	260
10.2.2.1 Nominal renewal.....	260
10.2.2.2 Verbal renewal.....	261
10.3 Points of departure.....	263
Chapter 11 - The particle <i>kë</i>.....	267
11.1 Clause chaining and switch reference.....	268
11.2 <i>Kë</i> after a noun phrase.....	273
11.3 <i>Kë</i> with <i>hënk di</i>	277
11.4 What sort of information does <i>kë</i> occur with?.....	280
11.5 Summary.....	282
Chapter 12 - Glossed Texts.....	283
12.1 Two women who had humps.....	283
12.2 A voyage to the Casamance.....	293
References.....	301
Samenvatting.....	305
Curriculum vitae.....	311

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Consonant Phonemes.....	5
Table 1.2: Vowel Phonemes.....	6
Table 2.1: Consonant Phonemes.....	9
Table 2.2: Vowel Phonemes.....	11
Table 3.1: Noun Classes.....	35
Table 3.2: Comparison of class numbers with Trifkovič.....	37
Table 3.3: Possessor suffixes.....	44
Table 3.4: Independent subject pronouns.....	45
Table 3.5: Independent object pronouns.....	46
Table 3.6: Genitive Pronouns.....	47
Table 3.7: All singular pronouns and pronominal suffixes.....	48
Table 3.8: All plural pronouns and pronominal suffixes.....	48
Table 3.9: Summary of agreement prefixes.....	49
Table 4.1: Subject prefixes - singular.....	52
Table 4.2: Subject prefixes - plural.....	53
Table 4.3: Object pronominal suffixes.....	61
Table 4.4: Object suffixes used with the selectional suffix.....	62
Table 6.1: Adjective prefixes.....	87
Table 6.2: Determiner prefixes.....	91
Table 6.3: Numbers 1-10.....	92
Table 6.4: Ordinal numbers.....	95
Table 6.5: Demonstratives.....	96
Table 6.6: Demonstrative prefixes.....	97
Table 6.7: Locatives.....	104
Table 8.1: Auxiliary verb constructions.....	159
Table 9.1: Dixon's classification of clause relations.....	237
Table 9.2: Summary of formal differences in subordinate clause types....	250

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

Abbreviations

SUB	Subject	TT	Topic Time
TA	Time of Assessment	TU	Time of Utterance
TMTV	Terminative		

Acknowledgements

Over the years many speakers of Mankanya have helped me understand their language better, and I am thankful to all of them. I can't name them all, but in particular I would like to thank Gustave Campal, Jacques Toupane and Francois Boissy for their input at different stages.

I would also like to thank all my SIL colleagues, both past and present, for all the ways they have helped me become a better linguist.

My thanks go to my supervisor Maarten Mous who has guided me through the process of creating this study, and my co-supervisor Victoria Nyst and my committee, Maarten Kossman, Friederike Lüpke, and Konstantin Pozdniakov whose comments helped me refine it.

Thanks also to Gerrit de Witt who translated the Dutch Samenvatting at the end of this book.

Finally thanks to my wife Maggie and my daughters Ruth and Anna for all their support and interest along the way.

