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

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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. *lemp*   "work"   *a-lemp*   "he works"
- b. *jip*   "dig"   *ba-jip*   "they dig"
- c. *buur*   "escape" *d-buur*   "I escape"
- d. *ya*   "go"   *a-ya*   "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. *week*   "big"   *u-week*   "big"   *a-week-a*   "he gets bigger"
        na-week   "elder sibling"
- b. *naaf*   "idiot"   *na-naaf*   "idiot"   *a-naaf-a*   "he is stupid"
- c. *tiinku*   "small"   *u-tiinku*   "small"   *ba-tiink-ëʈ* "they are few"
- d. *joob*   "cold"   *u-joob*   "cold"   *u-joob-ëʈ*   "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   baţiini**
    ba- ntohi   ba- ţiini
    C1P elder   C1P speak
"The elders speak"

4.4 **baţiini**
    ba- ţiini
    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		*d-*	*djuk*	I learn
2		*i-*	*ijuk*	you learn
3	1	*a-*	*ajuk*	he/she learns
	2	*u-*	*upi udaan*	the goat drinks
	3	*ka-*	*katoh kajot*	the house falls
	4	*pa-*	*pdunk pajot*	the pot falls
	5	*ba-*	*bayeti bajot*	the coat falls
	6	*pa-*	*pmaŋa pjot*	the mango falls
	7	*ba-*	*bamaŋa bajot*	the mango tree falls
	9	*da-*	*dko dayiki*	the place is hot
	10	*na-*	*nñiiŋ naţi*	the little hyena runs

Table 4.1: Subject prefixes - singular

Person	Noun Class	Prefix	Example	
Plural				
1		*ŋ-*	*ŋjuk*	we learn
2		*na-*	*najuk*	you learn
3	1	*ba-*	*bajuk*	they learn
	2	*ŋa-*	*ŋpi ŋadaan*	the goats drink
	3	*i-*	*itoh ijot*	the houses fall
	4	*i-*	*idunk ijot*	the pots fall
	5	*i-*	*iyeti ijot*	the coats fall
	6	*maN-*	*mmaŋa manjot*	the mangos fall
	7	*maN-*	*mmaŋa manjot*	the mango trees fall
	8	*maN-*	*meel manjot*	the water falls
	9	*i-*	*ipekadu yi nu ipëni*	your sins are forgiven
Count Plural				
3	4	*ka-*	*kdunk ktëb kajot*	two pots fall
	5	*ka-*	*kyeti ktëb kajot*	two coats fall
	6	*ŋa-*	*ŋmaŋa ŋajot*	two mangos fall
	7	*ŋa-*	*ŋmaŋa ŋajot*	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 w*oli* "if/when" (section 9.1.2).

Normal form:
4.6 **ḏdaan   meel**
    d- daan   meel
    1s. drink   water
"I drink water"

Negative:
4.7 **m̈ëndaan   meel**
    m- ën- daan   meel
    1s.NEG NEG drink water
"I don't drink water"

Subordinate:
4.8 **wi   ṉdaanuŋ   meel**
    wi   n-   daan -uŋ   meel
    when 1s.SUB drink SEL   water
"When I drank the water…"

With *woli*:
4.9 **woli   abi   ,   ḵafiŋ   uguk**
    woli   a- bi   ka- fiŋ   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   ḵlemp   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   bajaaŋ   badëtna   pa**
    p- laak   p- i   ba- ja -aŋ   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   bajaaŋ   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   uţi   aneej   katoh**
    u- pi   u- ţi   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   akyaaŋ   Dakar**
    wi   a- k-   ya -aŋ   Dakar
    when   C1S IMPERF go SEL   Dakar
"When he was going to Dakar…"

4.2.3 Persistive prefix

When the persistive 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   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."

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   aandee**
　　　Dama   a-   ën-   de   -e
　　　Dama   C1S   NEG   eat   CMPL
"Dama didn't eat"

Other examples are:

4.21 **Affirmative**   **Negative**
　　　a. *ba-juk-i* "they learnt"   *ba-an-juk-i* "they did not learn"
　　　b. *a-keṭ-i* "he is dead"   *a-an-keṭ-i*   "he is not dead"
　　　c. *i-ŋal-i* "you loved"   *i-iŋ-ŋal-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. *d-juk-i* "I learnt"   *m-ën-juk-i*   "I did not learn"
　　　b. *ŋ-ŋal-i* "we loved"   *ŋ-ëŋ-ŋal-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 (/ⁿk/ but written in the orthography as "nk")

4.23 **Dama   aankde   umaanan**
      Dama   a-   ën- k-   de   maanan
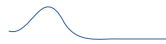   Dama   C1S NEG IMPERF eat   rice
"Dama isn't eating the rice"

Other examples are:

4.24   **Affirmative**   **Negative**
      a. *ba-juk* "they learn"   *ba-an-k-juk* "they don't learn"
      b. *a-win*   "he sees"   *a-an-k-win*   "they don't see"
      c. *i-ŧok*   "you spoil"   *i-in-k-ŧok*   "you don't spoil"
      d. *d-juk*   "I learn"   *m-ën-k-juk*   "I don't learning"
      e. *ŋ-ŋal*   "we love"   *ŋ-ën-k-ŋal*   "we don't love"
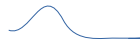
All verbal negation has a distinctive rising and falling pitch. If only single
verb words are considered then it would appear to be tonal and attached to
the negative marking.

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   aankŧaş
ñaaŋ   a-   n-   wo -oŋ   a-   ën- k-   ŧaş
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. *a-ya* "he goes" *wi a-ya-aŋ* "when he went"
      b. *a-bi* "he comes" *wi a-bi-iŋ* "when he came"
      c. *a-du* "he calls" *wi a-du-uŋ* "when he calls"
      d. *a-de* "he eats" *wi a-de-eŋ* "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 *a-şë*   "he.SEQ"   *wi a-şa-aŋ* "when he.SEQ"

Following the auxiliary *ji,* both the final vowel /i/ and the /u/ become /a/

4.31 *a-ji a-nug* "he.HAB buys" *wi a-ja-aŋ nug* "when he.HAB buys"

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 *a-do*   "he does"   *wi a-dol-uŋ* "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. *a-naṭ-a* "he stands up" *wi a-naṭ-i-iŋ*   "when he stood up"
      b. *a-kob-a* "he hits him" *wi a-kob-ul-uŋ* "when he hit him"

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

4.34 **uko**   **wi**   **bakdolanaŋ**

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   **nayaanṭ**

a-	loŋ	na-	yaanṭ
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 **unṭaam**   **wi**   **bafal**   **falanuŋ**

u-	nṭaam	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 **ñaaṭ**   **ankbuk**   **bukanuluŋ**

ñ-	aaṭ	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**   **bapënaŋ**   **pën**   **ṭi**

wi	ba-	pën	-aŋ	pën	ṭ-	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 **ñaaŋ   ankndeeŋ   pnam**

    ñaaŋ   a- n-   k-   n-   de -eŋ 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 *ŋal* "like", and so there is no co-reference prefix.

4.45 **Aŋal   iko   yi   bakbiiŋ   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"

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			
1st	*-in*[2]	*akobin*	He hit me
2nd	*-u*	*akobu*	He hit you (sg)
Class 1	*-a*	*akoba*	He hit him/her
Plural			
1st (excl)	*-un*	*akobun*	He hit us
2nd	*-an*	*akoban*	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 **Ŧukma   akob   Naala**

    ŧukma   a- kob Naala

    Thukma C1S hit Nala

"Thukma hits Naala"

---

2   Some people pronounce this pronoun *ën*.

4.47 **Ŧukma   akoba**
    ŧukma   a-   kob -a
    Thukma   C1S hit   C1S.OBJ
"Thukma hits her"

4.48 **Ŧukma   akobun**
    ŧukma   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 -*uŋ* is present, most object suffixes have a different form, and one becomes an independent word.

Person	Suffix	Example	
singular			
1st	*aan*	*ankob-aan-uŋ*	who hit me
2nd	*i*	*ankob-i-iŋ*	who hit you (sg)
Class 1	*ul*	*ankob-ul-uŋ*	who hit him/her
plural			
2nd	*an*	*ankob-an-aŋ*	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   akobuŋ   un**
    wi   a-   kob -uŋ   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-naṭ-a* "he stands up" *wi a-naṭ-i-iŋ*   "when he stood up"
      b. *a-kob-a* "he hits him"   *wi a-kob-ul-uŋ*   "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-naṭ-a*   "he stands up" *wi a-naṭ-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-poş*   "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 **Ñiinʈ   anwooŋ   aankbi**
     ñ- iinʈ   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-<u>in</u>
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-bbaɲ-<u>e</u> 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-<u>e</u> 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)
moor	"to sleep"	*móór-<u>í</u>*	"to be asleep"
bol	"to grill"	*ból-<u>í</u>*	"to be hot"

4.66 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)
jaat b-ala-ab bú-ból-<u>í</u>-ból-<u>í</u> 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. *a-an-daan-i*   "he didn't drink"
    b. *ba-an-dëm-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. *ade*   "he eats"   *adee*   "he ate"
    b. *baya* "they go"   *bayaa*   "they went"

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

4.69   a. *awooni*   "he cries"
       b. *atepi*   "he sows"
       c. *dʈiini*   "I speak"
       d. *ŋʈaafi*   "we dream"

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

4.70 **Nji** **kak**   **dʈaafii**
     nji   kak   d- ʈaafi -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. *dñow bapoʈ* "I wash the children"   *dñow-a*   "I wash myself"
    b. *anaʈ*   "he is standing"   *anaʈ-a*   "he stands up"
    c. *apuunk ñiinʈ* "he shaves the man"   *apuunk-a*   "he shaves himself"
    d. *ajëmëş bdoo*   *bdoo bajëmş-a*
       "he extinguishes the fire"   "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. *dtib pmul*   "I cut the wood"   *dtib-ar-a*   "I was cut"
    b. *pdum*   "to bite"   *ddum-ar-a* "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
    awoh imişa   "he put on a shirt"   (active)
    awohara imişa   "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. *bdoo bajëmşa*   "the fire is extinguishing itself"
       bdoo bajëmëşaa   "the fire has extinguished itself"
                     (or the fire has been extinguished)
    b. *meel manwala*   "the water is receding"
                     (lit. "the water is descending itself")
       meel manwalaa   "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 *poş* "walk":

4.75
    a. *poş-an*   "walk (2s)!"
    b. *na-poş-an*   "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. *ya-ani*   "Go!"
    b. *bi-ini*   "Come!"
    c. *ya-an du batani*   "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. *nje bɬepi*   "Take the seed!"
  b. *na-je bɬepi*   "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-jinʈ-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. *k-poş*   "don't walk! (2s)"
  b. *na-k-poş-an*   "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)
-ënṭ	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

a-kan-ş-a	3s-adhere-SEP-MID	"he takes off"
a-jëm-ş-an	3s-cool-SEP-CAUS	"he extinguishes"
a-tib-ar-a	3s-cut-BEN-MID	"he cuts himself"
a-duw-an-a	3s-call-CAUS-MID	"he is called"
a-bom-and-ar	3s-*-CAUS-BEN	"he plans"
a-yook-ar-an	3s-air-BEN-CAUS	"it takes off"
a-pat-ş-ar	3s-differ-CAUS-BEN	"he divides amongst"
a-num-ënṭ-an	3s-*-EXT-CAUS	"he offers to share"
a-hoṭ-al-ëş	3s-leg-CHG-CAUS	"he adds"
a-ya-ar-ad	3s-go-DIR-BEN	"he goes to get someone"
a-ṭënk-ëb-ër	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.	*şub*	"rain"	*u-şub*	"it's raining"	*u-şub-al*	"rain"
b.	*jeenk*	"redden"	*p-jeenk*	"to redden"	*u-jeenk-al*	"red"
c.	*maak*	"get ill"	*a-maak*	"he's getting ill"	*na-maak-al*	"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.	*hoṭ*	"leg"	*ka-hoṭ*	"leg"	*a-hoṭ-al-ëş*	"he adds"
b.	*ṭum*	"full"	*ka-ṭum-i*	"full"	*u-ṭum-al-ëş*	"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. *d-pën* "I'm leaving"   *d-pën-an bapoţ*   "I'm making the children
  leave"
  b. *p-yiik* "to be hot"   a-*yiik-an meel*   "he heats up the water"
  c. *a-juk* "he's learning" *a-juk-an*   "he's teaching"

The suffix *-ëş* (which is less 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. *p-haab*   "to leave ones mouth open"
                                p-haab-ëş   "to open (e.g. a door)"
  b. *p-yiik*   "to be hot"   *p-yiik-ëş*   "to heat up (e.g. a meal)"
  c. *p-gar*   "to separate oneself" *p-gar-ëş*   "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. *na-juk-an*   "2P-learn-CAUS" "You are teaching"
  a. *na-juk-an*   "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. *p-fiŋ* "to kill" *p-fiŋ-ar* "to kill one another"
  b. *p-laṭ* "to contradict" *p-laṭ-ar* "to discuss"
    (Lit "to contradict one another")
  c. *p-yit* "to meet" *p-yiti-ir* "to meet one another"
  d. *p-ŋal* "to love" *p-ŋal-ad* "love one another"
  e. *p-şoor* "to hate" *p-şoor-ad* "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. *Şompi aŋal Naala* "Shompi loves Naala"
    Şompi na Naala aŋalad "Shompi and Naala love one another"
  b. *nawulan Naala mboş* "Greet Naala" (lit. give Naala the ground)
    nawuladan mboş "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. *p-duk* "to leave" *p-duk-ar* "to leave for someone"
  b. *p-nug* "to buy" *p-nug-ar* "to buy for someone"
  c. *p-lemp* "to work" *p-lemp-ar* "to work for someone"
  d. *p-fiŋ* "to kill" *p-fiŋ-ar* "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   napoţ   ñiinţ**
    Naala   a- buk   na- poţ   ñ- iinţ
    Nala   C1S produce   C1S child   C1S male
"Naala gave birth to a son"

4.94 **Naala   abukar   Şompi   napoţ   ñiinţ**
    Naala   a- buk   -ar   Şompi   na- poţ   ñ- iinţ
    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-poş*   "to walk"   *p-poş-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
ŋanwuţuŋ   apel   wa
ŋa- n- wuţ -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 **baṭënṭ   naan   batëb   babiirën   pñooṭ**

ba- ṭënṭ   naan   ba- tëb   ba- bi   -ir   -ën   p-   ñooṭ

C1P peer   1S.GEN C1P two   C1P come BEN   1S.OBJ INF   take

bṭuh

b-   ṭuh

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 inversive.

4.101

  a. *d-gur u-meeşa* "I cover the table"   *d-gur-ëş u-meeşa* "I uncover the table"

  b. *p-dëł*   "to close"   *p-dëł-ëş*   "to open"

  c. *p-jij*   "to embark"   *p-jij-ëş*   "to disembark"

  d. *p-moy*   "bury"   *p-moy-ëş*   "dig up"

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

4.102

  a. *p-fat-ëş*   "undo"   **pfat*

  b. *p-fën-ëş*   "unknot"   **pfën*

  c. *p-wuñ-ëş*   "uncover, mix"   **pwuñ*

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. *p-woh-ëş*   "to undress"   *p-woh-ar-a*   "to dress"

  b. *p-nig-ëş*   "to open"   *p-ṭuh*   "to close"

              (also *p-nig-an*   "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 *-ënṭ* 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. *p-haab* "to leave the mouth open"   *p-haab-ënţ*   "to yawn"
  b. *p-jej*   "to take"   *p-jej-ënţ*   "to gather"
  c. *p-lam*   "to swim"   *p-lam-ënţ*   "to swim for pleasure"
  d. *p-ya*   "to go"   *p-ya-anţ*   "to travel"

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

There are some verbs which have the *-ënţ* 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. *a-ŋoy-ënţ*   "he sleeps"   **a-ŋoy*   but *b-ŋoy*   "sleep (noun)"
  b. *a-hef-ënţ*   "he breathes "   **a-hef*   but *u-hef-ënţ*   "breath(noun)"

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

4.106 a. *p-jat*   "to drip"   *p-jat-ëb*   "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. *p-funt-ëb*   "to whistle"   **pfunt*

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. *p-liik*   "to draw water"   *p-liik-na u-baldu* "to draw water with a bucket"
  b. *p-de*   "to eat"   *a-de-ena kataam* "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-ţëp*   "to pass"   *a-ţëp-na Tilen*   "he went through Tilene"
  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   keţ keţ**
       a- buk   naan a- baa keţ keţ
       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   ṭi   a**
     p-   maak   pa- bi   pën   pën   ṭ-   i   a
     C4S illness C4S PST go_out go_out INT LOC.PROX OBJ
"The illness immediately left him"

4.116 **pñaak   pabi   ṭañan   ṭañan   ptula**
     p- ñaak   pa- bi   ṭañ -an   ṭañ -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 **pnɫuk   pankdëmuŋ   dëm**
　　　 p-   nɫuk   p-   a-   n-   k-   dëm -uŋ   dëm
　　　 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 **Naʈëpan   ʈëp**
　　　 na- ʈëp -an   ʈëp
　　　 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   naşih**
　　　 ba- lemp -ar   lemp -ar   na- şih
　　　 C1P work BEN   work BEN   C1S chief
"They continually serve the chief (in whatever they are doing)"

4.124 **aşë   bi   kaɫaran   ɫaran**
　　　 a-   şë   bi   k-   a-   ɫar   -an   ɫar   -an
　　　 SER SEQ   PST   IMPERF SER be_fast CAUS   be_fast CAUS
unuur   ujinʈ
u-   nuur   u-   jinʈ
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 **dkooʈu   kooʈ**
　　　 d- kooʈ   -u   kooʈ
　　　 1S petition 2S.OBJ   petition
"I urge you"

4.126 **dñehanu   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"