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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. lem "work" a-lem "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-ët "they are few"
d. joob "cold" u-joob "cold" u-joob-ët "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 *batɔni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>djuk</td>
<td>I learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ijuk</td>
<td>you learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ajuk</td>
<td>he/she learns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pdunk</td>
<td>the pot falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bayeti</td>
<td>the coat falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pmaŋa</td>
<td>the mango falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bamaŋa</td>
<td>the mango tree falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>dko</td>
<td>the place is hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>niiŋ</td>
<td>the little hyena runs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The elders speak"

4.4 *batɔni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>he/she learns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>upi</td>
<td>the goat drinks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>the house falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>the pot falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>the coat falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>the mango falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>the mango tree falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>the place is hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>the little hyena runs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"They speak"

4.5 upi *ufeer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>the goat grazes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>the goat grazes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>the goat grazes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>the goat grazes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The goat grazes"

The full paradigm is given in the tables below:

Table 4.1: Subject prefixes - singular
The Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŋjuk</td>
<td>we learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>najuk</td>
<td>you learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bajuk</td>
<td>they learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋpi ŋadaan</td>
<td>the goats drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>itoh ijoť</td>
<td>the houses fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>idunk ijoť</td>
<td>the pots fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>iyeti ijoť</td>
<td>the coats fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>mmaŋa manjoť</td>
<td>the mangos fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>mmaŋa manjoť</td>
<td>the mango trees fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>meel manjoť</td>
<td>the water falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ipëkadu yi nu ipëni</td>
<td>your sins are forgiven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>two pots fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>two coats fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋmaŋa ŋajoť</td>
<td>two mangos fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋmaŋa ŋajoť</td>
<td>two mango trees fall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
Chapter 4

Normal form:

4.6 **daan** **meel**
   d- daan meel
   1s. drink water
   “I drink water”

Negative:

4.7 **mëndaan** **meel**
   m- en- daan meel
   1s.NEG NEG drink water
   “I don't drink water”

Subordinate:

4.8 **wi ndaanuŋ** **meel**
   wi n- daan -uŋ meel
   when 1s.SUB drink SEL water
   “When I drank the water…”

With *woli*:

4.9 **woli abi , kafiŋ uguk**
   woli a- bi ka- fiŋ u- guk
   if 1s.C1 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 baaŋaŋ badeña pa**
   p- laak p- i ba- ja -aŋ ba- dëŋ -na p- a
   C6S stone C6S GEN C1P HAB SEL C1P shut INSTR C4S OBJ

*Pašë 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**

Thomas GEN 1P HAB SEL 1P call 3P.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 uți aneej katoh**

u- pi u- ți 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 Persistent 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 ti bgah
   a- hum n- wo t- 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 ėn-, a possible underlying form.

4.20 Dama aandee
   Dama a- ěn- 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-keţ-i “he is dead”                  a-an-keţ-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-ēŋ-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- ēn- k- de maanan
Dama C1S NEG IMPERF eat rice
“Dama isn’t eating the rice”

Other examples are:

4.24 **Affirmative**

a. ba-juk “they learn”
b. a-win “he sees”
c. i-tok “you spoil”
d. d-juk “I learn”
e. ŋ-ŋal “we love”

4.25 **Negative**

a. ba-an-k-juk “they don’t learn”
b. a-an-k-win “they don’t see”
c. i-in-k-tok “you don’t spoil”
d. m-ën-k-juk “I don’t learning”
e. ŋ-ëŋ-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.

4.26 Dama aandee
Dama a- ēn- de -e
Dama C1S NEG eat CMPL
“Dama didn’t eat”

4.27 Dama aankde umaanan
Dama a- ēn- 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.

4.28 Ċaann anwoong aanktaš
Čaann a- n- wo-oŋ a- ēn- k- taš
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 1.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-ŋ “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 şē, both the final vowel /ë/ and the /u/ become /a/.

4.30 a-şē “he.SEQ” wi a-şā-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-ŋ “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-naţ-a “he stands up” wi a-naţ-i-ŋ “when he stood up”
b. a-kob-a “he hits him” wi a-kob-ul-ŋ “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
  c1ssubj  c1s like  sel  like  c2s obj
“It was he who wanted it”

4.36  biki  nanuguŋ  nug  du  ŋaaŋ
      bik-  i  na-  nug  -uŋ  nug  d-  u  ŋaaŋ
  c1p  gen  2p  buy  sel  buy  ext  loc  dist  person
alŋ  nayaŋ
  a-  loŋ  na-  yaŋ
  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  unŧaam  wi  bafal  falanuŋ
      u-  nŧaam  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  ŋaaŋ  ank borough  bukanuluŋ
      ŋ-  aaŋ  a-  n-  k-  borough  buk  buk-  -an  -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  bapënauŋ  pën  ţi
      wi  ba-  pën  -aŋ  pën  ţ-  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’añ hela
   wi ba- hel -i ’añ 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 ŋaaŋ ankndeŋ pnam

ñaaŋ a- n- k- n- de -eŋ p- nam

person C1S COREF IMPERF COREF eat SEL C4S salt

aanhil kawo aankmaak

a- ĕn- hil k- a- wo a- ĕn- 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 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”

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-in²</td>
<td>akobin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>akobu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>akoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st (excl)</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>akobun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>akoban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Tukma akob Naala

tukma a- kob Naala

Thukma C1S hit Nala

“Thukma hits Naala”

2 Some people pronounce this pronoun ĕn.
4.47 **Tukma akoba**

- **tukma** a- kob -a
- Thukma C1S hit C1S.OBJ

“Thukma hits her”

4.48 **Tukma akobun**

- **tukma** 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>aan</td>
<td>ankob-aan-uŋ who hit me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ankob-i-iŋ who hit you (sg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>ankob-ul-uŋ who hit him/her</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ankob-an-aŋ who hit you (pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 akobun 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-naţ-a** “he stands up” **wi a-naţ-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.
4.2.8 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 ambomanụ** **blaañ**
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 **äßiit anwoon aankbi**
2S man C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF come

amaaki
1S 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**
1S FUT IMPERF 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**
1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL
“She gave him wine and he drank”

4.61 **Awula poot kë adaani pa**
1S 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-bbaŋ-e e-süg-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)

moor “to sleep” móór-í “to be asleep”
bol “to grill” bol-í “to be hot”

4.66 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)

jaat b-ala-ab bú-ból-i bó-l-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. a-an-daan-í “he didn’t drink”
b. ba-an-dém-í “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. dtiini  “I speak”

d. taafi  “we dream”

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

4.70  

Nji  kak  dttaafi

Nji  kak  d-  taafi  -i

1s  again  1s  dream  CMPL

“I also dream”

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 bapoŋ  “I wash the children”
   dñow-a  “I wash myself”

b. anat  “he is standing”
   anat-a  “he stands up”

c. apuunk ſíinŋ “he shaves the man”
   apuunk-a  “he shaves himself”

d. ajëmëš bdoó  “he extinguishes the fire”
   bdoó  bajeŋs-a
   “the fire extinguishes itself”

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

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. bдоо bajëmşa “the fire is extinguishing itself”
   bдоо bajëmëşaa “the fire has extinguished itself”
   (or the fire has been extinguished)
b. meel manwala “the water is receding”
   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-ин “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 bępi  “Take the seed!”
  b. na-je bępi  “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-jinţ-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.
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-š-a** 3s-adhere-SEP-MID “he takes off”
- **a-jem-š-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-š-ar** 3s-differ-CAUS-BEN “he divides amongst”
- **a-num-ënţ-an** 3s-*-EXT-CAUS “he offers to share”
- **a-hoţ-al-ëş** 3s-leg-CHG-CAUS “he adds”
- **a-ya-ar-ad** 3s-go-DIR-BEN “he goes to get someone”
- **a-ţenk-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun or adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. sub</td>
<td>u-sub</td>
<td>u-sub-al “rain”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. jeenk</td>
<td>p-jeenk</td>
<td>u-jeenk-al “red”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. maak</td>
<td>a-maak</td>
<td>a-maak-al “invalid”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>noun or adjective</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. hoţ</td>
<td>ka-hoţ</td>
<td>a-hoţ-al-ëş “he adds”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. tum</td>
<td>ka-tum-i “full”</td>
<td>u-tum-al-ëş “it is filled up”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-ju-k-an “2p-learn-CAUS” “You are teaching”

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-lat “to contradict” p-lat-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 Naala
   “Shompi works for Naala”
4.93 Naala abuk napoţ ŋiinţ
Naala a- buk na- poţ ŋ- iinţ
Nała C1S produce C1S child C1S male
“Naala gave birth to a son”

4.94 Naala abukar Šompi napoţ ŋiinţ
Nała a- buk -ar Šompi na- poţ ŋ- iinţ
Nała 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”
“Two of my peers came to me to take me fishing”

4.3.5 Separate (-ëš)

The addition of the suffix -ëš 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 separate, rather than inverse.

4.101

a. d-gur u-meesa “I cover the table”  
   d-gur-ëš u-meesa “I uncover the table”

b. p-dëŧ “to close”  
   p-dëŧ-ëš “to open”

c. p-jij “to embark”  
   p-jij-ëš “to disembark”

d. p-moy “bury”  
   p-moy-ëš “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-ëš “undo”  
   "pfat"

b. p-fën-ëš “unknot”  
   "pfën"

c. p-wuñ-ëš “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-ëš “to undress”  
   p-woh-ar-a “to dress”

b. p-nig-ëš “to open”  
   p-tuh “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 -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. *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 e 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-liïk “to draw water”*  *p-liïk-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-ʊman  “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 nlęmpuŋ lemp
u- lemp w- i nji n- lemp -uŋ lemp
2S 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.
Chapter 4

4.115 pmaak pabi pën pën ţi a
   p- maak pa- bi pën pën ţi i a
   c4S illness c4S PST go_out go_out INT LOC.PROX OBJ
   “The illness immediately left him”

4.116 pñaak pabi taşan taşan ptula
   p- ñaak pa- bi taş -an taş -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 anaţ abi
   kë a- bi lut lut a- naţ 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)
The Verb

4.121 pntuk pankdëmuŋ dëm
p- ntuk 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 Naţëpan tēp
na- tēp -an tēp
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 naših
ba- lemp -ar lemp -ar na- ših
C1P work BEN work BEN C1S chief
“They continually serve the chief (in whatever they are doing)”

4.124 aşē bi kataran tår
a- şē bi k- a- tar -an tar -an
SER SEQ PST IMPERF SER be_fast CAUS be_fast CAUS
unuur ujinţ
u- nuur u- jinţ
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 dkooţu kooţ
d- kooţ -u kooţ
1S petition 2S.OBJ petition
“I urge you”

4.126 dñehanu ŋehan
d- ŋehan -u ŋehan
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”