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**A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau,
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Chapter 6 - Other word classes

6.1 Agreeing Noun Modifiers

6.1.1 Adjectives

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

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

Table 6.1: Adjective prefixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4 **iyeeh** **ijon**
 i- yeeh i- jon
 C3P song C3P old
 “old song”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 6.12 **kahoţ** **kamaakal**
 ka- hoţ ka- maak -al
 C3S leg C3S be_ill CHG
 “ill leg”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.18 **Nawo bajint̩**
 na- wo ba- jint̩
 2P be C1P clean

“You are clean.”

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

“I am rich.”

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

6.20 **bañaaj baṭum**
 ba- ñaaṣ ba- tum
 C1P person C1P many

“many people”

6.21 **bañaaj bantiinku**
 ba- ñaaṣ ba- ntiinku
 C1P person C1P in_small_amount

“few people”

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

6.1.2 Determiners

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

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

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

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

Table 6.2: Determiner prefixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.24 **Wal** **mëntṭ** **awayëş** **ñaanṭ** **andoli**
w- al mëntṭ a- wayëş ñaanṭ a- ndoli
C2S moment that C1S settle person C1S each

“At that moment he will judge each person”

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

ndeey

η- deey

C2P grain

“He put grain in each town”

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

6.1.3 Cardinal numbers

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

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

Table 6.3: Numbers 1-10

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

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

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

6.26 **upi** **uloolan**

u- pi u- loolan

C2S goat C2S one

“one goat”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.1.4 Ordinals

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

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

Table 6.4: Ordinal numbers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

uloolan

u- loolan

C2S one

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

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

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

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

“the seventh chief”

6.1.5 Demonstratives

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

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

Table 6.5: Demonstratives

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

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

Prefixes for demonstratives differ from those used with adjectives.

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

Table 6.6: Demonstrative prefixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These demonstratives can be used independently as demonstrative pronouns.

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

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

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

pundu

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

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

6.1.6 Genitive particle

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They can also be used with an implied head noun.

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

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

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

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

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

6.2 Invariable Noun Modifiers

6.2.1 Quantifiers

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

6.62 **ɲpi** **bti**
 ɲ- pi bti
 C2P goat all
 “all goats”

6.63 **bapoɥ** **biki** **Dama** **tañ**
 ba- poɥ bik- i Dama tañ
 C1P child C1P GEN Dama only
 “only Dama's children”

6.2.2 Invariable locative modifiers

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

meet “inside”
bdig “outside”
duuɥ “on top/up high”
uɥteh “under”

6.64 **ɥi** **bko** **bloŋ** **uɥteh**
 ɥ- i b- ko b- loŋ uɥteh
 INT LOC.PROX C7S object C7S INDEF under
 “under a tree”

6.65 **du** **pnkuŋ** **duuɥ**
 d- u p- nkuŋ duuɥ
 EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill on
 “on top of the hill”

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

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

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

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

6.2.3 Anaphoric demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

6.3 Prepositions

There are three prepositions:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Te can also introduce a clause.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ji introduces a comparison:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is likely that the preposition *ji* “like” has been grammaticalised from the verb *ji* “say”. This is a process that has been documented in other languages see (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 269)

The preposition *na* indicates either an accompaniment or an instrument.

- 6.82 **Bawo ṭi bteem na aşin**
 ba- wo ṭ- i b- teem na a- şin
 C1P be INT LOC.PROX C5S pirogue with C1AS father
baka
 baka
 C1P.OBJ
 “They were in the boat with their father”

6.83 **Baṭiini na a**
 ba- ṭiini na a
 C1P speak with OBJ
 “They spoke with him”

6.84 **Ado kë bafiṇa na kakej**
 a- do kë ba- fiṇ -a na ka- kej
 C1S do COMP C1P kill C1S.OBJ with C3S sword
 “He made them kill him with a sword”

6.85 **Afëṭ wa na kakana**
 a- fëṭ w- a na ka- kana
 C1S invert C2S OBJ with C3S calabash
 “He covered it with a calabash”

The word *na* can also be used as a conjunction between noun phrases:

6.86 **Naala na Dama banug ṇṭëb**
 Naala na Dama ba- nug ṇ- ṭëb
 Nala and Dama C1P buy C2P fish
 “Naala and Dama buy fish”

6.87 **Abuk biinṭ na baat**
 a- buk b- iinṭ na b- aat
 C1S produce C1P man and C1P woman
 “She had both boys and girls”

6.4 Locatives

Locatives are a combination of a root indicating distance and either the prefix *ṭ-* or *d-*. The prefix *ṭ-* usually indicates the interior of some conceptual space, or on its surface, so I refer to this as internal (gloss INT). The prefix *d-* indicates a more general location, conceptually viewed from outside, so is referred to as external (gloss EXT). Most uses of these locatives are syntactically prepositional.

Degree of distance	Internal	External
near (proximal)	<i>ṭi</i>	<i>di</i>
far (distal)	<i>ṭuṇ</i>	<i>du</i>

Table 6.7: Locatives

6.88 **Naala aňagani ƚi katoh**
 Naala a- ñagan -i ƚ- i ka- toh
 Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house

“Naala was sad in the house”

6.89 **Bawo na mben ƚi feƚ**
 ba- wo na m- BEN ƚ- i feƚ
 C1P be with c6p swelling INT LOC.PROX back

“They had humps on their backs”

6.90 **Djuk ƚi ƚugtor ƚşubal bakreƚ**
 d- juk ƚ- i ƚugtor ƚ- şubal bakreƚ
 1S learn INT LOC.PROX Ziguinchor C2P year eight

“I learnt in Ziguinchor for eight years” (The speaker is in Ziguinchor at the time of speaking)

6.91 **uƚeeh ƚi pmeş**
 u- ƚeeh ƚ- i p- meş
 C2S field INT LOC.PROX C4S royal_compound

“the field in the royal compound”

6.92 **Wi njukuƚ di untabanka**
 w- i n- juk -uƚ d- i u- ntabanka
 C2S GEN 1S.SEL learn SEL EXT LOC.PROX C2S village

“When I learnt in the village...” (The speaker is not in the village at the time of speaking)

6.93 **unuur wi nguran du Bula**
 u- nuur w- i nguran d- u Bula
 C2S day C2S GEN death_rite EXT LOC.DIST Bula

“The day of the death rite in Bula”

6.94 **Wal i apënuƚ na a du**
 w- al i a- pën -uƚ na a d- u
 C2S moment GEN C1S go_out SEL with OBJ EXT LOC.DIST

bdig

b- dig

C6S property

“At that time he left with him from the property”

These are the typical uses, but there is evidence that the *di/du* distinction is being eroded, with a degree of free variation between speakers.

The locatives *ƚi* and *ƚuƚ* can also be used adverbially.

6.95 **Aduk baka tuŋ**
 a- duk baka ṭ- uŋ
 C1S leave C1P.OBJ INT LOC.DIST
 “He left them there”

6.96 **Pënan ṭi !**
 pën -an ṭ- i
 go_out CAUS INT LOC.PROX
 “Leave here”

Also, by extension of the adverbial use, *tuŋ* can be used as a question word, often, but not always, accompanied by the question particle *ba*.

6.97 **Aharu awo tuŋ ba**
 a- har -u a- wo ṭ- uŋ ba
 C1S wife 2S.POSS C1S be INT LOC.DIST QUES
 “Where is your wife?”

6.5 Conjunctions

As seen above the word *na* can be used as an additive conjunction. For the alternative conjunction there is the word *këme*.

6.98 **ŋşubal ŋtëb këme ŋwajënt**
 ŋ- şubal ŋ- ṭëb këme ŋ- wajënt
 C2P year C2P two or C2P three
 “two or three years”

6.99 **ubuş udugar ñaaŋ këme untaam**
 u- buş u- dug -ar ñaaŋ këme u- ntaam
 C2S dog C2S make_noise BEN person or C2S livestock
 “The dog made a noise at either people or animals”

Këme can also be used to conjoin clauses:

6.100 **ṭiki naşaş bgah këme nafiyaar**
 ṭiki na- şaş b- gah këme na- fiyaar
 because_(of) 2P follow C6S way or 2P believe
uţup wi natiinkuŋ
 u- ţup w- i na- fiink -uŋ
 C2S speech C2S GEN 2P hear SEL
 “because you follow the law or because you believe the word that you heard”

There are also a number of subordinating conjunctions. All these words are invariable. Their use is discussed in more detail in section 9.4.

<i>pa</i>	goal
<i>ṭiki</i>	cause
<i>ukaaj</i> <i>kë</i>	reason
<i>woli</i>	conditional
<i>le</i>	conditional
<i>bë</i>	contrast

- 6.101 **Ala dko danwoon na nṭeeh** ,
 a- la d- ko da- n- wo -on na n- ṭeeh
 C1S seek C9S place C9S COREF be SEL with C2P field
pa phil kado kajaar .
 pa p- hil k- a- do ka- jaar
 in_order_to INF be_able IMPERF SER do C3S agriculture
 “He searched for a place with fields, in order to be able to farm”

- 6.102 **Mënhil ptiima blaañ bi**
 më- ën- hil p- tiima b- laañ b- i
 1S.NEG NEG be_able INF wear C5S wrap C5S DEM.PROX
ṭiki bañowi
 ṭiki ba- ñow -i
 because_(of) C5S wash CMPL
 “I can't wear this wrap because it is wet”

- 6.103 **Ṇya uṭeeh woli bnuur baanyiiki**
 Ṇ- ya u- ṭeeh woli b- nuur ba- an- yiik -i
 1P go C2S field if C7S sunlight C5S NEG be_hot CMPL
 “We're going to the field if it's not hot”

- 6.104 **ñaaj awinën le aṭiṭen**
 ñaaj a- win -ën le a- ṭiṭ -ën
 person C1S see 1S.OBJ if SER kill 1S.OBJ
 “If someone sees me they will kill me”

- 6.105 **Ṇnuur paaj - na - ulon Ṇaṭep le** ,
 Ṇ- nuur paaj na u- lon Ṇa- ṭep le
 C2P day six and C2S INDEF C2P pass when
kado uṣubal uṣub
 ka- do u- ṣubal u- ṣub
 1S.ALT do C2S rain C2S rain
 “When 7 days have passed, I will make it rain”

6.6 Interrogatives

There are six content interrogative words:

<i>in</i>	“who”
<i>we(l)</i>	“what”
<i>hum</i>	“what/how/how many”
<i>tuŋ</i>	“where”
<i>lum</i>	“when”
<i>hoŋ</i>	“which”

These words are all invariable apart from *hoŋ* which agrees with the noun that is being questioned. It has the same agreement pattern as the determiners.

in is used to question human subjects, objects or genitive “possessors”.

6.106 **In** **amaakuŋ** ?

in a- maak -uŋ
who C1S be_ill SEL

“Who is ill?”

6.107 **In** **i** **Tukma** **akobuŋ** ?

in i tukma a- kob -uŋ
who GEN Thukma C1S hit SEL

“Who did Thukma hit?”

6.108 **Iwo** **abuk** **in** **ba** ?

i- wo a- buk in ba
2S be C1AS child who QUES

“Whose child are you?”

Note that in example 6.106 the verb has the selectional suffix *-uŋ*, this is for reasons of focus. Similarly example 6.107 uses a relative construction with the genitive particle *i*, because the question word *in* has been fronted. This structure is found in other examples below. This is discussed in more detail in section 7.2.3.

We is used for non human subjects or objects and has variant *wel* before a vowel or semi vowel.

6.109 **Wel** **wi** **ikdoluŋ** ?

wel w- i i- k- dol -uŋ
what C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL

“What are you doing?”

Hum questions manner. This includes questioning someone's name. It also questions number.

6.110 **Hum di di ñiint i**
 hum d- i d- i ñ- iint i
 how C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN C1S man GEN

añoomuñ aṭiini hēnk ?
 a- ñoom -uṭ a- ṭiini hēnk
 C1S dare SEL SER speak thus

“How does this man dare to speak like this?”

In this example the demonstrative and the genitive particle agree with *hum* using the class 9 prefix *d-*, the one used by default for all common nouns that don't fit into other classes (typically borrowed words).

6.111 **Katimu kawo hum ?**
 ka- tim -u ka- wo hum
 C3S name 2S.POSS C3S be how

“What is your name?”

6.112 **Kē woli ñaaṭ aandi pbi na**
 kē woli ñ- aaṭ a- an- di p- bi na
 DS when; if C1S woman C1S NEG accept INF come and

nji , kado hum ?
 nji ka- do hum
 1S.subj 1S.ALT do how

“What shall I do if the woman does not agree to come with me?”

6.113 **Nawo na ipoom hum ba ?**
 na- wo na i- poom hum ba
 2P be with C3P bread how QUES

“How many loaves do you have?”

Ṭuṭ questions location.

6.114 **Aharu awo ṭuṭ ba ?**
 a- har -u a- wo ṭ- uṭ ba
 C1S wife 2S.POSS C1S be INT LOC.DIST QUES

“Where is your wife?”

Lum questions time.

6.115 **Iluṭ kajun katiban lum ?**
 i- luṭ k- a- jun k- a- tiban lum
 2S FUT IMPERF SER begin IMPERF SER clear_(field) when

“When are you going to begin clearing?”

6.116 **Lum di di uko waŋ**
 lum d- i d- i u- ko w- aŋ
 when? C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN C2S thing C2S DEM

ukwoŋ ?
 u- k- wo -oŋ
 C2S IMPERF be SEL
 “When will this thing happen?”

hoŋ selects a particular instance from among several.

6.117 **Bañaaŋ biki bawo bahoŋ ba** ?
 ba- ñaaŋ bik- i ba- wo ba- hoŋ ba
 C1P person C1P DEM.PROX C1P be C1P which QUES

“Who are these people? (Lit: which are these people)”

6.118 **Iwo i pntaali phoŋ** ?
 i- wo i p- ntaali p- hoŋ
 2S be GEN C4S lineage C4S which

“You are from which family?”

6.7 Invariable Particles

There are a small number of invariable particles which have a grammatical function.

<i>nin</i>	negative
<i>ba</i>	interrogative tag
<i>i</i>	polar interrogative tag
<i>kě</i>	subject switch (different subject) (see chapter 267)
<i>keeri</i>	therefore

6.119 **nin uko uloŋ**
 nin u- ko u- loŋ
 NEG C2S thing C2S INDEF

“nothing”

6.120 **We wi ikdoluŋ ba** ?
 we w- i i- k- dol -uŋ ba
 what? C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL QUES

“What have you done?”

6.121 **Ñaaŋ akuŋa uliik i** ?
 ñ- aaŋ a- kuŋa u- liik i
 C1S woman C1S carry C2S peanuts QUES

“Is the woman carrying peanuts?”

6.122 **Kë untaayi uşë yeenk pben**
 kë u- ntaayi u- şë yeenk p- BEN
 DS C2S demon C2S SEQ receive C6S swelling
amëban , kë Naala aşë neej aki
 a- mëb -an kë Naala a- şë neej a- ki
 C1S carry CAUS DS Nala C1S SEQ enter C1S dance
 “The spirit took the hump and carried it, and Naala entered the ring and danced”

6.123 **Nawutan keeri kaťaaf uko**
 na- wut -an keeri k- a- ťaaf u- ko
 2P leave IMP in_that_case IMPERF SER worry C2S thing
wi faan
 w- i faan
 C2S GEN tomorrow
 “So don't worry about tomorrow!”

For more details on how these are used see sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1(*nin*), section 7.2.2 (*i*), section 7.2.3 (*ba*), section 11 (*kë*), sections 9.1.1 and 9.5.2.2 (*keeri*).

6.8 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs and some can also modify nouns or a limited number of adjectives.

buťaan badly
bnuura well
maakan greatly
ntiinku a little
kak again
lah contra factual
le irrealis
ťañ only

The adverbs *buťaan* “badly” and *bnuura* “well” are derived from the homophonous nouns *buťaan* “evil” and *bnuura* “good/well”.

6.124 **Dama awet buťaan**
 Dama a- wet buťaan
 Dama C1S sweep badly
 “Dama sweeps badly”

6.125 **Tiinkaan bnuura**
 tiink -a -an bnuura
 hear IMP 1S.OBJ well
 “Listen carefully to me!”

The adverb *maakan* “very”, in addition to modifying verbs, can also modify the adjectives *tum* “many/much” and *week* “large”

6.126 **Uko mënṭ ude Şompi maakan**
 u- ko mënṭ u- de Şompi maakan
 C2S thing that C2S eat Shompi very

“This thing worried Shompi a lot”

6.127 **Ado wo nayok naweek maakan**
 a- do wo na- yok na- week maakan
 C1S INGR be C1S rich C1S big very

“He became very rich”

6.128 **Dwul naweeku itaka itum**
 d- wul na- week -u i- taka i- tum
 1S give C1S elder_sibling 2S.poss C4P money C3P many

maakan

maakan

very

“I gave your brother lots of money”

The root *ntiinku* is used to create quantifying adjectives (see example 6.21 above) but as an invariable bare root it can be used to modify verbs.

6.129 **Bajon ntiinku du ukalabuş**
 ba- jon ntiinku d- u u- kalabuş
 C1P last a_little EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison

“They were in prison for a while”

The adverb *kak* is derived from the verb *kak* “return” which is also used as an auxiliary to indicate a repeat of the event. The adverb *kak* has a similar meaning as the auxiliary.

6.130 **Baaṭ bti bajej ŋa kak**
 b- aaṭ bti ba- jej ŋ- a kak
 C1P woman all C1P take C2P obj again

“All the women also took them.”

It can modify a noun to indicate “as well” or “also”.

6.131 **Şompi ul kak kë abuk napoṭ**
 Şompi ul kak kë a- buk na- poṭ
 Shompi 3S.SUBJ again DS C1AS child C1S child

ñiintṭ

ñ- iintṭ

C1S man

“Shompi, he also produced a son”

It can also be intensified by the adverb *makaan*.

- 6.132 **Baṣoora** **kak** **maakan**
 ba- ṣoor -a kak maakan
 C1P hate C1S.OBJ again very

“They hated him even more”

The adverb *le* is used to mark the verb that is irrealis and is used in some conditional constructions. Unlike other adverbs it appears between the verb and any object (except pronoun suffixes).

- 6.133 **Iwin** **le** **uko** **wi** **nu** **kjej**
 i- win le u- ko w- i nu k- jej
 2S see IRL C2S thing C2S GEN 2S.POSS 2S.ALT take

wa

w- a

C2S obj

“If you see your thing here, then take it.”

- 6.134 **Ñaaṅ** **awinën** **le** **afiṅën**
 ñaaṅ a- win -ën le a- fiṅ -ën
 person C1S see 1S.OBJ IRL SER kill 1S.OBJ

“If someone sees me, they will kill me.”

It appears between an auxiliary and the main verb

- 6.135 **Iwo** **le** **kaluk** **daaṣa** **lukan** **da**
 i- wo le k- a- luk daaṣa luk -an d- a
 2S must IRL IMPERF SER pay tax pay IMP C9S OBJ

“If you owe taxes, then pay them!”

The adverb *lah* gives a contrafactual meaning to the verb. It appears in the same position as *le*.

- 6.136 **Woli** **ṅdëman** **lah** **untōṅ**
 woli ṅ- dëm -an lah u- ntōṅ
 when; if 1P grow CAUS CNTRFACT C2S divinity

“If we had worshipped an idol...”

- 6.137 **Dhilan** **lah** **kadolu** **buṭaan**
 d- hilan lah k- a- dol -u b- uṭaan
 1S be_able CNTRFACT IMPERF SER do 2S.OBJ C5S evil

“I could harm you”

The adverb *ṭañ* “only”, is quantifier that modifies nouns (see example 6.63 above), but it also modifies verbs.

- 6.138 **Natiiman** **ṭañ**
 na- tiim -an ṭañ
 2P stay_still_and_keep_quiet IMP only

“Just keep quiet”

6.9 Sound symbolic modifiers

There is a closed class of words that modify adjectives or verbs that are monosyllabic of the form CVC and are invariable. They have very strict collocation rules and normally each one can only be used with one or two different words. For example *kafaatal feh* “brilliant white” where *feh* “brilliant” is a modifier that can only be used with *faatal* “white”. These words are sound symbolic, and I will refer to them as ideophones. Different from what is found in many other languages, Mankanya ideophones do not contain marginal or non-phonemic sounds.

6.139 **Katoh ki Naala kawo kafaatal feh**
 ka- toh k- i Naala ka- wo ka- faatal feh
 C3S house C3S GEN Naala C3S be C3S white very_(white)
 “Naala's house is very white”

6.140 **ajej puum abooṭan ṭi**
 a- jej p- uum a- booṭ -an ṭ- i
 C1S take C6S corpse SER wrap CAUS INT LOC.PROX

blaañ bfaatal feh
 b- laañ b- faatal feh
 C5S wrap C7S white very_(white)

“He took the body and wrapped it in a very white wrap”

6.141 **Nateek ampënuṭ ajeenk jud**
 na- teek a- m- pën -uṭ a- jeenk jud
 C1S first C1S COREF go_out SEL C1S redden very_(red)

“The first one to come out was very red”

6.142 **Bawoharana bayeti bjeenk**
 ba- wohar -an -a ba- yeti b- jeenk -al
 C1P dress CAUS C1S.OBJ C5S coat C5S redden CHG

jud

jud

very_(red)

“They dressed him in a very red coat”

6.143 **iṭup hënkun na ṅjint piṣ**
 i- ṭup hënkun na ṅ- jint piṣ
 2S speak now and C2P clean very_(clean)

“You now speak clearly (Lit: with clean words, i.e. not figuratively)”

6.144 **kë baṣë yomp juk aṭiinka**
 kë ba- ṣë yomp juk a- tiink -a
 DS C1P SEQ be_quiet very_(cold) SER hear C1S.OBJ

“then they became very quiet and listened to him”

Some of the more frequent ideophones are:

Modifier	Used with	
<i>baŋ</i>	<i>kay</i>	“dry”
	<i>yiik</i>	“hot”
<i>feh</i>	<i>faat</i>	“white”
<i>jud</i>	<i>jeenk</i>	“red”
<i>juk</i>	<i>joobēt</i>	“cold”
	<i>yomp</i>	“quiet”
<i>lot</i>	<i>now</i>	“wet”
<i>pēt</i>	<i>jën</i>	“black”
<i>piŋ</i>	<i>jinŋ</i>	“clean”
<i>rad</i>	<i>tam</i>	“hard”

