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**A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau,
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Chapter 7 - Simple Syntax

This section will look at the simpler syntactic structures, firstly the monoclausal sentence, then the noun phrase.

7.1 Simple Sentence

There are four simple monoclausal sentence types in Mankanya: the basic verbal sentence, copulative sentence using *pwo*, sentences where the only verb is marked with the selectional suffix *-uŋ* and non-verbal sentences.

7.1.1 Basic Verbal Sentence

The simplest verbal sentence only has a verb. For example:

7.1 Ade

a- de
C1S eat

“He's eating”

7.2 Jukan !

juk -an
learn IMP

“Learn!”

Note that in 7.1 there is no pronoun in this clause. This is commonly the case as the verbal prefix provides sufficient information.

For some instances of tense, aspect or mode, a verbal complex of several verbal words is used instead of a single verbal word, where one or more auxiliaries modify a final lexical verb. The verbal system will be discussed in more detail in section 8.

7.3 Aluŋ kade

a- luŋ k- a- de
C1S FUT IMPERF SER eat

“He will eat”

7.4 **Ado bi de**
 a- do bi de
 C1S INGR PAST eat
 “He's already eaten”

Where there is a subject noun phrase, its normal unmarked position is before the verb:

7.5 **Upi udaan**
 u- pi u- daan
 C2S goat C2S drink
 “The goat is drinking”

As discussed in section 4.2.1 the verbal prefix agrees with the subject. More complex noun phrases are possible – here are some examples but they will be discussed in more detail in section 7.3 below.

7.6 **Şompi abi**
 Şompi a- bi
 Shompi C1S come
 “Shompi is coming”

7.7 **Ŋpi ŋtëb ŋweek ŋabi**
 ŋ- pi ŋ- tēb ŋ- week ŋa- bi
 C2P goat C2P two C2P big C2P come
 “The two big goats are coming”

7.8 **Katoh kajon kajot**
 ka- toh ka- jon ka- jot
 C3S house C3S old C3S fall
 “The old house is falling over”

7.9 **Bañaaŋ biki Bula baya**
 ba- ñaaŋ bik- i Bula ba- ya
 C1P person C1P GEN Bula C1P go
 “The people from Bula are going”

In a transitive clause, the unmarked position of the object is after the verb.

7.10 **Ade umaanan**
 a- de u- maanan
 C1S eat C2S rice
 “He's eating rice”

7.11 **Dama akob ubuş**
 Dama a- kob u- buş
 Dama C1S hit C2S dog
 “Dama hits the dog”

Some verbs of motion can take an object without the need of another word to express semantic notions like GOAL or SOURCE, where that object is a proper noun.

7.12 **Dama aya Dakar**

Dama a- ya Dakar

Dama C1S go Dakar

“Dama is going to Dakar”

7.13 **Dama aluŋ kabi Dakar**

Dama a- luŋ k- a- bi Dakar

Dama C1S FUT IMPERF SER come Dakar

“Dama will come from Dakar”

Otherwise the GOAL or SOURCE is encoded in a locative phrase (see section 7.5):

7.14 **Aya du kaloona meet**

a- ya d- u ka- loona meet

C1S go EXT LOC.DIST C3S canvas inside

“He went inside the tent”

7.15 **Bañaaŋ baŋum babi ʔi a**

ba- ñaaŋ ba- tum ba- bi ʔ- i a

C1P person C1P many C1P come INT LOC.PROX OBJ

“Many people are coming to him”

There are verbs that can be used to create ditransitive clauses, e.g. *pwul* “give” or *pñooŋ* “take”:

7.16 **Dama awul pmoh ubuŋ**

Dama a- wul p- moh u- buŋ

Dama C1S give C4S bone C2S dog

“Dama gives the dog a bone”

7.17 **Şompi aňooŋ upi Dakar**

Şompi a- ñooŋ u- pi Dakar

Shompi C1S take C2S goat Dakar

“Shompi takes the goat to Dakar”

Following Hasplemath (2005), ditransitive clauses involve a verb denoting transfer of an entity (T) from an agent (A) to a recipient (R). As can be seen from the examples above, Mankanya does not use any special coding for either R or T (a double object construction). And the preferred order is to have the object denoting T, the entity being transferred, closest to the verb. This is not fixed and the two objects can be inverted. Because there is no overt coding this can lead to ambiguity in out of context sentences.

When the recipient R is human, and a pronoun that is not an affix is used, then the human pronoun immediately follows the verb. More detail can be found in sections 3.5 and 4.2.7.

7.18 **Dama awul baka umaanan**
 Dama a- wul baka u- maanan
 Dama C1S give C1P.OBJ C2S rice
 “She give them some rice”

7.19 **Dama awulu umaanan**
 Dama a- wul -u u- maanan
 Dama C1S give 2S.OBJ C2S rice
 “Dama gives you (sg) some rice”

With verbs like *yil* “send” or *dook* “expel”, R can be encoded with a locative phrase (see section 7.5)

7.20 **Dyila du an**
 d- yil -a d- u an
 1S send C1S.OBJ EXT LOC.DIST 2P.OBJ
 “I sent him to you”

7.21 **Baluḡ kadookan du katoh**
 ba- luḡ k- a- dook -an d- u ka- toh
 C1P FUT IMPERF SER chase 2P.OBJ EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “They will chase you from the house”

Verbs can be modified by adverbs, which occur after the object

7.22 **Aḡal poonu abuk Dama maakan**
 a- ḡal poonu a- buk Dama maakan
 C1S like girl C1AS child Dama very
 “He loved Dama's daughter a lot”

7.1.1.1 Existence

A special case of the simple sentence is that which expresses existence. This type of sentence uses the verb *ka* which is normally translated as “have”. There is no explicit subject and the verbal prefix is class 2 singular *u-*. This might have historically referred to a subject like *wal* “moment”.

7.23 **Uka du ukalabuḡ naṭaṣa**
 u- ka d- u u- kalabuḡ na- ṭaṣa
 C2S have EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison C1S teenager_(boy)
 “There was in the prison, a young man.”

- 7.24 **Uka kak baat baloŋ**
 u- ka kak b- aat ba- loŋ
 C2S have again C1P woman C1P INDEF
- bannaŋuŋ alow ašë ten**
 ba- n- naŋ -uŋ a- low a- šë ten
 C1P COREF stand SEL SER be_{far} SER SEQ look_{at}
- “There were also some women there, standing at a distance, watching.”

Compare those examples with use of *ka* to mean “have”:

- 7.25 **Ayok maakan aka ŋntaam na itaka**
 a- yok maakan a- ka ŋ- ntaam na i- taka
 C1S be_{full} very SER have C2P livestock and C4P money
- “He was very rich; he had flocks and money.”

7.1.2 Sentence with “*wo*” as a copula

There are four types of clauses that use the verb *wo* as a copula. These are stative, equative, genitive and locative clauses. In other contexts *wo* functions as an auxiliary. See sections 8.8.5 and 8.9.1.

7.1.2.1 Stative clauses (adjectival)

In stative clauses the complement of *wo* is an adjectival phrase.

- 7.26 **Katoh ki Naala kawo kafaatal**
 ka- toh k- i Naala ka- wo ka- faatal
 C3S house C3S GEN Nala C3S be C3S white
- “Naala's house is white”
- 7.27 **Katoh ki Naala kaanwo kajënël**
 ka- toh k- i Naala ka- an- wo ka- jënël
 C3S house C3S GEN Nala C3S NEG be C3S black
- “Naala's house is not black”

7.1.2.2 Equative clauses (nominal)

In equative phrases the complement of *wo* is a noun phrase.

- 7.28 **Naala awo najukan**
 Naala a- wo na- jukan
 Nala C1S be C1S teacher
- “Naala is a teacher”
- 7.29 **Napoŋ ñaaŋ naweek awo abuk naan**
 na- poŋ ñ- aaŋ na- week a- wo a- buk naan
 C1S child C1S female C1S big C1S be C1AS child 1S.GEN
- “The big girl is my daughter”

7.1.2.1 Genitive clauses

An alienable genitive phrase can follow *wo*. Alienable genitive phrases will be discussed in section 7.3.4.2.

7.30 **Dama awo i pntuk pi Şompi**
 Dama a- wo i p- ntuk p- i Şompi
 Dama C1S be GEN C4S group C4S GEN Shompi
 “Dama is in Shompi's group”

7.31 **Pdiim pawo pi Naala**
 p- diim pa- wo p- i Naala
 C4S voice C4S be C4S GEN Nala
 “The voice is that of Naala”

7.1.2.2 Locative clauses

In locative clauses *wo* is followed by a locative phrase (see section 7.5).

7.32 **Ppiiti pawo ti kabaŋ ki praata**
 p- piiti pa- wo t- i ka- baŋ k- i p- raata
 C4S pen C4S be INT LOC.PROX C3S side C3S GEN C6S bowl
 “The pencil is next to the bowl”

7.33 **Awo du buro**
 a- wo d- u buro
 C1S be EXT LOC.DIST office
 “He is at the office (far from here)”

7.1.3 Selectional suffix sentence

Some sentences have the only verb in the clause marked with the selectional suffix *-uŋ*. They are typically used for marked focus or for topicalisation, and are similar to cleft sentences in English.

An example of topicalisation occurs in the following example. The context is that a man and his two wives Naala and Dama have been introduced. Naala has been described and then this sentence occurs:

7.34 **Ul i ñiint aţuuŋ ti**
 ul i ñ- iint a- ţu -uŋ t- i
 3s.subj GEN C1S man C1S place SEL INT LOC.PROX
uhaaş wi nul
 u- haaş w- i nul
 C2S soul C2S GEN 3s.poss
 “It was she who he loved” (Lit: “She who the man had put in his soul”)

The topic of the sentence (*ul* – referring to Naala) is the object of the verb *tu* “put”. The normal position of an object is after the verb, but the normal position for the topic is clause initial. Therefore to make the object the

topic, a relative clause structure (see section 9.4.3) is used to front the object. The only verb in this sentence is the one in the “relative clause”. A literal translation would be “She who the man had put in his soul” Note that no extra material (like “It was” in English) is needed.

Sometimes a clause like this is used to mark a change of topic. In example 7.35 below Spider is reintroduced, after an episode narrating the actions of another participant. Here Spider is the subject of the sentence so no fronting occurs to align it with the topic position. However, a structure is used similar to that of a relative clause where the subject of the relative clause is a constituent of the matrix sentence (see section 9.4.3.1). However, there is no co-reference morpheme *-N* (see section 4.2.6) because there is no matrix sentence. Again no extra material is required (*kë* is there for other reasons), and a literal translation would be “So Spider too who was in the house”

7.35 **Kë ulaar kak hënk uwoon du**
 kë u- laar kak hënk u- wo -on d- u
 DS C2S spider again Narr C2S be SEL EXT LOC.DIST

katoh ki nambaabu
 ka- toh k- i na- mbaabu
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S western

“In the same way the spider was at the European's house”

These structures are also used for marked focus, for example to correct something. A response to the question *Anug ɲtëb i ?* “Did he buy fish?” might be:

7.36 **A-a , uyemaɣ wi wi anugun**
 a-a u- yemaɣ w- i w- i a- nug -un
 no! C2S meat C2S DEM.PROX C2S GEN SER buy SEL

“No, it was meat that he bought”

And response to the question *Awin Dama ɲi katoh i ?* “Did he see Dama at the house?” might be:

7.37 **A-a , Naala i i awinun**
 a-a Naala i i a- win -un
 no! Nala DEM.PROX GEN C1S see SEL

“No, it was Naala who he saw”

7.38 **A-a , du ufeeru di di**
 a-a d- u u- feeru d- i d- i
 no! EXT LOC.DIST C2S market C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN

awinulun
 a- win -ul -un
 C1S see C1S.ALT.OBJ SEL

“No, it was at the market where he saw her”

Content interrogative clauses are often sentences like these. (See section 7.2.3)

7.39 **In amaakuŋ** ?
 in a- maak -uŋ
 who? C1S be_ill SEL
 “Who is ill?”

7.40 **Wel wi bakdoluŋ** ?
 wel w- i ba- k- dol -uŋ
 what? C2S GEN C1P IMPERF do SEL
 “What are they doing?”

In these examples the question word is in the normal topic position at the front of the clause. In example 7.39, marking the verb with the selectional suffix puts marked focus on the question word. In example 7.40 the question word is the object of the verb and a relative clause structure has been used to left shift it from the object position to the position for question words.

7.1.4 Non-verbal clauses

Some clauses do not contain a verb. They are typically used to present something.

For example these following two examples only contain a noun phrase followed by the genitive particle and a demonstrative.

7.41 **Babuk naan biki biki**
 ba- buk naan bik- i bik- i
 C1P child 1S.GEN C1P GEN C1P DEM.PROX
 “Here are my children”

7.42 **Katoh ki ki**
 ka- toh k- i k- i
 C3S house C3S GEN C3S DEM.PROX
 “This is the house”

As demonstratives and genitive particles share the same form, there are several possible analyses. Demonstratives have several different roots depending on distance (*i*, *uŋ*, *undi*, *undu*) but I have not found this type of clause with anything but an *i* root, so this would seem to imply that a genitive is involved. A genitive would require a noun phrase on either side of the genitive particle, and this could be the case if the last word was a demonstrative, which sometimes can be a full noun phrase (see section 7.3.5).

The other form of presentational clause consists of a noun phrase followed by *a*.

7.43 **Nji a !**
 nji a
 1S.emph OBJ

“It is I!”

7.44 **Ajug naan a !**
 a- jug naan a
 C1AS owner 1S.GEN OBJ

“It's my master”

It seems that *a* is an expletive pronoun.

7.2 Simple clausal modifications

7.2.1 Negative clauses

In a simple clause, negation of the verb is marked by morphological changes to the verb, and additionally a distinctive intonation (see section 4.2.4). However, there is no change to the syntax of the sentence. For example:

7.45 **Dama aanka napoŋ**
 Dama a- an- ka na- poŋ
 Dama C1S NEG have C1S child

“Dama doesn't have a child”

compared with:

7.46 **Dama aka napoŋ**
 Dama a- ka na- poŋ
 Dama C1S have C1S child

“Dama has a child”

Similarly the imperative shows no difference in syntax though the morphological negation is different.

7.47 **Kten kafet !**
 k- ten ka- fet
 NEG look_at C3S behind

“Don't look behind!”

Negation of imperatives can alternatively be expressed syntactically by using *wut* “leave” as an auxiliary, to create a prohibitive.

7.48 **Nawutan kado buṭaan**
 na- wut -an k- a- do b- uṭaan
 2P leave IMP IMPERF SER do C5S evil
 “Don't do evil!”

Where a negative subject or object is used (see section 6.7), the verb must also be expressed negatively, either with morphological negation as shown in 7.49, or by using the verb *wut* as in 7.50.

7.49 **Nin ñaaŋ aanwo da**
 nin ñaaŋ a- an- wo d- a
 NEG person C1S NEG be C9S OBJ
 “No-one is there”

7.50 **Nin ñaaŋ awutan kaduk uko uloŋ**
 nin ñaaŋ a- wut -an k- a- duk u- ko u- loŋ
 NEG person C1S leave CAUS IMPERF SER keep C2S thing C2S INDEF
 “No-one is to keep anything”

There is another negative structure that is used with selection suffix clauses and non-verbal clauses. In this case the clause starts with the anaphoric demonstrative *mënṭ* followed by a noun phrase. This is a very unusual construction and I currently cannot explain how this structure has developed.

7.51 **Mënṭ babak naan biki biki**
 mënṭ ba- buk naan bik- i bik- i
 that C1P child 1S.GEN C1P GEN C1P GEN
 “These aren't my children”

7.52 **Mënṭ nji djejuŋ kanteeri**
 mënṭ nji d- jej -uŋ ka- nteeri
 that 1S.SUJ 1S take SEL C3S knife
 “It wasn't me who took the knife”

7.53 **Mënṭ naweek naan awoon naṣih**
 mënṭ na- week naan a- wo -oŋ na- ṣih
 that C1S elder_sibling 1S.GEN C1S be SEL C1S chief
 “It isn't my brother who is chief”

7.2.2 Yes/No interrogative clauses

A simple declarative clause can be transformed into a Yes/No question by the addition of the tag *i* at the end of the sentence. There is no special intonation for these types of questions.

7.54 **Ñaaṭ** **akuṇa** **uliik**
 ñ- aaṭ a- kuṇa u- liik
 C1S woman C1S carry C2S peanuts
 “The woman is carrying peanuts”

7.55 **Ñaaṭ** **akuṇa** **uliik** **i** ?
 ñ- aaṭ a- kuṇa u- liik i
 C1S woman C1S carry C2S peanuts QUEST
 “Is the woman carrying peanuts?”

7.2.3 Content interrogative clauses

An interrogative word in a simple clause replaces the phrase that is being questioned.

7.56 **Ido** **we** ?
 i- do we
 2S do what?
 “You’re doing what?”

7.57 **Ika** **bapoṭ** **hum** ?
 i- ka ba- poṭ hum
 2S have C1P child how?
 “How many children do you have?”

7.58 **Iluṇ** **kajun** **katiban** **lum** ?
 i- luṇ k- a- jun k- a- tiban lum
 2S FUT IMPERF SER begin IMPERF SER clear_(field) when?
 “When are you going to start the clearing?”

7.59 **Iwo** **abuk** **in** **ba** ?
 i- wo a- buk in ba
 2S be C1AS child who? QUES
 “Whose child are you”

As noted in section 7.1.3 it is possible to advance the interrogative to the first place in the sentence using a structure similar to a relative clause.

7.60 **Wel** **wi** **ikdolun** ?
 wel w- i i- k- dol -un
 what? C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL
 “What are you doing?”

7.61 **Hum di ɲhilanuŋ kabelana**
 hum d- i ɲ- hilan -uŋ k- a- bel -an -a
 how? C9S GEN 1P be_able SEL IMPERF SER shield CAUS MID
maak pi SIDA ?
 maak p- i SIDA
 illness C4S GEN AIDS
 “How do we protect ourselves against AIDS?”

Note that in example 7.60 the genitive that introduces the structure agrees with *wel* “what” as if it is in noun class 2, probably by phonological analogy. In contrast *hum* “how” in example 7.61 causes agreement in class 9 because there is no noun class where the noun prefix is *h-*. *ɲuŋ* “where” causes similar agreement. The class 9 prefix *d-* is the one used by default for all common nouns that don’t fit into other classes (typically borrowed words) and also all proper nouns which describe locations.

The interrogative pronoun *in* “who” is normally at the beginning of the phrase. Note that even though *in* is the subject, and therefore in its normal position, the verb is marked with the selectional suffix, to mark focus.

7.62 **In ankkobuŋ plēmən ?**
 in a- n- k- kob -uŋ p- lēmən
 who? C1S COREF IMPERF hit SEL C4S door
 “Who’s knocking at the door?”

7.63 **In amaakuŋ ?**
 in a- maak -uŋ
 who? C1S be_ill SEL
 “Who is ill?”

Compare that with:

7.64 **Dama amaakuŋ**
 Dama a- maak -uŋ
 Dama C1S be_ill SEL
 “It’s Dama who is ill”

Notice that the verb agreement with *in* “who” is the singular of class 1, the noun class that contains the majority of human nouns.

When the object is being questioned and is a person then *in* is also used and is normally fronted with a relative clause.

7.65 **In i ɬukma akobuŋ ?**
 in i ɬukma a- kob -uŋ
 who? GEN Thukma C1S hit SEL
 “Who did Thukma hit?”

That example can be compared with the following which would be a marked form, used in echo questions.

7.66 **Tukma akob in ?**
 tukma a- kob in
 Thukma C1S hit who?
 “Thukma hit who?”

The question “Why?” is formed from *wel* “what” plus the existential verb *ka* and the complementiser *kë*. The question word is the subject of *ka*, so *ka* agrees in class 2, but is in marked focus (similar to example 7.63). The literal translation might be “What thing exists that you don’t believe him”

7.67 **Wel ukaaŋ kë naanfiyaara ?**
 wel u- ka -aŋ kë na- an- fiyaar -a
 what? C2S have SEL COMP 2P NEG believe OBJ
 “Why don’t you believe him?”

Here are some examples where the interrogative replaces the phrase in a clause where the verb *wo* is used as a copula. In examples 7.69 and 7.70, the question words are not fronted, but in contrast to the above example, these are the unmarked forms of these questions. This maybe related to the use of *wo* to give negative meaning in relative clauses (see section 9.4.3):

7.68 **In awoon naŋilan ?**
 in a- wo -uŋ na- ŋilan
 who? C1S be SEL C1S liar
 “Who is the liar?”

7.69 **Katimu kawo hum ?**
 ka- tim -u ka- wo hum
 C3S name 2S.POSS C3S be how?
 “What is your name?”

7.70 **Katohu kawo tuŋ ?**
 ka- toh -u ka- wo tu- uŋ
 C3S house 2S.POSS C3S be INT LOC.DIST
 “Where is your house?”

An interrogative can also replace a phrase in a non verbal clause.

7.71 **Wel wi wi ?**
 wel w- i w- i
 what? C2S GEN C2S DEM.PROX
 “What is this?”

An interrogative can replace a sentential complement.

7.72 **Wel wi ifiyaaruŋ ?**
 wel w- i i- fiyaar -uŋ
 what? C2S GEN C3P believe SEL

“What do you believe?”

With any content interrogative clause, it is possible to finish with the interrogative particle *ba*. Its usage is optional.

7.73 **In aŋuwiŋ pdo haŋ ba ?**
 in a- ŋuw -i -iŋ p- do haŋ ba
 who? SER place 2S.SEL.OBJ SEL INF do DEM QUES

“Who gave you permission to do this?”

7.74 **Aba do do we ba ?**
 a- ba do do we ba
 C1S CMLPTV do do what? QUES

“What has he just done?”

7.2.4 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses never have an explicit subject. Where there is a sequence of related imperatives clauses, the first verb is in the imperative and following verbs have the declarative form with a second person subject.

7.75 **ŋiin ibuuran ubida wi nu !**
 ŋi -in i- buur -an u- bida w- i nu
 run IMP 2S escape CAUS C2S life C2S GEN 2S.POSS

“Run and save your life!”

7.76 **Kten kafet ibot iwut**
 k- ten ka- fet i- bot i- wut
 NEG look_at C3S behind 2S do_something_next 2S leave

kanaŋ nin dko dloŋ ŋi
 k- a- naŋ nin d- ko d- loŋ ŋ- i
 IMPERF SER stand NEG C9S place C9S INDEF INT LOC.PROX

uŋaak wi !

u- ŋaak w- i
 C2S country C2S DEM.PROX

“Don't look back and don't stop anywhere in this country!”

7.3 Noun Phrase

7.3.1 Structure

The head noun is normally first in the phrase followed by its modifiers.

7.77	bapoṭ	baweek	bawajënt
	ba- poṭ	ba- week	ba- wajënt
	C1P child	C1P big	C1P three
	N	ADJ	NUM

“Three big children”

However, when a noun phrase is negated the negative particle precedes the noun.

7.78	nin	ñaan
	nin	ñaan
	NEG	person
	NEG	N

“No-one”

Based on the examples I have in my corpus the most frequent order of the constituents is:

NEG N GENN ADJ PTCPP NUM ORD GENP DEM QUANT RELC

Where

NEG	Negative particle
N	Noun
GENN	Genitive Noun (Inalienable)
ADJ	Adjective or series of Adjectives
PTCPP	Participle Phrase
NUM	Cardinal Number
ORD	Ordinal Number
GENP	Genitive Phrase (Alienable)
DEM	Demonstrative
QUANT	Quantifier (including adjectival quantifiers)
RELC	Relative Clause

Relative clauses and participle clauses are dealt with in sections 9.4.3 and 9.4.4.

Here are some examples of noun phrases:

- 7.79 **bapoṭ** **baweek** **bawajënt** **biki**
 ba- poṭ ba- week ba- wajënt bik- i
 C1P child C1P big C1P three C1P GEN
 N ADJ NUM DEM
 “These three big children”
- 7.80 **bapoṭ** **baweek** **bawajënt** **biki** **bti**
 ba- poṭ ba- week ba- wajënt bik- i bti
 C1P child C1P big C1P three C1P GEN all
 N ADJ NUM DEM QUANT
 “All these three big children”
- 7.81 **nin** **ñaaŋ** (same as example 7.78)
 nin ñaaŋ
 NEG person
 NEG N
 “No-one”
- 7.82 **nin** **uko** **uloŋ**
 nin u- ko u- loŋ
 NEG C2S thing C2S INDEF
 NEG N DET
 “Nothing”
- 7.83 **bapoṭ** **biki** **Dama** **bti**
 ba- poṭ bik- i Dama bti
 C1P child C1P GEN Dama all
 N [GENP] QUANT
 “All Dama's children”
- 7.84 **bapoṭ** **biint** **biki** **Dama** **bti**
 ba- poṭ b iint bik- i Dama bti
 C1P child C1P man C1P GEN Dama all
 N ADJ [GENP] QUANT
 “All Dama's boys” (Lit. male children)
- 7.85 **baweek** **Dama** **bti**
 ba- week Dama bti
 C1P elder_sibling Dama all
 N GENN QUANT
 “All Dama's elder siblings”
- 7.86 **baweek** **Dama** **biint** **bti**
 ba- week Dama b iint bti
 C1P elder_sibling Dama C1P man all
 N GENN ADJ QUANT
 “All Dama's elder brothers”

7.87 **katoh ki naşih ki**
 ka- toh k- i na- şih k- i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief C3S DEM.PROX
 N [GENP] DEM
 “This house of the chief”

7.88 **katoh ki naşih i**
 ka- toh k- i na- şih i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief DEM.PROX
 N [GENP]
 “The house of this chief”

7.89 **iko yi bti**
 i- ko y- i bti
 C3P thing C3P DEM.PROX all
 N DEM QUANT
 “All these things”

7.90 **unuur uteek wi ufettu wi Şompi**
 u- nuur u- teek w- i u- festu w- i Şompi
 C2S day C2S first C2S GEN C2S feast C2S GEN Shompi
 N ORD [GENP [GENP]]
 “The first day of Shompi's feast”

7.91 **ŋpi ŋwajënt ŋteek**
 ŋ- pi ŋ- wajënt ŋ- teek
 C2P goat C2P three C2P first
 N NUM ORD
 “The first three goats”

7.92 **dko dmoyni danwoonj**
 d- ko d- moy -n -i da- n- wo -onj
 C9S place C9S bury CAUS PTCP C9S COREF be SEL
 N PTCP [RELP]

du uţeh meet
 d- u u- teeh meet
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field inside
]

“the burial place that is in the field”

7.93 **dko dhankni ŋdeey ŋi naan bti**
 d- ko d- hank -n -i ŋ- deey ŋ- i naan bti
 C9S place C9S keep CAUS PTCP C2P grain C2P GEN 1S.GEN all
 N [PTCP]
 “place for keeping all my grain”

- 7.94 **bṭeem** **bmpoṭi** **bbuurni**
 b- ṭeem b- m- poṭ -i b- buur -n -i
 C5S pirogue C5S COREF be_small PTCP C5S escape CAUS PTCP
 N PTCPP PTCPP
 “small rescue boat”

7.3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives follow the noun and agree with it.

- 7.95 **katoh** **kajinṭ**
 ka- toh ka- jinṭ
 C3S house C3S clean
 “clean house”

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

- 7.97 **naṣih** **najeenkal**
 na- ṣih na- jeenk -al
 C1S chief C1S red CHG
 “red chief (paramount chief)”

- 7.98 **ṅnkaneel** **ṅmpoṭi** **ṅwaaṭ**
 ṅ- nkaneel ṅ- mpoṭi ṅ- waaṭ
 C2P sheep C2P small C2P female
 “small ewes”

- 7.99 **ṅnkaneel** **ṅwaaṭ** **ṅjēnal**
 ṅ- nkaneel ṅ- waaṭ ṅ- jēn -al
 C2P sheep C2P female C2P be_black CHG
 “black ewes”

There is some evidence of semantic ordering if there are multiple adjectives. For example the two adjectives that quantify, *tum* “many” and *ntiinku* “few”, must appear after any other adjectives.

- 7.100 **katoh** **kaweek** **katum**
 ka- toh ka- week ka- tum
 C3S house C3S big C3S many
 “Many big houses”

- 7.101 **meel** **mntiinku**
 meel m- ntiinku
 water C8 in_small_amount
 “a little water”

7.3.3 Cardinal Numbers

A cardinal number always follows the noun, but it can be before or after an adjective:

7.102 **kpiiti** **ktëb** **kweek**
 k- piiti k- tëb k- week
 C5P.DEF pen C5P.DEF two C5P.DEF big
 “Two big pens”

7.103 **kpiiti** **kweek** **ktëb**
 k- piiti k- week k- tëb
 C5P.DEF pen C5P.DEF big C5P.DEF two
 “Two big pens”

7.104 **kpiiti** **kjeenkak** **ktëb** **kweek**
 k- piiti k- jeenkak k- tëb k- week
 C5P.DEF pen C5P.DEF red C5P.DEF two C5P.DEF big
 “Two big red crayons”

7.3.4 Genitive Constructions

Mankanya has two slightly different forms of genitive construction, which I label in this thesis as alienable and inalienable. The inalienable construction consists of the genitive noun immediately following the head noun.

7.105 **aşin** **naşih**
 a- şin na- şih
 C1AS father C1S chief
 “the chief’s father”

The alienable construction requires the genitive particle.

7.106 **upi** **wi** **naşih**
 u- pi w- i na- şih
 C2S goat C2S GEN C1S chief
 “the chief’s goat”

For more detail see section 7.3.4.2.

In section 3.3.3 I listed the pronominal possessor suffixes which are used with inalienable nouns, and the pronouns that replace the possessor of an alienable noun. In this section I will show the two genitive constructions, which correspond to the two types of genitive relation.

I refer to these constructions as genitive to reflect the fact that they cover more relations than simple possession, for example relations such as origin, description or composition.

7.3.4.1 Inalienable Genitive Construction

The inalienable genitive construction is used with the small number of nouns that are inalienably possessed. These are the kinship terms found in noun class 1a, plus other kinship terms in class 1 like *naweeek* “elder sibling” and *nabuk* “offspring”.

In an inalienable genitive construction the genitive noun phrase is unmarked and follows the head noun without being preceded by any particle. Any adjectives must follow it.

7.107	a. <i>naweeek Naala</i>	Nala's older sibling
	b. <i>naweeek Naala niinṭ</i>	Nala's older brother
	c. <i>naweeek Naala anin Dama</i>	The older brother of Nala the mother of Dama
	d. <i>anin naṣih</i>	The chief's mother
	e. <i>babuk aṣin</i>	Siblings (father's offspring)

In addition there are a small number of other words from other classes e.g. *katim* “name”, *katoh* “house(hold)”, *ulemp* “work”, *uhaaṣ* “soul”, *uleef* “body”, which can use the either form of genitive construction. Often these other words are used with a possessive suffix for pronominal contexts, but full possessor noun phrases are usually headed by the genitive particle. Apart from *uleef* “body”, all body parts use the alienable genitive construction described in the next section.

7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction

Most nouns are alienably possessed. In this case the head noun is followed by a genitive phrase which is headed by the genitive particle. (See section 6.1.6). The genitive particle agrees with the head noun.

The genitive particle is followed either by a noun phrase (most of the examples below) or by a possessive pronoun (example 7.109 - see section 3.5 for the full paradigm).

An alienable genitive construction can be used to express a wide variety of relationships between the two nouns.

- Possession

7.108	katoh	ki	naṣih
	ka- toh	k- i	na- ṣih
	C3S house	C3S GEN	C1S chief
	“the chief's house”		

7.109	upi	wi	naan
	u- pi	w- i	naan
	C2S goat	C2S GEN	1S.GEN
	“my goat”		

7.110 **katoh ki naweek i skoola**
 ka- toh k- i na- week i skoola
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S leader GEN school
 “The head teacher's house”

7.111 **katoh ki aninun ñiinṭ**
 ka- toh k- i a- nin -un ñ- iinṭ
 C3S house C3S GEN C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man
 “My maternal uncle's house”

- Origin

7.112 **bañaanṭ biki Bula**
 ba- ñaanṭ bik- i Bula
 C1P person C1P GEN Bula
 “the people of Bula”

- Scope

7.113 **naṣih i bahula**
 na- ṣih i ba- hula
 C1S chief GEN C1P Mankanya
 “the king of the Mankanya”

- Type

7.114 **batani bi ṅnkuma**
 ba- tani bi ṅ- nkuma
 C5S herd PAST C2P pig
 “herd of pigs”

- Location

7.115 **ptoof pi bdëk**
 p- toof p- i b- dëk
 C4S half C4S GEN C5S sea
 “middle of the sea”

7.3.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives appear after adjectives and numbers in the noun phrase.

7.116 **katoh kaweek ki**
 ka- toh ka- week k- i
 C3S house C3S big C3S DEM.PROX
 “this big house”

7.117 **upi** **ujënal** **wuŋ**
 u- pi u- jën -al w- uŋ
 C2S goat C2S be_black CHG C2S DEM.DIST
 “that black goat”

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

The demonstrative can be used in embedded noun phrases (e.g. as part of a genitive phrase). Because such phrases occur between the head noun and the demonstrative, it can lead to sentences with different syntactic structure having the same surface word order. In the two examples below the word order is N GEN N DEM. Such situations are often disambiguated by the agreement on the demonstrative. So in 7.119 the demonstrative agrees with the head noun *katoh*, which shows that the sentence structure is [[N GEN N] DEM]. In example 7.120 the demonstrative agrees with the embedded noun *naših*, so the structure is [N GEN [N DEM]].

7.119 **katoh** **ki** **naših** **ki**
 ka- toh k- i na- ših k- i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief C3S DEM.PROX
 “This house of the chief”

7.120 **katoh** **ki** **naših** **i**
 ka- toh k- i na- ših i
 C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief DEM.PROX
 “The house of this chief”

This is different to adjectives which appear before genitive phrases.

7.121 **katoh** **kawëek** **ki** **naših** **ki**
 ka- toh ka- week k- i na- ših k- i
 C3S house C3S big C3S GEN C1S chief C3S DEM.PROX
 “This big house of the chief”

7.3.6 Determiners

The position of the determiner *ndoli* “each” seems to be after adjectives but before genitive phrases.

7.122 **unuur** **undoli** **wi** **pnoorfën**
 u- nuur u- ndoli w- i p- noorfën
 C2S day C2S each C2S GEN INF rest
 “each day of rest”

7.123 **iko** **iwuṭaan** **indoli** **yi** **ḡleef**
 i- ko i- wuṭaan i- ndoli y- i ḡ- leef
 C3P thing C3P evil C3P each C3P GEN C2P body

ḡi **nja** **ḡaḡaluḡ**
 ḡ- i nja ḡa- ḡal -uḡ
 C2P GEN 1P.poss C2P like SEL

“every evil thing that our bodies desire”

The position of *loḡ* “indefinite” is quite variable.

7.124 **pnkuḡ** **ploḡ** **pweek**
 p- nkunḡ p- loḡ p- week
 C4S hill C4S INDEF C4S older

“a big hill”

7.125 **batani** **bweek** **bi** **ḡnkuma** **bloḡ**
 ba- tani b- week b- i ḡ- nkuma b- loḡ
 C5S herd C5S big C5S GEN C2P pig C5S INDEF

“a big herd of pigs”

7.126 **umpëlënt** **uloḡ** **ufaatal**
 u- mpëlënt u- loḡ u- faatal
 C2S horse C2S INDEF C2S white

“A white horse”

7.127 **ḡlemp** **ḡtum** **ḡloḡ**
 ḡ- lemp ḡ- tum ḡ- loḡ
 C2P work C2P many C2P INDEF

“many types of job”

7.128 **uṭeeh** **uloḡ** **umpaṭi**
 u- ṭeeh u- loḡ u- mpaṭ -i
 C2S field C2S INDEF C2S separately PTCP

“a different field”

7.129 **iko** **iloḡ** **iweek** **injaan**
 i- ko i- loḡ i- week i- n- ja -aḡ
 C3P thing C3P INDEF C3P big C3P COREF HAB SEL

ijeehan

i- jeehan

C3P shine

“some big things that shine”

7.3.7 Quantifiers

The two adjectives that quantify have been described in section 7.3.2 above. The invariable quantifiers *bti* “all, entirety” and *ṭaṇ* “only” occur at the end of a noun phrase, even after a relative clause.

- 7.130 **uṭaak** **bṭi**
 u- ṭaak bṭi
 C2S country all
 “the whole country”
- 7.131 **ṅko** **ṅmpoṭi** **bṭi**
 ṅ- ko ṅ- mpoṭi bṭi
 C2P animals C2P small all
 “all the little animals”
- 7.132 **uko** **uloolan** **ṭañ**
 u- ko u- loolan ṭañ
 C2S thing C2S one only
 “only one thing”
- 7.133 **bukal** **batëb** **bṭi**
 bukal ba- tëb bṭi
 3p.subj C1P two all
 “both of them”
- 7.134 **ṅwal** **ṅntiinku** **ṭañ**
 ṅ- wal ṅ- ntiinku ṭañ
 C2P time C2P in_small_amount only
 “just a little time”
- 7.135 **uko** **uloolan** **ṭañ**
 u- ko u- loolan ṭañ
 C2S thing C2S one only
 “only one thing”
- 7.136 **bañaaj** **biki** **mboṣ** **bṭi**
 ba- ñaaj bik- i mboṣ bṭi
 C1P person C1P GEN earth all
 “All the people of the world”
- 7.137 **uṭaak** **wi** **ikwinuṅ** **wuṅ** **bṭi**
 u- ṭaak w- i i- k- win -uṅ w- uṅ bṭi
 C2S country C2S GEN 2S IMPERF see SEL C2S DEM.DIST all
 “All that land that you see”
- 7.138 **abukul** **i** **aṅaluṅ** **ṭañ**
 a- buk -ul i a- ṅal -uṅ ṭañ
 C1AS child 3s.POSS GEN C1S like SEL only
 “only his son whom he loved”
- 7.139 **ṅko** **ṅmpoṭi** **ṅankyiṭuṅ** **bṭi**
 ṅ- ko ṅ- mpoṭi ṅa- n- k- yiṭ -uṅ bṭi
 C2P animals C2P small C2P COREF IMPERF fly SEL all
 “all the little flying animals”

Compare 7.139 with the position of the quantifying adjective in 7.140 which comes before the relative clause.

7.140 **Bañaaŋ baŋum banktiinkuluŋ**
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- tum ba- n- k- tiink -ul -uŋ
 C1P person C1P many C1P COREF IMPERF hear 3s.POSS SEL
 “many people who were listening to him”

Sometimes the invariable quantifiers occur at the end of noun phrase that is embedded in another noun phrase.

7.141 **ŋkaŋ bti ŋi baŋi**
 ŋ- kaŋ bti ŋ- i ba- ŋi
 C2P bird all C2P GEN C5S sky
 “All the birds of the air”

7.142 **iko inuura iweek bti yi**
 i- ko i- nuura i- week bti y- i
 C3P thing C3P good C3P big all C3P GEN

ikdoluŋ

i- k- dol -uŋ
 2S IMPERF do SEL
 “All the things that you are doing”

The invariable quantifiers normally occur after a demonstrative:

7.143 **iko yi bti**
 i- ko y- i bti
 C3P thing C3P DEM.PROX all
 “All these things”

7.144 **utaak wi bti**
 u- taak w- i bti
 C2S country C2S DEM.PROX all
 “All this country”

7.4 Infinitival clauses

As noted in section 5.1 the infinitive form of the verb, with prefix *p-*, cannot be used with a subject, but can take objects. The resulting clause is nominal in nature and can be used where noun phrases are used.

They can occur as the subject of a clause:

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

uloŋ

u- loŋ
 C2S INDEF

“To be circumcised is nothing”

They also occur as a complement, most commonly when the subject of the verb is the subject of the sentential complement.

7.146 **dŋal** **pnug** **kamiša** **kahalu**
 d- ŋal p- nug ka- miša ka- halu
 1s like INF buy C3S shirt C3S new

“I want to buy a new shirt”

They can be modified by adverbs which don’t normally modify nouns

7.147 **dŋal** **pjuk** **iyeeh** **yi** **nan** **yi**
 d- ŋal p- juk i- yeeh y- i nan y- i
 1s like INF learn C3P song C3P GEN 2P.POSS C3P GEN

bnuura

bnuura
 well

“I want to learn your songs well”

They can also be possessed:

7.148 **Mënt** **pbi** **pi** **nul** **paŋjuŋ** **uko**
 mënt p- bi p- i nul pa- ŋij -uŋ u- ko
 not INF come C4S GEN C1S.POSS C4S bring SEL C2S thing

mënt

mënt
 that

“It was not his coming that caused this thing”

7.149 **phaj** **pi** **naan**
 p- haj p- i naan
 INF suffer C4S GEN 1S.POSS

“my sufferings”

They can also be used with certain action verbs to indicate a purpose.

7.150 **dya** **pnug** **ulibra** **uhalu**
 d- ya p- nug u- libra u- halu
 1s go INF buy C2S book C2S new

“I’m going (in order to) buy a new book”

7.5 Locative phrases

A locative phrase is a phrase headed by one of the locative particles *ti*, *tuŋ*, *di*, *duŋ*, followed by a noun phrase.

7.151 **ti** **ptoof** **pi** **meel**
 t- i p- toof p- i meel
 INT LOC.PROX C4S half C4S GEN water
 “in the middle of the water”

7.152 **ti** **dko** **dloolan**
 t- i d- ko d- loolan
 INT LOC.PROX C9S place C9S one
 “in one place”

7.153 **du** **utaak** **wi** **baka**
 d- u u- taak w- i baka
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S country C2S GEN C2P.OBJ
 “in their country”

The noun phrase may contain one of four modifying locative nouns (*meet* “inside”, *bdig* “outside”, *uŋteh* “under”, *duuŋ* “on, on top”). These words do not agree with the noun as an adjective does, and appear at the end of the noun phrase. This is could be analysed as the nouns being in an inalienable relation (see section 7.3.4.2)

7.154 **ti** **upuur** **meet**
 t- i u- puur meet
 INT LOC.PROX C2S boat inside
 “inside the boat”

7.155 **ti** **bko** **bloŋ** **uŋteh**
 t- i b- ko b- loŋ uŋteh
 INT LOC.PROX C7S object C7S INDEF under
 “under a tree”

7.156 **du** **uleef** **bdig**
 d- u u- leef bdig
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S body outside
 “outside the body”

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

7.158 **ṭi** **mboṣ** **mi** **pndiiṣ** **duuṭ**
 ṭ- i mboṣ m- i p- ndiiṣ duuṭ
 INT LOC.PROX earth C8 GEN C4S desert on
 “on the surface of the desert floor”

There are also 5 locative nouns – *kabaṣ* “side”, *kadun* “front”, *kafet* “back”, *kadeenu* “right” and *kamayu* “left”, which can appear as the head of the noun phrase embedded in the locative phrase. They are all in noun class 3 with the *ka-* prefix, possibly because the last four nouns developed from adjectives modifying the noun *kabaṣ* “side”.

7.159 **ṭi** **kadun**
 ṭ- i ka- dun
 INT LOC.PROX C3S front
 “in front”

7.160 **ṭi** **kadeenu**
 ṭ- i ka- deenu
 INT LOC.PROX C3S right
 “on the right”

7.161 **ṭi** **kadun** **ki** **katoh** **ki**
 ṭ- i ka- dun k- i ka- toh k- i
 INT LOC.PROX C3S front C3S GEN C3S house C3S GEN

naṣih

na- ṣih

C1S chief

“in front of the chief’s house”

7.162 **ṭi** **kafet** **ki** **bṭeem**
 ṭ- i ka- fet k- i b- ṭeem
 INT LOC.PROX C3S behind C3S GEN C5S pirogue
 “behind the boat”

7.163 **ṭi** **kadeenu** **ki** **baka**
 ṭ- i ka- deenu k- i baka
 INT LOC.PROX C3S right C3S GEN C2P.OBJ
 “on their right”

7.164 **ṭi** **kamayu** **ki** **aṣin**
 ṭ- i ka- mayu k- i a- ṣin
 INT LOC.PROX C3S left C3S GEN C1AS father
 “on the left of the father”

Unlike the 3s possessive pronoun shown in example 7.163 above the 1s possessive pronoun is used with the inalienable form of genitive construction. Other possessives can be expressed either way.

7.165 **ṭi kadun naan**
 ṭ- i ka- dun naan
 INT LOC.PROX C3S front 1S.POSS
 “in front of me”

At least *deenu* and *mayu* can be used as adjectival roots in non locational phrases.

7.166 **pkēṣ pi nu pdeenu**
 p- kēṣ p- i nu p- deenu
 C4S eye C4S GEN 2S.POSS C4S right
 “your right eye”

Locatives can be either verbal complements, or adjuncts. This difference can be seen when the locative is fronted; the verb must use the selectional suffix when the locative is a complement, but can be unchanged when it is an adjunct (example 7.169).

7.167 **awin pliik ploṅ du uṭeeh**
 a- win p- liik p- loṅ d- u u- ṭeeh
 C1S see C6S well C4S INDEF EXT LOC.DIST C2S field
 “He saw a well in the field”

7.168 **Du ukalabuṣ mēntṭ di di**
 d- u u- kalabuṣ mēntṭ d- i d- i
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison that C9S DEM.PROX EXT GEN

Yotef awooṅ
 Yotef a- wo -oṅ
 Joseph C1S be SEL
 “It was in the prison where Joseph was”

7.169 **du uṭeeh awin pliik ploṅ**
 d- u u- ṭeeh a- win p- liik p- loṅ
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field C1S see C6S well C4S INDEF
 “In the field, he saw a well”

7.170 **abēkan napoṭ ṭi bko bloṅ**
 a- bēkan na- poṭ ṭ- i b- ko b- loṅ
 C1S put_down C1S child INT LOC.PROX C7S tree C7S INDEF
uṭeeh
 uṭeeh
 under
 “She put him down under the tree”

7.171 **bapēn du Ziguinchor**
 ba- pēn d- u Ziguinchor
 C1P go_out EXT LOC.DIST Ziguinchor
 “They left Ziguinchor”

Sometimes with verbs of motion the locative is dropped, the location becomes a simple noun phrase. Both the following examples are equivalent.

7.172 **aban du ubeeka**
 a- ban d- u u- beeka
 C1S arrive EXT LOC.DIST C2S town
 “He arrived at the town”

7.173 **aban ubeeka**
 a- ban u- beeka
 C1S arrive C2S town
 “He arrived at the town”

Locative particles are neutral with respect to directionality. For example the following sentences uses the locative particle *ʒi* where English requires “from” or “out of”.

7.174 **ʒenaan meel mntiinku**
 ʒen -aan meel m- ntiinku
 give_(as_present) 1S.OBJ water C8 in_small_amount
ʒi pdunku
 ʒ- i p- dunk -u
 INT LOC.PROX C4S pot 2S.POSS
 “Give me a little water from your pot”

Directionality is only expressed in some verbs, like *ya* “go” and *bi* “come”, where the direction is in relation to the speaker or by adding the derivative benefactive morpheme *-ar* to a neutral verb like *poş* “walk”.

7.175 **aya du katoh**
 a- ya d- u ka- toh
 C1S go EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “He's going to the house” / “He's going from the house”

7.176 **abi du katoh**
 a- bi d- u ka- toh
 C1S come EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “He's coming to the house” / “He's coming from the house”

7.177 **apoşar du katoh**
 a- poş -ar d- u ka- toh
 C1S walk BEN EXT LOC.DIST C3S house
 “He's walking towards the house”

Locative phrases can be also be used to express non-physical locations, e.g. *ʒi* and *ʒuʒ* are often used to express a location in time.

7.178 **ṭi wal wi**
 ṭ- i w- al w- i
 INT LOC.PROX C2S moment C2S DEM.PROX
 “at this time”

7.179 **ṭuṅ ṅnuur mēnṭan**
 ṭ- uṅ ṅ- nuur mēnṭan
 INT LOC.DIST C2P day that
 “in those days”

7.6 Temporal phrases

Temporal phrases have no specific syntactic form, they are simply noun, locative or prepositional phrases that express time.

A temporal noun phrase can be a simple time noun, or combinations of time nouns:

7.180 **Dko daluṅ kajeeh faan**
 d- ko da- luṅ k- a- jeeh faan
 C9S place C9S FUT IMPERF SER be_bright tomorrow
 “The weather will be good tomorrow” (Lit: The place will be bright tomorrow)

7.181 **Takal na utejan dyeeh**
 takal na d- tejan d- yeeh
 yesterday and C2S night C9S sing
 “Last night, I sang”

Or more complex noun phrases:

7.182 **Unuur uṭēbantēn , banaṭa na nfa**
 u- nuur u- tēb -antēn ba- naṭ -a na nfa
 C2S day C2S two ORD C1P stand MID and morning

kub

kub

early

“On the second day, they got up early”

They are commonly headless relative clauses, with the implied head noun being *wal* “moment, time”.

7.183 **Wi bapēnuṅ ṭi meel**
 wi ba- pēn -uṅ ṭ- i meel
 when C1P go_out SEL INT LOC.PROX water
 “When they came out of the water...”

7.184 **Wi ηnuur ηloη ηaṭəpuη**
 wi η- nuur η- loη ηa- ṭəp -uη
 when C2P day C2P INDEF C2P pass SEL
 “After some days had passed...”

7.185 **Wi unuur ujinṭuη**
 wi u- nuur u- jinṭ -uη
 when C2S day C2S be_clean SEL
 “When day broke...”

Temporal phrases are often placed at the beginning or end of a sentence. However, temporal phrases which are not relative clauses are also found immediately after the verb, before any object which is an independent word.

7.186 **Bade nṭa blant na nji**
 ba- de nṭa b- lant na nji
 C1P eat today C5S lunch and 1s.subj
 “They’re eating lunch with me today”

7.187 **Kë Naala ajej unuur mēntṭ bgah aya Dakar**
 kë Naala a- jej u- nuur mēntṭ b- gah a- ya Dakar
 DS Nala C1S take C2S day that C5S way SER go Dakar
 “So Naala set off that day to go to Dakar”

7.188 **Yaan faan na nfa du Dakar**
 ya -an faan na nfa d- u Dakar
 go Imp tomorrow and morning EXT LOC.DIST Dakar
 “Go tomorrow morning to Dakar”

In the following example, in order to put the focus on the time of the event, a relative clause is used to bring the time noun before the verb.

7.189 **Uko mēntṭ faan di di**
 u- ko mēntṭ faan d- i d- i
 C2S thing that tomorrow C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN

ukwooη

u- k- wo -oη
 C2S IMPERF be SEL
 “This thing will happen tomorrow”

Examples 7.178 and 7.179 in the previous section show locative phrases that express time.

Certain nouns which denote a part of the day e.g. *nfa* “morning” and *utejan* “night”, always appear in a prepositional phrase headed by *na* “with”.

7.190 **Na utejan mēnt bawul ašin baka**
 na u- tejan mēnt ba- wul a- şin baka
 and C2S night that C1P give C1AS father C1P.OBJ

poot

poot

wine

“That same night they gave their father wine”

7.191 **Şompi anaşa na nfa kub**
 Şompi a- naş -a na nfa kub
 Shompi C1S stand MID and morning early

“Shompi got up early in the morning”

7.7 Pronouns

7.7.1 Personal pronouns

In Mankanya personal pronouns indicate the person and number of the subject, and in the case of non-humans, the class. See sections 3.5 for the complete paradigm.

7.7.1.1 Independent subject pronouns

Independent subject pronouns are not often used in a neutral phrase to replace the subject noun or noun phrase. The subject prefix is sufficient to indicate the person, number and class of the subject. For example:

7.192 **Bakob babi**
 ba- kob ba- bi
 C1P drummer C1P come

“The drummers are coming”

7.193 **Babi**
 ba- bi
 C1P come

“They are coming”

7.194 **Upi ude**
 u- pi u- de
 C2S goat C2S eat

“The goat is eating”

7.195 **Ude**
 u- de
 C2S eat

“It eats”

The subject prefix on the verb is still required even when a pronoun is used as the subject.

Independent subject pronouns are used to express the subject, when the subject is in marked focus. They can either be used in an independent vocative phrase:

7.196 **Iwi** , **iyeeh**
 iwi i- yeeh
 2S.SUBJ 2S sing

“You, you sing”

Or in subject position:

7.197 **Kë ul ašë yomp yomp**
 kë ul a- šë yomp yomp
 DS 3S.SUBJ C1S SEQ be_quiet be_quiet

“But he remained silent”

They are also used if a pronoun is needed in a coordinated noun phrase:

7.198 **Šompi aya afët du pnkuŋ** ,
 Šompi a- ya a- fët d- u p- nkuŋ
 Shompi C1S go C1S dwell EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill

ul na babukul baať batëb
 ul na ba- buk -ul b- aať ba- tëb
 3S.SUBJ and C1P child 3S.POSS C1P female C1P two

“Shompi and his two daughters left to go and live in the hills”

7.199 **Ul na baťašarul baando hılan**
 ul na ba- řašar -ul ba- an- do hılan
 3S.SUBJ and C1P follower 3S.POSS C1P NEG INGR be_able

pde

p- de

INF eat

“He and his followers were not even able to eat”

7.200 **Nji na napoť ŋya Ziguinchor**
 ŋji na na- poť ŋ- ya Ziguinchor
 1S.SUBJ and C1S child 1P go Ziguinchor

“My child and I are going to Ziguinchor”

The 1st singular subject pronoun is also commonly used in relative clauses and other situations where the 1st person subject prefix is pre-nasalisation.

7.201 **bhoŋar bi nji ndoluŋ**
 b- hoŋ -ar b- i nji n- dol -uŋ
 C5S promise BEN C5S GEN 1S.SUBJ 1S.SEL do SEL

“the promise that I made”

7.202 **uko wi nji n̄tupuŋ**
 u- ko w- i n̄ji n- ̄tup -uŋ
 C2S thing C2S GEN 1S.SUBJ 1S.SEL announce SEL
 “the thing that I announced”

7.7.1.2 Object pronouns

Object pronouns follow the verb.

Most of the human object pronouns are suffixes which start with a vowel. Only the class 1 plural pronoun, which starts with a consonant is an independent word. All pronouns referring to non-human classes are also separate words.

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

7.204 **Fukma akoba**
 ̄tukma a- kob -a
 Thukma C1S hit 3s.OBJ
 “Thukma hits her”

7.205 **Fukma akob bapoŋ**
 ̄tukma a- kob ba- poŋ
 Thukma C1S hit C1P child
 “Thukma hits the children”

7.206 **Fukma akob baka**
 ̄tukma a- kob baka
 Thukma C1S hit C2P.OBJ
 “Thukma hits them”

7.207 **Fukma akob upi**
 ̄tukma a- kob u- pi
 Thukma C1S hit C2S goat
 “Thukma hits the goat”

7.208 **Fukma akob wa**
 ̄tukma a- kob w- a
 Thukma C1S hit C2S OBJ
 “Thukma hits it (goat)”

In a ditransitive clause where the pronoun is written as independent word, the pronoun always follows the verb.

7.209 **Fukma aṭen kamiṣa Ṣaja**
 ʔukma a- ʔen ka- miṣa Ṣaja
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3S shirt Ṣaja
 “Thukma gives a shirt to Ṣaja”

7.210 **Fukma aṭena kamiṣa**
 ʔukma a- ʔen -a ka- miṣa
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) OBJ C3S shirt
 “Thukma gives her a shirt”

7.211 **Fukma aṭen ka Ṣaja**
 ʔukma a- ʔen k- a Ṣaja
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3S OBJ Ṣaja
 “Thukma gives it to Ṣaja”

This is the case even for an indirect object.

7.212 **Fukma aṭen ikaalu upi**
 ʔukma a- ʔen i- kaalu u- pi
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3P food C2S goat
 “Thukma gives food to the goat”

7.213 **Fukma aṭen wa ikaalu**
 ʔukma a- ʔen w- a i- kaalu
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C2S OBJ C3P food
 “Thukma gives it the food”

When two non-human pronouns are used the direct object directly follows the verb.

7.214 **Fukma aṭen ya wa**
 ʔukma a- ʔen y- a w- a
 Thukma C1S give_(as_present) C3P OBJ C2S OBJ
 “Thukma gives it (food) to it (goat)”

Normally the Mankanya avoid using two human pronouns together. The following example is possible but rare.

7.215 **Fukma awula a**
 ʔukma a- wul -a a
 Thukma C1S give 3s.OBJ OBJ
 “Thukma gives him to her”

7.7.2 Non-personal pronouns

7.7.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

I have already discussed demonstratives in section 7.3.5.

They can also be employed as demonstrative pronouns, replacing a complete noun phrase, in either object or subject positions.

7.216 **dɲal ki**
 d- ɲal k- i
 1S like C3S DEM.PROX
 “I want this one”

7.217 **ɲi ɲawo ɲnuura**
 ɲ- i ɲa- wo ɲ- nuur -a
 C2P DEM.PROX C2P be C2P be_good CMPL
 “These are good”

7.7.2.2 Indefinite pronoun

The indefinite marker, that is *CL-loŋ* where *CL* is the class prefix, can also be used as an indefinite pronoun, in either subject or object positions.

7.218 **Baloŋ baanji bahil pnug ya**
 ba- loŋ ba- an- ji ba- hil p- nug y- a
 C1P INDEF C1P NEG HAB C1P be_able INF buy C3P OBJ
 “Some people can't buy them”

7.219 **ɲloŋ ɲadaan meel**
 ɲ- loŋ ɲa- daan meel
 C2P INDEF C2P drink water
 “Some (animals) drank water”

