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

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

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

Issue Date: 2020-11-05

Chapter 8 - Verb System

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will first discuss the lexical aspectual classes of verbs in Mankanya, and then how auxiliary verbs are used to create tense and aspect distinctions.

As noted previously, the main ways of making tense and aspect distinctions in Mankanya are analytic, rather than morphological. In particular extensive use is made of auxiliaries, most of which can be identified as being grammaticalised versions of lexical verbs. These auxiliaries combine with main verbs in auxiliary verb constructions (hereafter referred to as AVCs).

Some of the material in this chapter was first treated in Gaved (2014).

As explained in section 8.4.2, this chapter does not discuss lexical verbs which take a sentential complement (which may be non-finite). They will be dealt with in chapter 9, where I discuss complex clauses. Because of the nature of grammaticalisation, there are some cases where the distinction between auxiliary and lexical verb with sentential complement is fuzzy.

8.2 Lexical aspectual classes

Before discussing how morphology and auxiliaries add tense and aspectual information to a clause, it is necessary to consider the aspectual semantics of the lexical verb. Various classifications have been proposed, of which the most widely discussed is that of Vendler (1957), extended by various others, for example Van Valin (van Valin Jr 2005). Here I will use the framework used by Botne (1983) based on work by Freed (1979). He proposes that a verb describes an event that has three possible phases: an optional onset (O), a nucleus (N), and an optional coda (C). Aspectual classes are then defined by whether they include initial or final boundaries or both, and whether phases are punctual or durative.

The most easily identifiable verbs are activities which have a nucleus that describes something that with a duration, for example *yeh* “sing”. An event

of “singing” usually has a point where the singing starts, and some point where it ends. It could therefore simply be represented by:



However, it can also be viewed as having an onset phase (highlighted in English by “as I start to sing”) and a coda (in English “as I finished singing”).



In a simple sentence like *dyeeh* “I sing”, activity verbs give no indication of beginning or ending, only the nucleus is profiled.

The duration of the nucleus could be extremely short, for example with semelfactive activity verbs like *kob* “hit”. It is rare for these verbs to have onset and coda phases, unless the context is a zoomed-in view of the time duration.



Such verbs have an iterative reading when used in a progressive form *awo ʔi pkob* “I am hitting” (see section 8.8.5).

Some events descriptions have a definite end; these are accomplishments in Vendler’s system. For example whereas *niw* “build” can be an activity without a clearly defined end, the event described by *aniw katoh* “He builds a house” finishes when the house is built. Another example is *ade pmaŋa* “he eats the mango” where the event finishes when the mango is all consumed. They have a resultant state e.g. the built house.



There are also semelfactive accomplishments, for example *kit* “break”:



These can be compared with change of state verbs like *dēm* “become big”, and *bon* “become thin” which have no clearly defined end point. There is an onset phase of starting to become the state, the nucleus is the process of becoming the state, and then there is the continuing coda of being in the state.



A significant indication of these change of state verbs is that they are not construed as in the past when used with the completive *-i* suffix (see section 8.5.1).

8.1 **Baṭoon** **ṭi** **uṭaak** **wi** **na** **nja**
 ba- ṭo -on ṭ- i u- ṭaak w- i na nja
 C1P sit IMP INT LOC.PROX C2S country C2S GEN and 1P.OBJ

udëmi

u- dëm -i
 C2S grow CMPL

“Let them live in this country with us - it is big”

Without the completive suffix (example 8.2) or when used with imperfective prefix *k-* (example 8.3), the nucleus (i.e. process of changing state) is profiled:

8.2 **Adëm** **te** **kë** **anin** **ado**
 a- dëm te kë a- nin a- do
 C1S grow until DS C1AS mother C1S INGR

kayana

kay -an -a
 be_dry CAUS C1S.OBJ

“He grew until he was weaned”

8.3 **Wi** **akñoguj** **ubeeka**
 wi a- k- ñog -uj u- beeka
 when C1S IMPERF be_close SEL C2S town

“As he was approaching the town...”

There are also a small number of “true” state verbs, where there is duration, but no beginning and end.

 N

An indicator of these verbs is that when used without the completive suffix *-i*, they indicate a current state. For example the verb *naṭ* “stand” in the next example:

8.4 **Aṣë** **win** **biinṭ** **bawajanṭ** **kë** **banat**
 a- ṣë win b- iinṭ ba- wajanṭ kë ba- nat
 C1S SEQ see C1P man C1P three DS C1P stand

du **kadunul**

d- u ka- dun -ul
 EXT LOC.DIST C3S front 3s.POSS

“Then he saw three men standing in front of him.”

Also when they are used with the imperfective *k-*, they can only have a future reading, (not a current reading like activities, or a coming-to-be reading like change of state verbs).

8.5 In aknaṭuŋ

in a- k- naṭ -uŋ
 who? C1S IMPERF stand SEL

“Who will stand?”

Derivation can change the aspectual class. For example whereas *naṭ* is a stative verb, *naṭa* (with the middle suffix *-a*) is an activity verb.

8.6 Anaṭa

a- naṭ -a
 C1S stand MID

“He stood up”

8.3 Auxiliaries and Auxiliary Verb Constructions

There are many different definitions for the term *auxiliary*. Heine (1993, 3–26) gives an overview of the different viewpoints which overlap in some cases. Anderson (2006, 4) gives this definition “an item on the lexical verb – functional affix continuum, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically bleached, and grammaticalised to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories...” Anderson contends that there probably cannot be a language independent formal criterion to determine whether a given element is a lexical verb or an auxiliary verb, so I will adapt his definition to give the following one specific to Mankanya: “a word that takes verbal inflection prefixes, whose stem has undergone some semantic bleaching and which modifies a verb to express tense, aspect or mood, or similar semantic values”

Anderson’s definition is based on work about the processes of grammaticalisation e.g. Heine (1993) and Heine and Kuteva (2002). Grammaticalisation is the combination of linguistic changes whereby over the course of time lexical items become grammatical items. In the context of auxiliaries, a common pattern has been found to be that lexical verbal items often become markers of tense, aspect and mode. Heine refers to this as the Verb-to-TAM chain, and Anderson, in the definition above, calls it the lexical verb – functional affix continuum. As lexical verbs move along this chain, they change semantically, morphosyntactically, morphologically and phonetically, though often each aspect changes at a different rate.

Very often an auxiliary verb is only partially responsible for the tense or aspect distinction brought to a clause, and it must be accompanied by other morpho-syntactic changes, and the whole is often referred to as an Auxiliary Verb Construction (AVC). This is illustrated in English by the progressive construction, *be -ing*, where only the combination of the auxiliary verb *be* with the verbal morpheme *-ing* that gives the progressive meaning. Using one without the other results in an ungrammatical clause.

8.4 Preliminary Information

The table below summarises the main auxiliary verb structures found. Most auxiliaries occur before the lexical verb they modify.

Structure	Example	Gloss
AGR-AUX ASP-SER-STEM	<i>a-luŋ k-a-niw katoh</i>	He will build a house
AGR-AUX STEM	<i>a-bi niw katoh</i>	He built a house
AGR-AUX AGR-STEM	<i>ba-ji ba-nug uṭëb</i>	They always buy fish
AGR-AUX LOC PFX-STEM	<i>ba-wo ʒi u-lemp</i>	They are working
AGR-AUX AGR-GEN INF-STEM	<i>ba-wo bik-i p-lemp</i>	They should work
AGR-AUX AGR-GEN ASP-SER-STEM	<i>ba-wo bik-i k-a-lemp</i>	They must work

Table 8.1: Auxiliary verb constructions

AGR	Agreement prefix
ASP	Aspectual prefix
AUX	Auxiliary
GEN	Genitive particle
LOC	Locative*
PFX	Nominal prefix
SER	Serial prefix
STEM	Verbal stem

*The only locative used in auxiliary constructions is *ʒi* - the internal proximal locative.

In the examples in this chapter, the auxiliary verb will be glossed with the sense of the overall construction. In some cases one form (e.g. *bi*) maybe glossed in different ways in different structures.

8.4.1 Analysis of k- a- prefixes

A number of different auxiliary constructions use the first structure in Table 8.1 above - for example the future with *luŋ* (for more detail see section 8.7.1).

8.7 **Aluŋ kaniw katoh**
 a- luŋ k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

The lexical verb in this structure has the form *kaniw*. This is the stem *niw* “build” plus some prefixes. These prefixes are invariable. I have analysed these as *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial”, but an alternative might seem to

be the nominal class 3 singular prefix *ka-*, or the habitual first person singular prefix *ka-*. In the next few paragraphs I discuss why I prefer the first analysis.

Though the nominal prefix *ka-* can be used to create verbal nouns (see section 5.1), it is only used with certain stems. For example, *lemp* “work” does not form a verbal noun with *ka-* but with the class 2 prefix *u-*, i.e. *ulemp*.

8.8 **ulemp wi iñen yi naan**
 u- lemp w- i i- ñen y- i naan
 C2S work C2S GEN C3P hand C3P GEN 1S.GEN

“The work of my hands”

However, when it is used in the future construction with *luŋ* it still takes *k-* and *a-*.

8.9 **Aluŋ kalemp faan**
 a- luŋ k- a- lemp faan
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER work tomorrow

“He will work tomorrow”

The imperfective *k-* indicates an action that has not yet finished. For example:

8.10 **Alaalan umeeşa wi akbomanuŋ**
 a- laalan u- meeşa w- i a- k- boman -uŋ
 C1S feel C2S table C2S GEN C1S IMPERF make SEL

“She is touching the table that she is making”

So it is not unexpected to find an imperfective prefix used with the future as a future act is clearly not yet finished.

Further, when *luŋ* is used with *woli* “if”, the *k-* is dropped, though the future sense remains. It would seem that irrealis nature of *woli* makes the imperfective *k-* unnecessary.

8.11 ... **woli naluŋ aya ŋrisiya ʈi dmaas**
 woli na- luŋ a- ya ŋrisiya ʈ- i dmaas
 if 2P FUT SER go church INT LOC.PROX Sunday

ŋya na baka
 ŋ- ya na baka
 1P go and C1P.OBJ

“... if you go to church this Sunday, we will go with you”

This indicates that either there are two prefixes *k-* and *a-* or that *ka-* has been replaced by *a-*. If *ka-* were the class 3 singular nominal prefix then *a-* would also be expected to be a nominal prefix, the singular prefix of class 1.

This seems unlikely as that prefix is only used elsewhere on a very small group of kinship terms, e.g. *aşin* “father”.

It seems equally unlikely that this is the same as habitual first person singular prefix *ka-*, which in all other case is only found with first person singular subjects.

8.4.2 Verbs with infinitive complements

Verbs like *ŋal* “want”, or *numa* “need”, which take infinitival clauses as complements as an alternative to a nominal complement, are sometimes referred to as auxiliaries, but I will not be treating them as such in this section. Though semantically they could be said to indicate modality, there is no difference in their meaning when used with a nominal complement or an infinite verbal complement. There is no semantic bleaching, and therefore do not fit the definition of auxiliary given in section 8.1.

8.12 **Dŋal pju*k* iyee*h* yi nan**
 d- ŋal p- ju*k* i- yee*h* y- i nan
 1*S* like INF learn C3*P* song C3*P* GEN 2*P*.POSS
 “I want to learn your songs”

8.13 **Nanuma pde**
 na- numa p- de
 2*P* need INF eat
 “You need to eat”

8.5 Completive and Imperfective

The two main aspects that are morphologically marked in Mankanya are the completive and imperfective. Note that it is completive aspect that is marked, not perfective. Perfective aspect sees the event as a complete whole, regardless of whether the event has finished or not, whereas the aspect that is marked in Mankanya cannot be used with an unfinished event. As described in section 4.2.8 the imperfective aspect is marked in some contexts with the *k-* prefix, and completive aspect is marked in some contexts with the *-i* suffix. The two affixes cannot co-occur, but their distribution is not complementary.

8.5.1 Completive

The completive aspect in Mankanya describe the current state of an event where the end of the nucleus (if one exists) is in the past, relative to the speaker’s viewpoint. It cannot be used with future events.

In a simple declarative sentence it is marked with the *-i* suffix.

With change of state verbs, the completive aspect expresses the actual state. Depending on the context this may be either present or past and this is reflected in the free translations of the examples below.

8.14 **Naših aadebaṭi**
 na- ṣih a- deebaṭ -i
 C1S chief C1S be_angry CMPL
 “The chief was/is angry”

8.15 **Wal wi Paapa akkeṭuṅ**
 w- al w- i paapa a- k- keṭ -uṅ
 C2S moment C2S GEN daddy C1S IMPERF die SEL

uñogi
 u- ñog -i
 C2S be_close CMPL
 “The time when father was going to die was/is near”

8.16 **Ado wa kë uyimani**
 a- do w- a kë u- yiman -i
 C1S do C2S OBJ DS C2S respect CMPL
 “He made it sacred”

8.17 **Napoṭ aankeṭi**
 na- poṭ a- an- keṭ -i
 C1S child C1S NEG die CMPL
 “The child is/was not dead”

8.18 **Baji na Naala kë Şompi abukul**
 ba- ji na Naala kë Şompi a- buk -ul
 C1P say and Nala DS Shompi C1AS child 3s.POSS

abani
 a- ban -i
 C1S arrive CMPL
 “They told Nala that Shompi her son had arrived”

This can be diagrammed like this, where TT is the Topic Time and the grey box indicates the part of the event that is profiled by the *-i* suffix.

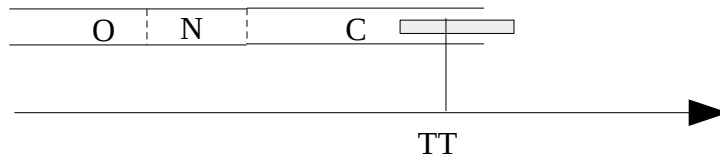


Diagram 8:1: Timeline of completive with change of state verbs

The sense is similar with purely stative verbs:

8.19 **Tenan baṭi , ifën ṅjah woli**
 ten -an ba- ṭi , i- fën ṅ- jah woli
 look_at IMP C5S sky 2S count C2P star if

ihinani

i- hinan -i
 C3P be_able_to CMPL

“Look at the sky, count the stars if you are able”

8.20 **Woli Ajugun aṅali , ṅluṅ**
 woli a- jug -un a- ṅal -i ṅ- luṅ
 if C1AS owner 1P.POSS C1S like CMPL 1P FUT

kawo bajeb

ka- wo ba- jeb
 C3S be C1P healthy

“If our Lord is willing, we will be healed”

8.21 **Ṣompi kë aṣë mēbana ṭi**
 Ṣompi kë a- ṣë mēb -an -a ṭ- i
 Shompi DS C1S SEQ carry CAUS C1S.OBJ INT LOC.PROX

kañen anaṭana kë anaṭi

ka- ñen a- naṭ -an -a kë a- naṭ -i
 C3S hand SER stand CAUS C1S.OBJ DS SER stand CMPL

“He took her in his hand, made her stand up and she stood”

For purely stative verbs, it seems that the completive is used to highlight the state.

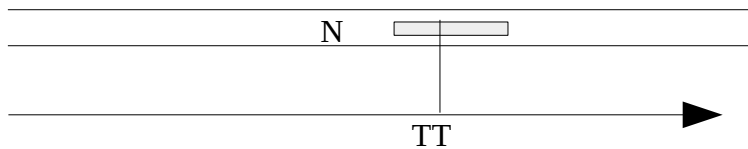


Diagram 8.2: Timeline of completive with pure state verbs

When used to describe activities or accomplishments, the event is interpreted as in the past.

8.22 **Wi adoluṅ kë bamuuri aduka**
 wi a- dol -uṅ kë ba- muur -i a- duk -a
 when C1S do SEL DS C1P cross CMPL C1S leave MID

aloolan

a- loolan
 C1S one

“When he had made them cross, he was left alone”

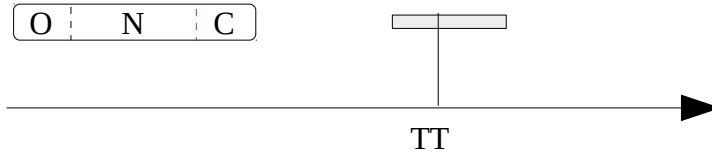


Diagram 8.3: Timeline of completive with activity and accomplishment verbs

The event described can be a negative activity as in example 8.23. Here the negative activity is explicitly temporally bound by the first half of the sentence.

8.23 **Aṭo da ḡnuur ḡwajaṅṅ aantee**
 a- ṭo d- a ḡ- nuur ḡ- wajaṅṅ a- an- de -e
 C1S sit C9S OBJ C2P day C2P three C1S NEG eat CMPL
aandaani
 a- an- daan -i
 C1S NEG drink CMPL

“He stayed there three days, not eating, not drinking”

The completive *-i* makes the verb syntactically intransitive.

8.24 **Awula poot kë adaani**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL

“She gave him wine and he drank”

8.25 * **Awula poot kë adaani pa**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i p- a
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL C4S OBJ

“She gave him wine and he drank it”

8.26 * **Awula poot kë awaapi pa Dama**
 a- wul -a poot kë a- waap -i p- a Dama
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S sell CMPL C4S OBJ Dama

“She gave him wine and he sold it to Dama”

This de-transitivisation highlights the action, rather than the object, and converts accomplishment verbs into activities. In example 8.27 and 8.28 what is important is the eating and drinking, not what was eaten or drunk.

8.27 **Ayiṣa kë adee abot**
 a- yiṣ -a kë a- de -e abot
 C1S serve_out_(food) C1S.OBJ DS C1S eat CMPL and

awula poot kë adaani
 a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i
 C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL

“She served him and he ate, gave him wine and he drank”

8.28 **Wi wi ayaan aliiik**
 w- i w- i a- ya -aŋ a- liik
 C2S DEM.PROX C2S GEN C1S go SEL SER draw_water
ubuuli atuman awul napoŋ kë adaani
 u- buuli a- tuman a- wul na- poŋ kë a- daan -i
 C2S gourd SER fill SER give C1S child DS C1S drink CMPL
 “Going to the well, she drew water in a gourd, filled it and gave it to the child, and he drank”

8.29 **Babuki o baambuki** ,
 ba- buk -i o ba- am- buk -i
 C1P produce CMPL or C1P NEG produce CMPL
bawayşëri , baamba ba bniim
 ba- wayşër -i ba- am- ba ba b- niim
 C5S disperse CMPL C5S NEG finish finish C5S marriage
 “With children or without children, separated, their marriage is not finished”

In relative and other clauses that are marked with *-uŋ* it is not possible to use the completive *-i*.

8.30 **Wi abanuŋ du Fugtor**
 wi a- ban -uŋ d- u Fugtor
 when C1S touch SEL EXT LOC.DIST Ziguinchor
 “When she arrived at Ziguinchor”

8.31 **Baŋupa uko bti wi badoluŋ**
 ba- ŋup -a u- ko bti w- i ba- dol -uŋ
 C1P speak C1S.OBJ C2S thing all C2S GEN C1P do SEL
na wi bajukanuŋ
 na w- i ba- juk -an -uŋ
 and C2S GEN C1P learn CAUS SEL
 “They told him all the things that they had done and taught”

8.32 **plaak pandëmuŋ maakan**
 p- laak pa- n- dëm -uŋ maakan
 C6S stone C6S COREF grow SEL very
 “A stone that was very large”

8.33 **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”

In these cases the detransitisation that is found with *-i* suffix does not occur.

8.5.2 Imperfective

Imperfective is not usually marked in a simple affirmative declarative sentence. As noted in section 4.2.8.1 it is marked with *k-* in a variety of other situations.

It is found in relative and other clauses that are marked with *-uj*. Compare example 8.34 with example 8.33 above .

8.34 **Dwin nalët ankmbomanuj**
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uj
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL

blaañ

b- laañ

C6S wrap

“I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

Without any other auxiliaries the imperfective profiles the nuclear phase of an event. As it does not reference the end of the event there is no difference of interpretation between activity and accomplishment verbs.

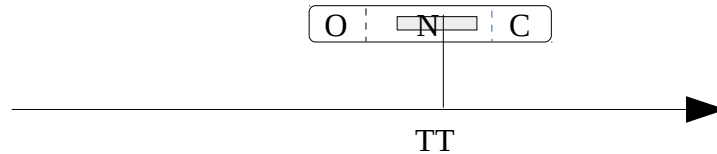


Diagram 8:4: Timeline of imperfective with activity and accomplishment verbs

Compare also the following two temporal clauses with the change of state verb *ñog* “become near”:

8.35 **Wi nakuul añoguj**
 wi na- kuul a- ñog -uj
 when C1S blind C1S be close SEL

“When the blind man had come close\When the blind man was near”

8.36 **Wi nakuul akñoguj**
 wi na- kuul a- k- ñog -uj
 when C1S blind C1S IMPERF be_close SEL

“As the blind man was\is approaching”

Whereas the first example profiles the coda, i.e. the current state, the imperfective *k-* profiles the nucleus, the changing state.

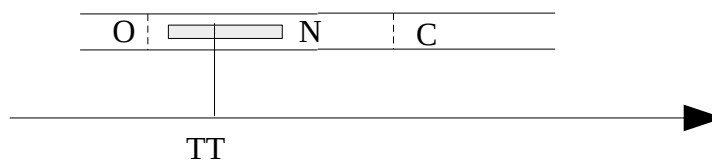


Diagram 8:5: Timeline of imperfective with change of state verbs

The imperfective is always marked in negatives:

- 8.37 **Dama aankde umaanan**
 Dama a- an- k- de u- maanan
 Dama C1S NEG IMPERF eat C3S rice
 “Dama isn't eating the rice”

After a *kë* that is acting as a complementiser (COMP), the imperfective is marked if the event after the *kë* is occurring at the same time as the event before the *kë*. So in example 8.38 the walking *ikpoş* occurred the same time as the hearing *d̥iink*.

- 8.38 **D̥iink kë ikpoş ʈi uwoorta**
 d- tiink kë i- k- poş ʈ- i u- woorta
 1s hear COMP 2S IMPERF walk INT LOC.PROX C2S garden
kë nl̥nki
 kë n- l̥nk -i
 DS 1S.SUB be_afraid CMPL
 “I heard you walking in the garden and I was afraid”

- 8.39 **aşë win udu kë ukpën**
 a- şë win u- du kë u- k- pën
 SER SEQ see C2S smoke COMP C2S IMPERF go_out
da
 d- a
 C9S OBJ
 “and he saw smoke rising there”

- 8.40 **Naşibaṭi ayeṇ napoṭ kë akdë**
 na- şibaṭi a- yeṇ na- poṭ kë a- k- d̥em
 C1S God C1S guard C1S child DS C1S IMPERF grow
 “God was with the boy as he grew up”

Otherwise after a *kë*, if the verb has object arguments it is unmarked for aspect.

- 8.41 **Awul wa nalemparul kë ajuṇ**
 a- wul w- a na- lemp -ar -ul kë a- juṇ
 C1S give C2S OBJ C1S work BEN 3s.POSS DS C1S cook
aṭaran
 a- ṭar -an
 SER be_fast CAUS
 “He gave it to his servant and she cooked it quickly”

- 8.42 **Awin kë mboş manjun pkay**
 a- win kë m- boş man- jun p- kay
 C1S see DS C8 earth C8 begin INF be_dry
 “He saw that the land had begun to dry”

If it has no object arguments then it is marked with the completive *-i* (see example 8.24 above).

8.6 Functional Overview

Tense			
Future	AGR- <i>luŋ</i> ASP-SER-STEM AGR- <i>ya</i> ASP-SER-STEM AGR- <i>bi</i> ASP-SER-STEM	<i>aluŋ kaniw katoh</i> <i>aya kaniw katoh</i> <i>abi kaniw katoh</i>	He will build a house
Past	AGR- <i>bi</i> STEM	<i>abi de</i>	He ate
Aspect			
Sequential	AGR- <i>šë</i> STEM	<i>aya Dakar, ašë nug ŋtëb</i>	He went to Dakar, and then he bought fish
Habitual	AGR- <i>ji</i> AGR2-STEM	<i>aji alemp</i>	He usually works
Continuative	AGR- <i>jon</i> ASP-SER-STEM	<i>ajon kalemp</i>	He's still working
Persistent	AGR- <i>hum</i> ASP-SER-STEM	<i>ahum kalemp</i>	He's still working
Ingressive	AGR- <i>doo</i> STEM	<i>adoo de</i>	until he eats
Repetitive	AGR- <i>kak</i> SER-STEM	<i>akak abi</i>	He's coming again
Progressive	AGR- <i>wo</i> <i>ti</i> PFX-STEM	<i>awo ti ulemp</i>	He's working
Terminative	AGR-STEM1 SER- <i>ba</i> STEM2	<i>ade aba daan</i>	He drank after he ate
Mode			
Obligative	AGR- <i>wo</i> GEN INF-STEM	<i>awo i plem</i>	He must work
Epistemic	AGR- <i>wo</i> GEN ASP-SER-STEM	<i>awo i kabi</i>	He should work

8.7 Tense

8.7.1 Future

The first tense that I will consider is the future, that is the Topic Time (TT) is in the future with respect to the Time of Utterance (TU).

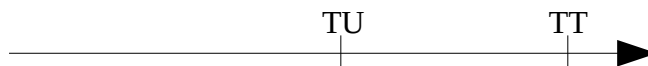


Diagram 8:6: Timeline of future tense

To indicate that something will happen in the future, it is possible to use three different auxiliaries: *luŋ* which cannot be used as a lexical verb (see discussion below), *ya* which as a lexical verb means “go, move away from the speaker”, and *bi* which as a lexical verb has the sense of “come, move towards the speaker”. Though there might have been differences in the past, current speakers do not consistently differentiate. In informal speech *ya* seems now to predominate, but the translation of the New Testament into Mankanya (translated over the period 2000-2010) mostly uses *luŋ*.

8.43 **aluŋ** **kaniw** **katoh**
 a- luŋ k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

8.44 **aya** **kaniw** **katoh**
 a- ya k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

8.45 **abi** **kaniw** **katoh**
 a- bi k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

All three auxiliaries can be used with any verb stem, and there seems to be no restriction on which verbs they can be used with.

8.46 **Naluŋ** **kame** **manjoonan**
 na- luŋ k- a- me ma- njoonan
 2P FUT IMPERF SER know C8 truth
 “You will know the truth”

8.47 **Baluŋ** **kakeŋ** **jibi** **ŋlimariya** **ŋajaan**
 ba- luŋ k- a- keŋ jibi ŋ- limariya ŋa- ja -aŋ
 C1P FUT IMPERF SER die like 1P animal C2P HAB SEL

ŋakeŋ
 ŋa- keŋ
 C2P die
 “They will die like animals”

8.48 **ŋdeey** **ŋaluŋ** **katum**
 ŋ- deey ŋa- luŋ k- a- tum
 C2P grain C2P FUT IMPERF SER many
 “There will be much grain”

Note that in example 8.48 above, the future is profiling the nucleus/coda of a change of state verb, i.e. indicating that the state will be reached.

An important common feature is that the lexical verb in the construction is marked with the prefix *k-* “imperfective”. This is especially important because using *bi* without the imperfective marker gives the sense of something in the past (see section 8.7.2 below). The future is incompatible with the completive aspect *-i*.

The auxiliary *luŋ* no longer exists as an independent lexical verb. It is further along the grammaticalisation chain from lexical verb to functional affix than the other future auxiliaries and this is an indication that it is the oldest of the three future forms. What it might have developed from is not clear. Possibly it might have originated from a verb terminated with the subordinating suffix *-uŋ*. A candidate for this could be *la* “look for”, which inherently has a semantic component of incompleteness. There is a similar notion of futurity in the English expression “looking to do something” as in “I’m looking to work in the field of linguistics”. *la* and *uŋ* could have combined to form *luuŋ* which then shortened to *luŋ*. Evidence in favour of this possibility is that when used in a situation where the *-uŋ* suffix would normally be used, e.g. in a relative clause, *luŋ* does not take this suffix.

8.49 **Unuur wi akluŋ kakeŋ**
 u- nuur w- i a- k- luŋ k- a- keŋ
 C2S day C2S GEN C1S IMPERF FUT IMPERF SER die
 “The day when he will die”

Compare this to another verb that ends with *uŋ* - *juŋ* “cook”

8.50 **kapoom ki ajuŋuŋ**
 ka- poom k- i a- juŋ -uŋ
 C3S bread C3S GEN C1S cook SEL
 “The bread that she had baked”

Another possibility is found in the fact that *uŋ* also exists as a distal demonstrative stem, and this may have somehow combined with the same verb *la* “look for”. Cross-linguistically, spatial distance is sometimes a metaphor for temporal distance.

However, neither of these grammaticalisation chains are documented in Heine and Kuteva (2002).

The second future auxiliary structure that I will look at is that which is formed by using *ya* as an auxiliary. The lexical meaning of *ya* is “go, move away from the speaker”

8.51 **Bantohi baya untabanka**
 ba- ntohi ba- ya u- ntabanka
 C1P elder 3P go C2S village
 “The elders are going to the village”

But in the following example it adds the sense of future.

- 8.52 **aya kaniw katoh** (repeat of example 8.44)
 a- ya k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

Ya can also be used with a verbal complement, a stem with the infinitive *p-* prefix, with the sense of going somewhere with the purpose of doing something.

- 8.53 **Şompi aya pyit aşin**
 Şompi a- ya p- yit a- şin
 Shompi C1S go INF meet C1S father
 “Shompi is going to meet his father”

This construction still has the sense of motion, but the event of meeting is in the future. Constructions like this probably influenced the development of *ya* as an auxiliary with the *k- a-* prefixes on the lexical verb.

The grammaticalisation of verbs meaning “go” into future auxiliaries is attested in many languages. Here are a couple of examples:

- 8.54 Zulu (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 163)

- a **baya eGoli**
 ba- ya e- Goli
 3:PL- go LOC- Johannesburg
 “They are going to Johannesburg”

- b **bayakufika**
 ba- ya- ku- fika
 3:PL- go INF arrive
 “They will arrive”

- 8.55 Igbo (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 164)

- a **ó gà àbyá**
 he go come:NOMIN
 “He's going to come”

The third way of indicating future is with the verb *bi* as an auxiliary.

- 8.56 **Abi kaniw katoh** (Repeat of example 8.45)
 a- bi k- a- niw ka- toh
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house
 “He will build the house”

As seen in section 8.7.2, this verb has a lexical meaning of “come, motion towards”.

The grammaticalisation chain of a verb with the sense of “come” into a future tense marker is, like go, not unusual. Here are some further examples from Heine and Kuteva:

8.57 Bambara (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 76)

a **ù tɛ nà**
3:PL NEG:AUX come
“They didn't come”

b **à ná sà**
3:SG FUT die
“He will die” (= everyone has to die someday)

8.58 Zulu (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 77)

a **ngiyeza**
ngi- ye- za
1:SG- ?- come
“I'm coming”

b **uzakufika**
u- za- ku- fika
2:SG- come INF arrive
“He'll arrive”⁴

Whereas Zulu uses both come and go to differentiate between near and distant future, the Mankanya speakers I have asked do not seem to be able to make a similar distinction between the three different auxiliaries used to form the future in their language. Some mention the motion component in *ya* and *bi*. Others have the intuition that *ya* and *bi* refer to nearer future than *luŋ*. However, there seems to be no consistent distinction.

It would seem fairly unusual for *bi* to have grammaticalised both as a future auxiliary and as a past auxiliary. The fact that *bi* as a past auxiliary seems to have developed along the chain (where *bi* is modifying the lexical verb *de* “eat”) *abi ade* > (*abii de* ?) > *abi de* might indicate that the process of changing to the past marker has been going on for some time. This would in turn suggest that *bi* as a future marker is a more recent innovation. Further research is needed, including a comparison with related and neighbouring languages, to be more certain.

When used in the negative, all the future structures have the negative prefix on the auxiliary. Compare this to the negative version of the PAST use of *bi* in example 8.74.

4 This is the translation given in Heine and Kuteva, though if the gloss is correct it should be “You'll arrive”.

8.59 **p̣ɕih** **pi** **nul** **paankluŋ**
 p- ɕih p- i nul pa- an- k- luŋ
 C6S kingdom/throne C6S GEN C1S.POSS C6S NEG IMPERF FUT

kaba

k- a- ba
 IMPERF SER finish
 “His kingdom will not end”

8.60 **baankya** **katoka** **da**
 ba- an- k- ya k- a- tok -a d- a
 C5S NEG IMPERF FUT IMPERF SER break MID C9S 3.OBJ

“They will not be ruined there”

8.61 **aankbi** **kaɕenk** **baka**
 a- an- k- bi k- a- ɕenk baka
 C1S NEG IMPERF FUT IMPERF SER help C1P.OBJ

“He is not going to help them”

When these structures are used in a situation that requires the *-uŋ* selectional suffix (SEL) (allomorph *-iŋ* in the example below), it is the auxiliary *ya* or *bi* that takes the suffix (as noted above *luŋ* does not take this suffix) and requires a *k-* prefix, but the lexical verb still takes the *k-* and *a-* prefixes. For example:

8.62 **Baɕi** **uko** **wi** **bañaan**
 ba- ɕi u- ko w- i ba- ñaan
 C1P be_afraid_of C2S thing C2S GEN C1P person

bakbiŋ **kado**
 ba- k- bi -iŋ k- a- do
 C1P IMPERF FUT SEL IMPERF SER do

“They were afraid of what the people would do”

8.7.2 Past

The verb *bi* “come” can be used as an auxiliary to indicate PAST tense, i.e. the Topic Time (TT) is in the past with respect to the Time of Utterance (TU).

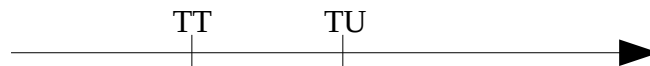


Diagram 8:7: Timeline of past tense

8.63 **Abi** **niw** **katoh**
 a- bi niw ka- toh
 C1S PST build C3S house

“He built the house”

8.64 **Ñiint̃ abi ya du uṭaak**
 ñ- iint̃ a- bi ya d- u u- ṭaak
 C1S man C1S PST go EXT LOC.DIST C2S country

unlowuŋ

u- n- low -uŋ

C2S COREF be_apart SEL

“The man went to a far country (lit: a country that was far)”

8.65 **Ibi bi pṭokun i**
 i- bi bi p- ṭok -un i
 2S PST come INF break 1P.OBJ QUEST

“Did you come to destroy us?”

The lexical verb in this structure is just a bare stem, without prefixes, and this is invariable.

When used with a purely stative verb like *ṭaf* “be old” and *naṭ* “be standing” it describes the state in the past.

8.66 **Şompi abi ṭaf**
 Şompi a- bi ṭaf
 Shompi C1S PST grow_old

“Shompi was old.”

Compare this with the completive affix *-i* (see 8.5.1 above) which profiles the current state of a stative verb.

8.67 **Dṭafi**
 d- ṭaf -i
 1S grow_old CMPL

“I am old.”

Similarly with change of state verbs like *noor* “become tired”

8.68 **Pntaali pi nu pabi noor**
 p- ntaali p- i nu pa- bi noor
 C4S lineage C4S GEN 2S.POSS C4S PST get_tired

“Your descendants are weary.”

8.69 **Baṭeŋan babi ṭum**
 ba- ṭeŋan ba- bi ṭum
 C1P priest C1P PST be_numerous

“There were many priests.”

The verb which is being used as an auxiliary in this structure has a lexical meaning of “come, motion towards”. It is clear that in example 8.64 it cannot have that meaning as it would be incompatible with the meaning of the main verb “go, motion away”.

8.70 **Babuk naan babi Dakar**
 ba- buk naan ba- bi Dakar
 C1P child 1S.GEN C1P come Dakar

“My children are coming to Dakar”

The verb *bi* can be followed by an infinitive verb, with the meaning of coming in order to do something.

8.71 **Abi pyit na iwi**
 a- bi p- yit na iwi
 C1S come INF meet and 2S

“He's coming to meet you”

In example 8.72, *bi* as a lexical verb is the beginning of a serial structure, and the following lexical verb is prefixed with *a-*, the serial prefix, which is indicating a separate action (see section 9.2 for more detail on serial structures).

8.72 **Uñiiṅ na umaalu ṅabi anaṭ**
 u- ñiiṅ na u- maalu ṅa- bi a- naṭ
 C2S hyena and C2S hare C2P come SER stand

ṭi ptoof
 ṭ- i p- toof
 INT LOC.PROX C4S half

“Hyena and Hare came and stood in the middle.”

When *bi* is used as an auxiliary in a structure where the selective marker *-uṅ* is needed, as in example 8.73, the stem is now also prefixed by the serial marker *a-*. This would seem to indicate that the auxiliary structure has developed from the serial structure and that the serial *a-* has been elided after the *i* of *bi*.

8.73 **pliiḱ pi balempar naṣih babiṅ**
 p- liiḱ p- i ba- lempar na- ṣih ba- bi -iṅ
 C6S well C4S GEN C1P servant C1S chief C1P PST SEL

aṭeha
 a- ṭeh -a
 SER seize MID

“the wells that the servants of the chief had seized”

In the negative, the negative prefix is applied to the auxiliary *bi*.

8.74 **Naala aambi buk**
 Naala a- am- bi buk
 Nala C1S NEG PST produce

“Nala hadn't borne any children”

The grammaticalisation chain of a verb meaning “come” to a past tense marker is not uncommon. It occurs in French:

8.75 **Je viens de manger**
 1S.SUB come.PRES from to_eat

“I just ate”

and in other languages e.g. Yoruba (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 73)

8.76 **O ti lo**
 HE come:out go

“He has gone”

8.7.3 Sequential

When one event follows on from another, the verb *şë* is used. I have labelled this as sequential, glossed as SEQ. This could be viewed as relative time tense, i.e. the event marked by it takes place after, or simultaneously, with the event described by the previous verb. The amount of time between the two events is not significant. This could be diagrammed like this, where the first event occurs at Topic Time 1 (TT1), and the second event at Topic Time 2 (TT2). The Time of Utterance is not significant.

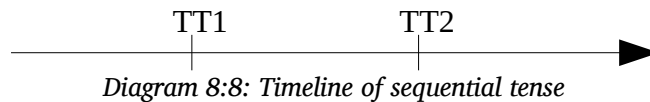


Diagram 8:8: Timeline of sequential tense

8.77 **Baya Dakar aşë nug ɲtëb**
 ba- ya Dakar a- şë nug ɲ- tëb
 C1P go Dakar SER SEQ buy C2P fish

“They went to Dakar, and then bought some fish”

8.78 **Dpoş aşë yeeh**
 d- poş a- şë yeeh
 1S walk SER SEQ sing

“I sing as I walk”

In some contexts the time component is completely missing and the meaning is simply “and also”.

8.79 **Naweek awo Dama aşë wo**
 na- week a- wo Dama a- şë wo
 C1S elder_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be

aannuura ti bten
 a- an- nuura t- i b- ten
 SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks

“The eldest was Dama, but she wasn't pretty to look at”

It is not always used with a serial prefix, as shown by example 8.80:

8.80 **Kë** **baaṭ** **batëb** **bukuṅ** **baṣë** **wo** **na**
 kë b- aaṭ ba- tëb buk- uṅ ba- ṣë wo na
 DS C1P woman C1P two C1P DEM.DIST C1P SEQ be and

m̄ben **ṭi** **feṭ**
 m- ben ṭ- i feṭ
 C6P swelling INT LOC.PROX back

“But these two women had humps on their backs”

There is no lexical meaning for this verb.

When used in a construction that requires the *-uṅ* marker, the final word form is *ṣaaṅ*. This seems to imply that the original form was *ṣa*.

Phonological degradation is a typical part of the process of grammaticalisation.

8.81 **Wal** **wi** **Dama aṣaaṅ** **atenën**
 w- al w- i Dama a- ṣa -aṅ a- ten -ën
 C2S moment C2S GEN Dama C1S SEQ SEL C1S look_at 1S.OBJ

“Then, at that moment, Dama looked at me”

8.8 Aspectual constructions

8.8.1 Habitual

The auxiliary *ji* is used to denote a *habitual* aspect - defined by Comrie (1976, 27) as “describing a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time” It will be glossed as HAB.

8.82 **Aji** **lemp di** **Dakar**
 a- ji lemp d- i Dakar
 C1S HAB work EXT LOC.PROX Dakar

“He works (all the time) in Dakar”

The event is not necessarily of long duration, however over the period of the topic time (which may be an undefined extended duration) the event will always happen (often multiple times).

8.83 **Baji** **bawul** **naṣih** **kafah** **kañeenanṭën**
 ba- ji ba- wul na- ṣih ka- fah ka- ñeen -anṭën
 C1P HAB C1P give C1S chief C3S part C3S five ORD

ṭi **iko** **yi** **bakituṅ**
 ṭ- i i- ko y- i ba- kit -uṅ
 INT LOC.PROX C3P thing C3P GEN C1P harvest SEL

“They give the king a fifth of what they harvest”

8.84 **Bañaaŋ banwoonj na uşal untuŋa**
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- n- wo -oŋ na u- şal u- ntuŋa
 C1P person C1P COREF be SEL with C2S mind C2S wise

baji bakaŋ
 ba- ji ba- keŋ
 C1P HAB C1PC1P die
 “Wise men always die”

8.85 **Nanoh naniim aji lilan woli**
 na- noh na- niim a- ji lilan woli
 C1S friend C1S bridegroom C1S HAB be_happy if

aŋiink pdiim pi naniim
 a- tiink p- diim p- i na- niim
 C1S hear C4S voice C4S GEN C1S bridegroom
 “The friend of the bridegroom is happy when he hears the bridegroom's voice”

The habitual construction uses the verb *ji*, which when used lexically means “to say”.

8.86 **Woli pde baji “ Pde pi**
 woli p- de ba- ji p- de p- i
 WHEN; IF C6S meal C1P say C6S meal C6S GEN

bayaanŋ pi pi
 ba- yaanŋ p- i p- i
 C1P stranger C6S DEM.PROX C6S DEM.PROX
 “When they brought the meal they said 'This is the strangers' meal' ”

It can also be used as a quotative marker with other speech verbs.

8.87 **Kë bangooli başë teema aji**
 kë ba- ngooli ba- şë teem -a a- ji
 DS C1P soldier C1P SEQ reply C1S.OBJ SER say

nayaanŋ aloŋ ankuŋiŋ pdunk
 na- yaanŋ a- loŋ a- n- kuŋ -i -iŋ p- dunk
 2P stranger C1S INDEF C1S COREF be_burdened MID SEL C4S pot

akbiŋ yeeh
 a- k- bi -iŋ yeeh
 SER IMPERF come SEL sing

“The soldiers responded that a stranger carrying a pot was coming along singing”

This grammaticalisation chain from the verb “to say” to an auxiliary giving the habitual meaning is not documented in Heine and Kuteva (2002), and so may be unusual.

A feature of the habitual which is different from all the other AVCs in Mankanya is that the lexical verb agrees with the subject. In addition the

prefixes used are an unusual set. With any non-human subject, and with 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural human subjects, the lexical verb takes the same subject prefixes as the auxiliary, that is to say the normal verb prefixes. For example:

8.88 **Bniim** **baji** **batan** **na** **uwit**
 b- niim ba- ji ba- tan na u- wit
 C5S marriage C5S HAB C5S secure and C2S cow

waat

w- aat

C2S female

“The marriage is normally secured with a cow.”

However, for singular human subjects a different set is used. For 1st person singular human subjects the lexical verb takes the prefix *ka-*. This seems to be different to the combination of *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” found in other constructions, in that in those constructions the *k-* *a-* is invariable as regards the person, number and class of the subject. Also apart from the invariable serial *a-*, everywhere else *a-* is associated with 3rd person subjects. It also unlikely to be the class 3 singular prefix *ka-*, which would also be very unusual if attached only to the 1st person singular.

A 2nd person singular human subject takes the prefix *k-*. For similar reasons to those stated above this seems to be different from the imperfective *k-*.

For 3rd person singular subjects the lexical verb takes no prefix.

Using *ka-* for 1st person singular, and *k-* for 2nd person singular is also attested in a different structure. That is in a clause following a clause introduced by the conditional *woli*, where the second cause depends on the condition of the first clause.

8.89 **Woli** **uunwo** , **kame**
 woli u- un- wo ka- me
 if C2S NEG be 1S.ALT know

“If it is not so, I will know.”

8.90 **Woli** **iinkakana** , **kkeṭ** **iwi**
 woli i- in- kak -an -a k- keṭ iwi
 if 2S NEG return CAUS C1S.OBJ 2S.ALT die 2S.SUBJ

na **biki** **katohu**

na bik- i ka- toh -u

and C1P GEN C3S house 2S.POSS

“If you don’t return her, you and all your household will die”

I can see no relationship between the habitual and the conditional with *woli*. I suggest that these maybe traces of a historical system of prefixes. It is interesting that Karlik notes that one of the prefix sets in Manjaku also has

ka- and *k-* (Karlik 1972, 266). This seems to parallel the Mankanya usage with *woli*, but not that of the habitual.

In the negative, it is the auxiliary *ji* that takes the negative prefix. Unlike the future negative structures, the imperfective prefix *k-* is not required.

8.91 **Unuur ji wuŋ , waanji uŋilma**
 u- nuur ji w- uŋ wa- an- ji u- ŋilma
 C2S day like C2S DEM.DIST C2S.NEG NEG HAB C2S forget
 “A day like that will not be forgotten”

If the habitual auxiliary *ji* is used with the *-uŋ* marker, they combine in an unusual way to form *jaan*. For example:

8.92 **Ajaan ajuŋ**
 a- ja -aŋ a- juŋ
 C1S HAB SEL SER cook
 “It is she who does the cooking.”

In no other place in Mankanya do /i/ and /o/ combine to form /aa/. More usually the *-uŋ* added to stem ending in *i* results in a long vowel. For example with the verb *bi* to come.

8.93 **Naala awo wo ŋi ŋwooni wi**
 Naala a- wo wo ŋ- i ŋ- wooni wi
 Nala C1S be be INT LOC.PROX C2P tears when

Dama abiin
 Dama a- bi -in
 Dama C1S come SEL
 “Naala was crying when Dama came”

This maybe an indication that the verb was originally *ja*. This is similar to the sequential (section 8.7.3) where the phonological change with *-uŋ* suggests a different historical form.

The other thing to note in example 8.92 is that now the lexical verb has the prefix *a-*. This is similar behaviour to the lexical verb used with the PAST auxiliary *bi* in example 8.73.

8.8.2 Continuative

Events that are ongoing at the time of speaking and where the focus is on the duration are expressed with the auxiliary *jon*. It can often be translated into English by “still”. I will refer to it as continuative, to distinguish it from two other constructions that signify a continuous aspect, the progressive (section 8.8.5) and the persistive (section 8.8.3). The progressive describes an event that is ongoing without any other special focus. The persistive is close in meaning to the continuative, but whereas the continuative highlights the fact that the duration is longer than

expected, the persistive highlights the fact that the end of the event has not yet come. Following an idea from Botne (1983), these could be considered as external and internal views of the event.

The continuative can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Topic Time (TT) occurs during the Situation Time (SitT), and the Situation Time is longer than some Reference Situation Time.

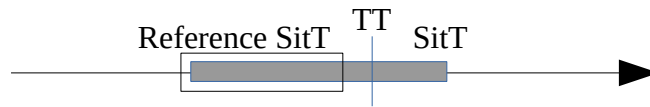


Diagram 8:9: Time of the continuative aspect

8.94 **Ajon kalemp**
 a- jon k- a- lemp
 C1S CONT IMPERF SER work
 “He's still working”

8.95 **Kë baanjon kaka bakiij**
 kë ba- an- jon k- a- ka ba- kiij
 DS C1P NEG cont IMPERF SER have C1P thief
 “They still didn't have the thieves”

8.96 **Bañaaḡ batiinka , ṭiki ajon**
 ba- ṅaaḡ ba- tiink -a , ṭiki a- jon
 C1P person C1P hear C1S.OBJ because (of) C1S CONT
kañoḡarën baka dayaamu di
 k- a- ṅoḡar -ën baka dayaamu d- i
 IMPERF SER be_surprised CAUS C1P.OBJ magic C9S GEN
ajaḡ ado
 a- ja -aḡ a- do
 C1S HAB SEL C1S do

“The people listened to him, because he continued to amaze them with the magic that he did”

It can also have a meaning similar to the habitual but with the focus on the extended duration.

8.97 **Ajon kayit da na banohul**
 a- jon k- a- yit d- a na ba- noh -ul
 C1S cont IMPERF SER meet C9S OBJ and C1P friend 3s.POSS
 “He often met there with his friends”

8.98 **Aya aneej da , jibi ajonuŋ**
 a- ya a- neej d- a jibi a- jon -uŋ
 C1S go SER enter C9S OBJ like SER cont SEL

kado

k- a- do
 IMPERF SER do
 “He went there as he always did”

As a lexical verb *jon* means “stay”, or “to do something for a while”.

8.99 **Ajon pših ŋiki aya pa**
 a- jon p- ših ŋiki a- ya p- a
 C1S last C6S kingdom/throne because_(of) SER go C6S OBJ

nampoŋi

na- mpoŋi
 C1S small
 “He lasted a long time on the throne, as he ascended to it as a child”

8.100 **Aluŋ kaniw jibi ajonuŋ**
 a- luŋ k- a- niw jibi a- jon -uŋ
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER build like SER last SEL

“He will build as he always does”

8.101 **Wi baŋoŋ ajon ŋi utaak**
 wi ba- ŋo -oŋ a- jon ŋ- i u- taak
 when C1P sit SEL SER last INT LOC.PROX C2S country

“When they had stayed a long time in the town...”

8.102 **Baloŋ bañehana aŋo da ajon**
 ba- loŋ ba- ñehan -a a- ŋo d- a a- jon
 C1P INDEF C1P request C1S.OBJ C1S sit C9S OBJ SER last

kë aandinani

kë a- an- dinan -i
 DS C1S NEG agree CMPL
 “Some of them asked him to stay with them for a while, but he refused”

This progression from a verb meaning “stay” to continuative auxiliary is documented by Heine and Kuteva, for example in German:

8.103 (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 255)
Er ist beim Reiten geblieben
 He is at riding remain:PARTCP
 “He stuck to horseback riding”

8.8.3 Persistentive

Events that are ongoing at the time of speaking and where the focus is on the fact that they have not finished are expressed with the auxiliary *hum*. This is in contrast to the continuative (see section 8.8.2) with the auxiliary *jon* which profiles the duration of an ongoing event. The persistentive could be considered as an internal view of the continuity of the event.

The persistentive can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Topic Time (TT) occurs during the Situation Time (SitT), and the Situation Time End is in the future relative to the topic time.



Diagram 8:10: Timeline of the persistentive aspect

With activity verbs the imperfective prefix is required:

8.104 **Bahum kaṭēlṣēr**
 ba- hum ka- ṭēlṣēr
 C1P PSTV C3S exchange

“They were still discussing.”

8.105 **Wi Naala ahumuṣ kaṭiini**
 wi Naala a- hum -uṣ k- a- ṭiini
 when Nala C1S PSTV SEL IMPERF SER speak

“When Naala was still talking...”

With stative verbs, the prefix is the pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the root (resulting in a long nasal if that consonant is a nasal).

8.106 **Ṣompi ahum nnaṭ ṭi kadun**
 Ṣompi a- hum n- naṭ ṭ- i ka- dun
 Shompi C1S PSTV PSTV stand INT LOC.PROX C3S front

ki Naala
 k- i Naala
 C3S GEN Nala

“He was still standing in front of Nala.”

8.107 **Ahum nwo ṭi bgah**
 a- hum n- wo ṭ- i b- gah
 C1S PSTV PSTV be INT LOC.PROX C5S way

“He was still on the road.”

For change of state verbs, the completive suffix *-i* is required as well as the nasal prefix.

8.108 **Ahum nlowi**

a- hum n- low -i
 C1S PSTV PSTV be_far CMPL

“He was still far away”

As a lexical verb *hum* has the similar sense of “to still be”.

8.109 **Ahum du dko di**

a- hum d- u d- ko d- i
 C1S still_be EXT LOC.DIST C9S place C9S GEN

“He was still in that place”

8.110 **ŋhum ti nfa mpoŋi**

ŋ- hum t- i nfa mpoŋi
 1P still_be INT LOC.PROX morning small

“We are still in the early morning”

8.111 **Paapa ahum najeb i**

paapa a- hum na- jeb i
 daddy C1S still_be C1S healthy GEN

“Is father still healthy?”

8.8.4 Ingressive

Focus on the beginning of the event is known as ingressive aspect (glossed INGR), and this is indicated in Mankanya by using the verb *do* (which phonologically becomes *doo* in the example below). It can be followed either by a bare verbal stem or by a stem prefixed by *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial”.

This can be shown on the time line diagram below where the topic time (TT) is at the beginning of the Situation Time (SitT).



Diagram 8.11: Timeline of the ingressive aspect

8.112 **Aya adoo ban ubeeka**

a- ya a- doo ban u- beeka
 C go SER INGR arrive C2S town

“He₁ went, until he₁ arrived at the town”

8.113 **Bañaaŋ** **batum** **babi** **añoga** **kë**
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- tum ba- bi a- ñog -a kë
 C1P person C1P many C1P come SER be_close C1S.OBJ DS

adoo **paya** **ti** **bteem** **bloŋ** **aço**
 a- doo paya t- i b- teem b- loŋ a- ço
 C1S INGR climb INT LOC.PROX C5S pirogue C5S INDEF SER sit
 “Many people came and crowded him to the point that he got into a boat and sat down”

The verb *do* has the lexical meaning of “to do, to make”.

8.114 **Ado** **uko** **ji** **ŋşubal** **ŋtëb**
 a- do u- ko ji ŋ- şubal ŋ- tëb
 C1S do C2S thing like C2P year C2P two
 “He does this thing for two or three years...”

8.115 **Ddo** **bane** **uniw** **afoyan** **katoh**
 d- do ba- ne u- niw a- foy -an ka- toh
 1S do C5S last_year C2S wall SER encircle CAUS C3S house

naan

naan

1S.GEN

“Last year I built a wall around my house.”

Heine and Kuteva (2002) do not document this as a grammaticalisation chain.

When used with a bare stem, *do* becomes *doo*, as in example 8.112. This seems to indicate that the underlying form is in fact *do* followed by the stem prefixed with the *a-* “serial” prefix, and that there has been an assimilation of the *a-* to produce a long *o*.

8.116 **kë** **bantohi** **badoo** **win** **kë** **Nabanka** **Biyagi**
 kë ba- ntohi ba- doo win kë Nabanka Biyagi
 DS C1P elder 3P INGR see DS Nabanka Biyagi

apel

a- pel baka

C1S be_more C1P.OBJ

“The elders came to see that Nabanka Biyagi was stronger than them”

This analysis is confirmed when *do* is used in a relative clause and is therefore followed by *-uŋ* (which phonologically becomes *-oŋ*). The *a-* prefix on the stem now reveals itself.

8.117 **Tenan** , **Naala** , **i** **nayiṭuŋ** ,
 ten -an Naala i na- yiṭ -uŋ
 look_at IMP Nala GEN 2P be_related_to SEL
andooŋ **awo** **naṭaf** **awo** **kak** **na**
 a- n- do -oŋ a- wo na- ṭaf a- wo kak na
 C1S COREF INGR SEL C1S be C1S elderly C1S be again with
kayiŋ
 ka- yiŋ
 C3S stomach

“Look, Naala, your relative, who has reached old age, is also pregnant”

With change of state verbs the end of nucleus is profiled by this construction.

8.118 **Bade** **bṭi** **adoo** **yok**
 ba- de bṭi a- do -o yok
 C1P eat all SER INGR be_full

“They ate it all until they were full”

This could be diagrammed like this:

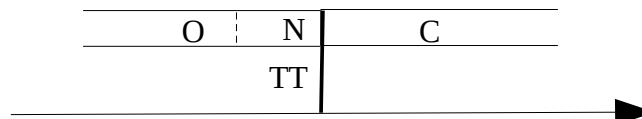


Diagram 8.12: Time line of ingressive aspect with change of state verbs

8.119 **Bawo** **katap** **baka** **mnlaak**
 ba- wo k- a- tap baka mn- laak
 C1P must IMPERF SER shoot C1P.OBJ c6p stone

badoo **bakeṭ**
 ba- do -o ba- keṭ
 C1P INGR c7s die

“They₁ must throw stones at them₂ until they₂ are dead”

This construction can sometimes have the sense of a contra-expectational addition as in the following example:

8.120 **ŋko** **ŋi** **uṭeeh** **ŋabi** **bṭi**
 ŋ- ko ŋ- i u- ṭeeh ŋa- bi bṭi
 C2P animals C2P GEN C2S field C2P come all
pmaar **wa** **kë** **umaalu** **umpokuŋ**
 p- maar w- a kë u- maalu u- m- pok -uŋ
 INF be_present C2S OBJ DS C2S hare C2S COREF refuse SEL

ulemp **udoo** **bi**
 u- lemp u- doo bi
 C2S work C2S INGR came

“All the wild animals came to witness it, even Hare who had refused to work came”

In the negative, it is the auxiliary *do* that takes the negative prefix.

- 8.121 **Baluk bi kli bakreŋ**
 ba- luk b- i k- li bakreŋ
 C5S payment C5S GEN C4P.DEF moon EIGHT
- baandoo kēš pa ñaaŋ andoli**
 ba- an- do -o kēš pa ñaaŋ a- ndoli
 C5S NEG INGR be_enough in_order_to person C1S each
- ayeenk bnduŋ**
 a- yeenk b- nduŋ
 C1S receive C5S bit
 “Eight months wages would not be enough for each person to have a bit (of food)”

8.8.5 Progressive

The construction used to describe the progressive aspect uses the structure *wo ʔi* and followed by a verbal noun. The word *ʔi* is a preposition meaning “inside something near”. So the literal sense of this structure is to be “in the doing of something”.

This can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Topic Time (TT) occurs during the Situation Time (SitT).

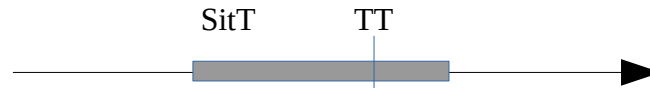


Diagram 8:13: Timeline of progressive aspect

- 8.122 **Naala awo ʔi bŋoy bweek**
 Naala a- wo ʔ- i b- ŋoy b- week
 Nala C1S be INT LOC.PROX C5S sleep C5S big
 “Naala is sleeping deeply”
- 8.123 **Baniw bawo ʔi ulemp**
 ba- niw ba- wo ʔ- i u- lemp
 C1P mason C1P be INT LOC.PROX C2S work
 “The builders are working”
- 8.124 **Dwo ʔi pboman uniw kë**
 d- wo ʔ- i p- boman u- niw kë
 1S be INT LOC.PROX C4S make C2S wall DS
- ukaaru ušë jotna wa awat**
 u- kaaru u- šë jotna w- a a- wat
 C2S car C2S SEQ hit_against C2S OBJ SER bring_down
 “I was building the wall when the car knocked it down.”

8.125 **Kë bantohi bawo ți plațar**
 kë ba- ntohi ba- wo ți i p- laț -ar
 DS C1P elder 3P be INT LOC.PROX C4S discuss RCP
wal mënțan wuț bațum
 w- al mënțan w- uț ba- țum
 C2S moment that C2S DEM.DIST C1P be_many
 “And during that time many of the elders were in discussion”

For some verbs, for example *boman* “make” in example 8.124 and *lațar* “discuss” in example 8.125, the verbal noun and the infinitive forms are identical. This is not the case for verbs like *șoy* “sleep” and *lemp* “work” (examples 8.122 and 8.123). The infinitive forms of those verbs can be seen being used in infinite complements, for example:

8.126 **Bapok plem̐p**
 ba- pok p- lemp
 C1P refused INF work
 “They refused to work”

The verb *wo*, when not used in an auxiliary verb construction is normally translated by “to be”, and is used in existential and descriptive clauses.

8.127 **Katim naan kawo Naala**
 ka- tim naan ka- wo Naala
 C3S name 1S.GEN C3S be Nala
 “My name is Naala”

8.128	Naweeek	awo	Dama	aşë	wo
	na- week	a- wo	Dama	a- şë	wo
	C1S elder_sibling	C1S be	Dama	SER SEQ	be
	aannuura	ti	bten	,	natëbëntën
	a- an- nuura	t- i	b- ten		na- tëb -ëntën
	C1S NEG be_good	INT LOC.PROX	C5S looks		C1S two ORD
	awooj	nanuura	maakan	awo	Naala
	a- wo -oŋ	na- nuura	maakan	a- wo	Naala
	C1S be SEL	C1S beauty	very	C1S be	Nala

“The eldest was Dama who was not beautiful to look at; it was the second who was a great beauty, she was called Naala”

The verb *wo* when used as an auxiliary is also used to express obligative and epistemic modality, see section 8.9.1 below.

8.8.6 Repetitive

An event that is happening for a second time or is being done in addition to a previous action can be indicated by using the verb *kak* as an auxiliary. This is different, though related to the adverb *kak* “again”. This will be glossed as REP for repetitive.

This can be shown on the time line diagram as:

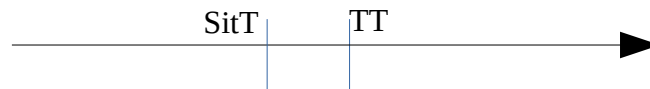


Diagram 8:14: Timeline of repetitive aspect

8.129	Akak	abi
	a- kak	a- bi
	C1S REP	SER come

“He's coming back again” or “He's also coming”

8.130	Dkak	aŋupan	uko	wi
	d- kak	a- ŋup	-an u- ko	w- i
	1S REP	SER announce	2P.OBJ C2S thing	C2S GEN

“Again, I tell you this thing”

8.131	Akak	amobana	kayiŋ	abuk
	a- kak	a- mob -an -a	ka- yiŋ	a- buk
	C1S REP	SER catch CAUS MID	C3S stomach	SER produce

napoŋ	niinŋ
na- poŋ	ñ- iinŋ
C1S child	C1S male

“She again became pregnant and gave birth to a son”

- 8.132 **Pakak awo uki wi blaata**
 pa- kak a- wo u- ki w- i b- laata
 C4S REP SER be C2S dance C2S GEN C5S metal_drum
 “It is also used in the 'blaata' dance”

In the negative it can be translated as “no longer”, literally “did not again”. It does not preclude the event happening again, just that the event has not happened between the Situation Time and the Topic Time.

- 8.133 **Baankak awul un balemparu**
 ba- an- kak a- wul un ba- lemp -ar -u
 C1P NEG REP SER give 1P.SUBJ C1P work BEN 2S.POSS

pbooli

- p- booli
 C4S reed
 “They would no longer give us, your workers, straw”

As a lexical verb *kak* means to “return”, or “turn around”

- 8.134 **Wi Dama akakuŋ du bhër**
 wi Dama a- kak -uŋ d- u b- hër
 when Dama C1S return SUB EXT LOC.DIST C5S hole

- aanŋenk da Şompi**
 a- an- ŋenk d- a Şompi
 SER NEG find C9S OBJ Shompi

“When Dama returned to the hole, she didn't find Shompi there”

When used as an auxiliary in a clause with *-uŋ*, *-uŋ* is attached to *kak* and there are no other significant changes.

- 8.135 **Şompi i bakakuŋ adu Piyeer**
 Şompi i ba- kak -uŋ a- du Piyeer
 Shompi GEN C1P REP SUB SER call Peter

“Shompi, who was also called Pierre”

8.8.7 Terminative

There are two structures which profile the termination of an event, which both use the same auxiliary *ba*. As a full verb *ba* has the sense “to finish”. I label this “terminative” (TMTV) in order to distinguish it from the completive aspect.

When used with an infinitive the fact that the event is finished is profiled. This can be shown on a time line diagram as:

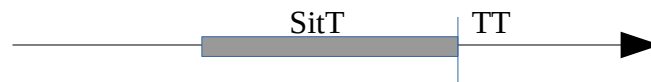


Diagram 8:15: Timeline of terminative aspect with infinitive

- 8.136 **Wi Naala abaaŋ p̄iini na Dama**
 wi Naala a- ba -aŋ p- iini na Dama
 when Nala C1S TMTV SEL INF speak with Dama
 “When Naala had finished talking with Dama...”

- 8.137 **Wal wi bakbaaŋ p̄tup**
 w- al w- i ba- k- ba -aŋ p- t̄up
 C2S moment C2S GEN C1P IMPERF TMTV SEL INF speak
 “As they were finishing speaking...”

- 8.138 **Doon kala pba p̄jom na a**
 do -on k- a- la p- ba p- jom na a
 INGR IMP IMPERF SER seek INF TMTV INF argue with OBJ
 “Try hard to stop arguing with him”

It can also be used with a lexical verb with a serial prefix (and in normal speech the two *a* vowels become one long vowel). This construction has the meaning of the event happening after an unexpected length of time, or after other events.

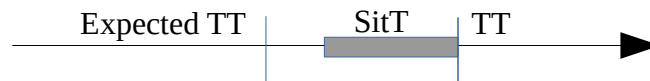


Diagram 8:16: Timeline of terminative aspect with verb with serial prefix

- 8.139 **Abuk aŋin aba ap̄en**
 a- buk a- ŋin a- ba a- p̄en
 C1AS child C1AS father C1S TMTV SER go_out
 “His brother finally came out” (Context: birth of twins)

- 8.140 **Adookar na a ado ŋnuur paaj na**
 a- dook -ar na a a- do ŋ- nuur paaj na
 C1S chase BEN and OBJ SER do C2P day six and
uloŋ aba amoba
 u- loŋ a- ba a- mob -a
 C2S INDEF SER TMTV SER catch C1S.OBJ
 “He chased him for seven days before catching him”

This auxiliary can also be used to mean “never”. To obtain this meaning it is used in an unusual construction – in addition to the negative, it always has the selective suffix *-aŋ* (underlying *-uŋ*) and the lexical verb requires the middle prefix *-a*.

- 8.141 **Aambaŋ kapoŋa**
 a- am- ba -aŋ k- a- poŋ -a
 C1S NEG TMTV SEL IMPERF SER walk MID
 “He had never walked.”

8.142 **Mëmbaan** **kapoka** **nin**
 m- ëm- ba -aŋ k- a- pok -a nin
 1S.NEG NEG TMTV SEL IMPERF SER refuse C1S.OBJ NEG

pdo **uko** **wi** **ijakuŋ**
 p- do u- ko w- i i- jak -uŋ
 INF do C2S thing C2S GEN 2S tell SEL

“I have never refused to do anything you asked me to do.”

When combined with a reduplicated stem and an activity verb it usually means that the activity was completed very recently.

8.143 **Naŋijan** **ŋtëb** **ŋi** **nabaan** **amob**
 na- ŋij -an ŋ- tëb ŋ- i na- ba -aŋ a- mob
 2P bring IMP C2P fish C2P GEN 2P TMTV SEL SER catch

mob **ŋuŋ**
 mob ŋ- uŋ
 catch C2P DEM.DIST

“Bring those fish you have just caught!”

Similarly with a change of state verb, the change of state has occurred very recently.

8.144 **Abuk** **naan** **aba** **akeŋ** **keŋ**
 a- buk naan a- ba a- keŋ keŋ
 C1AS child 1S.GEN C1S TMTV SER die die

“My child has just died”

With a reduplicated state verb the sense it can have the sense “completely” or “fully”

8.145 **Baŋaŋarul** **baba** **añoŋar** **ñoŋar**
 ba- ŋaŋar -ul ba- ba a- ñoŋar ñoŋar
 C1P follower 3S.POSS C1P TMTV SER be_surprised be_surprised

maakan
 maakan
 very

“His followers were completely amazed”

It can also mean a contra-expectation end result, e.g.

8.146 **pmaak** **paba** **adëm** **dëm**
 p- maak pa- ba a- dëm dëm
 C4S illness C4S TMTV SER grow grow

“The illness ended up getting worse”

8.147 **aba** **ahuuran** **huuran** **maakan**
 a- ba a- huuran huuran maakan
 C1S TMTV SER cry_out cry_out very

“He ended up shouting louder”

Lexically it can follow a verb, meaning “to finish”, optionally with a time complement.

8.148 **Naala aṭo du katohul aba**
 Naala a- ṭo d- u ka- toh -ul a- ba
 Nala C1S sit EXT LOC.DIST C3S house 3S.POSS SER finish

pli

p- li

C4S month

“Naala stayed at his house for a month” (Lit: “Naala stayed at his house, finished a month”)

8.149 **Bayeeh aba , aṣë pën**
 ba- yeeh a- ba a- ṣë pën
 C1P sing SER finish SER SEQ go_out

“They left after they had sung”

8.150 **Wi badaanuṭ aba , baneej katoh**
 wi ba- daan -uṭ a- ba ba- neej ka- toh
 when C1P drink SUB SER finish C1P enter C3S house

“When they had drunk, they entered the house”

The use of a terminative auxiliary that occurs after the main verb appears to be an areal feature. Ndao comments that this is a feature borrowed from Upper Guinea Creole (Ndao 2011, 183). This is supported by the fact that a post-verbal morpheme *ba* indicating anteriority is described in Kihm's grammar of Upper Guinea Creole (Kihm 1994, 14:99–108).

8.9 Modal constructions

Auxiliary constructions are also used to make modal distinctions.

8.9.1 Obligative and Epistemic

Two forms of modality are expressed by using *wo* “be” in conjunction with the genitive marker *i*. The first which I have labelled Obligative, seems to indicate deontic modality, i.e. it indicates that something must be done because it is required, or because it is a logical necessity. Deontic modality in English is illustrated in the sentence “The car must be ready tonight, so that I can use it tomorrow”. The other form, Epistemic, indicates more that the speaker believes something should happen. This is illustrated in English by “He should be coming, as he told me yesterday that he would come”. The two constructions differ in that the Epistemic is expressed using the infinitive prefix *p-*, whereas Obligative modality is expressed with the stem prefixed by the *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” prefixes.

8.151 **Ddo bane uniw afoyan**
 d- do ba- ne u- niw a- foy -an
 1S do C5S last_year C2S wall SER encircle CAUS
katoh naan ašë wo i pwat wa
 ka- toh naan a- šë wo i p- wat w- a
 C3S house 1S.GEN SER SEQ be GEN INF bring_down C2S OBJ
hënkuj
 hënkuj
 now
 “Last year I built a wall around my house, but this year I have to knock it down.”

8.152 **Kë woli iwo i pya țiki inuh**
 kë woli i- wo i p- ya țiki i- nuh
 DS if 2S be GEN INF go because_(of) 2S miss
katoh ki šaaș ...
 ka- toh k- i šaaș
 C3S house C3S GEN your_father
 “If you must go because you miss your father's house...”

8.153 **Iko mënț iwo yi kawo**
 i- ko mënț i- wo y- i k- a- wo
 C4P thing that 2S be C4P GEN IMPERF SER be
 “These things must happen”

8.154 **Ñaaņ ankbanuņ pnkuņ awo**
 ñaaņ a- n- k- ban -uņ p- nkuņ a- wo
 person C1S COREF IMPERF touch SUB C4S hill SER be
i kakeț
 i k- a- keț
 GEN IMPERF SER die
 “Anyone who touches the hill, will definitely die”

8.155 **Anęaluņ pwo naweek ți**
 a- n- ęal -uņ p- wo na- week ț- i
 C1S COREF like SUB INF be C1S leader INT LOC.PROX
an awo i kawo nalempar
 an a- wo i k- a- wo na- lempar
 2P.OBJ SER be GEN IMPERF SER be C1S servant
batëņtul
 ba- batëņț -ul
 C1P peer 3S.POSS
 “The one who wants to be a leader must be a servant to his peers”

The *i* after the *wo* agrees with the subject of *wo* for non-human subjects (see example 8.153 above). I have analysed it as the genitive marker and it can be seen to occur in that position after *wo* when used with a nominal.

- 8.156 **Baji meel muŋ manwo mi baka**
 ba- ji meel m- uŋ man- wo m- i baka
 C1P say water C8 DEM.DIST C8 be C8 GEN C1P.OBJ
 “They said that this water is theirs”

There are two other analytical possibilities, either the demonstrative *i* and or a new homophonous particle. I rule out the first as I have no evidence of the demonstrative in that position. For the second, it seems to unnecessarily complicate the system when an existing particle has already been identified as being used in that position.

In the negative, the auxiliary *wo* takes the negative prefix, and the sense becomes an obligation for something not to happen – e.g “this thing must not happen”.

- 8.157 **Ñaaŋ aloŋ aanwo i kame**
 ñaaŋ a- loŋ a- an- wo i k- a- me
 person C1S INDEF C1S NEG be GEN IMPERF SER whether
kë abi ɕi dko di
 kë a- bi ɕ- i d- ko d- i
 DS C1S come INT LOC.PROX C9S place C9S DEM.PROX
 “No-one must know that someone has come to this place”
 (Lit: “Someone must not know ...”)

Similarly when used in a relative clause, it is the auxiliary *wo* that takes the suffix *-uŋ*.

- 8.158 **uko wi bawooŋ i kado**
 u- ko w- i ba- wo -oŋ i k- a- do
 C2S thing C2S GEN C1P be SEL GEN IMPERF SER do
 “The thing they must do”

8.9.2 Prohibitive

The prohibitive is formed with the auxiliary *wut* and followed by the lexical verb prefixed by the *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” prefixes.

- 8.159 **ŋwut kafiŋa**
 ŋ- wut k- a- fiŋ -a
 1P PRHB IMPERF SER kill C1S.OBJ
 “Let's not kill him.”

- 8.160 **Aji na baka bawut kaɕup nin ñaaŋ**
 a- ji na baka ba- wut k- a- ɕup nin ñaaŋ
 C1S say with C1P.OBJ C1P PRHB IMPERF SER speak NEG person
 “He told them not to tell anyone.”

It is often found as an imperative:

8.161 **Wutan kalënk**
 wut -an k- a- lënk
 PRHB IMP IMPERF SER be_afraid
 “Don't be afraid!”

8.162 **Nawutan kafiŋa**
 na- wut -an k- a- fiŋ -a
 2P PRHB IMP IMPERF SER kill C1S.OBJ
 “Don't kill him!”

But it is also found with the causative in the 3rd person.

8.163 **Itim yaŋ iwutan**
 i- tim y- aŋ i- wut -an
 C3P name C3P DEM C3P PRHB CAUS
katiinkana **ti** **itum** **yi**
 k- a- tiink -an -a t- i i- tum y- i
 IMPERF SER hear CAUS MID INT LOC.PROX C3P mouth C3P GEN
nan
 nan
 2P.POSS

“These names mustn't be heard on your lips.”

8.164 **Nin aloŋ awutan kapën**
 nin a- loŋ a- wut -an k- a- pën
 NEG C1S INDEF C1S prhb CAUS IMPERF SER go_out
du **dko** **di**
 d- u d- ko d- i
 EXT LOC.DIST C9S place C9S DEM.PROX
 “No-one must leave this place.”

8.165 **Bawutan kaneej ubeeka**
 ba- wut -an k- a- neej u- beeka
 C1P PRHB CAUS IMPERF SER enter C2S town
 “They must not enter the town.”

Lexically *wut* has the meaning “to prevent/to abandon/to let go”

8.166 **Bawut du ŋteeh ŋntaam ŋi**
 ba- wut d- u ŋ- teeh ŋ- ntaam ŋ- i
 C1P leave EXT LOC.DIST C2P field C2P livestock C2P GEN
baka
 baka
 C1P.OBJ
 “They left their livestock in the field.”

8.167 **Baankwut nin katoh kalonj**
 ba- an- k- wut nin ka- toh ka- lonj
 C1P NEG IMPERF leave NEG C3S house C3S INDEF

kanatj
 k- a- natj
 IMPERF SER stand

“They will not leave one house standing.”

8.10 Complex Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Auxiliaries can be combined to create more complex AVCs.

A common combination is the ingressive *do* followed by the past *bi*. The emphasis is on the fact that the start of the event has happened in the past. With an activity verb the activity is understood to be complete. If the verb is a change of state verb, then that state is understood to have been changed to in the past. For a stative verb the emphasis is on the fact that the state has existed for some time.

This can be shown on the time line diagram as below, where the Topic Time (TT) emphasises the beginning of the Situation Time (SitT), and the Situation Time (SitT) is completed before the Time of Assessment (TA).

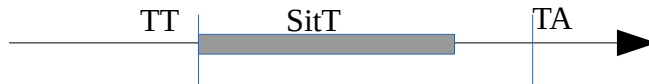


Diagram 8:17: Timeline of ingressive and past combined

8.168 **Ddo bi tapan**
 d- do bi tapan -an
 1S INGR PST speak 2P.OBJ

“I have already told you.”

8.169 **Bañaaṅ mēntj ado bi dat dat baka**
 ba- ñaaṅ mēntj a- do bi dat dat baka
 C1P person that C1S do PST choose choose C1P.OBJ

“These people he had already chosen.”

8.170 **Ado bi keṭj**
 a- do bi keṭj
 C1S INGR PST die

“He is/was already dead”

8.171 **Bṭeem bado bi low low pkay**
 b- ṭeem ba- do bi low low p- kay
 C5S pirogue C1P INGR PST be_far be_far C4S dry_land

“The boat was already far from dry land”

8.172 **Bado bi wo baristoŋ ʦi ŋrisiya**
 ba- do bi wo ba- ristoŋ ʦ- i ŋrisiya
 C1P INGR PST be C1P Christian INT LOC.PROX church

evanjelik

evanjelik

Evangelical

“They were already Christians in the Evangelical church”

8.173 **Ado bi ka ka itaka itum**
 a- do bi ka ka i- taka i- tum
 C1S INGR PST have have C4P money C3P many

“He already had a lot of money”

If the root is prefixed by the *k-* “imperfective” and *a-* “serial” prefixes, then, as expected, the event is not complete and is still ongoing.

This can be shown on the time line diagram below, where the Time of Assessment (TA) is now during the Situation Time (SitT):

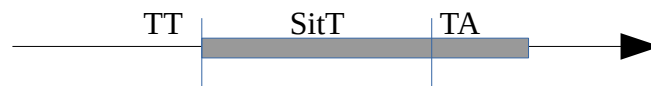


Diagram 8:18: Timeline of ingressive and past auxiliaries with imperfect prefix

8.174 **ŋme na manjoonan kë nado bi**
 ŋ- me na ma- njoonan kë na- do bi
 1P know and C8 truth DS 2P INGR PST

kado haŋ

k- a- do haŋ

IMPERF SER do DEM

“We really know that you are already doing this”

The order of auxiliaries is fixed; the ingressive *do* must proceed the past *bi*. Inverting the order gives an ungrammatical sentence, or sentence with a different meaning. For example:

8.175 **ʦiki abi kado**
 ʦiki a- bi k- a- do
 because_(of) C1S PST IMPERF SER INGR

karab napoŋ pa pfiŋa
 k- a- rab na- poŋ pa p- fiŋ -a
 IMPERF SER search_out C1S child in_order_to INF kill C1S.OBJ

“... because he was going to start looking for the child in order to kill him”

When the *do bi* combination is used in a clause, for example a relative clause, it is the ingressive *do* which takes the selective marker *-uŋ* (which phonologically changes to *-oŋ*).

8.176 ... **kë bakak awo bukal batëb bti**
 kë ba- kak a- wo bukal ba- tëb bti
 DS 3P REP SER be 3P.SUBJ C1P two all
bañaan bandoon abi taf taf
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- n- do -oŋ a- bi taf taf
 C1P person 3P COREF INGR SEL SER PST grow_old grow_old
 “They were also, both of them, already very old.”

It is interesting that in this situation, the past *bi* is now preceded by the serial prefix *a-*. This would seem to indicate again that the structure has developed from a serial verb structure. However, in the simple form *do bi* is not *doo bi*, as in example 8.117 where *do* is used on its own as an ingressive. This suggests that *do bi* has undergone a further step of grammaticalisation towards becoming a single word *dobi*. This process can be seen in English in the development of the Modern English word “because” from the two words in Middle English “by cause”. Further evidence to strengthen this proposal is that many newly literate Mankanya will write *do bi* as *dobi*.

In the negative it is the first auxiliary *do* that takes the negative marker.

This could be diagrammed like this, where the Topic Time (TT) is before the both the Time of Assessment (TA), and the Situation Time (SitT).

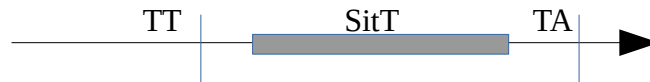


Diagram 8:19: Timeline of negative of ingressive and past auxiliaries

8.177 **Baando bi wata wal mēŋ**
 ba- an- do bi wat -a w- al mēŋ
 C1P NEG INGR PST bring_down C1S.OBJ C2S moment that
ukalabuŋ
 u- kalabuŋ
 C2S prison

“They had not yet at that time put him in prison”

This negative combination of auxiliaries can also be found combined with the persistive *hum*. This gives the sense of “still had not yet”. In the diagram the Topic Time is profiled as being before some Expected Topic Time.

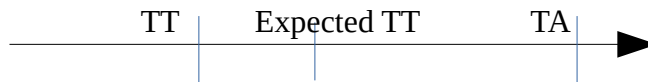


Diagram 8:20: Timeline of persistive of ingressive and past auxiliaries

8.178 **Bahum baando bi piinŋ**
 ba- hum ba- ën- do bi piinŋ
 C1P pstv C1P NEG INGR PST lie_down

“They still hadn't slept”

The sequential marker *şë* is always the first auxiliary when used in combination with other auxiliaries.

8.179	kë	untaayi	uşë	do	bi	neej	ti	
	kë	u- ntaayi	u- şë	do	bi	neej	ti	i
	DS	C2S spirit	C2S SEQ	INGR	PST	enter	INT	LOC.PROX

Şompi

Şompi

Shompi

“... but the spirit had already entered Shompi”

8.180	Kë	bañaaj	batum	başë	ji	baya	
	kë	ba- ñaaj	ba- tum	ba- şë	ji	ba- ya	
	DS	C1P person	C1P many	C1P SEQ	HAB	C1P go	

du

a

d- u

a

EXT LOC.DIST OBJ

“And many people kept coming to where he was”

The habitual *ji* proceeds *do* and *bi*.

8.181	aloj	aji	do	bi	banën	da	
	a- loj	a- ji	do	bi	ban -ën	d- a	
	C1S INDEF	SER HAB	INGR	PST	arrive CAUS	C9S OBJ	

uteek

u- teek

C2S first

“Someone always gets there first”

However, I have also found this example where the ingressive *do* precedes the habitual:

8.182	ido	kaji		kaluj	kabi	
	i- do	k- a- ji		ka- luj	k- a- bi	
	2S INGR	IMPERF SER HAB		2S.HAB FUT	IMPERF SER	come

“You should come regularly”

So it seems that the order of the auxiliaries is not completely fixed, and some can be moved to create different nuances. Further research is needed in this area.