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**A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau,  
Senegal and the Gambia**  
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## Chapter 9 - Complex clauses

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In this chapter I will examine the ways in which clauses in a multiple clause sentence combine. The first part of the chapter will look at the various forms that exist in Mankanya for combining clauses. Then I will go on to discuss how those forms are used to represent various semantic relations between clauses.

The first section is subdivided into two subsections, those forms where a word or words is used to join two clauses, or link one clause to some constituent of another, and those which are joined or linked by the use of verb forms.

The first of these subsections is further subdivided depending on whether one of the clauses requires syntactic or morphological modification which could not appear in a simple neutral clause. Where the clausal relation requires no changes the clauses are said to be balanced, otherwise a clause which requires changes is said to be de-ranked.

### 9.1 Clauses joined by linking words

#### 9.1.1 Balanced clauses

The following words can be used to link two formally equal clauses:

|              |                |
|--------------|----------------|
| <i>këme</i>  | alternative    |
| <i>hënk</i>  | result         |
| <i>keeri</i> | result         |
| <i>ṭiki</i>  | cause          |
| <i>bë</i>    | negative while |

The word *këme* joins two clauses in a disjunctive alternative relation (section 9.5.5.1).

|     |            |              |              |                  |  |               |            |
|-----|------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|--|---------------|------------|
| 9.1 | <b>Iwi</b> | <b>ṭi</b>    |              | <b>uleefu</b>    |  | <b>ijakuṅ</b> | <b>uko</b> |
|     | iwi        | ṭ- i         |              | u- leef -u       |  | i- jak -uṅ    | u- ko      |
|     | 2S         | INT LOC.PROX |              | C2S body 2S.POSS |  | 2S tell SEL   | C2S thing  |
|     | <b>waj</b> | <b>kēme</b>  | <b>baloṅ</b> | <b>baṭupuṅ</b>   |  | <b>haṅ</b>    |            |
|     | w- aṅ      | kēme         | ba- loṅ      | ba- ṭup          |  | -uṅ haṅ       |            |
|     | C2S DEM    | or           | C1P INDEF    | C1P announce     |  | SEL DEM       |            |
|     | <b>ṭi</b>  |              | <b>nji</b>   |                  |  |               |            |
|     | ṭ- i       |              | nji          |                  |  |               |            |
|     | INT        | LOC.PROX     | 1S           |                  |  |               |            |

“Did you say this or did someone else say this about me?”

The word *hēnk* introduces a result clause (section 9.5.2.2).

|     |              |                         |             |               |                    |        |             |
|-----|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|--------|-------------|
| 9.2 | <b>Jakan</b> | <b>na</b>               | <b>baka</b> | <b>iwo</b>    | <b>aṭa'naan</b>    |        | <b>hēnk</b> |
|     | jakan        | na                      | baka        | i- wo         | a- ṭa'             | naan   | hēnk        |
|     | tell         | and                     | C1P.OBJ     | 2S be         | C1AS young_sibling | 1S.GEN | so          |
|     | <b>iṭu</b>   | <b>bamēbanaan</b>       |             | <b>bnuura</b> |                    |        |             |
|     | i- ṭu        | ba- mēb -an -aan        |             | b- nuura      |                    |        |             |
|     | 2S place     | C1P. attach CAUS 1S.OBJ |             | C5S goodness  |                    |        |             |

“Say that you are my sister, so that you will cause them to be good to me”

|     |               |              |               |                 |             |             |             |
|-----|---------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 9.3 | <b>ṅdeey</b>  | <b>ṅuṅ</b>   | <b>bahank</b> | <b>ṅa</b>       | <b>pa</b>   |             |             |
|     | ṅ- deey       | ṅ- uṅ        | ba- hank      | ṅ- a            | pa          |             |             |
|     | C2P grain     | C2P DEM.DIST | C1P keep      | C2P OBJ         | in_order_to |             |             |
|     | <b>ṅṣubal</b> | <b>paaj</b>  | <b>na</b>     | <b>uloṅ</b>     | <b>ṅi</b>   | <b>ubon</b> | <b>hēnk</b> |
|     | ṅ- ṣubal      | paaj         | na            | u- loṅ          | ṅ- i        | u- bon      | hēnk        |
|     | C2P year      | six          | and           | C2S INDEF       | C2P GEN     | C2S hunger  | so          |
|     | <b>bañaṅ</b>  | <b>biki</b>  | <b>uṭaak</b>  | <b>bawutna</b>  |             |             |             |
|     | ba- ñaṅ       | bik- i       | u- ṭaak       | ba- wut -na     |             |             |             |
|     | C1P person    | C1P GEN      | C2S country   | C1P leave INSTR |             |             |             |
|     | <b>kakeṭ</b>  |              |               |                 |             |             |             |
|     | k- a- keṭ     |              |               |                 |             |             |             |
|     | IMPERF        | SER          | die           |                 |             |             |             |

“This grain will be kept for the seven years of famine so the people of the country will not die”

The word *keeri* introduces a result clause (section 9.5.2.2).

|     |              |              |              |               |          |
|-----|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|----------|
| 9.4 | <b>Babuk</b> | <b>baṣih</b> | <b>keeri</b> | <b>baanwo</b> | <b>i</b> |
|     | ba- buk      | ba- ṣih      | keeri        | ba- an- wo    | i        |
|     | C1P child    | C1P chief    | in_that_case | C1P NEG must  | GEN      |
|     | <b>kaluk</b> |              |              |               |          |
|     | k- a- luk    |              |              |               |          |
|     | IMPERF       | SER          | pay          |               |          |

“Therefore chiefs’ children don't have to pay.”

9.5 **Keeri idinan iyeenk uko wi**  
 keeri i- dinan i- yeenk u- ko w- i  
 in\_that\_case 2S agree 2S receive C2S thing C2S gen

**nwuliij**

n- wul -i -iŋ  
 1S.SUB give 2S.SUB.OBJ sel

“So please accept the thing that I give you.”

9.6 **Ṭupun keeri , we wi iṣaluŋ**  
 ṭup -un keeri , we w- i i- ṣal -uŋ  
 speak 1P.OBJ in\_that\_case what C2S GEN 2S think SEL

“So tell us what you think.”

The word *ṭiki* introduces a cause clause (section 9.5.2.1) and it is never sentence initial.

9.7 **Dduka Dakar ṭiki dmaaki**  
 d- duk -a Dakar ṭiki d- maak -i  
 1S leave MID Dakar because 1S be\_ill CMPL

“I stayed in Dakar because I was ill”

9.8 **Naṭiin iñaay na utaak bti**  
 naṭ -i -in i- ñaay na u- taak bti  
 stand MID IMP 2S walk\_about with C2S country all

**ṭiki dluŋ kawulu wa**  
 ṭiki d- luŋ k- a- wul -u w- a  
 because\_(of) 1S FUT IMPERF SER give 2S.OBJ C2S OBJ

“Get up and walk about all this land, because I will give you it.”

9.9 **Babi bti ṭi a ṭiki batiink**  
 ba- bi bti ṭ- i a ṭiki ba- tiink  
 C1P come all INT LOC.PROX OBJ because\_(of) C1P hear

**uko wi adoluŋ**  
 u- ko w- i a- dol -uŋ  
 C2S thing C2S GEN C1S do SEL

“They all came to him because they had heard of the things he had done.”

The word *bě* is a contrastive marker (section 9.5.4.4), and is most frequently used with a negative clause.

9.10 **Aji ṭi uṣalul agar**  
 a- ji ṭ- i u- ṣal -ul a- gar  
 C1S say INT LOC.PROX C2S mind 3s.POSS C1S scatter

**baniw na a bë aankṭup bañaan**  
 ba- niw na a bë a- ěn- k- ṭup ba- ñaan  
 C5S fiancé(e) and OBJ CNTR C1S NEG IMPERF speak C1P person

“He thought that he would break off the engagement but not tell anyone”

|      |             |               |           |            |            |             |           |               |             |            |     |     |
|------|-------------|---------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------|-----|-----|
| 9.11 | <b>Iten</b> |               | <b>ti</b> |            | <b>iko</b> |             | <b>yi</b> |               | <b>naan</b> | <b>bti</b> |     |     |
|      | i-          | ten           | t-        | i          | i-         | ko          | y-        | i             | naan        | bti        |     |     |
|      | 2S          | look_at       | INT       | LOC.PROX   | C3P        | thing       | C3P       | GEN           | 1S.GEN      | all        |     |     |
|      | <b>bë</b>   | <b>iinwin</b> |           | <b>win</b> | <b>nin</b> | <b>kako</b> |           | <b>kalonj</b> | <b>ki</b>   |            |     |     |
|      | bë          | i-            | in-       | win        | win        | nin         | ka-       | ko            | ka-         | lonj       | k-  | i   |
|      | CNTR        | 2S            | NEG       | see        | see        | NEG         | C3S       | container     | C3S         | INDEF      | C3S | GEN |
|      | <b>nu</b>   |               |           |            |            |             |           |               |             |            |     |     |
|      | nu          |               |           |            |            |             |           |               |             |            |     |     |
|      | 2S.POSS     |               |           |            |            |             |           |               |             |            |     |     |

“You looked through all my things, but didn't find any pot of yours”

### 9.1.2 Relations requiring deranking

The following words can be used to link clauses either to other clauses or a constituent within a clause. They require the clause that they introduce, at least in some contexts, to be deranked, i.e. to have a syntactic or morphological modification which could not appear in a simple neutral clause.

|                  |                                     |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>jibi</i>      | comparison or cause                 |
| <i>ji</i>        | comparison or cause                 |
| <i>pa</i>        | goal                                |
| <i>woli</i>      | irrealis                            |
| <i>le</i>        | irrealis                            |
| <i>ukaanj kē</i> | cause                               |
| <i>Ci</i>        | genitive (C is an agreement prefix) |

The following features are found in deranked clauses, though not necessarily together:

- selective suffix *-unj* on verb
- nasalisation as 1s prefix
- required marking of imperfective aspect
- alternative 1s and 2s prefixes *ka-* and *k-*

Clauses introduced by the word *jibi* require the selective marker *-unj* on the verb. It has two uses – to indicate manner (section 9.4.2.2) or to indicate a cause (section 9.5.2.3).

|      |              |      |              |     |             |                |     |             |      |        |     |    |
|------|--------------|------|--------------|-----|-------------|----------------|-----|-------------|------|--------|-----|----|
| 9.12 | <b>Alunj</b> |      | <b>kaniw</b> |     | <b>jibi</b> | <b>ajonunj</b> |     | <b>kado</b> |      |        |     |    |
|      | a-           | lunj | k-           | a-  | niw         | jibi           | a-  | jon         | -unj | k-     | a-  | do |
|      | C1S          | FUT  | IMPERF       | SER | build       | like           | C1S | last        | SEL  | IMPERF | SER | do |

“He will build as he always does”

9.13 **Jibi awoonj aankak afiyaara** ,  
 jibi a- wo -onj a- an- kak a- fiyaar -a  
 like C1S be SEL SER NEG REP SER believe C1S.OBJ

**aşë tıp pyaanť**  
 a- şë tıp p- yaanť  
 SER SEQ announce INF go\_visiting

“As he still didn't believe her, he said he was going to go on a voyage”

The use of *jibi* also requires the subordinate version of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular prefix, i.e. prenasalisation of the following consonant, rather than *d-*.

9.14 **Dňal kakakalëšan ntiink jibi**  
 d- ñal k- a- kakalëş -an ntiink jibi  
 1S like IMPERF SER repeat 2P.OBJ a\_little like  
**nwoonj tfa ti kpoť**  
 n- wo -onj tfa t- i k- poť  
 1S.SEL be SEL in\_the\_past INT LOC.PROX C3S childhood  
 “I want to tell you a little of what I was like as a child”

9.15 **Dlempar aşinan jibi nhiniñ bti**  
 d- lemp -ar a- şin -an jibi n- hina -iñ bti  
 1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS like 1S.SEL be\_strong SEL all  
 “I worked for your father as much as I could”

It seems likely that *jibi* is related to *ji*. A clausal comparison is introduced by *jibi*, whereas *ji* can introduce a clausal comparison or a simple nominal comparison (see 9.16 below and section 9.4.2.2).

9.16 **Abi kayoora yooraj ji plaak**  
 a- bi k- a- yooraj yooraj ji p- laak  
 C1S FUT IMPERF SER drown drown like C6S stone  
 “He began to sink like a stone”

In Karlik's description of the related language Manjaku (Karlik, 1972, p. 215) he describes a structure which has *bi* surrounding a causality or manner clause. This could indicate a common source for Manjaku *bi* and Mankanya *jibi*. Unfortunately, he only gives an example of its use in a time clause. (example updated to current orthography).

9.17 **Koulon bi ndo bi nşi napať**  
 something when I(PAST) when I.was child  
 “Something from the time when I was a child”

The word *pa* introduces a clause expressing a purpose (section 9.5.2.1). Karlik (1972) describes the same word in Manjaku and suggests that it is borrowed from Kriol.

When the subject of the clause expressing the purpose is identical to the subject of the matrix clause, the verb in the purpose clause takes an infinitive prefix.

9.18 **Ŋya duuṭ pa pmeer bahula**  
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa p- meer ba- hula  
 1P go up\_there in\_order\_to INF get\_to\_know C1P Mankanya  
 “We're going to the Casamance to get to know the Mankanya”

If the subject of the purpose clause is different and in the first person singular, then the first person singular subordinate prefix is used.

9.19 **Ŋya duuṭ pa nihil njukan**  
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa n- hil n- jukan  
 1P go up\_there in\_order\_to 1S be\_able 1S teach

**uhula**

u- hula

C3S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that I can teach Mankanya”

Otherwise no particular morphological changes are necessary in the purpose clause.

9.20 **Ŋya duuṭ pa Dama ahil ajukan**  
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa Dama a- hil a- jukan  
 1P go up\_there in\_order\_to Dama C1S be\_able C1S teach

**uhula**

u- hula

C2S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that Dama can teach Mankanya”

*Woli* introduces a clause that describes something that either does not exist yet, or is not known to exist, or may or may not be true. It can be used for future events which are sure, as well for conditional events (section 9.5.1.3).

The *woli* clause may appear before or after the main clause it relates to. If the *woli* clause appears first then the normal 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes *d-* and *i-* cannot be used in the main clause. Instead the alternatives *ka-* and *k-* must be used.

9.21 **Woli dtar abi kabi de**  
 woli d- tar a- bi ka- bi de  
 when; if 1S be\_fast SER come 1S.ALT FUT eat  
 “If I come back quickly, I'll eat”



9.22 **ŋya uṭeeh woli bnuur baanyiiki**  
 ŋ- ya u- ṭeeh woli b- nuur ba- an- yiik -i  
 1P go C2S field when; if C7S sunlight C7S NEG be\_hot CMPL  
 “We will go to the fields, if it isn't too hot”

9.23 **Tenan baṭi , ifën ṅjah woli**  
 ten -an ba- ṭi i- fën ṅ- jah woli  
 look\_at IMP C5S sky 2S count C2P star when; if  
**ihinani**  
 i- hinan -i  
 2S be\_able CMPL

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

9.24 **Woli abi , ṅfiṅ uguk**  
 woli a- bi ṅ- fiṅ u- guk  
 when; if C1S come 1P kill C2S chicken  
 “If/When he comes we will kill a chicken”

When the *woli* clause is in the past the clause is additionally marked with the word *lah* to indicate a contrafactual statement. Compare the following example with example 9.24 above.

9.25 **Woli abi lah , ṅfiṅ uguk**  
 woli a- bi lah ṅ- fiṅ u- guk  
 when; if C1S come CNTRFACT 1P kill C2S chicken  
 “If he had come, we would have killed a chicken”

When the *woli* clause contains an auxiliary with future meaning (*luṅ, ya, bi*) the main verb is not prefixed with *k-* imperfective prefix (example 9.26), as would be normal (example 9.27). It would seem that irrealis nature of *woli* makes the imperfective *k-* unnecessary.

9.26 **Woli naluṅ aya ṅrisiya ṅya na baka**  
 woli na- luṅ a- ya ṅrisiya ṅ- ya na baka  
 when; if 2P FUT SER go church 1P go and C1P.OBJ  
 “If you are going to go to church, we will come with you.”

9.27 **Naluṅ kaya ṅrisiya**  
 na- luṅ k- a- ya ṅrisiya  
 2P FUT IMPERF SER go church  
 “You are going to go to church”

The particle *le* marks a clause in the same way *woli* does; it indicates that the clause is irrealis. Unlike *woli* it occurs after the verb.

9.28 **Apiitaar le naṣë fën te iñeen**  
 a- piitaar le na- ṣë fën te i- ñeen  
 C1S whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten  
 “When he whistles, you'll count to ten”

If the subject in the clause marked with *le* is in the first person singular, the subordinate prefix *N-* is used. This is different to a clause with *woli*.

9.29 **Mpiitaar le naşë fën te iñeen**  
 m- piitaar le na- şë fën te i- ñeen  
 1S.SEL whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten  
 “When I whistle, you’ll count to ten”

Like *woli*, the clause following *le* can be used with the contrafactual *lah*, to indicate a possible event that did not occur.

9.30 **Awul le lah awul katuman**  
 a- wul le lah a- wul k- a- tum -an  
 C1S give IRL CNTRFACT C1S give IMPERF SER be\_numerous CAUS  
 “If he had given, he would have given a lot”

When there is an auxiliary, then *le* is placed after the auxiliary.

9.31 **nluŋ le ka itaka kaniw katoh**  
 n- luŋ le ka i- taka ka- niw ka- toh  
 1S.SEL FUT IRL have C4P money 1S.ALT build C3S house  
**kaweek**  
 ka- week  
 C3S big  
 “If I have the money I will buy a big house”

This example also illustrates that like *woli*, the dependent clause requires the alternative version of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular verb prefixes.

Two clauses can be linked together with the verbal expression *ukaŋ kë*.

9.32 **Dmaaki ukaŋ kë dduka Dakar**  
 d- maak -i u- ka -aŋ kë d- duk -a Dakar  
 1S be\_ill CMPL C2S have SEL COMP 1S leave MID Dakar  
 “I was ill, and for this reason I stayed in Dakar”

Note that example 9.7 and 9.32 are complementary and describe the same events.

*Ukaŋ* seems to be composed of *u-* “C2S”, *ka* “have” and the subordinate suffix *-uŋ*. The word *uka* is used sometimes as an existential introducer. The use of the class 2 singular prefix here may be related to its use in *uko* “thing”.

9.33 **Uka du ukalabuş naţaşa**  
 u- ka d- u u- kalabuş na- ţaşă  
 C2S have EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison C1S teenager\_(boy)  
**aloŋ anwooŋ nalemp i naşih i**  
 a- loŋ a- n- wo -oŋ na- lemp i na- şih i  
 C1S INDEF C1S COREF be SEL C1S worker GEN C1S chief GEN  
**bayeŋ**  
 ba- yeŋ  
 C1P guard

“There was in the prison, a young man, who was a servant of the chief guard”

Note that the subordinate form of the first person singular prefix is required after *ukaŋ kë*.

The expression *ukaŋ kë* can occur at the beginning of a sentence to refer to something in the previous sentence.

9.34 a) **Anaţa ți pkeţ !**  
 a- naţ -a ți i p- keţ  
 C1S stand MID INT LOC.PROX C4S death

“He's come back from the dead”

b) **Ukaŋ kë aka mnhina mi**  
 u- ka -aŋ kë a- ka mn- hina m- i  
 C2S have SEL COMP C1S have C8 power C6P DEM.PROX

**pdo mlagre !**

p- do m- lagre  
 INF do C8 miracle

“It's for this reason that he has power to do miracles”

The genitive marker *-i* is used to introduce a relative clause where the antecedent of the relative clause is a non-subject in the relative clause. The genitive agrees with the antecedent. This word has probably grammaticalised from the proximal demonstrative *-i*. Further, its use in relative clauses is possibly the source of its use as the genitive particle.

As its function in relative clauses (introducing an element which modifies the head noun) is the same as that of the genitive marker, I have to chosen to gloss it as GEN rather than DEM.PROX or something new.

In relative clauses introduced by *-i*, the first verb word takes the subordinate suffix *-uŋ* and when relevant the imperfective prefix *k-*.

9.35 **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's touching the table that she's making”

9.36 **Aṅal iko yi baknuḡ**  
 a- ṅal i- ko y- i ba- k- nug -uḡ  
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF buy SEL  
 “She likes the things that they buy”

If the relative clause has a first person singular subject then the subordinate prefix *N-* is used.

9.37 **Ado uko wi njakuḡ**  
 a- do u- ko w- i n- jak -ul -uḡ  
 C1S do C2S thing C2S GEN 1S.SUB tell C1S.ALT.OBJ SEL  
 “He is doing the thing that I told him to do.”

## 9.2 Clauses linked by verbal forms

Clauses can be linked together without any linking words. If the subject in a clause is unchanged from the previous clause, then the subject prefix on the verb is substituted by *a-* which I have glossed as *SER* for serial. This prefix is identical in form to the subject prefix when the subject is a class 1 singular noun.

9.38 **Ukaṅa ujohara aṅog baka**  
 u- kaṅa u- johara a- ṅog baka  
 C2S sort\_of\_bird C2S move\_(a\_little) SER be\_close C1P.OBJ  
**akak afuut kayeeh**  
 a- kak a- fuut ka- yeeh  
 SER REP SER splash C3S song  
 “The bird moved, came closer to them, and started singing again.”

9.39 **Kë baṭooli abomandër aṭonkandër bti**  
 kë ba- ṭool -i a- bomandër a- ṭonkandër bti  
 DS C1P straight CMPL SER get\_ready SER gather\_together all  
**ṭuḡ pnduud pi naṣih nafeey**  
 ṭ- uḡ p- nduud p- i na- ṣih na- Feeey  
 INT LOC.DIST C6S compound C4S GEN C1S chief 2P Feeey  
**aya**  
 a- ya  
 SER go

“And straight away, they got themselves ready, and gathered together in the chief of the Nafeey's compound, and then left”

Example 9.38 shows that auxiliaries can be used with local scope in serial clauses, and example 9.39 shows the use of an adverbial locational phrase.

Negation always has local scope.

- 9.40 **Dama ade aṣiṣ aaṅṅoyēnti**  
 Dama a- de a- ṣiṣ a- aṅ- ṅoyēnt -i  
 Dama C1S eat SER go\_home SER NEG sleep CMPL  
 “Dama ate, went home, but she didn’t sleep”

The following example shows that some auxiliaries can have a scope across the following clauses. The future auxiliary *bi* effects all the following clauses, and all the verbs need to be prefixed by the imperfective *k-*.

- 9.41 **Ñaaṅ aloṅ abi kabop**  
 ñaaṅ a- loṅ a- bi k- a- bop  
 person C1S INDEF C1S FUT IMPERF SER hide\_oneself  
**kado kaṭiink nja**  
 k- a- do k- a- tiink nja  
 IMPERF SER INGR IMPERF SER hear 1P.OBJ  
**kabot kame uko**  
 k- a- bot k- a- me u- ko  
 IMPERF SER do\_something\_next IMPERF SER know C2S thing  
**wi ṅkaaṅ**  
 w- i ṅ- ka -aṅ  
 C2S GEN C2P have SEL  
 “Someone will hide, and hear us and know what we have”

When the subject changes then the particle *kë* is used to show a change of subject. Compare the following two examples:

- 9.42 **Şompi akob baka aṣë ya**  
 Şompi a- kob baka a- ṣë ya  
 Şompi C1S hit 3P.OBJ SER SEQ go  
 “Şompi hit Nala and then he (Şompi) left”
- 9.43 **Şompi akob baka kë aya**  
 Şompi a- kob baka kë a- ya  
 Şompi C1S hit 3P.OBJ DS C1S go  
 “Şompi hit Nala and she (Naala) left”

There will be more discussion on the use of *kë* in section 11.

An instrumental suffix *-na* on the verb in the second clause can be used to express purpose (section 9.5.2.3):

- 9.44 **Aṭup**                    **baka**    **uko**            **wi**            **awinuṭ**  
 a- ṭup            baka    u- ko            w- i            a- win -uṭ  
 C1S announce C1P.OBJ C2S thing C2S GEN C1S see SEL
- bawutna**                    **kaya**                                    **ṭi**                                    **dko**  
 ba- wut -na    k- a- ya ṭ- i                                    d- ko  
 C5S leave INSTR IMPERF SER go INT LOC.PROX C9S place
- duṭ**  
 d- uṭ  
 C9S DEM.DIST
- “He told them what he had seen so that they did not go there”

- 9.45 **Wulun**                    **kak**    **bṭepi**            **ṅhilna**                                    **ṅwo**  
 wul -un            kak    b- tepi            ṅ- hil            -na    ṅ- wo  
 give 1P.POSS again c7s seed 1P be\_able INSTR 1P be
- bajeb**  
 ba- jeb  
 C1P healthy
- “Give us grain, so that we can be live.”

- 9.46 **Bañaaṅ**                    **bawula**                                    **ṅntaam**                                    **ṅi**  
 ba- ñaaṅ            ba- wul -a                                    ṅ- ntaam            ṅ- i  
 C1P person C1P give C1S.OBJ C2P livestock C2P GEN
- baka**    **ahilna**                                    **ade**  
 baka    a- hil            -na    a- de  
 C1P.OBJ SER be\_able INSTR SER eat
- “The people gave him their livestock, so that they could eat.”

If the purpose clause has the same subject then a serial prefix *a-* is used.

- 9.47 **Dwaap**                    **mleman**                    **alukna**                                    **Dama**  
 d- waap            m- lemani            a- luk -na            Dama  
 1S sell C6P orange SER pay INSTR Dama
- “I sold some oranges in order to pay Dama”

- 9.48 **Ajaan**                    **awul**                    **naṣih**                    **najeenkal**  
 a- ja -aṅ            a- wul            na- ṣih            na- jeenk -al  
 C1S HAB SEL C1S give C1S chief C1S redder CHG
- kalomar**                    **aneejna**                                    **pṣih**  
 ka- lomar            a- neej -na            p- ṣih  
 C3S key SER enter INSTR C6S kingdom/throne
- “It is he who gives the king the key in order to enter the kingdom”

If the purpose clause is a different subject and the first person singular then the prefix must be the subordinate form *N-*.

9.49 **Awulin**                      **kakoopa**      **ndaanna**  
 a- wul -in      ka- koopa    n-      daan -na  
 C1S give 1S.OBJ    C3S glass      1S.SEL drink INSTR  
 “He gave me the cup so that I can drink”

Clauses can be linked by marking the second verb with an auxiliary like *şë*. This is often used for temporal sequencing (section 9.5.1.1), but can also be used for same event addition (section 9.5.4.2).

9.50 **Dñowa**                      **aşë**              **wohara**  
 d- ñow -a      a-    şë      wohara  
 1S wash MID    SER SEQ    wear\_(clothes)  
 “I wash and then get dressed”

9.51 **Bko**              **babi**              **dëm**    **bnuura**    **aşë**              **keṭ**  
 b- ko    ba- bi      dëm    bnuura    a-    şë      keṭ  
 C7S tree    C7S PAST    grow    well      SER SEQ    die  
 “The tree grew well and then it died”

### 9.3 Semantics of clause relations

This section describes the semantics of clause relations, and how the various forms described above are used to express those semantics.

In this section I will use two overlapping frameworks to classify these clause relations. Firstly I will use the work of Cristofaro (2005) to describe subordinate clauses, and then the work of Dixon (2009) to describe other clause types. The two classification overlap in describing adverbial clauses and where this occurs I shall refer back to previous relevant sections.

### 9.4 Subordinate clauses

Cristofaro (2005) categorises semantically subordinate clauses into three groups depending on how the State of Affairs (SoA) described by each clause relates to each other.

- Complement clauses – one SoA entails that another SoA is referred to.
- Adverbial clauses – one SoA corresponds to circumstances where another SoA takes place.
- Relative clauses – a participant of the main SoA is identified within a set of possible referents by mentioning some other SoA in which they take part.

Semantically subordinate clauses are not necessarily syntactically subordinate clauses.

### 9.4.1 Complement clauses

Cristofaro further divides up complement clauses into the following subgroups:

- Modals (must, can, be able to)
- Phasals (start, begin, stop)
- Manipulatives (order, make, persuade)
- Desideratives ('want', etc)
- Perceptions (see, hear)
- Knowledge (know)
- Propositional attitude (think, believe)
- Utterance (say, tell)

#### 9.4.1.1 Modals

Modal complement clauses always have the same subject as the matrix clause. They use auxiliary verb constructions already described in chapter 8.

Obligation uses the form *wo i ka-* structure:

9.52 **ŋwo i kapoş**                      **ŋnuur**      **ŋwajanţ**  
 ŋ- wo i k- a- poş ŋ- nuur ŋ- wajanţ  
 1P must GEN IMPERF SER walk C2P day C5P.cnt three

"We must walk three days."

9.53 **iko mēnt iwo yi kawo**  
 i- ko mēnt i- wo y- i k- a- wo  
 C3P thing that C3P be C3P GEN IMPERF SER be

"These things must happen."

Negating the auxiliary can mean negation of the obligation as in 9.54 or obligation to not do something as in 9.55.

9.54 **Babuk başih baanwo i kaluk**  
 ba- buk ba- şih ba- an- wo i k- a- luk  
 C1P child C1P chief C1P NEG must GEN IMPERF SER pay

"Children of chiefs do not have to pay."

9.55 **Baanwo kapaya pnkuŋ**  
 ba- an- wo k- a- pay -a p- nkuŋ  
 C1P NEG must IMPERF SER raised MID C4S hill

"They must not climb the hill."

Obligation to not do something can be more explicitly expressed with the auxiliary construction *wut ka-*



9.56 **Nawutan kalow maakan**  
 na- wut -an k- a- low maakan  
 2P leave IMP IMPERF SER be\_apart very

“You must not go far”

Ability is expressed with the auxiliary construction *hil ka-*.

9.57 **ŋhil kado kañaay na**  
 ŋ- hil k- a- do k- a- ñaay na  
 1P be\_able IMPERF SER INGR IMPERF SER walk\_about and

**utaak**

u- taak

C2S country

“We can begin to move freely around the country.”

9.58 **Nin ñaaŋ aanhil kalempar**  
 nin ñaaŋ a- an- hil k- a- lemp -ar  
 NEG person C1S NEG be\_able IMPERF SER work BEN

**baših batëb**

ba- ših ba- tëb

C1P chief C1P two

“No-one is able to work for two masters”

9.59 **Ihinan kajebanaan**  
 i- hinan k- a- jeban -aan  
 2S be\_able\_to IMPERF SER heal 1S.OBJ

“You can heal me”

The verb *hinan* (which appears in free variation with *hilan* and *hil*) has the sense of “to be able to”. It appears as an auxiliary either with the infinitive prefix *p-* or with the serial prefix *a-* (often prefixed by the imperfective *k-*).

The difference in meaning between the two structures tends to vary somewhat between speakers (and sometimes the same speaker at different times will use the two structures to mean the same thing).

When used with the infinitive marker *p-* it the core meaning seems be “to have the ability to do something”.

9.60 **Ahinan pyeeh**  
 a- hina p- yeeh  
 C1S be\_able\_to INF sing

“He can sing”

The ability can be either internal ability, or ability within external constraints.

It can be used for both future and past events. Compare the following two examples from the same text.

- 9.61 **ŋtëb**      **ŋakeŋ**      ,      **bdëk**      **bapuŋ**      ,      **bañaan**  
 ŋ-    t̥ëb    ŋa- keŋ      b-    d̥ëk    ba- puŋ      ba- ñaan  
 C2P fish    C2P die      C5S sea    C1P rot      C1P person  
**baankak**      **ahil**      **pdaan**      **ti**      **meel**  
 ba- ën- kak    a- hil      p- daan    t̥- i      meel  
 C1P NEG REP    SER be\_able    INF drink    INT LOC.PROX    water  
**mi**      **ba**  
 m- i      b- a  
 C8 GEN    C5S OBJ

“The fish will die, the river smell, and people will not even be able to drink its water”

- 9.62 **ŋtëb**      **ŋakeŋi**      ,      **kë**      **bdëk**      **bapuŋi**      ,  
 ŋ-    t̥ëb    ŋa- keŋ -i      kë    b-    d̥ëk    ba- puŋ -i  
 C2P fish    C2P die CMPL      DS    C5S sea    C5S rot CMPL  
**bañaan**      **baankak**      **ahil**      **pdaan**      **meel**  
 ba- ñaan    ba- ën- kak    a- hil      p- daan    meel  
 C1P person    C1P NEG REP    SER be\_able    INF drink    water  
 “The fish died, the river smelt, and people were not even be able to drink water”

When followed by a verb with just the serial prefix *a-* the meaning is similar, but the event is in the past.

- 9.63 **Bahil**      **apoŋ**      **pnak**      **na**      **utejan**  
 ba- hil      a- poŋ    p- nak      na    u-    tejan  
 C1P be\_able    SER walk    C4S daytime    and    C2S night  
 “They were able to walk night and day”

- 9.64 **Ahil**      **anaŋ**      **ti**      **kadunan**  
 a- hil      a- naŋ    t̥- i      ka- dun -an  
 C1S be\_able    SER stand    INT LOC.PROX    C3S front 2P.POSS  
 “He is able to stand in front of you”

When the imperfective *k-* is present the construction has a more modal meaning. The exact sense depends on context, ranging from a permissive “Let him do something”, to a more conditional “he could do something”.

- 9.65 **Ahinan**      **kayeeh**  
 a- hina      k-    a-    yeeh  
 C1S be\_able\_to    IMPERF SER sing  
 “Let him sing”

- 9.66 **Ahinan**      **katokun**      **ulemp**  
 a- hina      k-    a-    tok -un    u-    lemp  
 C1S be\_able\_to    IMPERF SER ruin 1S.OBJ    C2S work  
 “He could ruin our work”

## 9.4.1.2 Phasals

Phasal subordinates where the matrix verb is *jun* “begin” or *ṭañan* “stop”, are not introduced by a complementiser. The subject of the subordinate clause is always the same as the matrix clause, and the subordinate clause is headed by an infinitive.

9.67 **Aṣë jun pkul Naala ajugul**  
 a- ṣë jun p- kul Naala a- jug -ul  
 C1S SEQ begin INF despise Nala C1AS owner 3s.POSS  
 “Then she began to hate Naala, her mistress”

9.68 **Aṣë jun pjukan baka**  
 a- ṣë jun p- jukan baka  
 C1S SEQ begin INF teach C1P.OBJ  
 “Then he began to teach them”

9.69 **Baṭañan pniw ubeeka**  
 ba- ṭañ -an p- niw u- beeka  
 C1P stop CAUS INF build C2S town  
 “They stopped building the town”

9.70 **Aṭañan plempar nja**  
 a- ṭañ -an p- lemp -ar nja  
 C1S stop CAUS INF work BEN 1P.OBJ  
 “She stopped working for us.”

These phasal verbs can also just take a noun that describes an action as a complement.

9.71 **Aṭañan kabuk**  
 a- ṭañ -an ka- buk  
 C1S stop CAUS C3S birth  
 “She stopped giving birth”

9.72 **Naṣë ṅal pdo baka baṭañan ulemp**  
 na- ṣë ṅal p- do baka ba- ṭañ -an u- lemp  
 2P SEQ like INF do C1P.OBJ C1P stop CAUS C2S work  
 “You want them to stop the work”

Beginning can also be expressed with the ingressive auxiliary *do*.

9.73 **Mëṅṅal bayafan biki nja bado**  
 më- ṅ- ṅal ba- yafan bik- i nja ba- do  
 1S.NEG NEG like C1P shepherd C1P GEN 1P.POSS C1P INGR

**kaṅom**

k- a- ṅom  
 IMPERF SER dispute  
 “I don't want our shepherds to begin arguing”

## 9.4.1.3 Manipulatives

What Cristofaro calls manipulatives are expressed with *do* “do/make” and the subordinate clause is normally introduced by the word *kë*.

9.74 **Ado** **kë** **batuman** **ṅṣaaku**  
 a- do kë ba- tum -an ṅ- ṣaaku  
 C1S do COMP C1P be\_numerous CAUS C2P bag  
 “He made them fill the sacs”

9.75 **Naṣih** **i** **bayeṅ** **ado** **kë** **Ṣompi**  
 na- ṣih i ba- yeṅ a- do kë Ṣompi  
 C1S chief GEN C1P guard C1S do COMP Shompi  
**aklempar** **baka**  
 a- k- lemp -ar baka  
 C1S IMPERF work BEN C1P.OBJ  
 “The head guard made Shompi work for them”

9.76 **Bado** **kë** **bapënan** **baka** **ṭi**  
 ba- do kë ba- pën -an baka ṭ- i  
 C1P do COMP C1P go\_out CAUS C1P.OBJ INT LOC.PROX  
**dko**  
 d- ko  
 C9S place  
 “They<sub>1</sub> made them<sub>2</sub> take them<sub>3</sub> from the place”

9.77 **Aṣë** **do** **kë** **bawul** **napoṭ** **kë** **adee**  
 a- ṣë do kë ba- wul na- poṭ kë a- de -e  
 C1S SEQ do COMP C1P give C1S child DS C1S eat CMPL  
 “Then he made them give the child something to eat”

9.78 **Aṣë** **do** **kë** **nwin** **babuku**  
 a- ṣë do kë n- win ba- buk -u  
 C1S SEQ do COMP 1S.SEL see C1P child 2S.OBJ  
 “Then he allowed me to see your children”

9.79 **Naṣibaṭi** **ado** **kë** **nṭilma** **unoor**  
 na- ṣibaṭi a- do kë n- ṭilma u- noor  
 C1S God C1S do COMP 1S.SEL forget C2S tiredness

**wi** **naan** **bṭi**  
 w- i naan bṭi  
 C2S GEN 1S.GEN all  
 “God makes me forget all my tiredness”

- 9.80 **Ado wa kē uyimani** (same as ex. 7.16)  
 a- do w- a kē u- yiman -i  
 C1S do C2S OBJ COMP C2S respect IMP  
 “He made it sacred”

Occasionally the *kē* is dropped.

- 9.81 **DDo baka bapēn**  
 d- do baka ba- pēn  
 1S do C1P.OBJ C1P go\_out  
 “I made them leave”

#### 9.4.1.4 Desideratives

Desire is expressed with the verb *ŋal* “want/love”. If the subject is different in the main clause and the complement clause, and the subject of the complement clause is the first person singular then the subordinate version of that prefix is used.

- 9.82 **Naŋal nwutanan naŋih i**  
 na- ŋal n- wut -an -an na- ŋih i  
 2P loved 1S.SEL leave CAUS 2P.OBJ C1S chief quest  
 “Do you want me to release the chief to you?”

- 9.83 **Dŋal name kē djon ŋal pbi**  
 d- ŋal na- me kē d- jon ŋal p- bi  
 1S like 2P know COMP 1S cont like INF come  
**du an**  
 d- u an  
 EXT LOC.DIST 2P.OBJ

“I want you to know that I have for a long time wanted to come to you”

If the subject is the same then the infinitive form of the first verb word is used, or the *k-* *a-* prefix. The difference between the two structures needs research, but it seems that most cases of the infinitive relate to past states.

- 9.84 **Dŋal maakan pwinan**  
 d- ŋal maakan p- win -an  
 1S like very INF see 2P.OBJ  
 “I really wanted to see you”

- 9.85 **Aanŋal ppeeta ŋi kadun**  
 a- an- ŋal p- peeṭ -a ṭ- i ka- dun  
 C1S NEG want INF reveal MID INT LOC.PROX C3S front  
**ki bañaan**  
 k- i ba- ñaan  
 C3S GEN C1P person  
 “He did not want to reveal himself in front of the people.”

9.86 **Iᅇal kaya na ᅇiintᅇ i i**  
 i- ᅇal k- a- ya na ᅇ- iintᅇ i i  
 2S want IMPERF SER go with C1S man DEM.PROX quest  
 “Do you want to go with this man?”

9.87 **Naweeku aᅇal kafiᅇu**  
 na- week -u a- ᅇal k- a- fiᅇ -u  
 C1S elder\_sibling 2S.POSS C1S like IMPERF SER kill 2S.POSS  
 “Your brother wants to kill you”

#### 9.4.1.5 Perceptions

Perception verbs like *win* “see” and *tiink* “hear/feel” use the word *kē* to introduce a complement clause. No other changes are required in the complement clause. Note in example 9.89 that there is no change of subject, which shows that *kē* is acting as a complementiser and not a change of subject marker.

9.88 **Awin kē mboᅇ manjun pkay**  
 a- win kē m- boᅇ man- jun p- kay  
 C1S see COMP C8 earth C8 begin INF be\_dry  
 “He saw that the land was beginning to dry.”

9.89 **Dwin kē dhil kado da**  
 d- win kē d- hil k- a- do d- a  
 1S see COMP 1S be\_able IMPERF SER do C9S OBJ

**ulemp unuura**  
 u- lemp u- nuura  
 C2S work C2S good  
 “I saw that I was able to do good work there.”

9.90 **Atiink plul kē palul maakan**  
 a- tiink p- lul kē pa- lul maakan  
 C1S hear C4S flute COMP C4S blow very  
 “He heard the flute blow loudly.”

The imperfective prefix *k-* is used where an action is occurring at the time of perception.

9.91 **ᅇompi akat kēᅇ aᅇē win kē Dama**  
 ᅇompi a- kat kēᅇ a- ᅇē win kē Dama  
 Shompi C1S raise\_(eyes) eye SER SEQ see COMP Dama

**akbi**  
 a- k- bi  
 SER IMPERF come  
 “Shompi lifted his eyes and saw that Dama was coming.”

- 9.92 **Dtiink** **kë** **ikpoş** **ti** **uwoorta**  
 d- tiink kë i- k- poş ɕ- i u- woorta  
 1S hear COMP 2S IMPERF walk INT LOC.PROX C2S garden  
 “I heard you walking in the garden.”

- 9.93 **Atiink** **bapoɕ** **kë** **bakhuuran**  
 a- tiink ba- poɕ kë ba- k- huuran  
 C1S hear C1P child COMP C1P IMPERF cry\_out  
 “He heard the children shouting.”

In the following two examples the imperfective prefix *k-* is not used. In the first the change of state has happened, in the second the action has not happened.

- 9.94 **Awin** **kë** **Naala** **adëmi**  
 a- win kë Naala a- dëm -i  
 C1S see COMP Nala C1S grow CMPL  
 “He saw that Naala had grown.”

- 9.95 **ŋwin** **bnuura** **kë** **baambi** **hil** **pneej**  
 ŋ- win bnuura kë ba- am- bi hil p- neej  
 1P see well COMP C1P NEG past be\_able INF enter  
**du** **dko**  
 d- u d- ko  
 EXT LOC.DIST C9S place  
 “We saw clearly that they had not been able to enter the place.”

The same structure with *kë* as a complementiser is used when *tiink* is used figuratively.

- 9.96 **Atiink** **ti** **uleeful** **kë**  
 a- tiink ɕ- i u- leef -ul kë  
 C1S hear INT LOC.PROX C2S body 3s.POSS COMP  
**ajebi**  
 a- jeb -i  
 C1S recover CMPL  
 “He realised that he had been healed.”

#### 9.4.1.6 Knowledge

The verb *me* “know” is used to express knowledge. Where it is used with a subordinate clause, that clause is introduced by the complementiser *kë*. No other changes are required in the complement clause.

- 9.97 **Name** **kë** **dlempar** **aşinan**  
 na- me kë d- lemp -ar a- şin -an  
 2P know COMP 1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS  
 “You know that I work for your father.”

- 9.98 **Bame**      **kë**      **akeṭi**  
 ba- me      kë      a- keṭ -i  
 C1P know    COMP    C1S die    CMPL  
 “They know that he is dead.”

- 9.99 **Bañaaṅ**      **bukuṅ**              **baamme**      **kë**      **nduba**  
 ba- ñaaṅ      buk- uṅ              ba- am- me      kë      nduba  
 C1P person    C1P DEM.DIST    C1P NEG know    COMP    boy  
**uṅ**      **awo**      **ṭi**              **btuur**      **meeṭ**  
 uṅ      a- wo      ṭ- i              b- tuur      meeṭ  
 DEM.DIST    C1S be      INT LOC.PROX    C5S coffin    inside  
 “Those people didn’t know that that boy was inside the coffin.”

- 9.100 **Dme**      **kë**      **dṭo**      **ṭi**              **na**      **an**      **bṭi**  
 d- me      kë      d- ṭo      ṭ- i              na      an      bṭi  
 1S know    COMP    1S sit    INT LOC.PROX    with    2P.OBJ    all  
 “I know that I am staying with you.”

#### 9.4.1.7 Propositional attitude

The verb *fiyaar* “believe” is used to denote propositional attitude. It can be used with a noun, but where it used with a subordinate clause, that clause is introduced by the complementiser *kë*. No other changes are required in the complement clause.

- 9.101 **Afiyaar**      **kë**      **dwoona**      **du**              **Ziguinchor**  
 a- fiyaar      kë      d- woona      d- u              Ziguinchor  
 C1S believe    COMP    1S come\_from    EXT LOC.DIST    Ziguinchor  
 “He thought that I came from Ziguinchor.”

- 9.102 **Baanfiyaar**      **kë**      **abi**              **wo**      **nakuul**  
 ba- an- fiyaar      kë      a- bi              wo      na- kuul  
 C1P NEG believe    COMP    C1S past    be      C1S blind  
 “They didn’t believe that he had been blind”

#### 9.4.1.8 Utterance

Speech is always introduced by the verb *ji* “speak”. This can be used on its own, or after a speech verb like *teem* “answer”, where it is prefixed with the serial prefix *a-*.



9.103 **Ulioŋ unwoon i uŝih ujeŋ**  
 u- lion u- n- wo -oŋ i u- ŝih u- jeŋ  
 C2S lion C2S COREF be SEL GEN C2S chief C2S take

**bɕup aji ulemp ubaa**  
 b- ɕup a- ji u- lemp u- ba -a  
 C5S speech SER say C2S work C2S finish CMPL  
 “The lion who was the king spoke up and said ‘The work is finished’ ”

9.104 **Woli baɕij pde baji pde pi**  
 woli ba- ɕij p- de ba- ji p- de p- i  
 if C1P bring C6S meal C1P say C6S meal C4S GEN

**bayaantɕ pi pi**  
 ba- yaantɕ p- i p- i  
 C1P stranger C4S GEN C4S DEM.PROX  
 “When they brought them the meal they said ‘This is the stranger's meal’ ”

9.105 **Kë bangooli baŝë teema aji**  
 kë ba- ngooli ba- ŝë teem -a a- ji  
 DS C1P soldier C1P SEQ reply C1S.OBJ SER say

**nayaantɕ aloŋ ankuŋiinj pdunk**  
 na- yaantɕ a- loŋ a- n- kuŋ -i -iŋ p- dunk  
 C1S stranger C1S INDEF C1S COREF be\_burdened MID SEL C4S pot  
**akbiinj**  
 a- k- bi -iŋ  
 C1S IMPERF come SEL  
 “And the soldiers replied ‘It is a stranger carrying a pot who is coming’ ”

9.106 ( **Uloŋ** )... **aŝë do kahuh**  
 u- loŋ a- ŝë do k- a- huuh  
 C2S elephant SER SEQ INGR IMPERF SER shout  
**aji nabiini , nabiini .**  
 a- ji na- bi -ini na- bi -ini  
 SER say 2P come IMP 2P come IMP  
 “Elephant started to shout out crying ‘come! Come!’ ”

The only difference between direct and indirect discourse is the verbal prefix.

9.107 **Uji uwo wi pdo ukoolan**  
 u- ji u- wo w- i p- do u- koolan  
 C2S say C2S must C2S GEN INF do C2S one\_thing  
 “He said that he had to do one thing”

The verb *ŝal* also uses this structure. This verb is usually translated as “think”, but rather than propositional attitude, the use of *ji* suggests that it may rather denote internal speech, e.g “he said to himself”.

9.108 **Dşal aji i awutaruŋ itaka**  
 d- şal a- ji i a- wut -ar -uŋ i- taka  
 1S think SER say GEN C1S leave BEN SEL C4P money

**itum a**  
 i- tum a  
 C3P many OBJ

“I think it was the one who was let off the biggest amount of money.”

9.109 **Bañaaŋ başal aji dwo in ba ?**  
 ba- ñaaŋ ba- şal a- ji d- wo in ba  
 C1P person C1P think SER say 1S be who? ques

“Who do people think I am?” (Lit: “people think I am who?”)

*şal* can also be used with an infinitive when the subject of the complement clause is the same as the subject of the main clause.

9.110 **Aşal pwutanaan**  
 a- şal p- wutan -aan  
 C1S think INF release 1S.OBJ

“He<sub>1</sub> thought that he<sub>1</sub> would release him<sub>2</sub>.”

9.111 **Başal pgarën na an**  
 ba- şal p- gar -ën na an  
 C1P think INF scatter 1S.OBJ and 2P.OBJ

“They thought that they would separate me and you.”

## 9.4.2 Adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause is one where the State of Affairs described by the subordinate clause corresponds to circumstances where, when or how the State of Affairs described by the matrix clause takes place.

### 9.4.2.1 Temporal clauses

As shown in section 6.3 *te* “until” can either be followed by a noun phrase or by a clause.

The verbs in the clause introduced by *te* use the subordinate form of the prefix for the first person singular. There are no other morphological or syntactic changes in the adverbial clause.

9.112 **Naduka**            **ti**                            **kawo**                            **ukalabuş**  
na- duk -a    t- i                            k-    a-    wo    u- kalabuş  
2P leave MID INT LOC.PROX IMPERF SER be C2S prison  
**te ndo            ten            me            ŋtup            ŋi            nan**  
te n- do    ten    me    ŋ- tɔp    ŋ- i    nan  
until 1S.SEL INGR look\_at know C2P speech C2P GEN 2P.POSS  
**ŋajoonani**  
ŋa- joonan -i  
C2P be\_true CMPL  
“You will stay in prison until I know that what you say is true”

9.113 **te            baweek            biki            naan            baantaş**  
te ba- week            bik- i            naan    ba- an- taş  
until C6S elder\_sibling C2P GEN 1S.GEN 3P NEG follow  
**bgah            mënğan**  
b- gah mënğan  
C6S way that  
“until my brothers don't follow that way”

9.114 **Abi            wo    wo    da            te            kanşëntën**  
a- bi    wo    wo    d- a    te    ka- nşëntën  
C1S PAST be be C9S OBJ until C3S umbilical\_cord  
**kajot            jot**  
ka- jot jot  
C3S fall fall  
“*She stays there until the umbilical cord falls off*”

The *te* clause is quite mobile. In example 9.115 it occurs in the middle of the main clause, just after the subject.

9.115 **Dko            mënğan    te            du                            umbaŋ            wi**  
d- ko    mënğan    te    d- u                            u- mbaŋ    w- i  
C9S place that until EXT LOC.DIST C2S side C2S GEN  
**ubeeka            dawo            na            itant**  
u- beeka    da- wo    na    i- tant  
C2S town C9S be with C3P river  
“*That area, as far as the town, was well irrigated*” (Lit: was with rivers)

A temporal relation indicating an end point can be expressed with the word *ji* “before”, which is homophonous with *ji* “like” (section 9.4.2.2 below).

9.116 **ŋŋal            ptiiş            ji            uşubal            ubi            uşub**  
ŋ- ŋal    p- tiiş            ji            u- şubal    u- bi    u- şub  
1P like INF go\_home before C2S rain C2S PAST C2S rain  
“*We want to go before it rains*”

This construction can only be used if the action expressed in the first clause will happen in the future. The futurity need not be expressed syntactically with a future auxiliary.

As with the *tə* the verbs in the second clause use the subordinate form for the first person singular.

- 9.117 **Dya kawina ji mbi**  
 d- ya k- a- win -a ji m- bi  
 1S FUT IMPERF SER see C1S.OBJ before 1S.SEL FUT  
**ndo kakeṭ**  
 n- do k- a- keṭ  
 1S.SEL INGR IMPERF SER die  
 “I will see him before I die”

To describe a specific time, or duration of time a clause introduced by *wi* “when/while” is used. This is in fact a headless relative clause (see section 9.4.3.5) with an implicit head *wal* “time”. (So *wi* is actually *w- i* “C2S GEN”). The verb is marked like other relative clauses where the antecedent is a non-subject, i.e. with a selectional suffix *-uŋ*, and where appropriate, the imperfective prefix *-k-* (see section 9.4.3.2).

- 9.118 **Wi abanuŋ aṣë jot di meel**  
 wi a- ban -uŋ a- ṣë jot d- i meel  
 when C1S touch SEL SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.PROX water  
 “When she arrived, she fell in the water”

- 9.119 **Wi ŋdeen aba , ŋṭiiṣ**  
 wi ŋ- de -eŋ a- ba ŋ- ṭiiṣ  
 when 1P eat SEL SER CMPLTV 1P go\_home  
 “When we had finished eating, we went home”

- 9.120 **Wi Naala akñoŋuŋ dko di**  
 wi Naala a- k- ñog -uŋ d- ko d- i  
 when Nala C1S IMPERF be\_close SEL C9S place C9S GEN  
**bafëṭuŋ awin Dama**  
 ba- fëṭ -uŋ a- win Dama  
 C1P dwell SEL SER see Dama  
 “As Naala got close to where they lived, she saw Dama”

#### 9.4.2.2 Manner

As shown in section 9.1.2 *ji* “like” can be followed by a clause to show hypothetical manner.

9.121 **Dṭaafi**      **kë** **uwo**      **wo** **ji**      **dnaṭ**      **ṭi**  
 d- ṭaafi    kë    u-    wo    wo    ji    d-    naṭ    ṭ-    i  
 1S dream    DS    C2S be    be    like    1S stand    INT LOC.PROX

**kabaṅ**      **ki**              **bdëk**  
 ka- baṅ    k-    i              b-    dëk  
 C3S side    C3S GEN    C5S sea

“I dreamt that I was standing at the side of the river”

The word *jibi* shows real manner:

9.122 **Aluṅ**      **kaniw**                      **jibi**      **ajonuṅ**  
 a-    luṅ    k-      a-    niw      jibi    a-    jon    -uṅ  
 C1S FUT    IMPERF SER build    like    SER last SEL

**kado**

k-      a-    do  
 IMPERF SER do

“He will build as he always does”

9.123 **Baloṅ**      **bado**      **jibi**      **bameeṅ**              **di**  
 ba-    loṅ      ba-    do      jibi    ba-    me    -eṅ    d-    i  
 C1P INDEF    C1P do    like    C1P know SEL    EXT LOC.PROX

**ikow**      **yi**              **baka**  
 i-    kow    y-    i              baka  
 C5P head    C3P GEN    C1P.POSS

“Some did as they thought they should”

### 9.4.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are those where a participant of the main state of affairs is identified within a set of possible referents by mentioning some other state of affairs in which they take part.

Relative clauses in Mankanya occur after the head noun that they are modifying, towards the end of the nominal phrase.

Syntactically there are two different structures, depending on whether or not the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause.

#### 9.4.3.1 Antecedent is the Subject of the Relative Clause

When the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause there is no word, relative pronoun or otherwise, that introduces the relative clause. Instead the first verbal word is marked to indicate that the subject of the verb also has a grammatical role in the matrix sentence. As noted in section 4.2.6, this mark is a prefix that is realised by the pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the stem. If this consonant is a nasal, then that nasal is lengthened. If present, the imperfective prefix *k-* is prenasalised, in addition to the nasal before the stem. I gloss this prefix COREF for coreference.

The first verb word is also marked with the selectional suffix *-uj*.

9.124 **ateem naan ambukuŋ ni**  
 a- teem naan a- m- buk -uj ni  
 C1AS grandparent 1S.GEN C1S COREF produce SEL my\_mother  
 “My maternal grandmother (Lit: my grandparent who gave birth to my mother)”

9.125 **praata panjotuŋ**  
 p- raata pa- n- jot -uj  
 C6S bowl C6S COREF fall SEL  
 “The bowl which fell”

9.126 **Dwin nalët ambomanuŋ blaañ**  
 d- win na- lët a- m- boman -uj b- laañ  
 1S see C1S tailor C1Sa COREF make SEL C5S wrap  
 “I saw the tailor who made the dress”

9.127 **Dwin nalët ankmbomanuŋ blaañ**  
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uj b- laañ  
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL C5S wrap  
 “I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

9.128 **Dwin nalët anknuŋ**  
 d- win na- lët a- n- k- n- nuŋ  
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF FUT  
**kaboman blaañ**  
 k- a- boman b- laañ  
 IMPERF SER make C5S wrap  
 “I saw the tailor who is going to make the dress”

As the antecedent is the subject of the verb in the relative clause, that verb agrees with the antecedent.

9.129 **Anug ŋntaam ŋambukiŋ uteek**  
 a- nug ŋ- ntaam ŋa- m- buk -i -iŋ u- teek  
 C1S buy C2P livestock C2P COREF produce MID SEL C2S first  
 “He bought the animals that were born first”

9.130 **kanëm kankmbiŋ**  
 ka- nëm ka- n- k- m- bi -iŋ  
 C3S week C3S COREF IMPERF C8 come SEL  
 “Next week” (lit. “the week that is coming”)

To express a negative, a different structure is used, as the negative is also marked with prenasalisation of the verb stem. The verb *wo* “to be” is introduced at the beginning of the verbal complex and takes the subordinating suffix and the coreferential prefix. The next verbal word

(either main verb or auxiliary), takes the negative marker. Note that *wo* is never marked for imperfective.

9.131 **Ñiint̃ anwooñ aambi amaaki**  
 ñ- iint̃ a- n- wo -oñ a- am- bi a- maak -i  
 C2S man C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG come C1S be\_ill CMPL  
 “The man who hasn't come is ill”

9.132 **Ñiint̃ anwooñ aankbi**  
 ñ- iint̃ a- n- wo -oñ a- an- k- bi  
 C2S man C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF come  
**amaaki**  
 a- maak -i  
 C1S be\_ill CMPL  
 “The man who's not coming is ill”

9.133 **Dwin nalët anwooñ aankluj**  
 d- win na- lët a- n- wo -oñ a- an- k- luj  
 1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF FUT  
**kaboman blaañ**  
 k- a- boman b- laañ  
 IMPERF SER make C5S wrap  
 “I saw the tailor who is not going make the dress”

Note that both *wo* and the second verbal word agree with the subject of the relative clause as shown clearly in example 9.132 above.

9.134 **Dwo na biint̃ batëb banwooñ**  
 d- wo na b- iint̃ ba- tëb ba- n- wo -oñ  
 1S be and C1P man C1P two C1P COREF be SEL  
**baando bi de**  
 ba- an- do bi de  
 C1P NEG INGR PAST eat  
 “I am with two men who haven't yet eaten”

#### 9.4.3.2 Antecedent is a non-Subject in the Relative Clause

When the antecedent of the relative clause is some other than the subject in that clause, the relative clause is introduced by the word *-i* which agrees with the antecedent. As already mentioned in section 9.1.2 I have chosen to gloss it as GEN “genitive” as its function is the same (introducing an element which modifies the head noun).

As with other relative clauses, the first verb word takes the selective suffix *-uj* and when necessary the imperfective prefix *k-*.

9.135 **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's touching the table that she's making”

9.136 **Aŋal iko yi baknuguŋ**  
 a- ŋal i- ko y- i ba- k- nug -uŋ  
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF buy SEL  
 “She likes the things that they buy”

9.137 **Aŋal iko yi bakbiŋ kanug**  
 a- ŋal i- ko y- i ba- k- bi -iŋ k- a- nug  
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF FUT SEL IMPERF SER buy  
 “She likes the things that they are going to buy”

9.138 **Ŋşë pënan kakaarta ki aşinun**  
 ŋ- şë pënan ka- kaarta k- i a- şin -un  
 1P SEQ take\_out C3S card C3S GEN C1AS father 1P.OBJ  
**apiitun un**  
 a- piit -uŋ un  
 C1S write SEL 1P.subj  
 “We got out the map that our father had drawn us”

9.139 **Mënte uko wi ijakuŋ**  
 më- n- te u- ko w- i i- jak -uŋ  
 1S.NEG NEG hear C2S thing C2S GEN 2S tell SEL  
 “I didn't understand what you said”

To express a negative the verb *wo* is used in the same way as was noted in section 9.4.3.1 above.

9.140 **Ado ulemp wi bawooŋ**  
 a- do u- lemp w- i ba- wo -oŋ  
 C1S do C2S work C2S GEN C1P be SEL

**baaŋŋali**  
 ba- aŋ- ŋal -i  
 C1P NEG like CMPL  
 “He does the work that they don't like”

9.141 **Aŋal iko yi bawooŋ baanji banug**  
 a- ŋal i- ko y- i ba- wo -oŋ ba- an- ji ba- nug  
 C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P be SEL C1P NEG HAB C1P buy  
 “She likes the things that they don't usually buy”

With ditransitive clauses the same structure is used with either object, as shown in the examples below.



9.142 **nalemp**      **ñaat**      **i**      **Şompi**      **awuluŋ**      **Dama**  
na- lemp      ñ- aaŋ      i      Şompi      a- wul -uŋ      Dama  
C1S worker      C1S female      GEN      Shompi      C1S give SEL      Dama

**abukul**

a- buk -ul  
C1AS child 3S.POSS

“the servant that Shompi had given to his daughter Dama”

9.143 **nalemp**      **i**      **bawuluŋ**      **baluk**      **bi**  
na- lemp      i      ba- wul -uŋ      ba- luk      b- i  
C1S worker      GEN      C1P give SEL      C5S payment      C5S GEN

**ŋşubal**      **kañeen**

ŋ- şubal ka- ñeen  
C2P year      C3S five

“the servant that they had given five years wages to”

## 9.4.3.3 Object pronouns in Relative Clauses

As noted in section 4.2.7.2 - some object pronouns change their form when used in a relative clause. These are the singular pronouns and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronoun. This change occurs regardless of whether the antecedent is subject or an object, and if an object, regardless of whether it is the first or second object.

9.144 **Ñaaŋ**      **ampokanaŋ**      **apokën**  
ñaanŋ      a- m- pok -an      -aŋ      a- pok -ën  
person      C1S COREF refuse 2P.SEL.OBJ SEL      C1S refuse 1S.OBJ

“The person who rejects you, rejects me”

9.145 **uko**      **wi**      **baktaparuluŋ**  
u- ko      w- i      ba- k- tapar -ul      -uŋ  
C2S thing      C2S GEN      C1P IMPERF accuse      C1S.SEL.OBJ SEL

“the thing they accused him of”

9.146 **itaka**      **yi**      **nwuliŋ**  
i- taka      y- i      n- wul -i      -iŋ  
C4P money      C4P GEN      1S.SEL give      2S.SEL.OBJ SEL

“the money that I gave you”

## 9.4.3.4 Antecedent is a modifier in a genitive phrase in a Relative Clause

It is possible to relativise a noun which is the modifier in a genitive phrase in the relative clause (for example a possessor). The structure is the same as that used for objects, but a resumptive pronoun is required, either as an object pronoun (e.g. *ŋa* in example 9.147) or as a verbal possessive suffix (e.g. *-ul* in example 9.148).

- 9.147 **Uwit ukaş na upi ukaş ŋi**  
 u- wit u- kaş na u- pi u- kaş ŋ- i  
 C2S cow C2S male and C2S goat C2S male C2P GEN
- baţuuŋ pñaak pi ŋa ʦi**  
 ba- ʦu -uŋ p- ñaak p- i ŋ- a ʦ- i  
 C1P place SEL C4S blood C4S GEN C2P OBJ INT LOC.PROX
- dko dyimanaan maakan**  
 d- ko d- yiman -a -an maakan  
 C9S place C9S respect MID CAUS very
- “the male cow and the male goat, whose blood had been put in the very sacred place”

- 9.148 **Dwin ñiinʦ i nmeeŋ abukul**  
 d- win ñ- iinʦ i n- me -eŋ a- buk -ul  
 1S see C1S man GEN 1S know SEL C1AS child 3S.POSS
- “I saw the man whose child I know”

#### 9.4.3.5 Headless relative clauses

Relative clauses where the head is not explicit are often found.

- 9.149 **Bannooruŋ baanji baya**  
 ba- n- noor -uŋ ba- an- ji ba- ya  
 C1P COREF get\_tired SEL C1P NEG HAB C1P go
- “Those who were tired didn't go”

- 9.150 **Biki nwinuŋ du baankmbi**  
 bik- i n- win -uŋ d- u ba- an- k- m- bi  
 C1P GEN 1S see SEL EXT LOC.DIST C1P NEG IMPERF NEG come
- “Those I saw there aren't coming”

#### 9.4.3.6 Relative clause semantics

Relative clauses which have an explicit head can be divided into two types, those that are restrictive, and those that non-restrictive. A restrictive relative clause identifies the head amongst several possible referents. A non-restrictive clause adds additional information to the head.

Not all languages permit both types, but relative clauses of both types are found in Mankanya, and there is no morpho-syntactic distinction.

Example 9.151 from the beginning of a story, shows two non-restrictive relative clauses. Each add extra information and each could be removed from the sentence, and it would still make sense.

- 9.151 **Ubi ka tfa , di untanka**  
 u- bi ka tfa d- i u- ntanka  
 C2S past have in\_the\_past EXT LOC.PROX C2S village
- uloŋ , ñiinṭ nawaap naŋaf**  
 u- loŋ ñ- iinṭ na- waap na- ŋaf  
 C2S INDEF C1S man C1S seller C1S elderly
- ammaakuŋ aniimar na napoŋ ñaaŋ**  
 a- m- maak -uŋ a- niim -ar na na- poŋ ñ- aaŋ  
 C1S COREF be\_ill SEL C1S marry BEN and C1S child C1S woman
- nanuura i bapoŋ baŋaŋa biki**  
 na- nuura i ba- poŋ ba- ŋaŋa bik- i  
 C1S beauty GEN C1P child C1P teenager\_(boy) C1P GEN
- untanka bti baŋaluŋ**  
 u- ntanka bti ba- ŋal -uŋ  
 C2S village all C1P like SEL
- “Once, there was an old ill man who married a beautiful young woman, who all the boys in the village loved”

Later on in the same story, there is an example of a restrictive relative clause:

- 9.152 **kë ñaaŋ aŋë ya aya ŋup**  
 kë ñ- aaŋ a- ŋë ya a- ya ŋup  
 DS C1S woman SER SEQ go SER go announce
- baniw , ul i aŋaluŋ maakan**  
 ba- niw ul i a- ŋal -uŋ maakan  
 C5S fiancé(e) 3s.subj GEN C1S like SEL very
- “The woman went to talk to her beloved, he who loved her a lot”

Here the relative clause identifies which boy is being talked about amongst the ones who have been introduced in the story, the one “who loved her a lot”. Similarly later in the same story, this boy is referred to in the same way.

- 9.153 **ame kë naŋaŋa i ñaaŋ**  
 a- me kë na- ŋaŋa i ñ- aaŋ  
 C1S know COMP C1S teenager\_(boy) GEN C1S woman
- aŋaluŋ maakan aya pfer baniw**  
 a- ŋal -uŋ maakan a- ya p- fer ba- niw  
 C1S like SEL very SER go INF spend\_the\_night C5S fiancé(e)
- “He knew that the boy who the girl loved a lot was going to spend the night with her”

Here are several other examples of restrictive relative clauses.

9.154 **Aşë** **ji** « **bayaanṭ** **bambaanṭ**  
 a- şë ji ba- yaanṭ ba- m- ba -anṭ  
 SER SEQ say C1P stranger C1P COREF CMPLTV SEL  
**abi** **kë** **ṛşë** **kijana** »  
 a- bi kë ṛ- şë kij -an -a  
 SER come DS 1P SEQ steal CAUS MID  
 “They said ‘The strangers who have just come are robbing us’ ”

9.155 **ñaanṭ** **anduwaniṭ** **Nabanka** **Biyagi**  
 ñaanṭ a- n- duw -an -i -iṭ Nabanka Biyagi  
 person SER COREF call CAUS MID SEL Nabanka Biyagi  
**aşë** **wo** **da** ,  
 a- şë wo d- a  
 SER SEQ be C9S OBJ  
 “A person called Nabanka Biyagi was there”

#### 9.4.4 Participle clauses

Semantically, participle clauses in Mankanya would be classed as relative clauses. However, they are formally different.

As already described in section 5.2, participles agree with the noun they are modifying using adjectival agreement markers, rather than the verbal agreement markers used with relatives. Further, participles cannot be marked morphologically as negative, nor can they take the imperfective prefix *k-*.

A participle can also be the head of a participle clause, and the following two examples are repeated from that section. Compare example 9.156, which contains a participle clause *dbomanani ṛkaaru* “car repairing” with example 9.157 which contains a relative.

9.156 **añoṭ** **ukaaru** **wi** **nun** **du**  
 a- ñooṭ u- kaaru w- i nun d- u  
 C1S take C2S car C2S GEN 1P.POSS EXT LOC.DIST  
**dko** **dbomanani** **ṛkaaru**  
 d- ko da- boman -an -i ṛ- kaaru  
 C9S place C9S make CAUS PTCP C2P car  
 “He took our car to the garage (lit. the car repairing place)”

9.157 **dko** **dambomanuṭ** **na** **iñen** **yi**  
 d- ko da- m- boman -uṭ na i- ñen y- i  
 C9S place C9S COREF make SEL and C3P hand C3P GEN  
**bañaanṭ** **bajën**  
 ba- ñaanṭ ba- jën  
 C1P person C1P black  
 “a place made by human hands”

## 9.5 Other types of clause linking

Dixon classifies semantic types of clause linking in Dixon (2009). This classification only relates to clause linkages which are not relative clauses or complement clauses. This means that adverbial clauses are found in both his classification, and Cristofaro's, and so I have already described them in section 9.4.2. This is Dixon's classification, with his numbering:

|     | Linking type         |
|-----|----------------------|
| I   | Temporal             |
| Is  | Temporal Succession  |
| Ir  | Relative Time        |
| Ic  | Conditional          |
| II  | Consequence          |
| IIc | Cause                |
| IIr | Result               |
| IIp | Purpose              |
| III | Possible Consequence |
| IV  | Addition             |
| IVu | Unordered addition   |
| IVs | Same event addition  |
| IVe | Elaboration          |
| IVc | Contrast             |
| V   | Alternatives         |
| Vd  | Disjunction          |
| Vr  | Rejection            |
| Vs  | Suggestion           |
| VI  | Manner               |
| VIr | Real                 |
| VIh | Hypothetical         |

Table 9.1: Dixon's classification of clause relations

### 9.5.1 Temporal (I)

#### 9.5.1.1 Temporal Succession (Is)

As noted in section 8.7.3 and also section 9.2 the primary use of *şë* is to indicate a successive event, and it is commonly found in serial clause constructions:

- 9.158 **Bko**      **babi**      **dëm**   **bnuura**   **aşë**      **keṭ**  
 b- ko    ba- bi    dëm    bnuura   a- şë    keṭ  
 C7S tree   C7S PAST   grow   well    SER SEQ   die  
 “The tree grew well and then it died”

### 9.5.1.2 Relative Time (Ir)

Relative time is achieved with adverbial temporal clauses that begin with *wi* or *wal wi*. These have been described in section 9.4.2.1.

- 9.159 **Wi**      **abanuṭ**      **aşë**      **jot**   **di**      **meel**  
 wi      a- ban -uṭ    a- şë    jot    d- i      meel  
 when    C1S touch SEL    SER SEQ    fall    EXT LOC.PROX    water  
 “When she arrived, she fell in the water”

### 9.5.1.3 Conditional (Ic)

Conditional clause relations can be marked in two ways, the clause initial word *woli* or the verb following word *le* (see also section 9.1.2). Both words mark irrealis so give no information about the probability of the condition becoming true, only that it is not true at the time of utterance.

- 9.160 **Woli**      **dṭar**      **abi**      **kabi**      **de**  
 woli      d- ṭar      a- bi      ka- bi      de  
 when; if    1S be\_fast    SER come    1S.ALT FUT    eat  
 “If I come back quickly, I’ll eat”

- 9.161 **ŋya**      **uṭeḥ**      **woli**      **bnuur**  
 ŋ- ya    u- ṭeḥ    woli      b- nuur  
 1P go    C2S field    when; if    C7S sunlight

#### **baanyiiki**

- ba- an- yiik -i  
 C7S NEG be\_hot CMPL  
 “We will go to the fields, if it isn’t too hot”

- 9.162 **Tenan**      **baṭi**      ,      **ifën**      **ŋjah**      **woli**  
 ten      -an    ba- ṭi      i- fën    ŋ- jah    woli  
 look\_at IMP    C5S sky      2S count    C2P star    when; if

#### **ihinani**

- i- hinan -i  
 2S be\_able CMPL  
 “Look at the sky, count the stars if you are able”

- 9.163 **Woli**      **abi**      ,      **ŋfiṅ**      **uguk**  
 woli      a- bi      ŋ- fiṅ    u- guk  
 when; if    C1S come    1P kill    C2S chicken  
 “If/When he comes we will kill a chicken”

9.164 **Woli naluŋ aya ŋrisiya ŋya na baka**  
 woli na- luŋ a- ya ŋrisiya ŋ- ya na baka  
 when; if 2P FUT SER go church 1P go and C1P.OBJ  
 “If you are going to go to church, we will come with you.”

9.165 **Apiitaar le naşë fën te iñeen**  
 a- piitaar le na- şë fën te i- ñeen  
 C1S whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten  
 “When he whistles, you’ll count to ten”

9.166 **Mpiitaar le naşë fën te iñeen**  
 m- piitaar le na- şë fën te i- ñeen  
 1S.SEL whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten  
 “When I whistle, you’ll count to ten”

9.167 **nluŋ le ka itaka kaniw katoh**  
 n- luŋ le ka i- taka ka- niw ka- toh  
 1S.SEL FUT IRL have C4P money 1S.ALT build C3S house  
**kaweek**  
 ka- week  
 C3S big  
 “If I had the money I would buy a big house”

## 9.5.2 Consequence (II)

### 9.5.2.1 Cause (IIc)

There are three ways of marking a causal semantic relation, the words *jibi* and *ṭiki* and the expression *ukaarj kë* (see also sections 9.1.1 and 9.1.2).

The words *jibi* and *ṭiki* both mark the semantic supporting clause. *Ṭiki* requires no syntactic changes to the clause it introduces, whereas *jibi* requires the verb in the clause it introduces to have the selection suffix *-uŋ*, and the subordinate version of the 1s prefix *N-*.

9.168 **Dduka Dakar ṭiki dmaaki**  
 d- duk -a Dakar ṭiki d- maak -i  
 1S leave MID Dakar because 1S be\_ill CMPL  
 “I stayed in Dakar because I was ill”

9.169 **Jibi awooŋ aankak afiyaara**  
 jibi a- wo -oŋ a- an- kak a- fiyaar -a  
 like C1S be SEL SER NEG REP SER believe C1S.OBJ  
**aşë ṭup pyaanṭ**  
 a- şë ṭup p- yaanṭ  
 SER SEQ announce INF go\_visiting  
 “As he still didn't believe her, he said he was going to go on a voyage”

9.170 **Dlempar aṣinan jibi nhiniṅ bṭi**  
 d- lemp -ar a- ṣin -an jibi n- hina -iṅ bṭi  
 1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS like 1S.SEL be\_strong SEL all  
 “I worked for your father as much as I could.”

The expression *ukaṅ kē* mark the semantic focal clause.

9.171 **Dmaaki ukaṅ kē dduka Dakar**  
 d- maak -i u- ka -aṅ kē d- duk -a Dakar  
 1S be\_ill Cmpl C2S have SEL COMP 1S leave MID Dakar  
 “I was ill, and for this reason I stayed in Dakar”

### 9.5.2.2 Result (IIr)

Result is most often expressed with the word *hēnk* (see also sections 9.1.1).

9.172 **Jakan na baka iwo aṭa'naan**  
 jakan na baka i- wo a- ṭa' naan  
 tell and C1P.OBJ 2S be C1AS young\_sibling 1S.GEN  
**hēnk iṭu bamēbanaan bnuura**  
 hēnk i- ṭu ba- mēb -an -aan b- nuura  
 so 2S place c7s attach CAUS 1S.OBJ c5s goodness  
 “Say that you are my sister, so that you will cause them to be good to me”

9.173 **ṅdeey ṅuṅ bahank ṅa pa**  
 ṅ- deey ṅ- uṅ ba- hank ṅ- a pa  
 C2P grain C2P DEM.DIST C1P keep C2P OBJ in\_order\_to  
**ṅṣubal paaj na uloṅ ṅi ubon hēnk**  
 ṅ- ṣubal paaj na u- loṅ ṅ- i u- bon hēnk  
 C2P year six and C2S INDEF C2P GEN C2S hunger so  
**bañaṅ biki uṭaak bawutna**  
 ba- ñaaṅ bik- i u- ṭaak ba- wut -na  
 C1P person C1P GEN C2S country C1P leave INSTR  
**kakeṭ**  
 k- a- keṭ  
 IMPERF SER die  
 “This grain will be kept for the seven years of famine so the people of the country will not die”

Result can also be expressed with the word *keeri*.

9.174 **Nawutan keeri kaṭaaf uko**  
 na- wut -an keeri k- a- ṭaaf u- ko  
 2P leave IMP in\_that\_case IMPERF SER worry C2S thing  
**wi faan**  
 w- i faan  
 C2S GEN tomorrow  
 “So don't worry about tomorrow!”



9.175 **Dşal keeri aji mënkkak**  
 d- şal keeri a- ji m- ën- k- kak  
 1S think in\_that\_case SER say 1S.NEG NEG IMPERF return

**pwinan**

p- win -an  
 INF see 2P.OBJ

“I decided, therefore, not to come back and see you.”

## 9.5.2.3 Purpose (Ip)

Purpose clauses are introduced by the word *pa*, with either an infinitive for the same subject, N- for a different 1 singular subject, or normal verb subject prefixes in all other cases (see also section 9.1.2).

9.176 **Ŋya duuṭ | pa nihil njukan**  
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa n- hil n- jukan  
 1P go up\_there in\_order\_to 1S be\_able 1S teach

**uhula**

u- hula  
 C3S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that I can teach Mankanya”

9.177 **Ŋya duuṭ | pa pmeer bahula**  
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa p- meer ba- hula  
 1P go up\_there in\_order\_to INF get\_to\_know C1P Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance to get to know the Mankanya”

9.178 **Ŋya duuṭ | pa Dama ahil**  
 ŋ- ya duuṭ pa Dama a- hil  
 1P go up\_there in\_order\_to Dama C1S be\_able

**ajukan uhula**

a- jukan u- hula  
 C1S teach C2S Mankanya

“We're going to the Casamance, so that Dama can teach Mankanya”

9.179 **Aşë do kë bayaarada Faara**  
 a- şë do kë ba- ya -ar -ad -a Faara  
 C1S SEQ do DS C1P go DIR BEN C1S.OBJ Sara

**pa aniima**

pa a- niim -a  
 in\_order\_to C1S marry C1S.OBJ

“He made them go and fetch Sarah, so that he could marry her.”

Purpose clauses which have the same subject as the initial clause can also be introduced by adding the imperfective prefix in front of the serial prefix.

9.180 **Babi ajip kakab bdëk**  
 ba- bi a- jip kakab b- dëk  
 C1P PST SER dig next\_to C5S sea

**kakaana meel mnuura**  
 k- a- ka -an -a meel m- nuura  
 IMPERF SER have CAUS C1S.OBJ water C8 good  
 “They dug wells near the river, in order to have fresh water.”

9.181 **Dṭi ṭi kabuurna Naala**  
 d- ṭi ṭi k- a- buur -n -a Naala  
 1S run run IMPERF SER escape CAUS MID Nala  
 “I was running in order to escape Naala.”

9.182 **Bañooṭa te du pnkuṭ duuṭ**  
 ba- ñooṭ -a te d- u p- nkuṭ duuṭ  
 C1P take C1S.OBJ until EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill on

**kahilna kawuuka**  
 k- a- hil -n -a k- a- wuuk -a  
 IMPERF SER be\_able CAUS MID IMPERF SER push C1S.OBJ

**du uṭeh**  
 d- u u- ṭeh  
 EXT LOC.DIST C2S field  
 “They took him to the top of a hill, in order to push him off.”

Purpose can also be expressed by an instrumental suffix *-na* on the verb in the second clause:

9.183 **Wulun kak bṭepi ṅhilna ṅwo**  
 wul -un kak b- ṭepi ṅ- hil -na ṅ- wo  
 give 1P.POSS again c7s seed 1P be\_able INSTR 1P be

**bajeb**  
 ba- jeb  
 C1P healthy

“Give us grain, so that we can be live.”

### 9.5.3 Possible Consequence (III)

Mankanya does not have a specific way of marking possible consequence, but instead uses the *wutna ka-* construction to express negative purpose:

9.184 **Yaan du pnkuṭ iwutna**  
 ya -an d- u p- nkuṭ i- wut -na  
 go IMP EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill 2S leave INSTR

**kakeṭ**  
 k- a- keṭ  
 IMPERF SER die

“Flee to the hills, so that you will not die” (instead of lest you “die”)

## 9.5.4 Addition (IV)

### 9.5.4.1 Unordered addition (IVu)

Clauses in an unordered addition relation are joined by the word *kë* (see also section 10).

- 9.185 **Dwo** **ti** **kañog** **pliik** **kë**  
 d- wo t- i ka- ñog p- liik kë  
 1S be INT LOC.PROX C3S area\_near C6S well DS  
**baaṭ** **biki** **ubeeka** **bakpën** **pbi**  
 b- aat bik- i u- beeka ba- k- pën p- bi  
 C1P woman C1P GEN C2S town C1P IMPERF go\_out INF come  
**kaliik** **meel**  
 k- a- liik meel  
 IMPERF SER draw\_water water  
 “I am near the well, and the women of the town are coming to draw water.”

- 9.186 **Wi** **abaaj** **ptiini** **na** **Şompi** **aşë** **ya**  
 wi a- ba -aṭ p- tiini na Şompi a- şë ya  
 when C1S tmtv SEL INF speak and Shompi SER SEQ go  
**kë** **Şompi** **aṭiiş** **katohul**  
 kë Şompi a- tiiş ka- toh -ul  
 DS Shompi C1S go\_home C3S house 3s.POSS  
 “When he had finished speaking to Shompi, he left and Shompi returned to his house.”

### 9.5.4.2 Same event addition (IVs)

Same event addition is achieved by marking the second clause with the auxiliary *şë*. As the event normally has the same subject the second verb prefix is a serial prefix *a-* (see also section 9.2).

- 9.187 **Akat** **këş** **aşë** **win** **biinṭ** **bawajaṭ**  
 a- kat këş a- şë win b- iinṭ ba- wajaṭ  
 C1S raise\_(eyes) eye SER SEQ see C1P man C1P three  
**kë** **baaṭ** **du** **kadunul**  
 kë ba- naṭ d- u ka- dun -ul  
 DS C1P stand EXT LOC.DIST C3S front 3s.POSS  
 “He lifted his eyes and saw two men standing in front of him”
- 9.188 **Batëb** **ti** **biinṭ** **bukuṅ**  
 ba- tëb t- i b- iinṭ buk- uṅ  
 C1P two INT LOC.PROX C1P man C1P DEM.DIST  
**bapënna** **da** **aşë** **ya** **Fugtor**  
 ba- pën -na d- a a- şë ya Fugtor  
 C1P go\_out cfg C9S OBJ SER SEQ go Ziguinchor  
 “Two of the men left there, going to Ziguinchor”

## 9.5.4.3 Elaboration (IVE)

Elaboration is achieved simply by juxtaposing two clauses.

9.189 **Kë Faara ašë wo aanhil pbuk**  
 kë Faara a- šë wo a- ën- hil p- buk  
 DS Sara SER SEQ be C1S NEG be\_able INF give\_birth

**aanka napoŋ**  
 a- ën- ka na- poŋ  
 C1S NEG have C1S child

“But Sarah was unable to give birth, she had no children.”

## 9.5.4.4 Contrast (IVc)

Contrast is often shown by the use of the verbal expression *ašë wo* followed by a finite verb (see also section 9.2).

9.190 **Dwin Našibaŋi na këš naan ašë wo**  
 d- win Našibaŋi na këš naan a- šë wo  
 1S see God and eye 1S.GEN SER SEQ be

**mënkeŋi**  
 m- ën- keŋ -i  
 1S.NEG NEG die CMPL

“I saw God with my own eyes, but I didn't die”

9.191 **Naweeek awo Dama ašë wo**  
 na- week a- wo Dama a- šë wo  
 C1S elder\_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be

**aannuura ŋi bten**  
 a- ën- nuura ŋ- i b- ten  
 SER NEG be\_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks

“The elder one was Dama, but she was not beautiful to look at”

9.192 **baŋa'ul babi du dko**  
 ba- ŋa -ul ba- bi d- u d- ko  
 C1P young\_sibling 3s.POSS C1P come EXT LOC.DIST C9S place

**di awooŋ ašë wo baanhinan**  
 d- i a- wo -oŋ a- šë wo ba- ën- hinan  
 EXT LOC.PROX C1S be SEL SER SEQ be C1P NEG be\_able\_to

**añoŋa ŋiki bañaŋ**  
 a- ñog -a ŋiki ba- ñaŋ  
 SER be\_close C1S.OBJ because\_(of) C1P person

**batumi**  
 ba- tum -i  
 C1P be\_numerous CMPL

“His brothers came to the place where he was, but they couldn't get near because there were so many people”

9.193 **Abel awo nayafan , kë Kayin ašë wo**  
 abel a- wo na- yafan kë Kayin a- šë wo  
 Abel C1S be C1S shepherd DS Cain C1S SEQ be

**najaar**

na- jaar

C1S farmer

“Abel was a shepherd, but Cain was a farmer”

9.194 **Iwin kë Şompi abuk paapa ajab**  
 i- win kë Şompi a- buk paapa a- jab  
 2S see DS Shompi C1AS child daddy C1S grow

**uleef kë nji nšë wo na katël**  
 u- leef kë nji n- šë wo na ka- tël  
 C2S body DS 1S 1S.SUB SEQ be and C3S skin\_(of\_person)

**kajinŋ**

k- a- jinŋ

IMPERF SER be\_clean

“You know that Shompi my brother is hairy, but I have smooth skin”

Where the subjects are different the different subject marker *kë* is sometimes used to highlight the contrast (also see section 11):

9.195 **ŋjugude ŋatool pdëpa ŋi**  
 ŋ- jugude ŋa- tool p- dëp -a ŋ- i  
 C2P vulture C2P leave INF heap MID INT LOC.PROX

**ŋntaam ŋankeŋuŋ ŋuŋ kë Şompi**  
 ŋ- ntaam ŋa- n- keŋ -uŋ ŋ- uŋ kë Şompi  
 C2P livestock C2P COREF die SEL C2P DEM.DIST DS Shompi

**ašë dook ŋa**  
 a- šë dook ŋ- a  
 SER SEQ chase C2P OBJ

“Vultures straight away descended on the cattle that were dead, and Shompi chased them”

9.196 **babi pyompana , kë ašë pok**  
 ba- bi p- yompan -a kë a- šë pok  
 C1P come INF calm C1S.OBJ DS C1S SEQ refuse

“They came to calm him but he refused”

There are some cases where contrast is just implied:

9.197 **Abi ŋal pfiŋa , ašë ŋi**  
 a- bi ŋal p- fiŋ -a a- šë ŋi  
 C1S PST like INF kill C1S.OBJ SER SEQ be\_afraid\_of

**bañaanŋ**

ba- ñaanŋ

C1P person

“He<sub>1</sub> wanted to kill him<sub>2</sub> but he<sub>1</sub> was afraid of the people”

9.198 **Mënt ul akdukiin na iko**  
 mënt ul a- k- duki -iŋ na i- ko  
 that 3s.subj C1S IMPERF stay SEL and C3P thing  
**yi nu , napoŋ i ikbukun**  
 y- i nu na- poŋ i i- k- buk -uŋ  
 C3P GEN 2S.POSS C1S child GEN 2S IMPERF produce SEL  
**akdukiin na ya**  
 a- k- duki -iŋ na y- a  
 C1S IMPERF stay SEL and C3P OBJ  
 “He won't inherit your things, it's the child who you will engender who will inherit them”

Note that *şë* on its own is not contrastive.

9.199 **aten uŋaak bti aşë win udu**  
 a- ten u- ŋaak bti a- şë win u- du  
 C1S look\_at C2S country all SER SEQ see C2S smoke  
**kë ukpën da**  
 kë u- k- pën d- a  
 DS C2S NEG go\_out C9S OBJ  
 “He looked at all the country and saw smoke rising there”

Neither is a redundant *kë*:

9.200 **Aŋup baka uko unŋëpuŋ , kë**  
 a- ŋup baka u- ko u- n- ŋëp -uŋ kë  
 C1S speak C1P.OBJ C2S thing C2S COREF pass SEL DS  
**başë lënk maakan**  
 ba- şë lënk maakan  
 C1P SEQ tremble very  
 “He told them what had happened and they were very afraid”

The word *bë* is a contrastive marker and is most frequently used with a negative clause.

9.201 **Iten ți iko yi naan bti**  
 i- ten ți- i i- ko y- i naan bti  
 2S look\_at INT LOC.PROX C3P thing C3P GEN 1S.GEN all  
**bë iinwin win nin kako kalon ki**  
 bë i- in- win win nin ka- ko ka- lon k- i  
 CNTR 2S NEG see see NEG C3S container C3S INDEF C3S GEN  
**nu**  
 nu  
 2S.POSS  
 “You looked through all my things, but didn't find any pot of yours”

9.202 **Aji**            **ti**                            **uşalul**                            **agar**  
 a-    ji    ʃ-    i                            u-    şal    -ul                            a-    gar  
 C1S   say    INT   LOC.PROX    C2S   mind   3s.POSS    C1S   scatter  
**baniw**            **na**    **a**    **bë**    **aankʃup**                            **bañaan**  
 ba-   niw            na    a    bë    a-    ën-   k-            ʃup    ba-   ñaan  
 C5S   fiancé(e)    and    OBJ   CNTR    C1S   NEG   IMPERF   speak    C1P   person  
 “He thought that he would break off the engagement but not tell anyone”

When the initial clause is also negative, it is often translated by “until”.

9.203 **Mënhil**                            **kado**                            **nin**    **uko**  
 m-    ën-   hil                            k-    a-    do    nin    u-   ko  
 1S.NEG   NEG   be\_able    IMPERF   SER   do    NEG   C2S   thing  
**uloŋ**            **bë**    **iindo**                            **bi**    **ban**    **da**  
 u-   loŋ            bë    i-   in-   do    bi    ban    d-   a  
 C2S   INDEF   CNTR    2S   NEG   INGR    PST   arrive    C9S   OBJ  
 “I can do nothing until you have arrived there.” (Lit “... while you have not arrived there”)

9.204 **Mënkde**                            **bë**    **mëntup**                            **uko**  
 m-    ën-   k-    de    bë    m-    ën-   ʃup    u-   ko  
 COREF   NEG   IMPERF   eat    CNTR    COREF   NEG   speak    C2S   thing  
**wi**            **nji**    **nwoon**                            **i**    **kaʃup**  
 w-   i            nji    n-    wo    -oŋ    i    k-    a-    ʃup  
 C2S   GEN    1S    1S.SUB   must   SEL    GEN   IMPERF   SER   speak  
 “I will not eat until I have said the thing I must say.” (Lit “... while I have not said the thing I must say”)

9.205 **Nin**    **aloŋ**                            **awutan**                            **kamuur**  
 nin    a-    loŋ                            a-    wut    -an    k-    a-    muur  
 NEG   C1S   INDEF    C1S   prhb   CAUS   IMPERF   SER   cross  
**plëman**            **bë**    **nfa**                            **maambani**  
 p-   lëman            bë    nfa                            ma-   am-   ban    -i  
 C4S   door            CNTR   morning    C8   NEG   arrive    CMPL  
 “No-one must go out the door until morning.” (Lit “... while morning has not arrived”)

## 9.5.5 Alternatives (V)

### 9.5.5.1 Disjunction (Vd)

For a symmetrical disjunctive alternative relation between two clauses the word *këme* is used (see also section 9.1.1):

9.206 **Alemp**            **ti**                            **uʃeeh**                            **këme**    **aya**                            **ubeeka**  
 a-    lemp    ʃ-    i                            u-    ʃeeh    këme    a-    ya    u-   beeka  
 C1S   work    INT   LOC.PROX    C2S   field   or            C1S   go    C3S   town  
 “He's working in the field or he's gone to town”

9.207 **Woli baanfiyaaru awo baantiinku**  
 woli ba- an- fiyaar -u a- wo ba- an- tiink -u  
 if C1P NEG believe 2S.POSS SER be C1P NEG hear 2S.POSS  
 “If they don't believe you or listen to you...”

### 9.5.5.2 Rejection (Vr)

The construction of *wo* + negative verb seems to give a rejection type relationship between clauses (see also section 9.2):

9.208 **Awuluṅ un mnhina manwoon**  
 a- wul -uṅ un mn- hina ma- n- wo -oṅ  
 C1S give SEL 1P.subj C8 power C8 COREF be SEL  
**mi pdolan naya kadun awo maanwo**  
 m- i p- dol -an na- ya ka- dun a- wo ma- ën- wo  
 C8 GEN INF do CAUS 2P go C3S front SER be C8 NEG be  
**mi pdolan natoka**  
 m- i p- dol -an na- toka  
 C8 GEN INF do CAUS 2P be\_broken  
 “It was he who gave us the authority for advancing you instead of damaging you”

### 9.5.5.3 Suggestion (Vs)

A suggestion type relationship occurs with the verb *hokan* “to prefer”. The dispreferred clause is introduced with *kë di*:

9.209 **ḡhokan kado kalempar baka**  
 ḡ- hokan k- a- do k- a- lemp -ar baka  
 1P prefer IMPERF SER do IMPERF SER work BEN C1P.OBJ  
**kë di pkeṭ ṭi pndiiṣ**  
 kë d- i p- keṭ ṭ- i p- ndiiṣ  
 DS C9S DEM.PROX INF die INT LOC.PROX C4S desert  
 “We prefer to be made to work for them, rather than to die in the desert”

9.210 **Uhokan ñaaṅ ahaj ṭi pdo**  
 u- hokan ñaaṅ a- haj ṭ- i p- do  
 C2S prefer person C1S suffer INT LOC.PROX INF do  
**bnuura kë di ahaj ṭi pdo**  
 bnuura kë d- i a- haj ṭ- i p- do  
 well DS C9S DEM.PROX C1S suffer INT LOC.PROX INF do  
**buṭaan**  
 b- uṭaan  
 C5S evil

“It is preferable for someone to suffer whilst doing good, rather than to suffer in doing evil”



## 9.5.6 Manner (VI)

### 9.5.6.1 Real (VIr)

Real manner relations are created with a *jibi* adverbial clause (see section 9.4.2.2).

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

**kado**

k- a- do  
 IMPERF SER do

“He will build as he always does”

### 9.5.6.2 Hypothetical (VIh)

Hypothetical manner relations are created with a *ji* adverbial clause (see section 9.4.2.2).

9.212 **Dtaafi kë uwo wo ji dnaŋ ti**  
 d- taafi kë u- wo wo ji d- naŋ t- i  
 1S dream DS C2S be be like 1S stand INT LOC.PROX

**kabaŋ ki bdëk**  
 ka- baŋ k- i b- dëk  
 C3S side C3S GEN C5S sea

“I dreamt that I was standing at the side of the river”

## 9.6 Conclusion

The formal structures used for the various semantic relations suggested by Cristofaro and Dixon between them show a wide variety, and few correlates.

Looking at the subordinate clauses of Cristofaro’s classification we can see three main groups, based on the complementiser, either *kë*, *aji* or no complementiser. But apart from knowledge and propositional attitude using the same structure (but different verbs), all other types are distinctive.

This is equally true of the types given by Dixon where the majority have no formal features beyond the linking word.

|                           | <i>kë</i> | <i>aji</i> | Alternative 1s<br>prefix | p- | k- a- | Imperfective<br>marked |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------------------|----|-------|------------------------|
| Phasals                   |           |            |                          | ✓  |       |                        |
| Modals                    |           |            |                          | ✓  | ✓     |                        |
| Desideratives             |           |            | ✓                        | ✓  | ✓     |                        |
| Manipulatives             | ✓         |            | ✓                        |    |       | ✓                      |
| Perceptions               | ✓         |            |                          |    |       | ✓                      |
| Knowledge                 | ✓         |            |                          |    |       |                        |
| Propositional<br>attitude | ✓         |            |                          |    |       |                        |
| Utterance                 |           | ✓          |                          |    |       |                        |

*Table 9.2: Summary of formal differences in subordinate clause types*