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The Majang Language

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in 1968

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Andreas Joswig, Winsen/Aller, March 21, 2019

List of abbreviations and symbols

↓	morpheme downstep	<i>DEM</i>	demonstrative
[]	phonetic transcription, feature notation	DEM	differential ergative marking
//	phonemic transcription	<i>DFUT</i>	distant future
{ }	underlying (lexical) items in phonology section	<i>DIR</i>	directional derivation
< >	orthographic transcription	<i>DIST</i>	distal (far from speaker or hearer)
+	morpheme boundary	<i>DJ</i>	disjoint marking
=	clitic boundary	<i>DUR</i>	durative verb
#	word boundary	<i>ERG</i>	ergative
*	ungrammatical form or construction	<i>EV</i>	epenthetic vowel
<i>1s</i>	1 st person singular	<i>EXT</i>	stem extension
<i>1P</i>	1 st person plural	F1, F2	formant 1, formant 2
<i>2s</i>	2 nd person singular	<i>H</i>	high tone
<i>2P</i>	2 nd person plural	<i>HR</i>	close to the hearer
<i>3s</i>	3 rd person singular	<i>HORT</i>	hortative
<i>3P</i>	3 rd person plural	Hz	Hertz
<i>A</i>	transitive agent	<i>IMP</i>	imperative/jussive
<i>ABS</i>	absolutive	<i>IMPS</i>	impersonal form
<i>AC</i>	anticausative	<i>INCHOA</i>	inchoative form
<i>ADV</i>	adverbializer, adverb	<i>INCPT</i>	inceptive derivation
<i>AP</i>	antipassive	<i>INF</i>	infinitive marker
<i>ATR</i>	advanced tongue root	IPA	International Phonetic Association
<i>AUX</i>	auxiliary verb	<i>IPFV</i>	imperfective
C	consonant	<i>L</i>	low tone
C1, C2	first and second consonant in a consonant cluster	↓	word downstep (floating <i>L</i>)
<i>CF</i>	centrifugal direction	<i>LOC</i>	locative
<i>CJ</i>	conjoint marking	<i>MEDPST</i>	medium past
<i>CND</i>	conditional marker	<i>MOD</i>	modified case form
<i>CONJ</i>	conjunction	<i>NEG</i>	negative
<i>CONTR</i>	contrastive pronoun	<i>NFUT</i>	near future
<i>COP</i>	copula	<i>NOM</i>	nominative
<i>CP</i>	centripetal direction	<i>NOMIN</i>	nominalization
<i>DAT</i>	dative	NP	noun phrase

OCP	Obligatory Contour Principle	S	intransitive subject; subject
<i>ORD</i>	ordinal number	<i>SA</i>	agent-like intransitive subject
<i>PFV</i>	perfective	<i>SFT</i>	sentence-final topicality marker
P	patient, transitive object	<i>SG</i>	singular
<i>PL</i>	plural	<i>SIMUL</i>	simultaneous form
<i>POSS</i>	possessive	<i>SP</i>	close to the speaker
<i>PRAG</i>	pragmatic particle	<i>SP</i>	patient-like intransitive subject
<i>PRCTV</i>	precative particle	<i>STV</i>	stative verb
<i>QUEST</i>	question particle	<i>SUB</i>	subordination marker
<i>QUOT</i>	speech-clause introduction	TBU	tone-bearing unit
<i>R</i>	syllable rhyme	<i>TF</i>	deictic transfer (from one deictic center to another)
<i>RECPST</i>	recent past	V	vowel; verb
<i>REF</i>	anaphoric reference	VP	verb phrase
<i>REFOBJ</i>	referential-object marker		
<i>REL</i>	relative marker		
<i>REL PST</i>	relative past		
<i>REMPST</i>	remote past		

List of bound morphemes

The following is an alphabetic list of all bound morphemes of the Majang language, as encountered in this work. **V** in a prefix stands for the first stem vowel in a total vowel harmony context. In a suffix it refers to the class vowel of the verb (**a**, **ɛ**, or **i**). The following tonal conventions are used to refer to the underlying tone of the morpheme:

- **-i** (no tone indicated): a toneless morpheme – the morpheme copies the previous tone.
- **-ĩ**: the morpheme takes the polar (opposite) tone of the previous tone.
- **-ĩ̃**: the morpheme's high tone replaces all other tones on the stem.

In brackets for each morpheme a reference points to the relevant lowest-level numbered section where information on this morpheme is given.

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-a	<i>DIR</i>		derivation with an expelling or completive sense (IV.2.2.4)
-a^L	<i>PL.ABS.MOD,</i> <i>PL.NOM,</i> <i>PL.NOM/ERG.MOD,</i>	-a^L	plural nominative, plural modified absolutive and plural modified nominative/ergative marker for á^L - or ak^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-á	<i>IS.DJ</i>	-a^L, -ái, -a:	<i>Is</i> disjoint for all verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-à	<i>IS.CJ</i>		<i>Is</i> conjoint for all verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-a^L	<i>DAT</i>	-á^L, -à, -ái, -ǎ:	dative case marker for most NP constituents (IV.1.3.2)
-a^L	<i>SG.ABS,</i> <i>SG.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>		singular absolutive and singular modified ergative/nominative marker for a^L -singular nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-áj^L	<i>NOM</i>		nominative marker of òm 'one' (IV.3.2.1)
-áir	<i>CF</i>		centrifugal-direction marker for a-class verbs (IV.3.3.1)
-áitò	<i>PL.ERG</i>		plural ergative marker for áitò^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
- ǎtɔ̃^L	<i>PL.ABS.MOD,</i> <i>PL.NOM,</i> <i>PL.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>		plural nominative, plural modified absolute, and plural modified nominative/ergative marker for ǎtɔ̃^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- ǎtɔ̃k^L	<i>PL.ABS</i>		plural plain absolute marker for ǎtɔ̃k^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- ák	<i>IMP.SG</i>		imperative singular marker (IV.2.3.4)
- ák^L	<i>PL.ABS, PL</i>	- ák^L , - ák , - ak	plural plain absolute marker for ák^L - or ak^L -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
- ákɔ̃^L	<i>PL.ABS,</i> <i>PL.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>		plural absolute, and plural modified nominative/ergative marker for ákɔ̃^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- ákɔ̃k^L	<i>PL.NOM</i>		plural plain nominative marker for ákɔ̃^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- ákɔ̃k^L	<i>PL.ERG</i>		plural plain ergative marker for ákɔ̃^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- áltá^L	<i>DAT</i>		dative marker of òm 'one' (IV.3.2.1)
- áltè	<i>LOC</i>		locative marker of òm 'one' (IV.3.2.1)
- an^L	<i>INF, NEG</i>	- ǎn^L , - ɔ̃n^L	infinitive marker, negative verb marker (IV.2.2.1)
- án	<i>PL.ABS, PL</i>		plural absolute marker for án -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
- án^L	<i>PL.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>		plural modified nominative/ergative marker for án -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- án^L	<i>SG.ABS,</i> <i>SG.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>	- an^L	singular absolute and singular modified nominative/ergative marker for án(t)^L or an(t)^L -singular nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- ân	<i>PL.ERG</i>		plural plain ergative marker for ân -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-ánt^L	<i>SG.NOM, SG.LOC, SG</i>	-ánt	singular plain nominative and locative marker for án(t)^L - or an(t)^L -singular nouns, and their singular formative for dative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
-ânt^L	<i>SG.ERG</i>		singular plain ergative marker for án(t)^L - or an(t)^L -singular nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-ár	<i>3P.DJ</i>		3P disjoint marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-àr	<i>3P.CJ</i>		3P conjoint marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-ăr	<i>2P.DJ</i>	-àrí	2P disjoint marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-àrd	<i>REL PST. 3P, REFOBJ. 3P</i>		3P relative-past marker and 3P referential-object marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-àrì	<i>2P.CJ</i>		2P conjoint marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-árkej	<i>INCHOA</i>		2P and 3P inchoative subordinate-tense formative for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.2) preceding <i>TF</i>
-árkîd	<i>REL PST. CP. 3P, REFOBJ. CP. 3P</i>		3P centripetal relative-past marker, and 3P centripetal referential-object marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-d	<i>REL PST. 3S, REFOBJ. 3S, REL PST, REFOBJ</i>		3S relative-past marker, and 3S referential-object marker for a-class verbs, also their relative-past formative for <i>1s</i> , <i>2s</i> and <i>1p</i> forms (IV.2.3.2)
-di^L	<i>AP. 3S, AP. 3P, AP, AC. 3S, AC. 3P, AC</i>	-di:	3S/3P detransitivization (antipassive or anticausative) marker for <i>ε</i> - and <i>i</i> -class verbs, and their detransitivization formative for all other persons (IV.2.2.2)
-dû	<i>3P</i>		3P marker for some u-class stative verbs (IV.2.4.3)
-e	<i>LOC</i>	-è, -é	locative marker for nouns, usually singular (IV.1.3.2)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-er^L	<i>PL.ABS, PL</i>		plural absolutive marker for er^L -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
-èr	<i>PL.ERG</i>		plural plain ergative marker for er^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-èr	<i>PL.ABS, PL.ERG</i>	-èr	plural plain absolutive and plural plain ergative marker for èr -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-ér^L	<i>PL.NOM, PL.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>		plural nominative and plural modified nominative/ergative marker for er^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-ε	<i>LOC</i>	-é, -ε^L	locative marker, mostly for possessive pronouns and plural nouns (IV.1.3.2)
-ε^L	<i>PL.ABS, PL.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>	-è	plural absolutive and plural modified nominative/ergative marker for ε^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-é	<i>3S.DJ</i>	-é	3s disjoint marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-è	<i>ERG</i>		ergative marker for possessive pronouns (IV.3.1.4)
-è	<i>HR</i>		hearer-deixis marker for demonstratives and relative pronouns (IV.3.1.5)
-è	<i>3S.CJ</i>	-è	3s conjoint marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-é^L	<i>NOM</i>		nominative marker for possessive pronouns (IV.3.1.4)
-é^L	<i>IMP.PL</i>		imperative plural marker (IV.2.3.4)
-é:^L	<i>INF, NEG</i>	-é:^L	infinitive and negative marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-è:	<i>IMPS.CJ</i>	-è	conjoint impersonal marker (IV.2.3.1)
-é:^L	<i>IMPS</i>	-é^L	disjoint impersonal marker (IV.2.3.1)
-e:ɗ	<i>RELPST.3S, REFOBJ.3S, RELPST, REFOBJ</i>	-e:ɗ	3s relative-past and referential-object marker for ε-class verbs, and their formative for other persons of <i>RELPST</i> and <i>REFOBJ</i> verbs (IV.2.3.2)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-éɗ	INF, NEG	-éɗ	infinitive and negative marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-ɛk	PL		plural formative for dative, locative and possessive cases of ε ^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-éɛ ^L	PL, NOM		plain plural nominative marker for ε ^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-êk	PL, ERG		plain plural ergative marker for ε ^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-éɛr	CF	-éɛr	centrifugal-direction formative for 1 _S , 2 _S and 1 _P forms of ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-èr	2 _P , CJ	-èr	2 _P conjoint marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-êr	CF, 3 _S	-êr	3 _S centrifugal-direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-éɛr	2 _P , DJ	-èrɪ, -éɛr, -èrɪ	2 _P disjoint marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-ɛt	INF, NEG	-ɛt	infinitive and negative marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-éɛtār	CF, 3 _P , CJ	-éɛtār	3 _P conjoint centrifugal-direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-éɛ ⁺ tār	CF, 3 _P , DJ	-éɛ ⁺ tār	3 _P disjoint centrifugal-direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-éɛtārò	CF, 2 _P	-éɛtārò	2 _P centrifugal-direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-er	INCPT	-er, -ér, -ér	inceptive-derivation marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.2.3)
-er ^L	3 _P , DJ	-er ^L	3 _P disjoint marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-èr	3 _P , CJ	-èr	3 _P conjoint marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-erɗ	REL PST, 3 _P , REF OBJ, 3 _P	-erɗ	3 _P relative-past marker and referential-object marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-éɛɗ ^L	REL PST, 2 _P , REF OBJ, 2 _P	-éɛɗ ^L	2 _P relative-past marker, and referential-object marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.2)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
- érgɛ:d	<i>TF, 3P, DJ</i>	- érgɛ:d - érgɛ:^L	3 _P disjoint deictic-transfer direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
- ér'ge:d	<i>TF, 3P, CJ</i>	- ér'ge:d - érgɛ:^L	3 _P conjoint deictic-transfer direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
- érgidɔ	<i>TF, 2P, CJ</i>	- érgidɔ	2 _P conjoint deictic-transfer direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
- érgidɔ^L	<i>TF, 2P, DJ</i>	- érgidɔ^L	2 _P disjoint deictic-transfer direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
- èrkí	<i>CP, 3P, DJ</i>	- èrkí	3 _P disjoint centripetal-direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
- èrkì	<i>CP, 3P, CJ</i>	- èrkì	3 _P conjoint centripetal-direction marker for ε-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
- g	<i>PL</i>		plural marker for demonstratives and relative pronouns (IV.3.1.2)
- gê:d	<i>TF, 3S, DJ, TF, 3P, DJ</i>	- gê:^L	3 _S and 3 _P disjoint deictic-transfer direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
- gè:d	<i>TF, 3S, CJ, TF, 3P, CJ</i>	- gê:^L	3 _S and 3 _P conjoint deictic-transfer direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
- g'ɔd	<i>TF</i>	- g'ɔd	deictic-transfer direction marker for first and second person forms (IV.2.3.3)
- i^L	<i>PL, ABS, PL, NOM/ERG, MOD</i>		plural absolutive and plural modified nominative/ergative formative for i^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- í	<i>3S, DJ</i>	- ú, î	3 _S disjoint marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
- ì	<i>3S, CJ</i>	- ù	3 _S conjoint marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
- î	<i>PL, ERG</i>		plain plural ergative marker for ik^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
- ì	<i>SP</i>		speaker-deixis marker for demonstratives and relative pronouns (IV.3.1.2)
- i^L	<i>PL, NOM, PL, NOM/ERG, MOD</i>		plural nominative and plural modified ergative marker for ik^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-i^L	<i>INF, NEG</i>		infinitive and negative marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-i^L	<i>AP.3S, AP.3P, AP, AC.3S, AC.3P, AC</i>	-i	3S/3P detransitivization (antipassive or anticausative) marker for a-class verbs, and their detransitivization formative for all other persons (IV.2.2.2)
-i^L	<i>INF, NEG</i>	-i^L	infinitive and negative marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-i	<i>IP.CJ</i>		IP conjoint marker for all verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-i^L	<i>IP.DJ</i>		IP disjoint marker for all verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-iɗ	<i>REL PST.3S</i>		3S relative-past and referential-object marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-iɗ	<i>INF, NEG</i>		infinitive and negative marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-iɗ	<i>REL PST</i>		relative-past formative for <i>IS</i> , <i>2S</i> and <i>IP</i> forms for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-iɾ	<i>CF</i>		centrifugal-direction formative for <i>IS</i> , <i>2S</i> and <i>IP</i> forms for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-iɾ	<i>CF.3S</i>		3S centrifugal-direction marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-iɾ	<i>2P.DJ</i>	-iɾi	2P disjoint marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-iɾ^L	<i>PL.ABS, PL</i>	-iɾ	plural absolutive marker for iɾ^L -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
-iɾi	<i>2P.CJ</i>		2P conjoint marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-iɾt	<i>INF, NEG</i>		infinitive and negative marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-iɾtɔ̃	<i>CF.3P.CJ</i>		3P conjoint centrifugal-direction marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-iɾ'tɔ̃	<i>CF.3P.DJ</i>		3P disjoint centrifugal-direction marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-ítàrò	CF.2P		2P centrifugal-direction marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-ík ^L	PL.ABS, PL	-ík	plain plural absolutive marker for ík ^L -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
-ín	2S.DJ	-ún, -in ^L , -un ^L	2S disjoint marker for all verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-in	2S.CJ	-ùn	2S conjoint marker for all verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-ir	INCPT	-ur	inceptive-derivation marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.2.3)
-ìr	3P.CJ	-ùr	3P conjoint marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-îr	CF.3S	-ûr	3S centrifugal-direction marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-ir ^L	3P.DJ	-ur ^L	3P disjoint marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.1)
-ir ⁺ dfi	REL PST.3P, REFOBJ.3P	-ur ⁺ dfú	3P relative-past and referential-object marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-írdò ^L	REL PST.2P, REFOBJ.2P	-úrdò ^L	2P relative-past and referential-object marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-irkí	CP.3P.DJ	-ùrkú	3P disjoint centripetal-direction marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-irkì	CP.3P.CJ	-ùrkù	3P conjoint centripetal-direction marker for i-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-jù	3P	-jú	3P marker for some u-class stative verbs (IV.2.4.3)
-k	EXT		stem extension, separates verbal stems ending in a vowel from inflectional morphology (IV.2.3.1)
-k	POSS	-ik, -uk	possessive-case marker for pronouns and some nouns (IV.1.3.2)
-k	IMP.SG	-ík, -úk	imperative singular marker (IV.2.3.4)
-k	CP.3S, CP		3S centripetal-direction marker for a-class verbs, and centripetal-direction formative for all other verbs (IV.2.3.3)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
=k	<i>SUB</i>	ḡónk	subordinate-clause marker at the end of many subordinate clauses (V.8.2)
-k^L	<i>PL.ABS, PL</i>		plural absolutive marker for k^L -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
k-	<i>NEG</i>		negative auxiliary (V.7.2)
-kà:	<i>INF.SG.ABS</i>		infinitive absolutive marker for stative verbs (IV.2.4.2)
-ká:^L	<i>INF.SG.NOM/ ERG.MOD</i>		infinitive modified nominative and ergative marker for stative verbs (IV.2.4.2)
-ká:j	<i>INCHOA</i>	-kéj	inchoative-subordinate tense formative for 1 st and 2 nd person verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-kám	<i>NOMIN.PL</i>		plural agent nominalizations from non-agent nouns (IV.1.2)
-kà:t	<i>INF</i>		infinitive formative for stative verbs (IV.2.4.2)
-ká:t^L	<i>INF.SG.NOM</i>		singular plain nominative infinitive marker for stative verbs (IV.2.4.2)
-kâ:t	<i>INF.SG.ERG</i>		singular plain ergative infinitive marker for stative verbs (IV.2.4.2)
-kàk	<i>PL</i>	-kàk, -kà	plural formative for kàk -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-kàn	<i>NOMIN</i>		agent nominalizations from non-agent nouns (IV.1.2)
-kém	<i>NOMIN</i>	-kèm	abstract nominalizations from non-abstract nouns (IV.1.2)
-ké^L	<i>INCHOA.3S, INCHOA.3P</i>		3 ^S and 3 ^P inchoative subordinate-tense marker (IV.2.3.2)
-kù	<i>PL.ERG</i>		plural plain ergative marker for kuk^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-kú^L	<i>PL.ABS.MOD, PL.NOM/ERG.MOD, PL.NOM</i>		plural nominative, plural modified absolutive and plural modified nominative/ergative marker for kuk^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-kũm	<i>SIMUL</i>		simultaneous subordinate tense formative for <i>1s</i> , <i>2s</i> and <i>1p</i> verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-kùn	<i>SIMUL. 3s</i>		<i>3s</i> simultaneous subordinate tense marker (IV.2.3.2)
-kuk^L	<i>PL.ABS, PL</i>	-kuk	plural plain absolutive marker for kuk^L -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
-n	<i>SG</i>		singular marker for demonstratives and relative pronouns (IV.3.1.2)
-n^L	<i>SG.ABS,</i> <i>SG.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>	-ín^L, -únt^L, -án^L, -in, -ùn, àn	singular absolutive and singular modified nominative/ergative marker for n(t)^L -singular nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-nt^L	<i>SG.NOM, SG</i>	-ínt^L, -únt^L, -ánt^L, -ínt, -únt, -ánt	plain singular nominative marker for n(t)^L -singular nouns, and their singular formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
=ŋ	<i>SFT, CND</i>	=iŋ, =uŋ	sentence-final topicality marker (III.4) and conditional-clause marker (on the protasis, V.8.3.2)
-onk	<i>POSS</i>	-ônk, -ònk	possessive marker for most nouns (IV.1.3.2)
-ð	<i>DIST</i>		distal deixis marker for demonstratives and relative pronouns (IV.3.1.2)
-ð	<i>PL.ERG</i>	-ð	plural plain ergative marker for ɔk^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-ð	<i>2p.CJ</i>		<i>2p</i> conjoint marker for many complex verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-ɔ^L	<i>2p.DJ</i>		<i>2p</i> disjoint marker for many complex verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-ɔ^L	<i>PL.ABS.MOD,</i> <i>PL.NOM,</i> <i>PL.NOM/ERG.MOD</i>		plural nominative, plural modified absolutive and plural modified nominative/ergative marker for ɔk^L -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-ɔk^L	<i>PL.ABS, PL</i>	-ɔk	plural plain absolutive marker for ɔk^L -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-ʒn ^L	INF, NEG		infinitive and negative marker (IV.2.2.1)
-r	CF		centrifugal-direction formative for <i>1s</i> , <i>2s</i> and <i>1P</i> a-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-tán	NOMIN.PL		plural agent nominalizations from verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-tàn	NOMIN		agent nominalizations from verbs (IV.2.2.1)
-tār	CF.3P.CJ		3P conjoint centrifugal-direction marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-tár	CF.3P.DJ		3P disjoint centrifugal-direction marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-tārò	CF.2P		2P centrifugal direction-marker for a-class verbs (IV.2.3.3)
-tù	3P		3P marker for some u-class stative verbs (IV.2.4.3)
-tùn	PL.ABS, PL		plural plain absolutive marker for tùn -plural nouns, and their plural formative for dative, locative and possessive case (IV.1.3.1)
-tûn	PL.ERG		plural plain ergative marker for tùn -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-tûn	PL.ABS.MOD		plural modified absolutive marker for tùn -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
-tún ^L	PL.NOM/ERG.MOD		plural modified nominative/ergative marker for tùn -plural nouns (IV.1.3.1)
tV-	INF		infinitive prefix, copies stem vowel (IV.2.2.1)
-ŵ:ɖ	DIR		directional derivation marker
-ŵrdɔ ^L	REL PST.2P, REFOBJ.2P		2P relative-past marker and 2P referential-object marker (IV.2.3.2)
-ŵrgê:ɖ	TF.3P.DJ	-ŵrge: ^L	3P disjoint deictic-transfer direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
-ŵr ⁺ gê:ɖ	TF.3P.CJ	-ŵrge: ^L	3P conjoint deictic-transfer direction marker (IV.2.3.3)

Form	Gloss	Allomorphs	Function
-Ṽrgidḡ	<i>TF.2P.CJ</i>		2 _P conjoint deictic-transfer direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
-Ṽrgidḡ ^L	<i>TF.2P.DJ</i>		2 _P disjoint deictic-transfer direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
-Ṽrk	<i>CP.3P</i>		3 _P centripetal-direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
-Ṽrkḡ	<i>CP.2P.CJ</i>		2 _P conjoint centripetal-direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
-Ṽrkḡ ^L	<i>CP.2P.DJ</i>		2 _P disjoint centripetal-direction marker (IV.2.3.3)
-Ṽrkum	<i>SIMUL.2P</i>		simultaneous-subordinate tense formative for 2 _P verbs (IV.2.3.2)
-Ṽrkùn	<i>SIMUL.3P</i>		simultaneous-subordinate tense formative for 3 _P verbs (IV.2.3.2)

Introduction

“Grammar and discourse interact with and influence each other in profound ways at all levels, so that in real life neither can even be accessed, not to mention explained, without reference to the other.”

This statement by John Du Bois (2003, p. 49) may serve as a fitting tag-line for this language description, which provides much justification to his idea. The past few years of my attempts to first understand and then describe the structure of the Majang language were deeply impacted by this interaction between grammar and discourse. The project began with a tone workshop under the guidance of Keith Snider and Constance Kutsch Lojenga in Addis Ababa in 2008; there I became convinced that another description of the Majang language would add value to the efforts of previous and contemporary linguists, simply because my newly gained understanding of the tone system would give me a considerable advantage that was not available to them. With this confidence about tonal differences, I felt that I could open doors into the inner systems of the grammar by identifying all the categories that so far were not described by my colleagues.

I started by analyzing a substantial word list, and then worked on simple narrative texts. They revealed that Majang had very little to offer in the way of case marking, as most central constituents appeared to be unmarked for case. After some time I started branching out from the texts by eliciting further data, and this was the first time that it dawned on me that things might become more complicated. The consultant at that time returned completely unexpected tone patterns to me, both on verbs and nouns, so that after a few days of this I falsely concluded that I could not trust his data and decided not to work with him again. What is worse, I went through the data I collected from him and corrected it to the way I thought it had to be, because it just did not fit my assumptions.

Next then came another workshop, this time about grammar, which was based entirely on elicited material gleaned from a number of motivated language consultants. After a short time with these men it became very clear that the Majang language had a surprise in store for me that I did not expect to find in an African language – a full-blown ergative-absolutive alignment system, probably the most robust specimen encountered so far in any language on the continent. I went through my text corpus again to change all the

glosses according to this new discovery, correcting all the data where I must have misheard things initially. Unfortunately, I ran into more and more difficulties with this, as rather a lot of the early transcriptions did not quite fit the new revelation.

Some elicited data finally made me aware that there must be some split system regarding intransitive subjects. Often they came out with different cases than the absolutive I expected, and I presented this as some kind of split-*S* or fluid-*S* system at the 2015 Nilo-Saharan colloquium in Nairobi. Later, I checked my data again and discovered what seemed closer to the truth, a split-ergativity system based on the pragmatic parameter of topicality, which fits very well into the framework provided by typologists (section III.2.1.2). Then going through the tedious job of checking all the paradigms of nouns encountered in my texts, I made the startling discovery that, with very few exceptions, ergativity did not appear in any of the texts. I was looking at a language with two faces – one with a vibrant ergative-absolutive nature jumping at me from all my elicited grammar data, and another one stubbornly aligned along nominative-accusative characteristics in my texts.

There are explanations for these two natures, grounded in the aforementioned interaction between discourse and grammar. In the discussions that follow I hope that I do this language justice. One thing I have learned in the process of preparing this grammar: whatever the linguist finds out depends to a great extent on the nature of the available data. Had I followed the advice of only looking at data from natural texts, I would probably not have encountered the ergative-absolutive nature of this language. Had I only restricted myself to elicited data, I would not have realized how marginal the structures are in the language, at least in the kinds of text that are usually analyzed by linguists. I am grateful that somehow I stumbled across the most felicitous mix.

This Majang grammar was written for linguists. This means that it is not particularly useful or even readable for those who want to learn the language, or for linguistically untrained members of the Majang language community. Other resources need to be (and hopefully will be) written for them. At least it is my hope that this language description can serve as a resource for those who will be creating such works of a less technical and more practical nature. Reading this grammar requires a minimum of linguistic training, which encompasses familiarity with the terms provided by what is called *Basic Linguistic Theory*. This concept is now readily accessible in the three volumes of the same name by Dixon (2010a, 2010b, 2012). Following the con-

cept of Basic Linguistic Theory entails the commitment to disregard any particular contemporary grammatical theory or model in its current specialized terminology or formal representation, or to at least reduce it to a minimum. The idea is that even in generations to come, linguists and typologists will be able to make use of this description without having to first go through a course on the intricacies of linguistics in the early 21st century. I hope to accomplish this goal by providing sufficient definitions for all terminology that is not part of Basic Linguistic Theory, and by refraining from any kind of formal representation that is not self-explanatory. Contemporary readers who hope to find explanations and representations according to the latest models will therefore be predictably disappointed. All in all, the focus is mostly on description, and much less so on explanation.

For the most part, I also refrain from historical statements, and I take no part in any discussion regarding the placement of Majang or any other higher-level language family unit in any kind of genetic classification. Where the presented data supports or contradicts any existing classification, I say so, but without drawing any further conclusions.

This language description comes in several parts. The division into parts is inspired by the ideas of both T. Payne (2006) and Noonan (2006), who envisioned the development of user-friendly grammars as coming from two perspectives: one a form-to-function approach, and the other a function-to-form approach. Although this division could not be upheld entirely, these two approaches are reflected in *Part IV: Morphology* and *Part V: Other Syntactic and Pragmatic Topics* of this language description. But I found it necessary to add a third part preceding these two perspectives which deals with the basic facts behind information packaging in the clause (*Part III: Basic Syntax*). This is the shortest of the parts in this work, but it introduces many of the concepts in both form and function that accompany the reader in all the following sections. It also discusses my choices regarding analysis and terminology, and explains why some alternative approaches were not pursued in the interpretation of certain language structures. In a sense Part III can be seen as the central chapter of the whole description.

Further elements necessary for a helpful language description are found in the other parts. *Part I: The Cultural, Ecological and Sociolinguistic Context* not only provides demographic, ethnographic and sociolinguistic information on the Majang language and the people who speak it; it also gives details on sources and history of this study, and the people involved in it. It fur-

ther contains a short typological summary (section I.11) of the language. *Part II: Phonological Inventory and Orthography* presents the findings of the phonological analysis, which is an integral part of this study, together with much of the data that underpins these findings. It also explains the particulars of the practical orthography used in this language description.

After the main grammar parts III-V, *Part VI: Texts and Lexicon* provides two word lists, one from Majang to English and one from English to Majang, to give an impression of the Majang lexicon. This is preceded by two sample narrative texts, which show the language in natural use.

It is my sincere hope that the index provided at the end enhances the usefulness of the grammar to those who do not have the time to read this work from beginning to end, since this usually describes the largest group of grammar users.

Part I: The Cultural, Ecological and Sociolinguistic Context

I.1 The Name of the Language

The Majang language, a Nilo-Saharan language spoken in southwest Ethiopia, has been given many names; see Dimmendaal (1998b, p. 26ff) for a list of names of all Surmic languages. The following are the names listed there for the Majang language: Ajo, Ato Majangeronk (self-name, means ‘*mouth of Majang people*’), Mageno, Majangir, Majanjiro, Mezhenger, Masongo, Mesengo, Ojang and Tama. As seen in section I.3.1, the variety of names has led to some confusion regarding the 2007 Ethiopian census.

The only names applied to the Majang people nowadays are based on the (closely related) variants Majang, Mesengo and Mezhenger. Since these are different orthographic representations of the self-name, they do not cause any offense to the Majang people. I am not aware of any derogatory names currently applied to the Majang people.

In this study, I use the name Majang language, or, in short, Majang.

The ISO 639-3 code for Majang is *mpe*. WALS (Dryer & Haspelmath, 2013) uses the code *maj*, and Glottolog¹ the glottocode *maja1242*.

I.2 Previous Research

A number of linguists have previously undertaken the study and description of the Majang language. The first of these was Cerulli (1948), followed by Bender (1983), who provided a morphological sketch of Majang. This sketch also deals with segmental phonology. Bender was leaning heavily on know-

¹ <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/maja1242>

ledge shared by Harvey Hoekstra, a missionary reported to have a very good command of the language. He never shared any of his linguistic knowledge publicly, so it can only be accessed through Bender's work. Bender provided some scanty Majang language data already in his self-published *The Ethiopian Nilo-Saharans* (1975), but most of it dealt with ethnographic issues.

Following Bender, Unseth studied the language in-depth and wrote a number of papers on individual aspects of the phonology and grammar (Unseth, 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1988a, 1988b, 1989b, 1991, 1992b, 1994, 2007; Unseth & Tefera, 1985). He published some of these before he had to abandon his work on Majang. His work and data are of the highest quality and already provide good inroads into the language. Pete Unseth generously provided me with all his writings, published and unpublished, and even with some typed-up field notes of the early stage of his research, for which I am extremely grateful. He also let me use many texts that he collected during the years of his research, and an unpublished 80-page Majang-English dictionary (Unseth, 1992a), which proved extremely helpful for working with the texts.

James and Whashu Kim studied the language from 1998 to 2008 and produced an unpublished phonology sketch. Other recent works on phonetic and phonological topics were published by Moges (2002, 2006, 2008).

In 2009, Tyler Schnoebelen collected some data on Majang in the course of his research on the Shabo language, and very generously allowed me to use his data, including the audio files, before he published it elsewhere (Schnoebelen, 2009).

The most recent comprehensive treatment of the language is Getachew (2014), and it provides a wealth of Majang texts and some language analysis. In many points it differs significantly from the conclusions reached in this study.

Over the past few years I also published some shorter articles on the Majang language (Joswig, 2012, 2015, 2016). These articles use somewhat different terminology from what is chosen here, particularly the two articles relating to grammar, and my analysis of the reported phenomena has changed since then.

The Majang culture was studied and described by Stauder (1970, 1971). Hoekstra (2003), although his book was not written for an academic audience, provides much useful ethnographic information gained by someone

who has spent much time with the Majang people during the period in which they were being exposed to the Ethiopian highland culture.

I.3 Demography

I.3.1 Number of speakers, location and other languages in the area

The 2007 Ethiopian census (Samia, 2007a, p. 91) lists 10,871 individuals for the “*Messengo*” ethnic group and 21,951 for the “*Mejenger*” ethnic group. Why the two groups were separated for the census is not known, as both names refer to the Majang people. So the total ethnic population in 2007 was just above 30,000 individuals. The 2007 census is less helpful when it comes to the number of speakers of the “*Messengogna*” and “*Mejengerigna*” languages: Only 6,443 speakers were counted for the former, and none whatsoever for the latter. Clearly, many of the speakers of Majang must have been confused by the two language names presented in the interview. An interesting illustration of the limited value of these speaker numbers is the fact that in “*Mezhenger Zone*” 9,985 ethnic Mejenger were counted, plus 18 Messengo. At the same time, only 11 Messengogna speakers came forth in that Zone, and no Mejengerigna speakers (Samia, 2007b, pp. 44, 54). There is no basis to assume that only 0.1% of ethnic Majang still speak this apparently vibrant language in one of the largest Majang population centers². Therefore the speaker numbers from the 2007 census need to be discarded and instead I assume that the number of speakers must still be in the same range as the number of the ethnic population: at around 30,000 in total for all of Ethiopia.

The Majang people were located by Stauder (1971, p. 3) and Unseth (1984, p. 2) in four isolated pockets. The northernmost pocket is situated between Gambella town and Dembidolo. The biggest area stretches from the town of Bure in the North to an area west of Teppi in the South, and includes the small town Godare. Two more pockets are found north of Teppi (this is

² In the same way, Samia (2007b) lists 3,454 ethnic “Mejenger” and another 50 ethnic “Messengo” for Sheka Zone, but only a total of 37 “Messengogna” language speakers. Sheka Zone contains Teppi, where I conducted most of my fieldwork and where it is not difficult to find numerous speakers of Majang in the nearby village of Goji.

shown as connected to the main area on the map below) and southwest of Guraferda. The town of Teppi itself was not included in Stauder's and Unseth's maps of the language area, but in fact numerous speakers can be found in the village Goji, only 10 minutes' walk from Teppi.

The following languages are spoken by other ethnic groups in the neighborhood of the Majang people: Anfillo (ISO 639-3 *myo*, Omotic, practically extinct), Anuak (*anu*, Nilo-Saharan), Me'en (*mym*, Nilo-Saharan), Oromo (*gaz*, Cushitic), Shabo (*shf*, unclassified), Shekkacho (*moy*, Omotic) and Sheko (*she*, Omotic). The closest contacts seem to exist with the Anuak people, with whom there is also considerable intermarriage. In areas of close contact, both Anuak and Majang people seem to be bilingual in each others' language, and the Majang people borrowed a number of words from Anuak (Stauder, 1970, p. 112).

Moges (2015) recently reported on a further linguistic group, Ngalaam, which resides in the area between the Guraferda-Majang community and the Kacipo-Baalesi (*koe*) habitat in the far Southwest of Ethiopia. Linguistically this group seems to belong to the southwest-Surmic subfamily.

I.3.2 Map

Colin Davis kindly created the following map (Figure 1) for this study. It contains information about the location of the different language areas of Majang in relation to the areas of neighboring languages, the main roads in the area, the largest rivers, major towns, and the regional boundaries of Oromia Region, Gambella Region and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region of Ethiopia. The Majang language area straddles all three regions, which makes its political situation somewhat complicated. But the language is recognized as an official language of Gambella region, and developed there for use as a medium of instruction in school.

The map further shows the location of the Boma plateau in South Sudan, from where the Majang people reportedly migrated some generations ago (see section I.3.3 below).



Stauder (1970) attempted to reconstruct the history of the Majang people, based on oral traditions and knowledge available among them in the 1960s.

³ © 2016 SIL International. Used by permission, redistribution not permitted.

It appears that the Majang originated from places further south, probably near the Boma plateau in South Sudan (Stauder, 1970, p. 108). Since the Majang do not own cattle and live in otherwise unpopulated forests, they have moved gradually northwards, establishing settlements in the previously ample forest areas of western Ethiopia. In the course of this, they probably did not displace other populations, except possibly the Shabo, who are the only other forest dwellers in the area. During Stauder's time, all but the northern (near Dembidolo) Majang settlements were inhabited for a longer time than collective memory could establish (Stauder, 1970, p. 110).

The southern origin of the Majang people is supported by considerations of syntactic typology. Dimmendaal (1998a, p. 66) assumes a verb-second basic word order for Proto-Surmic, which changed to a strict *VAP* pattern for the Didinga-Murle languages through language contact with neighboring Nilotic languages. The Majang language also follows a *VAP* pattern, but without having any *VAP* languages in its immediate neighborhood. Dimmendaal (1998a, p. 77) therefore states that “*the verb-initial structure of Majang remains somewhat enigmatic historically, given its current geographical position [...] i.e. given the absence of strict verb-initial languages in the immediate vicinity of this language.*” An origin from near the Boma plateau would place the Majang ancestors in the immediate vicinity of some Nilotic *VAP* languages, and this would explain Dimmendaal's enigma.

I.4 Ecology

The traditional Majang lifestyle varies considerably from that of other Surmic ethnic groups, whose whole culture centers around cattle herding. Animal husbandry never played any significant role in the Majang society. Until exposed to mainstream-Ethiopian culture during the 1960s, the Majang people were a group of forest-dwelling slash-and-burn horticulturalists (Hoekstra, 2003, p. 357; Stauder, 1970, p. 104ff). They used to clear out a small forest area, plant maize, sorghum and root crops among the felled trees, then move on after three to four years to clear a new patch of forest elsewhere. Their diet was supplemented by hunting forest animals and by collecting honey. Honey was (and still is) a major source of cash income. This dependence on the forest habitat explains the wide scattering of the Majang population today (Stauder, 1970, p. 108): they could move to any place that pro-

vided these forests and was not contested by other people in the same area. This, over time, brought them all across the densely forested and sparsely populated areas of the western Ethiopian plateau.

Over the past decades much of the forest was cleared in those parts of Ethiopia to make way for plantations of coffee and other crops. This has significantly reduced the land available to the Majang for settlement and their tradition of shifting cultivation (Horne, 2011, p. 39), so that nowadays they are only able to continue their traditional lifestyle in the area of the headwaters of the five rivers running through Gambella Region. This area is currently envisioned to receive protection as a “reserve forest” under the Ethiopian government (Horne, 2011, p. 39).

Many Majang have chosen to give up their traditional lifestyle, and they now settle in permanent villages, often near the coffee plantations, where they find employment. Honey collection continues to play a significant role in the Majang economy. My language consultants informed me that all of them still take care of several bee hives each.

The high mobility of the Majang people until the 1970s and their tendency to settle in changing configurations with other Majang people from different areas may also explain why in spite of the widely scattered population only very little dialectal variation was observed to date. Now that the Majang are more sedentary, it can be expected that regionally-based speech varieties will develop within a few generations.

1.5 Ethnography

The traditional culture of the Majang people was described extensively by Stauder (1971), so the readers can refer to that book for detailed information. This section only provides a short summary of the main defining features of the Majang society. Both material culture and social structure are closely linked to the ecologic and economic realities described above. Being forest dwellers and constantly on the move, the Majang never settled together in big groups, but in small units which were as easily dissolved as they were formed (Stauder, 1970, p. 105f). Although the people are grouped into a number of clans through patrilineal descent, there is practically no social

stratification, with the authority for any decisions resting with the family head. Conflicts are resolved in ad-hoc discussions.

Due to the temporary nature of any settlement, Majang forest houses were not elaborately constructed, but made of materials readily available in the forest (Hoekstra, 2003, p. 357). Lack of resources and specialization, again both due to small-group forest dwelling, also stood in the way of developing anything beyond a very simple material culture.

I.6 Genetic Affiliation

Bender (1975, p. 3, 1977) classified Majang as part of the Surmic sub-family of the Eastern-Sudanic Branch of the Nilo-Saharan languages. Since then, all scholars addressing the genetic classification of Majang agree that it forms a separate branch of the Surmic languages. Fleming (1983, p. 554) provided a first classification of Surmic languages, which puts Majang as the sole member of the northern branch, opposed to all other Surmic languages, which are classified as Southern Surmic. Figure 2 is a similar classification provided by Dimmendaal (1998b), with the addition of the Ngalaam language as reported by Moges (2015).

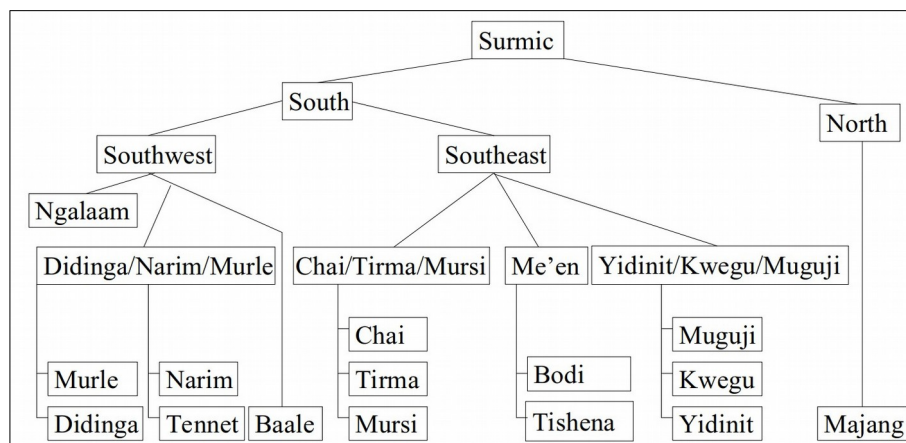


Figure 2: Majang family relations according to Dimmendaal (1998b, p. 13)

I.7 Literary Tradition

Until very recently, no literature was published in the Majang language. The Gambella Regional Government has begun implementing formal elementary education in the language, but this is still in its early stages, and the Latin-based orthography is still being pilot-tested. The Majang New Testament, using this orthography, was published in December 2017 (BSE, 2017).

I.8 Dialects

Stauder (1971, p. 5) stated that “*variations in dialect [...] are very few between northern and southern Majangir*”. Bender at first regarded the Majang language as “*fairly uniform*” (1975, p. 25), but later (1983) in various statements assumed considerable dialectal variation between the dispersed Majang locations. Unseth (1984) conducted different tests to check on these conflicting reports. A text-based intelligibility test and the comparison of vocabulary led him to the conclusion that indeed there is very little apparent variation disturbing “*the smooth sea of mutual intelligibility within Majang*” (Unseth, 1984, p. 6). No research was undertaken regarding the difference of grammatical structures between different language areas. This present language description is entirely based on the performance of speakers from the southern half of the Majang habitat.

As stated in section I.3.3, the high mobility of the Majang until recent times may serve as an explanation why regional dialects did not develop to date – there was sufficient interaction between Majang speakers of all areas to prevent significant diversification.

Whenever dialectal differences were noted in the course of this study, they are presented in the relevant places of the language description.

I.9 Sociolinguistic Situation

Regarding the sociolinguistic situation of the Majang people, the best information to date can be found in the thesis of Getachew (2014).

Majang people are often bilingual, the second language depending on individual circumstances. In areas where there is close interaction with the Anuak people, Majang speakers tend to be proficient in the Anuak language. Otherwise, the most important languages for Majang speakers seem to be either Oromo (Cushitic) or the Omotic languages of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region: Sheko, Bench, Diizin, Shekkacho (Getachew, 2014, pp. 4, 39). The available schooling options in the places where Majang is not used as medium of instruction seem to render Amharic and Oromo more and more important for the young generation of speakers (Getachew, 2014, p. 43f).

On the other hand, Majang is also used as a second language by at least one smaller group in the general area, the Shabo (Schnoebelen, 2009, p. 275).

No studies are known which deal with the language attitudes of the Majang people. Indirect evidence can be gleaned from the fact that the Majang people still choose to pass on their language to the next generation, in spite of the pressure of the surrounding dominant languages. At the moment, the Majang language is not in immediate danger of language death, although the situation is still precarious (Getachew, 2014, p. 3). The Ethnologue (www.ethnologue.com/cloud/mpe, retrieved on March 14, 2019) places Majang into category 4 of its EGIDS scale, which describes it as a language in “*vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.*” This assessment may be a little too optimistic, considering that mother-tongue education in Majang is currently in its very early steps, and that the standardization has not been completed.

I.10 The Corpus

This section gives an overview of how this study came about, and how its presentation is envisioned.

1.10.1 The nature of the research

The research conducted for this study was impacted by two main factors: the requirements of the Leiden University Ph.D. program under which this dissertation was developed, and the expectations I had to meet as a result of my affiliation with SIL International, working in Ethiopia. Fortunately, both were not set against each other, and there was a lot of helpful overlap. Still, having to work in a full-time position resulted in the inevitable neglect this study received over time, which means that it took much longer than this kind of research is supposed to take. It also had the disadvantage that I was not able to spend extended periods of time in the language area, and I did not develop any active proficiency in the language.

In the *Introduction*, it was stated that this study is based on both elicited data and natural texts, against Dixon's advice (2010a, p. 321ff), who insists that a grammar should always be based on natural data only, possibly augmented by data from elicited paradigms to fill gaps. I believe that such a restriction would have led to a poorer description of this language. I will explain in section III.2.1.2 why there are good reasons not to expect a high number of ergative forms in narrative or conversational discourse, which is exactly what happened in the texts studied for this grammar. Not only was I forced to elicit ergative structures by using contrived examples, I also had to go through countless paradigms of both verbs and nouns in order to get a clear identification of the forms found in the texts. *Part IV: Morphology* makes it clear that it is not possible to just look at a verb or, particularly, a noun in Majang to determine its syntactic status. For practically each noun encountered in a text, I had to collect a full number-case paradigm to be sure of what particular form I was looking at, especially when it came to central-case forms, and often even beyond that. Any hope that I would accumulate sufficient knowledge of forms exclusively from natural texts would have been totally unrealistic.

My corpus of well-analyzed texts contains 2879 words, availing me with sufficient material to demonstrate the various structures of the language in the sections that follow. It is balanced by many pages of elicited sentences and paradigms. Occasionally I also draw on less well-analyzed texts for examples to illustrate a particular point.

The research began in 2008 with a phonetic transcription of the 1700-word Comparative African Word List (CAWL, Snider & Roberts, 2004), which was initially prepared for me in 2007 by two linguistics students, Sandra

Hufnagel and Stefanie Hauser. This word list, arranged by semantic domains, constituted the main source of information in the very early stages of this research. Using this resource, I collected the singular-plural paradigm for each noun, and the main-clause paradigms for all persons for each verb encountered. It also served as the basis for the tone analysis conducted in 2008 at a tone workshop in Addis Ababa.

This tone workshop introduced me to the methodologies propagated by both Constance Kutsch Lojenga and Keith Snider⁴ and gave me an excellent set of tools to formulate and test hypotheses. This was amplified by the qualities of my language consultant during that workshop, Joseph Kalakun, who is a good whistler and who compares the tone patterns of different utterances with a high and well-deserved confidence.

A substantial amount of textual material was given to me by both James Kim and Pete Unseth, who collected these texts years before. I picked some of these texts, re-recorded them and applied my own transcription. This was necessary, as no tonal information was present in the old transcriptions, and there was much uncertainty about vowel qualities and quantities. Two of these texts are presented in section VI.1. Most texts were traditional narratives, but I also analyzed a hortatory text written in the course of a discourse workshop in the early 2000s, and I recorded a new spontaneous conversation between the three main consultants, which provided me with structures not encountered elsewhere in my corpus. Many of these appear as examples in the following sections.

As I slowly discovered the various case forms of Majang, I devised diagnostic frames that I could apply to all nouns, and in this way I was able to glean the various nominal paradigms presented in sections IV.1 and IV.2.2.1. For verbs, I was easily able to collect paradigms about basic finite forms, nominalizations, infinitives, negative forms, and direction forms. It was more difficult to create appropriate frames for the subordinate-tense forms. More and better research can and should be conducted on this, including the other tense options, aspect and mode.

All texts, all lexical information and much of the grammar was entered into a database running under the *SIL Fieldworks* software. For the phonological analysis I used *SIL Phonology Assistant*, supported by both *Praat* and *SIL Speech Analyzer*. Much of the paradigm analysis was facilitated by the helpful spreadsheet features of *OpenOffice* and *LibreOffice*.

⁴ See Snider (2018) for a recent exposition of his methodology.

Active research on the language stopped just a few weeks before the submission of the first draft for this thesis in December 2016.

1.10.2 Consultants and other sources

A number of language consultants have contributed to this research. Joseph Kalakun provided most of the data; he is a resident of Teppí, but was born in Godare in Gambella Region, northwest of Teppí. He was already present during a data-collection session undertaken in 2007. Joseph also participated in the SIL tone workshop in Summer 2008 in Addis Ababa. During later research sessions, he was often supported by the other members of the Majang Bible translation team: Hawariat Babure, Epheson Teramaj, and, until 2011, Abyot Girma. All three are residents of Teppí or nearby Goji (**gójì** in Majang), and were either born there or in Godare. Mr. Abyot now works as a teacher in Goji. A further resident of Goji involved in the early research is Yordanos Addisu, who also works as a teacher. All these gentlemen were in their 30s and 40s during the research period.

Three more consultants participated in the two-week “Discover-Your-Grammar” workshop for Nilo-Saharan languages, conducted in 2011 by SIL in Mizan Teferi⁵. One of them was Ashine Astin, who at that time was also the Speaker of the House of Gambella Region. He is a trained linguist and is highly motivated to contribute to language development for his mother tongue. During that workshop he was supported by Kadiiree Nyamor and Nibeyat Dimesse, who also work for the Gambella Regional Government. Both Ashine and Kadiiree were born in Godare, and Nibeyat in Mangeshi. All three are now residents of Gambella town. From all participants in the research, I obtained signed statements of informed consent, after the terms of this informed consent were explained to them in Amharic.

In 2009 Tyler Schnoebelen conducted research on the Shabo language, the results of which were published in Schnoebelen (2009). In order to compare Shabo data with the surrounding languages, he also elicited sentences from Majang and Shekkacho. His Majang consultant for these sessions was a man only known to me by his first name, Yaikob. Schnoebelen granted me permission to make use of his audio data and his transcriptions, but it became

⁵ For the Majang language, an immediate result of that workshop was the rough “Brief Grammar of Majang” (Joswig, 2011), which may serve as a grammar sketch for people without linguistic training.

clear that most of Yaikob's data rather followed the syntax of English, and therefore had to be discarded.

Another useful resource was the word list created by Pete Unseth (1992a). The words in there are mostly unmarked for tone, but they provided a welcome reference when studying Majang texts.

I.10.3 *Presentation of data*

The Majang language shows no grammatical difference between masculine and feminine. For simplicity, I have chosen to use masculine pronouns for the English glosses in all elicited examples involving the third person singular, except in cases where the semantic context makes a masculine referent rather unlikely. If the lexeme suggests a non-human referent, the neuter pronoun 'it' was chosen.

If the example is taken from a text, then the choice of pronouns in the English glosses follows the pragmatic context of the example. In the following sentence, the use of the impersonal form without object pronoun leaves the identity of the object ambiguous.

Example I.1: presentation of pragmatic context in textual examples

má^L té:nàn jé:mé^L ké^L róríjǎ:tiŋ.
 má^L té:nàn jé:mé^L k-é^L róríjǎ:ti = ŋ
but instead previously NEG-IMPS teach\NEG=SFT
But they were not previously taught.

The impersonal construction in Majang serves the purpose of what passive does in other languages (see p. 238ff) and is translated as such in the free translation. If no short pronoun follows the impersonal verb, the object could be either 3rd person singular or 3rd person plural. In the pragmatic context of this example, the referent is clearly plural, and this English free translation is chosen regardless of the fact that a context-free reading would allow a singular interpretation.

Like in this previous example, most examples present the Majang data in two lines. The top-most line shows the surface-phonemic representation of the data after the application of all lexical phonological rules – see sections II.1.2 and II.2.2 about how the various phonemes are actually pronounced. Moreover, this representation includes all lexically identifiable material present in the utterance. This includes the writing of floating low tones that

are part of the lexical presentation, even if they don't have any phonetic effect (such as the floating low tone following **típír^L** in example I.2, where it precedes a low tone on the next word). The second line instead shows all morphemes in their underlying representation.

Example I.2: presentation of surface and underlying structures

ó:lùn **típír^L** à **ékê:r**.
ó:l-in **ti-pír^L** à **ék-èr^L**
can-2S.CJ *INF-fly* *CONJ* *truth-PL.ABS*
You can truly fly.

For example the *2S.CJ* morpheme is shown with the vowel /i/ before the application of the labial-harmony rule, and the *PL.ABS* morpheme is shown with its underlying tonal structure – carrying a low tone. For a detailed list of conventions for representing tone, downstep, toneless syllables, polar tone and tone replacement in the underlying form, see section II.9.

In a few instances the surface and the underlying representation are identical, without any morpheme breaks in the words. Then only one text line is shown, which represents both the surface and the underlying level.

As for the presentation of morphemes in the second line, this work follows the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie, Haspelmath, & Bickel, 2015). Glosses and morphemes separated by a hyphen (-) indicate that a discrete morpheme boundary is in evidence. Glosses separated by a dot (.) are given to portmanteau morphemes with several morphological functions. Glosses separated by a backslash (\) are placed below stem forms with implied grammatical information. If a form's morphology is ambiguous in the given context, this is indicated in a footnote.

I.11 Typological Overview

This section contains an overview of the basic typological facts about Majang for easy reference. The details of all these features should be read in their respective passages in this language description.

Compared with other Surmic languages, Majang has a very small consonant inventory with only 18 consonants, including two implosives /ɓ, ɗ/ (see sec-

tion II.2.1). The language provides no systematic opposition between stops, fricatives and affricates – all these sounds can be subsumed under the single label *obstruents*.

Majang has seven vowels (including two sets of mid vowels, see section II.1.1), without ATR vowel harmony (section II.1.4). There is contrast between short and long vowels (section II.1.3). Important phonological rules of Majang are labial harmony, which rounds the short vowel /i/ to /u/ in verbal suffixes following syllables containing round vowels or labial consonants, and the morphologically restricted vowel-height harmony, which changes the vowel /e/ into /ɛ/ following a high-vowel syllable (section II.5).

The tonal inventory consists of two tones plus downstep (section II.6). It can be shown that some morphemes in Majang are inherently toneless, and that another morpheme requires an analysis involving a polar tone. Many words demonstrably end in a floating low tone (section II.6.3), which is often attached to apparently toneless morphemes. Tone plays an extensive role, not only in distinguishing lexical items, but also in the grammar of Majang.

The Majang morphology is predominantly agglutinative, with segmental affixes containing individual bits of grammatical information (only suffixes are productive, with two unproductive prefixes). Some grammatical features, however, such as noun number and case, are indicated by stem changes or by tonal means. Like most Eastern-Sudanic languages, Majang does not display grammatical gender, but it provides a very diverse number- and case-marking system on nouns, with a large number of inflection classes (section IV.1.3). Case marking is complicated by the provision of special forms for modified nouns in some syntactic cases (section IV.1.3.2). Unlike other Surmic languages, Majang has no distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms of the first person plural of pronouns or verbs.

The language has a variety of personal pronouns for various functions. One set of pronouns serves for general anaphoric reference, another for reference inside the verb phrase, and a third for contrastive purposes (section IV.3.1.1). Demonstratives and relative pronouns code a three-level deictic system, with reference to either the speaker, the hearer, or a place away from them both (sections IV.3.1.2, IV.3.1.3). Possessive pronouns indicate the person of the possessor together with number reference to the possessed entity (section IV.3.1.4). Interrogative pronouns always appear at the end of the question.

Many Majang verbs come in pairs of perfective and imperfective, where the imperfective form is derived from the perfective form through partial reduplication (section IV.2.2.7). Furthermore, all verbs are inflected with subject suffixes. Most verbs also distinguish between a tonal *conjoint* (CJ) form and a *disjoint* (DJ) form; the conjoint form is only applied to verb phrases that are immediately followed by a non-topical NP in the absolutive case (section III.3). Another grammatical category frequently expressed on the verb is directionality, which comes in three values: *centripetal* (CP) forms, which indicate a movement towards the deictic center; *centrifugal* (CF) forms, which express a movement away from the deictic center; and *deictic TransFer* (TF) forms, which are used for a movement from one deictic center to another deictic center.

The basic order of constituents in Majang transitive clauses is *VAP*, where *A* stands for the transitive agent and *P* for the transitive patient-like constituent, usually the object. The order of constituents is fairly fixed in the language, except for the option to front certain constituents (mostly subjects) for syntactic and pragmatic reasons (section V.7.1).

Pragmatic factors indeed have a major influence on the syntax of Majang. The case marking of central participants of a clause depends on their topicality (section III.1). If they are not topical, *S* and *P* are marked by the same *absolutive* case (examples a and b):

Example I.3: non-topical case marking of central constituents

- a) **kàwé èjê: wár^L kékàr.**
 kàw-é èjê: wár^L kékàr
 bite-3S.DJ cat\SG.ERG dog\SG.ABS again
 A cat bites a dog again.
- b) **dégàr wár^L kékàr.**
 dégàr wár^L kékàr
 sleep\3S.CJ dog\SG.ABS again
 A dog sleeps again.
- c) **kàwé wâr ídít^L.**
 kàw-é wâr ídít^L
 bite-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG man\SG.ABS
 A dog bites a man.

The non-topical *A*, however, is marked by a different case, the *ergative* (example I.3c). If topical, this *A* is marked by yet another case form, the *nominative*, which is also used for a topical *S*:

Example I.4: topical case marking of central constituents

- a) **dégár^L wár kékàr.**
 dégár^L wár kékàr
 sleep\3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM again
 The dog sleeps again.
- b) **kàwé wár ídít^L.**
 kàw-é wár ídít^L
 bite-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM man\SG.ABS
 The dog bites a man.

The three different case forms of ‘dog’ – **wár^L** (*ABS*), **wâr** (*ERG*) and **wár** (*NOM*) – are only distinguished by tone, but different they are. Two more clause-level cases are used by the Majang language, the *dative* (*DAT*) and the *locative* (*LOC*), plus a further *possessive* (*POSS*) case to mark nouns as possessors of a noun phrase. A detailed discussion of the cases and their use is presented in sections IV.1.3.2 and III.2.1.2.

Though the constituent order *VAP* is normal, the verb is often found at the end of the sentence. In that situation, another morpheme is attached to the verb, the sentence-final topicality marker **=ŋ** (*SFT*). This marker indicates that the final constituent is either the verb phrase or a topical noun phrase (see section III.4 for its discussion).

The language makes use of some valence-changing devices. Most notable among those is the antipassive (*AP*) (section V.5.1). A genuine passive construction in the sense of Dixon (2010a, p. 166) is not encountered in the language – its function is partly covered by the impersonal form, an inflectional device described in section IV.2.3.1.

In spite of Unseth’s (1989b, p. 106) claim to the contrary, Majang does not have postpositions, and only a few questionable prepositions (section IV.3.6).

Relative clauses are very frequent in Majang, and can be both restrictive and descriptive (section V.8.5). Some temporal adverbial clauses have subordinate-tense verb forms (section V.8.3.1). Otherwise tense is only expressed through tense markers which appear to be working along the lines of a metrical tense system (section V.6.1.1).

Part II: Phonological Inventory and Orthography

This section introduces the inventories of the Majang phonology – vowels, consonants and suprasegmentals. It also displays the rules which govern the use of the various elements of these inventories.

In this section, data presented without any kind of bracketing is understood to be in its surface-phonemic representation, transcribed according to the phoneme inventories shown in tables 1 and 3. Only when further phonetic detail needs to be shown for greater clarity, phonetic data is supplemented in square brackets [...]. On the other hand, in some places information is given about the individual morphemes making up a word. These are always shown in their underlying representation, and the brackets {...} are used to surround such lexical units. This is different from the other parts of this language description, where the underlying representation is shown without brackets.

Individual sounds are shown by /x/ to be phonemic, by [x] to be phonetic and by <x> to be in orthographic representation.

II.1 Vowels

This section first assesses the vowel inventory, then shows proof of contrast for the various identified phonemes, and finally looks into distributional restrictions.

II.1.1 Phonemic inventory

The vowel inventory of Majang is similar to that of the Southeast-Surmic languages, which according to Moges (2008, p. 260) have seven contrastive basic vowels, with a height contrast affecting the mid vowels .

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
High-Mid	e		o
Low-Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Table 1: vowel phonemes

Bender differs from Unseth and Moges on the Majang vowel inventory. He (1983, p. 114) felt only confident to present six vowels; he noticed the seventh vowel /ɔ/, but did not see enough contrastive evidence to confirm its phonemic status. Unseth (1991, 2007) proposed nine vowels, and Moges (2008) even ten vowels for Majang. The chart presented above is the same as the one proposed in Joswig (2012) and Getachew (2014).

In a 2879-word text sample, /a/ is the most frequent vowel with 1336 occurrences, closely followed by /ɛ/ with 1237 occurrences. /i/ appears 867 times, /o/ 506 times, and /ɔ/ 401 times. The least-frequent vowels are /e/ with 347 occurrences and /u/ with only 262 occurrences. This means that the vowel /a/ occurs five times more often than the vowel /u/.

II.1.2 Contrasts and phonetic realizations

Bender (1983, p. 114) was not able to prove contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/. This was merely due to lack of data, as such contrast does exist in the language: **mò:rénj** ‘he boils’ vs. **mò:rénj** ‘it is shriveled’ is an incontestable minimal pair between the two vowels. Such a contrast would also be expected for reasons of symmetry.

Example II.1: vowel contrasts⁶

i vs. a	tĩmŋ	<i>he wounds</i>	tĩjénj	<i>he hears</i>
	tǎmŋ	<i>it drips</i>	tǎjénj	<i>he opens</i>
i vs. ɛ	kúrí	<i>tree, sp.</i>	pà:rínj	<i>he tries</i>
	kúré	<i>hunting net</i>	pàréj	<i>he chops</i>
i vs. e	kóndĩ	<i>fish trap</i>	tĩ:mân	<i>cloud</i>
	kóndé	<i>bottle</i>	tèmân	<i>firewood</i>

⁶ In this and all other following contrast charts, the words are presented in their citation form. This means that verbs are accompanied by the *SFT*-marker =ŋ.

i vs. ɔ	írɛ ^L	footprint	cɔ:bí	hoof
	àrɛ: ^L	ancestor	àbɔ	knot
i vs. o	ílán ^L	udder	tìjɛŋ	he hears
	ó:lán	ability	tò:jɛŋ	he pierces
i vs. u	kírí ^L	thread	tùjɛŋ	he takes revenge
	kúrí	tree, sp.	tùjɛŋ	he roasts
e vs. a	émɔ ^L	canoe	jímɛ ^L	cemetery
	ámɔ ^L	abdomen	jímá ^L	back
e vs. ɛ	jémɛ ^L	before	déjŋ	cooking stone
	jɛ:mɛ ^L	tree, sp.	dɛjín	he desires
e vs. ɔ	rémɛ ^L	duty	kér	courtyard
	rómɛ ^L	proverb	kór	middle
e vs. o	cè:d	here	kér	courtyard
	cò:d	there	kór	ditch
e vs. u	té:l	lake	dé:k	under
	tù:l	five	dúk ^L	forest
ɛ vs. a	mɛlɛŋ	he arrives	ɔ̃ɛŋ	he crushes
	màlɛŋ	he strikes	ɔ̃áŋ	he forbids
ɛ vs. ɔ	wér	storm	dépɛ ^L	lion
	wór	feast	dɛpɔ	entrance hall
ɛ vs. o	élt ^L	grassland	kɛŋ	he pounds
	ólt ^L	fish	kɔŋ	he gathers
ɛ vs. u	kòrɛŋ	he peels	kúré	hunting net
	kòrúŋ	he closes	kùrù	foam
a vs. ɔ	bàdɛŋ	it disappears	pà:kɛŋ	it is hot
	bòdɛŋ	he escapes	pò:kɛŋ	he tears
a vs. o	tà:jɛŋ	he harvests	kàwɛŋ	he bites
	tò:jɛŋ	he pierces	kòwɛŋ	it is sour
a vs. u	máná ^L	sister	târ	meat
	múná	earthworm	tùr	garbage dump
ɔ vs. o	kór	middle	pò:cɛŋ	he praises
	kór	ditch	pò:cɛŋ	he polishes

o vs. u	bólóŋúrkún	he is old	dépó	entrance hall
	bùlúnkùr	bubble	tàdápú ^L	ashes
o vs. u	gò:mòj	trap	tò:r	smoke
	gó:múj ^L	tree, sp.	tùr	garbage dump

There is significant phonetic variation for most of the vowels. The individual vowels show an enormous bandwidth with respect to their formants, which is caused by various phonological factors, such as syllable structure, position in the word, and consonants in the syllable. Therefore it is easily possible to hear all kinds of vowels in the raw phonetic data. This obviously prompted Unseth and Moges to claim the row of [-ATR] high vowels /ɪ, ʊ/ for Majang.

Current speakers of Majang, however, do not perceive any difference between [ɪ] and [i], or between [ʊ] and [u], respectively. These phones represent the same sound unit to them. Words like **dildíŋ** ‘he is fat’ or **gìrgìdíŋ** ‘he rolls’ certainly have instances of [ɪ] in them (the latter only in the first syllable). They can be explained as the positional variant of /i/, when it happens to be short and preceding a lateral or flap consonant. More conspicuous, however, are cases where the unsuspecting ear perceives an [e] – these could be analyzed as instances of /ɪ/. The two sounds are difficult to distinguish in many languages with nine- or ten-vowel ATR-contrast systems (Casali, 2008, p. 509). I have indeed heard words like **pét** ‘girl’ or **kér** ‘courtyard’ with different vowel qualities from different speakers. Some of these pronunciations prompted me to transcribe them as [pét] and [kér]. When pressed hard for these differences, the speakers did not hear them. They agreed that the difference, if there was any, is of no consequence at all to the meaning of the word, and all variations are perfectly acceptable. The same is true for words like **ɲón** ‘lie’ or **dó:** ‘land’, where there is a similar potential confusion between [o] and [ʊ]. Some phonetic variation can be heard, but it does not matter at all to the speakers.

None of these considerations present any difficulty for a nine-vowel system analysis. Two phonetically identical vowels could still be variants of two different phonemes, which are neutralized in their phonetic realization. Vowel pairs such as /o/ and /ʊ/ or /e/ and /ɪ/ easily lend themselves to such a scenario. But the underlying difference needs to show elsewhere in the language, through an ATR-harmony in the suffixes following the stem. There is no such harmony in Majang. Therefore, with no solid phonetic evidence, and no data pointing to an ATR-based vowel-harmony system, it needs to be concluded that Majang has no ATR opposition among high vowels.

The tenth vowel of Moges' description, which he transcribed as [ʌ], does not exist in Majang as an independent sound unit either. There is, however, an enormous bandwidth of /a/-like vowels phonetically. The first formant (*F1*) can be as low as 600 Hz and as high as 900 Hz with the same speaker, and the second formant (*F2*) can be between 1250 and 1650 Hz. Again, this considerable variation can be explained by environmental factors. A sonorant consonant following the vowel in the same syllable has a lowering effect on the first formant of the phoneme. A long /a:/ has a higher chance of being pronounced with a high *F1*. Palatal glides or nasals in the same syllable have a tendency of raising the second formant. Short /ɛ/ is often pronounced as [ə], that is as a central unrounded mid vowel.

To illustrate the seven vowels of Majang, Figure 3 below (taken from Joswig 2012, p. 273) gives an indication of the first two formants of each vowel. To make things comparable, the chart represents only the vowels of monosyllabic nouns and verbs (3rd person singular) of the language (a total of 96 vowel tokens). Each symbol in figure 3 stands for one token. The vertical dimension displays the frequency of *F1* in Hertz, and the horizontal dimension shows the frequency of *F2*.

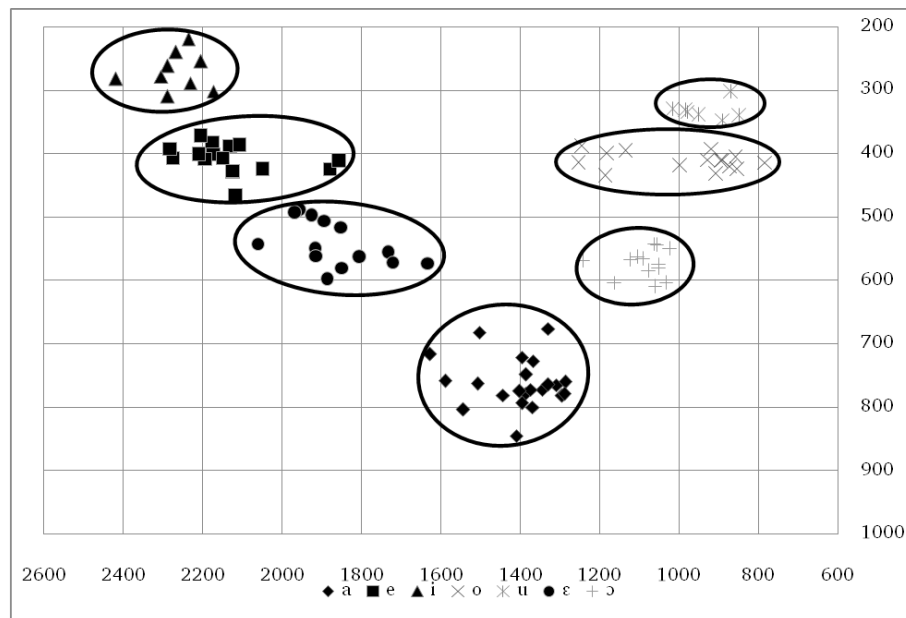


Figure 3: vowel formants of monosyllabic words

In such a controlled environment, the seven vowels show up as surprisingly discrete groupings. Except for the vowel /a/, there is no significant variance with respect to *F1*. Casali (2008, p. 507f) states that “[...] *all else equal, a [+ATR] vowel will have lower F1 than its [-ATR] counterpart. [...] F1 has consistently been found to be a very robust cue for distinguishing [+ATR] vowels from their [-ATR] counterparts [...].*” Therefore, it would be very difficult to interpret a nine- or ten-vowel system from the picture presented here. If there are only seven vowel phonemes in monosyllabic words, there is no reason to expect a larger number of vowel phonemes in polysyllabic words, even if the vowels in these polysyllabic words show a more significant phonetic variation regarding *F1* and *F2*.

II.1.3 Vowel length

Vowel length plays an important role in Majang. This is typologically quite different from the Southeast-Surmic languages, which seem to make use of vowel length only sparingly; in both Mursi and Suri, the few long vowels are attributed to the loss of intervocalic consonants (Bryant, 2013, p. 28f; Mütze, 2014, p. 39f). The distinction between long and short vowels cannot be analyzed in these terms in Majang. It is frequently used and lexically contrastive, as can be easily confirmed by numerous minimal pairs:

Example II.2: short and long vowels

a) ùtén	{ùt-é=ɲ}	he drinks	vs.	ùtén	{ùt-é=ɲ}	it rusts
b) òlán	{òlán}	husband	vs.	ó:lán ^L	{ó:l-an ^L }	be able (INF)
c) gògòj	{gògòj}	he crawls	vs.	gò:gòj	{gò:gòj}	ford
d) tàjáj	{tàj-á=ɲ}	I open	vs.	tà:jáj	{tà:j-á=ɲ}	I harvest
e) kètén	{kèt-é=ɲ}	he cuts	vs.	kètén	{kèt-é=ɲ}	he scatters
f) mènén	{mèn-é=ɲ}	he twists	vs.	mè:nén	{mè:n-é=ɲ}	he steers
g) ìn	{ìn}	HORT	vs.	ìn	{ìn}	you

In phonetic terms, the length difference can be quite pronounced. The following two charts show the words of example II.2a) with the duration of their first vowel measured. The vowel in question is shaded.

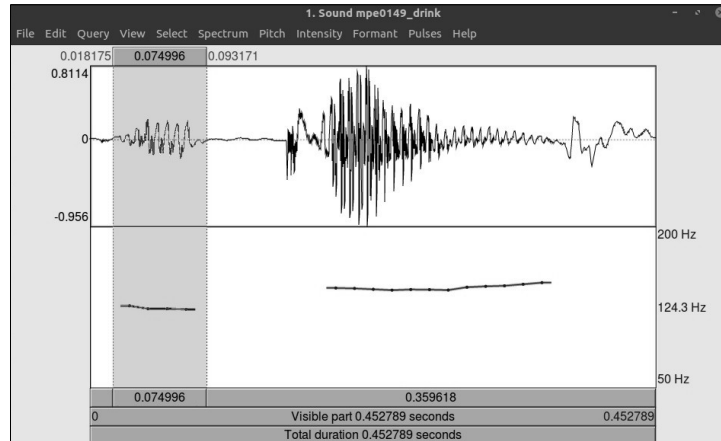


Figure 4: duration of short vowel in ùtén 'he drinks'

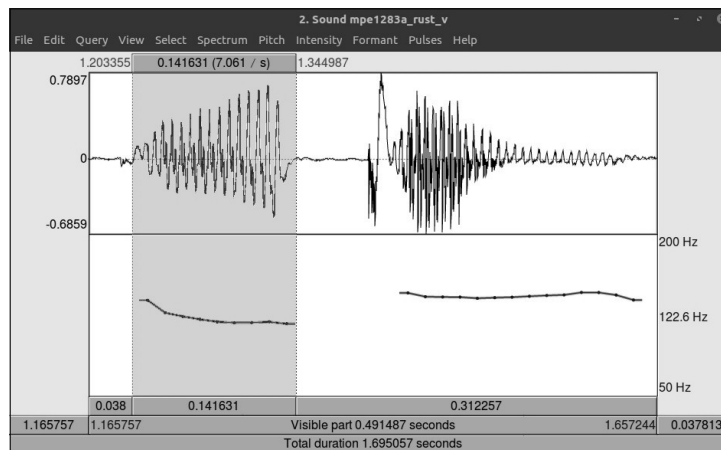


Figure 5: duration of long vowel in ùtén 'it rusts'

In these recordings, which were made on separate occasions, the duration of the long vowel (about 140 ms) is almost twice as long as the duration of the short vowel (about 75 ms). This evidence might tempt the observer to the conclusion that vowel length is a clear-cut phonological feature that speakers of Majang can always safely discern. But this is not the case. Already the data in example II.2 shows that lexical minimal pairs based on vowel length can only be found involving word-initial syllables. The situation with non-initial syllables gives rise to the suspicion that vowel length may be less distinctive beyond the first syllable, except possibly as a device for grammatical distinctions (see examples II.3-II.5). Although for example II.2 a) all

speakers would readily agree that the first vowel in ‘*drink*’ is short, and in ‘*rust*’ it is long, there are some suffixes where the evidence is less clear. For example, regarding the *Is* suffixes **-á** and **-à**, my consultants sometimes pronounced them long, sometimes short. In the same way other suffixes, usually those ending in a vowel, had conflicting length evaluations. A good example of that is the impersonal suffix **-é**, for which the consultants insisted on a long vowel for most words. In some cases, however, they would always tell me to transcribe it as a short vowel, as in **rijé^L** ‘*he is called*’. In other cases where the consultants insist on a short vowel, it can clearly be seen that the vowel goes back to a long vowel underlyingly. This is the case with the short version of the *TF.3S* suffix **-gê:d**, which is **-gé^L** according to the perception of the speakers. Similar evidence can be found for the infinitive markers **-é^L** and **-í^L**, which again are truncated versions of a sequence of long vowel plus /d/ (see section IV.2.2.1 for more details). Indeed the phonetic evidence is inconclusive, as the duration of these vowels is somewhere in the span between 80 and 110 ms, as in the following illustration of the word **tònúrgé^L** ‘*he shouted at them*’, taken from a recorded text.

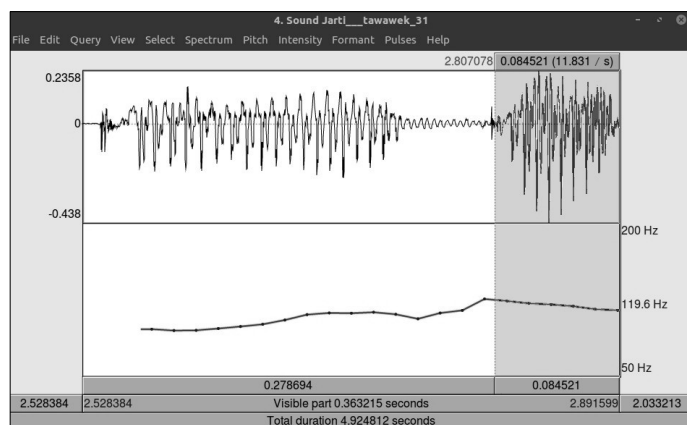


Figure 6: duration of **-gé^L** in **tònúrgé^L**

Accordingly, there is some lack of clarity regarding the length of vowels in some morphemes, and some of these could probably have been represented differently in this study.

But in spite of all this, length is crucially important in Majang; not only is it used to distinguish lexical items, but also to modify the lexical meaning of a root, e.g. to indicate different aspectual shades:

Example II.3: aspectual categories expressed by vowel length

tòró'káŋ *I step* vs. **tòró'káŋ** *I trample*

Some verbs display stems with changing vowel lengths across the same paradigm:

Example II.4: stems with different vowel lengths in verb paradigms

gǎjŋ *he imitates* vs. **gàjájŋ** *I imitate*

The same is true for nouns, where length is used to express number and case differences:

Example II.5: stems with different vowel lengths in noun paradigms

- a) **kàrí** coffee leaf (*SG.ABS*) vs. **kárik^L** coffee leaves (*PL.ABS*)
 b) **tǎm** child (*SG.ABS*) vs. **tǎn** child (*SG.ERG*)

Short vowels are considerably more frequent than their long counterparts. In the 2879-word text sample, 3817 short vowels are balanced by 1139 long vowels, a ratio of more than 3:1. But this ratio is not evenly spread out for all vowels. Whereas 243 short vowels /e/ occur compared to 104 long counterparts, a ratio of 2.33:1, against 245 short vowels /u/ there are only 17 long vowels /u:/, a ratio of 14.4:1. The other five vowels are much closer to the established average. One possible explanation for the surprisingly high ratio between the /u/ vowels is that many of the short ones go back to a vowel /i/ undergoing labial harmony, which does not affect long vowels /i:/.

There is a difference between a long vowel and two identical short vowels meeting at morpheme boundaries. All previous examples show long vowels belonging to one morpheme. They are then pronounced as just that – long vowels. But there are other possibilities:

Example II.6: apparent long vowel resulting from two adjacent morphemes

ércéé^L *milk* < {**ércé** -e^L}
milk -*PL.ABS*

In this example the plural suffix -e^L is added to a stem ending in the vowel e. This results in a sound that on the surface may look like a long vowel. Phonologically, however, there is a difference between this /ee/ and the first vowel in **kètéŋ** 'he scatters' (example II.2d). When two identical vowels belonging to two different morphemes come together, speakers often insert a phonetic separator, which could either be an approximant ([j] or [w], depending on the vowels involved) or the glottal stop [ʔ]. In fast speech, how-

ever, the two-vowel sequence is often indistinguishable from a long vowel. So example II.6 may be pronounced as either [érsé:], [érséjé] or [érsé?é], with no difference in meaning. Throughout this work, I show both vowels spelled out when they belong to two different morphemes, and use the phonetic length symbol /:/ to indicate a long vowel belonging to only one morpheme.

The Majang language allows vowel sequences involving long vowels.

Example II.7: vowel sequences

- a) {dàrà-é:^L}
despise-IMPS
it is despised
- b) {ábé-εk-è^L}
fig_tree-PL-LOC
at the fig trees

Example a) has a long vowel (the impersonal marker) following a long stem vowel. In example b) the long vowel of the plural morpheme follows a short stem vowel of the same quality. If no glottal stop is used to separate the two vowels, the resulting vowel length of /éé:/ appears to not be significantly longer than a regular long vowel /ε:/, or the union of two short vowels /ε/ as in {ábé-ε:^L} ‘fig trees’ (PL.ABS).

II.1.4 Distribution

Most of the vowel phonemes can appear anywhere in a word. Vowels can be found word-initially, word-finally and inside a word.

Monosyllabic words with only a short vowel and no coda are very rare. Only function words like à ‘with’, áá^L ‘REMPST’ or the conjunction ké belong to that category. Nearly as infrequent are monosyllabic words ending in a long vowel: dó: ‘world’, pé: ‘soup’ and wà: ‘house (DAT)’ are the only nouns found in that category. The only verbs encountered with a stem resulting in such words are ñà: ‘he stinks’, mè: ‘it hurts’, dé: ‘it is red’, kè: ‘he goes’ and wè: ‘he breathes’.

As already stated earlier, there is no ATR-based vowel-harmony system in Majang. If there were, one would expect some variation within the suffixes, with basically two allomorphs for each suffix morpheme, based on the ATR value of the stem vowel. There are also languages where the affix morpheme

has an effect on the stem vowel (Casali, 2008, p. 500). Neither case can be observed in Majang. On the contrary, the verbal system allows combinations of vowels which would be deemed impossible in a language with ATR-based vowel harmony. Here are some examples:

Example II.8: vowel combinations with different ATR values

- a) **è:kîŋ** b) **mó:rún**
 {è:k-î^L=ŋ} {mó:r-ín}
 draw-1P.DJ=SFT *wrinkled-2S.DJ*
 we draw water *you are wrinkled*

Both the stems **è:k** and **mó:r** are completely stable, regardless of the following suffixes. The same is true about the *1P.DJ*-suffix **-î^L**, which undergoes some tonal variation, but remains stable with respect to the vowel. The suffix for the 2nd person singular disjoint is **-ín**, as in **là:rín** ‘you lose’, but when following a labial consonant or a syllable with a round (or labial) vowel, it is rounded to **-ûn**, as in the previous example. No vowel changes can be attributed to an ATR vowel harmony.

Even within the roots of nouns or verbs, it is possible to find vowel combinations which defy any attempt to describe them in terms of an ATR-based vowel-co-occurrence restriction. Roots like **è:bàd** ‘heal’ and **é:méj** ‘honor’ should not be encountered in a language with ATR-based vowel harmony.

V1/V2	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u	total
i	64	24	36	48	9	14	1	196
e	28	40	15	32	1	4	2	122
ɛ	43	4	72	33	4	6	2	164
a	90	19	81	119	3	15	26	353
ɔ	21		17	26	16		6	86
o	24	12	25	36		26	27	150
u	10	14	13	8	1	7	24	77
total	280	113	259	302	34	72	88	1148

Table 2: vowel co-occurrences in polysyllabic words

Table 2 is a chart of all vowel co-occurrences in different polysyllabic words in the analyzed Majang text sample. The table counts whenever a vowel of

column 1 is followed by a vowel of row 1, regardless of whether this vowel is part of the stem or of a suffix.

Some conclusions can be drawn from this table: almost any vowel can be followed by any other vowel, except for the two back-mid vowels /o/ and /ɔ/, which were never found following each other, and the sequence /ɔ-e/. These look like structural constraints which may indeed be going back to an old ATR-based vowel-harmony system at an earlier stage of the language's history. For many vowels, the preferred combination appears to be with the same vowel. The vowels /a, ɛ, e, i, u/ show a high occurrence as follow-up vowels in a vowel sequence, which is best explained by their prominent use in suffixes. The vowel /ɔ/, although not at all infrequent in the language, has a disproportionately low occurrence rate as a second vowel, because it is rarely used in suffixes, except in demonstratives – and each different demonstrative is only counted once in the above chart.

Some combinations are very infrequent. The one token filling the slot /e-ɔ/ is the short relative pronoun **écɔ̃**. The slot /i-u/ is taken by the complex verb **pà:rirkúndɔ̃^L** ‘while you_{PL} are trying’. This same word is also the only place where the sequence /u-ɔ/ was encountered, as this contains the rare 2_P marker **-ɔ̃^L**.

The picture is not very different when only monomorphemic stems are taken into account. The vowel /ɛ/ can still follow /e/ inside a root, but not the other way around. The only other restrictions in addition to those in Table 2 concern the vowel /u/, which never seems to follow any of the vowels /i, ɛ, ɔ/ inside of roots.

Therefore, although there are some apparent restrictions regarding the co-occurrence of vowels, there is enough evidence discounting any ongoing ATR-based vowel harmony in Majang. The picture is, of course, complicated by the fact that four Proto-Surmic vowels /u, o, ɪ, e/ (Moges, 2002, p. 209) have collapsed into the two vowels /e/ and /o/, so that what now may look like a violation of ATR-based vowel harmony could in fact go back to a difference that was present in an earlier stage of the language. For example, a root such as **è:bɔ̃d** ‘heal’ is likely to go back to a proto-language root ***rɔ̃bɔ̃d**, which would not violate an ATR-based vowel-harmony system⁷. Still, it is surprisingly difficult to find traces of the old ATR-based vowel harmony in Ma-

⁷ This word is probably an old causative of **bɔ̃d** ‘be well’. See section V.5.3 for more on the old prefix **-i**.

jang⁸. A good example for this are the two vowels /e/ and /ɛ/. They look very much like [+ATR] and [-ATR] counterparts of the same vowel, so one should expect them to show some kind of distribution which follows old ATR-based patterns. Indeed, the two vowels alternate in some suffixes which contain them, but based on a principle unrelated to ATR: /e/ only occurs in words with a high vowel in the previous syllable, whereas /ɛ/ shows up in all other environments. Therefore the variation can be described in terms of a height assimilation. This becomes clear from the following examples:

Example II.9: height assimilation

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) cù:wěŋ
 {cù:w-er=ŋ}
 <i>sting-3P.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>they sting</i></p> | <p>b) cù:wéŋ
 {cù:w-é=ŋ}
 <i>sting-3S.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>it stings</i></p> |
| <p>c) ð:jěŋ
 {ð:j-er=ŋ}
 <i>obstruct-3P.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>they obstruct</i></p> | <p>d) ð:jéŋ
 {ð:j-é=ŋ}
 <i>obstruct-3S.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>he obstructs</i></p> |
| <p>e) rù:měŋ
 {rù:m-er=ŋ}
 <i>decide-3P.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>they decide</i></p> | <p>f) rù:méŋ
 {rù:m-é=ŋ}
 <i>decide-3S.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>he decides</i></p> |
| <p>g) ð:děŋ
 {ð:d-er=ŋ}
 <i>difficult-3P.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>they are difficult</i></p> | <p>h) ð:déŋ
 {ð:d-é=ŋ}
 <i>difficult-3S.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>it is difficult</i></p> |
| <p>i) tù:jěŋ
 {tù:j-er=ŋ}
 <i>avenge-3P.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>they avenge</i></p> | <p>j) tù:jéŋ
 {tù:j-é=ŋ}
 <i>avenge-3S.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>he avenges</i></p> |
| <p>k) ḃé:cěŋ
 {ḃé:c-er=ŋ}
 <i>touch-3P.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>they touch</i></p> | <p>l) ḃé:céŋ
 {ḃé:c-é=ŋ}
 <i>touch-3S.DJ=SFT</i>
 <i>he touches</i></p> |

⁸ Examples IV.107 and IV.119 of two infinitive allomorphs may show traces of the old ATR-harmony system.

m) à:měŋ
 {à:m-er=ŋ}
yawn-3P.DJ=SFT
they yawn

n) à:méŋ
 {à:m-é=ŋ}
yawn-3S.DJ=SFT
he yawns

As can be seen, the two allomorphs of the morphemes for 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural in this class of verbs obviously depend on the preceding stem vowel. The /e/-variant can co-occur with any vowel, as long as it is not high. High vowels require the presence of the /e/-variant of the respective suffix (see section II.5.4). Again, words like ò:déŋ or óé:céŋ would not be expected in an ATR-based vowel-harmony system.

The behavior of the 2s suffix in example II.8b) lends itself to a description in terms of a rounding harmony:

Example II.10: rounding harmony

<p>a) ìbá:lŋ {ìbá:l-ir=ŋ} <i>play-3P.DJ=SFT</i> <i>they play</i></p>	<p>b) óòkòtŋ {óòkòt-ur=ŋ} <i>kill-3P.DJ=SFT</i> <i>they kill</i></p>
---	---

For a detailed description of the rounding harmony process, see section II.5.3.

II.2 Consonants

Just like the previous section on vowels, this section on consonants first assesses the consonant inventory, then shows proof of contrast for the various identified phonemes, and finally looks into distributional restrictions.

II.2.1 Phonemic inventory

The consonant inventory of Majang is relatively small, containing only 18 phonemes. This is surprising when comparing Majang with other Surmic languages: Didinga (de Jong, 2004, p. 145) has a total of 36 consonants, and other Southwest Surmic languages have similar inventories. Southeast Surmic languages, such as Suri and Mursi, tend to have smaller inventories.

Mütze (2014, p. 26) counts 21 consonants for Mursi, and Bryant (1999, p. 16) 22 for Suri, which is only slightly more than found in Majang. Majang uses four places of articulation, and a maximum of six different manners of articulation can be found for the alveolar sounds. Only the obstruents and the nasals cover all four places of articulation.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless Obstruents	p	t	c	k
Voiced Obstruents	b	d	ɟ	g
Implosives	ɓ	ɗ		
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Oral Sonorants	w	r	j	
Lateral Sonorant		l		

Table 3: Majang consonant phonemes

The consonant inventory of Majang appears to be very tidy at first glance. For each of the four places of articulation, there is a voiced and a voiceless obstruent, as well as a nasal. At the palatal place of articulation, though, this tidiness is achieved only through a notable abstraction from the phonetic facts, which will be discussed and defended in detail in section II.2.2.3 on palatal consonants below.

Bender (1983, p. 116) shows the exact same consonant inventory, but with the addition of the glottal stop [ʔ], which he claims to be a phoneme of the language. Getachew (2014, p. 49) appears to agree with Bender, calling the glottal stop a phoneme; then again, he also seems to be aware of its complete predictability. Unseth (1988a), who otherwise fully shares Bender's inventory, rejects the phonemic status of the glottal stop on the grounds that it only occurs in word-initial position or between a few prefixes⁹ ending in a vowel and the following stems. In the analysis proposed here, the glottal stop is only a phonetic device for separating syllables with a vowel onset, and by no means the only device (see example II.6 for a case where the glottal stop may be inserted). The syllabification rules of Majang only allow the insertion of a glottal stop when the preceding syllable ends in a vowel, or if the syllable is at the beginning of the word. Therefore the sound is excluded from the phoneme inventory. Apart from this small difference and a few different choices for the phoneme characters, the consonant inventory presented

⁹ According to his analysis. I don't analyze them as prefixes, but as unbound particles.

above is the same as that proposed not only by Bender (1983), but also by Unseth (2007, p. 628). In addition, Getachew (2014, p. 49) includes /h/ in the phonemic inventory of Majang, qualifying this with the observation that it only seems to appear in loan words.

The distinction between fricatives, affricates and plosives is not relevant in the Majang phonological system, as there is no opposition between these at any place of articulation. Implosives are firmly established in the system, although only at the labial and alveolar places of articulation. The consonant inventory is completed by the two liquids /l/ and /r/ and by the two glides /j/ and /w/.

The following chart provides a frequency count of all consonant phonemes of Majang based on a 2879-word text sample:

Example II.11: frequency of consonant phonemes

rank	phoneme	count	rank	phoneme	count
1	k	1190	10	l	208
2	n	987	11	ɓ	187
3	r	487	12	j	169
4	c	448	13	ɟ	151
5	t	445	14	d	140
6	g	351	15	w	119
7	ɗ	308	16	b	109
8	m	306	17	p	87
9	ŋ	254	18	ɲ	35

It can be seen that the implosive phonemes are much more frequent than voiced obstruents. Only the voiced obstruent /g/ has a higher count than the two implosives. Another fact worth noting is that the labial voiceless obstruent /p/ has the second-lowest count of all phonemes, much less frequent than the very similar phoneme /k/, which tops the list with a good margin. Because of the nasal assimilation rule (section II.5.1) and the decision to transcribe all morpheme-internal combinations of /ŋk/ as <nk>, the numbers for the phonemes /n/ and /ŋ/ in this ranking could be slightly different. Any adjustment to this would not change the overall second place in the ranking for /n/, and probably also not the standing of /ŋ/.

II.2.2 Contrasts and phonetic realizations

This section provides proof of contrast between all possible pairs of phonemes that can be reasonably suspected of being variants of the same phoneme. Furthermore, information is given on how the phonemes are pronounced; if this is different depending on context or environment, information about allophones and free variation is also provided.

II.2.2.1 Labials /p, b, ɓ, m, w/

Most phonemes of the labial place of articulation are pronounced according to the IPA value of their symbols chosen here. The voiceless plosive /p/ is pronounced with a considerable amount of aspiration. The obstruent /p/ may also be realized by some speakers as a labiodental fricative [f] (Bender, 1983, p. 116). The implosive /ɓ/ is just that phonetically: [ɓ]¹⁰. In the Godare variety of Majang, the voiceless plosive /p/ often is not fully released at the end of a word, to the point that it is barely audible at all.

Example II.12: contrasts between labials

p vs. b	pédɬàn	end	ápé: ^L	grandfather
	bé:ɬàn	inhabitant	ábé	fig tree
p vs. ɓ	pàkàtɨŋ	he decreases	tèpér	shoulder blade
	ḡàkàtɨŋ	he unwraps	téḡér ^L	thunder
p vs. m	pàcéŋ	he carves	páɲá ^L	cousin
	màcéŋ	he borrows	máɲá ^L	sister
p vs. w	pàréŋ	he chops	ápé: ^L	grandfather
	wàréŋ	he looks for	áwé	iron
b vs. ɓ	bèdɨŋ	he sits	bà:ldɨ:ɬɨŋ	he throws
	ḡèdɨŋ	he is awake	ḡáldɨ:ɬɨŋ	he sells
b vs. m	àbɨ:	cloth	bò:rò	gecko
	à:mì	hair	mò:r	anvil
b vs. w	ábé	fig tree	bóde ^L	oil palm
	áwé	iron	wó:r	feast

¹⁰ See Moges (2006, p. 823ff) for a very careful description of the implosive sounds of Majang, based on acoustic measurements. He states that in word-final position the implosives have a devoiced allophone, and are sometimes just represented by a glottal stop.

6 vs. m	gàbɛ́ŋ	he accuses	ɓù:kéŋ	he uncovers
	gàmɛ́ŋ	it is a fetus	mù:kéŋ	he stabs
6 vs. w	cúɓóŋ	clay	ɓèdɪŋ	he awakes
	cúwǒŋ	eel	wènɛ̀	antenna
m vs. w	mà:céŋ	he borrows	kè:múŋ	straighten
	wà:céŋ	he speaks	kè:wúŋ	sharpen

II.2.2.2 Alveolars /t, d, ɗ, n, l, r/

The voiceless plosive /t/ is realized with noticeable aspiration [t^h]. The phoneme /r/ is pronounced as a flap [ɾ]. The implosive /ɗ/ is pronounced according to the IPA value of its phonemic character [ɗ]¹¹, and likewise the other phonemes /d, n, l/ as [d, n, l]. In the Godare variety of Majang, the voiceless plosive /t/ often is not fully released at the end of a word, to the point that it is barely audible at all.

Example II.13: contrasts between alveolars

t vs. d	támé ^L	face	támŋ	it drips
	dámé	yellow	ɗámŋ	he chooses
t vs. ɗ	támŋ	it drips	tòŋéŋ	he stops up
	ɗámŋ	he eats	ɗòŋéŋ	he smears
t vs. n	mèrmét ^L	red pepper	àpátí ^L	breast
	mèrmén	notice	ápání	current
t vs. l	tókóŋ	lazy	kàtámé	town
	lókóŋ	plate	pálámé ^L	argument
t vs. r	ɗò:túŋ	he harvests	mót	blind person
	ɗò:rúŋ	it crows	mò:r	anvil
d vs. ɗ	ɗámŋ	he chooses	pèdɪŋ	it is consumed
	ɗámŋ	he eats	ɓèdɪŋ	he is awake
d vs. n	ɗò:méŋ	he allows	ŋàdɪŋ	he is sad
	nò:méŋ	he follows	ŋàníŋ	he turns around
d vs. l	ɗì:léŋ	he carries	ɗò:kéŋ	he wanders
	lì:léŋ	he sinks	lò:kéŋ	he overturns

¹¹ See again Moges (2006) for details on the phonetic variation.

d vs. r	à:dín	he washes	dò:mén	he allows
	àrín	he weaves	rómí ^L	morning
d' vs. n	ḡè:dín	he is awake	wô:d	who?
	ḡè:nín	he sews	wón	which?
d' vs. l	ḡúk ^L	forest	ò:dén	it is difficult
	lúk ^L	bastard	ò:lén	he is able
d' vs. r	dà:wún	it is bright	pì:dén	he shivers
	rà:wún	he sings	pìrén	he flies
n vs. l	nò:mén	he follows	tôn	new
	lò:tén	he adds	bô:l	weak
n vs. r	tépén ^L	forehead	wóní ^L	tree, sp.
	tépér	shoulder blade	wòrí	money
l vs. r	wè:lén	he robs	tùl	rain
	wè:rén	he alters	tùr	garbage dump

II.2.2.3 Palatals /c, ʃ, ɲ, j/

The two palatal obstruents /c, ʃ/ show the most phonetic variation of all consonants in Majang: the voiceless obstruent /c/ is most often realized as a voiceless alveolar fricative [s], whereas its voiced counterpart /j/ (/j/ in Bender's inventory) is usually pronounced as a voiced post-alveolar affricate [dʒ]. The voiceless palatal /c/ may be pronounced as a voiceless post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] by some speakers, which supports its analysis as a palatal sound in the system. A regular allophonic rule applies for /c/ following the palatal nasal /ɲ/, which turns /c/ into [tʃ]: ḡéncè [ḡéntʃè] 'today'. The voiced palatal obstruent also has a less frequent variant [ʒ] (voiced post-alveolar fricative).

It is necessary to justify why the phoneme /c/ is treated here as a palatal obstruent, when in fact its most frequent realization is the alveolar fricative [s], without an apparent allophonic rule governing the change to [s]. This decision follows Bender (1983, p. 117), who attributes the variation in the palatal sounds to the removal of the bottom incisors, which apparently distorts the consonants beyond their position in the system. Like Bender, I therefore assume an underlying palatal nature of the two phonemes /c/ and /j/, although this is not necessarily justified by their phonetic realization. Accordingly it

would be possible to treat /c/ as an alveolar fricative /s/, as was done by Getachew (2014, p. 48), but this phonetically driven classification of sounds would add another dimension of complexity into the consonant inventory by claiming an opposition between plosives and fricatives, for which there is no further evidence in the language. At the same time, it leaves a glaring gap for the voiceless counterpart of the phoneme /j/, which in all its phonetic realizations is clearly post-alveolar. In effect, the decision to follow Bender's treatment of /c/ as a palatal phoneme implies that the palatal space in Majang is wider than in other languages, including the edge of the alveoles at which the front-most sibilants can be formed. This is quite in line with Trubetzkoy (1939), who claims (p. 35) that the phoneme is best defined as the total of the phonologically relevant features of a sound entity, and that its content entirely depends on its place in the system, defined by the distinctive oppositions found in the language (p. 39). The same idea is built upon more recently by Clements (2003) in his concept of *Feature Economy*.

There is, however, no phonological rule in Majang that changes /j/ to /c/ or vice versa, as such a rule would clearly show that both phonemes belong to the same place of articulation. In the same way, there is also no rule that shows /c/ to be associated with the alveolar sounds of the language.

The palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the palatal glide /j/, however, are pronounced, like their IPA symbols suggest, as [ɲ] and [j]¹². In the other places of articulation, the Godare dialect has an unreleased variety of the voiceless obstruents. This is not applicable for the palatal obstruent /c/, as this is usually realized as a phonetic fricative.

Example II.14: contrasts between palatals

c vs. j	mácé ^L	debt	gàcój	hoe
	májé ^L	dwarf	gá'jój	courageous man
c vs. ɲ	cò:n	towards	kòcè	bag
	ɲòn	place	kò:ɲéɲ	he curses
c vs. j	càwéɲ	he sprinkles	pàc'éɲ	he carves
	jàw'éɲ	he shortens	pàj'éɲ	he vomits

¹² Note that I do not follow the Ethiopianist/Africanist tradition of transcribing the palatal glide /j/ as /y/. In the same manner, the transcription /j/ never serves as the representation of the phonetic sound [dʒ], as this is phonemically represented as /j/ throughout this study.

ɟ vs. ɲ	tòɟɛŋ	he disturbs	ɟónkólé	porcupine
	tòɲɛŋ	he stops up	ɲómá ^L	insult
ɟ vs. j	tòɟɛŋ	he disturbs	jáɲɛ̀	machete
	tòjɛŋ	he pierces	jáwé ^L	circumcision
ɲ vs. j	tòɲɛŋ	he stops up	kàɲ	brideprice
	tòjɛŋ	he pierces	káj	night

II.2.2.4 Velars /k, g, ŋ/

The three velars /k, g, ŋ/ show minimal phonetic variation. Their pronunciation corresponds to the IPA value of their respective symbols, except that the voiceless obstruent /k/ is pronounced with considerable aspiration: [k^h]. In the Godare variety of Majang, the voiceless plosive /k/ is often not fully released at the end of a word, to the point that it is barely audible at all.

Example II.15: contrasts between velars

k vs. g	kòrúŋ	he shuts	ékêr	truth
	gòrúŋ	he is sick	ègèr	how many?
k vs. ŋ	kǎɲŋ	he fights	tàk	inside
	ŋǎɲŋ	he goes	táŋ ^L	cow
g vs. ŋ	dùgɛŋ	he hides	tágá ^L	camel
	dùŋɛŋ	it evaporates	tàŋáŋín ^L	heron

II.2.2.5 Nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/

Because of their phonetic similarity, it is appropriate to show examples for contrasts between the four nasal phonemes of Majang.

Example II.16: contrasts between nasals

m vs. n	cèm	straight	dámé	yellow
	cèn	pronoun 3s	dámé	beehive
m vs. ɲ	màlɛŋ	he strikes	kómí ^L	zebra
	ɲàlɛŋ	it is light	kòŋɛŋ	he persuades
m vs. ŋ	mùkɛŋ	he stabs	tém	small
	ɲùkɛŋ	he pulls	ètɛŋ	he stands

n vs. ɲ	órɲán ^L	<i>naming ceremony</i>	nòmémɛŋ	<i>he follows</i>
	páɲ ^L	<i>mortar</i>	ɲòn	<i>place</i>
n vs. ŋ	dó:kún	<i>bride-price</i>	náci ^L	<i>bread</i>
	dòkúŋ	<i>it lands</i>	ŋáci ^L	<i>pity</i>
ɲ vs. ŋ	ɲá:j	<i>liver</i>	kóŋ	<i>curse</i>
	ŋâ:j	<i>old woman</i>	kõŋ	<i>he gathers</i>

Majang has an active nasal assimilation rule, which turns each alveolar nasal placed in front of a velar consonant into a velar nasal, as in **àŋàn** ‘four’ versus [àŋàŋ-k] ‘four (POSS)’.

II.2.3 Distribution

Before discussing the distribution of consonants, it is necessary to give some information on syllable, root and word structure in anticipation of sections II.4 and II.7. Syllables can be open and closed, and there can be two-consonant clusters both word-medially and word-finally. Two-consonant clusters can also appear inside a morpheme, as in the verb stem **dèrt** ‘slide’. Words can be monomorphemic, but frequently include suffixes and even enclitics. Prefixes are very rarely encountered; these always end in a vowel. Noun and verb roots are often monosyllabic, but can consist of several syllables.

Most consonants can appear in all environments. There are, however, some limited distributions which are difficult to explain. Only a very small number of words end in a labial consonant, and except for the adverb **òtó:p** ‘often’, and the noun **ɲó:p^L** ‘people’, no words end in a labial obstruent. The labial nasal /m/ does appear word-finally in about 20 words, but this is balanced by the more than 200 words ending in the alveolar nasal /n/. Between vowels and in word-initial position /m/ is by far the most frequent nasal.

More transparent is the fact that at the end of a word, non-palatal voiced obstruents are not permitted phonetically. If an underlying voiced obstruent appears in that position, it is devoiced, such as **ɲjá:g^L** ‘work’, which is pronounced [ɲjá:k^h], in this way creating a neutralization not unlike obstruent hardening in other languages, such as German. The speakers do not appear to be aware of that alternation; so this process seems to be of a postlexical nature – see chapter 7 of Mohanan (1986) for evidence that speaker judgments are linked to the lexical level of phonological representations.

All consonants appear in good numbers word-initially and between vowels, except for the alveolar nasal /n/, which surprisingly appears word-initially in only about a dozen lexemes, as opposed to nearly ninety for /m/, 21 for /p/ and 34 for /ŋ/. Except for the assimilation of alveolar nasals to the velar place of articulation (see section II.5.1), nasals keep their place of articulation, both inside the root and at morpheme boundaries: for example, **ámɔ̃**^L ‘stomach’ and **ɔ̃ámɔ̃**^L ‘after he ate’ show /m/ maintaining its labial place of articulation preceding alveolar phonemes. The two reduplicated verb stems **tɪntɪm** ‘fold’ and **tɔ̃ntɔ̃m** ‘incubate’, however, suggest that some assimilation happens preceding alveolar consonants inside a stem. No other instances were encountered where any nasal assimilates to another place of articulation. **témk** ‘it is small (SUB)’ shows /m/ stable in front of a velar consonant. The alveolar nasal can be encountered preceding palatal consonants, as in **pàránɟi**^L ‘white person’. The palatal nasal was encountered preceding /k/ in **kóɟkàn** ‘cursed person’. The velar nasal was sometimes found preceding alveolar phonemes, as in the stem **ɔ̃lɪlɪŋt**^L ‘vulture (NOM)’. It appears that Majang can be characterized as a split system regarding nasal assimilation, with a clear assimilation of alveolar nasals towards velar nasals, and a general lack of assimilation between other places of articulation.

In consonant clusters across syllable boundaries, there is a high tendency for having sonorants as first consonant (C1) and obstruents as second consonant (C2), as in words like **támàrèrkɪ** ‘they learn’ or, twice, in **ɓànkàwkà** ‘power’. Obstruents can only be found as C1 when C2 is also an obstruent, as in **tá:p+támák**^L ‘letters’ or **ɪjá:ɟkɛ**^L ‘when they started to work’. In the same way, sonorants also only appear as C2 when C1 is another sonorant, as in **mérméná:rá** ‘I notice’ or **ɓòkó:rjántá**^L ‘tortoise (DAT)’.

Implosives usually appear as C2 in a consonant cluster. An alveolar implosive /ɖ/ cannot be found preceding another consonant within the same word. It is changed to the flap /ɾ/, as in **ɛ̀ɲàdáj** ‘I smell’ vs. **ɛ̀ɲáj** ‘he smells’. The labial implosive /ɓ/ is rarely found preceding consonants. The only example encountered in the text corpus is **ɟàɟáɓkɛjɟíɖá**^L ‘whenever I give her’. Moges (2006, p. 829) points out that in spite of these restrictions applying to Majang implosives, they are much more flexible in appearance than predicted by Greenberg (1970, p. 131), who stated that implosives are universally not found in word-final position, and not in consonant clusters, particularly involving nasals. Both situations do happen in Majang.

In the few cases of monomorphemic and polymorphemic word-final consonant clusters, *C1* needs to be a [+SONORANT]¹³ consonant. If *C1* is /l/ or a nasal, then *C2* can be a [-SONORANT] consonant (including implosives), or the nasal /ŋ/ (such as in **élt^L** ‘grassland’, **émd^L** ‘canoe’ or **tǎmn^L** ‘it drips’). If *C1* is a [-NASAL], [-LATERAL] sonorant /r, j, w/, then only /ŋ/ and /n/ can be found in the *C2* position, as in **kǒwn^L** ‘he digs’, **kárn^L** ‘war’, **ǒéjn^L** ‘thorn’, or **dějn^L** ‘cooking stone’. The restrictions on word-final consonant clusters are entirely in line with the *sonority hierarchy* proposed by Lowenstamm (1981), which predicts the following order for syllable codas: *approximant* – *sonorant* – *nasal* – *obstruent*. Two phonemes from the same level can combine to a consonant cluster. This is exactly what can be seen in Majang, giving the implosives a special status as being neither a sonorant nor an obstruent, placing them between nasals and obstruents.

The language strongly disfavors a syllable rhyme containing both a long vowel and a consonant cluster¹⁴. If these two things come together in any configuration, the vowel is shortened. This can be observed for example in the locative form of **ǰédán** ‘bee’, which makes use of the non-central case stem /ǰédám/, to which the locative stem extension -t is added, resulting in the form *ǰédánt, which is shortened to **ǰédánt**.

II.3 Distinctive Features

When describing phonological rules, I occasionally make reference to the distinctive features of the phonological system. It is therefore necessary to determine what the distinctive features are for each phoneme. The discussion of the features presented here is not intended to be a contribution to any phonological model interested in features. No attempt is made to validate or disprove any existing feature inventories. The inventory proposed here is entirely language-specific and was chosen because it reflects the phonological realities of Majang. The vowels of Majang can be classified as seen in Table 4, with the understanding that they are all further marked as [+SYLLABIC]:

¹³ See section II.3 for a definition of each distinctive feature.

¹⁴ There are exceptions to this rule, such as the three possessive pronouns **gánk** (1s.PL), **gónk** (2s.PL) and **ǰénk** (3s.PL), or the nominative singular form **wént** of **wéná^L** ‘ear’.

		$[-LABIAL]$	$[+LABIAL]$
$[+HIGH]$		i	u
$[-HIGH]$	$[+ATR]$	e	o
	$[-ATR]$	ɛ	ɔ
		a	
		$[-BACK]$	$[+BACK]$

Table 4: distinctive features of Majang vowel phonemes

It may appear surprising that in such a feature representation the $[-HIGH]$ vowels are not further distinguished for vowel height, including the low vowel /a/. The introduction of the feature $[LOW]$ would introduce an unnecessary redundancy into the feature system. But it needs to be pointed out that the representation in table 4 masks another lower-level redundancy: the feature $[-ATR]$ is neither required nor desired to characterize the vowel /a/.

I prefer the use of the feature $[LABIAL]$ over the feature $[ROUND]$, because the labial consonants and the round vowels trigger the same process, and therefore it may be assumed that the same phonological feature is responsible. See section II.5.3 for a detailed discussion on how this feature $[LABIAL]$ governs labial harmony.

The feature $[ATR]$ may also be a surprising choice, as it was established that there is no ATR harmony in the language. Still the feature $[ATR]$ is the only distinctive feature provided by the standard literature of generative phonology with the power to distinguish between the $[-HIGH]$ vowels, even if a feature $[LOW]$ were invoked, which would only apply to /a/ in Majang. Hall (2007, p. 329) observes that “the feature $[ATR]$ is used to capture the contrast between /i e o/ ($[+ATR]$) and /ɪ ɛ ɔ/ ($[-ATR]$) – both in West African languages with $[ATR]$ harmony, as well as Germanic languages like English.” This is in agreement with Casali’s (2008, p. 507) explanation that $[+ATR]$ vowels are characterized by a lower F1 value than $[-ATR]$ vowels (and are therefore higher in traditional phonetic terms). The only other feature previously used for this purpose, $[TENSE]$, was abandoned in the early days of generative phonology. Ladefoged’s (2005, p. 8 f) suggestion to use a feature $[MID]$ for languages without ATR-based vowel harmony was not taken up by phonologists, possibly because it would still fail to distinguish between the two rows of mid vowels in an intuitive understanding of the feature. It was also seen in Table 2 that reference to an ATR-based vowel harmony in an older stage of the language explains some co-occurrence restric-

tions between some vowels; further traces can be seen in some morpheme alternations such as the nominalization markers **-on** and **-an** (see section IV.2.2.1). If it was the feature [ATR] that caused this harmony in the past, it appears logical that the same feature still distinguishes the same vowels, even if a harmony is no longer based on this distinction.

[ATR] is the only vowel feature which is not also used for consonants.

The following table helps to identify the consonant features, which are all needed in addition to the feature [-SYLLABIC].

		[+LABIAL]	[-LABIAL]		
			[-HIGH]	[+HIGH]	
[+OBSTRUENT]		p	t	c	k [-VOICED]
		b	d	ɟ	g [+VOICED]
[-OBSTRUENT]	[-SONORANT]	ɓ	ɗ		
	[+SONORANT]	w	r	j	[-LATERAL]
	[-NASAL]		l		[+LATERAL]
	[+NASAL]	m	n	ɲ	
		[-BACK]		[+BACK]	

Table 5: distinctive features of Majang consonant phonemes

The classification with respect to the manner of articulation follows Clements and Osu (2002, p. 308), who state that “[...] *the common property distinguishing implosives from explosives is the absence of air pressure buildup in the oral cavity. [...] this property is exactly the correlate of the feature [-OBSTRUENT].*” Indeed the two implosives have a different distribution from both obstruents and sonorants in Majang, and therefore the [OBSTRUENT] feature provides the main dividing line between the Majang consonants. The eight [+OBSTRUENT] phonemes only need to be further classified as [-VOICED] and [+VOICED]. For the ten [-OBSTRUENT] sounds, a further division is made by the feature [SONORANT], which cannot just be seen as the inversion of the feature [OBSTRUENT] (Clements & Osu, 2002, p. 337f), but which in turn singles out the implosives from the other [-OBSTRUENT] phonemes. The [+SONORANT] phonemes are either nasals [+NASAL] or approximants [-NASAL]. The approximants are either lateral (/l/) or non-lateral (/w, r, j/). This distinction is motivated by the fact that the three non-lateral approximants on the one hand and

the lateral approximant on the other display different phonotactic behavior (see section II.2.3).

The Majang consonant system provides no need for using the feature *[CORONAL]* to specify any place of articulation, as the feature *[LABIAL]* is needed anyway in the language and therefore is sufficient to distinguish between labial and alveolar sounds. The labial harmony (section II.5.3) proves that the feature *[LABIAL]* is applied to both vowels and consonants; the labial consonants and round vowels clearly form a natural class. This renders the feature *[CORONAL]* redundant in Majang. The three remaining places of articulation – alveolar, palatal, and velar – can easily be distinguished by the features *[HIGH]* and *[BACK]*, which are also used for distinguishing vowels.

In total, all 25 consonants and vowels of Majang can be distinguished by the following ten non-prosodic distinctive features *[SYLLABIC]*, *[OBSTRUENT]*, *[SONORANT]*, *[NASAL]*, *[VOICED]*, *[LATERAL]*, *[LABIAL]*, *[HIGH]*, *[BACK]* and *[ATR]*.

To be able to fully accommodate all phonological phenomena of Majang in a feature notation, three prosodic features would have to be introduced: *[LONG]*, a tone and a register feature. But apart from the feature *[LONG]*, prosodic features are not used in this language description.

II.4 Syllable and Root Structure

II.4.1 Syllable structure

The Majang maximal-syllable template describing the possible phonetic syllables of the language is CVC, which allows for consonant clusters across syllable boundaries word-medially. Only at the end of a word this template can be exceeded by monosyllabic consonant clusters, but usually only following short vowels¹⁵, and if they do not violate restrictions caused by the sonority hierarchy. For more details on consonant clusters, see section II.2.3.

Unlike Bender (1983, p. 115), the analysis of this study does not assume the presence of diphthongs in Majang. The examples given by Bender are in-

¹⁵ See footnote 14 for some exceptions to this.

stead interpreted as sequences of a vowel and an approximant: **kuroi** (Bender) vs. **kú'rój** 'donkey'; **waikun** (Bender) vs. **wájkún** 'seed'.

In Majang there are many places where the transition from a syllable ending in a vowel to a syllable beginning with a vowel invites hearing a glide [j] or [w], depending on the nature of the vowels involved. This study follows the convention of only writing a glide between vowels if its underlying existence can be established from additional evidence, like if in a different morphological context the glide is found at the word boundary or in front of a consonant. Thus I write **cá:kòjè** 'valleys' because of **cá:kòj** 'valley', but **ḡḡè** 'antelope', because in this word, the final /ɛ/ is part of the noun root, and there is no independent evidence for a glide between the two vowels, besides the possibility to transcribe this word phonetically as [ḡḡjè]. The final two syllables in the two words **cá:kòjè** and **ḡḡè** are phonetically not easily distinguishable¹⁶.

In order to maintain the Majang syllable structure, the language uses a number of devices to break up unacceptable consonant clusters. One of these, involving the presence of alveolar implosives preceding other consonants, is introduced as rule 3 in section II.5.2. Less specific is a vowel-epenthesis rule which inserts the default vowel /i/ between stems ending in a [-SONORANT] consonant and a consonantal suffix or enclitic. A very rough representation of this rule might look like this:

Rule 1: vowel epenthesis

$$\emptyset \rightarrow i / \quad C \quad \underline{\quad} + C$$

[-SONORANT]

This rule is applied for example with the subordinate-clause clitic =**k** and with the sentence-final topicality (*SFT*) clitic =**ŋ**, which attach themselves without epenthesis to preceding vowels and most sonorants, but require this epenthetic vowel in a position following obstruents:

¹⁶ With **ḡḡè** a speaker may also choose to separate the two vowels by a glottal stop [ḡḡʔè]. This glottal stop may in principle be inserted between any two vowels in a word, but most often it is not (see section II.1.3).

Example II.17: contrasts between nasals

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) $\text{dúŋɛ̃ŋ} < \{\text{dúŋɛ}^L = \eta\}$ | b) $\text{kú'rôjŋ} < \{\text{kú'rôj}^L = \eta\}$ |
| <i>hyena</i> \SG.NOM=SFT | <i>donkey</i> \SG.NOM=SFT |
| c) $\text{cə:líláŋtŋ} < \{\text{cə:líláŋt}^L = \eta\}$ | d) $\text{kùrɔ́útŋ} < \{\text{kùrɔ́út} = \eta\}$ |
| <i>vulture</i> \SG.NOM=SFT | <i>maggot</i> \SG.NOM=SFT |

In examples a) and b), there is no epenthetic vowel, because the *SFT*-clitic finds a vowel or approximant (/j, w/) to attach itself to. Examples c) and d) have an epenthetic vowel following a stem ending in an obstruent. In example d), the epenthetic vowel changes from /i/ to /u/ as a result of the labial-harmony rule 4, introduced in section II.5.3 below. This shows that the epenthetic vowel is subject to this rule which otherwise only applies to verbal suffixes.

The feature *[-SONORANT]* is a simplification of the actual environments triggering this rule. Quite often the epenthesis also happens following nasals and even some other oral sonorants. For the *SFT*-clitic the following generalizations hold:

- A stem ending in a vowel or an approximant will never have the epenthetic vowel (as it would serve no purpose): dúmâŋ 'owner (NOM)', dúŋɛ̃ŋ 'hyena (NOM)', kú'rôjŋ 'donkey (NOM)'.
- A stem ending in a *[-SONORANT]* sound will almost always have the epenthetic vowel: wémŋ 'ear (NOM)', émŋ 'canoe (NOM)', dókŋ 'land (NOM)'. Stems ending in an alveolar implosive which is not part of a CC-sequence change this implosive to the phoneme /r/ (see section II.5.2). This explains the alternation between ɛ̃ŋàdâŋ^L 'I smell' and ɛ̃ŋáŋ 'he smells'.
- Stems ending in a nasal use the epenthetic vowel only following a long stem vowel: dòmó:nŋ 'leopard (NOM)', wà:já:nŋ 'plant (NOM)', édé:nŋ 'mountain (NOM)'. Following a short vowel, the *SFT*-marker is dropped entirely: tôn 'child (NOM)', tèkán 'aunt (NOM)', cà:kóm 'friend (NOM)'. This criterion looks more straightforward than it actually is. One of these long vowels is apparently *caused* by the *SFT*-marker; without it, the plain nominative form of édén 'mountain (ABS)' is édén^L with a short vowel. The *SFT*-marker therefore seems to create its own condition where it can appear. But it does not do so on other words.

- For other sonorant environments, the placement of the epenthetic element appears to be even more random, as illustrated by word pairs such as **kùtúr** ‘hog (ABS)’ vs. **kùtúrùŋ** ‘hog (NOM)’ as opposed to **wár^L** ‘dog (ABS)’ vs. **wârŋ** ‘dog (NOM)’. For lack of a better generalization, it needs to be concluded that stems ending in /l/ and /r/ can sometimes be found taking a vowel, and sometimes not.

II.4.2 Root structure

In Majang, the synchronic distinction between roots and stems is often difficult to make. Some derivation affixes clearly identify many stems as derived from particular roots, as in the case of **ḡó:ján^L** ‘hate (INF)’, which is derived from the verb root **ḡó:j**. There are, however, many lexemes where the different stem forms cannot be easily traced back to an identifiable underlying root. This is the case when the differences between the stems are either of a purely tonal nature, or when there are differences in vowel length or quality, or when the stems differ in the absence or presence of a particular (usually stem-final) consonant, which cannot be identified as a productive derivation marker. All these factors can be illustrated by the stems **édén** (SG.ABS), **édén^L** (SG.NOM.MOD), **èdèṁ** (SG.ERG), **édén^L** (SG.NOM), **èdèṁ** (SG.LOC), **èdèṁ** (SG.DAT), **édénk** (PL.ABS) and **édèn** (PL.ERG). These forms all refer to the lexeme for ‘mountain’, and some of them have additional grammatical uses to those listed here. Each stem is treated as a simple stem in this study, which implies that they are not treated differently from a root. This is particularly the case when looking at the phonological structure of roots, as this section attempts.

II.4.2.1 Noun roots

Simple noun roots in Majang consist of either one, two or three syllables. The root syllables conform to the maximal-syllable template, with the additional possibility of having consonant clusters at the end of the root. Beyond this, there does not seem to be any restriction as to what can constitute a noun root. Monosyllabic roots with a CV pattern are non-existent, and monosyllabic CV: roots are extremely rare. The example **wà:** below is the dative variant of the CVC root **wéj^L** ‘house’.

Example II.18: examples of noun roots

1-syllabic	gloss	2-syllabic	gloss	3-syllabic	gloss
káɾn	<i>war</i>	kántè	<i>basket</i>	kácíkír	<i>stump</i>
mòɾɾ	<i>anvil</i>	móɾé	<i>fat</i>	mèkélém^L	<i>hawk</i>
tèk	<i>in-law</i>	tálóɟ	<i>swarm</i>	tèŋòní:	<i>locust</i>
wà:	<i>house (DAT)</i>	wòrí	<i>money</i>	wà:kójót	<i>god</i>
ḡà:ɟ	<i>heart</i>	bódé^L	<i>palm tree</i>	bùcùlé	<i>puppy</i>

II.4.2.2 Verb roots

Verb roots in Majang have a very strong tendency to end in a consonant. This is compatible with the fact that practically all person suffixes begin with a vowel. Roots ending in a consonant therefore enable easy syllabification. This is certainly true for all roots of the *i*- and *ε*-classes of verbs (see section IV.2.1.1 on verb classes). The various *a*-classes, however, contain many roots ending in a vowel. This may be the reason for the development of the **-k** extension morpheme used in these classes (see p. 248), which does not seem to carry any meaning. Its purpose appears to be to create well-formed stems which otherwise would end in a vowel.

Monomorphemic perfective verb stems usually consist of one syllable, but a smaller number of roots has two syllables.

Example II.19: examples of monomorphemic verb roots

1-syllabic	gloss	2-syllabic	gloss
à:m	<i>yawn</i>	àgàl	<i>steal</i>
càn	<i>lose</i>	ḡòlòɾ	<i>grow</i>
dèrt	<i>slide</i>	dìgòɟ	<i>greet</i>
gòt	<i>blow</i>	gùpàt	<i>spill</i>
ó:ɟ	<i>shout</i>	ògàɾ	<i>cut hair</i>

Imperfective verb stems are formed by the reduplication of the first CV sequence of the first stem syllable, and therefore have at least two syllables. This reduplication does not appear to be a straightforward productive phonological process, as the following examples illustrate – tones may change and vowel length is usually lost. Rather, the imperfective verb stems need to be treated as lexicalized forms.

a)	dènè {dèn-è} <i>see</i> \PFV-3S.CJ <i>he sees</i>	dèdèn {dèdèn} <i>see</i> \IPFV.3S.CJ <i>he is seeing</i>
b)	dām {dām} <i>eat</i> \PFV.3S.CJ <i>he eats</i>	dǎdāmí^L {dǎdām-i ^L } <i>eat</i> \IPFV-AP.3S <i>he is eating</i>
c)	rér^Lra^L {rér-á ^L } <i>run</i> \PFV-1S.DJ <i>I run</i>	rèrèrá^L {rèrèr-á ^L } <i>run</i> \IPFV-1S.DJ <i>I am running</i>

There are few phonological rules on segments which apply across the whole language. The two most regular rules are *nasal assimilation* and *alveolar implosive weakening*. Two other important rules are morphologically restricted to only some sets of suffixes: *height assimilation* and *labial harmony*.

As seen in section II.2.2, alveolar nasals adapt their place of articulation when preceding velar consonants, as in **àṇàṇ** 'four' versus [àṇàṅk] 'four' (POSS). This was not observed for alveolar nasals preceding palatal or labial consonants, for lack of words providing such an environment. Only alveolar nasals were found to assimilate their place of articulation. Section II.2.3 contains examples of possible clusters of nasals followed by non-homorganic consonants.

$$\mathbf{n} \rightarrow [+_{BACK}] / \text{---} \quad C$$

This rule states that /n/ changes to /ŋ/ preceding a velar consonant. It is difficult to establish whether this rule is lexical, that is whether speakers are aware of this change (see Snider (2018, p. 95) for this component of the distinction between lexical and postlexical rules). Throughout this study it is treated as postlexical, which means that it is not reflected by the orthographic conventions adopted for this study. The possessive form of **àŋà** is therefore written as **àŋànk**.

For many morphemes it is impossible to establish whether the phonetic combination [ŋk] goes back to an underlying cluster /nk/ or /ŋk/. This is true for many pronouns and determiners, such as **gánk** 'POSS\1P.PL', **cénk** '2S.CONTR', **kónk** 'REF\RECPST', **mánk** 'or', or even the possessive case marker **-onk**. In all these cases, I decided to transcribe them consistently as <nk>.

II.5.2 Alveolar implosive weakening

The alveolar implosive /ɖ/ is not allowed to occur preceding a morpheme beginning with a consonant. In that environment it is weakened to /r/, as in **èŋàɖáŋ^L** 'I smell' vs. **èŋáŋ** 'he smells'. A formal representation of this rule might look as follows:

Rule 3: alveolar implosive weakening

$$\mathfrak{d} \rightarrow \mathfrak{r} / __ + C$$

There is no corresponding weakening rule for the labial implosive consonant.

II.5.3 Labial harmony

All verbal suffixes involving the short vowel /i/ in their first syllable are subject to a vowel-harmony rule, which, depending on the rhyme (R)¹⁷ of the preceding syllable, changes the suffix vowel. If the rhyme contains a [+LABIAL] consonant or vowel, the vowel is /u/, otherwise it remains /i/.

¹⁷ For the nomenclature regarding syllable structure, this study follows Blevins (1995).

Example II.21: labial harmony

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| a) dí:ʎín^L
{dí:ʎ-ín^L}
<i>take-2S.DJ</i>
<i>you take</i> | b) lànɿr
{lànɿ-ir^L}
<i>find-3P.DJ</i>
<i>they find</i> | c) pá:ŋík
{pá:ŋ-ík}
<i>slap-IMP.SG</i>
<i>slap!</i> |
| d) ŋèdè:mún^L
{ŋèdè:m-ín^L}
<i>smile-2S.DJ</i>
<i>you smile</i> | e) 6òkòtùr
{6òkòt-ir^L}
<i>kill-3P.DJ</i>
<i>they kill</i> | f) láptúk
{lápt-ík}
<i>dive-imp.sg</i>
<i>dive!</i> |

If the last stem syllable contains a $[+LABIAL]$ vowel or consonant anywhere in the rhyme, the suffix vowel is /u/. This is the case in example e), where the labial vowel /o/ in the last stem syllable triggers the process. But, as stated, the process also applies to stems with a labial consonant in the coda, as seen in example II.21d). It is also important to note that the labial consonant triggering the harmony does not have to be the final consonant of the stem, but may be another consonant found in the coda, as the /p/ in example f). The nature of the onset of the preceding syllable has no impact on the choice of the suffix vowel, as can be seen from example c), where the onset consonant is $[+LABIAL]$, but all rhyme sounds are $[-LABIAL]$.

It is this labial harmony that prompted the choice of $[LABIAL]$ as a feature operating for both consonants and vowels in Majang (section II.3). As can be seen from examples d) and e), both a round vowel and a labial consonant determine that the suffix vowel changes from /i/ to /u/. It is best to assume that the rounding of the vowel is the result of the same phonological rule (not two different rules), and describing this one rule is easier when it makes reference to only one phonological feature. Another crucial assumption is that this feature $[LABIAL]$ has a suprasegmental nature, determining that a whole syllable rhyme takes over the feature $[+LABIAL]$ when it is infected with it anywhere. In the labial-harmony rule it is therefore necessary to make reference to the syllable rhyme as a phonological unit:

Rule 4: labial harmony on verbal suffixes and epenthetic vowels

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \mathbf{V} \quad \rightarrow \quad \mathbf{V} \quad / \quad \mathbf{R} \quad + \quad ______ \\
 \begin{array}{l} [+HIGH] \\ [-LABIAL] \\ [-LONG] \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} [+LABIAL] \\ [+LABIAL] \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} [+LABIAL] \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

This rule states that a suffix morpheme containing the short vowel /i/ changes it to /u/ when following a morpheme ending in a syllable rhyme containing a labial sound. This does not apply to the long vowel /i/. The *I_P* suffix **-i^L** in the verb **ɲɛdɛ:mi^L** ‘we smile’ is not affected by the rule. As stated in section II.1.3 above, it is not always easy to determine whether a particular suffix contains a long vowel or a short vowel. One of these suffixes is the class marker of i-class verbs in some complex verb forms, as in **gábí:gídɛ** {**gáb-i-gíd-ɛ**} ‘it was given to’. If this were a short vowel, however, the labial-harmony rule would render this word as ***gábu:gúdɛ**. The fact that this form does not materialize is taken as proof that this vowel of doubtful length must be a long one.

Still, it needs to be pointed out that this labial-harmony rule is restricted to verbal suffixes and epenthetic vowels. No nominal suffixes were encountered that are subject to this phonological rule. The only exception to this is the possessive marker **-k**, which is only used on some nouns, and which is often introduced by the epenthetic vowel /i/. This epenthetic vowel is always subject to labial harmony, also when it precedes the sentence-final topicality clitic **=ɲ** and the subordination clitic **=k**.

II.5.4 Vowel-height harmony for ε-class verb suffixes

Another phonological rule is restricted to verbs of the ε-class (see section ε-class verbs, p. 248 below); the class-specific verbal-suffix allomorphs that begin with a mid-front [-ATR] vowel /ɛ/ will change this vowel to its [+ATR] counterpart /ɐ/ if the suffix follows a syllable containing a high vowel.

Example II.22: vowel height harmony on ε-class suffixes

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| a) 3 _S suffix | { kɛ:t-ɛ } | <i>he scatters</i> | { mɪɲ-ɛ } | <i>he covers</i> |
| b) 2 _P suffix | { kɛ:t-ɛr } | <i>you_{PL} scatter</i> | { mɪɲ-ɛr } | <i>you_{PL} cover</i> |
| c) 3 _P suffix | { kɛ:t-ɛr } | <i>they scatter</i> | { mɪɲ-ɛr } | <i>they cover</i> |
| d) INF, NEG | { kɛ:t-ɛt } | <i>to scatter, scattering</i> | { mɪɲ-ɛt } | <i>to cover, covering</i> |

This vowel-height harmony process is morphologically restricted to some suffixes applying on ε-class verbs¹⁸ and does not apply elsewhere in the language.

¹⁸ The impersonal marker **-ɛ^L**, for example, is not affected by this rule, including when it appears on ε-class verbs.

Rule 5: vowel-height harmony for ϵ -class suffixes

$$\epsilon \rightarrow \mathbf{e} \quad / \quad V \quad (C^2) \quad + \quad ______ \\ [+HIGH]$$

This height-harmony rule states that a suffix morpheme containing the vowel / ϵ / changes this to / \mathbf{e} / when following another morpheme having a high vowel /i/ or /u/ in its final syllable. This rule is not sensitive to vowel length, as opposed to the labial-harmony rule. Example II.22 shows that it applies to both long and short suffix vowels.

II.6 Tone

Majang has two distinctive tone levels, which are called high and low (*H* and *L*). High tones can be both automatically and non-automatically down-stepped in various situations (see section II.6.2). Falling and rising tones are created by combining high and low tones on the same syllable, which happens only at the end of a phonological word.

Roots of nouns and verbs are accompanied by different tonal melodies, as seen in the following examples. The number following the tone pattern indicates the frequency of occurrence in a 485-item sample of noun stems.

Example II.23: noun-tone melodies, as seen on bisyllabic and monosyllabic roots

- | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-------|
| a) <i>H</i> (186) | mú ná | <i>earthworm</i> | [ˉ ˉ] | pó ŋ | <i>group</i> | [ˉ] |
| b) <i>L</i> (83) | dà rì | <i>sky</i> | [_ ˉ] ¹⁹ | tà ŋ | <i>abscess</i> | [_] |
| c) <i>LH</i> (84) | dà lí | <i>hump</i> | [_ ˉ] | | | |
| d) <i>HL</i> (44) | dú bì | <i>moth</i> | [ˉ _] | tôm ²⁰ | <i>child</i> | [\] |
| e) <i>H^L</i> (82) | bó gó ^L | <i>stutter (N)</i> | [ˉ ˉ] | jón ^L | <i>lie (N)</i> | [ˉ] |

¹⁹ Pre-pausal low tones have a slight falling contour in Majang, which is of a purely phonetic nature. See also example d).

²⁰ A *HL* melody was only found on monosyllabic noun roots with a long vowel. Some ergative noun stems, such as **tôn** ‘child (*ERG*)’ have short vowels with a *HL* sequence. *LH* melodies do not exist on monosyllabic noun roots at all.

Example II.24: verb-tone melodies, as seen on bisyllabic roots²¹

- a) *H* **dégér** *know* [- -]
- b) *L* **ḡàdèj** *break* [- ˩]
- c) *LH* **ràgád** *prepare* [- -]

As can be seen here, the noun roots appear to be tonally more varied than the verb roots, which only come in the three different patterns *L*, *H* and *LH*. The pattern *L* occurs 235 times in a 355- item sample of verb stems, *H* 98 times, and *LH* 22 times.

Although all lexical roots are accompanied by lexical tones, some affixes are underlyingly toneless, and then copy the tone of the preceding syllable (see section II.6.3).

Based on the available evidence, it is very difficult to decide which of the two tones is marked or unmarked. The frequency of the tones certainly does not help in this matter. In the 2879-word text sample, the high tone appears only slightly more frequently on short vowels (1894 times) than the low tone (1847 times). On long vowels the frequency differs, though, with 668 high tones, compared to only 366 low tones. Contour tones are much less frequent, with 55 falling tones (*HL*) on short vowels balanced by 76 on long vowels, and 21 rising tones (*LH*) on short vowels compared to 29 on long vowels.

In order to read the examples given in this section, it may be necessary to first understand the tone-orthography conventions used in this study. These are explained in section II.9.

II.6.1 Tone association rules

Most morphemes have inherent tone melodies. The association of tones to the available syllables happens from left to right. The language counts syllables, not morae, so that a non-final long vowel regularly only receives one tone during the association process.

Example II.25: tone association

- a) { **dùgídík-í-ŋ** } *we hide ourselves* [- - - /]
 | | ^
 L H L H

²¹ The pattern *LH* is not found on monosyllabic roots.

- b) á:tùj razor [ˉ ˋ]
 | |
 H L

Example a) displays the association of one tone to two syllables, and the association of two tones to one syllable.

Example b) is shown as evidence that the Majang language counts syllables, not morae. If morae were counted, the *L* would already associate with the second component of the long vowel of the first syllable, resulting in *á:tùj. But this word would violate the aforementioned constraint regarding contour tones on non-final syllables. This constraint is evidence against a mora-counting nature of Majang, as these two principles are not compatible with each other – a language counting morae would require contour tones being able to occur on non-final syllables. In any case, all tone associations of Majang work very well under the assumption of a syllable-counting system.

II.6.2 Downstep

Majang uses downstep, both automatic and non-automatic. Whenever a *H* follows a surface *L*, its register is lowered, so that the *H* is pronounced on a lower pitch than any preceding *H* in the same clause. At clause boundaries, the register is reset. This is called automatic downstep.

There are also many instances, however, when a high tone following a high tone has its register lowered. There appear to be two different causes for this:

1. Some morphemes are accompanied by a floating low tone, which is not audible on the word itself, but which lowers the register of the following word. This non-automatic downstep usually²² operates across word boundaries.

Example II.26: non-automatic downstep caused by floating low tones

- a) béá^L ná:k my spear [ˉ ˋ ˋ]
 | |
 H L H
- b) bólból ná:k my calf of leg [ˉ ˋ ˋ]
 | |
 H H

²² Example IV.24 presents an analysis where the floating *L* is assumed to manifest itself on an attached suffix.

In both examples, a noun with a final *H* is followed by the *1s.SG.ABS* possessive pronoun, which also has an inherent *H*. In example a), this high tone on the pronoun is downstepped, whereas in example b), it is on the same register as the preceding high tone. In order to account for this difference, it is necessary to assume that the noun in example a) is accompanied by some device that lowers the register for the rest of the clause. The noun in example b), however, is not accompanied by such a register-lowering device. For the purposes of this section, it is not important to decide whether this device lowering the register is part of the preceding noun stem or an affix that is only attached to the nouns of a particular inflection class (see the section on singular marking on p. 150 for more information). In either case, the proposed analysis assumes that the noun in example a) is accompanied by a floating *L* that causes the lowering of the register on the following possessive pronoun. This floating *L* is absent in example b), and no phonological reason beyond posing such a floating *L* can be identified that determines which noun causes a downstep and which doesn't. In this study, I call this kind of non-automatic downstep *word downstep*, as it crosses word boundaries. In the 2879-word text sample, this kind of downstep occurs 882 times. As this floating low tone is a part of the lexical material of the utterance, it is in this study always written (with the superscript ^L), even if it does not have a phonetic effect preceding words beginning with a low tone.

2. When two separate underlying high tones come together within a word across morpheme boundaries, the first syllable of the second morpheme is affected by a lowering of the register. This happens in order to avoid an obvious violation of the Obligatory Contour Principle. Cahill (2004, p. 5) lists a number of other African languages (Kishambaa, Supyire and Namwanga) which share this behavior. The situation in Namwanga particularly mirrors the evidence in Majang (Bickmore, 2000, p. 302f). This non-automatic downstep only operates between morphemes within a word. Two high tones meeting across word boundaries do not trigger downstep if no floating *L* is involved (see example II.26b). The analysis proposed here does not assume the presence of a floating *L* between the two underlying high tones triggering the morpheme downstep. Such a floating *L* is present neither underlyingly, nor as a product of a phonological rule creating the downstep. The downstep is a lowering of the register, and is not caused by the insertion of an unrealized low tone. This agrees in principle with Odden's (1986, p. 366) interpretation of the

facts in Kishambaa. This form of non-automatic downstep is therefore fundamentally different from the word downstep introduced above, and is accordingly indicated by a different orthographic symbol (*).

Example II.27: non-automatic downstep within a word

có:*mój *tree, sp.* [- -]
 | |
 H *H*

This noun consists of the root morpheme plus the non-productive nominalizer **-ój** (see example IV.125). I call this kind of non-automatic downstep *morpheme downstep*, as it crosses morpheme boundaries only, but never word boundaries. This kind of downstep is much less frequent than the word downstep, with only 87 occurrences in the 2879-word text sample.

Both types of non-automatic downstep may involve the same word, as the following noun phrase illustrates:

Example II.28: combination of downsteps

wáká*cáké^L **gámé** [- - - - - -]
 {**wákác-ák-é^L** **gám-é^L**}
crossroads-PL-LOC *POSS\1s.PL-LOC*
at my crossroads

This example has two downsteps operating on the noun **wáká*cáké^L**. The first downstep following the stem **wákác** is caused by the addition of the plural suffix **-ák**, which has its own underlying high tone. The high tone on **wákác** spreads out over both syllables of the stem and therefore stays on the same register. The presence of the new *H* on **-ák** is announced by the morpheme downstep between the two morphemes. The *H* on **-ák** spreads out to the next morpheme, the toneless locative marker **-é^L**. As no new tone is involved, the register stays the same on the two syllables **-áké^L**. Although the locative marker **-é^L** is toneless as such, and therefore available for the copying of the *H* on **-ák**, it is accompanied by a floating low tone. This floating *L* then causes the *H* on **gámé^L** to be downstepped, according to the principle of word downstep.

Although minimal pairs entirely based on non-automatic downstep are rare, they do exist. Quite frequently the contrast is used for the paradigmatic distinction between absolutive nouns (*ABS*) and nominative nouns (*NOM*).

Example II.29: minimal pair based on downstep

- a) **dɛ̀nà wár^L kékàr.** [_ _ ^ˉ _ˉ]
 { **dɛ̀n-à wár^L kékàr** }
see-1_{S.CJ} dog_{SG.ABS} again
I see a dog again.
- b) **káwɗí^L wár kékàr.** [^ˉ ^ˉ _ _ˉ]
 { **káw-ɗí^L wár kékàr** }
bite-AP.3_S dog_{SG.NOM} again
The dog bites again.

In both examples, the noun **wár** ‘dog’ is followed by the same adverb **kékàr**, which begins with a *H* and therefore serves well as an indicator for downstep caused by preceding words. Downstep of **kékàr** happens in example a), but not in example b), which illustrates that the forms for absolutive and nominative can be subtly different for some nouns (other nouns do not display that difference through downstep, if at all – see section IV.1.3.1 for details on how the various noun forms are distinguished morphologically).

The two different kinds of non-automatic downstep in Majang provide an excellent tool for determining word boundaries in Majang. This is illustrated by the following examples, where the absence of a downstep between the words of example d) proves to be crucial:

Example II.30: downstep and word boundaries

- a) **dé:gáɾi:** [^ˉ ^ˉ _ˉ] *we sleep*
 { **dé:gáɾ-i^L** }
sleep-1_{P.DJ}
- b) **dé:gáɾi: kó** [^ˉ ^ˉ _ _ˉ] *we just slept*
 { **dé:gáɾ-i^L kó** }
sleep-1_{P.DJ} RECPST
- c) **dé:gáɾàrí** [^ˉ ^ˉ _] *you_{pl} sleep*
 { **dé:gáɾ-àrí** }
sleep-2_{P.DJ}
- d) **dé:gáɾàrí kó** [^ˉ ^ˉ _ _ˉ] *you_{pl} just slept*
 { **dé:gáɾ-àrí kó** }
sleep-2_{P.DJ} RECPST

These examples show that the recent past marker **kó** always carries a high tone, regardless of the preceding tones, which implies that the high tone is

part of the underlying representation of this marker. It is also shown that the *H* on **kɔ** is not downstepped following a high-toned morpheme (example d). This proves that the morpheme downstep does not apply to the marker **kɔ**, which in turn proves that **kɔ** is neither a suffix nor a clitic, as it was analyzed by Bender (1983, p. 134) or Unseth (1989b, p. 108), but an independent word (the same can be assumed, by extension, for all other tense markers of the language).

Unfortunately, the neat picture presented so far is disturbed by a number of verbal paradigms where the application of the morpheme-downstep rule does not suffice to explain the tonal variation between stems lexically ending on a high tone and those ending on a low tone. The following examples are taken from the relative-past paradigms presented in example IV.165.

Example II.31: unexplained tonal behavior in some complex verbal paradigms

- a) {pɛd} ‘finish’ *L*-melody
 Is pɛd:fɔ́ {pɛd-fɔ́-a^L} *after I had finished*
- b) {ibá:l} ‘play’ *LH*-melody
 Is ibá:l:fɔ́ {ibá:l-fɔ́-a^L} *after I had played*

Both examples take *i*-class stems ending on a consonant and add the relative-past marker **-fɔ́**, followed by the toneless *Is* person marker **-a^L**. Example a) gives the impression that the relative-past marker has an underlying high tone, which is realized without modification following the low-toned stem **pɛd** ‘finish’. But following a stem ending on a high tone, as in example b) following **ibá:l** ‘play’, the suffix high tone is not downstepped, as one would expect after the application of the morpheme-downstep rule. These examples suggest the presence of a phonological word boundary between the stem and the relative-past marker, but such a boundary has no place in these examples, because the syllabification treats the relative-past verbs as single words – it is not reasonable to assume a phonological word boundary inside the syllables /dɪ/ (a) and /lɪ/ (b). One could also assume a tone merger of the two high tones as a strategy to avoid a violation of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP), but the language does not make use of this strategy elsewhere. Another unsatisfactory way to describe what is happening is to assume two tonal allomorphs of the relative-past marker: one allomorph has an underlying high tone in the environment of a stem-final low tone. The other allomorph is toneless in the environment of a stem-final high tone, and it

therefore copies the stem tone without triggering the morpheme-downstep. This allomorphy rule is suffering from a lack of phonological motivation.

A better way to look at this assumes that morphemes with this behavior follow a tone-replacement rule that replaces all stem tones with the high tone of the morpheme until it is blocked by a stem *L*. The morpheme **-ɪɖ** (from now on marked with the super-high tone marker to indicate its tone-replacement behavior) replaces the stem tones by its own high tone. In example II.31a), this is blocked by the low tone on the stem, and in example b), it succeeds for the second stem syllable, which has an underlying *H*, but not for the first syllable of the stem, which has a blocking *L*. The absence of word-internal downstep in this word makes any analysis that maintains the association of the original stem *H* untenable.

This behavior is restricted to the more complex verb paradigms involving subordinate-tense forms or direction markers (section IV.2.3). These will be marked by the super-high tone marker, just as some other morphemes (particularly infinitive and noun-plural markers) whose tone-replacement behavior is not blocked by low tones on the stem.

II.6.3 Toneless morphemes and polar tones

Not all morphemes of the Majang language have their own underlying tone. Although all stem morphemes of Majang and all particles have their own inherent tone or tone melody, some suffixes are not specified for tone in the lexicon.

Example II.32: toneless *3_{P.DJ}* morpheme

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) ɪbá:lɪr^L
{ɪbá:l-ɪr ^L }
<i>play-3_{P.DJ}</i>
<i>they play</i> | b) lànɪr
{làn-ɪr ^L }
<i>find-3_{P.DJ}</i>
<i>they find</i> |
|---|---|

The *3_{P.DJ}* morpheme **-ɪr^L** for the *i*-class verbs always behaves like in these examples, and in the same way the *3_{P.DJ}* morpheme **-ɛr^L** for the *ɛ*-class verbs. Following a stem ending in a high tone (example a), it carries a non-downstepped high tone. Following a stem ending in a low tone (example b), it carries a low tone. This variation is best explained by a simple tone-spreading rule which assumes that the suffix is inherently toneless. The morpheme-downstep rule shown above does not allow the high suffix tone in example

a) to be analyzed as an underlying tone, as it would then be downstepped. It must be analyzed as the same tone as the high tone on the last stem syllable, spreading over to the suffix.

Example II.33: tone spreading to toneless morphemes

- a) ìbá:lír^L b) làŋìr
 $\{\text{ìbá:l-ir}^L\}$ $\{\text{làŋ-ir}^L\}$

 $L \quad H \quad L$ $L \quad L$

As can be seen in these examples, the situation is somewhat complicated by the presence of a floating low tone on many of these toneless morphemes. This means that when the *3P.DJ* suffix $-\text{ir}^L$ copies the preceding stem tone and this results in a high tone on the suffix, the next word will then be downstepped, which implies a word-downstep situation and therefore the involvement of a floating low tone. This is also the case in the following examples:

Example II.34: toneless *PL*-morpheme $-\epsilon^L$ with floating low tone

- a) $\text{kú}^L\text{rójé}^L$ gá:nk b) kùtùrè gá:nk
 $\{\text{kú}^L\text{rój-}\epsilon^L\}$ $\{\text{kùtùr-}\epsilon^L\}$
donkey-PL.ABS POSS\IS.PL.ABS *hog-PL.ABS POSS\IS.PL.ABS*
my donkeys *my hogs*

The plural suffix $-\epsilon^L$ copies the stem tone in both examples a) and b). But in example a), the high tone on the following possessive pronoun is downstepped. Since the tone on the suffix in example b) is already low, no non-automatic downstep is applied to the following possessive pronoun – the high tone on gá:nk is automatically downstepped compared to previous high tones in the utterance.

This behavior is not what one would expect according to established phonological universals. One of the constraints relating to tone according to *Autosegmental Phonology* is a strong dislike of languages for floating low tones and for toneless syllables. Such constraints²³ can of course be violated, as apparently the Majang language does here, but it is striking to see that in this situation, there should actually be no need for such a violation. The morpheme $-\epsilon^L$ is a syllable and has an available low tone attached to it; one

²³ Cahill (2004, p. 13) translates Goldsmith's (1976) *Well-Formedness Conditions* into *Basic Tone Mapping (Well-Formedness) Constraints*, of which the two constraints **TONELESS* and **(L)* are relevant in evaluating the behavior of Majang.

would therefore expect that this low tone just becomes associated with the syllable, in this way eliminating the offending presence of both the toneless syllable and the unassociated floating low tone. The Majang language instead opts for leaving the floating low tone unassociated, while dealing with the toneless syllable through tone copying from the stem. Other morphemes, such as the 3_{P.CJ} marker **-èr** on **dějèr** 'they want', have a fixed low tone, which is always realized on the syllable itself. There is no apparent alternative to an analysis which assumes that there is an underlying difference between an associated low tone on some morphemes (such as on **-èr** '3_{P.CP}') and a non-associated, floating low tone on other morphemes, such as the noun-plural marker **-e^L**. The underlying representation of these two morphemes must be different, as they behave differently in word formation.

At least some phonologists claim that each floating tone *must* connect to an available toneless TBU. The *Tone Mapping Rule* in Halle and Vergnaud (1982, p. 67), which they adopted from Williams (1976), would clearly rule out Majang's behavior. One way to uphold the Tone Mapping Rule is an assumption that the floating *L* is created in the process of the tone-spreading. Such a conclusion might be drawn as a result of the fact that almost all toneless morphemes behave like the 3_{P.DJ} marker **-ir^L** or the plural marker **-e^L** – they have an inherent floating *L*. This could invite an analysis involving a rule that somehow adds this floating low tone to a toneless morpheme whenever the resulting surface tone on the suffix is high. Unfortunately, this proposed rule is rendered untenable by the presence of a few toneless morphemes without a floating *L* when a *H* spreads on the toneless syllable. Some non-modified plural nominative suffixes, for example, clearly copy the stem tone without using a floating low tone, as in **càkómá** < **càkóm-a** 'friends (NOM)' or **wártún** < **wár-tun** 'dogs (NOM)'. There is therefore no rule in Majang that places a floating *L* following high-tone copying. All other attempts to maintain the constraint would require assumptions about tone replacement on what is here called a toneless morpheme, and such an analysis would make very complicated what can easily be described in terms of tone spreading. Other languages display similar violations, such as the Bantu languages Kikuria and Chiyao (Odden, 1995, p. 459), although the floating tone involved in those languages is a high tone. In the following, all morphemes with a similar behavior as the 3_{P.DJ} markers **-er^L** and **-ir^L**, or the plural marker **-e^L**, are represented in the examples as being toneless with an unassociated floating low tone. Other analyses of their behavior may be possible, but I leave these to be worked out by those who have a higher interest in main-

taining the validity of the above universal that such morphemes should not exist in any language.

One particular morpheme of the Majang language, the *IP.DJ* suffix on the verb, also shows variation, but in a different manner than toneless suffixes.

Example II.35: polar tone on the *IP.DJ* suffix

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) tòní:^L
{tòn-í:^L}
<i>tell-IP.DJ</i>
<i>we tell</i> | b) gú:gúpí:
{gú:gúp-í:^L}
<i>enter-IP.DJ</i>
<i>we enter</i> |
|---|---|

The *IP.DJ* suffix consistently has a high tone following a low-toned stem (example a), and a low tone following a high-toned stem (example b). If it receives a high tone, it again causes downstep on a following high-toned word. It is therefore assumed that the suffix in its underlying representation is equipped with both a polar tone and a floating low tone, and is therefore represented in the lexicon as **-í:^L**, where the superscript cross symbol represents the polar tone.

For the two Gur languages Moore and Lama the authors Kenstowicz, Nikiema and Ourso (1988) demonstrated that polar tone goes back to an underlying high tone that is dissimilated when following another high tone as an instance of *Meeussen's Rule* (*HH* → *HL*), which applies to avoid violations of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP). If this were the case in Majang, then the underlying representation of the *IP.DJ* suffix would be **-í:^L**. It would keep its shape when following a low-toned stem, and when following a high tone, OCP would force it to be realized as **-í**. Such an analysis would have the advantage of providing the suffix with a more regular position in the paradigm, where most other person markers also have a high tone, such as *IS.DJ* **-á** or *2S.DJ* **-ín**. The conjoint forms of these, including the 1st person plural, have a fixed low tone: **-à**, **-ín** and **-í**.

In spite of these benefits, such an analysis is not tenable for Majang. There are countless morphemes in Majang with a lexical high tone that do not undergo Meeussen's Rule to avoid a violation of OCP. These include the other members of the disjoint person paradigm listed above. When these follow a high-toned stem, they are subject to morpheme downstep, which is the language's device of choice to deal with OCP violations. It could be argued that the long vowel of the *IP* suffix may trigger a different strategy, but there are other long-voweled morphemes such as the disjoint impersonal marker **-é:^L**

(as in 6ðlɔːrɛː^L ‘one grows’) that refute this idea. It undergoes morpheme downstep like all other high-toned suffixes. Consequently, the only way to describe the *IP.DJ* morpheme is to assume an underlying representation that includes its polar-tone behavior²⁴. Majang can therefore be listed among the languages that support Newman’s (1995, p. 775) and Cahill’s (2004) idea that at least for some languages one can assume genuine tonal polarity.

II.6.4 The functional load of tone in Majang

Lexical minimal pairs with regard to tone are not difficult to find in Majang:

Example II.36: tone minimal pairs

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----|---------|----|-------------------|---------|
| a) cɔːmɔ́j | H ⁺ H | [^ˈ ˈ] | tree, sp. | vs. | cɔːmɔ́j | LH | [ˈˈ] | quiver |
| b) tán ^L | H | [ˈ] | cow | vs. | tàn | L | [ˈ] ²⁵ | abscess |
| c) ɲédán | H | [ˈˈ] | bee | vs. | ɲédán | L | [ˈˈ] | tooth |
| d) kǎːɲ ²⁶ | LH | [ˈˈ] | he fights | vs. | káːɲ | H | [ˈˈ] | they go |

On top of the heavy lexical functional load of tone, Bender (1983, p. 117) states that “*the principal function of tone seems to be grammatical*” in Majang, without going into any details. It is indeed true that some morphological processes are characterized by tonal changes to the stem of a noun or verb (see section IV.1.3 for more details). More importantly, tone expresses some important syntactic functions – sometimes even as the only means:

Example II.37: ergative and absolutive distinguished by tone

- | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
| a) èɲádɪr | kùtúr | b) èɲádɪr | kùtúr |
| {èɲádɪr-ɪr} | {kùtúr} | {èɲádɪr-ɪr} | {kùtúr} |
| smell-CF.3S | hog\SG.ERG | smell-CF.3S | hog\SG.ABS |
| a hog smells (tr.) | | he smells a hog | |

²⁴ See Cahill (2004) for an analysis of polar tone in the Gur language Kɔnni which also is not OCP-driven. As he works in the Optimality Theory framework, he creates a morphologically restricted constraint **POLAR** to anchor the process outside of the realm of pure phonology.

²⁵ Pre-pausal low tone usually is phonetically realized as a tone falling from low.

²⁶ Because contour tones are much less frequent than level tones, minimal pairs involving contour tones are hard to find. Example d) therefore compares two different lexical roots in two different morphological contexts.

In examples a) and b), the only difference between *hog* in the absolutive and in the ergative case is the tone, which is *L-HL* for the ergative and *L-H* for the absolutive.

Another syntactic function expressed by tone is the conjoint-disjoint marking on the verb. The conjoint form is used for non-topical absolutive NPs:

Example II.38: conjoint and disjoint marking:

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) ɲù:lè bɛ́á ^L .
{ɲù:l-è bɛ́á ^L }
<i>break-3S.CJ spear\SG.ABS</i>
<i>He broke the spear.</i> | b) ɲù:lɛ́ tɔ́n bɛ́á ^L .
{ɲù:l-é tɔ́n bɛ́á ^L }
<i>break-3S.DJ boy\SG.NOM spear\SG.ABS</i>
<i>The boy broke the spear.</i> |
|--|---|

The conjoint form of the 3s suffix in example a) has a low tone. The disjoint form instead has a fixed high tone (example b).

These examples show that tone plays a major role in the Majang language, and needs to be considered very carefully in order to understand not only the phonology, but also the morphology and the syntax of the language.

II.7 Word Structure

Beyond what was stated so far on syllable and stem/root structures of Majang, only a few observations need to be added for phonological words.

Majang phonological words are in principle not restricted in length or number of syllables, although, of course, there are practical limitations, based on the needs of the speakers to form meaningful words with the word-formation processes available to them. Words consisting of five syllables, such as **dégégéríkì**: ‘we know each other’ are fairly frequent. On the other hand, very short words are common in Majang, such as the vowel-only conjunction **à**.

As already pointed out, the Majang language provides some clues about phonological word boundaries. The most important of these is the word-internal downstep rule which lowers the second of two adjacent underlying high tones within a word (see section II.6.2). The demarcating function of this rule was illustrated by example II.30. Another tonal word-boundary marker is a contour tone, which can only appear on the final syllable of a phonological word.

II.8 Sentence Tone

Apart from the two tone levels and downstep, Majang also displays some tonal phenomena which operate on higher levels than the phonological word. I call these phenomena *sentence tone* in order to distinguish them from less predictable emotive pitch phenomena which are often called intonation in the literature and are unhelpfully lumped together with what is called sentence tone here. This study does not address intonation in this narrower sense of the word, but restricts the description to phenomena that can be linked to the syntactic structure of the utterance.

II.8.1 Connecting sentence tone

In complex sentences, a non-final clause and even a non-final noun phrase can be marked by a final sharply rising tone, which also resets the register to a higher position. This seems to happen at all clause boundaries; whether a particular phrase is involved in this appears to be less predictable. The function of this sentence tone is to warn the speaker that the sentence has not reached its end, but more is yet to come.

The following example from a natural text shows the effects of connecting sentence tone:

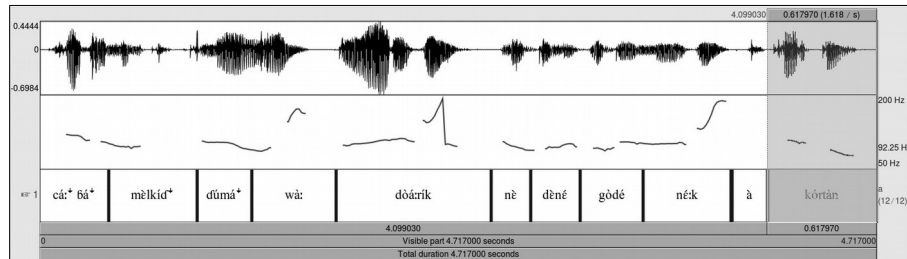


Figure 7: effects of connecting sentence tone

The sentence in the example above consists of several clauses and phrases:

Example II.39: connecting sentence tone

nē cá:^L mèlkíd:^L dūmá:^L wà: dòárík, nē dēné gòdé né:k à kórtàn.

nē cá:^L mèl-k-íd:^L dūmá:^L wà: dòár=k

CONJ then arrive-ANT-CP.3S.DJ owner\NOM.SG.MOD house\DAT.SG hunt=SUB

nè dèn-é gòdé né:k à kórtàn
 CONJ see-3S.DJ house POSS\3S.SG.ABS CONJ door\SG.ABS

When the owner came home from hunting, he saw that his house was closed.

At the end of a non-final clause, the pitch rises to a frequency far exceeding that of a regular *H*. In the case of the first phrase, which ends in the low tone word **wà** 'house (*DAT*)', the resulting pitch contour extends from less than 90 Hz going all the way up to 170 Hz. The next two non-final units end with high tones on syllables with a consonantal coda. In these cases an extra syllable is included, consisting of the epenthetic vowel [i], with a pitch contour from 140-200 Hz and 130-190 Hz respectively. The beginning frequency of a high tone is usually between 120 and 130 Hz with this speaker. This tonal behavior of non-final clauses and phrases was observed with several different speakers and seems therefore to be well established in the grammar.

II.8.2 Interrogative sentence tone

Interrogative clauses receive a sentence-tone marking similar to the connecting sentence tone, with pitch levels rising well above the normal high tone frequency. This can be observed in the following example:

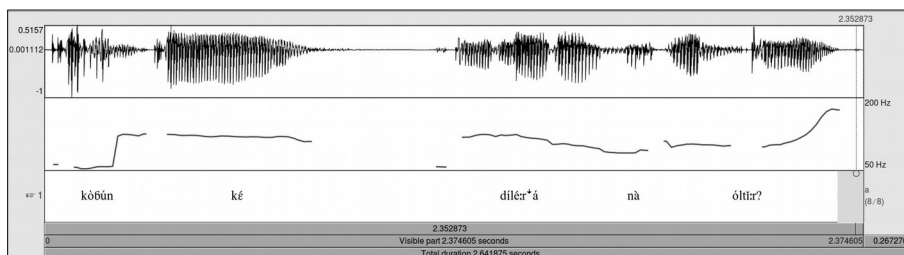


Figure 8: interrogative sentence tone

Example II.40: interrogative sentence tone

kòdún ké dílé:rá ná óltír^{L?}
 kòd-ín ké díl-er-á ná ólt-ír^L
 think-2S.DJ QUOT bring-CF.1S.DJ 2S.DAT.CJ fish-PL.ABS
Do you think I bring you fish?

In this example of a yes-no question, the final word **óltír^L** 'fish (*PL*)' has a *H* on both syllables. This *H* again rises to 175 Hz, a frequency normally out of range for regular high tones. This interrogative sentence tone is not only

used for yes-no questions, but also for questions with interrogative pronouns, which in Majang usually appear at the end of the clause and therefore are the carrier of this sentence tone.

II.9 Transcription and Orthography

The orthography of Majang has not been officially settled, although literature production is already under way. For the purposes of this study, the following conventions are used to unambiguously transcribe all phonological distinctive features:

The consonants and vowels are represented as shown in the phoneme charts (Tables 1 and 3). Long vowels are represented by the vowel plus the phonetic length symbol, e.g. <aː>, <oː>; two identical consonants meeting at morpheme boundaries are represented by the doubling of the consonant character, e.g. <kk> – they are pronounced as geminated consonants. As seen in section II.1.3, the representation needs to distinguish between long vowels and sequences of two identical vowels, which are in this study indicated by doubling the vowel symbol, instead of using the IPA length marker.

Tones are represented according to the following conventions: a high tone is marked by an acute accent (e.g. <á>), and a low tone by a grave accent (e.g. <à>). The tone is marked where it is associated after the application of all lexical rules. Therefore it is not necessary to indicate automatic downstep. Automatic downstep happens when a low and a high tone are in sequence. Non-automatic morpheme-downstep is indicated by the symbol <˥>, and floating low tones by <˦>. Rising tones (*LH*) are marked by the symbol <ǎ>, and falling tones (*HL*) by the symbol <ǎ̃>.

Some morphemes of Majang are inherently toneless and copy the tone of the preceding syllable. In the surface representation used for most examples, these morphemes are shown with the resulting surface tones. But when reference is made to the morphemes as such, they are shown without any tone marks. Similarly, one morpheme, the *IP.DJ* suffix -ɪ̃^L takes the opposite tone of the preceding syllable (see section II.6.3). In the surface representation used in this study, this suffix is shown with the resulting surface tone. But when reference is made to the suffix as such, it is shown as above with a superscript cross, to indicate that this suffix has a polar tone underlyingly.

A falling tone can be a tone falling from the same level as the *H* on the preceding syllable, or from a downstepped *H*. This is, for example, an important distinction between some conjoint and disjoint *3s.TF* verb forms, as in **ɲárgê:d** [ˈ ˨ ˨] < {**ɲá-r-gê:d**} ‘*go-TF.3s.DJ*’ and **ɲá-r’gê:d** [ˈ ˨ ˨] < {**ɲá-r-gê:d**} ‘*go-TF.3s.CJ*’. This is caused by the different behaviors of the two morphemes; the first copies the *H* of the preceding syllable and builds the contour from that, and the second builds the contour from its own newly introduced *H*. To show the difference between the two forms of the *TF.3s* forms, the one starting with a copied *H* has the marker <ˆ>, and the one with its own *H* has the marker <˨>. This difference is shown orthographically only for the underlying representation, which does not show morpheme downstep.

A final complication is presented by suffixes such as the infinitive marker /-ɛː˥/, which places a single high tone on the complete word. To distinguish morphemes of this kind from those which copy an existing high tone, and from those which just have their own underlying high tone without affecting the word stem, any reference to such a suffix makes use of the super-high-tone marker <˥>, so that the underlying representation of the above infinitive marker is /-ɛː˥/. The same notation is used for morphemes with a tone-replacement behavior that is blocked by low tones on the stem, such as the relative-past markers {-ɪ˥d} and {-ɛ˥d} seen in examples IV.165 d-i).

Majang publications that already exist use a practical orthography that is quite close to the one used here, with the following differences:

- Tone has so far not been marked in the orthography, but the Gambella Region authorities are considering ways in which the most important grammatical distinctions can be written.
- <s> is used for /c/, and <j> for /ɟ/, and <y> is used for /j/.
- The implosives are often written as digraphs <bh> and <dh>.
- Long vowels and double consonants are written by doubling the respective character.
- Publications vary in their treatment of the vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, and the nasals /ɲ/ and /ɲ/. Some do not distinguish the open-mid vowels from /e/ and /o/, and they treat the nasals as digraphs <ng, ny> (see the texts in Getachew (2014) for this orthography). Other publications use special characters <ɛ, ɔ, ɲ, ɲ> for these sounds, which require advanced technical solutions to be available to the typists.

Part III: Basic Syntax

The grammatical part of this language description is divided into three major sections. *Part IV: Morphology* introduces the various forms encountered in the Majang language, whereas *Part V: Other Syntactic and Pragmatic Topics* provides a detailed account of how the Majang language creates larger grammatical structures, mostly from a functional perspective. But before introducing the forms and structures, this preliminary part III is needed, which sets the context by presenting the various systems that contribute to the understanding of the information structure in the clause. The following concepts need to be discussed in some detail, so that they can be used in the succeeding parts IV and V: topicality, differential ergative marking, differential-S marking, pre-verbal and post-verbal case marking (and other aspects of basic constituent order typology), the conjoint- and disjoint distinction, and the sentence-final topicality marker (*SFT*). Each of these is introduced in the following sections and subsections.

This means that these concepts have to be introduced without detailed information on forms and paradigms; sufficient information is given to show that indeed there is a justification for the establishment of these concepts, but all formal and structural details are introduced in the following parts IV and V. This hopefully reduces any repetition to a necessary minimum.

III.1 Topicality

One of the most salient features of the Majang language is that it divides most nominal constituents of a clause into either topical or non-topical constituents. Topicality is crucial for the grammar, as the differential case marking of *A* and *S* (see section III.2.1.2) is determined by the discourse-pragmatic function of topicality. This means that syntactic and pragmatic factors operate on the same morphological category of case marking. Other morpho-syntactic devices, such as the conjoint-disjoint distinction (see section III.3) and the placement of the sentence-final topicality marker (*SFT*, see section III.4), are also determined by topicality.

The concept of *topicality* has been used with a range of meanings by past and present linguists, and it is important to clarify how it is to be used in this language description. Andrews (1985, p. 77) provides a helpful overview of how *topicality* was defined in the previous literature: topicality is equated sometimes with givenness, or with aboutness, or with definiteness, or with specificity, or with background, or with the point of view of the speaker, or, finally, with salience properties such as animacy, humanness, or first-personhood. The definition with reference to aboutness was frequently applied by linguists, as it has a close relationship with the concept of *topic*, as developed by Li (1976) or Lambrecht (1994, p. 131), who defines topics as follows: “*A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent.*”

This propositional definition of topics cannot be applied to explain phenomena such as differential case marking, *SFT*-assignment or conjoint-disjoint marking in Majang, as it excludes instances of constituents that need to be seen as topical by the way in which they behave syntactically. According to Lambrecht’s definition each non-thetical proposition is expected to have one topic, which is why he calls them sentence topics or clause topics (p. 117). But in Majang there can be more or less than one topical constituent in a proposition. More encompassing and therefore more helpful in the case of Majang are definitions of topicality making use of the other factors listed by Andrews – they describe what Lambrecht calls *discourse topics* (p. 117).

Givón (1990, p. 902ff) provides one of these discourse-oriented definitions, identifying the following factors that affect the topicality of a given noun phrase (NP):

- a) referential accessibility – if there is a lot of context that allows the presupposition of a given NP, this NP has a high topicality. This context can be provided by the speech situation as deictic context, or by the cultural knowledge as generically shared context, or by the text itself in the preceding discourse.
- b) thematic importance – an NP that refers to an entity or participant that has a great impact regarding the development of the discourse has a high topicality. The referent or concept named by such an NP will be mentioned frequently in the discourse.

A definition of topicality along Givón’s lines would therefore include Andrews’s parameters of givenness, specificity, or definiteness. But it turns out that it is necessary to go beyond Givón’s definition and to adopt McGregor’s

(2010, p. 1622) concept of *expectedness* as a defining parameter – an agent NP in the Australian optional-ergative languages Gooniyandi and Warrwa is *not* showing ergative morphology when it is *expected* to fill the agent role of a clause. Expectedness according to McGregor entails the idea of givenness, specificity and definiteness for agent participants; the higher an NP's value for these variables, the more expected it is to fill the role of *A*. It is my claim that discourse topicality is perceived by Majang speakers and hearers in similar ways, and that this is not just restricted to the case-assignment for *S* and *A*. The following definition of topicality is assumed to hold in Majang:

An NP is topical when its referent is expected – based on the discourse context – as a filler of its particular grammatical role.

To illustrate the application of this definition, in the narrative of Dog and Donkey (section VI.1.1), the third important participant of the story, Hyena, is first mentioned in a background clause alerting the audience to his presence:

Example III.1: introduction of an important participant

nè ɓáˀ cà:ɗíˀ ɓákˀ làkè ɗũŋédˀ.
 nè ɓáˀ cà:ɗíˀ ɓákˀ làk-è ɗũŋédˀ
 CONJ REMPST there REF\REMPST have-IMPS.CJ hyena\SG.ABS
 There was a hyena at that place.

Not surprisingly, being mentioned for the first time, Hyena has no givenness or accessibility as a participant, and therefore is coded as non-topical (being the object of an impersonal verb that in this construction serves as an existential marker). The non-topicality is shown by the use of the conjoint form (see section III.3) on the verb. This introduction of a participant as a *P* is consistent with observations made by Du Bois (1987, p. 827) according to his concept of *Preferred Argument Structure*.

The next mention of Hyena is in a speech clause uttered by Dog, who warns his friend Donkey about Hyena's existence.

Example III.2: introduction of a participant in a speech clause

làkè íɗíˀ cìnò kóˀ tɪnáˀ mèlki ŋónk, íɗíˀ cìnò rìjéˀ ké ɗũŋédík.
 làk-è íɗíˀ cì-n-ò kóˀ tɪn-áˀ mèl-kí
 have-IMPS.CJ person\SG.ABS REL-SG-PROX NEARFUT 1P-DAT arrive-CP.3S.DJ
 ŋónk íɗíˀ cì-n-ò rìj-éˀ ké ɗũŋédˀ=k
 SUB person\SG.ABS REL-SG-PROX call-IMPS.DJ QUOT hyena\SG.ABS=SUB
 There is someone who is coming to us, someone called Hyena.

Although this is already the second mention of Hyena in the narrative, it is the first time that Donkey hears about him. Donkey is the fictional hearer of this clause, and for him Hyena is not yet a given participant. In the direct quote, Hyena is coded in the absolutive case as object of an impersonal verb ‘called’. The topicality status of **dũŋédʰ** cannot be established by morphosyntactic means, but the referent is first referred to by the absolutive NP **ídfítʰ** that is identified by the preceding conjoint verb form as being not topical.

The next mention of Hyena is again syntactically ambiguous:

Example III.3: first reference to an important participant

nè èŋádɪr dũŋédʰ à jòwé:dfiŋ.
nè èŋád-ɪr dũŋédʰ à jòwé:dfi=ŋ
 CONJ smell-CF.3S hyena\SG.ABS CONJ far\3S=SFT
He (Dog) smelled Hyena far away.

Hyena again shows up in the absolutive form **dũŋédʰ**. It is not at the end of the sentence, so the *SFT*-clitic (see section III.4) cannot be applied. The preceding verb also does not distinguish between conjoint or disjoint (see section III.3). These two diagnostic devices often help to distinguish between topical and non-topical use. But by now Hyena has been established as an important and somewhat threatening entity, so he is not unexpected as the filler of the *P* slot of a verb of sensing. Therefore, Hyena is topical in this sentence, alongside the equally topical *A* Dog, who is not expressed beyond indexing on the verb in this clause. This analysis by conjecture is confirmed when shortly afterwards Hyena himself appears on the scene, becoming an activated participant, “activated” or “active” meaning to be “currently lit up, a concept in a person’s focus of consciousness at a particular moment” (Chafe, 1987, p. 22ff).

Example III.4: reference to an activated participant

nè mèlkí dũŋéʰ nè:kêŋ.
nè mèl-kí dũŋéʰ nè:k-é=ŋ
 CONJ arrive-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SFT
Hyena himself came.

In this clause Hyena appears as *S*, garbed in its shorter nominative form, the case form that applies to all kinds of topical subjects. The case is confirmed by the unambiguous nominative case marking on the following possessive pronoun which serves in this example to provide a strong definite reference, and by the use of the *SFT*-clitic (see section III.4) on the NP headed by **dũŋéʰ**.

Without these other clues, the form might also be interpreted as marked by the ergative case. From this point onward, almost to the end of the narrative, Hyena is either only mentioned by indexing on the verb, or in a few places by the nominative case form. He has become an activated participant that only needs to be mentioned as an NP when the subject of a clause changes (it goes back and forth between Dog and Hyena). Then, at the very climax of the story, Hyena once more shows up as a non-topical NP:

Example III.5: topicality not marked on an accessible participant

nè kàwè dũgéd^L cìnè bák^L kómúc né:k à bòkòtũr dáké:dā.
 nè kàw-è dũgéd^L cì-n-è bák^L kómúc né:k
 CONJ bite-3S.CJ hyena\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMPST muzzle\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS
 à bòkòt-ũr dáké:dā
 CONJ kill-CF.3S only
He bit that aforementioned Hyena on its muzzle, only until he killed (it).

In this example Hyena appears as the *P* of the clause in the absolutive case; somewhat surprisingly, though, the use of the conjoint marking (see section III.3) on the preceding verb ‘bite’ clearly shows Hyena to be non-topical. It should not be assumed that by this time the accessibility of Hyena has waned – he is still an activated participant at this point in the narrative; but the speaker chooses to mark the NP ‘hyena’ as non-topical. This is in line with the previously introduced definition of topicality that makes use of the concept of *expectedness*: Hyena turns out to be the unexpected object of killing violence; the unexpectedness of this participant in the *P* role overrides its discourse accessibility in the evaluation of its topicality.

These examples were picked to show that there are some factors that for most clauses explain from the pragmatic context why a particular topicality status is placed on a given NP. The last example makes it clear that topicality in Majang is not entirely defined by factors such as accessibility and thematic importance, as proposed by Givón (1990, p. 902ff). Apparently the choice of the speaker can be influenced by other factors as well, and here I make use of the concept of *expectedness*, as introduced by McGregor (2010, p. 1622), in the language-specific definition of Majang topicality. This can only be a preliminary assessment. More research on a wider textual basis will lead to a clearer understanding, and even this will eventually be subject to the deliberate choice of a speaker to assign or not assign topicality in a given situation, based on factors arising from the pragmatic context of the utterance (compare McGregor’s (2010, p. 1624) explanation for his example 17).

New participants are introduced as non-topical in all analyzed narrative texts (it should be possible to introduce well-known participants as topical, though). Nominal predicates (section V.3.2.1) are always coded as non-topical in the analyzed data, but the existence of topical predicates cannot be excluded, given the shortage of data.

It is important to remember that the concept of topicality in Majang cannot be equated with the pragmatic category of *topic* as introduced in the typology proposed by Li and Thompson (1976, p. 483ff). Majang is not a topic-prominent language according to this typology, as topicality in Majang never competes with the subject in its primary role of structuring the clause. Also, as seen in example III.3, it is possible to have two or more topical entities in a Majang clause, or none in a thetical clause, whereas topic-prominent languages identify exactly one topic per clause, which serves as the syntactic pivot. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Majang language does not meet many of the eight criteria (Li & Thompson, 1976, pp. 466–471) defining a topic-prominent language. Majang must be classified as a subject-prominent language, but one in which topical constituents have a great impact on the syntactic configuration of the clause.

III.2 Case Marking on Central Constituents

For the central constituents of a clause *A* (transitive agent), *S* (intransitive subject) and *P* (patient, object)²⁷ three case forms are found in Majang: the absolutive marks *P* and non-topical *S*, the ergative marks non-topical *A*, and the nominative case is used for topical *A* and *S*.

III.2.1 Morphological ergative-absolutive structures

If one goes by the sample of languages perused by Nichols (1992), then one would expect the African continent to be entirely devoid of languages making use of absolutive-ergative alignment systems (Nichols, 1992, p. 31). Palmer, too, with the data available to him at about the same time, was forced to state that “*Africa seems to be the only major area where there are no lan-*

²⁷ With the use of the letters *S*, *A* and *P* here and from now on I follow Comrie’s (1978) notation for central clause constituents.

guages with an ergative system” (Palmer, 1994, p. 199). But since then, a number of Nilo-Saharan languages spoken in and around Sudan have been observed to display such structures; see for example Miller & Gilley (2001) or Andersen (1988). Schröder (2006) and chapter 3 in König (2008) provide further discussions of ergativity in Africa²⁸.

Although it does not become clear from the literature analyzing the Majang language in this respect, Majang may be the African language which most clearly displays the features of a morphological ergative-absolutive alignment system. This fact was already hinted at by myself (Joswig, 2015, 2016). The following sections share some of the material in these works, but provide a very different analysis of the observed facts.

Having an ergative-absolutive alignment system means that the *S* of an intransitive clause is marked in the same way (absolutive) as the *P* of a transitive clause. The *A* of a transitive clause is marked in a different way (ergative).

The Majang data in example III.6, presented by Randal (2000, p. 72), has generated some discussion in the literature on African case marking. Schröder (2006, p. 106) is inclined to accept this evidence at face value, seeing Majang as a language with ergative structures.

Example III.6: evidence for ergativity as cited by Randal and Schröder

- a) **ùtú-kò²⁹ táng-ḡg máaw.**
drink-PST COW-ERG water
The cow drank water.
- b) **Dám-kò táng.**
eat-PST COW
It ate a cow.
- c) **rér-kò táng.**
die-PST COW
The cow died.

²⁸ Schröder’s claim that the presence of an antipassive construction proves the previous existence of an ergative system does not stand up to the empirical evidence (Janic, 2013).

²⁹ The *PST* suffix **-kò** is a typo in Schröder’s rendering of this example. I have used Randal’s transcription and glossing here, with an underlined **o** representing the vowel **ɔ**, **ng** for the nasal **ŋ**, and **D** for the implosive **ɗ**. The failure to note the correct **o** on the *PST*-marker in examples b) and c) already goes back to Randal.

König (2006, p. 698, 2008, p. 190f) rather follows Unseth (1989b), who analyses Majang as a marked-nominative language. In the following it will be shown that although Randal's and Schröder's analysis rests on faulty data (there is no ergative marker **-ŋ** in Majang), their basic assumption is correct: Majang *does* have a well-developed ergative-absolutive case marking system.

The identical morphological marking of *P* and *S* is called *absolutive case*, whereas the marking of *A* is called *ergative case*. This is illustrated by the following clauses:

Example III.7: ergative-absolutive case marking

- a) **ḡòkòtú kó:kò táŋ^L.**
ḡòkòt-í kó:kò táŋ^L
kill-3s.DJ snake\SG.ERG cow\SG.ABS
A snake kills a cow.
- b) **ḡòkòtú táŋ kó:kó^L.**
ḡòkòt-í táŋ kó:kó^L.
kill-3s.DJ cow\SG.ERG snake\SG.ABS
A cow kills a snake.
- c) **ŋá:rŋr kó:kó^L.**
ŋá:r-ŋr kó:kó^L
go-CF.3S snake\SG.ABS
A snake goes away.

The ergative form of **kó:kó^L** 'snake' is achieved by placing a low tone on the last stem syllable, resulting in **kó:kò** 'snake\SG.ERG' with a falling (*HL*) tone. The ergative form **táŋ** 'cow\SG.ERG' makes use of this same low tone. The section on ergative case in section IV.1.3.2 gives more details on how ergative case marking is manifested in the language. This case form is exclusively used for coding *A*, whereas both *S* and *P* use the same forms **kó:kó^L** and **táŋ^L**, which are called absolutive.

Such a state of affairs is best analyzed by assuming an ergative-absolutive alignment system for the Majang language, although the following sections present some necessary adjustments to this picture. Ergative-absolutive constructions are actually very rarely found in natural texts, as particularly the ergative case is usually replaced by its topical counterpart *nominative*. Less frequently, the absolutive case also makes way for the nominative.

This is not the place to discuss when and how an ergative system could develop in Majang (and a good number of other Eastern-Sudanic languages). For now it suffices to refer to Dimmendaal (2017, p. 466), who discusses and rejects the idea that ergativity results from areal contact with Afro-Asiatic (mostly Omotic) marked-nominative languages. Section III.2.2.2 further investigates the ways in which Majang crucially differs from the marked-nominative systems found in other Surmic languages (Dimmendaal, 2014), where two different case marking patterns are encountered in the pre-verbal and post-verbal position. Ergative and nominative case on Majang possessive pronouns is marked by the suffix *-e* (see section IV.3.1.4), that very well may have its origin in the locative-instrumental case marker of the same form, one of the two sources suggested by Dimmendaal (2014, p. 10) for marked nominative and/or ergative in Eastern-Sudanic languages. Section IV.1.3.3 further investigates a possible morphological source for the different pragmatically governed case markers, the secondary suffixes³⁰ found in various Nilotic languages.

III.2.1.1 Syntactic properties of noun phrases in transitive clauses

Having established that morphologically Majang displays a strong absolutive-ergative pattern, it needs to be seen whether this ergativity goes beyond the mere morphological case placement on nouns. The literature on ergativity suggests that most languages with morphological ergative systems do not display any syntactic ergative structures (Anderson, 1976, p. 11; Givón, 1984, p. 165 f; Andrews, 1985, p. 130; Dik, 1989, p. 243 f; VanValin & LaPolla, 1997, p. 580). Very few languages, such as Dyirbal, treat the *P* as the subject of the clause according to syntactic criteria, such as subject agreement on the verb or use as the pivot in multi-clause constructions. Where this happens, Dik (1989, p. 244) sees such languages not as the typical ergative system, but as a transitional stage, in which the passive construction of a nominative-accusative language has become the unmarked construction through a markedness shift. Instead, Dik views languages with a morphological ergative-absolutive system, but a syntactic behavior along the lines of nominative-accusative languages, as the “*most usual sort of ergative language*”.

Majang is a language in which ergativity mostly works on the morphological level. For all syntactic purposes, *A* functions as the syntactically privileged

³⁰ So called by Tucker & Bryan (1962).

argument of a transitive clause. The most obvious manifestation of this is in the verb agreement – in every transitive clause the subject indexing on the verb agrees with *A*, that is with the constituent marked by the nominative or ergative. In the following example, the verb agrees with the ergative-plural *A*, not with the absolutive-marked singular NP referring to *P*.

Example III.8: *A* agreement on the verb

dílérk kúr'ójàk wàjǎm.
 díl-érk kúr'ój-èk wàjǎm
carry-3P.CP donkey-PL.ERG plant\SG.ABS
Donkeys bring a plant.

Dixon (1994, p. 94f) calls this state of affairs “*bound*” vs. “*free*” *split*, predicting that if any split at all happens in this respect, it would affect verb-agreement systems as is observed in Majang: “*We would expect them to be on a nominative-accusative pattern.*”

Other syntactic properties of a subject (in the sense of the syntactically privileged argument) would be the ability to work as the *pivot* (VanValin & LaPolla, 1997, p. 275) in multi-clause constructions; the pivot argument only needs to be expressed in the matrix clause, but does not need to be overtly expressed in the subordinate or subsequent clause. Such tests cannot be easily applied in Majang, as the *S/A* is *always* expressed by argument indexing on the verb, and there is therefore no real gapping in Majang.³¹

But there is one place in Majang where the absolutive case marking controls another syntactic distinction: the conjoint marking on the verb requires the noun immediately following a verb to be in the absolutive case, regardless of its syntactic status as *S* or *P* (see section III.3).

III.2.1.2 Differential ergative marking

Many languages with morphological ergative-absolutive case marking do not have ergative-absolutive alignment in all possible contexts. If a language displays an ergative-absolutive pattern in one context, and a nominative-accusative pattern in another, the language is said to have split alignment (Comrie, 1989, p. 110), for which Dixon (1994, Chapter 4) attempted to

³¹ The example I had presented to this effect (Joswig, 2016, p. 473f) is troublesome in this and other ways, particularly because the *A* of the whole sentence was misanalysed as ergative, when it was, in fact, in the nominative case.

establish universal criteria. These will need to be discussed for their applicability in Majang, as in this language, too, split phenomena can be observed beyond the already mentioned verb-indexation versus post-verbal case-marking split. But it will become clear that these split phenomena are quite different from split phenomena in other ergative languages, and that it is better to describe the data in terms of differential ergative marking (DEM), as proposed by McGregor (2010, p. 1614f).

Practically all examples involving the ergative case are from elicited language data. Looking at Majang narrative texts, it is very difficult to find clear examples of the ergative case. The only two unambiguous examples that I was able to find in my corpus of well-analyzed texts are the following:

Example III.9: ergative case found in narrative discourse

- a) **nè cà:df^L bɛɲ òmáltè dɛné wà:lô:k gòpàn wɛj^L lɛrɪk.**
 nè cà:df^L bɛɲ òm-áltè
 CONJ then day\SG.LOC one-LOC
 dɛn-é wà:lô:k gòpàn wɛj^L lɛr-k
 see-3S.DJ Waalook\ERG path\SG.ABS house\SG.ABS Leer-POSS
 Then, one day, Waalook saw the path to Leer's house.
- b) **jàrtí ná:k, dām kó jìkónt?**
 jártí ná:k dām kó jìkónt
 woman\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS eat\3S.DJ RECPST what\ERG
 My woman, what ate her?

In these examples, the *A* of the transitive clause is marked by the ergative case, as evidenced by the *HL* sequence on the last syllable of the proper name in example a), and by the special ergative form of the interrogative pronoun (see p. 387 for the other case forms of this pronoun) in example b). In example a), the ergative is chosen for a main participant following a reset of time and place, and with a different subject than in the previous clause. In example b) the ergative is used for a question word asking for an unknown subject; the object of this clause is left-dislocated (see section V.7.1.2) to a position outside the clause. A less clear example shows an NP in the ambiguous form that is identical for both the modified nominative and the modified ergative:

Example III.10: textual example with ergative case assumed by word order

àgút^L cìnò kán^L bókòtù:ɗ dúné^L cìnè cà:kóm^L né:kík,
 àgút^L cìnò kán^L bókòt-i:ɗ dúné^L
because MEDPST kill\REL PST.3S hyena\SG.ERG.MOD
 cì-n-è cà:kóm^L né:k=k
DEM-SG-HR friend\SG.ABS POSS.3S.ABS=SUB
because that hyena had killed his friend,

The NP **dúné^L cìnè** can be either nominative or ergative according to its morphological shape. The reason to assume that it is ergative in this clause is its position following the verb, where in clear textual examples nominative *A*-NPs were never encountered (see section III.2.2.1).

These rare examples taken from natural discourse are balanced by countless examples from elicitation, using questionnaires with context-free example sentences, where practically every transitive clause yields an ergative-absolutive pattern, illustrated in the following clauses:

Example III.11: ergative case found in elicited sentences

- a) **déné wâr áduréák^L.**
 dé-n-é wâr áduré-ák^L
see-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG cat-PL.ABS
A dog saw cats.
- b) **bókòtú wâr dǎpé^L.**
 bókòt-i wâr dǎpé^L
kill-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG lion\SG.ABS
A dog killed a lion.
- c) **bókòtùr kùtùrê:k ídít^L.**
 bókòt-ir kùtùr-ê:k ídít^L
kill-3P.DJ hog-PL.ERG man\SG.ABS
Hogs kill a man.

Undoubtedly these examples are unnatural in the sense that it is very difficult to find them in narrative discourse. The factor of *preferred argument structure*, as proposed by Du Bois (1987, 2003), in combination with the tendency of Majang to avoid free pronouns for subjects, explains the very low frequency of ergative-marked noun phrases in natural texts. Preferred argument structure discourages the use of a full NP as an *A* argument. An NP that

is not there cannot be marked for ergative, which renders the ergative case invisible in a language that only ever marks it on an NP.

Still, it would be unwise to discount the information gleaned from such examples on the basis that they do not come from narrative texts. It remains a fact that when a Majang speaker is asked to produce a transitive sentence, without fail s/he first comes up with an ergative-absolutive case pattern in a *VAP* clause. This alignment system therefore represents a deeply ingrained grammatical structure that probably sees prominent use in everyday natural discourse, but not in the kind of structured texts that linguists tend to analyze for writing their grammars. The observer is faced with the notion that “*when a departure from Preferred Argument Structure does occur in natural discourse, the resulting utterance bears not a hint of ungrammaticality*” (Du Bois, 2003, p. 78). After all, “*Preferred Argument Structure cannot be reduced to a grammatical rule. It must remain within the domain of discourse, as a patterning of grammar with consequences for grammar*” (ibid).

Now it still needs to be asked where exactly in natural discourse the ergative-absolutive alignment system thrives to the point that it appears as the grammatical system of choice in almost all elicited transitive clauses; if no one ever uses it in any speech situation at all, this alignment system would be quickly forgotten by the grammar. Looking outside the narrative genre, in my case, did not provide the answer: one text of my corpus is a planning conversation between three speakers with well over 150 clauses, and still the ergative case does not feature in this at all. The same is true for a short hortatory text. It therefore remains a rewarding task for future research³² to determine the segments or genres of Majang natural discourse that freely admit the use of ergative-absolutive systems. My hypothesis is that they must exist, and that I just have not found them.

As for the alternative to this ergative-absolutive alignment system: as stated above, the main reason why it is almost impossible to see ergative-marked NPs is *preferred argument structure*. But even an existing *A*-NP is usually

³² Watters (2018, p. 394ff) conducted such research for the Tibeto-Burman language Dzongkha, comparing the impact of genre on competing case-marking patterns. For that language, Watters concluded that “*grammatical relations in Dzongkha is found to range from a split-ergative system to a pragmatic system, whereby the manifestation of one marking pattern over another is probabilistically dependent on and functionally motivated by genre.*” The exact findings, however, are very different from the situation in Majang, showing a higher probability for ergative-marked *As* in monologic texts.

not marked by the ergative case. Majang noun phrases can be marked according to two competing case marking systems: one of them is the non-topical ergative-absolutive case marking system, and the other the topical nominative case marking for *A* or *S*. The choice between the two is of a purely discourse-pragmatic nature, based on the topicality of the *A* or *S* in the discourse (see section III.1 for how the concept of topicality is established for Majang). The elicited examples seen above show non-topical instances of *A* (elicited examples usually deal with non-topical participants, as they leave the relevant context open to the interpretation of speaker and hearer), and these are marked by the ergative case. In narrative discourse, new participants are usually introduced in intransitive clauses, or as *Ps* or obliques, but practically never as an *A* (Du Bois, 1987, p. 828). From then on, as long as they are activated participants, they are topical and therefore usually marked by the nominative case³³:

Example III.12: nominative case marking on *A*

- a) **má^L jàrtí^L kónk bònú tá:rá^L cìgè mógúnkônk.**
má^L jàrtí^L kónk bòn-í
but woman\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST take-3S.DJ
tár-á^L cì-g-è mógún-k-ônk
meat-PL.ABS DEM-PL-HR duiker-PL-POSS
but that woman took the meat-chunks of the duikers.
- b) **nè kán^L cà:dí^L né:k-é^L wár^L cìnè òòkòtú òògéd^L né:kín.**
nè kán^L cà:dí^L né:k-é^L wár^L cì-n-è
CONJ MEDPST then POSS\3S.SG-LOC dog\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR
òòkòt-í òògéd^L né:k = ŋ
kill-3S.DJ hyena\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SFT
Then that dog killed Hyena himself.
- c) **nè wà:lók kòóú ké é:kêr.**
nè wà:lók kòó-í ké é:k-êr
CONJ Waalook\NOM think-3S.DJ QUOT truth-PL.ABS
Waalook thought it was serious.

In these three examples, *A* is marked by the nominative case, and preposed to the position preceding the verb. In a) and b), *A* appears in its modified case form (see p. 182), which is always identical between the ergative and

³³ See section IV.1.3.2 for the ways in which the ergative, nominative and absolutive cases are morphologically different from each other.

the nominative case; the nominative case can be identified in a) by the following modifier, which is not ergative-marked, and in both cases by the pre-verbal position, which is off-limits for ergative constituents. The *P* is invariably presented in the absolutive case.

At first glance a split between ergative-absolutive patterns and nominative-accusative patterns solely based on topicality appears to be outside the typology provided by Dixon (1994, Chapter 4), who allows for splits to be conditioned either by the semantics of the verb, or by the semantics of the NPs involved, or by tense/aspect/mode³⁴. The Majang split can clearly not be described in terms of verbal semantics, as all transitive verbs can be accompanied by either an ergative or a nominative *A*. It is also not possible to analyze the split in terms of tense, aspect or mode differences. Regarding the semantics of the NP, Dixon (1994, p. 84ff) presents³⁵ the *Nominal Hierarchy*, a scale of NPs ranging from 1st person pronouns to inanimate common nouns, as follows:

1 st person pronouns	2 nd person pronouns	demonstratives 3 rd person pronouns	proper names	common nouns		
				human	animate	inanimate
<div><div></div><div>more likely to be in <i>A</i> than in <i>O</i> function</div><div></div></div>						

Table 6: nominal hierarchy according to Dixon (1994, p. 85)

According to Dixon (1994, p. 85), in a split situation based on this hierarchy, “an ‘ergative’ case is used with NPs from the right-hand end, up to some point in the middle of the hierarchy, and an ‘accusative’ case from that point on, over to the extreme left of the hierarchy.” Although this does not describe the situation in Majang, there still is a connection between this hierarchy and Majang’s assignment of cases based on topicality. It could be argued that in a speech-act situation 1st and 2nd person are more topical than 3rd person, that in a narrative a participant referred to by a pronominal element is more topical than one referred to by a common noun³⁶, and that a human participant is more topical than an inanimate prop. Topicality as a con-

³⁴ Majang is by no means the only language with split ergativity that cannot be easily described within the parameters presented by Dixon (1994). Gildea (1992, p. 256ff) presents counter-evidence from a number of Cariban languages in South America.

³⁵ Based on an earlier and very similar hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976).

³⁶ Givón (1984, p. 160) indeed provides such an argumentation for these two points.

cept is therefore hidden in the nominal hierarchy. In another place Dixon (1994, p. 209ff), reviewing the work of Du Bois (1987), does acknowledge the connection between discourse structure and ergativity, and particularly notes how the combination of *S* and *P* is responsible for introducing new (that is, non-topical) information into the discourse, but without making reference to the term topicality, rather using *theme*. He states (1994, p. 212) that this correlation “*provides further explanation for the grammatical identification of S and O³⁷, at the right-hand end of the Nominal Hierarchy.*”

Du Bois (1987, p. 845), discussing Silverstein’s nominal hierarchy, proposes that “*the splits involving accusative alignment in personal pronouns, demonstratives, proper names, kin terms etc. are based on their relatively high propensities for a consistently given information status, rather than on a lexical ‘agency potential’*”. In a similar way, Givón (1984, pp. 153, 158ff) links split-ergativity to a slightly different implicational hierarchy called *referentiality/topicality scale*, which he breaks up into three sub-scales (p. 159): the *degree of referentiality/topicality* goes from pronouns (high) over definite NPs to indefinite NPs (low). The *degree of individuation* has singulars as high and plurals as low. The *degree of egocentricity* goes from 1st person (high) over 2nd person to 3rd person (low). With the exception of the individuation scale, these factors largely coincide with what is seen as topical in Majang (see section III.1), and they can be used to roughly describe the split between ergative-absolutive and nominative marking. But Givón’s initial prediction that “*if a clause is higher on any of the scales [...] then it is more likely to receive ergative-absolutive case marking*” (1984, p. 153) goes diametrically against what is observed in Majang, where a high degree of referentiality/topicality of *S* and *A* leads to nominative marking. But Givón then (p. 160) goes on to acknowledge that some Australian languages act the opposite way, with a higher likelihood of nominative-accusative patterns for highly topical NPs. T. Payne (1997, p. 151ff) connects Dixon’s nominal hierarchy directly to the concept of *topic-worthiness* and comes to split-predictions almost exactly along the lines as they are found in Majang (p. 144) – this matches an earlier observation by Blake (1987, p. 186) from Australian languages, where there is “*discourse pressure favouring the dropping of ergative marking from those nominals that are most topic-worthy, either because they refer to speech-act participants or entities given at a certain point in discourse*”.

³⁷ The transitive object *P* in Dixon’s terminology.

DeLancey's (1981, p. 653) distinction between *starting-point* and *viewpoint* could also be considered as a cognitive perspective describing the split in Majang. The viewpoint in his model always comes from a topical/referential position, whereas the starting-point in a transitive proposition would usually be the agent. DeLancey states (p. 653): "*Ergative case marking labels the starting-point when it is not also the viewpoint. When viewpoint and starting-point coincide, the NP is not marked for case.*" This may well be the situation in Majang; but then one needs to see the nominative case as less marked or even unmarked compared to the ergative case. This is somewhat problematic, as both forms are identical for modified nouns. But at least for unmodified nouns the ergative appears indeed to be more marked by the addition of a low tone or a *HL* tone sequence.

More promisingly, research on Tibeto-Burman languages has shown that discourse-pragmatic factors often play a role in what previously was called "optional" ergative case assignment (Saxena, 1991; Tournadre, 1991; DeLancey, 2011). DeLancey (p. 13f) observes that the

"[...] missing piece is the pragmatic force of emphasis or contrast which is associated with ergative marking. Saxena notes that [...] ergative marking [...] cannot be omitted in text examples where the O argument has been marked as a topic by fronting. Tournadre [...] points out that there is no syntactic environment where ergative is truly obligatory, and that wherever it occurs it indicates contrastive focus."

This, of course, is a different situation from Majang, where the ergative marking is not connected to contrastive focus, but conditioned by the absence or a low degree of topicality. A parallel situation is found in the Australian language Warrwa, for which McGregor (2010, p. 1622ff) interprets the absence of ergative marking to signify that the agent is high in agentivity and *expected* in the context (p. 1622f). He goes on to suggest the features *prominence* or *givenness* to account for the absence or presence of the ergative case in optionally ergative languages, encompassing the semantic concept of agentivity and the pragmatic concept of expectedness. On p. 1625, McGregor prefers to link Blake's concept of topic-worthiness to the feature *backgrounded*, which he envisions to be contextualized as *topicality* in some languages. The situation in Tibeto-Burman and Australian languages therefore firmly establishes pragmatics as a conditioning factor for case-marking systems, and DeLancey (2011, p. 11) evaluates this discourse-pragmatic influence as so pervasive in Tibeto-Burman languages that he thinks it unrea-

listic that all this similarly motivated case-marking variability can be explained by diachronic alignment shifts caused by the innovation of new case markers – an idea proposed, for example, in section 2 of Cristofaro (2012).

Givón's, Blake's, McGregor's, T. Payne's, Du Bois' and DeLancey's work provide a reference frame within which Majang's topicality-based system can be described. The topical/non-topical distinction correlates in many ways with Dixon's nominal hierarchy and with Givón's referentiality/topicality scale, Blake's topic-worthiness, and Du Bois' preferred argument structure. A split system based on topicality as a simplified criterion could therefore easily be conceived. This is further confirmed by the state of affairs in Eastern-Sudanic Pāri (Andersen, 1988, p. 294), where the topicalization of *A* results in the loss of ergative marking.

So far only *As* were looked at relating to this split. An *S* can be marked by both the absolutive (if non-topical) and the nominative (if topical).

Example III.13: marking of non-topical and topical *S*

- a) **nè mèlki dùmá:t^L wà:**
 nè mèl-kì dùmá:t^L wà:
conj arrive-CP.3S.CJ owner\SG.ABS house\SG.DAT
The owner came home.
- b) **nè cá:^L ǂá:^L mèlkíd^L dùmá:^L wà:...**
 nè cá:^L ǂá:^L mèl-kí-d^L dùmá:^L wà:
conj then REMPST arrive-CP-RELPST.3S owner\SG.NOM house\SG.DAT
After the owner came home...

Both sentences (both from the same narrative in short proximity to each other) are semantically almost identical, except that the first clause is a main clause, and the second a temporal adverbial clause. But there is the pragmatic difference that in a) the *S* is introduced as a new participant to the narrative and therefore not topical, but in b) it is, as the *S* had just been made accessible through clause a). This difference causes the variation in case marking on the NP (visible in the different stem forms of the same lexeme 'owner').

Ps at first glance always look the same, regardless of their topicality status, but this identity of case marking is accompanied by a different syntactic behavior. This can be seen from the following set of examples, again gleaned from a single narrative. Both examples show the noun for 'mother', but a) in non-topical use, and b) in topical use.

Example III.14: marking of non-topical and topical *Ps*

- a) **nè kè: làŋkì émé^L lèrà.**
nè kè: làŋ-kì émé^L lèr-à
 CONJ go\3s find-CP.3s.CJ mother\SG.ABS Leer-DAT
He went to find Leer's mother.
- b) **mà ɓòkòtú émé^L lèrà:ŋ.**
mà ɓòkòt-í émé^L lèr-à=ŋ
 CONJ kill-3s.DJ mother\SG.ABS Leer-DAT=SFT
But he killed Leer's mother.

In example a), Leer's mother had been mentioned in the preceding context, but is in this clause encountered after a change of place and time, and accordingly is not an expected participant. The thus non-topical *P* therefore triggers the conjoint marking (see section III.3) on the immediately preceding verb (example III.14a). Topical *Ps* also come in the absolutive case, but don't meet the condition for conjoint marking on the preceding verb; instead they create the condition that allows the placement of the *SFT*-clitic (see section III.4) on the NP at the end of a sentence (example b). This clause follows clause a) after a short time in the same narrative.

It can therefore be observed that in Majang the discourse-pragmatic factor of topicality accounts for a change of case for *A* and *S*, but it leaves the case of *P* intact. The topicality of *P* is shown by other means.

Because it was shown for other languages that it is rather the discourse-pragmatic factor of focus or focality that prompts the assignment of the ergative case to otherwise unmarked NPs, it needs to be shown here why this analysis has been discarded for Majang in favor of the assignment of the nominative case for topical constituents – the non-elicited NPs with ergative case in examples III.9b) and III.10) could indeed be seen as focal in their pragmatic contexts. Two reasons speak against the idea of ergative marking for focal constituents: first, the ergative-marked NP in example III.9a) plus practically all elicited examples of ergative case provide no contextual evidence that any focality attaches to the NP in question³⁸. Indeed, the fact that all elicited transitive clauses have *A* marked by the ergative makes any analysis of the ergative case as the focal case very unlikely – there is no reason to assume that in every elicited transitive clause each *A* defaults to focus marking. It would be more natural to expect focally unmarked *As* in elicited clauses.

³⁸ See section VI.1.2 for the context of example III.9a).

Second, the symmetry of the cases in Majang also speaks against the focus theory – one would have to assume that non-focal nominative *A* becomes focal ergative *A*, but that non-focal nominative *S* becomes focal absolutive *S*, taking the same neutral case as the absolutive *P* of either focal or non-focal status. Such a marking of the focal *S* with an inherently unmarked case is not a likely scenario in any case-marking situation. This contrasts with the analysis chosen here, where the same case nominative shows the same discourse-pragmatic status *topic* for both *A* and *S* constituents.

In summary, in Majang *S* and *A* are treated differently according to their topicality. *A* can be nominative or ergative, *S* can be nominative or absolutive. This state of affairs presents a picture that resembles what is called “optional ergativity” in some Tibeto-Burman (DeLancey, 2011) and Australian languages (Schultze-Berndt, 2017, p. 1110). McGregor (2010, p. 1610) defines optional case marking as a “*situation in which in specifiable lexical or grammatical environments, a case marking morpheme (inflectional affix, clitic, or adposition) may be either present or absent from an NP of a specifiable type without affecting the grammatical role borne by that NP.*” With the qualification that case marking of *A*, *S* and *P* appears to not be accomplished by morphemes, but by different stem forms (see section IV.1.3.2), this definition almost describes the situation of the Majang variability in *S* and *A* marking. McGregor makes it clear (p. 1611) that optional ergativity is never to be understood as totally free variation, but that it is motivated by semantic or pragmatic factors, which again seems to be the case in Majang with its topicality-based case marking.

There is one difference, however, of Majang to other languages described as displaying optional ergativity, and that is the use of the nominative case in place of the ergative, and its further use as the topical expression of *S*, in place of the absolutive case. In the other optional-ergativity languages the ergative alternates with the absolutive or unmarked case. It is therefore useful to follow McGregor’s (2010, p. 1614f) distinction between optional ergative marking and *differential ergative marking* (DEM), where the ergative alternates with another case different from the unmarked or absolutive case.³⁹

³⁹ It is interesting to compare Majang with the situation reported for the Saharan language Dazaga (Walters, 2015, p. 128ff). The *S*, *A* and *P* constituents of Dazaga also receive three different case markings (neutral, ergative, accusative), and the assignment of ergative or neutral case also seems to be governed at least partially by discourse-pragmatic factors, so that Walters calls the whole system one characterized by optional ergativity. But instead of

This DEM is further complicated by what appears to be a fluid- S^{40} situation, which differentiates between topical (nominative) and non-topical (absolutive) S constituents. The distribution of cases does not follow the lexical-semantic categories of agent-like entities or patient-like entities, as one would expect from a split- S system. In a prototypical split- S language, such as Guarani (Mithun, 1991, p. 524), the agent-like subjects of intransitive clauses (S_A) are aligned with A , and the patient-like subjects of intransitive clauses (S_P) with P . But in Majang agentivity is not the basis for the variable case assignment in this fluid- S situation, but topicality, and therefore the assignment follows the same principle as that of Majang DEM – I therefore prefer to speak of *differential- S marking* instead of a fluid- S situation.

T. Payne (1984) observed a similar situation for the three South-American languages Guaymí (Chibchan), Pajonal Campa (Arawakan) and Yagua (Peba-Yaguan). He noticed that in these languages S_P marking was used for the S of some verbs of locomotion whenever a distinct change of locational scene was in evidence, or near the climax of a story; he analyzed this special marking as a discourse feature indicating topic-discontinuity – so there is evidence from outside Majang for a discourse-based fluid- S situation similar to Majang's differential- S marking.⁴¹

As a summary for the more visual-minded, the following diagram describes the Majang differential case-marking system for S , A and P . These forms are illustrated for the noun **ɕɔ:lɪlɔŋ^L** 'vulture', enhanced by an indication of the conjoint-disjoint status of a preceding verb:

Majang's nominative case the third form of Dazaga is the accusative case not present in Majang. Similar situations are further reported by the related languages Kanuri (Bondarev, Jaggar, Löhr, & Tijani, 2011) and Beria (Wolfe & Adam, 2015).

⁴⁰ A fluid- S system is a special kind of a split- S system (Dixon, 2010b, p. 141) that allows the same intransitive predicate to take both markings, depending on the situation. A regular split- S system has the marking lexically determined for each intransitive predicate. Since all intransitive predicates of Majang can have their S marked with both the nominative and the absolutive case, depending on topicality, Majang would therefore be appropriately labeled as displaying a fluid- S system.

⁴¹ I am indebted to Doris Payne for pointing me towards this situation.

Example III.15: the functional range of case forms, based on **cò:lílán^L** ‘vulture’

	A	S	P
topical	nominative – <i>DJ</i> cò:lílán^L	nominative – <i>DJ</i> cò:lílán^L	absolutive – <i>DJ</i> cò:lílán^L
non-topical	ergative – <i>DJ</i> cò:lílán^L	absolutive – <i>CJ</i> cò:lílán^L	absolutive – <i>CJ</i> cò:lílán^L

This diagram may lead to the assumption that for a topical *S* or *A* Majang can be classified as a marked-nominative language, or, in the terms of Handschuh (2014, p. 5), as a marked-*S* language. It is, however, necessary to include the qualification “for a topical *S* or *A*” in this statement. The nominative is only used for topical constituents, and in this respect a conditioned case compared to its two non-topical counterparts. The idea of a marked-*S* situation is also problematic for considerations of markedness. In example III.15, the nominative has indeed more segmental material than the absolutive, but it is only tonally distinguished from the ergative. Other nouns, such as **ídfít^L** ‘man\ABS’, **ídfi** ‘man\ERG’ and **ídfí^L** ‘man\NOM’, show more material for the absolutive than for the ergative and nominative case. It is therefore not possible to call an entire case in Majang more or less marked than another case, at least for the three central constituents of a clause. Section IV.1.3.2 discusses how the cases absolutive, ergative and nominative are not distinguished by identifiable segmental morphemes, but by idiosyncratic tonal and segmental changes in the various stem forms associated with each case. The differences between the cases become transparent when a possessive pronoun (see section IV.3.1.4) is added to the NPs:

Example III.16: case marking differences observed on possessive pronouns

- a) **ḡòkòtú dḡépé^L ná:kḡ ídfít^L.**
ḡòkòt-í dḡépé^L ná:k-ḡ ídfít^L
kill-3S.DJ lion\SG.ERG.MOD POSS\1S.SG-ERG man\SG.ABS
My lion kills the man.
- b) **ḡòkòtú ídfi dḡépé^L ná:k.**
ḡòkòtu-í ídfi dḡépé^L ná:k
kill-3S.DJ man\SG.ERG lion\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS
The man kills my lion.

- c) **dé:gàr dépé^L ná:k kékàr.**
 dé:gàr dépé^L ná:k kékàr
sleep\3s.CJ lion\SG.ABS POSS\1s.SG.ABS again
My lion sleeps again.
- d) **dé:gàr^L dépé^L nà:ké^L kékàr.**
 dé:gàr^L dépé^L nà:k-é^L kékàr
sleep\3s.DJ lion\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\1s.SG-NOM again
My lion sleeps again.

In these examples, the noun form **dépé^L** ‘lion’ is the same for all four instances, partly because of idiosyncratic syncretism between the absolutive form and the other forms of this noun, and partly because the modified ergative and modified nominative forms are identical for all nouns (see section IV.1.3.2). But the case forms of the NPs can be unambiguously seen from the three different forms of the accompanying possessive pronouns. Differential-*S* marking results in the near-minimal pair c)-d), where the difference between absolutive *S* and nominative *S* also leads to the difference in conjoint and disjoint marking on the verb. For case marking on possessive pronouns it certainly looks as if the absolutive is less marked than nominative or ergative.

As a final task in this section it remains to point out some errors in my previous publications on the grammatical relations of Majang. In Joswig (2016) I did not appreciate the impact of topicality on the case-marking system, and proposed a split based on modified vs. non-modified NPs. In example 10 of that paper I misanalysed the modified ergative form as a locative form (which is different). Further, I mistakenly assigned the ergative case to a nominative NP in example 8. Such errors may be put into perspective by the fact that the language learner of Majang gets conflicting pictures, depending on whether he studies elicited sentences or natural texts. Having started out with elicited data, I tended to see ergative-absolutive patterns even where they were not in evidence. Unseth, who in his later pronouncements on the language wisely relied on natural texts, was drawn to assume that ergativity was not a feature of the language (König, 2008, p. 190).

III.2.2 Constituent order typology and its impact on case marking

This section presents the basic facts on the order of constituents in Majang (III.2.2.1), and how this affects the analysis of Majang as a language with

differential ergative marking, as some neighboring languages show differing case-marking behaviors in pre-verbal and post-verbal positions. Section III.2.2.2 shows that the state of affairs in Majang is quite different. Sections III.2.2.3 and III.2.2.4 provide other observations about Majang constituent order that do not affect the understanding of case marking, but that readers may want to look for in this section because of important claims made by previous grammars on Majang.

III.2.2.1 Constituent order in main clauses

Dimmendaal (1998a, p. 66) reconstructs Proto-Surmic as probably showing a verb-second order of constituents, which was changed in the Didinga-Murle group to *VAP* via language contact from neighboring *VAP*-type languages such as Toposa, Nyangatom and Turkana. This is contrary to Unseth (1986b, p. 140), who analyzed Proto-Surmic as a verb-initial language. Indeed, in a Majang clause where the constituents *A*, verb and *P* are overtly expressed, they frequently appear in the following order:

Verb – Subject – Object

Examples showing this order can easily be gleaned through elicitation:

Example III.17: basic constituent order *VAP*

- a) **ḡòkòtú jàrtí^L nà:kè dǽpé^L.**
 ḡòkòt-í jàrtí^L nà:k-è dǽpé^L
 kill-3S.DJ woman\SG.ERG.MOD POSS\1S.SG-ERG lion\SG.ABS
 My woman kills a lion.
- b) **kàwé wâr àdúré.**
 kàw-é wâr àdúré
 bite-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG cat\SG.ABS
 A dog bites a cat.

VAP is invariably the order of constituents when eliciting transitive clauses. A Majang grammar entirely based on elicitation is unlikely to encounter any other word order. But when looking at natural texts, it is by no means the most *frequent* display of constituents in Majang. The only main-clause example of *VAP* in my narrative corpus is the following:

Example III.18: basic constituent order *VAP* in a main clause in natural discourse

nè cà:di^L 6én òmáltè dèné wà:lò:k gòpàn wéj^L lè:rík.
 nè cà:di^L 6én òm-áltè
CONJ then day\SG.LOC one-LOC
 dèn-é wà:lò:k gòpàn wéj^L lè:r-k
see-3S.DJ Waalook\ERG path\SG.ABS house\SG.ABS Leer-POSS
Then, one day, Waalook saw the path to Leer's house.

This clause is the first clause of a new episode in the narrative, with a change of time and place, and the need to re-establish the discourse status of participants. This is also the only main-clause example in my corpus with an ergative lexical NP. Another rare example of *VAP* is the following subordinate clause⁴²:

Example III.19: basic constituent order *VAP* in a subordinate clause

àgút^L cìnò kán^L bòkòtù:d dúné^L cìnè cà:kóm^L né:kík,
 àgút^L cìnò kán^L bòkòt-i:d dúné^L
because MEDPST kill\REL PST.3S hyena\SG.ERG.MOD
 cì-n-è cà:kóm^L né:k=k
DEM-SG-HR friend\SG.ABS POSS.3S.ABS=SUB
because that hyena had killed his friend,

In this example background information is provided in an almost thetical setting. As is shown in section V.9.1, the *A* or *S* is usually not overtly shown in a clause if referring to an already activated participant. *VAP* is in fact a very infrequent constituent structure, mostly used in thetical clauses lacking any information accessible from the preceding context (which is what elicited sentences tend to be). This matches what Du Bois (2003, p. 48) calls *preferred argument structure*, about which he claims that speakers “freely realize full lexical noun phrases in intransitive subject position or transitive object position, but strongly avoid placing them in transitive subject position”. This goes together with another aspect of preferred argument structure, that is the constraint that in a transitive clause “in discourse there regularly appears just one full lexical noun phrase.” (Du Bois, 2003, p. 60). Now in Majang the *A*, if not overtly shown as a full NP, usually also does not appear as a free pronoun (see section IV.3.1.1). As it is only present through subject indexation on the verb, it does not materialize as a discrete constituent of the clause at all. Therefore, in narrative texts, transitive clauses most frequently have a constituent order of *VP*:

⁴² See example III.10 for a discussion of the case of the *A* constituent.

Example III.20: constituent order *VP*

- a) **nè ɓá^L làŋ tàdápú^L.**
CONJ REM PST find\3S.CJ ash_pile\SG.ABS
He found an ash-pile.
- b) **nè èŋádír dūŋéd^L à jòwé:díŋ.**
nè èŋád-ír dūŋéd^L à jòwé:d-i=ŋ
CONJ smell-CF.3S hyena\SG.ABS CONJ far-3S=SFT
He smelled a hyena far away.

This structure, starting the clause with a verb followed by an absolutive NP, is also encountered in intransitive clauses with an overt *S*, which makes this the default construction of Majang, a syntactic configuration that is a reflection of the language's ergative-absolutive nature:

Verb – NP_{ABS}

The following examples show the absolutive NP filling the *S* and the *P* position after the verb:

Example III.21: *V-NP_(ABS)* default structure

- a) **kùcù jègúj.**
kùc-ì jègúj
come-3S.CJ ox\SG.ABS
An ox comes.
- b) **nè ɓá^L òlàng òlàng kárinónk.**
nè ɓá^L òlàng òlàng kárin-onk
CONJ REM PST make\3S.CJ thing\PL.ABS.MOD fighting-POSS
He made weapons.

In both examples, the *3S* subject is indexed on the verb, which comes in the conjoint form. In sentence a), the following noun phrase is the *S* of the intransitive verb, in the absolutive case. In sentence b), the NP following the verb is the transitive object *P*, again in the absolutive case.

III.2.2.2 Fronting of constituents and its implications for case marking

In natural narrative texts, subjects are overtly shown when a participant needs to be re-established, for example after a change of subject, place or time. In these cases the *A* or *S* usually does not follow the verb, but precedes

it in natural discourse (see section V.3.1.2 for more information on fronted constituents).

Example III.22: preposed re-activated subjects

- a) **nè ɓá^L jàrtí^L cìnè bònú tá:rá gé:nk, ...**
nè ɓá^L jàrtí^L cì-n-è bòn-í tá:r-á
 CONJ REMPT woman\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR take-3S.DJ meat-PL.ABS.MOD
gé:nk
 POSS\3S.PL.ABS
And that woman took his meat, ...
- b) **nè ídf^L òmá:j^L gà:mú gój^L òmáltè.**
nè ídf^L òm-áj^L gà:m-í gój^L òm-áltè
 CONJ man\SG.NOM.MOD one-NOM hold-3S.DJ side\SG.LOC one-LOC
One man grabbed one side.
- c) **nè ɓòkórjánt kàwén.**
nè ɓòkórjánt kàw-é = ɲ
 CONJ tortoise\SG.NOM bite-3S.DJ=SFT
The tortoise bit it.

In these clauses, the *A* is invariably marked by the nominative case and is just as invariably preposed. Having an alternative *AVP* structure is not unexpected according to Greenberg's prediction that "all languages with dominant *VSO* order have *SVO* as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order" (Greenberg, 1966, p. 110). But Unseth was not able to confirm this prediction based on elicitation (1989b, p. 109):

"Deliberate attempts to elicit other word orders by topicalization did not produce any variants. Some SVO clauses were occasionally elicited at other times, such as in subordinate clauses [...]. My Majang helper consistently rejected the SOV [sic!]⁴³ examples in Bender's article [...]."

This experience is a strong indication that the *VAP* order of constituents has a firm psychological standing in the mental grammar of Majang speakers. Although the *AVP* order has a high functional load in the syntax of the language for re-establishing accessible participants, it is not something the speakers have a conscious awareness of. Therefore mother-tongue translators will have to be trained in the pragmatic significance of this structure, so that

⁴³ This is a typo in Unseth (1989). Bender (1983, p. 128f) presents rather unnatural *AVP* examples.

they can apply it appropriately without being unduly guided by the structure of the source language.

Fronting the *A*-constituent to re-activate an accessible participant has striking similarities with what has been observed as word-order alternations in other related Eastern-Sudanic languages. For example, *A*-constituents in South-east-Surmic Suri-Tirmaga (Bryant, 1999, p. 45ff), Western-Nilotic Pāri (Andersen, 1988, p. 293f) and Southwest-Surmic Baale (Moges & Dimmen-daal, 1998, p. 297) are case-marked when appearing in post-verbal position, but unmarked when in pre-verbal position. These languages have in common that they place the unmarked or absolutive *S* preceding the verb. It would therefore be tempting to describe Majang in similar terms, where the pre-verbal position is the place to show all constituents in unmarked or neutral case, and contrast these forms with the constituents found in the post-verbal position, where the *A*-constituents are case-marked, either with the nominative or ergative case, depending on the other findings in the language. It is probably such a perspective that prompted the previous analysis of Majang as a marked-nominative language (König, 2008, p. 191).

But the data presented so far makes it clear that the situation is quite different from that found in marked-nominative languages such as Suri-Tirmaga or Baale. The case marking of pre-verbal constituents can in no way be characterized as neutral or unmarked, as it is different from the absolutive case of postverbal *P*- or *S*-constituents. The following observations can be made about the pre-verbal position:

- Ergative-marked constituents cannot be fronted.
- The absolutive case cannot be found in pre-verbal position, except when accompanying a co-referential contrastive pronoun (see example IV.219). Absolutive case forms further appear in left-dislocated position (see section V.7.1.2), but these are syntactically different from fronting, as left-dislocated material is placed outside the clause.
- Accordingly, only nominative-marked constituents are found in pre-verbal position.
- No fronting was observed in any natural clause that does not also have some other pre-verbal material – at least a conjunction, frequently a tense marker and sometimes adverbial material. Elicited clauses with a nominative *S* and without an initial conjunction always have the *S* following the verb.

- Elicited transitive clauses with postverbal nominative *A* were rejected by the consultants. The only corpus occurrence is a narrative-text subordinate clause, seen in example V.125.

The nominative case is therefore by no means restricted to the preverbal position – nominative-marked *S*-constituents and subjects of speech clauses are frequently placed after the verb. It is therefore not possible to consider the nominative form a pre-verbal allomorph of the absolutive form, as nominative and absolutive *S* contrast in the postverbal position (as in example III.13).

In summary, it is not possible to transfer the findings in other Eastern-Sudanic marked-nominative languages as a possible explanation for the situation in Majang. The pre-verbal appearances of *S* or *A* are not unmarked for case, and they are not positional variants of the post-verbal absolutive case.

III.2.2.3 Further typological observations relating to word order

Beyond the order of verb, *S*, *A* and *P*, the nuclear clause can also have indirect objects and further complements. These regularly follow the more central constituents.

Example III.23: locative NP following the object

nè rí:6é kàrí kónk dó:k^L.
nè rí:6-é kàrí kónk dó:k^L
CONJ put-3S.DJ coffee.leaf\SG.ABS REF\RECPST ground\SG.LOC
She put the coffee leaves on the ground.

Example III.24: dative NP following the object

é rí:6érgé^L kòcíé né:k ádá.
é rí:6ér-gè:d kòcíé né:k ádá
CONJ put.inside-TF.3S.CJ pipe\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS mouth\SG.DAT
He put her pipe into the mouth.

Therefore the following order of constituents can be established for the nuclear clause:

verb – (S/A) – object (P) – complement

Temporal information is usually not placed into the nuclear complement slot, but into a pre-nuclear slot. Any kind of pre-nuclear temporal information, however, requires the presence of a preceding conjunction. This may be the

reason why almost any clause in a narrative text, even a main clause, begins with some kind of conjunction, usually the connector **nè**.

Example III.25: pre-nuclear temporal material

nè 6á^L cà:di^L né:ké^L kò6ú tàwá:wê: ké ...
 nè 6á^L cà:di^L né:k-é^L kò6-í tàwá:wê: ké
 CONJ REMPST then POSS\3S.SG-LOC think\3S.DJ Tawaawee.NOM QUOT
 Right then Tawaawee thought that ...

The locative possessive pronoun preceding the verb here serves as a further temporal adverb, reinforcing the adverb **cà:di^L**. As already seen in example III.22, these conjunctions and the temporal adverbs are not the only pre-nuclear information. Preposed subjects are placed between any temporal information and the verb.

III.2.2.4 Question particles and question words

Unseth (1986a, p. 97) pointed out that the Majang language violates Greenberg's (1966, p. 111) 12th universal, which states that “*if a language has dominant word order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions [...].*”

This universal is indeed violated in Majang, as the interrogative pronouns and question words are always found at the end. See section V.7.3.2 for the use of these interrogative pronouns.

Example III.26: question words at the end of the clause

àrì^L kój cá:^L òlà cìgì èk?
 àr-í^L kój cá:^L òlà cì-g-ì èk
 do-1P.DJ DFUT thereafter things\ABS.MOD DEM-PL-SP how?
 How will we then do these things?

III.3 Conjoint-Disjoint Distinction

The Majang verb makes use of a conjoint-disjoint distinction that is conditioned by the case and the topicality status of the following NP. In the simple clause of example III.27, a non-topical *S* follows the verb:

Example III.27: verb followed by non-topical *S* in a simple clause

mèlki dùmá:t^L.
mèl-k-ì dùmá:t^L
arrive-CP-3S.CJ owner\SG.ABS
The owner arrived.

This example shows a non-topical *S* marked by the absolutive case. If that same constituent were topical, it would instead be marked by the nominative case:

Example III.28: verb followed by topical *S* in a simple clause

mèlki dùmá: kónkún.
mèl-k-í dùmá: kónk=ŋ
arrive-CP-3S.DJ owner\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST=SFT
The owner arrived.

In both preceding examples, the suffixes **-ì** or **-í** are the subject markers on the verb, indexing the *S*. They show a tonal difference, which is caused by a grammatical distinction that plays a major role in the Majang language. When a verb phrase is directly followed by an absolutive NP (as in example III.27), then it can take the *conjoint* (*CJ*) form of the verb, manifested by the 3*s* suffix **-ì**. If any other word follows the verb phrase, or nothing follows it, then the *disjoint* (*DJ*) form is used⁴⁴, as illustrated by the suffix **-í** in example III.28. This means that all instances of nominative, ergative, locative and dative case are preceded by disjoint verb forms. Disjoint forms are also used preceding topical *P* constituents in the absolutive case. The conjoint form cannot be used with a clause-final verb. Whereas the disjoint forms of verbal indexing suffixes can have all kinds of tonal markings, the conjoint suffixes always have a fixed low tone (see section IV.2.3 for how conjoint forms differ from disjoint forms in the various verbal paradigms). A significantly longer pause following a disjoint verb in a non-final context (as in example III.28) is not in evidence.

⁴⁴ I am deeply indebted to Gerrit Dimmendaal, who pointed me to this phenomenon usually found in some Bantu languages. He (Dimmendaal, to appear) reports a similar conjoint-disjoint distinction for the Southwest-Surmic Baale language, and sees traces of it in South-east-Surmic Mursi.

The terminology of conjoint and disjoint is taken from Bantu linguistics⁴⁵, where similar distinctions⁴⁶ are found in a number of Eastern Bantu languages. Creissels (2012, p. 1) describes this distinction as follows:

“[...] a conjoint verb form is a verb form that cannot be found in sentence final position, and cannot be separated from the following phrase by a pause. A disjoint verb form is a form that does not have this limitation, but is not excluded from non-final contexts either, and a disjoint verb form in non-final position is not necessarily separated from the following word by a perceptible pause.”

This description defines conjoint and disjoint in entirely structural terms, and, as it stands, describes the behavior of the conjoint and disjoint forms in Majang quite accurately, which is why this terminology is adopted here for a Nilo-Saharan language. As far as I know, the terms conjoint and disjoint were not applied previously for languages displaying ergative-absolutive structures – this makes it necessary to use caution while applying the terms in the Majang context with its very different syntactic and pragmatic environment compared to Bantu languages.

When it comes to the function of conjoint and disjoint forms, there are at least some Bantu languages where the definition of conjoint and disjoint remains on the structural level (Van der Wal, 2011, p. 1735). But even for those, van der Wal asserts that *“there are pragmatic effects attached to the choice for the one or the other verb form, where the element following the conjoint form is non-topical and may be focal [...]”* (ibid.).

Van der Wal’s (2017, p. 15) most recent definition of the conjoint-disjoint distinction is even more explicit in the inclusion of information structure as a defining criterion:

“The conjoint/disjoint alternation is an alternation between verb forms that are formally distinguishable, that are associ-

⁴⁵ Besides the Surmic languages indicated by Dimmendaal, conjoint-disjoint distinctions outside the Bantu family were also reported for Adamawan Doyayo (Elders, 2006) and the Gur language Yom (Fiedler, 2017).

⁴⁶ The situation in Majang does not fit the defining characteristics of metatony, as summarized by Hyman (2017, p. 108). Metatony in Bantu happens whenever the verb in question is followed by an object. But this is not the case in Majang, where the presence of an object in itself is not sufficient to trigger the tonal difference.

ated with an information-structural difference in the interpretation of verb and/or following element and of which one form is not allowed in sentence-final position.”

Riedel (2009, p. 31) observes that in those languages which have this distinction, “a disjoint verb cannot precede certain focal items, such as *wh*-words.” Even if this holds true for Bantu languages, such a claim cannot be made for Majang. The conjoint form is not consistently observed in all places where the verb is followed by a constituent in focus. The following example shows the disjoint form preceding an interrogative pronoun:

Example III.29: disjoint forms preceding focussed NP

jàrtí ná:k, dām kó jíkónt?
jàrtí ná:k dām kó jíkónt
woman\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS eat\3S.DJ RECPST.DJ what.ERG
My woman, what ate her?

Furthermore, example V.93c) shows a disjoint form preceding a constituent which apparently is in a new-information focus position, as the response to a content question⁴⁷. If the conjoint form cannot be reliably encountered in front of constituents with new-information focus, then focus is apparently not what the conjoint form signals.⁴⁸

My previous publication on the conjoint-disjoint distinction (Joswig, 2015) asserted that the distinction was based purely on syntactic parameters (p. 175). But this was written before I fully understood the importance of topicality in Majang. Assuming topicality as the starting point of the conjoint-disjoint distinction in Majang, as envisioned by Van der Wal (2011, p. 1735), would render the language much more similar to the state of affairs in Tswana, as described by Creissels (2012, p. 18), which also has a super-

⁴⁷ For a discussion of *wh*-questions as diagnostics for new-information focus, and some caveats, see Van der Wal (2016, p. 264ff).

⁴⁸ Van der Wal (p.c.) points toward a possibility how conjoint and focus may still be indirectly related in Majang; the assumption would be that verb phrases are marked as conjoint when the adjoining NP is counted as being inside the VP constituent – this would only ever happen to absolutive NPs, but only when they refer to unexpected or new, that is, focal entities. Question words in Majang are apparently outside their linear order in the clause (see section III.2.2.4), and therefore also outside the VP constituency, which would explain the disjoint marking preceding focal material. The same would have to be assumed for disjoint marking preceding NPs denoting responses to questions, such as in example V.93c).

ficially syntactic conjoint-disjoint distinction; it is diachronically traceable to the presence or absence of a topical NP.

Topicality, as defined in section III.1, serves other purposes in Majang beyond deciding the conjoint-disjoint marking, as it also is the basis of DEM and differential-*S* marking. It turns out that disjoint marking before absolutive *P* constituents always coincides with the placement of the *SFT*-clitic (see section III.4), if all other structural conditions for its placement are met.

Therefore, the following is a summary of what the conjoint-disjoint distinction accomplishes in Majang:

- Only absolutive NPs can trigger conjoint marking on a preceding verb. Therefore, the conjoint-disjoint distinction is neutralized for all verbs not followed by an absolutive NP.
- The conjoint form on the verb shows that the following absolutive NP is not topical.
- If an absolutive NP follows a disjoint verb form, it implies that the NP refers to the *P* constituent of a transitive clause, and that this referent is topical.
- For *S*-constituents, the conjoint-disjoint distinction serves as a redundancy device indicating the topicality status alongside the differential-*S* marking described in section III.2.1.2. This is helpful in situations where the case forms are identical through syncretism (see example III.30).

Whether in a previous stage of the language the conjoint form was used preceding all non-topical constituents cannot be decided due to lack of published data from any other related language. Currently one can only go by today's situation in Majang, which firmly places the conjoint form in front of non-topical absolutive NPs, and the disjoint form in all other contexts.

So far the conjoint-disjoint distinction was only observed in languages which do not make use of case marking. The syntactic status of an NP in Bantu languages can be captured by the more general terms subject, object, and adjunct, which are the terms used in the descriptions of Bantu conjoint-disjoint distinctions (Creissels, 2012, p. 18 f; Van der Wal, 2011, p. 1738). In Majang, instead, the syntactic properties of a noun phrase are closely related to its case marking, and therefore the language must make reference to a

particular case (the absolutive) in order to assign the correct marking to each verb.

It was stated above that conjoint status is a feature of the verb phrase, not just of the verb. This is because in situations where the verb is followed by a tense marker, such as **kɔ̌**, **kɔ̌:** and **ɓà**, it is not the verb that is marked for conjoint, but the tense marker. The verb appears therefore in the (apparently unmarked) disjoint form, although the whole VP is conjoint (section IV.3.4.2).

The conjoint-disjoint distinction is quite useful for the syntactic interpretation of language data. The nature of the Majang case system does not allow for an easy identification of case forms for each noun, as the differences between nominative, absolutive and ergative are usually expressed only tonally or through idiosyncratic stem changes, if indeed they are expressed at all. The conjoint-disjoint distinction therefore frequently allows a clear identification between some homophonous case forms, as in the following examples:

Example III.30: case disambiguation through conjoint and disjoint verb forms

- a) **dé:gàr** **wár^L** **kékàr.**
sleep\3s.CJ dog\SG.ABS again
A dog sleeps again.
- b) **dé:gár** **wár** **gòdèj.**
sleep\3s.DJ dog\SG.NOM house\LOC
The dog sleeps at the house.

Both examples have the same verb ‘*he sleeps*’ as the intransitive predicate. Example a) has it immediately followed by the *S* in the absolutive case. Example b) has the same *S*-NP following the same verb. Although on the surface the two subject NPs in both clauses sound identical (the lack of downstep on the nominative form cannot be heard in this context with a following low tone), the difference of the conjoint-disjoint marking on the verb makes it clear that in example a) **wár^L** is in the absolutive case, whereas in example b) **wár** is not. It is therefore marked by the nominative case, which becomes only clear through the redundancy effect of conjoint marking.

III.4 The Sentence-Final Topicality Marker (SFT)

Another device of the Majang language related to topicality is the *sentence-final topicality marker* (SFT).

This device consists of a velar nasal =ŋ, added as an enclitic to the last constituent of a main clause, if this constituent is either a verb phrase or a topical NP. This main clause needs to be the last element of its sentence; a main clause that is not the final clause of its complex sentence is not marked.

The following set of examples shows the use of the SFT-marker at the end of the verb phrase:

Example III.31: SFT-marker following verb phrases

- a) **kè: ɓàrtéŋ.**
kè: ɓàrt-é=ŋ
then give.birth-3S.DJ=SFT
Then she gave birth.
- b) **pá:kkì: kôŋ.**
pá:k-kî.^L kó:^L=ŋ
hot-CP.1P.DJ NFUT=SFT
We will soon be hot.
- c) **nè ɲàr nè:kè dé:gârŋ.**
nè ɲàr nè:kè dé:gâr=ŋ
CONJ go\3S.DJ then sleep\3S.DJ=SFT
He went and then slept.

These examples are full sentences in Majang. They have in common that no element is following the verb phrase. This requires the use of the SFT-clitic. In example b) this marker is attached to the tense marker, which is here the final element of the VP (see section V.2 for a discussion of the need to establish the VP as a relevant syntactic unit of Majang). The *S* of each final clause is topical and therefore does not have to be overtly present to be identifiable. This is always the case with 1st and 2nd person subjects (as in example b), and it happens with some 3rd person subjects, as in example a) and c). The SFT-marker, if attached to a sentence-final verb phrase, therefore shows that the topical but unexpressed *S* (except by indexation) is the only topical constituent in the final clause.

But not only verb phrases are marked by the *SFT*-clitic. It is also used on sentence-final NPs when these are seen as topical.

Example III.32: *SFT*-marker following topical sentence-final noun phrases

- a) **nè nù:l-dí: béá^L nè:k-é:ŋ.**
nè nù:l-dí: béá^L nè:k-é = ŋ
CONJ break-AC.3S spear\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SFT
His spear broke.
- b) **nè cà:dí^L né:k-é^L èpáj cè:m-ŋ.**
nè cà:dí^L né:k-é^L èpáj cè:m = ŋ
CONJ then POSS\3S.SG-LOC chase\3S.DJ 3S=SFT
Then, at that time, he chased him.
- c) **má^L bòkòtú émé^L lè:r-à:ŋ.**
má^L bòkòt-í émé^L lè:r-à = ŋ
but kill\3S.DJ mother\3S.ABS Leer-DAT=SFT
But he killed Leer's mother.

Example a) has a nominative NP at the end of the clause, whereas examples b) and c) have a topical *P*-NP, which in the case of c) is modified by a dative NP that serves as the special possessive form of kinship nouns (Unseth, 1992b, p. 99). In all three cases, the NP following the verb is topical, as established through the pragmatic context of the narratives from which these examples were picked (see section III.1 for a discussion of the pragmatic factors determining what is topical in Majang).

Not only absolutive and nominative NPs can be followed by the *SFT*-clitic. It can also be seen on locative or dative NPs, when their referents are interpreted as topical in the discourse:

Example III.33: *SFT*-marker following topical locative or dative noun phrases

- a) **dé'ná kán^L ké:c mìlkíác-è:ŋ.**
dén-á kán^L ké:c mìlkíác-è = ŋ
see-1S-DJ MEDPST priest Milkias-LOC=SFT
I saw (it) with Rev. Milkias.
- b) **gèlè:w-er bò ré tìn-à^Lŋ.**
gèlè:w-er bò ré tìn-a^L = ŋ
listen-3P.DJ also 3P.PRAG 1P-DAT-SFT
They also listen to us.

These last two examples provide the clearest evidence that the *SFT*-clitic is indeed a topicality marker. In example a) the locative NP refers to a well-known figure among the discourse participants. In example b) the dative NP refers to the speech-act participants themselves. At least the first example can be used without the *SFT*-marker, then indicating that the clause-final NP is not topical (if Rev. Milkias is an unexpected entity to the discourse participants in this context).

Regardless of the case of the NP marked by the *SFT*-clitic, the clitic only makes a statement about the topical status of that NP. Other NPs preceding that NP can be topical or non-topical, and their status would instead be shown by DEM, differential-*S* marking, the conjoint-disjoint distinction, or not at all.

This *SFT*-clitic was subjected to various interpretations in the literature on Majang, as it puzzled all researchers, including the present author, leading to various insufficient analyses. Bender (1983, p. 132) just noted its optional presence and then wisely refrained from any further analysis of the clitic. Unseth (1989b, p. 111), with much better data, attempted an analysis of =ŋ as an intransitivity marker, but he himself listed a number of problems with this proposal. Examples III.32b) and c) clearly show that =ŋ may be applied to the *P* of transitive clauses. Unseth further had to call the marker optional, as he had to concede data where the *SFT*-marker is left out in intransitive clauses – these are clauses in which the intransitive verb is followed by non-topical *S*-NPs or adverbial phrases:

Example III.34: lack of *SFT*-markers in intransitive clauses

a) **kùcù jègúj.**

kùc-ì jègúj
come-3S.CJ ox\SG.ABS
An ox comes.

b) **nè kè: dũkà cê.**

nè kè: dũk-a^L cê
CONJ go\3S.DJ forest-SG.DAT DEM.DAT
She went to the forest.

Getachew (2014) glossed the morpheme throughout his thesis as a perfective marker, without providing evidence that may have lead him to this analysis. But it is no problem to attach the clitic to clearly imperfective propositions:

Example III.35: *SFT*-marker in imperfective clauses

- a) **dàkín kó^L tá^L à ìndíŋ.**
dàk-ín kó^L tá^L à ìndí=ŋ
remain-2S,DJ NFUT 1S.DAT CONJ mother\1S.NOM=SFT
You will remain my mother.
- b) **wé:wé:í:kàríŋ.**
wé:wé:í-k-ár=ŋ
swing\IPFV-AP-EXT-2P,DJ=SFT
You_{pl} swing back and forth.

In Joswig (2015) I devoted a whole section of my paper to show that **=ŋ** is used to mark that a verb is accompanied by nothing but argument indexation, with no participants coded by overt NPs. My analysis assumed that the marker only appears on verb phrases, never on noun phrases, and therefore I wrongly doubted some data provided by Unseth (1989b), who suggested that the marker is also used on NPs. As examples III.32 and III.33 reveal, the current analysis now agrees with Unseth that the marker is used on both verb phrases and noun phrases.

It may be tempting to call the *SFT*-marker a clause- or phrase-final marker, as has happened for the closely related Suri-Tirmaga language (Bryant, 1999, p. 95); but this would mask that its occurrence is conditioned by the pragmatic environment of the clause, in conjunction with a few syntactic factors. The placement of the *SFT*-marker is governed by the following rules:

1. The *SFT*-marker is used on main-clause verb phrases if they are not followed by any other material before the end of the clause.
2. The *SFT*-marker is used on topical main-clause NPs if they are not followed by any other material before the end of the clause.
3. The *SFT*-marker is only used at the end of a sentence.

The first two rules were already illustrated above. One more set of examples is needed to illustrate that any other material following the verb phrase or the topical NP prevents the use of the *SFT*-clitic. The adverb **kékar** ‘again’ is such material, as can be seen in the following examples. The *SFT*-marker cannot be placed anywhere in these sentences:

Example III.36: no use of *SFT*-marker following other material

- a) **nè kúci^L tàj^L kékàr.**
nè kúc-i^L tàj-í^L kékàr
CONJ come-1P.DJ investigate-1P.DJ again
We will begin to investigate again.
- b) **nè nàrkí dūjé^L kékàr.**
nè nàr-kí dūjé^L kékàr
CONJ go-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM again
Hyena came again.

The third rule requires more explanation. The substance of the rule is, of course, implied in the name of the sentence-final topicality marker. It means that the *SFT*-marker is not used at the end of a non-final clause:

Example III.37: no *SFT*-marker in a non-final clause

- má^L wár^L kónk nàrkí, nè dām à óbîŋ.**
má^L wár^L kónk nàr-kí nè dām à óbîŋ=ŋ
but dog\SG.NOM REF\RECPST go-CP.3S.DJ CONJ eat\3S.DJ CONJ big\3S.DJ=SFT
But Dog went over and ate a lot.

If the *SFT*-marker were to be used not only at the end of each sentence, but at the end of each clause that complies with conditions 1 and 2, then one would expect it in this sentence to show up following **nàrkí**. But it is not used, which establishes its role as a *sentence*-final topicality marker. This knowledge helps with parsing strings of main clauses, which in narratives are all introduced by the ubiquitous conjunction **nè**. Speaker intuition quite often lumped clauses together into one orthographic sentence which according to the use of the *SFT*-marker apparently need to be broken up into two sentences:

Example III.38: the *SFT*-marker as a sentence recognition device

- má^L cénk^L wár^{L49} èŋàdāŋ. nè èŋádîr dūjéd^L à jòwé:dfiŋ.**
má^L cénk^L wár^L èŋàdā: =ŋ nè èŋádîr
but 3S.CONTR dog\SG.ABS sniff\3S.DJ=SFT CONJ smell-CF.3S
dūjéd^L à jòwé:dfi: =ŋ
hyena\SG.ABS CONJ far\3S.DJ=SFT
But dog sniffed. He smelled Hyena far away.

⁴⁹ This form could also be the nominative **wár**, as the floating *L* cannot be phonetically established preceding a word beginning with a low tone. But in this syntactic context, accompanying a co-referential contrastive pronoun, only absolutive nouns are encountered.

These two main clauses were originally seen by the informants as being parts of the same sentence. The use of the *SFT*-marker following the first verb, however, does not allow such an interpretation – that text segment needs to be analyzed as containing two syntactically independent sentences.⁵⁰

Two additional problems remain with the interpretation of **=ŋ** as a sentence-final topicality marker. First, there are a few instances like the following example where the *SFT*-marker is used and where absolutely no topical participant appears to be involved in the clause. These examples contain impersonal weather or environmental verbs.

Example III.39: further problems with the *SFT*-marker

nè kɔ́júúrú'rúŋ òkó cìnik

nè kɔ́júúrú-í=ŋ òkó cì-n-ì-k.

CONJ become.dark-3S.DJ=SFT like DEM-SG-SP-POSS

It became dark, just like this.

This sentence, at first glance, may fit better with the analysis of **=ŋ** as a marker for argument indexation only, as proposed in Joswig (2015) – there I assumed a completely syntactic rule governing its appearance on verb phrases, whenever no other constituents were present in the sentence. This analysis made no reference to pragmatic factors, but also had to wrongly ignore all occurrences of **=ŋ** on noun phrases. An alternative interpretation, in line with the idea of **=ŋ** as a topicality marker, is that weather and environmental verbs indeed refer to topical entities, that is the weather and the general environment – the interaction of these with the narrative can be taken for granted and is grounded in the world-view of the speech-act participants.⁵¹

Second – and this can be illustrated with the same example III.39 – this sentence has material following the verb marked by the *SFT*-marker. Majang narratives frequently use such expressions which seem to express the attitude of the narrator (see examples IV.267 and V.138b), and which are usually translated as *'just like this'*. It might be possible to analyze them as extra-clausal and even extra-sentence material which is thrown in by the narrator after the sentence as such is finished, but before the next sentence begins.

⁵⁰ See example V.126 for an apparent exception to the rule that the *SFT*-clitic closes every sentence.

⁵¹ See Givón (1990, pp. 904, example 9a) for a similar topical understanding of weather phenomena.

Part IV: Morphology

This major part of the language description approaches the morphology from a predominantly formal perspective, showing which forms are used in the grammar, and what morphological processes account for derivational and inflectional variation. To provide some much-needed background to the reader, Part III: Basic Syntax gave an overview over the basic grammatical distinctions that operate on the noun and the verb. The next few sections introduce the morphology of the various parts of speech. The first of these is the noun (section IV.1), followed by the verb (section IV.2, including stative verbs). The other word classes, including pronouns, modifiers, adverbs, auxiliaries, prepositions and particles, are presented in section IV.3.

IV.1 Nouns

In most languages the most complex inflectional and derivational processes are found in the verbal system. This is not the case for Majang. The nominal system of the language provides a number of challenges to anyone trying to describe the system. Notable complexity appears particularly in the stunning variety of number markers, and even more so in the multidimensional case-marking system of the language. A large proportion of markings is not achieved by segmental suffixes, but by sometimes quite idiosyncratic segmental and tonal stem changes, which defy any attempt to capture them with simple morphological rules.

IV.1.1 The structure of the noun word

Majang nouns display grammatical information for number and case. Number is usually shown by various suffixes. The absolutive, ergative and nominative cases are distinguished tonally, and involve different noun stems (see section IV.1.3.2). The dative, genitive and (often) locative cases are indicated by suffixes which attach to the noun or the noun phrase. In addition to the inflectional marking, nouns can further be marked for syntactic purposes

by various enclitics. The structure of the Majang noun can be represented as follows:

$$\text{stem} - \text{number} - \text{case} = \text{enclitic}$$

The number and case slots are both optional, which means that there are many nouns for which one or both of them are not filled.

Example IV.1: examples of noun words

word	root/stem	number	case	enclitic	gloss
kùtúr	kùtúr				hog (SG.ABS)
ḡòkór:jánè:kè	ḡòkór:ján	-è:k	-è		tortoise (PL-LOC)
ḡúmá:tà	ḡúmá:t		-à		owner (SG.DAT)
bàḡĩer	bàḡĩ	-èr			upper arm (PL.ERG)
bò:lúá'kántĩṅ	bò:lúá'kánt			=ŋ	bladder (NOM.SG=SFT)
tígónántá ^L	tígón	-ant	-a ^L		shoulder (SG.DAT)
gùmfēṅ	gùmí	-êr		=ŋ	cobra (NOM-PL=SFT)

IV.1.2 Derivation processes

Few clear derivation processes were observed on noun roots. Only three derivation markers seem to apply exclusively to nouns, and they derive other nouns from them. The marker **-ikem** (sometimes with high tone, sometimes with low tone) derives abstract nouns from nouns referring to persons displaying a certain quality. The first vowel of this marker appears to be realized as an approximant when following a vowel.

Example IV.2: abstract-noun derivation with **-ikem**

a)	ḡóté	lazy guy	ḡòtèjkém	laziness
b)	mót	blind man	mòtì:kém	blindness
c)	gá:gè	fool	gà:gèjkém	foolishness

The second marker **-kàn** is used to create person nouns based on other nouns. It is very similar in function and behavior to the nominalization marker **-tàn**, which is only used on verbal roots (see example IV.123). It always has a low tone. The plural form of this suffix contains a long vowel, has its own high tone, and takes the plural suffix **-ak^L**. The following table contains a selection of examples of this highly productive⁵² nominalization device:

⁵² It is even used for derivations from recent loans like **rèbèc** from Amharic **ጸገኝ** 'disturb'.

Example IV.3: person-noun derivation with **-kàn**

root	gloss of root	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
rèbèc	<i>disturbance</i>	rébécàkàn	rébéc'ká:nák ^L	<i>troublemaker</i>
gírój	<i>poverty</i>	gírójkàn	gírój'ká:nák ^L	<i>poor person</i>
gò:l	<i>grudge</i> <i>N</i>	gò:l kàn	gò:l'ká:nák ^L	<i>enemy</i>
kó:ɲ	<i>curse</i> <i>N</i>	kó:ɲkàn	kó:ɲ'ká:nák ^L	<i>cursed person</i>
wòrí	<i>money</i>	wòríkàn	wòrí'ká:nák ^L	<i>rich man</i>

The third suffix **-en^L** was encountered for further agent-noun formations: **ìjá:g^L** ‘work’ turns into **ìjá:gén^L** *PL*. **ìjá:gér** ‘worker’. The nouns **ódòwén^L** ‘chief’ and **gúmá:kén^L** ‘enemy’ also seem to have been derived that way, from unattested roots.

Beyond these clear but rare examples of nominal derivation it is likely that at least some verbs are derived from nouns. The following list of examples shows pairs of nouns and verbs, where the most basic meaning appears to be the nominal variant. Although it might be possible to treat these pairs in the section on nominalization, it appears more satisfactory to assume the noun to be the basic category, from which the verb is formed through conversion. All forms of nominalization described in section IV.2.2 use entirely different morphological means, so that this conversion mechanism definitely sticks out. Furthermore, as seen in example IV.3 above, the person-noun **kó:ɲkàn** ‘cursed person’ apparently is based on the noun **kó:ɲ** ‘curse’, using the marker **-kàn**, which is elsewhere used on clearly nominal roots only. This noun **kó:ɲ** therefore seems to be more basic than its verbal counterpart **kò:ɲ**. Against this analysis, however, stands the fact that three of these noun-verb pairs make use of the archaic causative prefix **i-** (Unseth, 1998, p. 116). It appears likely that at an earlier stage of language history these roots must have been originally verbs.

Example IV.4: conversion pairs of nouns and verbs

noun. sg.	noun. pl.	gloss of noun	verb	gloss of verb
còngúj	còngújártók ^L	<i>music</i>	còngùj	<i>play instrument</i>
gá:cé	gá:céé ^L	<i>wound</i> <i>N</i>	gà:cèj	<i>make a tattoo</i>
	í:líá ^L	<i>song</i>	ì:líà:	<i>sing</i>
ìbá:l ^L	ìbá:lák ^L	<i>game</i>	ìbá:l	<i>play</i>
ìjá:g ^L	ìjá:gák ^L	<i>work</i> <i>N</i>	ìjá:g	<i>work</i> <i>V</i>
jòngój	jòngójík ^L	<i>wind</i>	jòngòj	<i>blow</i>
kó:ɲ	kó:ɲkúk ^L	<i>curse</i> <i>N</i>	kò:ɲ	<i>curse</i> <i>V</i>

kóndì	kóndìè	<i>fish hook</i>	kòndì	<i>fish v</i>
náci^L	náciè	<i>bread</i>	nàcì	<i>bake</i>

Other means of nominal derivation, for example diminutives, or male/female markers, were not observed in the available data.

IV.1.3 Inflectional processes

As indicated in section IV.1.1, nouns can be inflected for number and case. In line with other Surmic languages, the Majang language does not make any grammatical gender distinctions.

The noun template (see example IV.1) states that maximally two inflection suffixes can be used on the noun. These two slots are conveniently called *number* and *case*. But there are various reasons why the two grammatical features number and case cannot be treated separately from each other. As stated above, some nouns have their number and case marked entirely without filling these slots. Other configurations fill only one slot, and the morpheme filling it provides information on both number and case. As an example, the noun **bó:lón^L** ‘old man (ABS.SG)’ forms the absolutive plural as **bó:lónér^L** and the modified ergative plural as **bó:lónér^L**. The locative plural is formed as **bó:lónéré^L**. The locative and absolutive plural use the long-vowelled suffix **-ér^L** and the ergative the short-vowelled suffix **-ér^L**. The fact that the locative form still needs to add the locative marker **-é^L** in the case slot of the noun makes it clear that the two markers **-ér^L** and **-ér^L** have to be seen as filling the number slot, although they also contain implicit case information. The difference in vowel length of the number marker is the difference responsible for the case differentiation between absolutive and ergative.

To account for this portmanteau behavior of the number and case markers, and for the fact that many nouns use stem differences for their inflectional categories, this section first introduces the various ways in which number can be marked, and next the ways in which case can be marked. But already in the section dealing with number marking, paradigms are provided that show the case-marking variations of a particular number-marker allomorph.

IV.1.3.1 Number marking

Majang distinguishes between singular and plural. All elements of the noun phrase show number agreement with the head noun, and subject marking on

the verb also agrees with the number of the referenced entity. Number marking was treated by Bender (1983, pp. 124–127) and in more detail by Unseth (1988b). These works are generally adequate, but because of their lack of tone marking they missed some morphological distinctions. Getachew (2014, p. 94ff) filled some of these gaps by providing information on the role of tone in number marking. All three previous approaches are similar to each other in separating the issue of number marking from case marking. It is shown in section IV.1.3.2 that such a treatment cannot do justice to the morphological processes operating on Majang nouns; therefore I provide paradigms of case marking together with number-marking allomorphs. A complete picture of number-case combinations is presented in section IV.1.3.3.

A number-marking system as complex as the one encountered in Majang opens up the question whether it can really be seen as an inflectional device. One could alternatively consider treating it as a lexical process, possibly involving derivation devices that create different singular and plural stems, as suggested by Hayward (1981, p. 128f) for Dirayta. I treat it as an inflectional category, mostly in order to present it together with other inflectional categories such as case and modification, which often combine to portmanteau formatives with the number markers. Furthermore, in spite of the multitude of number formatives, particularly for the plural, some generalizations can be made about how they are applied. The number of nouns with a number-marking behavior that is not copied by at least one other noun is very small. Furthermore, singular and plural marking generally come to predictable meanings entirely centered around the dimension of grammatical number.

Number marking is obligatory in Majang – single referents require a singular form, and multiple referents require a plural form. Almost every noun is clearly identifiable for its number value. Most nouns have a singular root and a marked plural, but for some it is the other way around. For a number of nouns both forms are morphologically marked. Some nouns only come in either a singular or a plural form, and for a few nouns number marking happens through suppletion. Majang therefore clearly exhibits the – according to Dimmendaal (2000, p. 216) – prototypical number-marking characteristics of a Nilo-Saharan language.

Which form of number marking is chosen for each noun seems to be mostly a lexical decision. But, as Unseth (1988b, p. 79) points out, *“some generalizations concerning various plural noun classes are noticeable. Some of the plural classes are grouped by phonological criteria and others by semantic*

criteria.” Such generalizations, however, are not more than tendencies, and if such tendencies are observable for a particular marker, they are indicated in the section dealing with this marker.

As a basis for all numerical information given in the sections below, 719 nouns were analyzed for their number-marking behavior.

Singular

The singular forms of Majang can be divided into two basic groups. For the first group of nouns, the singular is entirely unmarked. The second group uses a singular marker, which for almost all of them is a variation of the suffix **-n(t)**, sometimes with a preceding vowel. In spite of substantial similarities between these suffixes, which certainly suggest that they all go back to the same historical source, it is synchronically not possible to treat them all as allomorphs of the same singular marker, as no rules can be established that govern the choice of suffix with any predictability. Three nouns seem to use the entirely different singular marker **-a^L**.

Unmarked singular nouns

Most nouns in the sample (at least 630) leave the singular completely unmarked. About 125 of these have a floating low tone following the absolute-singular noun stem. The only effect of this is a lowering of the register of the next word. The following example shows unmarked singular nouns (a-c) and singulars followed by a floating *L* (d-f); the possessive pronoun **ná:k** ‘my’ with its high tone is used as a diagnostic device to show the resulting downstep.

Example IV.5: nouns with and without floating *L* in the singular

- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| a) á:bé ná:k | my fig tree | d) tépén ^L ná:k | my forehead |
| b) màcàré ná:k | my fence | e) ètéð ^L ná:k | my honey |
| c) ùðé: ná:k | my pestle | f) ùtúl ^L ná:k | my hole |

One could attempt to identify this floating low tone as a marker for the absolute singular for those nouns that have it. But it can be seen in the following sections that in Majang the various stems of the same noun can be very different from each other, including the presence and absence of floating *L*s. It is therefore not helpful to try to distinguish between nouns that just happen

to end in a floating *L* and those which may use it as a marker for the absolutive singular. In what follows, it is assumed that a floating *L* is always a stem feature. For some nouns it can be shown that this floating low tone may have an effect observable in other stems. For example, regarding the noun **dú:dúr^L** ‘dust’, it can be shown that the floating *L* in the singular stem has a noticeable effect on the number suffix of the plural form **dú:dúrè** (see example IV.24 for details). For other nouns, such effects cannot be observed, so for these cases it is assumed that the floating *L* is just a feature of the absolutive singular stem.

The nouns with unmarked singular can have quite different case-marking strategies, as the following case paradigms of unmarked singular nouns may illustrate:

Example IV.6: case paradigms of unmarked singular nouns

form	<i>man</i>	<i>heart</i>	<i>antelope</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>friend</i>	<i>eel</i>	<i>woman</i>
<i>ABS</i>	ídfí ^L	ḡàjè	ḡdè	ḡdè	cà:kóm ^L	cúwǒj	jàrtí
<i>ERG</i>	ídfí	ḡàjá:j	ḡdè:	ḡdè:	cà:kòm	cúwǒj	jàrtí:
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	ídfí ^L	ḡàjé ^L	ḡdè ^L	ḡdè ^L	cà:kóm ^L	cúwǒj	jàrtí ^L
<i>NOM</i>	ídfí ^L	ḡàjá:j ^L	ḡdè ^L	ḡdè ^L	cà:kóm	cúwǒj	jàrtí: ^L
<i>DAT</i>	étà	ḡàjá:jà	ḡdèá	ḡdèà	cà:kómá ^L	cúwǒjà	jàrtià
<i>LOC</i>	étè	ḡàjá:j	ḡdè	ḡdèj	cà:kómè	cúwǒjè	jàrti:
<i>LOC.MOD</i>	étè	ḡàjá:j	ḡdè	ḡdèj	cà:kómè	cúwǒjè	jàrti:
<i>POSS</i>	étònk	ḡàjá:jònk	ḡdájònk	ḡdèònk	cà:kómk	cúwǒjík	jàrtiònk

Not many generalizations about the case marking of unmarked singular nouns are possible. The ergative has low tones on short vowels and *HL* sequences on long vowels. But whether the vowel in question is long or short cannot be reliably predicted from looking at the absolutive stem. The modified ergative/nominative form almost always has a high tone followed by a floating *L*, but even to this generalization there are exceptions like **cúwǒj**. The plain nominative form often has a floating *L*, but that, too, can be unpredictably absent. The dative sometimes has a *L*, and sometimes a *H*, which is sometimes followed by a floating *L* and sometimes not. The locative can be formed by **-è** or **-é** or some idiosyncratic stem change involving length and tone. Those locatives without a suffix also provide a modified locative form which is different from the plain locative. The possessive usually has a tonal variant of the suffix **-onk**, but is sometimes also expressed by the alternative suffix **-k**. Additionally, there are stem changes, as for ‘heart’, or even suppletion on nouns like ‘man’. But these are infrequent.

Marked singular nouns

All other singular forms involve a choice of one of several segmental suffixes, which, except for the three nouns in example IV.19, minimally involve the nasal /n/⁵³, often preceded by a vowel. These formatives are presented in the following in the order of their frequency. Because of their marked status, Unseth (1988b, p. 76) calls these morphological singular suffixes *singulative*, but in the following I do not further pursue the distinction between singular and singulative.

The full singular marker of all these forms is in fact **-(V)nt**, which is fully expressed for the ergative, nominative, locative and dative cases. Only the modified nominative and ergative forms omit the consonant **-t**, as well as the absolutive forms. Because previous treatments of Majang number marking only compared absolutive case forms, the full form of this singular suffix remained undescribed so far.

Example IV.7: nouns with singulars marked by **-(V)nt**

absolutive singular	nominative singular	gloss
ádámój-ín^L	ádámój-ínt^L	<i>hunter</i>
ɲèd-àn	ɲèd-ánt^L	<i>tooth</i>
kó:lt-ún^L	kó:lt-únt^L	<i>rib</i>

About 35 nouns⁵⁴ (most of them denoting body parts) were found with the singular suffix **-an(t)^L**. This suffix displays two different tonal behaviors. The suffix on the nouns **àtawàn** ‘tendrils’, **bàlgàjàn** ‘gill’, **dérán^L** ‘leg’, **dó:ján^L** ‘repentance’, **dɔ:ɲàn** ‘tree, sp.’, **gòpàn** ‘path’, **kélɲán^L** ‘armpit’, **kó:ɲán^L** ‘knee’, **kùɲàn** ‘snot’, **lé:ján^L** ‘bracelet’, **mó:ɲán^L** ‘kidney’, **ɲèdàn** ‘tooth’, **ɲó:lán^L** ‘nape of neck’, **órkan^L** ‘bark of tree’, **pàriwàn** ‘cheek’, **pìlàn** ‘eyelash’, **pìlètàn** ‘tear’, **tàrmàn** ‘hide’, and **tígónán^L** ‘shoulder’ copies the last tone of the stem, so that the *H* on the suffix is not downstepped.

⁵³ Unseth (1988b, p. 84) discusses the Majang number formatives and their relation to Bryan’s (1968) *N/*K distinction.

⁵⁴ Countless infinitives and negative verb forms (see section IV.2.2.1) also use this marker, so this is really an open class with a lot more potential members.

Example IV.8: paradigms of singular nouns marked by **-an(t)^L**:

form	<i>shoulder</i>	<i>tooth</i>
<i>ABS</i>	tígónán ^L	ɲèdàn
<i>ERG</i>	tígónânt	ɲèdânt
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	tígónán ^L	ɲèdán ^L
<i>NOM</i>	tígónánt ^L	ɲèdánt ^L
<i>DAT</i>	tígónántá ^L	ɲèdántá
<i>LOC</i>	tígónánt ^L	ɲèdé
<i>LOC.MOD</i>	tígónánt ^L	ɲèdé
<i>POSS</i>	tígónántónk	ɲèdántónk

In these examples the change between suffixes ending in /t/ and those without can be seen nicely. But there are also irregularities, like the different ways of forming the locative (which does not distinguish between plain and modified forms for any of these nouns).

The other 17 nouns take the singular suffix **-án(t)^L** with a fixed *H* (except for the plain ergative form). This high tone is downstepped following a high tone on the stem, according to the morpheme-downstep rule.

Example IV.9: paradigms of singular nouns marked by **-án(t)^L**

form	<i>shin</i>	<i>in-law</i>	<i>bladder</i>
<i>ABS</i>	cér:lán ^L	tèkán ^L	bò:lúá'kán ^L
<i>ERG</i>	cér:lânt	tèkàn	bò:lúá'kânt
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	cér:lán ^L	tèkán ^L	bò:lúá'kán ^L
<i>NOM</i>	cér:lánt ^L	tèkán	bò:lúá'kánt ^L
<i>DAT</i>	cér:lántá ^L	tèkántá ^L	bò:lúá'kántá
<i>LOC</i>	cér:lánt ^L	tèkánt	bò:lúá'kánt ^L
<i>LOC.MOD</i>	cér:lánt ^L	tèkánt	bò:lúá'kánt ^L
<i>POSS</i>	cér:lántónk	tèkántónk	bò:lúá'kántónk

All of these nouns have the alternation between suffixes ending in /t/ and those that don't, but the noun for 'in-law' shows some deviations regarding the ergative and nominative forms.

Apart from the three nouns shown above, **bógó:án^L** 'ankle', **ḡlòkán^L** 'bone marrow', **cóco:án^L** 'maize flour', **díkí:nán^L** 'intestines', **gámá:án^L** 'molar tooth', **kòpán^L** 'shoe', **ḡókán^L** 'chick', **pá:rán^L** 'plank', **pètè:kán^L** 'chaff', **réké:nán^L** 'branch', **témán^L** 'firewood', **émé:nán^L** 'bone' and **tótó:kán^L** 'egg' also belong to this group of nouns.

There are nine nouns which form a singular by adding the suffix **-n(t)** to the stem, leaving the tonal structure of the stem unchanged. For all these nouns the plural is unmarked. They all refer to entities that tend to come in groups or at least in pairs (see Dimmendaal (2000, p. 229) for a discussion of similar marking patterns in other Nilo-Saharan languages). This is even true for **èŋén** ‘nose’, where the singular refers to a single nostril of the nose, and two different plural forms refer to either one nose (**èŋé**) or to multiple noses of different people (**èŋètùn**). The nine nouns further have in common that the noun stem ends on a vowel; it could therefore be argued that the suffix **-n(t)** is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of one of the other suffixes that have a fixed vowel. This does not work for the suffix **-an(t)**, which can also attach to stems ending on a vowel. For the other suffixes **-Vn(t)**, **-un(t)^L** and **-ɔn(t)^L/-on(t)^L** (see below) any claim of a phonologically based allomorphy is thwarted by two considerations: first, for the other suffixes, the plural is never unmarked, but marked with a corresponding plural marker (**-er** for **-Vn(t)**, **-i** for **-un(t)^L**, **-ɔk^L** for **-ɔn(t)^L/-on(t)^L**) – it would be very difficult to explain how a phonologically based choice of allomorphs would then trigger the choice of a completely different inflection class for plural marking. Second, none of the other singular markers matches the semantic profile of mass or pair nouns as observed for the nouns marked by **-n(t)**. Therefore the present analysis does not try to attempt any conflation of different singular markers into single morphemes based on phonological grounds.

Example IV.10: singular nouns marked by **-n(t)**

root	singular	plural	gloss
èŋé	èŋén	èŋé	<i>nose</i>
kó:ltú ^L	kó:ltún ^L	kó:ltú ^L	<i>rib</i>
tè:tò	tè:tòn	tè:tò	<i>bird</i>
ŋètì	ŋètìn	ŋètì	<i>lice</i>
mà:rjò	mà:rjòn	mà:rjò	<i>stars</i>
kè:gù	kè:gùn	kè:gù	<i>animal</i>
mè:rì	mè:rìn	mè:rì	<i>vein</i>
órpá ^L	órpán ^L	órpá ^L	<i>naming ceremony</i>
tòbò:jò	tòbò:jòn	tòbò:jò	<i>wing</i>

The following paradigms compare two of these nouns with their unmarked (in the absolutive) plural counterparts, illustrating that the vowel preceding **-n(t)** is indeed part of the noun stem:

Example IV.11: paradigms of singular nouns marked by **-n(t)**

form	<i>louse</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>rib</i>	<i>PL</i>
<i>ABS</i>	ɲètɪn	ɲètì	kó:ltún ^L	kó:ltú ^L
<i>PL,ABS,MOD</i>		ɲètí: ^L		kó:ltú ^L
<i>ERG</i>	ɲètɪnt	ɲètí:k	kó:ltúnt	kó:ltúk
<i>ERG/NOM,MOD</i>	ɲètín ^L	ɲètí: ^L	kó:ltún ^L	kó:ltú ^L
<i>NOM</i>	ɲètɪnt	ɲètí:k ^L	kó:ltúnt ^L	kó:ltúk ^L
<i>DAT</i>	ɲètɪntá	ɲètí:kà	kó:ltúntá ^L	kó:ltúkà
<i>LOC</i>	ɲètɪnt	ɲètí:kè	kó:ltúnt ^L	kó:ltúkè
<i>LOC,MOD</i>	ɲètɪnt		kó:ltúnt ^L	
<i>POSS</i>	ɲètɪntónk	ɲètí:kònk	kó:ltúntónk	kó:ltúkònk

The six nouns ɔdɔwén^L ‘chief’, ɪá:gén^L ‘farmer’, lá:ɲójín^L ‘slave’, ádámójín^L ‘hunter’, tékáján^L ‘firstborn’, gúmá:kén^L ‘enemy’, and kájánín^L ‘fly’ form the singular by adding the suffix **-Vn(t)**^L where **V** stands for the vowels /e/, /a/ or /i/, which copy the tone of the last stem syllable. Except for kájánín^L ‘fly’ (singular stem: káján, but the plural stem is káján), all nouns of this class have a high-toned stem. All nouns refer to human beings, except again for kájánín^L ‘fly’, so that the common denominator of these nouns may be *animate*. These nouns have their plural marked by **-er**. Once more, the following paradigms add information on the plural in order to see that the singular marker is entirely replaced by the plural marker, and therefore cannot be interpreted as part of the stem.

Example IV.12: paradigms of singular nouns marked by **-Vn(t)**^L

form	<i>hunter</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>fly</i>	<i>PL</i>
<i>ABS</i>	ádámójín ^L	ádámójér ^L	kájánín ^L	kájánér ^L
<i>PL,ABS,MOD</i>		ádámójér ^L		kájánér ^L
<i>ERG</i>	ádámòjìnt	ádámójèr	kájánìnt	kájánèr
<i>ERG/NOM,MOD</i>	ádámójín ^L	ádámójér ^L	kájánín ^L	kájánér ^L
<i>NOM</i>	ádámójínt ^L	ádámójér ^L	kájánínt ^L	kájánér ^L
<i>DAT</i>	ádámójíntà	ádámójérá ^L	kájáníntà	kájánérá ^L
<i>LOC</i>	ádámójíntè	ádámójéré ^L	kájáníntè	kájánéré ^L
<i>LOC,MOD</i>	ádámójíntè		kájáníntè	
<i>POSS</i>	ádámójíntònk	ádámójérònk	kájáníntònk	kájánérònk

As can be seen, the difference between these nouns and the ones taking the singular suffix **-n(t)** is that the vowel preceding **-n(t)** is part of the suffix,

whereas in the other group it is part of the stem. Furthermore, the locative is shown with a segmental suffix, which is lacking in the other group.

Five nouns form their singulars by adding **-un(t)^L** to the stem. These nouns look very similar to the nouns with the singular marker **-n(t)**, but once more the vowel /u/ is part of the suffix, not the stem, as it is replaced in the plural by the suffix **-i**. The singular suffix copies the last tone of the stem, which for all nouns but one is *L*.

Example IV.13: singular marked by **-un(t)^L**

stem	singular	gloss
àm	àmùn	<i>hair</i>
rè:rém	rè:rémún^L	<i>spark</i>
jàn	jànùn	<i>weed</i>
lò:m	lò:mùn	<i>feather</i>
lò:lòm	lò:lòmùn	<i>charred wood</i>

All five nouns have a labial sound in their final rhyme, which means that they would meet the condition for the application of the labial-harmony rule (see section II.5.3). It would therefore be possible to claim that the suffix has the underlying form **-in(t)^L**, undergoing labial harmony. Against this speaks the fact that the labial-harmony rule generally does not apply to nominal suffixes, and that therefore the nouns **lámójín^L** ‘slave’ and **ádámójín^L** ‘hunter’ of the group of nouns marking their singulars with **-Vn(t)^L** (see example IV.12) do not have their suffix undergo labial harmony. Accordingly, the suffix **-un(t)^L** cannot be seen as a phonologically conditioned allomorph of **-Vn(t)^L**. This is also confirmed by the different accompanying plural markers of these two singular suffixes (see example IV.49 for the plural forms of **àmùn** and **rè:rémún^L**).

Example IV.14: paradigms of singular nouns marked by **-un(t)^L**

form	<i>hair</i>	<i>spark</i>
<i>ABS</i>	àmùn	rè:rémún^L
<i>ERG</i>	àmúnt	rè:rémúnt
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	àmún^L	rè:rémún^L
<i>NOM</i>	àmúnt^L	rè:rémúnt^L
<i>DAT</i>	àmúntá	rè:rémúntá^L
<i>LOC</i>	àmúnt	rè:rémúnt^L
<i>LOC.MOD</i>	àmúnt	rè:rémúnt^L
<i>POSS</i>	àmúntônk	rè:rémúntônk

Two words are found marking the singular by the suffix **-ɔn^L**, which copies the tone of the root, and which is followed by a floating low tone. Their plurals are formed with the suffix **-ɔk^L**.

Example IV.15: singular marked by **-ɔn^L**

root	singular	gloss
dòm	dòmɔn	<i>leopard</i>
bét	bétɔn^L	<i>waist</i>

As can be seen in the following paradigms, in spite of their common singular marker, the two nouns⁵⁵ have quite different inflections; one with the /t/-alternation observed with other n(t)-type singulars, and the other without.

Example IV.16: paradigms of singular nouns marked by **-ɔn^L**

form	<i>leopard</i>	<i>waist</i>
<i>ABS</i>	dòmɔn	bétɔn^L
<i>ERG</i>	dòmɔn	bétɔnt
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	dòmɔn^L	bétɔn^L
<i>NOM</i>	dòmɔn^L	bétɔnt^L
<i>DAT</i>	dòmɔnà	bétɔntá^L
<i>LOC</i>	dòmɔn	bétɔnt^L
<i>LOC.MOD</i>	dòmɔn	bétɔnt^L
<i>POSS</i>	dòmɔnɔnk	bétɔntónk

Two more nouns, from a botanical semantic domain, take the similar singular suffix **-ɔn(t)^L**. They also form their plural with the form **-ɔk^L**. It is possible that these nouns form a single inflection class with the ones taking the singular **-ɔn^L**, and that the vowel variation is caused by a no longer productive back-vowel counterpart to the height-harmony rule 5. Due to the lack of conclusive data, the **-ɔn^L** form is in the following treated as a separate suffix.

Example IV.17: singular marked by **-ɔn(t)^L**

root	singular	gloss
wéjk	wéjkón^L	<i>seed</i>
pí:ŋ	pí:ŋón^L	<i>leaf</i>

⁵⁵ In spite of its low number of lexical entries, this formative is also used for the productive verbal-noun formation of many verbs (see section IV.2.2.1 for details, where the verbal nouns follow mainly the pattern of **dòmɔn**). There are therefore many more potential members of this class.

Once again, these nouns alternate forms between suffixes ending in /t/ and those without.

Example IV.18: paradigm of nouns with singular marked by **-on(t)^L**

form	<i>leaf</i>
<i>ABS</i>	pí:ŋón^L
<i>ERG</i>	pí:ŋónt
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	pí:ŋón^L
<i>NOM</i>	pí:ŋónt^L
<i>DAT</i>	pí:ŋóntá^L
<i>LOC</i>	pí:ŋónt^L
<i>LOC.MOD</i>	pí:ŋónt^L
<i>POSS</i>	pí:ŋóntónk

Three nouns were found forming their singular with a suffix not involving the consonant /n/. Their singular marker is **-a^L**, which copies the high tone of the previous syllable.

Example IV.19: **-a^L** singular nouns

root	singular	gloss
tá:m	tá:má^L	<i>eye</i>
tá:w	tá:wá^L	<i>field</i>
wé:n	wé:ná^L	<i>ear</i>

As the following paradigm reveals, these nouns appear to be irregular. The noun **wé:ná^L** seems to be an n-type singular followed by the suffix **-a**, so that it undergoes the same /t/ variation as most other n(t)-type singulars.

Example IV.20: paradigm of nouns with singular marked by **-a**

form	<i>ear</i>
<i>ABS</i>	wé:ná^L
<i>ERG</i>	wé:nt
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	wé:ná^L
<i>NOM</i>	wé:nt^L
<i>DAT</i>	wé:ntá^L
<i>LOC</i>	wé:nt
<i>LOC.MOD</i>	wé:nt
<i>POSS</i>	wé:ntónk

Plural marking

The Majang language provides a much greater variety of strategies for plural marking than for marking the singular. Most nouns mark their plural by a suffix – see Table 7 below for an overview over these 19 suffixes. Only about 30 nouns were found with unmarked plurals – they either have overt singular marking, or they have no attested singular form at all.

Unmarked plural nouns

About 30 nouns were found which do not mark the plural by any means. Most of them have an attested singular form. These are **díkí:nán^L**, *PL. díkí:n* ‘intestines’, **émémán^L**, *PL. émé:n* ‘bone’, **èjén^L**, *PL. èjé* ‘nose’, **kè:gùn^L**, *PL. kè:gù* ‘animal’, **kó:ltún^L**, *PL. kó:ltú^L* ‘rib’, **mà:rjòn^L**, *PL. mà:rjò* ‘star’, **mè:rìn^L**, *PL. mè:rì* ‘vein’, **njètìn^L**, *PL. njètì* ‘louse’, **órpán^L**, *PL. órpá^L* ‘naming ceremony’, **tètòn^L**, *PL. tètò* ‘bird’, **tòbò:jòn^L**, *PL. tòbò:jò* ‘wing’ and **wé:ná^L**, *PL. wé:n* ‘ear’, supplemented by the suppletive plural forms such as **jó:p^L** ‘people’ for singular **ídi^L** ‘person’ or **òlà** ‘things’ for singular **á:n^L**.

For 14 other unmarked plural nouns the language consultants agreed that there is no singular form. It can be shown that these are plural forms by placing them in a context where they are accompanied by a modifier agreeing with their number: **tó:jó^L gá:nk** ‘my urine’, where **gá:nk** is the plural-possessed form of the *1s* possessive pronoun.

Example IV.21: unmarked plural forms without corresponding singular forms

noun	gloss	noun	gloss	noun	gloss
ùbù	lung	wé:ná^L	life	dé:wó^L	saliva
tó:jó^L	urine	jó:d^L	excrement	tírjá^L	name
jón^L	lie	jóná^L	insult	pé:	soup
ógò:l	mead	í:ljá^L	song	pèrkà	prophecy
má:w^L	water	njò:nì	vegetation		

The following are some case paradigms of these unmarked plural nouns. It becomes apparent that the plural is not always entirely unmarked for all case forms. Those nouns that take the marker **-n(t)** for the singular appear to be using the plural marker **-k** for the plural of most case forms; it is only dropped in the absolutive form and in the modified ergative/nominative forms, so that only for these cases the plural appears to be unmarked – but

the discussion on p. 206 shows that this formative **-k** needs to be seen as part of the case stem, and not as a marker suffix.

Example IV.22: paradigms of nouns with unmarked plural

form	<i>ear</i>	<i>louse</i>	<i>rib</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>thing</i>
<i>ABS</i>	wém ^L	ɲètì	kó:ltú ^L	ʒó:p ^L	òlà
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	wém ^L	ɲètí: ^L	kó:ltú ^L	ʒó:p ^L	òlà
<i>ERG</i>	wê:n	ɲètí:k	kó:ltúk	ʒò:	òlà:t
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	wém ^L	ɲètí: ^L	kó:ltú ^L	ʒò:	òlá: ^L
<i>NOM</i>	wê:n	ɲètí:k ^L	kó:ltúk ^L	ʒò:	òlá:t ^L
<i>DAT</i>	wé:ná ^L	ɲètí:kà	kó:ltúkà	ʒòpà	òlá:tá ^L
<i>LOC</i>	wé:né ^L	ɲètí:kè	kó:ltúkè	ʒò:pè	òlá:té ^L
<i>POSS</i>	wé:nônk	ɲètí:kônk	kó:ltúkônk	ʒò:pônk	òlá:tônk

Marked plural nouns

The nouns that mark their plural with a suffix can be divided into two larger categories. Most of the plurals involve the consonant /k/, either as part of the suffix, or as part of the stem, and if they do, certain predictions can be made: this formative /k/ does not show up in all case forms of the plural, but consistently in all non-central case forms. Most of these suffixes also provide for a distinction between plain and modified absolutive forms. The other group of suffixes does not involve /k/ in any of its case forms, and the absolutive forms do not further distinguish between plain and modified. This is particularly true for all nouns using a marker involving the consonant /r/ preceded by a front vowel. Some nouns using the suffixes **-tùn** or **-án**, though, augment their non-central case forms by adding the suffix **-ɛ:k**, which is borrowed from the biggest class of nouns using the plural suffix **-ɛ^L**.

The most productive and regular plural-marking class uses this plural suffix **-ɛ^L** with about 200 attestations. None of these supply their singulars entirely with low tones. This suffix is inherently toneless (apart from the floating *L* attached to it), and copies the final stem tone. This tone can be a floating low tone, and it is then realized as a low tone on the suffix **-ɛ^L**.

Example IV.23: **-ɛ^L** plural nouns

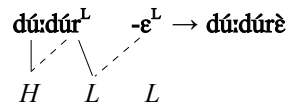
singular	plural	gloss	remark
górópsóm	górópsómé ^L	<i>larynx</i>	
túkì	túkìè	<i>beginning</i>	

lù:rí	lù:ríé^L	<i>horn (instrument)</i>	
dú:dúr^L	dú:dúré	<i>dust</i>	floating <i>L</i> realized on plural-suffix
tùmál	tùmàlè	<i>boar</i>	tone changes on stem

For most nouns of this class, the plural stem is tonally identical to the singular stem. Only a few examples such as **tùmál** vs. **tùmàlè** ‘boar’ display tone changes between the stems.

The *L* on the plural suffix of **dú:dúr^L** ‘dust’ seems surprising at first glance, since it is apparently not a copy of the preceding overt *H* of the stem. But the final tone of the stem is actually a floating *L* (which also manifests itself on the singular stem). Because it is followed by the toneless plural suffix, the floating *L* has a morpheme to dock on to, and the suffix is realized with a low tone. This low tone now renders the floating *L* following the plural suffix pointless, as automatic downstep affects any following word. Example IV.24 illustrates how the floating low tone of the stem materializes on the plural suffix:

Example IV.24: tone-spreading on **-é^L** plural nouns with floating tone



It becomes clear that the plural marker **-é^L**, in spite of the tonal variation on the surface, acts very regularly on the assumed singular stem. This is also confirmed by its equally regular behavior in the other case forms beside the absolutive:

Example IV.25: paradigms of **-é^L** plural nouns

form	<i>banana</i>	<i>donkey</i>	<i>morning</i>	<i>hog</i>	<i>wax</i>
<i>ABS</i>	mù:ʒíè	kú'rójé^L	gíbiè	kùtùrè	pógíé^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	mù:ʒíè	kú'rójé^L	gíbiè	kùtùrè	pógíé^L
<i>ERG</i>	mú:ʒí'è:k	kú'rójè:k	gíbiè:k	kùtùrè:k	pógí'è:k
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	mú:ʒí'è^L	kú'rójé^L	gíbié^L	kùtùré^L	pógíé^L
<i>NOM</i>	mú:ʒí'è:k^L	kú'rójé:k^L	gíbié:k^L	kùtùré:k^L	pógíé:k^L
<i>DAT</i>	mú:ʒíè:kà	kú'rójé:kà	gíbiè:kà	kùtùrè:kà	pógíé:kà
<i>LOC</i>	mú:ʒíè:kè	kú'rójé:kè	gíbiè:kè	kùtùrè:kè	pógíé:kè
<i>POSS</i>	mú:ʒíè:kònk	kú'rójé:kònk	gíbiè:kònk	kùtùrè:kònk	pógíé:kònk

As can be seen from these paradigms, the absolutive form of the plural suffix is really just a truncated variant of the underlying form **-ɛk**, which appears in most other case forms. This evidence places even the marker **-ɛ^L** firmly inside the general pattern of marking the plural by the formative **-k**, which becomes apparent from what follows.

Whether **-ɛ^L** is really the most numerous plural marker depends on how one interprets the various forms of the equally prolific plural markers ending in **-ak^L**. Because of their segmental affinity, one might be tempted to count all of the about 250 relevant nouns of the sample as carrying one plural marker. Or one might be drawn to split them off into smaller groups marked by different plural markers, according to their tonal behavior and their segmental idiosyncrasies – the approach followed here.

One of the plural suffixes involving the segments **-ak^L**, similar to the marker **-ɛ^L**, copies the final tone of the stem. Almost 130 nouns from the sample use this marker. This, however, is only a small fraction of its real use, as it is further employed for the plural of several nominalized forms (see section IV.2.2.1); it is therefore part of an open and productive derivation process.

The consonant **/k/** of this suffix, like with all other plural-absolutive suffixes ending in **/k/**, only appears in the unmodified absolutive form of plural nouns. In most other case forms, except for dative and locative, and sometimes for the unmodified nominative case, no **/k/** is used.

Example IV.26: nouns with **-ak^L** plural marking

root	<i>SG.ABS</i>	<i>PL.ABS</i>	<i>PL.ABS.MOD</i>	gloss
pìl	pìlàn	pìlàk	pìlà	<i>eyebrow</i>
dér	dérán^L	dérák^L	dérá^L	<i>leg</i>
ɲègèm	ɲègèm	ɲègè:màk	ɲègè:mà	<i>chin</i>

The following paradigms provide examples of the very regular case-marking behavior of most of these nouns.

Example IV.27: paradigms of **-ak^L** plural nouns

form	<i>bee</i>	<i>friend</i>	<i>tooth</i>
<i>ABS</i>	ɲédá:nák ^L	cà:kómák ^L	ɲèdàk
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	ɲédá:ná ^L	cà:kómá ^L	ɲèdà
<i>ERG</i>	ɲédá:nà	cà:kómà	ɲèdà
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	ɲédá:ná ^L	cà:kómá ^L	ɲèdá ^L
<i>NOM</i>	ɲédá:ná ^L	cà:kómá	ɲèdá
<i>DAT</i>	ɲédá:náká ^L	cà:kómáká ^L	ɲèdàkà
<i>LOC</i>	ɲédá:náké ^L	cà:kómáké ^L	ɲèdàkè
<i>POSS</i>	ɲédá:nákônk	cà:kómákônk	ɲèdàkônk

The marker **-ak^L** behaves very similar to the marker **-e^L** in the sense that the case forms alternate between displaying and not displaying the formative /k/. But the forms where the /k/ is used differ between the two inflection classes.

Nine nouns using this plural suffix have their absolutive stem with a *LH* sequence on the last syllable. These nouns are **kúlběr** ‘dove’, **cúwǒj** ‘eel’, **dà:kǎn** ‘quarrel’, **è:mè:kǎj** ‘son-in-law’, **érǒj** ‘tree, sp.’, **gà:mǔj** ‘tree, sp.’, **kámǔi** ‘partridge’, **kòdóbǐ** ‘stork’, and **wà:jǎm** ‘plant’. The singular form consists of the bare stem, without causing downstep on a following word. The plural stem is identical with the singular stem, to which the suffix **-ak^L** is added. This suffix receives the high tone of the final *LH* sequence on the stem, so that all nouns ending in a *LH* sequence have the final *H* associated with the plural marker:

Example IV.28: tone spreading on **-ak^L** plural nouns

kúlběr	-ak^L	→	kúlběrák^L	<i>doves</i>
H LH	L		H L HL	

The tone on the plural suffix results from the regular left-to-right association of the available tones to the available syllables.

Example IV.29: paradigm of nouns with final *LH* stem tones and plural marker **-ak^L**

form	<i>eel</i>
<i>ABS</i>	cúwòjá^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	cúwòjá^L
<i>ERG</i>	cúwòjá
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	cúwòjá^L
<i>NOM</i>	cúwòjá
<i>DAT</i>	cúwòjáká^L
<i>LOC</i>	cúwòjáké^L
<i>POSS</i>	cúwòjá^Lônk

Three of the nouns using the plural marker **-ak^L** (**dù:dá**, **tú:tù** and **bùcá**) at first glance appear as if they belong to the nouns forming their plural with **-kàk** (see example IV.52 below). But this is because their absolutive singular forms shorten their stems **dù:dá:k**, **tú:tú:k** and **bùcá:k**. In most other case forms the stem appears fully, not only in the plural.

Example IV.30: **-ak^L** plural nouns with stem changes

stem	singular	plural	gloss
dù:dá:k	dù:dá	dù:dà:kàk	<i>hammer</i>
bùcá:k	bùcá	bùcà:kàk	<i>malaria</i>
tú:tú:k	tú:tù	tú:tú:kák^L	<i>obstruction</i>

Another noun with a substantial stem change using the plural suffix **-ak^L** is **ɲòn** ‘place’. Its plural stem is **ɲòn:ɲit**, with the absolutive plural form **ɲòn:ɲiták**.

Example IV.31: plural paradigm of **ɲòn** ‘place’

form	<i>place</i>
<i>ABS</i>	ɲòn:ɲiták
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	ɲòn:ɲitá
<i>ERG</i>	ɲòn:ɲiták
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	ɲòn:ɲiták^L
<i>NOM</i>	ɲòn:ɲitá^L
<i>DAT</i>	ɲòn:ɲitákà
<i>LOC</i>	ɲòn:ɲitákè
<i>POSS</i>	ɲòn:ɲitákònk

Very similar to the toneless suffix **-ak^L** is the suffix **-ák^L** with a fixed *H* that is not copied from the last stem syllable. When its high tone follows another high tone of the stem, it is downstepped. About 120 nouns were found using this suffix. It appears reasonable to assume that it is closely related to **-ak^L**, and that the tonal difference is the result of some unknown process in the course of language history.

Example IV.32: **-ák^L** nouns

stem	singular	plural	gloss
gàpùt	gàpùt	gàpùták^L	<i>bat</i>
sùèt	sùèt	sùèták^L	<i>stinger</i>
tépén	tépén^L	tépé:nák^L	<i>forehead</i>
mòj	mòj	mòják^L	<i>male person</i>
târ	târ	târák^L	<i>meat</i>

These nouns behave very similarly to the ones with the plural **-ak^L** seen above.

Example IV.33: plural paradigms of nouns with plural **-ák^L**

form	<i>bat</i>	<i>meat</i>	<i>shin</i>	<i>in-law</i>	<i>bladder</i>
<i>ABS</i>	gàpùták^L	târák^L	cé:lák^L	tèkák^L	bò:lúá'kák^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	gàpùtá^L	târ:rá^L	cé:lá^L	tèká^L	bò:lúá'ká^L
<i>ERG</i>	gàpùtà	târà	cé:là	tèkà	bò:lúá'kà
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	gàpùtá^L	târ:rá^L	cé:lá^L	tèká^L	bò:lúá'ká^L
<i>NOM</i>	gàpùtá	târ:rá	cé:lá	tèká	bò:lúá'ká
<i>DAT</i>	gàpùtáká^L	târ:ráká^L	cé:láká^L	tèkáká^L	bò:lúá'káká^L
<i>LOC</i>	gàpùtáké^L	târ:ráké^L	cé:láké^L	tèkáké^L	bò:lúá'káké^L
<i>POSS</i>	gàpùtákônk	târ:rákônk	cé:lákônk	tèkákônk	bò:lúá'kákônk

The marker **-ák^L** is not only used for underived nouns, but also for the plural form of many infinitives created from verbs (see section IV.2.2.1 for how these forms are formed). Therefore, beyond the 120 lexical nouns mentioned above, the class of **ák^L**-plural nouns is really an open class. These verbal-noun forms are based on the formatives **-V:ɖ** or **-V:t**, where **V** stands for the inflection-class vowel of the verb. Usually the consonant, either **/ɖ/** or **/t/**, is dropped from the absolute singular form of the verbal noun.

Example IV.34: nouns ending in /d/, with plural formed by -ák^L

stem	singular	plural	gloss
górí:d	górí: ^L	górí:dák ^L	<i>illness</i>
rómé:d	rómé: ^L	rómé:dák ^L	<i>proverb</i>
báré:d	báré: ^L	báré:dák ^L	<i>tradition</i>
bónj:d	bónj: ^L	bónj:dák ^L	<i>marriage</i>
íré:d	íré: ^L	íré:dák ^L	<i>footprint</i>
jáwé:d	jáwé: ^L	jáwé:dák ^L	<i>circumcision</i>
jíké:d	jíké: ^L	jíké:dák ^L	<i>rattle</i>
jímé:d	jímé: ^L	jímé:dák ^L	<i>gravesite</i>
kójí:d	kójí: ^L	kójí:dák ^L	<i>payment</i>
mácé:d	mácé: ^L	mácé:dák ^L	<i>debt</i>
rémé:d	rémé: ^L	rémé:dák ^L	<i>duty</i>
rómí:d	rómí: ^L	rómí:dák ^L	<i>morning</i>
rúnjé:d	rúnjé: ^L	rúnjé:dák ^L	<i>curve</i>
tóní:d	tóní: ^L	tóní:dák ^L	<i>speech</i>
ṅádí:d	ṅádí: ^L	ṅádí:dák ^L	<i>pity</i>

All 15 nouns in this list are based on infinitives formed from verb roots by the formative -V:d. Another 14 nouns drop a /t/ from the absolutive singular stem, but not all of them appear to go back to infinitives. The first eleven of these are mostly infinitives from stative verbs (see section IV.2.4.2 for nominal derivations from stative verbs), except for wà:kójót^L, kòlèt and mèkèkórót:

Example IV.35: absolutive nouns ending in /t/, with plural formed by -ák^L

stem	singular	plural	gloss
kòlèt	kòlè:	kòlèták ^L	<i>dawn</i>
mèkèkórót	mèkèkórót ^L	mèkèkóróták ^L	<i>chameleon</i>
wà:kójót ^L	wà:kójót ^L	wà:kójóták ^L	<i>God</i>
mè:kà:t	mè:kà:	mè:kà:ták ^L	<i>pain</i>
ḡànkàwkà:t	ḡànkàwkà:	ḡànkàwkà:ták ^L	<i>power</i>
ḡò:kà:kà:t	ḡò:kà:kà:	ḡò:kà:kà:ták ^L	<i>crowd</i>
càlò:kà:t	càlò:kà:	càlò:kà:ták ^L	<i>cold weather</i>
dìlkà:t	dìlkà:	dìlkà:ták ^L	<i>weight</i>
ṅà:kà:t	ṅà:kà:	ṅà:kà:ták ^L	<i>smell (n)</i>
pà:lkà:t	pà:lkà:	pà:lkà:ták ^L	<i>famine</i>
jà:kà:t	jà:kà:	jà:kà:ták ^L	<i>peace</i>

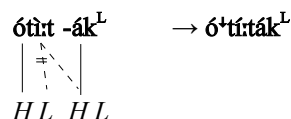
Three more underived stems also drop their /t/ in the singular, but they show a different tonal behavior. They have a low tone on the final stem syllable, which is immediately preceded by a high tone. It appears that the high tone of the plural suffix spreads left to the last stem syllable and delinks the low tone found there.

Example IV.36: **ák^L**-plural nouns with high-tone spreading

stem	singular	plural	gloss
bímbílòt	bímbílò	bímbí ⁺ lóták ^L	<i>butterfly</i>
bàrbàròt	bàrbàrò	bàrbà ⁺ róták ^L	<i>pepper</i>
ótì:t	ótì:	ó ⁺ títák ^L	<i>flour</i>

The following representation illustrates what is going on:

Example IV.37: left tone spreading on some **ák^L**-plural nouns



A total of 32 nouns form their plural by adding the suffix **-er**, which comes in two tonal varieties. The first one, with 22 nouns, carries an inherent low tone. Many of these nouns denote body parts. The stems of all these nouns either carry a high tone or the sequence *LH*, with the sole exception of **kògòd** ‘elbow’, which has a low-toned stem. The final high tone spreads onto the first part of the vowel of the suffix syllable, in this way creating a falling tone on the suffix. Many of the nouns also show the consonants /t/ or /k/ in the plural stems⁵⁶; many nouns which only have a high tone in the singular change this to *LH* in the plural. These nouns have their singular either unmarked or marked by **-an(t)^L**.

Example IV.38: nouns with plural suffix **-èr**

root	singular	plural	gloss
kádǎ ^L	kádǎ ^L	kàdátèr	<i>tongue</i>
mártó	mártó	mártókèr	<i>dry season</i>
bàdǐ	bàdǐ	bàdǐèr	<i>upper arm</i>
kògòd	kògòd	kògòdèr	<i>elbow</i>

⁵⁶ I could not establish a reason that demonstrably governs the choice between the two consonants.

kóŋ	kóŋán ^L	kóŋêr	knee
tígón	tígónán ^L	tígónêr	shoulder

For the different case forms, the plural suffix comes in two variants: one has a long vowel, used for the absolutive form (which does not further distinguish the forms according to modification) and for the non-central cases (see the respective subsection under IV.1.3.2). The second form has a short vowel and is used for the other central cases.

Example IV.39: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix **-êr**

form	cobra	upper arm	shoulder
<i>ABS</i>	gùmiêr	bàdfêr	tígónêr
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	gùmiêr	bàdfêr	tígónêr
<i>ERG</i>	gùmièr	bàdfèr	tígònèr
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	gùmiér ^L	bàdfér ^L	tígónér ^L
<i>NOM</i>	gùmiér ^L	bàdfér ^L	tígónér ^L
<i>DAT</i>	gùmiérà	bàdférà	tígónérà
<i>LOC</i>	gùmiérè	bàdférè	tígónérè
<i>POSS</i>	gùmiérònk	bàdférònk	tígónérònk

For the other ten nouns, the plural is marked by the suffix **-er^L**, which always copies the final stem tone. All of these nouns refer to human beings, except for **kàjáŋín^L** ‘fly’. This noun is exceptional, as all others have a high-toned stem; even for **kàjáŋín^L**, the tone changes to high in the plural (**kájáŋér^L**). These nouns have their singular either unmarked or marked by **-Vn(t)^L**.

Example IV.40: nouns with plural suffix **-er**

stem	singular	plural	gloss
téká:j	téká:ján ^L	téká:jér ^L	firstborn
ádámój	ádámójín ^L	ádámójér ^L	hunter
íjá:g	íjá:gén ^L	íjá:gér ^L	farmer
kájáŋ	kájáŋín ^L	kájáŋér ^L	fly
lá:ŋój	lá:ŋójín ^L	lá:ŋójér ^L	slave
ódów	ódówén ^L	ódówér ^L	chief
bó:lóŋ	bó:lóŋ	bó:lóŋér ^L	old person
tágóm ^L	tágóm ^L	tágómér ^L	bride
gú má:k	gú má:kén ^L	gú má:kér ^L	enemy
téká:n	téká:n ^L	téká:nér ^L	relative

These nouns, except for the tonal differences, behave otherwise exactly like the nouns using the low-toned plural marker **-ɛr**, including the variation of suffixes with long and short vowels for the different case forms.

Example IV.41: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix **-er^L**

form	<i>old man</i>	<i>hunter</i>	<i>fly</i>
<i>ABS</i>	bó:lónɛr^L	ádámójér^L	kájáɲér^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	bó:lónɛr^L	ádámójér^L	kájáɲér^L
<i>ERG</i>	bó:lónɛ̀r	ádámójè̀r	kájáɲè̀r
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	bó:lónɛr^L	ádámójér^L	kájáɲér^L
<i>NOM</i>	bó:lónɛr^L	ádámójér^L	tígónér^L
<i>DAT</i>	bó:lónɛ:rá^L	ádámójé:rá^L	kájáɲé:rá^L
<i>LOC</i>	bó:lónɛ:ré^L	ádámójé:ré^L	kájáɲé:ré^L
<i>POSS</i>	bó:lónɛ:rònk	ádámójé:rònk	kájáɲé:rònk

There are 31 nouns which form the plural by using the suffix **-a:tok^L**. This suffix copies the tone of the stem, which is invariably high, regardless of the tone displayed by the singular stem. I analyze the suffix as imposing its high tone through tone replacement on the plural stem; therefore the suffix is represented as **-á:tok^L**.

Example IV.42: plural formed by **-á:tok^L**

root	singular	plural	gloss
kèrjòn	kèrjòn	kérjóná:tók^L	<i>navel</i>
jàrtí	jàrtí	jártíá:tók^L	<i>wife</i>
múná	múná	múná:tók^L	<i>earthworm</i>

The nouns using this plural marker once more distinguish between plain and modified absolutive forms. The final /k/ is only present in the plain absolutive form and in the non-central case forms.

Example IV.43: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix **-ǎ:tɔk^L**

form	<i>fire stick</i>	<i>earthworm</i>	<i>woman</i>
<i>ABS</i>	kómá:tɔk	múná:tɔk ^L	jártiá:tɔk ^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	kómá:tɔ ^L	múná:tɔ ^L	jártiá:tɔ ^L
<i>ERG</i>	kómá:tɔ	múná:tɔ	jártiá:tɔ
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	kómá:tɔ ^L	múná:tɔ ^L	jártiá:tɔ ^L
<i>NOM</i>	kómá:tɔ	múná:tɔ	jártiá:tɔ
<i>DAT</i>	kómá:tɔká ^L	múná:tɔká ^L	jártiá:tɔká ^L
<i>LOC</i>	kómá:tɔké ^L	múná:tɔké ^L	jártiá:tɔké ^L
<i>POSS</i>	kómá:tɔkônk	múná:tɔkônk	jártiá:tɔkônk

Very similar in frequency and form is the suffix **-ako^L**, which is used on 26 nouns. Again, this suffix copies an invariably high plural stem tone, regardless of the tone of the singular, and is therefore in the following represented as **-ǎko^L**.

Example IV.44: plural formed by **-ǎko^L**

root	singular	plural	gloss
líɓ ^L	líɓ ^L	líɓǎkɔ ^L	<i>hiccough</i>
pò:r	pò:r	pó:rǎkɔ ^L	<i>wrinkle</i>
pì:	pì:	píǎkɔ ^L	<i>cemetery</i>

Again, the absolutive form **-ǎko^L** does not fully represent the full shape of the suffix. In the plain nominative and ergative forms as well as in the non-central cases it comes equipped with the final consonant /k/. The last vowel is then long.

Example IV.45: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix **-ǎko^L**

form	<i>abscess</i>	<i>canoe</i>
<i>ABS</i>	tánǎkɔ ^L	émdǎkɔ ^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	tánǎkɔ ^L	émdǎkɔ ^L
<i>ERG</i>	tánǎkɔ:k	émdǎkɔ:k
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	tánǎkɔ ^L	émdǎkɔ ^L
<i>NOM</i>	tánǎkɔ:k ^L	émdǎkɔ:k ^L
<i>DAT</i>	tánǎkɔ:kà	émdǎkɔ:kà
<i>LOC</i>	tánǎkɔ:kè	émdǎkɔ:kè
<i>POSS</i>	tánǎkɔ:kônk	émdǎkɔ:kônk

There are 26 nouns which mark the plural with the suffix **-k^L**, which is sometimes accompanied by a lengthening of the final stem vowel. More regularly, each long vowel of the first stem syllable is shortened in the plural, and the plural is also marked by a high tone over the whole word⁵⁷.

Example IV.46: nouns with plural suffix **-k^L**

root	SG	PL.ABS	PL.ABS.MOD	gloss
àdɔ ^L	àdɔ ^L	ádɔk ^L	ádɔ ^L	<i>head</i>
ùdɛ:	ùdɛ:	údɛ:k ^L	údɛ: ^L	<i>pestle</i>
ḡḡè	ḡḡè	ḡḡé:k ^L	ḡḡé ^L	<i>antelope</i>
kà:rí	kà:rí	ká:rk ^L	ká:ri ^L	<i>coffee leaf</i>
bà:búj	bà:búj	bábújk ^L	bábúj ^L	<i>husband</i>

The suffix **-k^L** is actually only used for the unmodified absolutive form and for the dative and locative forms of the paradigm. All other forms appear unmarked for number, as in the noun **édén** ‘mountain (ABS.SG)’: **édénk^L** (ABS.PL) and **édén^L** (ABS.PL.MOD), replacing all other tones on the stem. This lack of number marking results in considerable paradigmatic ambiguity for these nouns.

Example IV.47: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix **-k^L**

form	<i>mountain</i>	<i>husband</i>	<i>antelope</i>
ABS	édénk ^L	bábújk ^L	ḡḡé:k ^L
ABS.MOD	édén ^L	bábúj ^L	ḡḡé ^L
ERG	édèn	bábùj	ḡḡè
ERG/NOM.MOD	édén ^L	bábúj ^L	ḡḡé ^L
NOM	édén	bábúj	ḡḡé
DAT	édénká ^L	bábújká ^L	ḡḡéká ^L
LOC	édénké ^L	bábújké ^L	ḡḡéké ^L
POSS	édénkôn	bábújkôn	ḡḡékôn

Another 25 nouns use the plural suffix **-i^L**. This suffix copies the final tone of the stem. Often the tones on the plural stems differ from the singular stems. It is not possible to identify a semantic domain for the words of this class, although many of them belong to the animal kingdom. Nouns taking **-i^L** for the plural have their singular either unmarked or marked by **-un(t)^L**.

⁵⁷ Except for the loanword **dòmâ:** ‘hoe’ (from Amharic ደማ), which preserves the stem tone pattern in the plural: **dòmâ:k**.

Example IV.48: plural formed by -i^L

root	singular	plural	gloss
wá:n	wá:n	wá:mí ^L	skin
tèpér	tèpér	tèpèrì	shoulder blade
àm	àmùn	àmì	hair
rè:rém	rè:rémún ^L	rè:rémí ^L	spark

Except for the absolutive forms, and the modified ergative and nominative forms, the plural suffix has a final /k/, as in **dèpéik** 'lions (ERG.PL)'. These nouns are one of the exceptions to the rule that nouns with plural markers involving /k/ distinguish between plain and modified absolutive nouns. If the /k/ is present, the suffix vowel /i/ is long.

Example IV.49: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix -i^L

form	lion	hyena	hair	spark
ABS	dèpéi ^L	dùngédi ^L	àmì	rè:rémí ^L
ABS.MOD	dèpéi ^L	dùngédi ^L	àmì	rè:rémí ^L
ERG	dèpéi:k	dùngédi:k	àmì:k	rè:rémì:k
ERG/NOM.MOD	dèpéi ^L	dùngédi ^L	àmí ^L	rè:rémí ^L
NOM	dèpéi:k ^L	dùngédi:k ^L	àmí:k ^L	rè:rémí:k ^L
DAT	dèpéi:kà	dùngédi:kà	àmì:kà	rè:rémí:kà
LOC	dèpéi:kè	dùngédi:kè	àmì:kè	rè:rémí:kè
POSS	dèpéi:kònk	dùngédi:kònk	àmì:kònk	rè:rémí:kònk

Another 20 nouns were identified that mark their plural by the suffix -ík^L. Once more, this suffix replaces all tones of the stem with a high tone, spreading across the whole word. The /k/-part of the suffix only appears in the unmodified absolutive form and in the locative and dative forms. In the other cases the suffix is just -i^L. Beyond the nouns shown in the examples below, the following also belong into this class: **dèpó** 'entrance hall', **èmè** 'year', **gà:ndé** 'snail', **gòdé** 'house', **gùmbój** 'club', **jòngój** 'wind', **kèkè** 'door', **kòcè** 'sack', **kòngój** 'noise', **kòbé** 'tree, sp.', **pàrí** 'gum', **òbó** 'knot', **pàlè** 'granary', and **wàlé** 'air'.

Example IV.50: plural marked by -ík^L

singular	PL.ABS	PL.ABS.MOD	gloss
ḡàkèj	ḡákéjík ^L	ḡákéjì ^L	sorrow
dàmpé	dámpéík ^L	dámpéí ^L	tree, sp.

dèké	dèkéí ^L	dèkéí ^L	tree, sp.
dàngé	dàngéí ^L	dàngéí ^L	chair
làṇój	làṇójí ^L	làṇójí ^L	distress
gòró ^L	gòróí ^L	gòróí ^L	river

Like many other plural suffixes ending in /k/, this consonant is dropped for all case forms except the plain absolutive and the non-central cases.

Example IV.51: paradigm of nouns with plural suffix **-ík^L**

form	house
ABS	gódéík ^L
ABS.MOD	gódéí ^L
ERG	gódéì
ERG/NOM.MOD	gódéí ^L
NOM	gódéí
DAT	gódéíká ^L
LOC	gódéíké ^L
POSS	gódéí ^L ònk

Twelve mostly animate nouns (like kinship terms or mammals) and tools or weapons use the plural suffix **-kàk**, with a stable *L*. It might be tempting to treat this as another instance of the suffix **-ak^L**, once more with a final stem consonant truncated from the absolutive singular stem. But the situation is different from that of words like **bàré^L** ‘tradition’, where the final consonant /d/ only disappears in the absolutive singular. The initial /k/ of **-kàk** never appears outside the plural, where it is used throughout all the cases. This makes an analysis with **-kàk** as a plural marker in its own right the more convincing approach.

Example IV.52: nouns using the plural-suffix **-kàk**

root	singular	plural	gloss
kílt ^L	kílt ^L	kíltíkàk	mouse
àbòkádó ^L	àbòkádó ^L	àbòkádókàk	avocado
dí:rá ^L	dí:rá ^L	dí:rákàk	baboon
éméc ^L	éméc ^L	émécá:kàk	his mother
épên	épên	épéná:kàk	his father
mànkíá ^L	mànkíá ^L	mànkíákàk	spoon
mápná ^L	mápná ^L	mápnákàk	sibling
mútá ^L	mútá ^L	mútákàk	needle
pírá ^L	pírá ^L	pírá:kàk	neighbor

tágá ^L	tágá ^L	tágákàk	camel
béá ^L	béá ^L	béákàk	spear
pápá ^L	pápá ^L	pápákàk	cousin

The final /k/ is dropped in all central case forms beyond the plain absolutive.

Example IV.53: paradigm of nouns with plural suffix **-kàk**

form	spear
<i>ABS</i>	béákàk
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	béákà
<i>ERG</i>	béákà
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	béákà
<i>NOM</i>	béákà
<i>DAT</i>	béákàkà
<i>LOC</i>	béákàkè
<i>POSS</i>	béákàkònk

The dropping of the /k/, together with the consistent low tone marking, provides for a lot of paradigmatic ambiguity for this class of nouns.

For ten nouns the plurals are marked by the suffix **-kúk^L**. This suffix replaces the tone of the stem with a high tone, which spreads all over the word. All these nouns have long vowels in the singular and short vowels in the plural.

Example IV.54: nouns with plural suffix **-kúk**

singular	plural	gloss
ké:ɲ	kéɲkúk ^L	shame
jú:m	júm ^L kúk ^L	bump
kà:ɲ	káɲkúk ^L	brideprice
kó:r	kórkúk ^L	ditch
kó:r	kórkúk ^L	middle
té:l	télkúk ^L	pool
tò:l	tólkúk ^L	hole
tò:r	tórkúk ^L	smoke
kà:l	kálkúk ^L	camp
kó:ɲ	kóɲkúk ^L	curse

Once more, this class of nouns drops the final /k/ in all case forms except the plain absolutive and the non-central cases.

Example IV.55: paradigm of nouns with plural suffix **-kúk**

form	<i>camp</i>
<i>ABS</i>	káلكú^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	káلكú^L
<i>ERG</i>	káلكù
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	káلكú^L
<i>NOM</i>	káلكú^L
<i>DAT</i>	káلكúká^L
<i>LOC</i>	káلكúké^L
<i>POSS</i>	káلكúkònk

Nine nouns form their plurals with the suffix **-tùn**. But the low tone on this suffix is affected by the tone pattern on the root. There are two possibilities: if the root ends in a *L* or in a *H* without a floating *L*, then the tone on the suffix is a plain *L*. If the root ends in a *H* with a following floating *L*, then the tone on the suffix will be falling (*HL*) from the level of the stem *H*. I cannot provide an explanation for this tonal behavior. None of the stems found in this class ends in an obstruent.

Example IV.56: nouns with plural suffix **-tùn**

root	singular	plural	gloss
ɓà:j	ɓà:j	ɓà:jtùn	<i>heart</i>
ámɗ^L	ámɗ^L	ámtùn	<i>stomach</i>
átó^L	átó^L	átútùn	<i>mouth</i>
ɓà:jè	ɓà:jè	ɓà:jètùn	<i>gall</i>
gìjné	gìjné	gìjnetùn	<i>heel</i>
ɲéj^L	ɲéj^L	ɲéjtùn	<i>sorcerer</i>
úgúl^L	úgúl^L	ùgúlté:tùn	<i>crocodile</i>
ká:j	ká:j	ká:jtùn	<i>night</i>
wár^L	wár^L	wártùn	<i>dog</i>

Depending on the tone of the plural stem, some of these nouns distinguish between plain and modified absolutive forms. The central case forms, except for **wár^L** ‘dog’, are augmented by the formative **-ɛ:k** borrowed from the **ɛ^L**-plural nouns.

Example IV.57: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix **-tùn**

form	<i>heart</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>heel</i>
<i>ABS</i>	ḡàjètùn	wártùn	g̀j̀nètùn
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	ḡàjètũn	wártũn	g̀j̀nètũn
<i>ERG</i>	ḡàjètũn	wártũn	g̀j̀nètũn
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	ḡàjètún ^L	wártún ^L	g̀j̀nètún ^L
<i>NOM</i>	ḡàjètún ^L	wártún	g̀j̀nètún ^L
<i>DAT</i>	ḡàjètùnè:kà	wártúná ^L	g̀j̀nètùnè:kà
<i>LOC</i>	ḡàjètùnè:kè	wártúné ^L	g̀j̀nètùnè:kè
<i>POSS</i>	ḡàjètùnè:kònk	wártúnònk	g̀j̀nètùnè:kònk

Eight nouns are found which add the suffix **-ĩr^L** to the root to form the plural. All stem tones are replaced by a high tone spreading over the whole word. Some of the nouns also add the consonant /t/ to the plural stem. An exception with regard to the tonal pattern is **àpátĩ^L** ‘breast’, whose plural form takes the **-ĩr^L** suffix, but with the tonal pattern of the **-êr** suffix (see above), resulting in **àpátĩr**.

Example IV.58: nouns with plural suffix **-ĩr**

stem	singular	plural	gloss
kùrbù	kùrbù	kùrbútĩr ^L	caterpillar
àgált ^L	àgált ^L	àgáltĩr ^L	thief
áwé	áwé	áwétĩr ^L	iron
dùè	dùè	dúétĩr ^L	tree, sp.
cópólkój	cópólkój	cópólkójĩr ^L	finger nail
ólt ^L	ólt ^L	óltĩr ^L	fish
tàdápú ^L	tàdápú ^L	tàdápĩr ^L	ash

The case marking of these plurals follows a fairly regular pattern. There is no distinction for plain and modified absolutive forms.

Example IV.59: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix *-ɿr*

form	<i>maggot</i>	<i>finger nail</i>	<i>thief</i>
<i>ABS</i>	kúrɓútɿr ^L	cópólkójɿr ^L	ágáltɿr ^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	kúrɓútɿr ^L	cópólkójɿr ^L	ágáltɿr ^L
<i>ERG</i>	kúrɓútɿr	cópólkójɿr	ágáltɿr
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	kúrɓútɿr ^L	cópólkójɿr ^L	ágáltɿr ^L
<i>NOM</i>	kúrɓútɿr ^L	cópólkójɿr ^L	ágáltɿr ^L
<i>DAT</i>	kúrɓútɿrá ^L	cópólkójɿrá ^L	ágáltɿrá ^L
<i>LOC</i>	kúrɓútɿré ^L	cópólkójɿré ^L	ágáltɿré ^L
<i>POSS</i>	kúrɓútɿrôn ^L	cópólkójɿrôn ^L	ágáltɿrôn ^L

Seven words are found marking the plural with the suffix *-ɓk^L*, which copies the tone of the stem. There may also be other differences between the two stems of the nouns. Three of these nouns have their singular unmarked, and the other four have their singular marked by *-ɓn^L* or *-on(t)^L*.

Example IV.60: nouns with plural suffix *-ɓk^L*

root	singular	plural	gloss
tɓn	tɓn	tɓmɓk ^L	<i>child</i>
wéj ^L	wéj ^L	wéjkɓk	<i>house</i>
étéd	étéd ^L	étédɓk ^L	<i>honey</i>
dòm	dòmɓn	dòmɓk	<i>leopard</i>
ɓét	ɓétɓn ^L	ɓétɓk ^L	<i>waist</i>
píŋ	píŋɓn ^L	píŋɓk ^L	<i>leaf</i>
wéjk	wéjkón ^L	wéjkɓk ^L	<i>seed</i>

These nouns behave similarly to the nouns using the suffix *-ak^L*:

Example IV.61: paradigms of nouns with plural suffix *-ɓk^L*

form	<i>leopard</i>	<i>leaf</i>	<i>waist</i>	<i>child</i>
<i>ABS</i>	dòmɓ:k	pé:ŋɓk ^L	ɓétɓk ^L	tɓ:mɓk ^L
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	dòmɓ:	pé:ŋɓ ^L	ɓétɓ ^L	tɓ:mɓ ^L
<i>ERG</i>	dòmɓ:k	pé:ŋɓ	ɓétɓ	tɓ:mɓ
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	dòmɓ: ^L	pé:ŋɓ ^L	ɓétɓ ^L	tɓ:mɓ ^L
<i>NOM</i>	dòmɓ:k ^L	pé:ŋɓ	ɓétɓ ^L	tɓ:mɓ ^L
<i>DAT</i>	dòmɓ:kà	pé:ŋɓká ^L	ɓétɓká ^L	tɓ:mɓká ^L
<i>LOC</i>	dòmɓ:kè	pé:ŋɓké ^L	ɓétɓké ^L	tɓ:mɓké ^L
<i>POSS</i>	dòmɓ:kôn ^L	pé:ŋɓkôn ^L	ɓétɓkôn ^L	tɓ:mɓkôn ^L

Arguably, **dòmà:k** ‘leopard’ may not be a part of this class, as the plural suffixes all seem to contain a long vowel, and the plain ergative form has a final /k/ which is dropped from all other nouns. It is therefore either an entirely irregular noun, or an irregular instance of this class.

The remaining plural suffixes are found on two nouns or less, so that it is difficult to make any generalizations about these. The two nouns **ék^L** ‘body’ and **dó:** ‘ground’ form the plural by adding the suffix **-án**. The tone of the plural stem changes to *L* in both words. Furthermore, the long vowel of the singular stems is shortened in the plural. It is worth noting that, with the exception of the even less frequent marker **-é** shown in example IV.64, this is the only plural marker not involving a low tone or a floating *L* in the absolutive, which seems to affirm its exceptional nature.

Example IV.62: nouns with plural suffix **-án**

root	singular	plural	gloss
ék^L	ék^L	èkán	<i>body</i>
dó:	dó:	dòkán	<i>ground</i>

These nouns also make use of the augment **-e:k** for non-central case forms. The use of the suffix **-án** for the plural is surprising, as there are also singular markers of the same segmental form **-an(t)^L** (see above).

Example IV.63: paradigms of nouns with plural-suffix **-án**

form	<i>ground</i>	<i>body</i>
<i>ABS</i>	dòkán	èkán
<i>ABS.MOD</i>	dòkán	èkán
<i>ERG</i>	dòkân	èkân
<i>ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	dòkán^L	èkán^L
<i>NOM</i>	dòkán^L	èkán
<i>DAT</i>	dòkáné:kà	èkáné:kà
<i>LOC</i>	dòkáné:kè	èkáné:kè
<i>POSS</i>	dòkáné:kònk	èkáné:kònk

The following are plural markings which were only found once:

Example IV.64: very infrequent plural markings

singular	plural	gloss	plural suffix
dāmà	dāmátí:k ^L	food	-(t)i:k ^L
tá:wá ^L	tàwùn	field	-un
kémt ^L	kémté	goat	-e
àrí	árin ^L	hand	-n

A few nouns undergo more substantial stem changes for their plurals, or they even use a suppletive form:

Example IV.65: irregular singular and plural formations

singular	plural	gloss
áp ^L	òlà	thing
ídít ^L	jóp ^L	person
mà:kó ^L lój	mà:ké ^L lé	maize
dějín ^L	děj	cooking stone
kómát ^L	kònán ^L	guest
dúmát ^L	dùmá:g ^L	owner

Comparing the various plural markers, it appears that many of them are in some way related to each other. This is obvious for those forms which are segmentally identical, but display a different tonal behavior (such as -ak^L vs. -ák^L, or -er vs. -er^L). In other cases the suffixes differ segmentally only in the quality of the vowel, as for -er^L and -ír^L, or for -ak^L and -ok^L. These differing suffixes may be traces of an abandoned ATR-based vowel-harmony system. The alternation between -er^L and -ír^L would further suggest that there must have been a 9-vowel system in previous stages of the language history, with instances of /ɪ/ being reinterpreted as /e/ by the phonology when the [-ATR] high vowels were lost. It can also be assumed that in earlier stages of the history of Majang, the suffix -k (possibly preceded by a vowel) was the most widely used plural marker; but at this stage it is slowly replaced by the more modern and more regular suffix -e^L, which apparently also goes back to a marker using -k. This would explain the plethora of forms based on -k, with all their idiosyncrasies, as opposed to the great number of nouns using the very uniform and regular suffix -e^L.

Number marking co-occurrences

For most Majang nouns there are pairs of singular and plural nouns, and the great majority of these have the singular unmarked, and the plural marked by a segmental suffix. Some nouns, however, show a different state of affairs. There are about 30 nouns which leave the plural completely unmarked. Roughly half of them (typically mass nouns such as liquids) do not have any corresponding singular forms (see example IV.21 for a list of them).

The other nouns without plural markers mark the singular by various of the segmental singular markers, so it is appropriate to view these forms as singling out a specific instance of a mass noun. In addition to the nouns shown in IV.21, about a dozen other nouns, such as **kàná:k^L** ‘broom’ or **ércéé^L** ‘milk’, appear only in the plural, but their plural is marked by either **-é^L** or **-ák^L**. This means that these nouns never appear in an unmarked state.

There are also pairs of singular and plural nouns of which both forms use a segmental marker; often these markers come in well established pairs, such as **-an(t)^L** vs. **-ak^L**, or **-un(t)^L** vs. **-í^L**.

Three nouns (**jù:gùr** ‘darkness’, **cácáj^L** ‘drizzle’, **kè:wè/jé:wè** ‘sand’) only show up in an unmarked singular form (they trigger singular marking on accompanying modifiers), where it is not possible to elicit any plural forms.

It needs to be noted that not all nouns are stable with regard to their number-marking morphology. In the course of data collection I encountered several instances where the same nouns were used with different number markings, often even by the same speaker, at different times. In one recorded conversation I had the same speaker once give the plural of ‘book’ (a loanword from Amharic) as **màcá:péè** and then as **màcá:pák^L**. During elicitation, in many cases the speaker had to think hard before he was able to produce the correct form of the plural, giving the impression that another form would have been just as appropriate. But there may also be other reasons for different plural choices. The word for ‘nose’, **èñé**, is an inherent plural noun. The singular **èñén** refers to a single nostril of the nose. Another plural form **èñètùn** refers to noses of different people.

Table 7 lists all co-occurrences observed in the available data (based on 719 nouns), with the number of observed cases. Each column lists instances of a particular singular-marking strategy, and each line instances of each plural marking strategy. “Missing” means that for some nouns no singular or plural form was found. **-∅** means that singular or plural is unmarked. Each number given stands for nouns that make use of a particular combination of singular-

and plural-marking strategies. A blank in the table means that a particular combination of singular and plural marking was not attested in the data.

plural	singular		-an(t) ^L / -án(t) ^L	-n(t)	-Vn(t)	-un(t) ^L	-ɔn(t) ^L	-a ^L	total
missing		4							4
-Ø	14	6 ⁵⁸		9	2			1	32
-ɛ ^L	7	>200						1	>200
-ak ^L /-ák ^L	6	>200 ⁵⁹	30 ⁶⁰						>200
-ǎtok ^L		31							31
-ákɔ ^L		26							26
-k ^L		26							26
-i ^L		20				5			25
-èr		19	3						22
-ɲk ^L		20							20
-kàk		12							12
-er ^L		3			6				9
-tùn		10							10
-kúlk ^L		9							9
-ɛr ^L		8							8
-ɔk ^L		3					4 ⁶¹		7
-án		2							2
-n		1							1
-(t)ik		1							1
-un		1							1
-e		1							1
total	27	>580	33	9	6	5	4	2	
	missing	-Ø	-an(t) ^L / -án(t) ^L	-n(t)	-Vn(t)	-un(t) ^L	-ɔn(t) ^L	-a ^L	

Table 7: number marking co-occurrences

⁵⁸ These are nouns for which number is shown through suppletion or stem changes only.

⁵⁹ This combination is used for the very productive agent-noun derivation, so there are many more instances of these.

⁶⁰ The marker pair **-an^L/-ak^L** is used for a productive class of verbal noun derivations, so there are more instances of these.

⁶¹ Including two with singular **-on(t)^L**. The marker-pair **-ɔn^L/-ɔk^L** is also used for one productive class of verbal noun formations, so there are potentially many more members in this open group.

It becomes obvious from this table that most plural markers only go along with one or two different singular-marking strategies. Also each segmental singular marker can only be combined with one or two different plural markers. It is therefore possible to arrange nouns into inflection classes based on their combined number-marking behavior. These nominal inflection classes are indicated for each noun in the word lists in section VI.2.

IV.1.3.2 Case

Majang marks case on the noun either by using suffixes (particularly for the dative and locative cases plus the possessive marking), or by using differing noun stems (for a functional discussion of the various cases, see sections III.2 and V.4).

The Majang language distinguishes the following morphological cases: absolutive, ergative, nominative, dative and locative. The possessive noun marking, although of a syntactically different nature, also makes use of the case-marking slot, and therefore is treated in this section. The various cases have received different names in the literature, and none of the other descriptions realized the presence of all the cases described here. Getachew (2014, p. 112ff) also introduced the instrumental, allative and ablative as separate cases into his description, but on faulty grounds. Noun phrases with an instrumental or ablative function are marked by the locative case, and allative NPs by the dative. This is also the case in Getachew's data, but because of the variety of locative forms in the language he did not realize that locative, instrumental and ablative NPs are marked in the same way. His separate form for allative NPs results from a faulty analysis of the subordinate-clause marker in his particular example 32 on page 117.

The Majang case forms interact heavily with the number-marking system described in the previous section. For many nouns, both number and case differences are accomplished by the use of differing stems, alongside clear suffixation for some cases. In many instances case and number distinctions are jointly expressed in one portmanteau suffix added to the stem. And in some instances number and case are expressed by filling two different suffix slots, where the case morpheme follows the number morpheme.

The different cases of Majang can be divided into two groups on formal grounds. First, the three cases that can mark the *S*, *A*, and *P* arguments of the verb, that is the absolutive, ergative and nominative cases, all have in com-

mon that no segmental marker can be associated with them. All differences are expressed by tonal changes or by changes to the segmental material of the stem or number suffix. These cases are henceforth called the central cases, because of their central role in marking the core grammatical relations of a clause. The second group, consisting of the dative and locative cases, plus the possessive marking, usually have some kind of segmental marker (although the locative often has none). These cases are therefore grouped as the non-central cases. Already the various paradigms seen in the sections on number marking have illustrated several times that the distinction between central and non-central cases plays a significant role in the Majang nominal morphology, as these often follow different case-marking strategies. This becomes even more apparent when looking at the case marking for demonstratives and relative pronouns, which do not distinguish at all between the central cases, but mark the non-central cases clearly.

Because a lot of the central-case distinctions are only manifested by stem changes, the following sections take great care to demonstrate the need to establish these differing case forms. They become apparent when nouns are placed into various syntactic contexts, where they then display morphological differences. Since practically no noun has different forms for all the cases, the evidence needs to come from a combination of different nouns.

Modified case forms

For several cases the Majang language uses two different forms for the noun, depending on whether the noun stands on its own in the noun phrase, or whether it is modified by some other NP constituent. I call the first kind plain forms, and the other kind modified forms. Plain forms are not glossed as such in interlinear texts, but modified forms have the gloss *MOD*.

Example IV.66: plain and modified case forms

- a) **màlé cà:kòm ídít^L.**
màl-é cà:kòm ídít^L
hit-3S.DJ friend\SG.ERG man\SG.ABS
A friend hit a man.
- a) **dé:gár^L cà:kóm kékàr.**
dé:gár^L cà:kóm kékàr
sleep\3S.DJ friend\SG.NOM again
The friend slept again.

- c) **màlé cà:kóm^L kônk ídít^L.**
màl-é cà:kóm^L kônk ídít^L
hit-3S.DJ friend\SG.ERG.MOD REF\RECPST.ERG man\SG.ABS
An aforementioned friend hit a man.
- d) **dé:gár^L cà:kóm^L kónk kékàr.**
dé:gár^L cà:kóm^L kónk kékàr
sleep\3S.DJ friend\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST.NOM again
The aforementioned friend slept again.

This example illustrates that the ergative singular for the noun **cà:kóm^L** ‘friend’ comes in two forms: **cà:kóm^L** for a modified NP (example c), and **cà:kòm** for a plain (unmodified) NP (example a). The same is true for the nominative (examples b) and d). The difference is only tonal, but it is consistently done this way for the two contexts. The grammar description needs to account for this difference by postulating two different forms for modified and plain (unmodified) nouns.

All particular details pertaining to the modified forms of each case are introduced in their respective sections below.

A modified noun showing different markings is not unusual in the East-African context. Special forms for modified nouns are observed in various Nilo-Saharan languages of the region, such as in Bertha (Andersen (1995, pp. 42, fn3) calls them *antigenitive*) or even in Surmic Mursi, where Mütze (2014, p. 62ff) follows Creissels (2009, pp. 74–77) and Ahland (2012, p. 156) by calling these forms *construct forms*, not unlike the *construct-state* terminology adopted for Classical Hebrew (Weingreen, 1959, p. 43ff). For a summary of modified-noun phenomena in Surmic languages, see Smith (2018, p. 117f).

Although there is doubtlessly a connection between the construct forms of Mursi and the modified case forms of Majang, the situation is still different enough to choose different terminology here. Whereas in Mursi all modified nouns need to be marked by the construct-form suffix **-a**, which replaces all other case marking, in Majang no particular construct-form marker is involved; once more all differences seem to involve stem-form variations, and for each case the modified and plain forms are handled morphologically in different ways. Separate forms for modified NPs exist for the nominative/ergative (**kùtúr^L** ‘hog\NOM/ERG.MOD’) and the locative (**kùtūr** ‘hog\LOC.MOD’) in the singular, and for the absolutive (**jònità** ‘place\PL.ABS.MOD’) and the nominative/ergative (**jònitàk^L** ‘place\PL.ERG/NOM.MOD’) in the plural. This means

that although for the nominative and ergative cases the modified forms are always identical, these are not the same as the modified locative in the singular, or the modified absolutive in the plural (although for some nouns all modified plural forms coincide). Case marking is apparently still active for modified nouns in Majang, and not superseded by the construct-form morphology, as in Bertha or Mursi. I therefore do not attempt to reconcile all modified forms under one construct form, but name them as the modified versions of their case forms. It is also important to note that the modified case form is not always identical with the absolutive or neutral case, although for some nouns modified case forms do coincide with the absolutive case form.

Central cases

The three central cases – absolutive, ergative and nominative – are not associated with any particular segmental marker. Whatever differences there are (and by no means can all central case forms be distinguished from each other for all nouns), they are expressed entirely through either tonal means, or by changes to the stem or to the number morpheme. Furthermore, the cases are clearly marked by varying suffixes on some accompanying modifiers, particularly possessive pronouns. Other modifiers show only restricted case marking (see section IV.3).

Absolutive case

The absolutive case is the neutral form of all nouns, and also the citation form of a noun, when elicited in isolation⁶². It is used for the *P* of transitive clauses, and for the non-topical *S* of intransitive clauses.

For all nouns, the absolutive case is unmarked, as no particular morpheme marks this case. For some inflection classes, however, the absolutive form contains more segmental material than some other case forms, which may accordingly give the impression that the absolutive form is morphologically marked. This additional material is never to be analyzed as an absolutive suf-

⁶² Indeed all isolated nouns were given to me by all informants invariably in their absolutive forms. Not a single noun was volunteered in its nominative or ergative case form. There was variation regarding number, as some nouns were elicited in unmarked plural forms, but the case was always restricted to the absolutive.

fix, though, but as a formative found in the absolutive stem and absent in other stems (see p. 206 for a discussion of their probable diachronic source).

In the singular, there is no difference between modified and unmodified nouns.

Example IV.67: absolutive noun without distinction for modified NPs

- a) **ḡòkòtú dēpē: ídīt^L.**
ḡòkòt-í dēpē: ídīt^L
kill-3S.DJ lion\SG.ERG man\SG.ABS
A lion kills a man.
- b) **ḡòkòtú dēpē: ídīt^L ná:k.**
ḡòkòt-í dēpē: ídīt^L ná:k
kill-3S.DJ lion\SG.ERG man\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS
A lion kills my man.

This is also true for the plural of most nouns. All nouns forming their absolutive plural with a suffix ending in the consonant /k/, however, drop this consonant for the modified absolutive form. This is illustrated by the following examples:

Example IV.68: plain and modified absolutive case

- a) **dējà gódéí:k^L.**
dēj-à gódé-í:k^L
want-1S.CJ house-PL.ABS
I want houses.
- b) **dējà gódéí^L gá:nk.**
dēj-à gódé-í^L gá:nk
want-1S.CJ house-PL.ABS.MOD POSS\1S.PL.ABS
I want my houses.

The noun ‘houses’ in both examples shows up in the absolutive case, which is also confirmed by the conjoint marking on the verb (see section III.3). Still, the two forms are different. In example a), without the possessive pronoun, the plural stem **gódé** uses the plural marker **-í:k^L**, whereas when followed by the possessive pronoun it uses the plural marker **-í^L**.

Besides the nouns forming their plain absolutive plural with /k/, the ones using the suffix **-tùn** also have differences between the plain and the modified absolutive: the plain absolutive plural of **ḡàjè** ‘heart’ is **ḡàjètùn**, the

modified form **ɓàjètũn**. Finally, some nouns with unmarked plural make this distinction, such as the plural of **ɲètĩn** ‘louse’ which comes plain as **ɲètĩ** and modified as **ɲètĩːˀ**.

Ergative case

The ergative case is used for *A*-constituents in transitive clauses, as is illustrated by the following examples (see sections V.3.3 and III.2.1 for more information on the use of the ergative case). As seen above, the ergative case distinguishes between plain and modified nouns.

On nouns, there is no particular segmental ergative marker⁶³. The plain ergative case is characterized by one very consistent regularity: each plain ergative form ends with a low tone, either level or the final part of a *HL* sequence⁶⁴. No other case marking in Majang requires this tonal pattern, although there are other cases which allow a noun to end in a *L* or *HL* sequence.

Example IV.69: *S* (absolutive) vs. *A* (ergative)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a) dé:gàr ádámójínˀ.
 dé:gàr ádámój-ínˀ
 <i>sleep\3s.CJ hunter-SG.ABS</i>
 <i>A hunter sleeps.</i></p> | <p>b) ɓòkòtú ádámójìnt dǎpéˀ.
 ɓòkòt-í ádámój-ìnt dǎpéˀ
 <i>kill-3s.DJ hunter-SG.ERG lion\SG.ABS</i>
 <i>A hunter kills a lion.</i></p> |
| <p>c) dé:gàr jàrtí.
 dé:gàr jàrtí
 <i>sleep\3s.CJ woman\SG.ABS</i>
 <i>A woman sleeps.</i></p> | <p>d) ɓòkòtú jàrtí: dǎpéˀ.
 ɓòkòt-í jàrtí: dǎpéˀ
 <i>kill-3s.DJ woman\SG.ERG lion\SG.ABS</i>
 <i>A woman kills a lion.</i></p> |
| <p>e) dé:gàr ídĩtˀ.
 dé:gàr ídĩtˀ
 <i>sleep\3s.CJ man\SG.ABS</i>
 <i>A man sleeps.</i></p> | <p>f) ɓòkòtú ídĩ dǎpéˀ.
 ɓòkòt-í ídĩ dǎpéˀ
 <i>kill-3s.DJ man\SG.ERG lion\SG.ABS</i>
 <i>A man kills a lion.</i></p> |

⁶³ The ergative or marked-nominative marker **-e** identified by Dimmendaal (2014, p. 10) for Eastern-Sudanic languages only manifests itself in the Majang possessive pronoun system.

⁶⁴ Interestingly Bennett (1974, p. 19ff) observes for Nilotic languages the marking of the nominative case by a low tone as a common feature. He relates this to the marked-nominative patterns of several language families (Cushitic, Omotic, Surmic) originating in the general area north of Lake Turkana (p. 25). But apparently this hypothesis, which is based on much conjecture, was not followed up on by subsequent linguists.

As these examples show, ergative forms are created by both segmental and suprasegmental means. In all three pairs of clauses, the ergative form comes, as described above, with an added *HL* or *L*. The ergative form for ‘hunter’ adds the consonant /t/ to the number suffix. But for ‘man’, the ergative form is accomplished by dropping the stem-final /t/ (or it is added for the absolutive form, as the nominative case for this noun also does not have the consonant). The noun for ‘woman’ has a lengthening of the final vowel for the ergative form. It can be seen from looking at the noun paradigms in the preceding section on number marking that these segmental means do not serve exclusively for marking the ergative, as they are also used for the formation of other case forms.

Randal (2000, p. 74) and Joswig (2016, p. 470) assume a low tone as the general marker for ergative nouns, but this does not account for many instances of ergative marking where a *HL* sequence can be observed on the last stem syllable or on the attached number suffix. In a few cases, however, the ergative is indeed manifested by a plain low tone on the last syllable. This usually happens when the ergative form ends in a short vowel, but it may also happen with a few nouns displaying different phonological environments. The following example lists a number of further ergative forms of nouns forming their singulars and plurals using different morphological means.

Example IV.70: plain absolutive nouns with their plain ergative counterparts

<i>ABS.SG</i>	<i>ERG.SG</i>	<i>ABS.PL</i>	<i>ERG.PL</i>	gloss	inflection class
ídít ^L	ídi	jó:p ^L	jò:	man	Ø-Ø
dúmá:t ^L	dúmà	dúmá:g	dúmà:	owner	Ø-Ø
ɲédán	ɲédâ:n	ɲédá:nák ^L	ɲédá:nà	bee	Ø-ak ^L
târ	târ	tá:rák ^L	tá:rà	meat	Ø-ák ^L
cà:kóm ^L	cà:kòm	cà:kómák ^L	cà:kómà	friend	Ø-ak ^L
cúwǒj	cúwòj	cúwòják ^L	cúwòjâ	eel	Ø-ák ^L
múná	múnâ:t	múná:tók	múná:tò	earthworm	Ø-â:tók ^L
tàn	tân	tánák ^L	tánákò:k	abscess	Ø-âkò ^L
ék ^L	ê:	èkán	èkân	body	Ø-án
dó:	dò:k	dòkán	dòkân	land	Ø-án
gúmí ^L	gúmî:	gúmíê:r	gúmîfê:r	cobra	Ø-e:r ^L
dùṇéd ^L	dùṇè	dùṇédí ^L	dùṇédî:k	hyena	Ø-í ^L
pí:ṇón ^L	pí:ṇònt	pé:ṇók ^L	pé:ṇò	leaf	on ^L -òk ^L
tèkán ^L	tèkàn	tèkák ^L	tèkà	in-law	án ^L -ák ^L

As can be seen in these examples, there are often segmental changes to the preceding material, which cannot be described in terms of a strict morphological rule. Some generalizations can be made: similar to the absolutive plural modified, all ergative plural forms drop any final /k/ from their plural markers⁶⁵. Other common features are the addition of the consonant /t/ for the singular ergative, and the lengthening (or shortening) of the final stem vowel. The addition of /t/ is a regular feature for almost all nouns that form their singular with a morpheme ending in the consonant /n/, such as **-an^L**, **-un^L**, **-ɔn^L** or **-n**. But otherwise, the observed segmental changes are so idiosyncratic that it appears best to assume different noun stems for absolutive and ergative nouns. The following list provides a random sample of nouns with their plain absolutive and ergative singular forms.

Example IV.71: singular absolutive and ergative nouns

gloss	absolutive	ergative	gloss	absolutive	ergative
<i>fig-tree</i>	ábé	ábê:	<i>grandfather</i>	ápé: ^L	ápè
<i>razor</i>	átùj	á: ⁺ tùj	<i>branch</i>	àtàwàn	àtàwânt
<i>cloth</i>	àbî:	àbî:	<i>young man</i>	átéɲ ^L	átéɲt
<i>island</i>	ácù:lé	ácùlê:	<i>mouth</i>	átó ^L	ât
<i>hunter</i>	ádámójín ^L	ádámójìnt	<i>iron</i>	áwé	áwê:t
<i>cat</i>	àdúré: ^L	àdúre:	<i>husband</i>	bà:búj ^L	bà:bùj
<i>thief</i>	àgált ^L	àgált	<i>upper arm</i>	bàdɪ ^L	bàdɪ
<i>porcupine</i>	àján	àjân	<i>bucket</i>	bàldî:	bàldî:
<i>roof</i>	ájéràn	ájérânt	<i>stool</i>	bàrcúm	bàrcúm
<i>sunset</i>	ájígè	ájígê:	<i>lance</i>	béá ^L	béà
<i>peanut</i>	àkúr ^L	àkû:r	<i>tradition</i>	báré ^L	bárêt
<i>soldier</i>	àmàcíní ^L	àmàcínî:	<i>bed</i>	bè:rój	bè:ròj
<i>stomach</i>	ámɔ ^L	âmɔ	<i>butterfly</i>	bímɓíldò	bímɓí ⁺ lôt
<i>hair</i>	àmùn	àmûnt	<i>boat</i>	émɔ ^L	émɔ
<i>thing</i>	áɲ ^L	àɲ	<i>leopard</i>	dòmòn	dòmôn
<i>elephant</i>	ángé ^L	àngê:	<i>chair</i>	dàngé: ^L	dàngê:
<i>breast</i>	àpátí ^L	àpátî:t	<i>cooking stone</i>	dějín ^L	dějìnt

As this example set (and also **târ** in example IV.70) makes clear, there is no guarantee that an ergative noun is always unambiguously differentiated from its absolutive counterpart. The noun **àbî:** can be both ergative and absolutive.

⁶⁵ Except for nouns forming their absolutive plural with **-áko^L**, which *add* such a /k/ to the plain ergative form. Also the nouns forming their plurals with **-í^L** add the /k/ in the plain ergative form.

The conjoint or disjoint marking on the verb may be the only clear indication of the case of the following NP.

For the ergative case there is always a distinction between an unmodified noun and the head of a modified NP:

Example IV.72: modified and non-modified ergative NPs

- a) **ḡòkòtú dēpē: ídít^L.**
ḡòkòt-í dēpē: ídít^L
kill-3S.DJ lion\SG.ERG man\SG.ABS
A lion kills a man.
- b) **ḡòkòtú dēpē^L nà:kè ídít^L.**
ḡòkòt-í dēpē^L nà:k-è ídít^L
kill-3S.DJ lion\SG.ERG.MOD POSS\1S.SG-ERG man\SG.ABS
My lion kills a man.

The modified ergative noun is usually quite different from the plain ergative. With very few exceptions it lacks the *HL* or *L* tones that characterize all plain ergative nouns. In fact, in example b) the ergative is identical in form to the absolutive **dēpē^L**, but the syntactic context makes it clear that this is not an absolutive case. Further redundancy is provided by the modifier of the noun phrase **nà:kè**, which is very clearly marked for the ergative. All singular possessive pronouns have the suffix **-è** when in the ergative⁶⁶, and they also have a low tone on the stem (instead of the absolutive high tone, as seen in example IV.67b).

I (Joswig, 2016, p. 475f) misanalysed this modified ergative case as an instance of the locative case (see below), because of the formal similarity of the case marker attached to the pronoun. But the modified ergative and the locative case are different, as the following examples illustrate:

⁶⁶ This marker **-è** is very likely a manifestation of a Proto-Eastern-Sudanic instrumental case marker that was grammaticalized into nominative or ergative markers in various Eastern-Sudanic languages (Dimmendaal, 2014, p. 10). In Majang this marker only appears in the pronominal system as a nominative and ergative marker, and in the nominal system as a locative marker.

Example IV.73: difference between locative and modified ergative NPs

- a) **ḡòkòtú dḡpḡ^L ná:kḡ^L ídít^L.**
ḡòkòt-í dḡpḡ^L ná:k-ḡ ídít^L
kill-3s.DJ lion\SG.ERG.MOD POSS\1s.SG-ERG man\SG.ABS
My lion kills a man.
- b) **dḡ:gár^L ídít^L dḡpḡ: ná:kḡ^L jók.**
dḡ:gár^L ídít^L dḡpḡ: ná:k-ḡ^L jók
sleep\3s.DJ man\SG.NOM lion\SG.LOC POSS\1s.SG-LOC near
The man sleeps next to my lion.

Not only is the locative form **dḡpḡ:** of the noun itself different from the modified ergative **dḡpḡ^L** (but not from the plain ergative form **dḡpḡ:**), but the locative form of all singular possessives has a stable high tone **ná:kḡ^L**, contrasting it clearly with the ergative form **ná:k-ḡ** (see section IV.3.1.4).

Although it is the case for the noun **dḡpḡ^L** ‘lion’ (see examples IV.72b and IV.69b) and for many other nouns, the modified ergative form is by no means always identical with the absolutive form. The following list compares absolutive nouns with their modified ergative counterparts:

Example IV.74: plain absolutive nouns with their modified ergative counterparts

<i>ABS.SG</i>	<i>ERG.SG.MOD</i>	<i>ABS.PL</i>	<i>ERG.PL.MOD</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>inflection class</i>
ḡédán^L	ḡédán^L	ḡédán:nák^L	ḡédán:nák^L	<i>bee</i>	<i>Ø-ak^L</i>
múná	múná^L	múná:tók^L	múná:tók^L	<i>earthworm</i>	<i>Ø-á:tók^L</i>
târ	târ^L	tâ:râk^L	târ:râ^L	<i>meat</i>	<i>Ø-âk^L</i>
tàḡ	tàḡ^L	tàḡákók^L	tàḡákók^L	<i>abscess</i>	<i>Ø-âkók^L</i>
ék^L	ék^L	èkán	èkán^L	<i>body</i>	<i>Ø-án^L</i>
dó:	dó:^L	dòkán	dòkán^L	<i>land</i>	<i>Ø-án^L</i>
ḡúmí^L	ḡúmí^L	ḡúmí:ḡ	ḡúmí:ḡ^L	<i>cobra</i>	<i>Ø-e:^L</i>
pí:ḡón^L	pí:ḡón^L	pé:ḡók^L	pé:ḡók^L	<i>leaf</i>	<i>on^L-ók^L</i>
dúmá:t^L	dúmá^L	dúmá:g	dúmá:^L	<i>owner</i>	<i>Ø- Ø</i>
cà:kóm^L	cà:kóm^L	cà:kómák^L	cà:kómá^L	<i>friend</i>	<i>Ø-ak^L</i>
cúwòj	cúwòj	cúwòják^L	cúwòják^L	<i>eel</i>	<i>Ø-âk^L</i>
dùḡéd^L	dùḡé^L	dùḡédí^L	dùḡédí^L	<i>hyena</i>	<i>Ø-í^L</i>
tèkán^L	tèkán^L	tèkák^L	tèká^L	<i>in-law</i>	<i>án^L-âk^L</i>
ídít^L	ídít^L	jók^L	jò:	<i>man</i>	<i>Ø-Ø</i>

The following generalizations can be made about modified ergative forms:

- Except for very few nouns, the modified ergative forms end in a *H*, which is always followed by a floating low tone⁶⁷. Very few words, such as **àŋ** ‘thing’, **ájérà̀n** ‘roof’, **cúwòj** ‘eel’ and the plural **jò:** ‘people’ end in a *L* in the modified ergative form. For these nouns, the ergative makes no difference between plain and modified forms.
- None of the modified ergative nouns display the consonantal stem or suffix extensions seen on the plain ergative nouns.

As a final striking regularity it needs to be noted that the modified ergative forms are always identical to the modified nominative forms. The implications of this are discussed in the next section.

Nominative case

The use of the nominative case in Majang is pragmatically governed, replacing absolutive or ergative case forms for topical *A/S* constituents according to criteria explored in section III.2.1.2. This present section is only concerned with its form. First it needs to be established that the nominative case is indeed a different case from all other case forms presented so far. This is not an altogether easy task, as for many nouns there is significant syncretism between the nominative case form and various absolutive and ergative case forms. It was already pointed out above that the modified nominative case is always identical in form to the modified ergative case, although there are usually differences between the plain forms.

Between nominative and absolutive case formal differences are found for many nouns:

Example IV.75: difference between nominative and absolutive forms

- a) **dé:gà̀r** **ídfí^L** **kékà̀r.**
sleep\3s.CJ *man\SG.ABS* *again*
A man sleeps again.
- b) **dé:gá̀r^L** **ídfí^L** **kékà̀r.**
sleep\3s.DJ *man\SG.NOM* *again*
*The man sleeps again.*⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The presence of this floating *L* can be shown by placing the noun before the modifier **kônk** ‘the aforementioned’. The difference between a downstepped and a non-downstepped *HL* sequence can be heard clearly in the Majang language.

Example a) features the NP ‘man’ in the absolutive case. Example b), instead, has the same NP in the nominative case. The form is quite close to the ergative **ídfi**, and identical to the modified ergative **ídfi^L**.

Because of the rather regular marking of the plain ergative by *L* or *HL* tones, it is easily distinguishable from the nominative for almost all nouns:

Example IV.76: difference between nominative and plain ergative forms

- a) **màlé** **ídfi** **kúr'ój**
hit\3S.DJ *man\SG.ERG* *donkey\SG.ABS*
A man hits a donkey.
- b) **dé:gár^L** **ídfi^L** **gòdèj.**
sleep\3S.DJ *man\SG.NOM* *house\SG.LOC*
The man sleeps at the house.

For other nouns it can be shown that the nominative case is different from the modified ergative form:

Example IV.77: difference between nominative and modified ergative case

- a) **dé:gàr dèpé:^L kékàr.**
dé:gàr^L **dèpé:^L** **kékàr**
sleep\3S.DJ *lion\SG.NOM* *again*
The lion sleeps again.
- b) **òkòtù dèpé:^L nà:kè ídfi^L.**
òkòt-í **dèpé:^L** **nà:k-è** **ídfi^L**
kill-3S.DJ *lion\SG.ERG.MOD* *POSS\1S.SG-ERG* *man\SG.ABS*
My lion kills a man.
- c) **dégá'rár dūjédí:k^L kékàr.**
dégár-ár **dūjéd-i:k^L** **kékàr**
sleep-3P.DJ *hyena-PL.NOM* *again*
The hyenas sleep again.
- d) **òkòtùr dūjédí^L gàmè ídfi^L.**
òkòt-ir **dūjéd-i^L** **gàm-è** **ídfi^L**
kill-3P.DJ *hyena-PL.ERG.MOD* *POSS\1S.PL-ERG* *man\SG.ABS*
My hyenas kill a man.

⁶⁸ In contrived examples, such as these, the absolutive and ergative cases are assumed to have low topicality, which is reflected by the use of the indefinite article. The nominative case is always translated by using the definite article.

These examples show that the difference between modified ergative nouns and plain nominative nouns is subtle, at best, manifesting itself only through the presence or absence of a floating low tone, and possibly through a length difference of number-suffix vowels. But the differences are there, and an accurate description of Majang needs to account for them. It also becomes clear that it is not always possible to decide whether a noun is nominative, ergative or absolutive by just looking at it. In an intransitive clause, if the subject follows the verb, the verb's conjoint or disjoint status gives a definite clue. Another clue comes from the case marking on modifiers. For example, nominative, absolutive and ergative NPs are distinguished by different forms of possessive pronouns (see section IV.3.1.4):

Example IV.78: absolutive, ergative and nominative nouns with possessive pronouns

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| a) | wár^L | ná:k | <i>my dog (ABS)</i> |
| | <i>dog\SG.ABS</i> | <i>POSS\1s.SG.ABS</i> | |
| b) | wár^L | nà:k-è | <i>my dog (ERG)</i> |
| | <i>dog\SG.ERG.MOD</i> | <i>POSS\1s.SG-ERG</i> | |
| c) | wár^L | nà:k-é^L | <i>my dog (NOM)</i> |
| | <i>dog\SG.NOM.MOD</i> | <i>POSS\1s.SG-NOM</i> | |

The form of the possessive pronoun (section IV.3.1.4) is very stable and completely determined by the case of the noun phrase as a whole. It can be reliably used as a testing device for case marking, although it results in a modified case form for each noun that is sensitive to this distinction.

The nominative case indeed provides different forms for some nouns based on modification. Mostly, these differences involve the absence or presence of stem extensions:

Example IV.79: difference between plain and modified nominative case forms

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| a) | bò:bé cò:líláŋ^L kékàr. | |
| | bò:b-é | cò:líláŋ^L kékàr |
| | <i>big-3s.DJ</i> | <i>vulture\SG.NOM again</i> |
| | <i>The vulture is big again.</i> | |
| b) | bò:bé cò:líláŋ^L kónkúnj. | |
| | bò:b-é | cò:líláŋ^L kónk=ŋ |
| | <i>big-3s.DJ</i> | <i>vulture\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST=SFT</i> |
| | <i>That aforementioned vulture is big.</i> | |

As already hinted above, all modified nominative case forms are completely identical to the modified ergative case forms of the same noun. This one-to-one identity applies to both singular and plural forms. Therefore, what was said above about possible generalizations for modified ergative nouns applies entirely for the modified nominative nouns: most end in a high tone accompanied by a floating *L*. But this formal identity between the two cases cannot be analyzed as a conflation of two cases into one. The same form, depending on its syntactic context, still triggers two different case agreement behaviors on modifiers, where applicable:

Example IV.80: case agreement of modified ergative and nominative nouns

- a) **dégá'rá^L wártún^L gà:né^L kékà^L.**
dégár-ár wár-tun^L gà:n-é^L kékà^L
sleep-3P.DJ dog-PL.NOM.MOD POSS\1S.PL-NOM again
My dogs sleep again.
- b) **bòkòtù^L wártún^L gà:nè ídít^L.**
bòkòt-ir wár-tun^L gà:n-è ídít^L
kill-3P.DJ dog-PL.ERG.MOD POSS\1S.PL-ERG man\SG.ABS
My dogs kill a man.

If both examples really had the same case marking, then the modifiers should also be the same, which they are not. Of course it could be claimed that the case marking only happens on the modifier as the last element of the NP, not the head noun. Such an analysis would only work for the possessed nominative/ergative case forms if the case marking elsewhere in modified noun phrases is ignored. But many modifiers are not case-marked, and for other cases the case marking happens also on the head noun; furthermore, the noun forms of modified ergative/nominative nouns are still different from the noun forms of other cases, plain or modified. It is therefore more in line with the analysis of other modified NPs to assume that modified nominative and ergative nouns are case marked for either nominative or ergative, which is also reflected by the glossing in the examples.

All plain nominative nouns shown so far were presented preceding the adverb **kékà^L** 'again', in order to show them in their untarnished non-final position. But in many situations an unmodified nominative-case noun appears at the end of a sentence, and then it is accompanied by the *sentence-final topicality* marker (*SFT*, see section III.4). The following examples show the same as IV.79a) without the adverb, and two more different subjects:

Example IV.81: nominative nouns with *SFT* marker

- a) **bò:bé cò:líláŋtíŋ.**
bò:b-é cò:líláŋt^L=ŋ
big-3s.DJ vulture\SG.NOM=SFT
The vulture is big.
- b) **gòrgór ídŋ.**
gòrgór ídŋ^L=ŋ
fast\3s.DJ man\SG.NOM=SFT
The man is fast.
- c) **gòrgór cúwòjŋ.**
gòrgór cúwòj=ŋ
fast\3s.DJ eel\SG.NOM=SFT
The eel is fast.

When the *SFT*-marker attaches to a noun ending in a consonant, then quite often an epenthetic vowel /i/ (or /u/ according to the labial harmony rule) is inserted. This vowel frequently carries a contour tone based on the last stem tone. Whether or not the epenthetic vowel is used is somewhat predictable by the phonological environment, according to factors laid out in section II.4.1 in the description of the vowel-epenthesis rule 1.

The use of the contour tone is even less predictable. A long vowel preceding the *SFT*-marker always uses a contour tone, as in **gí'bîŋ** 'morning (NOM)' or **ḡòêŋ** 'antelope (NOM)'. But for short vowels it cannot be predicted whether or not the tone is a contour tone. Even on the aforementioned epenthetic vowel the tone sometimes appears level, sometimes as a contour tone: **ḡédámîŋ** 'bee (NOM)' vs. **émdíŋ** 'canoe (NOM)'. If there is a rule governing the shape of tones on syllables followed by the *SFT*-marker, it still awaits its discovery.

Non-central cases

It makes sense to group the dative, locative and possessive cases together, although the possessive works on a different syntactic domain as the other cases. For almost all nouns, the stems for forming these three case forms are identical, which contrasts heavily with the frequent stem changes of the central cases. And, in spite of the fact that many locative nouns lack a segmental case marker, overall the non-central cases are characterized by the fact that such a marker can be identified.

Dative case

From a syntactic perspective it may appear misplaced to call the Majang dative a non-central case, as it is consistently used to mark the third argument of ditransitive clauses – the indirect object – and therefore a rather central syntactic function in most grammar models. But it is also used for less central semantic roles⁶⁹, such as the allative⁷⁰. The distinction between central and non-central cases of Majang is mostly made on formal grounds, and these place the dative firmly in the same group as locative and possessive, along with the semantic characterization that the dative case cannot mark an *S*, *A* or *P* constituent.

The dative case of Majang (also called *locative of motion* by Bender 1983a, 123) is consistently marked by a segmental affix, which is usually the suffix **-a**. It frequently copies the preceding tone, and in most cases, if the last stem tone is *H*, the dative suffix is also followed by a floating low tone. Both generalizations have exceptions, as will be seen in the following examples. Quite often, the dative stem has a different tone pattern than the absolutive stem, and it also sometimes adds some other segmental material.

Example IV.82: absolutive and dative nouns

absolutive	dative	absolutive plural	dative plural	gloss
édén	èdè:nà	édénk	édénká ^L	mountain
gòdé	gòdèà	gódéfk	gódéfká ^L	room
jàrtí	jàrtià	jártiá:tók	jártiá:tóká ^L	woman
tóm	tó:ná ^L	tómók ^L	tómóká ^L	child
dó:	dó:ká ^L	dókán	dókáné:kà	soil
bà:búj	bà:bùjà	bábújk	bábújká ^L	husband
cà:kóm	cà:kómá ^L	cà:kómák ^L	cà:kómáká ^L	friend
bó:lónj ^L	bó:lónjà	bó:lónjér ^L	bó:lónjérá ^L	old man
kòmè	kóméá	kómá:tók	kómá:tóká ^L	fire stick

In general, the dative singular forms behave more regularly than the dative plural forms. The generalization holds that the dative suffix always follows any plural marker. The plural dative marker is less predictable in its tonal behavior, as it may be different even in very similar environments:

⁶⁹ Unseth (1989b, p. 105) therefore revealingly calls it the *oblique case*.

⁷⁰ Unseth (1992b, p. 99) suspects that what he calls the “*kinterm genitive -a*” is really just an “*additional use of the dative suffix*”. The analysis proposed here concurs with this idea.

Example IV.83: plural dative nouns

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a) dɛpɛ́íkà
dɛpɛ́-ík-à
<i>lion-PL-DAT</i> | b) gódéíká^L
gòdé-ík-a^L
<i>house-PL-DAT</i> | c) jártíátóká^L
jártí-átók-a^L
<i>woman-PL-DAT</i> |
|---|--|--|

A few nouns use suppletive forms for the dative. But these, too, make use of the final vowel /a/. The form **ɛ̀tà** is the dative singular of **ídí^L** ‘person’; the form **wà:** is the dative singular of **wéj^L** ‘house’.

The dative case can also be used for topical constituents according to McGregor’s (2010) concept of expectedness. If the NP does not appear at the end of the sentence, no difference is visible. But at the end of the sentence, the *SFT*-clitic can be placed.

Example IV.84: topical dative nouns

- gèlè:wèr jò:pǎŋ.**
gèlè:w-èr jò:p-a=ŋ
listen-3P.DJ people-DAT=SFT
They listen to the people.

In spite of some small idiosyncrasies, the dative is in its formation by far the most regular of the cases of Majang. It also stands out as the only case in which there are no different forms for modified and unmodified NPs, neither in the singular nor in the plural. The dative noun in the following clause does not look any different from the non-modified dative:

Example IV.85: modified dative nouns

- nè ɓá^L tònú tàwá:wê: jàrtià cíná:ná^L ké, ...**
nè ɓá^L tòn-í tàwá:wê: jàrti-à cì-n-á:n-á^L ké
CONJ REM PST say-3S.DJ Tawaawee woman\SG-DAT DEM-SG-HR-SG-DAT QUOT
Tawaawee told that woman that ...

Locative case

Unseth (1989b, p. 104) identified the locative case marker as **-e**. He found that it is not always attached to singular nouns, but consistently to plural nouns, proper names, and various modifiers. When encountered on nouns, there are a number of idiosyncrasies which turn the locative case into a rather complex structure to describe, more so than the dative case seen above.

In the data analyzed for this study, there are some nouns which take a segmental locative marker even for the unmodified singular. But the marker is quite often not **-e**, but the *[-ATR]* vowel **-ɛ**⁷¹. Both **-e** and **-ɛ** have an unpredictable tonal behavior, but are mostly found with a low tone.

Example IV.86: locative marker on singular unmodified nouns

- a) **nè kè: rí:ḡê:r gòp-è**.
nè kè: rí:ḡê:r gòp-è
and then put.down-CF.3S.DJ path\SG-LOC
And then he put her down on the path.
- b) **dégár^L dèpé:^L wár-è**.
dégár^L dèpé:^L wár-è
sleep\3S.DJ lion\SG.NOM dog\SG-LOC
The lion sleeps near the dog.

If the locative singular is not shown by the suffixes **-ɛ** or **-e**, it can be expressed through various stem changes, which typically involve the lengthening of the final vowel, or the addition of the approximant /j/ or its vowel equivalent /i/. These different markings may well be the results of contractions of the marker **-e**.

Some nouns, most belonging to the inflection classes using a nasal to mark the singular, use the marker **-t** in the locative singular form, as in **ḡédánt** of the absolutive **ḡédán** ‘bee’ (see examples IV.8, IV.9, IV.11, IV.14, IV.16, IV.18 and IV.20 for full paradigms). But this marker **-t**, if it really is a suffix (see p. 206), is also used for other case forms, such as the plain ergative.

A few nouns also have a suppletive locative stem, and others may use forms identical to one of the central cases (absolutive, ergative or nominative) – usually with tonal differences.

Example IV.87: locative singular nouns marked by stem changes or not at all

gloss	<i>ABS SG</i>	<i>LOC SG</i>
<i>man</i>	íḡtí^L	étè
<i>lion</i>	dèpé:^L	dèpê:
<i>room</i>	gòdé	gòdèj
<i>woman</i>	jàrtí	jàrti:

⁷¹ Synchronically, there seems to be no vowel harmony underlying this variation, but it is tempting to treat it as another fossilized remnant of the assumed Proto-Surmic vowel harmony operating on a nine- or even ten-vowel system (Moges, 2002).

forest	díúk ^L	dúk
land	dó:	dók
morning	gíbi	gíbi

For some nouns, different forms are observed for modified and non-modified locative noun phrases:

Example IV.88: modified and non-modified locative NPs

- a) **dé:gár^L ídí^L gòdèj.**
sleep\3s.DJ man\SG.NOM house\SG.LOC
The man sleeps at the house.
- b) **dégár^L ídí^L gòdèj ná:ké.**
dégár^L ídí^L gòdèj ná:k-ε
sleep\3s.DJ man\SG.NOM house\SG.LOC.MOD POSS\1s.SG-LOC
The man sleeps at my house.
- c) **dé:gár^L wár jàrti.**
sleep\3s.DJ dog\SG.NOM woman\SG.LOC
The dog sleeps near the woman.
- d) **dé:gár^L wár jàrti: ná:ké.**
dégár^L wár jàrti: ná:k-ε
sleep\3s.DJ dog\SG.NOM woman\SG.LOC.MOD POSS\1s.SG-LOC
The dog sleeps near my wife.

As can be seen, the locative case is clearly marked on the possessive pronoun. The changes between the unmodified nouns and the modified nouns are subtle, and they don't happen with every noun.

For plural NPs, the locative marking shows a great similarity to the marking of datives. The plural stem, including any plural suffix, is followed by the fairly regular locative plural suffix **-ε**⁷², although, just as for the dative, it has a somewhat unpredictable tone.

Example IV.89: plural locative nouns

- a) **dépéíkè** b) **gódéíké^L** c) **jártiátóké^L**
dépé-ik-è **gòdè-ík-ε^L** **járti-átók-ε^L**
lion-PL-LOC *house-PL-LOC* *woman-PL-LOC*

Just like the dative case, the locative case can also be used for topical constituents. Once more, the difference between topical and non-topical nouns is

⁷² It is **-ε** for **jò:pè**, the irregular locative plural of **ídí^L** 'person'.

only visible at the end of the sentence, where the locative NP is marked by the *SFT*-clitic:

Example IV.90: topical locative nouns

dě:gá'rá gòdèjín.

dě:gár-á gòdèj =ŋ

sleep-1s.DJ house\SG.LOC=SFT

I sleep in the house.

Possessive marking

Practically all NPs can be marked for possession. This happens through a possessive case marker on the last element of the possessor noun phrase (Unseth, 1989b, p. 103, 1992b). Unseth calls this case genitive, but in this study this term is abandoned in favor of *possessive*, to reflect the different syntactic nature of this marker to the case markers introduced in the previous section. While those case markings are determined by the syntactic status of a noun phrase within the clause, the possessive marking links two NPs which in turn form a larger noun phrase with a particular syntactic function in the clause. In other words, the other cases are clause-level markers, whereas the possessive operates only inside a noun phrase (Dixon, 2010b, p. 268).

The following example illustrates Unseth's point that only the last element of a possessor noun phrase is marked with the possessive marker:

Example IV.91: possessive marker on the last element

wá:cié^L jàrtí ná:k à wà:ló:kúk

wá:ci-é^L jàrtí ná:k à wà:ló:k =k

news-PL.ABS woman\SG.ABS POSS\1s.SG.ABS CONJ Waalook=SG.POSS

the story of my woman and Waalook

In this example, the two NPs 'my woman' and 'Waalook' (a proper name) together form the possessor noun phrase of the possessed noun **wá:cié^L** 'story'. Only the final NP, the proper name, receives the possessive marker, which marks the whole noun phrase **jàrtí ná:k à wà:ló:kúk** as the possessor of **wá:cié^L**. The first noun phrase (**jàrtí ná:k**) comes in the absolutive case, the case of the head noun.

Of course, very frequently it is a noun that forms the last element in a possessor NP, and when it does, the stem carrying the marker is the same as that

of the other non-central case forms⁷³. It is for this reason that the possessive needs to be treated in the case section for nouns. All nouns with possessive marking fit neatly into the same paradigm provided by the other case forms.

There are two possessive markers in Majang⁷⁴. Their selection depends on the semantics of the possessing noun.

On most nouns, the possessive is marked by the suffix **-onk**. This can be observed with copied high tones, low tones, and *HL* sequences. Up to now, a satisfactory explanation for this variable tonal behavior has not been found.

Example IV.92: possessive marked by **-onk**

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| a) ét-onk | <i>of person</i> |
| b) jò:p-onk | <i>of people</i> |
| c) ɲédám-onk | <i>of bee</i> |
| d) dũŋéd-onk | <i>of hyena</i> |
| e) mógúnk-onk | <i>of duikers</i> |
| f) kú'rój-onk | <i>of donkey</i> |

For all parts of speech which are not nouns, and also for proper names and a good number of other nouns the singular possessive marker is **-k**. If it follows a *[-SONORANT]*⁷⁵ consonant, the high-toned⁷⁶ epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted between the two consonants. This vowel is subject to labial harmony rule 4, which changes the vowel to /u/ if following a syllable with a round vowel, or if the coda of the preceding syllable contains a labial consonant.

Example IV.93: possessive marked by **-k**

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| a) cà:kómk | <i>of the friend</i> | c) gàpùtúk < gàpùt-k | <i>of the bat</i> |
| b) wà:célk | <i>of the uncle</i> | d) wà:jàmík < wà:jàm-k | <i>of the plant</i> |

⁷³ The stem of the possessor noun is different from the absolutive stem. For example the absolutive form of 'child' is **tɔ̃m**, but the possessive is **tɔ̃mòŋk** with a consonant change in the stem. This stem is also used for the dative and locative forms.

⁷⁴ Unseth (1992b) lists four different markers. His third, the "kinterm genitive **-a**" is really a special use of the dative case on some nouns. His fourth marker, **-ak**, appears to be rather his second marker added to stems ending in the vowel /a/.

⁷⁵ See rule 1 in section II.4.1 for a more precise definition of the environment triggering the epenthetic vowel.

⁷⁶ As epenthetic vowels should not come with their own tone, this suggests that the high tone is part of the underlying representation of the morpheme **-k**.

There are some semantic factors which roughly determine the nouns taking this particular possessive marker. Most kinship terms belong into this category, so it may be tempting to call these words inalienable nouns. But most body parts use the **-onk** form, and one would expect body parts to belong to a class of inalienable nouns, if a language provides one. Conversely, one would not expect to find wild animals or some plants and trees in a class of inalienable nouns, which make up the bulk of nouns using the possessive marker **-k**. All in all, on semantic grounds it does not appear helpful to categorize Majang nouns as alienable and inalienable on the basis of the possessor marking.

No noun uses the marker **-k** for marking plural possession. For the plural, only the different tonal variants of **-onk** are used.

In the Majang language, the possessive marking completely overwrites all other case marking the possessor noun might have because of the syntactic status of its head noun in the clause. This can be illustrated by the following string of examples, where the possessive NP **tó:mônk** ‘*of child*’ is used in different syntactic contexts.

Example IV.94: use of possessive case in differing syntactic contexts

- a) **dènà dũǵéd^L tó:mônk.**
dèn-à dũǵéd^L tó:m-ônk
see-1S.CJ hyena\SG.ABS child\SG-POSS
I saw a child's hyena.
- b) **bò:bé dũǵé^L tó:mônk kékàr.**
bò:b-é dũǵé^L tó:m-ônk kékàr
big-3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM.MOD child\SG-POSS again
The child's hyena is big again.
- c) **kàwé dũǵé^L tó:mônk èjè.**
kàw-é dũǵé^L tó:m-ônk èjè
bite-3S.DJ hyena\SG.ERG.MOD⁷⁷ child\SG-POSS cat\SG.ABS
A child's hyena bit a cat.

⁷⁷ The following modifier does not disambiguate between a modified nominative and a modified ergative NP, but the postverbal position in this transitive clause only allows for an ergative interpretation.

- d) **kèdǎ dũǎdǎ^L tó:mônǎ.**
kèd-ǎ dũǎd-ǎ^L tó:m-ônǎ
go-1s.DJ hyena\SG-DAT child\SG-POSS
I go to the child's hyena.
- e) **àr dũǎdè tó:mônǎ.**
àr dũǎd-è tó:m-ônǎ
be.at\3s.DJ hyena\SG-LOC child\SG-POSS
He is at the child's hyena.

Regardless of the case of the head noun of each of the possessive phrases in examples a) to e), the form of the possessor noun is invariably **tó:mônǎ**. No other case marking is therefore visible on the possessor noun. In a) it modifies an absolutive noun, in b) a nominative noun, in c) an ergative noun, in d) a dative noun and in e) a locative noun. The head noun is always properly marked for the case appropriate for the function of the whole NP in the clause. It is, however, perfectly possible to have a possessive-marked noun followed by the *SFT*-clitic, if the conditions for its use are met, as in the following example:

Example IV.95: use of possessive case with *SFT*-clitic

dé:gǎr^L dũǎé^L tó:mônǎkũ
dé:gǎr^L dũǎé^L tó:m-ônǎ = ŋ
sleep\2s.DJ hyena\SG.NOM.MOD child\SG-POSS=SFT
The child's hyena sleeps.

This clause has a nominative *S*, which is a NP modified by a possessive noun. As this nominative NP ends the sentence, the conditions for the use of the *SFT*-clitic are met.

IV.1.3.3 Number and case-marking observations

The previous sections made it clear that case marking provides one of the most complex morphological systems of the Majang language. The three central cases absolutive, ergative and nominative are supplemented by two other case forms used to mark nuclear-clause participants, the dative and the locative case. The case marking system of Majang is also the domain of the possessive marking on nouns, so that these markings need to be included in the paradigm. The marking of these six cases intersects with two further morphological dimensions, number and modification, resulting in a matrix of

24 possible different case-marking forms, of which 16 actually lead to different forms, with eight each for singular and plural. But the possibilities for singular and plural are not the same, as the absolutive case only provides different forms for plain vs. modified nouns in the plural, whereas the locative only provides different forms based on modification for the singular. The dative case and the possessive never make any distinction between plain and modified forms. The number of different forms is somewhat reduced by the fact that modified ergative and nominative case forms are identical for all nouns (although their modifiers are marked differently). Table 8 is a schematic overview of the different number and case forms in Majang.

		singular		plural	
		non-topical	topical	non-topical	topical
<i>A</i>	plain	<i>SG.ERG</i>	<i>SG.NOM</i>	<i>PL.ERG</i>	<i>PL.NOM</i>
	modified	<i>SG.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>		<i>PL.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	
<i>S</i> ⁷⁸		↓	↑	↓	↑
<i>P</i>	plain	<i>SG.ABS</i>		<i>PL.ABS</i>	
	modified			<i>PL.ABS.MOD</i>	
dative		<i>SG.DAT</i>		<i>PL.DAT</i>	
locative	plain	<i>SG.LOC</i>		<i>PL.LOC</i>	
	modified	<i>SG.LOC.MOD</i>			
possessive		<i>SG.POSS</i>		<i>PL.POSS</i>	

Table 8: overview of the case and number forms of Majang

A sample paradigm for a noun based on all these distinctions would look like this:

⁷⁸ The *S* shares its case marking with the *P* for non-topical constituents, and with the *A* for topical constituents. This is indicated by the arrows in the diagram.

Example IV.96: *woman*, Ø-sg, *á̌tók^L*-pl, *LH* melody

<i>SG.ABS</i>	jàrtí	<i>PL.ABS</i>	jártiártók^L
		<i>PL.ABS.MOD</i>	jártiártó^L
<i>SG.ERG</i>	jàrtí:	<i>PL.ERG</i>	jártiártò
<i>SG.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	jàrtí^L	<i>PL.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	jártiártó^L
<i>SG.NOM</i>	jàrtí:^L	<i>PL.NOM</i>	jártiártó
<i>SG.DAT</i>	jàrtià	<i>PL.DAT</i>	jártiártóká^L
<i>SG.LOC</i>	jàrti:	<i>PL.LOC</i>	jártiártóké^L
<i>SG.LOC.MOD</i>	jàrtí:		
<i>SG.POSS</i>	jàrtiònk	<i>PL.POSS</i>	jártiártókònk

The complexity of the case system is significantly exacerbated by the fact that for the central cases (absolutive, ergative and nominative) there is no clear morphological marker that helps with the identification of particular case forms. Differences between these and even many instances of the locative are shown only by rather idiosyncratic changes to the noun stem, often using no more than the presence or absence of a following floating low tone. Other means are length differences on stem vowels, and sometimes the addition or reduction of final stem consonants such as /t/ in the singular or /k/ in the plural. For some case pairs, the differences can only be seen outside the noun as such, for example by comparing the accompanying possessive pronouns, or by observing the conjoint-disjoint distinction on a preceding verb.

It is further necessary to relate the number- and case forms with their idiosyncratic presence and absence of the stem- or suffix-consonants /t/ in the singular and /k/ in the plural to what was called secondary suffixes⁷⁹ in Nilotic languages by Tucker & Bryan (1962). These secondary suffixes are almost identical in form and number distribution with the spurious stem elements of Majang, and it is probable that they are indeed related, either through language contact or even through genetic affiliation. Rottland (1982, p. 105ff) discusses the semantics of these suffixes in Southern Nilotic and links them to specificity or definiteness – which would suggest their use in the nominative case forms in Majang. But, as was seen in the various nominal number-case paradigms above, use and non-use of /t/ and /k/ cuts entirely across the cases of Majang, affecting sometimes the absolutive, sometimes the ergative and sometimes the nominative case, depending on the nominal inflection class. Moreover, the two formatives are entirely frozen in their

⁷⁹ Once more I am grateful to Gerrit Dimmendaal for pointing me to this morphological phenomenon of the Nilotic languages.

places in the stems where they appear, and no morphosyntactic or pragmatic function can be attributed to them any more in the current state of the Majang language. It is possible, even likely, that they have played an important role in the development of the Majang case system when they still had a meaning attached to them, but now only their presence (and absence) can be noted in the paradigms, where their only role is to distinguish the various cases, and in rather idiosyncratic ways.

Although some generalizations can be made for some case forms, the total picture is still very confusing, where almost any stem shape can be used for some of the possible case/number-modification configurations.

IV.1.4 Count vs. mass nouns

The distinction between count and mass nouns in Majang is addressed by the number marking system (see section IV.1.3.1 for details). Many mass nouns use the simple root for the mass sense with plural agreement, and the noun referring to a single instance is formed by adding a particular singular marker. For many mass nouns, such as liquids, there are no singular forms.

IV.1.5 Proper names

Proper names behave differently morphologically from regular nouns. The possessive marking differs from most other nouns. Whereas regular nouns take the **-onk** form for the possessive, proper names take the **-k** form, as in **tàwá:wé:-k** ‘of Tawaawee (proper name)’.

Proper names are not marked for number, but are fully marked for case.

IV.1.6 Kinship nouns

Basic kinship nouns referring to close relatives have a few special characteristics. Firstly, they are inherently possessed, and the person of the possessor causes dramatically different forms to the point of suppletion.

Example IV.97: suppletive stems for inherently possessed kinship nouns

- a) **kó^L tè ɓòkó:tì: ìndíá^L gânk.**
kó^L tè ɓòkó:tì: ìndí-a^L gânk
HORT.1P hey! kill-1P.CJ mother\1S-PL.ABS.MOD POSS\1P.PL.ABS
Let's kill our mothers!
- b) **ɓòkòtún kó ré ɲá:ɲá^L cénk.**
ɓòkòt-ín kó ré ɲá:ɲá^L cénk
kill-2S.DJ RECPST 2S.PRAG mother\2S.SG.ABS 2S.CONTR
It was you yourself who killed your mother.
- c) **nè kè: làṅkì éméé^L lèrà**
nè kè: làṅ-kì éméé^L lèr-a
CONJ go\3S.DJ find-CP.3S.CJ mother\3S.SG.ABS Leer-DAT
He went and found Leer's mother.

The three examples display the forms of 'mother' for a first person (a), second person (b) and third person possessor (c). There is no unpossessed form of mother in Majang. Example c) further illustrates a second characteristic of kinship terms: if they are the head of a possessive NP, their possessor nouns do not use the regular forms of the possessive (**-konk** or **-k**), but they use the dative form. This trait of kinship terms was already carefully described by Unseth (1992b, p. 99). Other examples of suppletive kinship forms are the following:

Example IV.98: some other kinship nouns

	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
<i>father</i>	ɓà:ɓé^L	ɓà:ɓá	épên
<i>sibling</i>	dè:dé:	máçó:kòj^L	máɲá^L

IV.2 Verbs

Verbs in Majang are defined by their various syntactic and morphological properties, which are different for finite and infinite verb forms. All verbs can be used in a finite form with person marking, and all verbs can also be used in the negative and infinitive forms, which are not marked for person.

These criteria, however, also apply to words denoting stative property concepts, which morphologically are very similar to verbs. They are therefore

treated as a sub-class of verbs in section IV.2.4, where they are called *stative verbs* in line with the nomenclature applied to other Surmic languages. Readers looking for the category of adjectives in Majang are therefore directed to that section.

Finite verbs are characterized by their ability to serve as the predicate of a clause, without the use of either a copula or a subject pronoun. More about the use of verbs can be gleaned from sections V.3.2.2 and V.3.3.

IV.2.1 Verb structure

This section provides some foundational information on how verbs are formed in the Majang language. Other sections of the grammar make references to concepts introduced here, particularly to the division of all Majang verbs into inflection classes, and to the various grammatical categories that are expressed in the verbal morphology.

IV.2.1.1 Inflection classes

Each Majang verb belongs to one of three⁸⁰ inflection classes, which in this study are named according to the vowel of the second person plural suffix. The a-class uses **-ǎr** (e.g. **ṇḁḁ-ǎr** ‘you_{PL} abandon’), the i-class uses **-ĩr** (e.g. **lòw-ĩr** ‘you_{PL} lead’), and the ε-class uses **-ěir** (e.g. **ḁjók-ěir** ‘you_{PL} shake’). For this reason the 2_P form is used as the citation form of verbs in the word lists in section VI.2. This is not to claim that Majang speakers would use this form naturally as a citation form for verbs, but that this form is very useful to identify the inflection class at first glance.

For the person-marking suffixes, the 2_P form is not the only difference depending on the inflection class. Often the defining vowel indicates other differences, as the following paradigms for the conjoint forms illustrate:

⁸⁰ A fourth class, the u-class, is only used for stative verbs, and is therefore introduced in section IV.2.4.3.

Example IV.99: person-marking suffixes of different inflection classes

person	<i>abandon (a)</i>	<i>lead (i)</i>	<i>shake (ε)</i>
1 _S	ḡḡḡ-à	lòw-à	òʝók-à
2 _S	ḡḡḡ-ùn	lòw-ùn	òʝók-ùn
3 _S	ḡḡḡ	lòw-ù ⁸¹	òʝók-è
1 _P	ḡḡḡ-ì:	lòw-ì:	òʝók-ì:
2 _P	ḡḡḡ-àrì	lòw-ì:rì	òʝók-è:rì
3 _P	ḡḡḡ-àr	lòw-ùr	òʝók-èr

Beyond the person suffixes, the inflection class also influences the choice of suffix-allomorphs for some other morphemes, such as the infinitive and the negative form.

The a-class needs to be divided into various subclasses, due to differences in behavior regarding the stems of the verbs. The details for this are given in section IV.2.3, *a-class verbs*.

IV.2.1.2 Finite verbs

The finite verb in Majang follows this template (Figure 9):

*Stem – Extension – Direction – Relative Tense – Referential Object –
Person (+ conjoint/disjoint)*

Figure 9: affix template of finite verbs

None of the suffix slots are filled for all verbs. There are some zero allomorphs among the person morphemes, and the extension slot and the relative tense slot are rarely used. Each verb could also be followed by various clitics, such as the sentence-final topicality marker =ḡ or the subordinate-clause marker =k. Any simple or derived stem may serve in the stem slot; some means of derivation are introduced in section IV.2.2 below. The extension slot may contain the semantically empty suffix -k in front of some person markers, but only in certain verb classes. It is inserted for phonological reasons, and it never appears in the same verb with a relative tense marker or a direction marker; therefore the relative order between these is not relevant, except that the analysis proposed here sees the extension as an extension of the stem. The direction slot follows the stem directly only for

⁸¹ For the i-class, the 3_S, 2_P and the 3_P forms are also defined by the class-vowel, but they are subject to the labial-harmony rule 4, which changes short /i/ to /u/ for the verb lòw.

two of the set of three direction markers, centripetal and centrifugal. The deictic-transfer direction marker is regularly placed following any relative-tense marker. The relative-tense slot is used for a few morphemes connecting the verb to its pragmatic temporal setting, and only in subordinate clauses. Although the referential-object suffix is identical to one of the relative-tense forms, it does not fill the same slot, as it follows other relative-tense suffixes.

Some person markings are characterized by tonal changes on the stem. The person-marking suffixes themselves are portmanteau morphemes that also carry the conjoint-disjoint distinction of the language. Conjoint forms indicate that the immediately following NP in the absolutive case is non-topical. In all other situations, the disjoint form is used (see section III.3 for information on the use of this distinction).

Aspect is expressed through the choice of different verb stems, with the imperfective aspect using a reduplicated version of the perfective root.

Other grammatical categories often associated with verbs in other languages are not expressed through inflectional categories on the verb in Majang: absolute tense and modality use other means, such as free particles or auxiliary verb constructions.

IV.2.1.3 Infinite verbs

There are two different infinite verb forms in Majang: infinitive and negative. For the majority of verbs these forms can be accomplished by adding a productive suffix to the stem. These suffixes are presented in section IV.2.2.1 *Infinite verb forms* below. Both forms are syntactically verbal nouns, but at least the infinitive can still serve as the semantic predicate of a subject or object clause (see examples IV.100 and V.121). The negative form is quite restricted in its use, but the infinitive form has all the morphological characteristics of a noun, which means that it can be inflected for number and case. Many nouns of the lexicon are in fact lexicalized infinitive forms. Other nouns are derived from verbs by the use of some less productive nominalization devices provided by the Majang morphology; these often result in lexicalized meanings, not as predictable as the ones gleaned from the infinitive or negative verb forms.

IV.2.2 Derivation processes for verbal roots

This section explores the derivation processes that operate on verbal roots. It is not always easy in Majang to decide which verbal markings are to be seen as derivational and which as inflectional. Nominalization is certainly a derivational device, and the main-clause person marking is clearly inflection. Other categories may be less clear, such as the impersonal marking or the various direction forms found in Majang. For the former there are some indications that place it firmly in the inflectional drawer; for the direction markings things are less straightforward.

The following processes are described in this section as derivational, as they produce new stems from verbal roots: nominalizations (with infinitives and negative verbs), detransitivization, inceptive verbs, durative verbs, and two more derivation devices with an unclear semantic interpretation. Furthermore, the formation of imperfective verb stems through reduplication makes it profitable to treat this device in this section.

IV.2.2.1 Nominalizations

Bender (1983, p. 118) states that “*Majang, like Nilo-Saharan languages generally, is not rich in derived forms.*” But he then goes on to list a few nominalizations which are quite productive in the language. If Bender’s remark is to be understood in the sense that there are not many *different* nominalization devices, then he is somewhat correct. But what is true about Majang is that there is a wealth of derived nouns in the lexicon, all formed with the few devices the language provides. These include a few more than the ones identified by Bender (1983, pp. 118–120).

Infinite verb forms

The Majang language makes use of two infinite verb forms; they are based on verb roots, but not inflected for person, conjoint/disjoint, or relative tense. Instead, they can be at least partially inflected like nouns. As their formation is very closely linked with the formation of lexical nominalizations, it is assumed that these forms are derivations from the verb. Semantically, the *infinitive* and the *negative* verb forms can be analyzed as action nominalizations (see section IV.2.2.1). Many of these verbal-noun formations use more or less productive suffixation processes, but even where this is the case, other changes to the stem are frequent.

These infinite verb forms have verbal characteristics beyond regular nominals, as they can still serve as predicates of subordinate clauses (see section V.8.2.1). In the following example, the subject clause **róríjón^L nè:ké:k** is clearly marked as a subordinate clause by the subordinate-clause marker **=k**. The predicate of this clause is the infinitive **róríjón^L** ‘to teach’.

Example IV.100: subject clause with infinitive predicate

nè róríjón^L nè:ké:k ò:dfiŋ.
nè róríj-ŋn^L nè:k-é=k ò:dfi=ŋ
 CONJ teach-INF\SG.NOM POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SUB difficult\3S.DJ=SFT
Teaching it (lit: its teaching) is difficult.

Infinitives

Infinitives are formed using a variety of morphological means, but for the most part on a predictable basis. Any prediction depends on the inflection class of the verb, and its root tone. As verbal nouns, the infinitives can be inflected for number and case, although it is difficult to find plural examples in a natural text.

The following major infinitive markers are used⁸²: for many low-toned roots of the ε-class and the i-class the infinitive marker **-V:t** is chosen. **V:** stands for the class vowel /ε:/ or /i:/; /ε:/ undergoes height harmony rule 5, which turns it into /e:/ following a final root syllable with a high vowel /i/ or /u/. This suffix is used as **-e:t** for almost 100 ε-class verbs (out of about 230) and as **-i:t** for 17 i-class verbs (out of about 80). In all cases this suffix copies the low tone of the root.

Example IV.101: infinitives marked by **-V:t**

root	class	infinitive	gloss
gà:m	i	gà:mì:t	<i>give</i>
lò:k	i	lò:kì:t	<i>be angry</i>
rà:w	i	rà:wì:t	<i>singe</i>
ḡàrt	ε	ḡàrtè:t	<i>give birth</i>
kà:c	ε	kà:cè:t	<i>divide</i>
tù:j	ε	tù:jè:t	<i>take revenge</i>

⁸² Presented in the order of their frequency. All numbered occurrences come from a sample of about 400 verbs for which the infinitive markers are known.

The **-e:t/-i:t** infinitives follow a paradigm with unmarked singular and the plural marked by **-ák^L** with a stable high tone. A sample paradigm follows:

Example IV.102: infinitive inflection of **kù:lm** *promise*

SG.ABS	kù:lmè:t	PL.ABS	kù:lmè:ták^L
		PL.ABS.MOD	kù:lmè:tá^L
SG.ERG	kù:lmê:t	PL.ERG	kù:lmè:tà
SG.ERG/NOM.MOD	kù:lmé:t^L	PL.ERG/NOM.MOD	kù:lmè:tá^L
SG.NOM	kù:lmé:t^L	PL.NOM	kù:lmè:tá
SG.DAT	kù:lmè:tà	PL.DAT	kù:lmè:táká^L
SG.LOC	kù:lmè:t	PL.LOC	kù:lmè:táké^L
SG.LOC.MOD	kù:lmè:t		
SG.POSS	kù:lmè:tònk	PL.POSS	kù:lmè:tákònk

Most of the other low-toned roots of the ϵ -class and the i -class use the marker **-ŵi^L**, which is a truncated absolutive singular variety of the suffix **-ŵi:d**. This materializes as **-é^L** for about 70 ϵ -class verbs, and as **-í^L** for about 30 i -class verbs. Unlike the suffix **-V:t** it does not copy the L of the stem, but it superimposes a H across the whole infinitive word. It also causes a down-step for any following word starting with a H . There is a certain ambiguity about the length of this final vowel, which is often perceived by the speakers as being short. But since the i -class variant does not undergo labial harmony (which would result in **kóru^L** 'to close' in the example below), and because it goes back to a long vowel in the suffixes **-e:d** and **-i:d**, it is assumed that the vowels are long.

Example IV.103 infinitives marked by **-ŵi^L**

root	class	infinitive	gloss
à:d	i	á:dí^L	<i>wash</i>
kòr	i	kórí^L	<i>close</i>
tòn	i	tóní^L	<i>say</i>
bò:d	ϵ	bódé^L	<i>escape</i>
dĩŋ	ϵ	dĩŋé^L	<i>spank</i>
tùk	ϵ	túké^L	<i>begin</i>

The suffixes **-e^L/-i^L** and **-e:t/-i:t** are also used for other, more lexicalized nominalizations (see the relevant section below). Infinitives using the markers **-e^L** and the **-i^L** are inflected for number and case according to the following paradigm, with an unmarked singular and a plural marked by **-ák^L**:

Example IV.104: infinitive inflection of **ɲàd** *be angry*

SG.ABS	ɲáɖíˀ ^L	PL.ABS	ɲáɖíˀɖákˀ ^L
		PL.ABS.MOD	ɲáɖíˀɖáˀ ^L
SG.ERG	ɲáɖíˀɖ	PL.ERG	ɲáɖíˀɖá
SG.ERG/NOM.MOD	ɲáɖíˀ ^L	PL.ERG/NOM.MOD	ɲáɖíˀɖáˀ ^L
SG.NOM	ɲáɖíˀɖ	PL.NOM	ɲáɖíˀɖá
SG.DAT	ɲáɖíˀɖá	PL.DAT	ɲáɖíˀɖákáˀ ^L
SG.LOC	ɲáɖíˀɖ	PL.LOC	ɲáɖíˀɖákéˀ ^L
SG.LOC.MOD	ɲáɖíˀɖ		
SG.POSS	ɲáɖíˀɖònk	PL.POSS	ɲáɖíˀɖákònk

The stem of this noun is the infinitive **ɲáɖíˀɖ** based on the i-class root **ɲàd** ‘*be angry*’. This is shortened to **ɲáɖíˀ^L** in the absolutive and in the modified ergative/nominative forms.

The marker **-an^L** copies the tone of the stem, and causes a downstep to the following word, if it begins with a high tone. It is the marker of choice for all high-toned verb roots of the i-class (18 verbs) and most high-toned roots of the ε-class (32 verbs). For the a-class (total sample of almost 90) it is used for five verbs with a low root tone.

Example IV.105 infinitives marked by **-an^L**

root	class	infinitive	gloss
dúˀɲ	ε	dúˀɲán^L	<i>evaporate</i>
ɖéj	ε	ɖéján^L	<i>want</i>
ɖóˀt	i	ɖóˀtán^L	<i>harvest</i>
wóˀr	i	wóˀrán^L	<i>untie</i>
èpàˀj	a	èpàˀjàn	<i>chase</i>
jùmùˀr	a	jùmùˀràn	<i>respond</i>

Only once in the examined data this marker **-an^L** is used for a high-toned a-class root. The infinitive **ɲárótówán^L** ‘*to snore*’ is therefore exceptional in Majang. A handful of other verbs use the marker with a *HL* sequence, as in **tòróˀkân** ‘*to trample (a-class)*’, **ɖérân** ‘*to crush (a-class)*’ or **gópân** ‘*to punish (i-class)*’. Whenever this happens, the preceding stem vowel is long, but there are other infinitives with the same environment which don’t have a falling tone. Four more a-class infinitives, **éˀján^L** ‘*to milk*’, **gíˀján^L** ‘*to grind*’, **ɲéˀján^L** ‘*to strain food*’ and **wéˀján^L** ‘*to breathe*’, have high-toned suffixes on the high-toned a-class roots **éj**, **gíj**, **wéˀɲ** and **ɲéj**. The tone of the preceding root is not copied, but the suffix has its own high tone, which is therefore

downstepped according to the morpheme-downstep rule. The infinitives with **-an^L** are inflected as follows:

Example IV.106: infinitive inflection of **dó:tán^L** *to harvest*

SG.ABS	dó:tán^L	PL.ABS	dó:tá:'nák^L
		PL.ABS.MOD	dó:tá:'ná^L
SG.ERG	dó:tām	PL.ERG	dó:tá:nà
SG.ERG/NOM.MOD	dó:tán^L	PL.ERG/NOM.MOD	dó:tá:'ná^L
SG.NOM	dó:tām	PL.NOM	dó:tá:'ná^L
SG.DAT	dó:tāmà	PL.DAT	dó:tá:'náká^L
SG.LOC	dó:tām	PL.LOC	dó:tá:'náké^L
SG.LOC.MOD	dó:tām		
SG.POSS	dó:tāmònk	PL.POSS	dó:tá:'nákònk

The marker **-ǎn^L** is the infinitive suffix for a large group of a-class verbs, regardless of which tone is found on the root. For high-toned roots (of which there are 28 in the sample), this tone is always copied. The seven low-toned roots using this marker replace all tones on the infinitive word with a *H*.

Example IV.107: infinitives formed from a-class verbs by using the marker **-ǎn^L**

root	class	infinitive	gloss
á:dór	a	á:dórǎn^L	<i>ripen</i>
ǎánkáwr	a	ǎánkáwǎrǎn^L	<i>get strong</i>
dǎndámá:	a	dǎndámǎn^L	<i>pray</i>
gó:ŋán	a	gó:ŋánǎn^L	<i>bump against</i>
kàrkàr	a	kàrkàrǎn^L	<i>undress</i>
wè:tà	a	wè:tákǎn^L	<i>move away</i>

Six times in the sample, the suffix **-ǎn^L** is used by ϵ -class verbs, such as **kóllóǎn^L** *'to whistle'* or **mó:móǎn^L** *'to caress'*. The infinitives with **-ǎn^L** are inflected as follows:

Example IV.108: infinitive inflection of **dǎndǎmón^L** *to pray*

<i>SG.ABS</i>	dǎndǎmón^L	<i>PL.ABS</i>	dǎndǎmó:ʔnák^L
		<i>PL.ABS.MOD</i>	dǎndǎmó:ʔná^L
<i>SG.ERG</i>	dǎndǎmó:n	<i>PL.ERG</i>	dǎndǎmó:nà
<i>SG.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	dǎndǎmón^L	<i>PL.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	dǎndǎmó:ʔná^L
<i>SG.NOM</i>	dǎndǎmó:n	<i>PL.NOM</i>	dǎndǎmó:ʔná^L
<i>SG.DAT</i>	dǎndǎmó:nà	<i>PL.DAT</i>	dǎndǎmó:ʔnáká^L
<i>SG.LOC</i>	dǎndǎmó:n	<i>PL.LOC</i>	dǎndǎmó:ʔnáké^L
<i>SG.LOC.MOD</i>	dǎndǎmó:n		
<i>SG.POSS</i>	dǎndǎmó:nònk	<i>PL.POSS</i>	dǎndǎmó:ʔnákònk

As shown below, the suffixes **-an^L/-ʔn^L** are not only used to form infinitives, but also for other, more lexicalized nominalizations – but in those situations the tonal pattern of the resulting nouns is quite different.

A total of 23 verbs of the sample (about 6%, all from the ε-class or the a-class) use an entirely different and for the Majang language somewhat surprising way to form infinitives. Instead of using any suffix, they use a prefix based on the consonant /t/ and the reduplicated vowel of the root. Long root vowels are shortened in the infinitive:

Example IV.109: infinitives formed with the **tV**-prefix

root	class	infinitive	gloss
kà:m	a	tàkám^L	<i>limp</i>
kèg	a	tègék^L	<i>pound</i>
kò:w	a	tòków^L	<i>dig</i>
pìr	ε	típír^L	<i>fly</i>
ròg	ε	tóró^L	<i>laugh</i>
kùd	ε	túkú^L	<i>weep</i>

All these infinitives have a low-toned root. Those of the a-class have their infinitives with a *LH* tone melody, whereas the ε-class infinitives have a *H* melody. There is no reason to assume that the prefix infinitives are in any way functionally different from the suffix forms. The use of a prefix is very unusual for Majang. The only other attested prefix is the very archaic and unproductive causative prefix ***i-** identified by Unseth (1998, p. 116). The prefix-formed infinitives are inflected according to the following paradigms:

Example IV.110: infinitive inflection of **tàkòw^L** to dig, a-class

<i>SG.ABS</i>	tàkòw^L	<i>PL.ABS</i>	tàkòwák^L
		<i>PL.ABS.MOD</i>	tàkòwá^L
<i>SG.ERG</i>	tàkòw	<i>PL.ERG</i>	tàkòwà
<i>SG.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	tàkòw^L	<i>PL.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	tàkòwá^L
<i>SG.NOM</i>	tàkòw	<i>PL.NOM</i>	tàkòwá^L
<i>SG.DAT</i>	tàkòwà	<i>PL.DAT</i>	tàkòwáká^L
<i>SG.LOC</i>	tàkòw	<i>PL.LOC</i>	tàkòwáké^L
<i>SG.LOC.MOD</i>	tàkòw		
<i>SG.POSS</i>	tàkòwònk	<i>PL.POSS</i>	tàkòwákònk

Example IV.111: infinitive inflection of **típír^L** to fly, ε-class

<i>SG.ABS</i>	típír^L	<i>PL.ABS</i>	típírák^L
		<i>PL.ABS.MOD</i>	típírá^L
<i>SG.ERG</i>	típír	<i>PL.ERG</i>	típírà
<i>SG.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	típír^L	<i>PL.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	típírá^L
<i>SG.NOM</i>	típír^L	<i>PL.NOM</i>	típírá^L
<i>SG.DAT</i>	típírá^L	<i>PL.DAT</i>	típíráká^L
<i>SG.LOC</i>	típír	<i>PL.LOC</i>	típíráké^L
<i>SG.LOC.MOD</i>	típír		
<i>SG.POSS</i>	típírónk	<i>PL.POSS</i>	típírákònk

Another set of 23 verbs of all three inflection classes uses the root without any suffixes or prefixes for the infinitive. Of the i-class, all seven infinitives entirely preserve the root. For ε- and a-class verbs, there are frequent tonal and segmental changes to the verb root.

Example IV.112: unmarked infinitives

root	class	infinitive	gloss
ìjá:g	a	ìjá:g^L	<i>work</i>
rèr	a	rér	<i>die</i>
dégégér	a	dégégér	<i>agree</i>
dí:l	ε	dí:l	<i>carry</i>
ímí:n	ε	ímí:n	<i>rest</i>
ṇàwít	ε	ṇàwít	<i>walk</i>
ìbá:l	i	ìbá:l	<i>play</i>
ràgád	i	ràgád	<i>arrange</i>

A group of six verbs uses the suffix **-in^L** to form infinitives. This only attaches to low-toned roots, and replaces all tones on the word by a high tone. The identity of the rhymes of all a-class verbs of this group is noteworthy.

Example IV.113: infinitives marked by **-in^L**

root	class	infinitive	gloss
ḡà:r	a	ḡá:rín^L	<i>forbid</i>
là:r	a	lá:rín^L	<i>lose</i>
kà:r	a	ká:rín^L	<i>fight</i>
ṇà:r	a	ṇá:rín^L	<i>go</i>
dũṅkù	i	dũṅún^L	<i>lie down</i>
mù:r	i	mú:rún^L	<i>return</i>

Four a-class verbs form their infinitive by adding the suffix **-a^L**. It copies the tone of the root.

Example IV.114: infinitives marked by **-a**

root	class	infinitive	gloss
ṇó:n	a	ṇó:ná^L	<i>insult</i>
dām	a	dāmà	<i>eat</i>
tīm	a	tīmà	<i>wound</i>
tù:l	a	tù:là	<i>shave</i>

Yet another group of four verbs uses some kind of suppletion form for the infinitive.

Example IV.115: infinitives formed by suppletion

root	class	infinitive	gloss
kè:d	a	éṇé:^L	<i>go</i>
dɔ̃k	a	dí:l	<i>bring</i>
àgàl	i	àgèj	<i>steal</i>
kùc	i	mélé:^L	<i>come</i>

Negative verb forms

The negative verb forms are syntactically more restricted than the infinitive, as they can only be used in the negative construction, where they are always preceded by the negative auxiliary (see section IV.3.5). Therefore they cannot be inflected like nouns, and accordingly are less nominal in character than infinitives.

Example IV.116: negative verb forms

kòdír ké ká ólél^L típír^L?
kòd-ír ké k-á ól-él^L tí-pír^L
think-2P.DJ QUOT NEG-1S can-NEG INF-fly
Do you think that I cannot fly?

In this example, the auxiliary verb **ól** ‘can’ is used in the negative form **ólél^L**. This needs to be preceded by the negative auxiliary **k-**, which is in this context used in its *1s* form **ká**. Negative verb forms cannot be used without such a preceding negative auxiliary.

It appears that the negative verb formation is based on the formation of infinitives. For almost half of all the verbs in the sample, the form of the infinitive is identical in all respects to the negative form. This is particularly true for most of the verbs forming their infinitive with the suffixes **-et** and **-it**. All the verbs forming their infinitives with **-it** do the same for the negative verb form. Of all the verbs forming their infinitive with **-et**, only nine do not use this marker for the negative. One of these, with the infinitive **laptèt** ‘to die’, uses the suffix **-án^L** for the negative **laptán^L**. The other eight use the suffix **-it**, which is regularly used for all ϵ -class verbs ending with the detransitivizing marker **-di^L**.

Example IV.117: negative forms of ϵ -class verbs with detransitivizing marker

base stem	class	infinitive	negative	gloss
gìrgìdì:	ϵ	gìrgìdèt	gìrgìdìt	<i>roll</i>
rù:dì:	ϵ	rù:dèt	rù:dìt	<i>be twisted</i>
nájdi^L:	ϵ	nájé^L:	nájdi:t^L	<i>admire</i>
módi^L:	ϵ	módé^L:	módi:t^L	<i>burn</i>

The last two of these examples show high-toned base stems, which form their infinitives regularly with **-é^L**. They, too, end their negative forms on **-it^L**, which copies the root tone and is followed by a floating *L*. It is difficult to determine whether this is the same suffix as the **-it** of *i*-class verbs, or another suffix **-t^L** just used for the negative form. A suffix **-t^L** is also used for the six verbs using the durative stem extension **-a:**, such as **róríjá:** ‘teach’, infinitive **róríjón^L**, negative **róríját^L**. Other high-toned negative **-it^L** markers are found on five *a*-class verbs, such as **dégégér** ‘agree’, infinitive **dégégér**, negative **dégégérít**.

The verbs that form their infinitives with **-é^L** or **-í^L** (and that don’t pick the same marker for the negative) have an almost identical negative form **-é:f**

(38 ϵ -class verbs) or $\text{-}\acute{\text{f}}\text{d}$ (20 i-class verbs); the implosive is only dropped in the absolutive form of the infinitive. If the implosive is not dropped, then the final H is realized as a HL sequence. In any case, all other tones on the stem are replaced by a H that spreads across the whole word.

Example IV.118: negative forms with markers $\text{-}\acute{\text{e}}\text{d}$ or $\text{-}\acute{\text{f}}\text{d}$

root	class	infinitive	negative	gloss
$\text{c}\grave{\text{a}}\text{w}$	ϵ	$\text{c}\acute{\text{a}}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{c}\acute{\text{a}}\text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:d}$	<i>sprinkle</i>
$\text{j}\grave{\text{o}}\text{l}$	ϵ	$\text{j}\acute{\text{o}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{j}\acute{\text{o}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:d}$	<i>help</i>
$\text{m}\grave{\text{u}}\text{k}$	ϵ	$\text{m}\acute{\text{u}}\text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{m}\acute{\text{u}}\text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:d}$	<i>stab</i>
$\text{k}\grave{\text{e}}\text{m}$	i	$\text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\text{!}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\text{!d}$	<i>straighten</i>
$\text{l}\grave{\text{o}}\text{w}$	i	$\text{l}\acute{\text{o}}\text{w}\text{!}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{l}\acute{\text{o}}\text{w}\text{!d}$	<i>lead</i>
$\text{k}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}$	i	$\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{!}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{!d}$	<i>trap</i>

In the same way, the suffix set $\text{-an}^{\text{L}}/\text{-}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$ is not only used for the infinitive, but also for negative verbs, although in smaller numbers than the previously mentioned suffixes. Only seven i-class verbs use it for the negative, whereas the other eleven i-class verbs which use -an^{L} for the infinitive instead use -e^{L} for the negative. Another 16 ϵ -class verbs use -an^{L} for both the infinitive and the negative, and 14 more use -e^{L} for the negative. In the a-class, six verbs use -an^{L} and its tonal varieties for both the infinitive and the negative, and seven more use -e^{L} for the negative instead of -an^{L} . Among these are some low-toned manifestations of the marker -e^{L} .

Example IV.119: negative forms of verbs that form the infinitive with -an^{L}

root	class	infinitive	negative	gloss
$\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:c}$	ϵ	$\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:c}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:c}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	<i>touch</i>
úrt	ϵ	$\text{úrt}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{úrt}\text{a}\text{n}$	<i>rust</i>
$\text{c}\acute{\text{o}}\text{:f}$	ϵ	$\text{c}\acute{\text{o}}\text{:f}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{c}\acute{\text{o}}\text{:f}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:}^{\text{L}}$	<i>suck</i>
$\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:n}$	i	$\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:n}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:n}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	<i>sew</i>
$\text{d}\acute{\text{o}}\text{:d}$	i	$\text{d}\acute{\text{o}}\text{:d}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{d}\acute{\text{o}}\text{:d}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	<i>squat</i>
$\text{k}\acute{\text{é}}\text{:w}$	i	$\text{k}\acute{\text{é}}\text{:w}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{k}\acute{\text{é}}\text{:w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:}^{\text{L}}$	<i>sharpen</i>
$\text{t}\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}$	a	$\text{t}\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}\text{a}\text{n}$	$\text{t}\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}\text{a}\text{n}$	<i>drip</i>
$\text{g}\grave{\text{o}}\text{:m}\grave{\text{u}}\text{r}$	a	$\text{g}\grave{\text{o}}\text{:m}\grave{\text{u}}\text{r}\text{a}\text{n}$	$\text{g}\grave{\text{o}}\text{:m}\grave{\text{u}}\text{r}\text{a}\text{n}$	<i>be fat</i>
$\text{k}\acute{\text{é}}\text{:w}$	a	$\text{k}\acute{\text{é}}\text{:w}\text{a}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$	$\text{k}\acute{\text{é}}\text{:w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:}^{\text{L}}$	<i>sharpen</i>
$\text{j}\grave{\text{o}}\text{:r}$	a	$\text{j}\grave{\text{o}}\text{:r}\text{a}\text{n}$	$\text{j}\grave{\text{o}}\text{:r}\acute{\text{e}}\text{:}$	<i>diminish</i>

The marker $\text{-}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n}^{\text{L}}$ of the infinitive is applied for the negative with a slight tonal variation as $\text{-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}$ for nine a-class verbs. For ten more a-class verbs it is

left tonally unchanged, while a few more choose different negative markers such as **-e:**^L or **-et**.

Example IV.120: negative forms of verbs that form the infinitive with **-ɔn**^L

root	class	infinitive	negative	gloss
dé:gár	a	dé:gárɔn ^L	dé:gárɔn ^L	<i>sleep</i>
kɔ́jú	a	kɔ́júɔn ^L	kɔ́júɔn ^L	<i>fade</i>
kɔ́nɪj	a	kɔ́nɪjɔn ^L	kɔ́nɪjɔm	<i>ask</i>
lá:láw	a	lá:láwɔn ^L	lá:láwɔn	<i>hang up</i>
kérkéd	a	kérkédɔn ^L	kérkédé: ^L	<i>wipe off</i>
émèj	a	émèjɔn ^L	émèjèt	<i>honor v</i>

The **tV**-prefix infinitives almost all use similar forms for the negative, but they often involve slight changes to the stem vowel or to the tone. The only two **tV**-infinitives using a different marker are **tègɛj**^L ‘to prepare’ with the negative **kéjɪt**^L, and **tókɔj**^L ‘to persuade’ with the negative **kɔpê:**.

Example IV.121: comparison of **tV**-prefix infinitives with their negative forms

root	class	infinitive	negative	gloss
wèj	a	tèwɛj ^L	tèwɛj ^L	<i>fry</i>
ɲòɗ	a	tɔ́ɲòɗ ^L	tòɲòɗ	<i>abandon</i>
pòj	a	tòpɔ́j ^L	tòpɔ́j ^L	<i>be drunk</i>
kàn	ɛ	tákán ^L	tàkán ^L	<i>cough</i>
pàj	ɛ	tápáj	tápáj	<i>omit</i>
gɪj	ɛ	tígɪj ^L	tìgɪj ^L	<i>nurse</i>

Only one negative verb form in the sample is completely unmarked, **kóllɔ́j** ‘whistle’, which is both the root and the negative form. Three verbs (two of them verbs of perception using the same suffix **-nta**^L) use suppletive forms, but these are different verbs from those which use suppletion for the infinitive:

Example IV.122: negative verbs formed through suppletion

root	class	infinitive	negative	gloss
tíj	ɛ	tíján ^L	wé:ntá ^L	<i>hear</i>
dèn	ɛ	déné: ^L	tá:ntá	<i>see</i>
dám	a	dámà	ádá ^L	<i>eat</i>

Lexical nominalizations

The infinitive and the negative forms can be derived from practically all verb stems, and they lead to verbal nouns which are used in certain grammatical contexts. These are, according to Comrie and Thompson (1985, p. 350ff), action/state nominalizations. But, beyond these two forms, there are other ways to derive nouns from verbs with a more lexicalized meaning, called argument nominalizations by Comrie and Thompson. They (1985, pp. 351–357) sub-categorize this kind of nominalization into a number of more detailed types, such as agentive nominalization, objective nominalization, instrument nominalization, and locative nominalization. In Majang, there is no one-to-one correlation between these nominalization types and any of the various nominalization forms introduced in the following sections.

Nominalization with *-tàn*

The marker *-tàn* was already pointed out by Bender (1983, p. 120). It always has a *L* that attaches to a *H*-stem, regardless of the root. The plural form of this suffix contains a long vowel, has its own high tone, and takes the plural suffix *-ak^L*. It is therefore very similar in function and behavior to the nominal personal-noun marker *-kàn* (see section IV.1.2). The following table contains a selection of examples of this type of nominalization:

Example IV.123: nominalizations using the suffix *-tàn*

root	gloss of root	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
à:wòj	<i>adopt</i>	á:wójtàn	á:wój ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>adopted child</i>
bàd	<i>be lost</i>	bádtàn	bád ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>stupid person</i>
bè:d	<i>dwell</i>	bé:dtàn	bé:d ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>inhabitant</i>
ḡén	<i>sew</i>	ḡé:ntàn	ḡén ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>sewn object</i>
ḡér	<i>crush</i>	ḡé:rtàn	ḡér ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>blacksmith</i>
có:r	<i>wring out</i>	có:rtàn	có:r ⁺ tám ^L	<i>juice</i>
èpàtà:	<i>unroll</i>	épáttàn	épát ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>mat</i>
è:ṇè	<i>travel</i>	é:ṇéktàn	é:ṇék ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>traveler</i>
gà:m	<i>hold</i>	gá:mtàn	gá:m ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>handle</i>
gíj	<i>grind</i>	gíjtàn	gíj ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>powder</i>
jà:ṇ	<i>show</i>	já:ṇtàn	já:ṇ ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>marker</i>
ká:kándík	<i>snort</i>	ká:kántàn	ká:kán ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>phlegm</i>
kàlèj	<i>beg</i>	káléjtàn	káléj ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>beggar</i>
kòr	<i>close</i>	kórtàn	kór ⁺ tá:nák ^L	<i>door</i>

mì:j	<i>cover</i>	mí:jtàn	mí:j'tá:nák ^L	<i>mask</i>
ɲù:l	<i>break</i>	ɲú:l'tàn	ɲú:l'tá:nák ^L	<i>hernia</i>
ò:d'	<i>be difficult</i>	ó:r'tàn	ó:r'tá:nák ^L	<i>troublemaker</i>
pèd	<i>be consumed</i>	péd'tàn	péd'tá:nák ^L	<i>end</i>
rà:m	<i>lie</i>	rám'tàn	rám'tá:nák ^L	<i>liar</i>
tò:j	<i>pierce</i>	tó:j'tàn	tó:j'tá:nák ^L	<i>tattoo</i>
wócéj	<i>send</i>	wócéj'tàn	wócéj'tá:nák ^L	<i>messenger</i>
wó:r	<i>feast</i>	wó:r'tàn	wó:r'tá:nák ^L	<i>host</i>

This type of nominalization appears to be highly productive. Semantically, the resulting noun could be human, animate or inanimate, a result, or an agent. Most agent nominalizations seem to belong to this group. The forms are certainly not the same as the infinitive for these verbs – for example the infinitive of *gà:m* is *gà:mít*, or the infinitive of *pèd* is *pédí:^L*.

Nominalization with -an^L

Another, very similar type of nominalization uses the suffix -an^L/-ɔn^L, this time copying the consistently high tone of the stem. Like the nominalizations with -tàn, its plural form (if semantically feasible) has a lengthened vowel, and takes the same plural suffix -ak^L, but the plural suffix does not have its own tone. Therefore, this type is very similar, if not identical, to the infinitive markers -an^L/-ɔn^L used for high-toned verb roots.

Example IV.124: nominalizations using the suffix -an^L

root	class	gloss	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
ḃá:c	i	<i>sharpen</i>	ḃá:cán ^L	ḃá:cánák ^L	<i>sharp object</i>
ḃó:r	i	<i>crow</i>	ḃó:rán ^L	ḃó:ránák ^L	<i>noise</i>
ká:ḃ	i	<i>prevent</i>	ká:ḃán ^L	ká:ḃánák ^L	<i>taboo</i>
wó:r	i	<i>untie</i>	wó:rán ^L	wó:ránák ^L	<i>meaning</i>
lá:gáɲ	a	<i>gossip v</i>	lá:gáɲón ^L	lá:gáɲónák ^L	<i>gossip N</i>
ḃé:r	a	<i>crush</i>	ḃé:rán ^L	ḃé:ránák ^L	<i>forge</i>
ḃándámá:	a	<i>pray</i>	ḃándámón ^L	ḃándámónák ^L	<i>prayer</i>
ḃégér	a	<i>know</i>	ḃégérón ^L	ḃégérónák ^L	<i>wisdom</i>
è:mèj	a	<i>respect v</i>	è:méjón ^L	è:méjónák ^L	<i>honor N</i>
è:ɲè	a	<i>travel</i>	è:ɲékón ^L	è:ɲékónák ^L	<i>journey</i>
gí:gírà	a	<i>make pottery</i>	gí:gírón ^L	gí:gírónák ^L	<i>potter's kiln</i>
gú:gúɲ	a	<i>enter</i>	gú:gúɲán ^L	gú:gúɲánák ^L	<i>entrance</i>

kó:míj	a	ask	kó:míón ^L	kó:míó:nák ^L	question
dú:ŋ	ε	evaporate	dú:nán ^L	dú:nán:nák ^L	steam
kò:r	ε	tend livestock	kó:rán ^L	kó:rán:nák ^L	stick
ná:l	ε	shine	ná:lán ^L	ná:lán:nák ^L	lightning

As can be seen from the examples involving the allomorph **-ón^L**, this nominalization device still shows traces of the Proto-Surmic ATR-based vowel harmony, so it is probably considerably older than the **-tàn** suffix, which shows no such traces. The resulting nouns are often either products or instruments. None of the nominalizations creates an agent; this distinguishes them from the **-tàn** suffix nominalizations, which often result in a semantic agent.

Noun formation with **-oj**

The language makes prolific use of the frozen suffix **-oj** to form nouns. A few examples may suggest that this also serves as some kind of nominalizer, but most formations with **-oj** seem to have no recognizable basic root to which it transparently serves as a derivation.

Example IV.125: noun formations using the suffix **-oj**:

root	gloss of root	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
àdàm-dí:	hunt	ádámójín ^L	ádámójér	hunter
		àmbá'cój	àmbá'cójé ^L	rainbow
		bè:rój	bérójk	bed
		cá:kòj	cá:kòjè	valley
		cò:mój	có:mójk	quiver
		cópólkój	cópólkójír	fingernail
		cúwǒj	cúwǒják	eel
		dó:cój	dó:cójé ^L	wound
		dò:bój	dó:bójk	leprosy
		dókój ^L	dókójé ^L	mud
		gàcój	gácójá:tók	hoe
		gángój ^L	gángójè	horse
		gérbój ^L	gérbójè	bedbug
(?) gò:m	growl	gò:mòj	gó:mójk	trap
		gùmbój	gùmbój	stick
		jépcój	jépcójé ^L	spider
(?) kàw	bite	jílój	jílójé ^L	hair of maize
		káwój ^L	kàwójè:r	gun

kómój	kómójé	<i>kind</i>
kú'rój	kú'rójé^L	<i>donkey</i>
lájój	lájójér	<i>slave</i>

Particularly frequent use of **-oj** (and, what seems to be a phonological variant, **-uj**) is attested with a great number of tree species: **dácój**, **cálój**, **cájó^L**, **cór'mój**, **érǒj**, **énkój^L**, **gàmǔj**, **gómúj^L**, **dè:búj**, **úpúj**. Other examples from the list above, such as the various animal species or the word **kómój** 'kind' itself, also suggest that this suffix may have a basic meaning as a derivational specifier, in the sense of 'the ____-kind'. As can be seen, the suffix **-oj** has various tonal patterns, and also a great variety of singular-plural patterns, so that its use has likely been part of the language for a very long time.

Nominalization with -ɛt

A few nominalizations are formed with the suffix **-ɛt**, which does not seem to have a stable tone (probably a testimony to the morpheme's less than productive nature), and which undergoes height assimilation (section II.5.4). The plural is always formed using the suffix **-ák^L**. It is doubtlessly connected with the infinitive marker **-ɛt**. All three identifiable verb roots belong to the *ɛ*-class.

Example IV.126: nominalizations using the suffix **-ɛt**

root	gloss	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
cù:rw	<i>sting</i>	cù:wè:t	cù:wè:ták^L	<i>stinger</i>
dù:bij	<i>dance</i> <i>v</i>	dù:bùè:t	dù:bùè:ták^L	<i>dance</i> <i>N</i>
		dǒkǒwé:t^L	dǒkǒwé:ták^L	<i>eagle</i>
lè:lèm	<i>taste</i> <i>v</i>	lè:lèmè:t	lè:lèmè:ták^L	<i>taste</i> <i>N</i>

Semantically, no common denominator seems to surface from these examples.

Nominalizations with vowel suffix

Some verbs are nominalized by adding the long class vowel to the stem. The resulting stems always have a high tone, although the verb roots usually have a low tone. This marker is the same as the formally identical infinitive marker, which goes back to the formatives **-î:ɖ** and **-ê:ɖ**.

Example IV.127: nominalizations with class-vowel suffix

root	class	gloss	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
gòr	i	<i>be ill</i>	góri: ^L	góri:ʔdák ^L	<i>sickness</i>
ɲàd	i	<i>be angry</i>	ɲádi: ^L	ɲádi:ʔdák ^L	<i>anger</i>
jàw	ε	<i>cut through</i>	jáwé: ^L	jáwé:ʔdák ^L	<i>circumcision</i>
jìk	ε	<i>rattle v</i>	jíké: ^L	jíké:ʔdák ^L	<i>rattle N</i>
làṃ	ε	<i>curse v</i>	lámé: ^L	lámé:ʔdák ^L	<i>curse N</i>
màc	ε	<i>borrow</i>	mácé: ^L	mácé:ʔdák ^L	<i>debt</i>
ò:d	ε	<i>be difficult</i>	ó:dé: ^L	ó:dé:ʔdák ^L	<i>problem</i>

For this group of nominalizations the semantics seem to be more straightforward, with something like *result* emerging as the function of this nominalization device.

Idiosyncratic nominalizations

A number of nominalizations happen through means which cannot be described by any affixation rule spanning more than one lexical item. It is therefore assumed that, although the formal relationship between verb and noun is obvious, no productive grammatical process is accomplishing this. The final two examples go back to the infinitive marker **-it**.

Example IV.128: idiosyncratic nominalizations

root	gloss of root	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
àgàl	<i>steal</i>	àgált ^L	àgáltír ^L	<i>thief</i>
jàṃ	<i>announce</i>	jáṃt ^L	jáṃté ^L	<i>announcement</i>
jèrm	<i>bleed</i>	jéróm	jérómé ^L	<i>blood</i>
kàr	<i>fight</i>	kárr ^L	kárrnák ^L	<i>war</i>
ɲón	<i>insult v</i>		ɲóná ^L ⁸³	<i>insult N</i>
ìkòm	<i>count</i>	ìkòmìt	ìkòmìták ^L	<i>number</i>
kàlèj	<i>beg</i>	kàlèjìt		<i>plea (no PL)</i>

IV.2.2.2 Detransitivization

In Majang, verbs can be detransitivized by adding the suffix **-di** (conjoint) or **-di:^L** (disjoint), or just **-i** and **-i:^L** for most a-class verbs. In many instances, this serves as the antipassive form, changing the case of the agent from erga-

⁸³ This is a word which triggers plural agreement, but no plural suffix is used.

tive to absolutive; a nominative subject does not change its case as a result of this derivation. In this way an inherently intransitive clause is created. No *P* is shown in any of these clauses. All this is in accordance with descriptions of antipassive elsewhere in the literature (Comrie, 1989, p. 108; Givón, 1990, p. 624; Palmer, 1994, p. 176; T. Payne, 1997, p. 219; VanValin & LaPolla, 1997, p. 268). The suffix **-di:**^L appears to be the same as the one identified by Unseth (1989b, p. 113) as *middle voice* – he particularly described its anticausative use. See sections V.5.1 and V.5.2 for details on the use of this form in its antipassive and anticausative functions. The following example compares an underived verb (a) with its disjoint (b) and conjoint (c) antipassive counterparts:

Example IV.129: transitive verb vs. antipassive verb

- a) **kàwé wâr è:je.**
kàw-é wâr è:je
bite-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG cat\SG.ABS
A dog bites a cat.
- b) **káwdi:^L wâr kékàr.**
káw-di:^L wâr kékàr
bite-AP\3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM again
The dog bites again.
- c) **káwdi: wâr^L kékàr.**
káw-di: wâr^L kékàr
bite-AP\3S.CJ dog\SG.ABS again
A dog bites again.

Example a) shows a transitive clause with both *A* and *P*. In example b), the *P* is left out for its presumed lack of topicality, and the 3*s* antipassive suffix **-di:**^L is used. It copies the last stem tone and downsteps any following word beginning with a high tone. Followed by an absolutive case NP, the conjoint form with a low tone is used, as in example c).

All verbs marked by **-di:**^L give up their inflection class (*ε*-class or *i*-class) and use the following paradigm, which is close to *a*-class paradigms with *k*-extension (see below), except that the 3*P* form is identical with the 3*s* form.

Example IV.130: paradigms of antipassive **dɛn** (ɛ) ‘see’ and **ɓòkòt** (i) ‘kill’

	disjoint	conjoint	disjoint	conjoint
1s	dɛndi:ká		ɓòkòdi:ká	
2s	dɛndi:kín		ɓòkòdi:kín	
3s	dɛndi:^L	dɛndi:	ɓòkòdi:	ɓòkòdi:
1p	dɛndi:kì:		ɓòkòdi:kì:^L	
2p	dɛndi:kǎr		ɓòkòdi:kǎr	
3p	dɛndi:^L	dɛndi:	ɓòkòdi:	ɓòkòdi:

Detransitivized verbs often change their stem tone. Third person forms are not differentiated for singular and plural, and are unmarked. As they can be followed by an absolutive NP, they can also be used in a tonally different conjoint form. 1st and 2nd person forms can only appear in the disjoint. An antipassive impersonal form was not encountered in the data, which is not surprising, as impersonal forms normally only apply to transitive verbs.

Other verbs, particularly from the a-class, use the marker **-di:^L** in its shortened form without the implosive consonant. Two such examples are the verbs **lák** ‘have’ and **dám** ‘eat’, with detransitivized forms as follows:

Example IV.131: detransitivization with suffix **-i:^L**

	disjoint	conjoint	disjoint	conjoint
1s	lákí:ká		dǎdámí:ká	
2s	lákí:kín		dǎdámí:kín	
3s	lákí:^L	lákì:	dǎdámí:^L	dǎdámì:
1p	lákí:kì:		dǎdámí:kì:	
2p	lákí:kǎr		dǎdámí:kǎr	
3p	lákí:^L	lákì:	dǎdámí:^L	dǎdámì:

IV.2.2.3 Inceptive derivation marker -Vr

The inceptive derivation marker is not productive, and appears most often in lexicalized verb stems. Quite frequently these verb stems stand without an attested simple form. Its formative is **-Vr**, where **V** stands for the vowels /i/ (labialized variant /u/) and /ɛ/ (vowel-height assimilated variant /e/). The following examples of such derivations were found:

Example IV.132: verbal derivations based on the marker **-Vr**

a)	bándúr	<i>groan</i>	
b)	ḡánkáwúr ⁸⁴	<i>harden</i>	from stative verb ḡánkáw 'hard'
c)	gò:mùr	<i>be fat</i>	
d)	kójúr	<i>fade, become evening</i>	from stative verb kój 'black'
e)	kú:kúr	<i>hollow out</i>	
f)	tònúr	<i>shout</i>	from tòn 'say'
g)	jòwé:dir	<i>avoid</i>	from stative verb jòwé:ɗ 'far'
h)	èpèr	<i>fill (tr.)</i>	from stative verb èpà: 'full'
i)	dènèr	<i>notice</i>	from dèn 'see'
j)	mùkèr	<i>dash into</i>	from mùk 'stab'
k)	wèkér	<i>scrape off</i>	
l)	widér	<i>turn towards</i>	from wid 'turn'

All these derived verbs belong to the a-class of verbs. They have a striking similarity to the centrifugal direction formatives **-ir** and **-er** (see section IV.2.3.3), but the meaning appears to be quite different. Whereas the centrifugal markers clearly are used for movements away from the deictic center, the inceptive marker **-Vr** seems to be indicating the beginning of an action or process. It therefore appears to be a frozen aktionsart marking, less productive than the inchoative subordinate tense seen in section IV.2.3.2.

The formative **-Vr** in all cases takes on the vowel of the appropriate verb class of the root, as far as it is known – the examples h-l) are based on *ε*-class verbs. Examples a), c), e), and k) do not correspond to any known root, and it may be possible that these verbs do not even go back to a derivation. This is certainly probable for example a), where there is no reason for the rounding harmony to apply on the vowel of the morpheme **-ir**. Indeed not all verbs ending in **-ir/-ur** should be analyzed as frozen inceptive derivations. This is illustrated by the verb **jùmùr** 'respond', which apparently does not hail from any root ***jum**, but rather from the verb **mùr** 'return' (there is, however, no other attested use of the prefix **ju-** in the Majang language).

⁸⁴ In many inflectional forms of this verb the vowel /**u**/ is deleted because of its proximity to the consonant /**w**/.

IV.2.2.4 Derivation marker -a

Another derivation formative on verbs is **-a**, with variable tone, which creates stems that either have an expelling meaning, that is an object is transported out, or possibly a completive meaning. Again, the marker does not appear to be used productively, and there are derived verbs with unattested root forms.

Example IV.133: verbal derivations based on marker **-a**

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| a) | bòṅá | <i>bring out</i> | from bòṅ 'take' |
| b) | gà:là | <i>forget</i> | from gál 'sweep' |
| c) | rí:ḡá | <i>put down</i> | from rí:ḡ 'set' |
| d) | tòná | <i>order</i> | from tòn 'say' |
| e) | wè:tà | <i>move away, migrate</i> | |

All verbs formed by this marker belong to the a-class of verbs with k-extension (see below). Their root forms can be from any inflection class.

IV.2.2.5 Durative derivation marker -a:

The marker **-a:** was observed on 14 verbs. It copies the tone from the root. Comparison with the underived forms – where known, see examples IV.134b), d), e), h), i), l) and n) – suggests that this derivation creates verb stems with an implied durative meaning. A number of verbs do not have an attested underived form. Some of the resulting forms are stative verbs (see in section IV.2.4.3).

Example IV.134: verbal derivations based on marker **-a:**

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------------------|---|
| a) | ḡó:ká: | <i>abundant STV</i> | |
| b) | bò:là: | <i>tired STV</i> | from bò:l <i>ADV</i> 'feebly' |
| c) | dírkíjá: | <i>straddle</i> | |
| d) | èṅà: | <i>full STV</i> | compare èṅèr (a) 'fill', an inceptive form |
| e) | è:ṅàdà: | <i>sniff</i> | from è:ṅàd (a) 'smell' |
| f) | gé:géjá: | <i>collect firewood</i> | possibly reduplicated from gèj (i) 'gnaw' |
| g) | dándámá: | <i>pray</i> | |
| h) | ì:là: | <i>sing</i> | compare í:líá: 'song' |
| i) | lé:líá: | <i>float</i> | likely from lèj (a) 'swim' |
| j) | mè:jà: | <i>stumble</i> | |
| k) | nó:mógá: | <i>grumble</i> | |
| l) | ró:ríjá: | <i>teach</i> | from ró:ríj (a) 'advise' |

- m) **rúrúgá:** *crooked* *STV*
 n) **ùbùgà:** *pant* compare **ùbù** 'lung'

This derivation is apparently not very productive any more. But all verbs using this formative use the following uniform person marking paradigm:

Example IV.135: paradigms of verbs with derivation using the marker **-a:**

a)	èná:		<i>full</i>
1 _S	èná:ká	èná:-k-á	<i>I am full</i>
2 _S	èná:kín	èná:-k-ín	<i>you_{SG} are full</i>
3 _S	èná:	èná:	<i>it is full</i>
1 _P	èná:kt̩^L	èná:-k-ĩ^L	<i>we are full</i>
2 _P	èná:kār	èná:-k-ār	<i>you_{PL} are full</i>
3 _P	èná:	èná:	<i>they are full</i>

b)	lé:liá:		<i>float</i>
1 _S	lé:liá:ká	lé:liá:-k-á	<i>I float</i>
2 _S	lé:liá:kín	lé:liá:-k-ín	<i>you_{SG} float</i>
3 _S	lé:liá:	lé:liá:	<i>he floats</i>
1 _P	lé:liá:kt̩^L	lé:liá:-k-ĩ^L	<i>we float</i>
2 _P	lé:liá:kār	lé:liá:-k-ār	<i>you_{PL} float</i>
3 _P	lé:liá:	lé:liá:	<i>they float</i>

These paradigms are characterized by the k-extension that separates the person suffixes from a stem ending in a vowel, and by the fact that both the 3_S and 3_P forms are unmarked and as such identical. In this respect, these verbs are very similar to the detransitivized verbs seen in examples IV.130 and IV.131.

IV.2.2.6 Derivation marker **-V̌:ď**

Another less productive formative is the marker **-V̌:ď**, which was observed on five verbs. **V̌:** stands for the long class vowel of the verb root. The tone on this marker is always high (except in some 3rd person forms), although it is never downstepped from a previous *H* on the root. It may also follow a low-toned root. It is therefore one of the morphemes with a tone-replacement behavior that is blocked by a low tone on the stem.

Example IV.136: verbal derivations based on marker -**ŵ:ɔ̃**

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| a) | bà:ldfi:ɔ̃ | <i>throw</i> | |
| b) | ḡáldfi:ɔ̃ | <i>sell</i> | from ḡál (i) 'buy' |
| c) | ḡá:ri:ɔ̃ | <i>defend</i> | from ḡà:r (a) 'forbid' |
| d) | rù:mé:ɔ̃ | <i>judge</i> | from rù:m (e) 'decide' |
| e) | tímá:ɔ̃ | <i>shoot</i> | from tím (a) 'wound' |

The tonal and vowel differences on these verbs make it difficult to decide whether this is all achieved by the same formative, or by several different ones. It is also not quite clear what characterizes the meaning change of these verbs. Both the root (if known) and the derived form are transitive. Possibly this is some remnant of an older directional system, which might provide the best explanation for the variation between buy and sell in example IV.136b). Other possible semantic origins are causative or intensive. These derived verbs are all inflected according to the same paradigm, regardless of the inflection class of the root:

Example IV.137: paradigms of verbs with -**ŵ:ɔ̃** derivation

a)	ḡáldfi:ɔ̃		<i>sell</i>
<i>1s</i>	ḡáldfi:dá^L	ḡáld-í:ɔ̃-a^L	<i>I sell</i>
<i>2s</i>	ḡáldfi:dín^L	ḡáld-í:ɔ̃-in^L	<i>you_{sg} sell</i>
<i>3s</i>	ḡáldfi:ɔ̃	ḡáld-í:ɔ̃	<i>he sells</i>
<i>1p</i>	ḡáldfi:fi^L	ḡáld-í:ɔ̃-i^L	<i>we sell</i>
<i>2p</i>	ḡáldfi:dó^L	ḡáld-í:ɔ̃-o^L	<i>you_{pl} sell</i>
<i>3p</i>	ḡáldfi:ɔ̃	ḡáld-í:ɔ̃	<i>they sell</i>
b)	bà:ldfi:ɔ̃		<i>throw</i>
<i>1s</i>	bà:ldfi:dá^L	bà:ld-í:ɔ̃-a^L	<i>I throw</i>
<i>2s</i>	bà:ldfi:dín^L	bà:ld-í:ɔ̃-in^L	<i>you_{sg} throw</i>
<i>3s</i>	bà:ldfi:ɔ̃	bà:ld-í:ɔ̃	<i>he throws</i>
<i>1p</i>	bà:ldfi:fi^L	bà:ld-í:ɔ̃-i^L	<i>we throw</i>
<i>2p</i>	bà:ldfi:dó^L	bà:ld-í:ɔ̃-o^L	<i>you_{pl} throw</i>
<i>3p</i>	bà:ldfi:ɔ̃	bà:ld-í:ɔ̃	<i>they throw</i>

These paradigms follow a special pattern exclusively used for complex verbs of the language; many more of these can be seen in section IV.2.3.2 on subordinate verb forms and in section IV.2.3.3 on direction markings. Particularly the *1s*, *2s* and *2p* forms are different from simpler paradigms. *1s* and *2s* copy the stem tone and are followed by a floating low tone, and the *2p* form

is marked by the suffix $-\mathfrak{L}$, which again copies the consistently high stem tone and causes downstep on the following word.

IV.2.2.7 Imperfective forms

The Majang language uses reduplication to derive imperfective verb stems from basic verb roots. The resulting verb always has a meaning that is either iterative, durative or habitual, all of which are best summarized as an imperfective verb. For this, the first syllable, at least up to the vowel, is reduplicated preceding the root. This device is apparently quite productive, although there are some lexicalized verbs in the lexicon with an inherent imperfective meaning and a reduplicated stem for which I could not find unreduplicated counterparts.

Example IV.138: formation of imperfective stems by reduplication

- a) **dèné ídì dǽpé^L**.
dèn-é **ídì** **dǽpé^L**
see\PFV-3S.DJ *man\SG.ERG* *lion\SG.ABS*
A man sees a lion.
- b) **dèdèn ídì dǽpé^L**.
dèdèn **ídì** **dǽpé^L**
see\IPFV.3S.DJ *man\SG.ERG* *lion\SG.ABS*
A man watches a lion.

As this example shows, the differing aspectual verb stems also may belong to different inflection classes (see section IV.2.3.1 below). Reduplicated stems usually belong to some of the subclasses of the a-class or to the ϵ -class. The verb **dèn** ‘see’ is an ϵ -class verb in its basic form, but the imperfective stem follows the conjugation of a-class verbs:

Example IV.139: formation of imperfective stems by reduplication (conjoint)

	<i>1s</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>3s</i>	<i>1p</i>	<i>2p</i>	<i>3p</i>
<i>see\IPFV</i>	dèdènà	dèdènìn	dèdèn	dèdènì:	dèdènàrì	dèdènàr

There are similar clear pairs with a-class reduplicated stems, such as **dùdùn** ‘sleep/IPFV’ from **dùn** ‘sleep’, **tétéj** ‘slaughter/IPFV’ from **téj** ‘slaughter’, or **tòtòn** ‘talk’ from **tòn** ‘say’. For most reduplicated a-class stems, however, it is difficult to find unreduplicated counterparts, such as **gògòj** ‘crawl’, **tóntóm** ‘incubate’, **mómón** ‘weed’ (which may come from the ϵ -class verb **mònt** ‘dig up’), **kúkúr** ‘hollow out’, **kórkód** ‘tie’, **kárkár** ‘undress’, **kérkéd** ‘wipe

off or **kàlkál** ‘brag’. It may well be that these reduplications are an iconic device to depict the repetitiveness of each of these actions, without going back to a simple form. The same may be true for the three ϵ -class verbs **mó:mó** ‘rub’, **kèlkèl** ‘tickle’ and **pùpùt** ‘crawl’.

A good number of other productive reduplicated stems follow the conjugation pattern of detransitivized verbs (see section IV.2.2.2). One of the examples introduced there (see example IV.131) was **dádámí**^{L85}, the antipassive form of the a-class verb **dám** ‘eat’. It is not surprising to have a connection between imperfectivity and intransitivity, as this link was argued for elsewhere (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252). The parameters affecting transitivity, as presented by Hopper and Thompson, include aspect (telic vs. atelic), punctuality (punctual vs. non-punctual) and individuation (*P* highly individuated vs. *P* non-individuated). An imperfective action, that is an action that is ongoing, repetitive, or habitual, is likely to be atelic, non-punctual, and to have no identifiable object; it therefore lacks transitivity. Accordingly, the antipassive form is used to mark less-than-fully transitive actions, even if a *P* is present (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 268). In terms of the Majang grammatical relations, this means that the *P* of the action is entirely lacking in topicality and therefore is eliminated from the clause by adopting an intransitive verb frame. For this reason many imperfective verbs seem to be attracted to the detransitivization/antipassive verb paradigm. The following verbs were found in the sample which follow this pattern: **rérérí**^L ‘restless’ from the i-class verb **rér** ‘run’, **cúcúwí**^L ‘labor at birth’ from the ϵ -class verb **cùrw** ‘sting’, **wérwérí**^L ‘swing’ from the ϵ -class verb **wèr** ‘change’, **lálání**^L ‘get to know’ from the i-class verb **làn** ‘meet’ and **tátápí**^L ‘write’ from the ϵ -class verb **tàp** ‘write’. But there are also other reduplicated verbs among the detransitivized verbs for which I have not found unde-
rived counterparts: **òùròùdì**^L ‘descend’ and **gìrgìdì**^L ‘roll’.

IV.2.3 Inflectional processes

Each verb in the Majang language can appear in a large number of inflectional forms, because the following inflectional dimensions come together on a verb to form differing paradigms: person, number, the conjoint-disjoint distinction, relative tense, modality, referential-object marking, and direc-

⁸⁵ There is also another imperfective option **dádám** of the a-class, which does not behave like a detransitivized verb form. This is used when the object appears to be more specific.

tion. These dimensions are briefly introduced before they are presented in their various paradigms.

Each person paradigm consists of at least six forms, the 1st person singular (1_s), the 2nd person singular (2_s), the 3rd person singular (3_s), the 1st person plural (1_P), the 2nd person plural (2_P) and the 3rd person plural (3_P). A seventh form needed for all paradigms of transitive verbs is the impersonal form (IMPS, see section Impersonal forms below). A simple paradigm containing these seven forms may look as follows:

Example IV.140: simple verb paradigm (conjoint)

ḍj	SG			PL		drive out
1 st	ḍj-à	ḍj-à	<i>I drive out</i>	ḍj-ì	ḍj-ì	<i>we drive out</i>
2 nd	ḍj-ùṇ	ḍj-ín	<i>you_{SG} drive out</i>	ḍj-èṛ	ḍj-èṛ	<i>you_{PL} drive out</i>
3 rd	ḍj-è	ḍj-è	<i>he drives out</i>	ḍj-èṛ	ḍj-èṛ	<i>they drive out</i>
IMPS	ḍj-èṛ	ḍj-èṛ	<i>someone drives out</i>			

This paradigm of the verb ḍj ‘drive out’ contains the conjoint main-clause forms without direction suffixes. Somewhat surprisingly for a Surmic language, Majang shows no difference between inclusive and exclusive 1_P, as happens in Me’en (only sporadically, as presented by Will 1989, p. 130f), Tirmaga (Bryant, 1999, p. 48), Laarim (Joseph et al., 2013, p. 40) and Mursi (Mütze, 2014, p. 80; Turton & Bender, 1976, p. 541). In Majang, however, there are no traces of such a distinction.

The conjoint-disjoint distinction of Majang is entirely expressed through tonal means, and it does not apply across the paradigms of all verbs. It often involves a tonal change on 3rd person stems, and always tonal changes to the person suffixes. The disjoint forms of the above paradigm of ḍj ‘drive out’ look as follows:

Example IV.141: disjoint verb paradigm

	SG		PL	drive out
1 st	ḍj-á	ḍj-á	ḍj-í ^L	ḍj-í ^L
2 nd	ḍj-ún	ḍj-ín	ḍj-èṛ	ḍj-èṛ
3 rd	ḍj-é	ḍj-é	ḍj-èṛ	ḍj-èṛ
IMPS	ḍj-é ^L	ḍj-é ^L		

A major split between verbal paradigms pertains to the syntactic status of the clause in the sentence. The main-clause person paradigms seen so far con-

trast with various paradigms for subordinate clauses which have relative tense, as shown in the following examples:

Example IV.142: main-clause verbs vs. simultaneous subordinate tense verbs

	rí:6á	<i>MAIN, CJ</i>		<i>SIMUL, CJ</i>		
<i>1s</i>	rí:6ákà	rí:6á-k-à	<i>I put</i>	rí:6ákú:nà	rí:6á-ku:n-à	<i>while I put</i>
<i>2s</i>	rí:6ákùn	rí:6á-k-ín	<i>you_{sg} put</i>	rí:6ákú:nùn	rí:6á-ku:n-ín	...
<i>3s</i>	rí:6à	rí:6à	<i>he puts</i>	rí:6ákùn	rí:6á-kùn	...
<i>1p</i>	rí:6ákì:	rí:6á-k-ì:	<i>we put</i>	rí:6ákú:nì:	rí:6á-ku:n-ì:	...
<i>2p</i>	rí:6ákàrì	rí:6á-k-àrì	<i>you_{pl} put</i>	rí:6átá:kú:màrì	rí:6á-ta:ku:n-àrì	...
<i>3p</i>	rí:6à	rí:6à	<i>they put</i>	rí:6átá:kùn	rí:6á-ta:kùn	...

For all relative tenses, see section IV.2.3.2. One relative-tense paradigm, the relative-past subordinate tense, is also used to mark clauses with a highly topical, but non-overt object; this paradigm is then called the referential-object paradigm (section IV.2.3.5).

A final dimension creating its own paradigms is the direction marking that was already hinted at by Bender (1983, p. 131f), who correctly identified the marker **-k** as a direction suffix on some verbs. But this is not the only direction suffix in an intricate directional system that covers three explicitly marked deictic movements and that provides different forms for all six persons (see section IV.2.3.3).

Example IV.143: directionally unmarked versus centripetal direction (disjoint)

	unmarked		centripetal	<i>go</i>
<i>1s</i>	ḡà:rá	ḡà:r-á	ḡá:r'rá	ḡá:r-rá
<i>2s</i>	ḡà:rín	ḡà:r-ín	ḡá:rrín	ḡá:r-rín
<i>3s</i>	ḡà:r	ḡà:r	ḡá:rîr	ḡá:r-îr
<i>1p</i>	ḡà:rí:^L	ḡà:r-î:^L	ḡá:rrî:	ḡá:r-rî:^L
<i>2p</i>	ḡà:rǎr	ḡà:r-àrí	ḡá:rtà:rò	ḡá:r-tà:rò
<i>3p</i>	ḡà:rár	ḡà:r-ár	ḡá:r'tár	ḡá:r-tár

The Majang language also has a special paradigm for expressing imperative and jussive modality.

Example IV.144: indicative vs. imperative verbs, shown on **ḡánkáwúr^L** ‘harden’

	INDICATIVE DJ		IMPERATIVE/JUSSIVE	
1 _S	ḡánkáw ⁺ rá	ḡánkáwr-á	ìn ḡánká:w ⁺ rá	ìn ḡánká:wr-á
2 _S	ḡánkáw ⁺ rún	ḡánkáwr-ín	ḡánká:wrúk	ḡánká:wr-ík
3 _S	ḡánkáwúr ^L	ḡánkáwúr ^L	ìn ḡánká:wúr ^L	ìn ḡánká:wúr ^L
1 _P	ḡánkáwrì:	ḡánkáwr-ĩ ^L	kó ^L ḡánká:wrì:	kó ^L ḡánká:wr-ĩ ^L
2 _P	ḡánkáwră	ḡánkáwr-ă	ìn ḡánká:w ⁺ rê ^L	ìn ḡánká:wr-ê ^L
3 _P	ḡánkáw ⁺ rár	ḡánkáwr-ár	ìn ḡánká:w ⁺ rár	ìn ḡánká:wr-ár

Some of the different inflectional verbal categories shown so far can be combined in one paradigm, as there are for example relative-past centripetal verbs, or centrifugal imperatives. All this results in a substantial number of different paradigms, many of which are presented in the next sections.

As a final complication, not all verbs take the same person-inflection markers for each paradigm slot. There are three major verb-inflection classes for simple verbs based on recurring suffix vowels (**a, e, i**), which are introduced in section IV.2.3.1 below.

IV.2.3.1 Person marking on basic main-clause verbs

As stated in section IV.2.1.2, the person-marking suffixes of Majang are portmanteau morphemes, not only indexing the grammatical subject of the clause, but also showing the syntactic configuration through a conjoint-disjoint distinction. Therefore, all person suffixes come in two forms, which are usually distinguished by tone.

Impersonal forms

Beyond the six first, second, and third singular and plural person forms, the Majang language provides another person form for creating impersonal verbs, the suffix **-é^L** (sometimes **-é^{L86}**). Impersonal verbs are very prolific in Majang texts – they were observed more than 70 times in the corpus; all of these examples have transitive verbs as their base. These impersonal verb forms serve some of the purposes usually accomplished by the passive in

⁸⁶ No criteria could be established that govern the choice between the long and the short form of the suffix. Generally, the short form only seems to appear on high-frequency verbs which are not part of the *e*-inflection class.

other languages⁸⁷. Indeed they were called passive in other descriptions of Majang (Unseth, 1989b, p. 112f; Getachew, 2014, p. 182; Joswig, 2016, p. 478f), as at first glance this seems to be what they are. Only on closer examination does it become apparent that there are significant differences to passives in other languages. The following are a number of examples using the impersonal verb form of Majang:

Example IV.145: impersonal constructions

- a) **nè kój cénk cìgì àmbàbè:^L òkód ?**
nè kój cénk cì-g-ì àmbàb-é:^L òkód ?
 CONJ DFUT 3P.CONTR DEM-PL-SP read-IMPS.DJ when?
When will these ever be read? (lit: when is someone going to read them?)⁸⁸
- b) **nè tòné:^L cè:gà ké ...**
nè tòn-é:^L cè:g-à ké
 CONJ say-IMPS.DJ 3P-DAT QUOT
They were told, ...
- c) **má^L mèckèb-é:^L tíríá^L gónk, ké...**
má^L mèckèb-é:^L tíríá^L gónk ké
 but register-IMPS.DJ name\PL.ABS POSS\2S.PL.ABS QUOT
But your names are registered, saying...
- d) **bò:l-é:^L ní kékàr.**
bò:l-é:^L ní kékàr
 beat-IMPS 2S.P again
You were beaten again.
- e) **nè bá^L cà:dí^L bá^L làk-è dūṅéd^L.**
nè bá^L cà:dí^L bá^L làk-è dūṅéd^L
 CONJ REM PST there REF\REMPST have-IMPS.CJ hyena\SG.ABS
But at that aforementioned place there was a hyena.

For the analysis of the Majang impersonal construction it is important to pay attention to how the semantic undergoer of each clause is coded. In example

⁸⁷ Bender (1983, p. 144f) also makes reference to an impersonal paradigm in Majang, but this is not the form presented here, but a generally correct analysis of some verbs with an impersonal meaning that require a dative short pronoun or the deictic-transfer directional form to refer to the semantic subject.

⁸⁸ In line with its main function as a backgrounding device for the *A*, the impersonal form is best translated into English by the use of the passive.

a) the undergoer appears to be a preposed demonstrative, preceded by a contrastive pronoun. It cannot be determined what case the undergoer has in this clause, as demonstratives and contrastive pronouns show no case marking. In example b) the undergoer is the following speech clause, as the hearers are coded as dative. Again, the undergoer case cannot be determined from the morphology employed. But in examples c) and d), the undergoer is both times clearly indicated not as the *S*, but the *P* of the clause: in c) as a topical NP (as revealed by the disjoint form on the verb) followed by an absolutive possessive pronoun, and in d) as a short pronoun (see section IV.3.1.1). Example c) would have the NP in the nominative case if this were the *S* of the clause, but the possessive pronoun form unambiguously identifies the case as absolutive. In example e) the marking as *S* or *P* is ambiguous again, as the absolutive case is expected for non-topical *S* or *P* alike.

If the marker $-\acute{e}^L$ were a passive marker, one would expect the undergoer to be coded as *S* in the absolutive or nominative case. Instead, it only comes in the absolutive case, and only as a *P*. This is not in line with how the passive is often defined. Perlmutter and Postal's (1983, p. 9) first universal of passivization states that "*a direct object of an active clause is the (superficial) subject of the 'corresponding' clause.*" In the Majang impersonal constructions, the direct object of the corresponding active clause is still the direct object. The construction is at least formally transitive, although the *A* is heavily backgrounded to the point of almost not being there. It is expressed, still as an *A*, by the impersonal person marker $-\acute{e}^L$ in the subject slot of the verb. This leads to the analysis of the construction as impersonal, not passive, in this description of Majang.

There are two needs that languages address by using the passive. The first one is of a syntactic nature: to make a *P*-NP available for use in equi-NP deletion (Anderson, 1976, p. 8). The Majang language makes no use of equi-NP deletion. Even if the Majang language had a need for equi-NP deletion, the impersonal form could not be used to set up a *P* for this purpose. The syntactic subject of the clause is not the *P* argument of the verb; it is still stuck in a non-subject role and can therefore not be used as the pivot for another clause.

This leaves the second function of the passive, the backgrounding of a non-topical *A*, to be accomplished by the impersonal form of Majang. That this is the main function of the impersonal form is confirmed by the fact that not a single instance of an impersonal construction in the text corpus has the *A*

overtly mentioned beyond the impersonal marker on the verb, as can be seen in the examples above.

Although the impersonal construction leaves the clause superficially transitive, semantically and pragmatically the *A* is left out of the picture, rendering the clause quite intransitive according to the criteria established by Hopper and Thompson (1980).

Although impersonal forms are in this study usually translated by using the English passive, it is clearly not a derivational, but an inflectional device. This is in contrast to real valence-changing devices of Majang, such as the antipassive (see section V.5.1). The impersonal marker is placed at the end of each verb, often following other inflection markers such as subordinate-tense markers. This is not consistent with a derivation device, which would usually be marked closer to the verb root than any inflection markers. The most fruitful analysis therefore sees the impersonal marker as a person marker filling the same slot as other person markers. This becomes especially obvious in example IV.150 below, where the impersonal marker is integrated into the relative-past morpheme in the same way as any other person marker.

The impersonal verb is the same for all *P* persons, either taking the short suffix $-\acute{\epsilon}$ or the long suffix $-\acute{\epsilon}^L$, both with a fixed high tone for disjoint forms, and $-\grave{\epsilon}/-\grave{\epsilon}^L$ with a low tone for conjoint forms. The form is not subject to height harmony, as it is not just restricted to ϵ -class verbs.

Example IV.146: impersonal construction

nè bò:l^L wár^L nè dùrìj^L ké “wě:!”
nè bò:l- $\acute{\epsilon}$ ^L wár^L nè dùrìj- $\acute{\epsilon}$ ké wě:
CONJ hit-IMPS.DJ dog\SG.ABS CONJ cry-3S.DJ QUOT ouch!
Dog was beaten and cried out “ouch!”

All person differences regarding the *P* are expressed by free short personal pronouns (see section IV.3.1.1). Third persons (not marked by short pronouns, as these come only in first and second person forms) may of course be expressed by a full NP in the absolutive case. The topicality status of the *P* triggers conjoint and disjoint marking on the impersonal verb form.

a)	bò:l (ɛ)		<i>beat</i>
1 _S	bò:lɛ: ^L tí	bò:l-é: ^L tí	<i>I am beaten</i>
2 _S	bò:lɛ: ^L ní	bò:l-é: ^L ní	<i>you_{SG} are beaten</i>
3 _S	bò:lɛ: ^L	bò:l-é: ^L	<i>he is beaten</i>
1 _P	bò:lɛ: ^L tɪn ^L	bò:l-é: ^L tɪn ^L	<i>we are beaten</i>
2 _P	bò:lɛ: ^L kɔ̃n	bò:l-é: ^L kɔ̃n	<i>you_{PL} are beaten</i>
3 _P	bò:lɛ: ^L	bò:l-é: ^L	<i>they are beaten</i>
b)	rìj (ɛ)		<i>call</i>
1 _S	rìjɛ: ^L tí	rìj-é: ^L tí	<i>I am called</i>
2 _S	rìjɛ: ^L ní	rìj-é: ^L ní	<i>you_{SG} are called</i>
3 _S	rìjɛ: ^L	rìj-é: ^L	<i>he is called</i>
1 _P	rìjɛ: ^L tɪn ^L	rìj-é: ^L tɪn ^L	<i>we are called</i>
2 _P	rìjɛ: ^L kɔ̃n	rìj-é: ^L kɔ̃n	<i>you_{PL} are called</i>
3 _P	rìjɛ: ^L	rìj-é: ^L	<i>they are called</i>

Example IV.148: disjoint impersonal with fronted pronoun

Example IV.149: conjoint impersonal forms

a) b̀̀ɪl (ɛ)	<i>beat</i>
3 _S b̀̀ɪl-̀̀ɛ: d̪uŋɛd̪ ^L	<i>a hyena is beaten</i>
3 _P b̀̀ɪl-̀̀ɛ: d̪uŋɛd̪i ^L	<i>hyenas are beaten</i>
b) r̪ij (ɛ)	<i>call</i>
3 _S r̪ij-̀̀ɛ t̪ɪm	<i>a child is called</i>
3 _P r̪ij-̀̀ɛ t̪ɪmɔk ^L	<i>children are called</i>

The following example shows the interaction of the impersonal marker with other inflectional markers. Particularly the relative-tense markers of subordinate verb forms can be followed by the impersonal marker.

Example IV.150: relative-past impersonal form

wàrgáté^L cìnì kán^L dò:mé:dé^L ád májájérónkùk
wàrgáté^L cì-n-ì kán^L dò:m-é:d-e^L ád
book\SG.ABS REL-SG-SP MEDPST translate-RELPST-IMPS language\SG.ABS
májáj-er-onk = k
Majang-PL-POSS=SUB
a book that has been translated into the Majang language

It needs to be noted that in this example the impersonal marker **-é^L** comes neither with its own *H*, nor with the conjoint *L*. It is an integral part of the *RELPST.IMPS* morpheme and therefore copies the *H* from the first suffix syllable.

Other person marking observations

Although the conjoint form indicates the preferred Majang syntactic configuration, that is a sequence of *verb* – *absolute NP* (Joswig, 2015, p. 169), many verb forms do not have a conjoint configuration. Conjoint verb forms can only occur if the *S/P* is in the third person. This is because the conjoint form requires an *S/P* NP in the absolutive case, and there is no absolutive form for first and second person pronouns. For some complex verb forms, complete paradigms can therefore only be shown in the disjoint condition. This warrants that each inflection class and its forms are first introduced in their disjoint forms, with conjoint forms only shown afterwards as far as they can be established.

As already pointed out in section IV.2.1 above, Majang verbs fall into three inflection classes, which are responsible for some variation in some suffixes. But the person morphemes for *1s*, *2s* and *1p* are very stable throughout all inflection classes. For conjoint forms the *1s* suffix is always **-à**. The *2s* suffix is always **-ín**. This suffix undergoes the labial harmony rule 4, resulting in the surface form **-ùn** following a stem with a *[+LABIAL]* sound in the rhyme. The *1p* suffix is always **-ì**. For conjoint forms the tone is always low on all three suffixes. For disjoint forms, a high tone is placed on the *1s* and *2s* suffixes, resulting in **-á** and **-ín/-ùn**. In the disjoint, the *1p* suffix **-ì^L** is inherently toneless and takes on the polar tone from the preceding stem, that is a high tone

following a stem ending in a low tone, and a low tone following a stem ending in a high tone. The impersonal form is, as seen, always **-é^L** for disjoint verbs, and **-è:** for conjoint verbs, with occasional shortening of the vowel for unknown reasons. Therefore the following paradigms are exemplary for all simple Majang verbs, regardless of their inflection class:

Example IV.151: stable person suffixes for all inflection classes

	<i>harvest</i>	<i>CONJOINT</i>	<i>DISJOINT</i>		<i>push</i>	<i>CONJOINT</i>	<i>DISJOINT</i>	
<i>1s</i>	dó:tà	dó:t-à	dó:ʔtá	dó:t-á	dirà	dir-à	dirá	dir-á
<i>2s</i>	dó:tùn	dó:t-in	dó:ʔtún	dó:t-ín	dirín	dir-in	dirín	dir-ín
<i>1p</i>	dó:ti:	dó:t-i:	dó:ti:	dó:t-ĩ ^L	dirì:	dir-i:	dirí ^L	dir-ĩ ^L
<i>IMPS</i>	dó:tè:	dó:t-è:	dó:té ^L	dó:t-é ^L	dirè:	dir-è:	diré ^L	dir-é ^L

Although these suffixes always remain the same, some inflection classes require additional changes to the verb stem. The suffixes further undergo modifications through the addition of the *SFT*-clitic (this can only happen on disjoint forms). The *2s* suffix remains unchanged and even renders the *SFT*-clitic invisible. The *1s* suffix vowel is lengthened, but the tones are not affected. The *1p* suffix turns from a level tone into a contour tone. The *IMPS* suffix also has its *H* turned into a contour tone.

Example IV.152: effects of *SFT*-clitic on regular person markers

	without <i>SFT</i> -clitic	with <i>SFT</i> -clitic	without <i>SFT</i> -clitic	with <i>SFT</i> -clitic
<i>1s</i>	dámá	dámáŋ	dó:tá	dó:táŋ
<i>2s</i>	dámín	dámín	dó:tún	dó:tún
<i>1p</i>	dámí ^L	dámíŋ	dó:ti:	dó:tíŋ
<i>IMPS</i>	dámé ^L	dáméŋ	dó:té ^L	dó:téŋ

The other persons display significant allomorphy depending on the inflection class. The names for these classes are chosen according to the vowel of the suffix for *2p*. But also the suffixes for *3s* and *3p* may show considerable variation depending on the verb class. One additional regular feature which is true for all basic inflection classes is that the disjoint stem for the *3s* form takes a low tone, regardless of the tone the stem has in all other persons.

Example IV.153: variation in Majang person marking

gloss	3 _{S.DJ}	2 _{P.DJ}	3 _{P.DJ}	class
<i>eat</i>	dām dām	dāmār dām-ār	dāmár dām-ár	a-class
<i>wound</i>	tīmí tīm-í	tīmír tīm-ír	tímír ^L tīm-ir ^L	i-class
<i>harvest</i>	dótú dót-í	dótír dót-ír	dótúr ^L dót-ir ^L	i-class
<i>swallow</i>	gèjné gèj-é	gèjñër gèj-ër	gèjñér ^L gèj-er ^L	ε-class
<i>push</i>	diré dir-é	dirër dir-ër	dirèr ^L dir-er ^L	ε-class

In the following, these differences are presented in detail by inflection class. In a sample of about 450 verbs with known inflection class, about 80 belong to the a-class, 270 belong to the ε-class, and about 100 belong to the i-class.

a-class verbs

Of the three basic inflection classes, the a-class shows the most variation in forms, which may be an indication that it has a longer history in the language than the other two classes. Part of the variation is explained by the fact that the a-class is the only class that allows verb roots ending in a vowel; these verbs need special treatment before the person suffixes can be added.

Therefore, the verbs of the a-class need to be grouped into several subclasses, according to some special characteristics of these verbs. In their most common form, a-class verbs have all the regular suffixes as outlined above, plus a zero-allomorph for the 3rd person singular, the suffix **-ār** for the 2nd person plural, and **-ár** for the 3rd person plural.

Example IV.154: a-class verbs (disjoint)

	ḡòḉ ^L <i>L</i>	<i>abandon</i>	gó:p ^H <i>H</i>	<i>punish</i>	wèké:r ^{LH} <i>LH</i>	<i>scrape</i>
1 _S	ḡòḉḉḉ	ḡòḉḉ-á	gó:pḉḉ	gó:p-á	wèké:rḉḉ	wèké:r-á
2 _S	ḡòḉḉḉḉ	ḡòḉḉ-ín	gó:pḉḉḉ	gó:p-ín	wèké:rḉḉḉ	wèké:r-ín
3 _S	ḡòḉḉ	ḡòḉḉ	gó:p	gó:p	wèké:r	wèké:r
1 _P	ḡòḉḉḉḉ ^L	ḡòḉḉ-ḉḉ ^L	gó:pḉḉḉ	gó:p-ḉḉ ^L	wèké:rḉḉḉ	wèké:r-ḉḉ ^L
2 _P	ḡòḉḉḉḉ	ḡòḉḉ-ār	gó:pḉḉḉ	gó:p-ār	wèké:rḉḉḉ	wèké:r-ār
3 _P	ḡòḉḉḉḉ	ḡòḉḉ-ár	gó:pḉḉḉ	gó:p-ár	wèké:rḉḉḉ	wèké:r-ár
IMPS	ḡòḉḉḉḉ ^L	ḡòḉḉ-éḉ ^L	gó:pḉḉḉḉ	gó:p-éḉ ^L	wèké:rḉḉḉḉ	wèké:r-éḉ ^L

Beyond the changes presented in example IV.152, the *SFT*-clitic affects these verbs as follows: on most 3_S forms it is just added without change, as in ḡòḉḉḉḉ or wèké:rḉḉḉ. The few a-class verbs ending in an obstruent add the epenthetic vowel /i/ (with allomorph /u/), as in gó:pḉḉḉḉ, which also receives the *H* com-

ponent of the *LH* sequence of the *3s* disjoint form. The *2P* suffix invariably adds this epenthetic vowel, as in **ɲòd̪àríŋ** or **wèké:ràríŋ**, so that the *LH* tone on the suffix spreads out over both available syllables. The *3P* form instead just adds the clitic without other modifications, as in **ɲòd̪árŋ** or **wèké:rárŋ**.

As can be seen, these regular a-class verbs come either with a high tone stem, a low tone stem, or with a *LH* sequence on the stem. The stem tone remains stable, except that for the disjoint *3s* form the tone pattern on the stem changes to *L*, which is true for all basic inflection classes. Furthermore, for disjoint *3s* forms, a high tone is placed on the last stem syllable, which on monosyllabic stems results in a *LH* contour-tone pattern. This is the result of a feature that applies throughout all inflection classes: for the disjoint form, each *3s* suffix has a high tone. The a-class has no segmental *3s* suffix, but the high tone is still present.

For the conjoint forms, no high tone is added to the *3s* form, and all suffixes have a fixed low tone. To distinguish the *2P* suffix from the *3P* suffix, the former is augmented by the vowel /i/.

Example IV.155: a-class verbs (conjoint)

	ɲòd̪ L	<i>abandon</i>	gó:p H	<i>punish</i>	wèké:r LH	<i>scrape</i>
<i>1s</i>	ɲòd̪à	ɲòd̪-à	gó:pà	gó:p-à	wèké:rà	wèké:r-à
<i>2s</i>	ɲòd̪ùŋ	ɲòd̪-ùŋ	gó:pùŋ	gó:p-ùŋ	wèké:rùŋ	wèké:r-ùŋ
<i>3s</i>	ɲòr	ɲòr	gó:p	gó:p	wèké:r	wèké:r
<i>1P</i>	ɲòd̪i:	ɲòd̪-i:	gó:pi:	gó:p-i:	wèké:ri:	wèké:r-i:
<i>2P</i>	ɲòd̪àrì	ɲòd̪-àrì	gó:pàrì	gó:p-àrì	wèké:ràrì	wèké:r-àrì
<i>3P</i>	ɲòd̪àr	ɲòd̪-àr	gó:pàr	gó:p-àr	wèké:r-àr	wèké:r-àr
<i>IMPS</i>	ɲòd̪è:	ɲòd̪-è:	gó:pè:	gó:p-è:	wèké:rè:	wèké:r-è:

In total, 62 different verbs were found in the regular a-class. Additional verbs can be found in a number of subclasses, which show some special behavior requiring explanation.

a-class verbs with unchanged tone on 3s-disjoint forms

There are a few notable exceptions to the tone replacement on disjoint *3s* stems. For five verbs of the a-class, **á:d̪ór** ‘ripe’, **bó:d̪ór** ‘sated’, **dé:gár** ‘sleep’, **gògòj** ‘crawl’ and **ɲájór** ‘swell’, the stem tones remain intact throughout the paradigm. In the conjoint, the *3s* person marking is accomplished by placing a *L* on the final syllable, but for the disjoint, no further tone is added. All five

verbs are intransitive in their meaning⁸⁹, and they have two-syllable stems. The following examples show the disjoint paradigm of this subclass.

Example IV.156: a-class verbs with fixed disjoint tones

	dé:gár^L <i>H</i>	<i>sleep</i>	gògòj <i>H</i>	<i>crawl</i>
<i>1S</i>	dé:gá'rá	dé:gár-á	gògòjá	gògòj-á
<i>2S</i>	dé:gá'rín	dé:gár-ín	gògòjún	gògòj-ín
<i>3S</i>	dé:gár^L	dé:gár^L	gògòj	gògòj
<i>1P</i>	dé:gá:ri:	dé:gár-í:^L	gògòjí:^L	gògòj-í:^L
<i>2P</i>	dé:gárǎr	dé:gár-ǎr	gògòjǎr	gògòj-ǎr
<i>3P</i>	dé:gá'rár	dé:gár-ár	gògòjár	gògòj-ár

The conjoint *3S* forms are **dégàr** and **gògòj**⁹⁰, the conjoint *3P* forms are **dé:gáràr** and **gògòjàr**. The *SFT*-clitic has the same effect as on the regular a-class verbs, except for the *3S* form, where it causes a contour tone on the last syllable, as in **dé:gá:ŋ** or **gògòjŋ**.

a-class verbs with variable vowel length

Seven verbs of the a-class (**gà:j** 'imitate', **kà:m** 'limp', **kò:ŋ** 'gather', **kò:w** 'dig', **pò:j** 'drunk', **rè:r** 'die' and **tù:l** 'shave') vary the length of the vowel depending on the person. They have *1S*, *2S* and *1P* with a long vowel in the only stem syllable, and the other three forms *3S*, *2P* and *3P* shorten this vowel. In all other respects the stems of this subclass behave exactly as the regular a-class verbs. All of these verbs have a low tone on the stem syllable.

Example IV.157: a-class verbs with variable vowel length (disjoint)

	kò:w <i>L</i>	<i>dig</i>	rè:r <i>L</i>	<i>die</i>
<i>1S</i>	kò:wá	kò:w-á	rè:rá	rè:r-á
<i>2S</i>	kò:wún	kò:w-ín	rè:rín	rè:r-ín
<i>3S</i>	kɔw	kɔw	rɛr	rɛr
<i>1P</i>	kò:wí:^L	kò:w-í:^L	rè:rí:^L	rè:r-í:^L
<i>2P</i>	kò:wǎr	kò:w-ǎr	rè:rǎr	rè:r-ǎr
<i>3P</i>	kò:wár	kò:w-ár	rè:rár	rè:r-ár
<i>IMPS</i>	kò:wé:^L	kò:w-é:^L		

⁸⁹ Therefore no impersonal forms are possible.

⁹⁰ The addition of another low tone has no effect, and therefore the conjoint and disjoint forms are identical for the *3S* forms of this verb.

a-class verbs with k-extension

Seven additional a-class verbs (**gà:là** ‘forget’, **è:ɲè** ‘travel’, **tí:** ‘scratch’, **bòná** ‘bring out’, **rí:bá** ‘put down’, **tóná** ‘order’ and **wè:tà** ‘move away’) have a particular k-extension⁹¹ between the stem and the person suffix. This stem extension appears with all forms except the 3rd person singular. These verbs behave in all respects like regular a-class verbs, except for the k-extension as such. They all have a stem ending in a vowel, and five of them are the verbs seen in example IV.133 with the derivation marker **-a**. It appears reasonable to assume that the motivation for the k-extension is the need to avoid a stem ending in a vowel in front of a suffix beginning with a vowel; so the extension is most likely of a purely epenthetic nature.

Example IV.158: a-class verbs with k-extension (disjoint)

	è:ɲè <i>L</i>	<i>travel</i>	wè:tà <i>L</i>	<i>move out</i>	tóná <i>LH</i>	<i>order</i>
<i>1s</i>	è:ɲèká	è:ɲè-k-á	wètàká	wè:tà-k-á	tóná'ká	tóná-k-a
<i>2s</i>	è:ɲèkín	è:ɲè-k-ín	wètàkín	wè:tà-k-ín	tóná'kín	tóná-k-ín
<i>3s</i>	è:ɲé	è:ɲé	wètá	wètá	tóná	tóná
<i>1p</i>	è:ɲèkí:^L	è:ɲè-k-í:^L	wètákí:^L	wè:tà-k-í:^L	tónákí:	tóná-k-í:^L
<i>2p</i>	è:ɲèkár	è:ɲè-k-ár	wètákár	wè:tà-k-ár	tónákár	tóná-k-ár
<i>3p</i>	è:ɲèkár	è:ɲè-k-ár	wètákár	wè:tà-k-ár	tóná'kár	tóná-k-ár
<i>IMPS</i>					tóná'ké:^L	tóná-k-é:^L

Just as the other a-class verbs, those with a k-extension can also have a low tone, a high tone or a *LH* sequence on the stem.

ε-class verbs

The ε-class is the largest verb class of Majang. About 270 different simple verb stems were found in this class. The ε-class verbs are easily recognized by the vowel /ε/ (or its phonologically conditioned variant /e/) in the 3rd person suffixes and in the 2nd person plural. As outlined above, the ε-class verbs share the morphemes for *1s*, *2s*, *1p* and *IMPS* with all other verbs – in the disjoint paradigm *1s* is marked by the suffix **-á**, *2s* by the suffix **-ín**, *1p* by the suffix **-í:^L** with a polar tone, and *IMPS* by the suffix **-é:^L**. The *3s.DJ* allomorph of the ε-class is **-é** (or **-é** following [+HIGH] vowels). As with most other inflection classes, the stem tone on all disjoint *3s* forms is *L*. The *2p* allomorph is **-è:r** (or **-è:r**), and the *3p* allomorph **-er:^L** (or **-er:^L**), which copies the last tone of

⁹¹ This has the same form as the semantically different direction marker **-k** (Bender, 1983, p. 121). The direction marker, however, is used for all persons, even for the 3rd singular.

the stem. Except for the impersonal marker, the specific allomorphs for this class are all subject to the vowel-height harmony rule 5 (see section II.5.4).

Example IV.159: ε -class verbs (disjoint)

	<i>gòt</i> <i>L</i>	<i>blow</i>	<i>děj</i> <i>H</i>	<i>want</i>	<i>ɲàwít</i> ^L <i>LH</i>	<i>walk</i>
<i>1s</i>	<i>gòtá</i>	<i>gòt-á</i>	<i>děj⁺já</i>	<i>děj-á</i>	<i>ɲàwít⁺á</i>	<i>ɲàwít-á</i>
<i>2s</i>	<i>gòtún</i>	<i>gòt-ín</i>	<i>děj⁺jín</i>	<i>děj-ín</i>	<i>ɲàwít⁺ín</i>	<i>ɲàwít-ín</i>
<i>3s</i>	<i>gòté</i>	<i>gòt-é</i>	<i>dějé</i>	<i>děj-é</i>	<i>ɲàwité</i>	<i>ɲàwít-é</i>
<i>1p</i>	<i>gòtí:^L</i>	<i>gòt-í:^L</i>	<i>dějì:</i>	<i>děj-í:^L</i>	<i>ɲàwítì:</i>	<i>ɲàwít-í:^L</i>
<i>2p</i>	<i>gòtěr</i>	<i>gòt-ěr</i>	<i>dějěr</i>	<i>děj-ěr</i>	<i>ɲàwítěr</i>	<i>ɲàwít-ěr</i>
<i>3p</i>	<i>gòtèr</i>	<i>gòt-er^L</i>	<i>dějér^L</i>	<i>děj-er^L</i>	<i>ɲàwítér^L</i>	<i>ɲàwít-er^L</i>
<i>IMPS</i>			<i>děj⁺é:^L</i>	<i>děj-é:^L</i>		

Like all other classes so far, the verbs of the ε -class have *H*, *L* and *LH*-sequence stems. Only three *LH*-sequence stems were found in the ε -class. The following example gives the conjoint forms, which use the same suffixes as the disjoint, but with a consistent low tone.

Example IV.160: ε -class verbs (conjoint)

	<i>1s</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>3s</i>	<i>1p</i>	<i>2p</i>	<i>3p</i>	<i>IMPS</i>
<i>want</i>	<i>dějà</i>	<i>dějìn</i>	<i>dějè</i>	<i>dějì:</i>	<i>dějèr</i>	<i>dějèr</i>	<i>dějè:</i>

Beyond the changes presented in example IV.152, the *SFT*-clitic affects ε -class verbs as follows: on *3s* forms it is just added without change, as in *dějén* or *ɲàwitén*. The *2p* suffix invariably adds an epenthetic vowel, as in *dějèrín* or *ɲàwítèrín*, so that the contour tone on the suffix now spreads out over both available syllables. The *3p* form changes the suffix tone into a contour tone, as in *gòtèrɲ* or *ɲàwítèrɲ*.

The ε -class does not need to be divided further into sub-classes, as there are no *k*-extensions or variable vowel lengths observed in this class. All verbs belonging to this class behave without exception as outlined above.

i-class verbs

100 verbs were identified in the *i*-class. They, too, behave very regularly, just like the ε -class verbs. There is no *k*-extension observed in this class, and no variable vowel length. The *1s*, *2s* and *1p* morphemes are the same as in other classes. The *3s* form often attaches the suffix *-í* for disjoint and *-ì* for conjoint forms, which undergoes labial harmony rule 4. But this suffix can

just as well be left out. No factors could be determined that govern the absence or presence of the *3s* suffix. If the suffix is not present, monosyllabic disjoint forms have a *LH* sequence on the last syllable. My language consultants agreed that this is a matter of free variation. The 2nd person plural suffix is **-ír** or **-írí** (disjoint) and **-írì** (conjoint). Again, the presence of the final /i/ seems to be optional, but it does change the tonal pattern on the suffix. The 3rd person plural suffix is **-ir^L** or **-ur^L**, according to labial-harmony rule 4. This suffix copies the stem tone in the disjoint, and takes a *L* for the conjoint.

High-toned stems of the *i*-class have a striking restriction: they always have a long vowel, and they only have one syllable.

Example IV.161: *i*-class verbs (disjoint)

	kòr <i>L</i>	<i>close</i>	rér <i>H</i>	<i>run</i>	ibá:l <i>LH</i>	<i>play</i>
<i>1s</i>	kòrá	kòr-á	rér:rá	rér-á	ibá:rlá	ibá:l-á
<i>2s</i>	kòrún	kòr-ín	rér:rín	rér-ín	ibá:rlín	ibá:l-ín
<i>3s</i>	kòr, kòrú	kòr(-í)	rér	rér(-í)	ibá:l	ibá:l(-í)
<i>1p</i>	kòrí:^L	kòr-í:^L	rérì:	rér-í:^L	ibá:lì:	ibá:l-í:^L
<i>2p</i>	kòrír, kòrírí	kòr-ír(í)	rérír	rér-ír(í)	ibá:lír	ibá:l-ír(í)
<i>3p</i>	kòrùr	kòr-ir^L	rérír^L	rér-ir^L	ibá:lír^L	ibá:l-ir^L
<i>IMPS</i>	kòré:^L	kòr-é:^L				

Just like in the ε -class, all conjoint forms take low-toned suffixes.

Example IV.162: *i*-class verbs (conjoint)

	<i>1s</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>3s</i>	<i>1p</i>	<i>2p</i>	<i>3p</i>	<i>IMPS</i>
<i>close</i>	kòrà	kòrùn	kòr(ù)	kòrì:	kòrír(i)	kòrùr	kòrè:

Beyond the changes presented in example IV.152, the *SFT*-clitic affects *i*-class verbs as follows: on *3s* forms it is just added without change, as in **kòrún** or **rérín**, but the marker **-í** is then always in evidence. The *2p* suffix adds the clitic to the suffix variant ending in the vowel /i/, without further change, as in **kòrírín** or **ibá:lírín**. The *3p* form changes the suffix tone into a contour tone, as in **kòrùr** or **rérùr**.

Some irregular verbs

In this section some verbs with unexpected behavior are presented; they do not fit in any of the existing inflection classes, as they seem to switch inflection classes from one person to the other.

tíj ‘hear’ and **tí:** ‘scratch’

The two verbs **tíj-** ‘hear’ and **tí:-** ‘scratch’ display a very irregular behavior with respect to the personal suffixes:

Example IV.163: paradigms of disjoint forms of **tíj** ‘hear’ and **tí:** ‘scratch’

	<i>1s</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>3s</i>	<i>1p</i>	<i>2p</i>	<i>3p</i>	<i>IMPS</i>
<i>hear</i>	tíj-á	tíj-ín	tíj-é	tíj-ì:	tíj-ǎr	tíj-ár	tíj-é: ^L
<i>scratch</i>	tí:-k-á	tí:-k-ín	tí:-é	tí:-k-ì:	tí:-k-ǎr	tí:-ár	tí:-k-é: ^L

At first glance the two verbs look like members of the a-class; ‘hear’ of the regular a-class with high tone, and ‘scratch’ of the a-class with k-extension, also with high tone. What stands out about these verbs is the suffix **-é** for the *3s* form, which does not belong in an a-class paradigm, but is an ϵ -class suffix. Furthermore, this suffix does not undergo the height-assimilation rule 5, which does not allow an affix with the vowel /**e**/ following a stem with a *H* in the final syllable. The vowel would have to be /**e**/. One way to explain this phenomenon would be an otherwise unmotivated claim that in the *3s*-forms the final /**e**/ is not part of the *3s*-suffix, but an addition to the stem, which would not trigger rule 5. Another possibility is that these two words pick their paradigm members from two different inflection classes. In any case, for the purposes of this study I do not claim to fully understand what is going on here; clearly these two words are irregular and disturb the system.

kè:ɖ ‘go’

The verb **kè:ɖ** ‘go’ displays a very irregular behavior with a truncated stem for the *3s* form, and what seems like suppletion forms for *2p* and *3p*.

Example IV.164: paradigm of **kè:ɖ** ‘go’ (disjoint)

	<i>1s</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>3s</i>	<i>1p</i>	<i>2p</i>	<i>3p</i>
<i>meet</i>	kè:ɖá	kè:ɖín	kè:(ɖí)	kè:ɖí: ^L	kǎr	kár

The *3s* form was often attested as **kè:ɖí**, and just as often as **kè:**. In this latter form it is often used as the first part of a serial verb construction (see sections IV.3.5 and V.8.4).

IV.2.3.2 Subordinate verb forms

For main-clause verbs the Majang language does not provide any tense-marking morphology beyond the tense marker, which is not part of the verb itself (see section V.6.1). The situation is very different for subordinate verbs, however, which can take on a variety of relative-tense markers that put the adverbial subordinate clause into a temporal relationship with the main clause. In the data analyzed for this study, three different subordinate verb forms were encountered: the relative-past subordinate form, the simultaneous subordinate form, and the inchoative subordinate form. These forms are presented in the following sections.

Relative-past subordinate verbs

The most-used subordinate verb form providing temporal reference to the main clause is the relative-past subordinate verb form. This form makes use of the formative **-d**, which is further modified according to the inflection class of the verb root. Therefore there are three different paradigms of relative-past subordinate verbs, one for each of the three inflection classes. These forms show no difference between conjoint and disjoint.

Example IV.165: relative-past subordinate verb paradigm

a) dām (a) 'eat', L-melody			
1 _S	dāmdā^L	dām-d-a^L	<i>after I had eaten</i>
2 _S	dāmdūn^L	dām-d-in^L	<i>after you_{sg} had eaten</i>
3 _S	dāmdū	dām-d-í	<i>after he had eaten</i>
1 _P	dāmdī^L	dām-d-i^L	<i>after we had eaten</i>
2 _P	dāmárdō^L	dām-árd-ō^L	<i>after you_{pl} had eaten</i>
3 _P	dāmàrd	dām-ard	<i>after they had eaten</i>
b) wèkér (a) 'scrape', LH-melody			
1 _S	wèkérđā^L	wèkér-d-a^L	<i>after I had scraped</i>
2 _S	wèkérđin^L	wèkér-d-in^L	<i>after you_{sg} had scraped</i>
3 _S	wèkêrd	wèkér-d	<i>after he had scraped</i>
1 _P	wèkérđī^L	wèkér-d-i^L	<i>after we had scraped</i>
2 _P	wèkérárdō^L	wèkér-árd-ō^L	<i>after you_{pl} had scraped</i>
3 _P	wèkérârd	wèkér-ard	<i>after they had scraped</i>

c) **kár** (a) 'fight', *H*-melody

1 _S	ká:rdǎ ^L	ká:r-ǵ-a ^L	<i>after I had fought</i>
2 _S	ká:rdǐn ^L	ká:r-ǵ-in ^L	<i>after you_{sg} had fought</i>
3 _S	kà:rǵ	kà:r-ǵ-í	<i>after he had fought</i>
1 _P	ká:rdǐ ^L	ká:r-ǵ-i ^L	<i>after we had fought</i>
2 _P	ká:rǎrdǵ ^L	ká:r-ǎrd-ǵ ^L	<i>after you_{pl} had fought</i>
3 _P	kà:rǎrdǐ	kà:r-ǎrd	<i>after they had fought</i>

d) **màl** (ε) 'hit', *L*-melody

1 _S	màl:é:ǵǎ ^L	màl-é:ǵ-a ^L	<i>after I had beaten</i>
2 _S	màl:é:ǵǐn ^L	màl-é:ǵ-in ^L	<i>after you_{sg} had beaten</i>
3 _S	màl:è:ǵ	màl-è:ǵ	<i>after he had beaten</i>
1 _P	màl:é:ǵǐ ^L	màl-é:ǵ-i ^L	<i>after we had beaten</i>
2 _P	màl:é:rdǵ ^L	màl-é:rd-ǵ ^L	<i>after you_{pl} had beaten</i>
3 _P	màl:è:rd	màl-è:rd	<i>after they had beaten</i>

e) **ṇàwít** (ε) 'walk', *LH*-melody

1 _S	ṇàwít:é:ǵǎ ^L	ṇàwít-é:ǵ-a ^L	<i>after I had walked</i>
2 _S	ṇàwít:é:ǵǐn ^L	ṇàwít-é:ǵ-in ^L	<i>after you_{sg} had walked</i>
3 _S	ṇàwít:è:ǵ	ṇàwít-è:ǵ	<i>after he had walked</i>
1 _P	ṇàwít:é:ǵǐ ^L	ṇàwít-é:ǵ-i ^L	<i>after we had walked</i>
2 _P	ṇàwít:é:rdǵ ^L	ṇàwít-é:rd-ǵ ^L	<i>after you_{pl} had walked</i>
3 _P	ṇàwít:è:rd	ṇàwít-è:rd	<i>after they had walked</i>

f) **púr** (ε) 'cultivate', *H*-melody

1 _S	púr:é:ǵǎ ^L	púr-é:ǵ-a ^L	<i>after I had cultivated</i>
2 _S	púr:é:ǵǐn ^L	púr-é:ǵ-in ^L	<i>after you_{sg} had cultivated</i>
3 _S	púr:è:ǵ	púr-è:ǵ	<i>after he had cultivated</i>
1 _P	púr:é:ǵǐ ^L	púr-é:ǵ-i ^L	<i>after we had cultivated</i>
2 _P	púr:é:rdǵ ^L	púr-é:rd-ǵ ^L	<i>after you_{pl} had cultivated</i>
3 _P	púr:è:rd	púr-è:rd	<i>after they had cultivated</i>

g) **pèd** (i) 'finish', *L*-melody

<i>1_S</i>	pèd:fɔ́ḁ^L	pèd-íḁ-a^L	<i>after I had finished</i>
<i>2_S</i>	pèd:fɔ́ḁḁ^L	pèd-íḁ-in^L	<i>after you_{sg} had finished</i>
<i>3_S</i>	pèd:íḁ	pèd-iḁ	<i>after he had finished</i>
<i>1_P</i>	pèd:fɔ́ḁí^L	pèd-íḁ-i^L	<i>after we had finished</i>
<i>2_P</i>	pèd:fɔ́ḁḁ^L	pèd-íḁ-ɔ́^L	<i>after you_{pl} had finished</i>
<i>3_P</i>	pèd:íḁ	pèd-íḁ	<i>after they had finished</i>

h) **ìbá:l** (i) 'play', *LH*-melody

<i>1_S</i>	ìbá:líḁ^L	ìbá:l-íḁ-a^L	<i>after I had played</i>
<i>2_S</i>	ìbá:líḁḁ^L	ìbá:l-íḁ-in^L	<i>after you_{sg} had played</i>
<i>3_S</i>	ìbá:líḁ	ìbá:l-iḁ	<i>after he had played</i>
<i>1_P</i>	ìbá:líḁí^L	ìbá:l-íḁ-i^L	<i>after we had played</i>
<i>2_P</i>	ìbá:líḁḁ^L	ìbá:l-íḁ-ɔ́^L	<i>after you_{pl} had played</i>
<i>3_P</i>	ìbá:líḁ	ìbá:l-iḁ	<i>after they had played</i>

i) **wór** (i) 'untie', *H*-melody

<i>1_S</i>	wór:íḁ^L	wór-íḁ-a^L	<i>after I had untied</i>
<i>2_S</i>	wór:íḁḁ^L	wór-íḁ-in^L	<i>after you_{sg} had untied</i>
<i>3_S</i>	wór:íḁ	wór-iḁ	<i>after he had untied</i>
<i>1_P</i>	wór:íḁí^L	wór-íḁ-i^L	<i>after we had untied</i>
<i>2_P</i>	wór:íḁḁ^L	wór-íḁ-ɔ́^L	<i>after you_{pl} had untied</i>
<i>3_P</i>	wór:íḁ	wór-íḁ	<i>after they had untied</i>

It can be observed that a-class verbs take the marker **-ḁ** without further modification for the first four persons (*1_S*-*1_P*). There is also some unexplained variation regarding the presence or absence of a final /i/ following 3rd person forms. Furthermore, the a-class verbs are subject to some tonal variation, with the *3_S* form always having a low-toned stem, and the *3_P* stem changing to *L* for the high-toned verbs. The *2_P* suffix of a-class verbs always copies the stem tone.

The *ε*-class and the *i*-class verbs are more regular, without any tone changes. They add their long class vowel preceding the marker. For *2_P* and *3_P*, the three classes uniformly place the sequence /**Vr**/ preceding the marker **-ḁ**, where **V** stands for the class vowel /**a**, **ε**, **i**/. This vowel is subject to the height- or labial-harmony rules 5 and 4. All three classes let their *3_P* suffix copy the stem tone (which results in *HL* sequences for stems ending in *H*).

The i-class and ϵ -class do the same for the 3s form, which receives a different and less predictable treatment in the a-class.

The person markers for the relative-past paradigms are different from the person markers introduced in section IV.2.3.1 for basic main-clause verbs. The present pattern is called *complex paradigm*, as it is only used for more complex verb forms, as already seen on the directional derivation marker $-\check{V}:\text{d}$ in example IV.137. It shows the 1s and 2s suffixes $-\text{a}^L$ and $-\text{in}^L/-\text{un}^L$ without an underlying tone, but equipped with a floating L , which is missing from the main-clause verbs. The ϵ -class and i-class markers plus the 2P a-class marker always have a stable high tone that is not downstepped when following a high stem tone, which means that they show tone-replacement behavior that is blocked by low tones on the stem. The most characteristic feature of this complex paradigm, however, is the 2P marker, which is always $-\text{ɔ}^L$, again copying the stem tone, and followed by a floating L . The 3s and 3P forms are unmarked beyond what happens preceding the $-\text{d}$ marker, except in the a-class, where 3s is marked by the suffix $-\text{i}/-\text{u}$ otherwise only known from the i-class. In some examples the i-class 3P marker was also found without the final vowel, as in bó:júrd ‘after he hated’. The 1P marker $-\text{i}:\text{L}$ copies the stem tone, which results in a HL sequence following H .

All these tonal details, plus the fact that the 2P and 3P forms apply some person marking preceding the marker $-\text{d}$, create problems to any analytical view of these morpheme combinations. The tonal characteristics of Majang can be better maintained if the whole combination of relative-tense marker and person marker is seen as one complex morpheme, that in its totality fills the relative-tense slot in the finite-verb template in section IV.2.1.2. The list of relative-past markers of Majang would therefore look as follows:

Example IV.166: relative-past subordinate verb paradigm

	a-class	ϵ -class	i-class
1s	$-\text{da}^L$	$-\check{\epsilon}:\text{da}^L/-\check{\epsilon}:\text{da}^L$	$-\check{\text{i}}:\text{da}^L$
2s	$-\text{din}^L/-\text{dun}^L$	$-\check{\epsilon}:\text{din}^L/-\check{\epsilon}:\text{din}^L$	$-\check{\text{i}}:\text{din}^L$
3s	$-\text{di}/-\text{du}$	$-\check{\epsilon}:\text{d}/-\check{\epsilon}:\text{d}$	$-\check{\text{i}}:\text{d}$
1P	$-\text{di}:\text{L}$	$-\check{\epsilon}:\text{di}:\text{L}/-\check{\epsilon}:\text{di}:\text{L}$	$-\check{\text{i}}:\text{di}:\text{L}$
2P	$-\check{\text{a}}\text{rd}\text{ɔ}^L$	$-\check{\epsilon}\text{rd}\text{ɔ}^L/-\check{\epsilon}\text{rd}\text{ɔ}^L$	$-\check{\text{i}}\text{rd}\text{ɔ}^L/-\check{\text{u}}\text{rd}\text{ɔ}^L$
3P	$-\text{ard}$	$-\check{\epsilon}\text{rd}/-\check{\epsilon}\text{rd}$	$-\text{i}:\text{rd}/-\text{u}:\text{rd}/-\check{\text{i}}\text{rd}/-\check{\text{u}}\text{rd}$

The glossing in the examples of this language description reflects the maximal parsing of the morphemes into smaller units, wherever this is possible.

Aside from its use as a relative-past form, this same form is also used for purpose clauses (see section V.8.3.3) and for main-clause verbs with referential object (see section IV.2.3.5).

The relative-past forms place the action of the main clause sequentially after the action described in the subordinate clause. There are numerous examples of this in Majang texts:

Example IV.167: relative-past subordinate clauses

- a) **nè cá:^L bá:^L tàjè:ɗ gòdé né:kík, nè jògùkú à b̀ànkáwɲ.**
nè cá:^L bá:^L tàj-ɛ:ɗ gòdé né:k=k
 CONJ then REM PST open-REL PST.3S house\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SUB
nè jòg-kí à b̀ànkáw=ɲ
 CONJ feel-CP.3S.DJ CONJ strong\3S.DJ=SFT
After he opened his house, he felt it was stuck (lit.: strong).
- b) **nè òkó cìnè kó dòkù:ɗ dé:k kè: b̀àrtén.**
nè òkó cì-n-è kó dòk-i:ɗ dé=k
 CONJ like DEM-SG-HR RECPST sit-REL PST.3S down=SUB
kè: b̀àrt-é=ɲ
 go.3S give.birth-3S.DJ=SFT
After she sat down like this she started to give birth.

In practically all examples seen in the corpus, the relative-past subordinate clause precedes the main clause, which is also an iconic rendering of the actual time structure.

Example a) shows that this relative-past marker can co-occur with a tense marker, although this needs to precede the verb. What these clauses all have in common is that the subordinate action is completed by the time the main-clause action begins. This implies a perfective aspect to the subordinate clause. This feature is sometimes used in narratives to create a tail-head linkage to slow down the flow of information (see section V.9.2).

Because relative-past subordinate clauses do not provide any grounds for a conjoint-disjoint distinction, it is not always possible to determine the case of a following NP.

Simultaneous subordinate verbs

Another formative **-kún^L** used in subordinate clauses expresses a simultaneous action to the action of the main clause.

Example IV.168: simultaneous verb paradigms (conjoint)

a) **kèj** (a) 'boil'

1 _S	kéjkú:nà	kéj-kún-à	<i>while I boil</i>
2 _S	kéjkú:nùn	kéj-kún-in	<i>while you_{sg} boil</i>
3 _S	kéjkùn	kéj-kùn	<i>while he boils</i>
1 _P	kéjkú:nì	kéj-kún-ì	<i>while we boil</i>
2 _P	kèjárkú:nàr	kèj-árkum-àr	<i>while you_{pl} boil</i>
3 _P	kèjárkùn	kèj-àrkùn	<i>while they boil</i>

b) **ìcíc** (ε) 'prepare'

1 _S	ìcíc:kú:nà	ìcíc-kún-à	<i>while I prepare</i>
2 _S	ìcíc:kú:nùn	ìcíc-kún-in	<i>while you_{sg} prepare</i>
3 _S	ìcíc:kùn	ìcíc-kùn	<i>while he prepares</i>
1 _P	ìcíc:kú:nì	ìcíc-kún-ì	<i>while we prepare</i>
2 _P	ìcíc:érkú:nàr	ìcíc-érkum-àr	<i>while you_{pl} prepare</i>
3 _P	ìcíc:érkùn	ìcíc-èrkùn	<i>while they prepare</i>

These two paradigms present the conjoint forms of the verbs, as for this category the conjoint-disjoint distinction is relevant. It needs to be observed that for the 3rd person forms the marker **-kun** has a short vowel, while it is long for the other persons. The person suffixes are not like anything else seen so far, as they look like a-class suffixes, except for the 3_P form, which is unmarked. The **kun**-suffix, like **-ɗ** above and **-ké^L** below, makes use of the **-Vr**-suffix with the class marker preceding the 2_P and 3_P forms.

The following paradigm shows an i-class verb, this time in the disjoint form:

Example IV.169: simultaneous verb paradigm (disjoint)

àgàl (i) 'hide'

1 _S	àgàlkú:ná	àgàl-kún-á	<i>while I am hiding</i>
2 _S	àgàlkú:nún	àgàl-kún-ún	<i>while you_{sg} are hiding</i>
3 _S	àgàlkún^L	àgàl-kún^L	<i>while he is hiding</i>
1 _P	àgàlkú:nì	àgàl-kún-ì^L	<i>while we are hiding</i>
2 _P	àgàlírku:nàr	àgàl-írkum-àr	<i>while you_{pl} are hiding</i>
3 _P	àgàlírku:n^L	àgàl-írkun^L	<i>while they are hiding</i>

Like the other relative-tense markers, **-kún^L** has a fixed *H* following low-toned stems, but is not downstepped following high-toned stems. It is therefore another morpheme that displays tone-replacement behavior that is blocked by low tones on the stem.

Simultaneous subordinate clauses link two actions which are happening at the same time. The action of the subordinate clause is ongoing and therefore inherently imperfective. Examples IV.170a) and b) are straightforward, and they illustrate that the order of subordinate and main clause can be exchanged for the simultaneous construction.

Example IV.170: simultaneous subordinate clauses

- a) **ɲàrá ðùkà cê, kéjkúnùn kàrí.**
 ɲàr-á ðùk-à cê kéj-kún-ìn kàrí
go-1s.DJ forest\SG-DAT DEM\SG.SP.DAT cook-SIMUL-2s.CJ coffee.leaf\SG.ABS
I go to the forest, while you boil coffee leaves.
- b) **má^L ɓò ré wár àgàlkún^L é:k^L nè kè: ðàm jét.**
 má^L ɓò ré wár àgàl-kún^L é:k^L
but also 3s.PRAG dog\SG.NOM hide-SIMUL.3s.DJ himself
nè kè: ðàm jét
CONJ go\3s eat\3s.DJ very
But Dog, too, while hiding himself, went to eat properly.
- c) **nè rí:ɓákún^L gòpè, é rí:ɓérgé^L kòcié né:k ádá^L.**
 nè rí:ɓ-a-kún^L gòp-è é rí:ɓ-érgé:ɗ
CONJ put-DIR-SIMUL.3s.DJ path\SG.LOC CONJ\IRR put-INCPT.TF.3s.CJ
kòcié né:k ád-a^L
pipe\SG.ABS POSS\3s.SG.ABS mouth\SG-DAT
While putting her out on the path he placed her pipe in the mouth.

Example c) is complicated by the fact that the main-clause action refers to a very punctual event which is hard to conceive of as going on at the same time as the subordinate clause action. Possibly this form can also serve other functions than just the simultaneous relative tense. More text-based examples should reveal the full range of its use.

One example was found where the simultaneous action does not relate to a main-clause action. This occurrence happens in combination with the purpose verb form:

Example IV.171: simultaneous subordinate clause with a purpose function

cè ɓá^L ɣá:ǵé^L nè pàrkúndé^L dáké:dák.
 cè ɓá^L ɣá:g-é^L nè pàr-kún-ǵ-é^L dáké:dá=k
 DEM.SG.HR REMPST create-IMPS.DJ CONJ try-SIMUL-PURP-IMPS.DJ only=SUB
It was created only for while it is tested.

The main-clause action is not in a temporal relationship with the subordinate clause, but the subordinate clause provides the purpose for the main clause, and the simultaneous form creates an ongoing temporal reference for which this purpose holds. This shows that Majang subordinate verb forms can be used flexibly in a variety of contexts, with slightly different functions. A careful study based on a broader corpus should deliver rewarding results.

Inchoative subordinate verbs

A third subordinate relative-tense form is used when the main-clause action is put into a temporal relationship with the beginning of another action. This form uses the marker **-ká:j^L/-ké^L**. It is very similar in its choice of person markers to the simultaneous-subordinate form. The morphemes replace the stem tone with their own high tone, subject to blocking by stem low tones.

The following are paradigms using this form.

Example IV.172: inchoative verb paradigm

a) **dám** (a) 'eat'

1 _S	dámíkár:ǵá	dámí-ká:j-á	when I start to eat
2 _S	dámíkár:ǵín	dámí-ká:j-ín	when you _{SG} start to eat
3 _S	dámíké ^L	dámí-ké ^L	when he starts to eat
1 _P	dámíká:jì:	dámí-ká:jì:	when we start to eat
2 _P	dámíkár:ǵár	dámí-ká:j-ár	when you _{PL} start to eat
3 _P	dámíké ^L	dámí-ké ^L	when they start to eat

b) **ɲèdèm** (ɛ) 'smile'

1 _S	ɲèdèmkár:ǵá	ɲèdèm-ká:j-á	when I start to smile
2 _S	ɲèdèmkár:ǵín	ɲèdèm-ká:j-ín	when you _{SG} start to smile
3 _S	ɲèdèmké ^L	ɲèdèm-ké ^L	when he starts to smile
1 _P	ɲèdèmká:jì:	ɲèdèm-ká:j-ì: ^L	when we start to smile
2 _P	ɲèdèmérká:ǵár	ɲèdèm-érká:j-ár	when you _{PL} start to smile
3 _P	ɲèdèmérké ^L	ɲèdèm-érké ^L	when they start to smile

A special allomorph of this inchoative form occurs when it is combined with the *TF*-marker (deictic transfer, see section IV.2.3.3 below). The formative **-kěj** is then used to replace both **-ká:j^L** and **-ké^L**.

Example IV.173: special allomorph of inchoative form preceding the *TF*-marker

gà6kéjgidá^L nè kí bònɔ̃:ɗ.
gà6-kěj-gíɗ-a^L nè kí bònɔ̃-ɗ
give\IPFV-INCHOA-TF-1S CONJ NEG\3S take-NEG
When I started to give it to her, she refused.

This is not just a special form used only for the verb **gà6** ‘give’. This becomes apparent when it is seen without the *TF*-marker. The following is the full paradigm of **gà6** ‘give’ without any direction formative:

Example IV.174: paradigm of inchoative form on verb **gà6** ‘give’

	gà6 (v) ‘give’	
<i>1s</i>	gà6ká:r'já	gà6-ká:j-á <i>when I started to give</i>
<i>2s</i>	gà6ká:r'jín	gà6-ká:j-ín <i>when you_{sg} started to give</i>
<i>3s</i>	gà6ké^L	gà6-ké^L <i>when he started to give</i>
<i>1p</i>	gà6ká:jì	gà6-ká:j-ì^L <i>when we started to give</i>
<i>2p</i>	gà6érká:r'jár	gà6-érkaj-ár <i>when you_{pl} started to give</i>
<i>3p</i>	gà6érké^L	gà6-érke^L <i>when they started to give</i>

Inchoative subordinate verbs relate the main-clause action to the beginning of another action, which may then be interrupted or even aborted.

Example IV.175: inchoative subordinate clauses

- a) **nè bòkó:rjánt tònké^L ké “kò6ĩr ké ká ó:lé^L típír?” nè ɗĩrkí dóká^L.**
nè bòkó:rjánt tòn-ké^L ké kò6-ĩr ké k-á
CONJ tortoise\SG.NOM say-INCHOA.3S.DJ QUOT think-2P.DJ QUOT NEG-1S
ó:l-é^L tí-pír nè ɗĩr-kí dók-á^L
can-NEG INF-fly CONJ fall-CP.3S.DJ ground\SG-DAT
When Tortoise started to say “Do you think I cannot fly?” he fell to the ground.
- b) **nè àrké^L ìcíc né:ké^L tàk nè ɓànkàwkà: né:k ɓàné lákì wó:ɗàk?**
nè àr-ké^L ìcíc né:k-e^L tàk nè
CONJ do-INCHOA.3P.DJ arrange\3S.DJ POSS\3S.SG-LOC inside\LOC CONJ
ɓànkàw-kà: né:k ɓàné lák-ì wó:ɗàk
authority-NOMIN.SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS all have-3S who.PL?
When they begin to arrange it in there, who has the overall authority?

- c) ... é ɣá:ɡkɛ^L à ɡòrgórɲ pídé'láké ðɡó:kêɲ, nè bá'ɲíá kár mɛ̀lɛ̀rkì ʝó:p^L cìɡð dɛ́ɡéràr é:kík.

é ɣá:ɡ-kɛ^L à ɡòrgór=ɲ pídél-ák-é ðɡó:-k-é=ɲ
 CONJ\IRR work-INCHOA.3P.DJ CONJ speedily=CND letter-PL-LOC others-PL-LOC-CND
 nè bá'ɲí-á kár mɛ̀l-erkì ʝó:p^L cì-g-ð
 CONJ back\SG-DAT come\3P.DJ arrive-CP.3P.CJ people\ABS REL-PL-DIST
 dɛ́ɡér-àr é:k=k
 know-3P.CJ self.ABS=SUB

... and if they start working speedily with the other letters, the experts come back.

In all three examples the subordinate clause appears preceding the main clause, which is again what would be expected in terms of iconicity – the onset of the subordinate action is a punctual event setting the time reference for the main-clause action and therefore needs to be conceived as primary.

The subordinate clauses in examples a) and b) clearly have a temporal meaning, whereas the subordinate clause in example c) has characteristics of a conditional clause, such as the use of the conditional marker =ɲ. This seems to be one of the cases encountered in many languages where the distinction between temporal clauses and conditional clauses is fluid (Thompson & Longacre, 1985, p. 193).

Another use of the inchoative-subordinate form occurs together with imperfective verb stems. This creates a verb form conveying a repetitive aktionsart.

Example IV.176: inchoative verbs with imperfective stem

rèrérká:ǵá^L nè tá^L kí ǵà:kà.
 rèrér-ká:ǵ-a^L nè tá^L k-í ǵà:-kà:
 run\IPFV-INCHOA-1S.CJ CONJ 1S.DAT NEG-3S happy⁹²-NEG
 Whenever I run, I am not happy.

This can be shown together with the verb marked for deictic transfer (*TF*) in example IV.173:

Example IV.177: repetitive-subordinate verb with *TF*-marking

ǵàǵá6kéǵíǵá^L nè kí bònɲɪɔ.
 ǵàǵá6-kéǵ-ǵíǵ-a^L nè kí bònɲ-ɪɔ
 give\IPFV-INCHOA-TF-1S CONJ NEG\3S take-NEG
 Whenever I gave it to her, she refused.

⁹² ǵà: is an impersonal verb that codes the semantic subject as a *1S.DAT* short pronoun (Bender, 1983, p. 144f).

To compare this form with the perfective and non-*TF*-marked paradigm of example IV.174, the following shows the complete paradigm with all person markings. It is interesting to note that in this paradigm two suffixes with the same tone-replacement behavior follow each other, blocked by low tones on the stem. It is impossible to tell which of the two tone replacements wins out in this situation.

Example IV.178: repetitive *TF*-marked verb paradigm

gàb (a) 'give'		
<i>1s</i>	gàgáb-kéj-gíd-á^L	<i>whenever I give</i>
<i>2s</i>	gàgáb-kéj-gíd-in^L	<i>whenever you_{sg} give</i>
<i>3s</i>	gàgáb-kéj-gê:d	<i>whenever he gives</i>
<i>1p</i>	gàgáb-kéj-gíd-i^L	<i>whenever we give</i>
<i>2p</i>	gàgàb-árkéj-gíd-ó^L	<i>whenever you_{pl} give</i>
<i>3p</i>	gàgàb-árkéj-gê:d	<i>whenever they give</i>

A number of observations can be made here. First, the paradigm uses the person endings of the complex paradigm already seen in example IV.137 on verbs derived with the **-Vd** marker. These endings are not caused by the inchoative marker, but by the *TF*-marking, which, as the last element preceding the person marking, defines its shape. Furthermore, the marker **-kéj** directly follows the stem for the singular and the 1st person plural, but it is preceded by the plural formative **-ar** for the 2_P and 3_P forms. This formative changes to **-ír** or **-ér** for verbs of the *i-* or *ε*-class. In the *a*-class, these two forms also have a different tone melody on the stem.

Repetitive subordinate clauses refer to an action that is carried out repeatedly during the time of the main-clause action. In example IV.177 the subordinate clause implies that the subject has undertaken several attempts to perform the action, which were all met by the same main-clause refusal of the object.

IV.2.3.3 Direction markings

In the Majang language, any verb can be subjected to three direction markings which do not often change the lexical meaning of the verb, but add a spatial semantic component to the existing lexical meaning. Because the markers responsible for these spatial meanings are inseparable from the person markers that accompany them, sometimes with parts of the person marking preceding the direction formative, these paradigms are here treated as inflectional categories. There are, however, a few verbs which follow

these direction paradigms, but for which I have not identified a non-directional root, such as **ɖi:gárk** ‘sprout’.

Counting the three different direction paradigms plus the directionally unmarked form of each verb, there are therefore four direction values each verb can be subjected to:

unmarked:	mèlá	mèl-á	<i>I arrive</i>
centripetal:	mèlká^L	mèl-k-á^L	<i>I come (I arrive here)</i>
centrifugal:	mèlé⁺rá	mèl-ér-á	<i>I arrive somewhere away from here</i>
deictic transfer:	mèlgídá^L	mèl-gíd-a^L	<i>I arrive here from there</i>

The forms of the three marked directions are introduced in detail in the next subsections. A functional evaluation of the direction markers is provided in section V.6.4.

Centripetal direction markings

The centripetal direction (abbreviated in glosses as *CP*) is used for movements or actions towards the deictic center or to the most topical participant, equivalent to the speaker in a direct speech act. It uses the formative **-k** which was already identified by Bender (1983, p. 131) as a direction marker. The following example shows two instances of centripetal verbs:

Example IV.179: clauses with centripetal verbs

ìndí	rògúkún^L	tá^L	àgút^L	jìkôn?	kòḍún	ké	ḍílká^L	nà	óltír?
<i>ìndí</i>	<i>ròg-kín^L</i>	<i>tá^L</i>	<i>àgút^L</i>	<i>jìkôn</i>	<i>mother\1s.ABS</i>	<i>laugh-CP.2s.DJ</i>	<i>1s.DAT</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>what?</i>
kòḍ-ín	ké	ḍíl-ká^L	nà	ólt-ír	<i>think-2s.DJ</i>	<i>COMP</i>	<i>carry-CP.1s.DJ</i>	<i>2s.DAT</i>	<i>fish-PL.ABS</i>
<i>My mother, why do you laugh at me? Do you think I bring you fish?</i>									

A verb marked in this way is conjugated according to the complex-verb paradigm, involving the 2_P suffix **-ɔ^{L93}**. The following are paradigms from each of the three verbal inflection classes.

⁹³ If followed by the *SFT*-clitic, this vowel is lengthened, and the tone on it turns into a contour tone, as in **ɲàráràkòŋ** ‘you_{PL} go towards here’.

Example IV.180: centripetal forms, disjoint and conjoint

a) ɲà:r (a)	disjoint	conjoint		go
1 _S ɲá:rká^L	ɲá:r-ká^L			<i>I go towards here</i>
2 _S ɲá:rkín^L	ɲá:r-kín^L			<i>you_{SG} go towards here</i>
3 _S ɲà:rkí	ɲà:r-kí	ɲà:rkì	ɲà:r-kì	<i>he goes towards here</i>
1 _P ɲá:rkí:^L	ɲá:r-kí:^L			<i>we go towards here</i>
2 _P ɲà:ràrkɔ^L	ɲà:r-àrkɔ^L			<i>you_{PL} go towards here</i>
3 _P ɲà:ràrk	ɲà:r-àrk	ɲà:ràrk	ɲà:r-àrk	<i>they go towards here</i>

b) rí:6 (ε)	disjoint	conjoint		place
1 _S rí:6ká^L	rí:6-ká^L	rí:6kà	rí:6-kà	<i>I place towards here</i>
2 _S rí:6kín^L	rí:6-kín^L	rí:6kìn	rí:6-kìn	<i>you_{SG} place towards here</i>
3 _S rí:6[*]kí	rí:6-kí	rí:6kì	rí:6-kì	<i>he places towards here</i>
1 _P rí:6kí:^L	rí:6-kí:^L	rí:6kì:	rí:6-kì:	<i>we place towards here</i>
2 _P rí:6érkɔ^L	rí:6-érkɔ^L	rí:6érkò	rí:6-érkò	<i>you_{PL} place towards here</i>
3 _P rí:6érk(í)	rí:6-erk(í)	rí:6érk(ì)	rí:6-erk(ì)	<i>they place towards here</i>

c) tòn (i)	disjoint	conjoint		say
1 _S tònká^L	tòn-ká^L	tònkà	tòn-kà	<i>I say towards here</i>
2 _S tònkún^L	tòn-kín^L	tònkùn	tòn-kìn	<i>you_{SG} say towards here</i>
3 _S tònk(ú)	tòn-k(í)	tònk(ù)	tòn-k(ì)	<i>he says towards here</i>
1 _P tònkí:^L	tòn-kí:^L	tònkì:	tòn-kì:	<i>we say towards here</i>
2 _P tònúrkɔ^L	tòn-írko^L	tònúrkò	tòn-írkò	<i>you_{PL} say towards here</i>
3 _P tònùrk(ú)	tòn-irk(í)	tònùrk(ù)	tòn-irk(ì)	<i>they say towards here</i>

These paradigms have a lot in common, but there are also some significant differences between the three inflection classes. The direction marker and its accompanying person suffixes need to be seen as one portmanteau morpheme, although it is easy to identify the components that make it up (and in examples, as much as possible, these are parsed out as two separate morphemes). The main reason for this is the behavior of the 2_P and 3_P forms, which place part of the person marking (the formative **-Vr**) preceding the direction marker **-k**. This behavior was also observed with the relative-past marker **-ɖ** (see section IV.2.3.2). The a-class stem tones are variable in the same way as with the relative-past marker **-ɖ**, whereas the stem tones of the other classes remain stable. The ε- and i-class, instead, show some optionality regarding the 3rd person marker **-í/-ú**, which can be left out. If so, for these classes the distinction between conjoint and disjoint is neutralized. For the a-class, only the 3rd-person forms distinguish between conjoint and disjoint.

Once more, as already seen with the relative-past marker **-ɗ**, the tonal behavior of the high-toned suffixes is very puzzling. They are *H* following a low tone, but they are not downstepped following a high-toned stem. This is therefore another instance of morphemes with tone-replacement behavior that is blocked by low tones on the stem.

Centrifugal direction markings

Centrifugal direction markings (abbreviated as *CF*) are used for verbs which denote a movement or action away from the deictic center. In example IV.181b) the verb is a transitive verb of perception, directed at a target away from the deictic center. The phrase **à jòwé:ɗiŋ** is an adverbial phrase coded as a stative-verb clause connected with a clause-internal conjunction.

Example IV.181: clauses with centrifugal verbs

- a) **gàbérì: kó: nǎŋ.**
gàb-ɛr-ì: kó: nà=ŋ
give-CF-1P.DJ NFUT 2S.DAT=SFT
We will give (it) out to you.
- b) **nè èŋádɪr dɪŋéd: à jòwé:ɗiŋ.**
nè èŋádɪr dɪŋéd: à jòwé:ɗi=ŋ
CONJ smell-CF.3S hyena\SG.ABS CONJ far-AC.3S.DJ=SFT
He smelled Hyena far away.

CF-forms are based on the formative **-r**, and, like the *CP*-forms, use the complex person-marking paradigm with the *2P* form **-ɗ**. But for the *CF*-forms the tones on the suffixes behave slightly differently.

Example IV.182: centrifugal forms, disjoint and conjoint, in three inflection classes

a) ŋàr (a)	disjoint	conjoint		go
<i>1S</i> ŋár-rá	ŋár-rá			<i>I go away from here</i>
<i>2S</i> ŋárrìn	ŋár-rìn			<i>you_{SG} go away from here</i>
<i>3S</i> ŋárɪr	ŋár-ɪr	ŋárɪr	ŋár-ɪr	<i>he goes away from here</i>
<i>1P</i> ŋárrì:	ŋár-rì:			<i>we go away from here</i>
<i>2P</i> ŋártàrɗ	ŋár-tàrɗ			<i>you_{PL} go away from here</i>
<i>3P</i> ŋár-tár	ŋár-tár	ŋártàr	ŋár-tàr	<i>they go away from here</i>

b) rí:ḡ (ε)	disjoint	conjoint		place
<i>1s</i> rí:ḡé:ʔrá	rí:ḡ-é:ʔrá	rí:ḡé:rà	rí:ḡ-é:rà	<i>I place away from here</i>
<i>2s</i> rí:ḡérin	rí:ḡ-é:rín	rí:ḡérin	rí:ḡ-é:rín	<i>you_{sg} place away from here</i>
<i>3s</i> rí:ḡêr	rí:ḡ-êr	rí:ḡêr	rí:ḡ-êr	<i>he places away from here</i>
<i>1p</i> rí:ḡérì:	rí:ḡ-é:rì: ^L	rí:ḡérì:	rí:ḡ-é:rì:	<i>we place away from here</i>
<i>2p</i> rí:ḡétà:rò	rí:ḡ-é:tà:rò	rí:ḡétà:rò	rí:ḡ-é:tà:rò	<i>you_{pl} place away from here</i>
<i>3p</i> rí:ḡé:ʔtár	rí:ḡ-é:ʔtár	rí:ḡétà:r	rí:ḡ-é:tà:r	<i>they place away from here</i>
c) tòn (i)	disjoint	conjoint		say
<i>1s</i> tòní:ʔrá	tòn-í:ʔrá	tòní:rà	tòn-í:rà	<i>I say away from here</i>
<i>2s</i> tònírín	tòn-í:rín	tònírín	tòn-í:rín	<i>you_{sg} say away from here</i>
<i>3s</i> tònîr	tòn-îr	tònîr	tòn-îr	<i>he says away from here</i>
<i>1p</i> tònírì:	tòn-í:rì: ^L	tònírì:	tòn-í:rì:	<i>we say away from here</i>
<i>2p</i> tònítà:rò	tòn-í:tà:rò	tònítà:rò	tòn-í:tà:rò	<i>you_{pl} say away from here</i>
<i>3p</i> tòní:ʔtár	tòn-í:ʔtár	tònítà:r	tòn-í:tà:r	<i>they say away from here</i>

Compared to the other complex paradigms involving the *2p* suffix **-ḡ^L**, the following differences need to be noted here: the *1s* suffix behaves like in non-directional verbs, with its own *H* in the disjoint, and without an accompanying floating *L*. The *2s*-suffix is always low-toned, even for disjoint forms. And whereas the relative-past form **-ḡ** and the centripetal form **-k** place a class-identifier **-Vr** in front of the *2p* and *3p* forms, but leave the other persons unmarked for class, the centrifugal form places a long class-marker vowel in front of all suffixes. This vowel always has a high tone, but it is not downstepped following a high stem tone. This is even true for the a-class, where the chosen example a) is somewhat exceptional. Other a-class verbs include a long **-a:** preceding the centrifugal marker **-r**, as in **mérmén-á:ʔrá** ‘*I notice*’. Unlike the centripetal form and the relative-past paradigm, even in the a-class the stem tones are stable throughout the paradigm. In the centrifugal paradigm the *1p* form also has its disjoint polar-tone pattern known from the main-clause forms. Only the *1s* and the *3p* forms distinguish between conjoint and disjoint forms.

Deictic-transfer forms

The deictic-transfer forms (abbreviated as *TF* in glosses) make reference to two deictic centers, one the primary deictic center, most likely the most topical participant at this point of the discourse (comparable to the speaker-deixis (*sp*) value of demonstratives), and the other a secondary deictic center.

This would be comparable to the hearer-deixis (*HR*) value of demonstratives, but so far I have encountered no data where this secondary deictic center is the hearer of the speech act. All instances seen so far have a third person as this secondary deictic center.

TF-forms are often used for speech verbs and ditransitive verbs, where an action involving two deictic centers is most easily conceived. The *TF*-form then allows easy reference to a receiving or listening discourse participant, as in the following examples:

Example IV.183: clauses with *TF*-verbs

- a) **nè tòngé^L wár ké “ì:nè kàt pà:rín!”**
nè tòn-gé^L wár ké ì:nè kàt pà:r-ín
CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM QUOT you HORT\NEG try-2S.DJ
Dog told him “You, don’t try it!”
- b) **nè rí:ḡérgé^L kòcìé né:k ád-á^L.**
nè rí:ḡ-er-gé^L kòcìé né:k ád-a^L
CONJ place-INCPT-TF.3S.CJ pipe\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS mouth\SG-DAT
He placed her tobacco-pipe in the (woman’s) mouth.
- c) **nè wìd-érgé^L é:k^L.**
nè wìd-er-gé^L é:k^L
CONJ turn-INCPT-TF.3S.CJ body\SG.ABS
He turned towards her.

In all three examples the action is directed at a participant mentioned in the immediately preceding context of the discourse. This participant is not overtly mentioned in the clause with the *TF*-form, although example b) makes reference to a body part of this participant. This almost gives the *TF*-form the appearance of an object suffix. Such an analysis needs to be discarded based on a number of facts: first, as can be seen in the paradigms in example IV.184, the *TF*-marker precedes the subject person marker; it is more usual for an object marker to follow the subject marker, as seen, for example, in all perfective Amharic verbs, or in practically all Bantu languages (Riedel, 2009, p. 117). Second, there is some paradigmatic variation in the *TF*-forms, which is entirely caused by the person of the subject. All paradigmatic variation of an object marker should be caused by different objects, not by different subjects. Lastly, in example c) the second deictic center is not the object of the verb. If there is any object at all in this clause, it would be the noun **é:k^L** ‘body’, which serves here in its grammaticalized form as a reflexive

marker. This illustrates that the deictic-transfer form does not always refer to the object of a clause.

These deictic-transfer markers mostly display a tone-replacement behavior, subject to blocking by low tones on the stem.

Example IV.184: *TF*-forms, disjoint and conjoint of three inflection classes

a) <i>ɲà:r</i> (a)	disjoint	conjoint	<i>go</i>
<i>1s</i> <i>ɲá:rgíɗá^L</i>	<i>ɲá:r-ɡíɗá^L</i>		<i>I go from here to there</i>
<i>2s</i> <i>ɲá:rgíɗín^L</i>	<i>ɲá:r-ɡíɗín^L</i>		<i>you_{sg} go from here to there</i>
<i>3s</i> <i>ɲá:rgê:ɗ</i>	<i>ɲá:r-ɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>ɲá:r'ɡê:ɗ</i> <i>ɲá:r-ɡê:ɗ</i> ⁹⁴	<i>he goes from here to there</i>
<i>1P</i> <i>ɲá:rgíɗí:^L</i>	<i>ɲá:r-ɡíɗí:^L</i>		<i>we go from here to there</i>
<i>2P</i> <i>ɲà:rárgíɗɔ^L</i>	<i>ɲà:r-árgíɗɔ^L</i>		<i>you_{pl} go from here to there</i>
<i>3P</i> <i>ɲà:rárgê:ɗ</i>	<i>ɲà:r-árgê:ɗ</i>	<i>ɲà:rár'ɡê:ɗ</i> <i>ɲà:r-ár'ɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>they go from here to there</i>
b) <i>mèl</i> (ɛ)	disjoint	conjoint	<i>arrive</i>
<i>1s</i> <i>mèlɡíɗá^L</i>	<i>mèl-ɡíɗá^L</i>		<i>I arrive from here to there</i>
<i>2s</i> <i>mèlɡíɗín^L</i>	<i>mèl-ɡíɗín^L</i>		<i>you_{sg} arrive from here to there</i>
<i>3s</i> <i>mèlɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>mèl-ɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>mèlɡê:ɗ</i> <i>mèl-ɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>he arrives from here to there</i>
<i>1P</i> <i>mèlɡíɗí:^L</i>	<i>mèl-ɡíɗí:^L</i>		<i>we arrive from here to there</i>
<i>2P</i> <i>mèlérɡíɗɔ^L</i>	<i>mèl-érɡíɗɔ^L</i>		<i>you_{pl} arrive from here to there</i>
<i>3P</i> <i>mèlérɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>mèl-érɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>mèlérɡê:ɗ</i> <i>mèl-érɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>they arrive from here to there</i>
c) <i>tòn</i> (i)	disjoint	conjoint	<i>say</i>
<i>1s</i> <i>tòngúɗá^L</i>	<i>tòn-ɡíɗá^L</i>	<i>tòngúɗá</i> <i>tòn-ɡíɗá</i>	<i>I say from here to there</i>
<i>2s</i> <i>tòngúɗín^L</i>	<i>tòn-ɡíɗín^L</i>	<i>tòngúɗín</i> <i>tòn-ɡíɗín</i>	<i>you_{sg} say from here to there</i>
<i>3s</i> <i>tòngê:ɗ</i>	<i>tòn-ɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>tòngê:ɗ</i> <i>tòn-ɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>he says from here to there</i>
<i>1P</i> <i>tòngúɗí:^L</i>	<i>tòn-ɡíɗí:^L</i>	<i>tòngúɗí:</i> <i>tòn-ɡíɗí:</i>	<i>we say from here to there</i>
<i>2P</i> <i>tònúrgúɗɔ^L</i>	<i>tòn-írgíɗɔ^L</i>	<i>tònúrgúɗɔ:^L</i> <i>tòn-írgíɗɔ:^L</i>	<i>you_{pl} say from here to there</i>
<i>3P</i> <i>tònúrgê:ɗ</i>	<i>tòn-írgê:ɗ</i>	<i>tònúr'ɡê:ɗ</i> <i>tòn-ír'ɡê:ɗ</i>	<i>they say from here to there</i>

The glosses of these examples assume a topical place as the second deictic center. For 1st and 2nd person forms the *TF*-marker is *-ɡíɗ*, and for 3rd person forms it is *-ɡê:ɗ*, which in all three inflection classes frequently is shortened to *-ɡé:^L*, or from *-ǁrɡê:ɗ* to *-ǁrɡé:^L*. This was observed in example IV.183. There is no difference in meaning between the short or the long forms.

⁹⁴ The symbol /ǁ/ is used to signify a *HL* sequence that does not copy the first part of the contour from the previous syllable, as happens in the disjoint form of the same verb (see section II.9 for details on how tones are represented in this study).

In most respects the *TF*-forms behave in their conjugation like the *CP*-forms or the relative-past forms, particularly by using the class marker **-ŵr** preceding the *2P* and *3P* forms, and in the tonal behavior of the *1s* and *2s* forms. But there is one significant difference to the *CP*-marker: while this comes in combined forms (see IV.2.3.6) closest to the stem, the *TF*-marker is always the last element of the verbal template. This may be an indication that it is somewhat younger than the centrifugal and the centripetal form. As nothing equivalent to the *TF*-form has been described in any other Surmic language, it is likely to be an innovation of Northern Surmic, and it may well have developed out of language contact with Koman and/or Nilotic languages, which also seem to have markers involving a second deictic center (Otero, 2017; D. Payne & Otero, 2016).

IV.2.3.4 Imperative and jussive marking

Another verbal paradigm of the Majang language is provided by the imperative/jussive forms, which are used for orders, hortative, obligation and similar modal functions. Except for the imperative singular, which consists of a simple verb form, they are formed by a preceding hortative particle plus the verb form. For the 1st and 3rd person forms these are identical with the respective simple main-clause verb forms. For the 2nd person, that is for the imperative forms, different forms are provided by the language. For the *1s*, *3s*, *2P* and *3P* forms, the hortative particle is **in**; for the *1P* form it is **kó^L**.

Example IV.185: imperative/jussive paradigms

	àr (i)	<i>do</i>	ǵánká:wr (a)	<i>get strong</i>
<i>1s</i>	in àrá	<i>let me do!</i>	in ǵánká:w⁺rá	<i>let me get strong!</i>
<i>2s</i>	árík	<i>do!</i>	ǵánká:wrúk	<i>get strong!</i>
<i>3s</i>	in ǎr	<i>he must do!</i>	in ǵánká:wúr	<i>he must get strong!</i>
<i>1P</i>	kó^L árí:^L	<i>let's do!</i>	kó^L ǵánká:wrí:	<i>let's get strong!</i>
<i>2P</i>	in àré^L	<i>do! (PL)</i>	in ǵánká:w⁺ré^L	<i>get strong! (PL)</i>
<i>3P</i>	in àrìr	<i>they must do!</i>	in ǵánká:w⁺rár	<i>they must get strong!</i>

The imperative forms for the 2nd person are very regular for the plural, and somewhat more varied for the singular. The plural form invariably adds the suffix **-é^L** with a fixed *H* and a following floating *L* to the stem. This stem is usually identical with the simple main-clause verb stem, sometimes extended by **/k/** to separate the suffix from a stem-final vowel. Only three verbs provide an exception to this regularity. The three low-toned verb roots **làr** (a-

class) ‘lose’, **dɔk** (a-class) ‘bring’ and **cò:w** (ɛ-class) ‘plant’ have a *H*-melody for the whole imperative verb, as in **in lá:rɛ^L**, **in dɔkɛ^L** and **in có:wɛ^L**.

The special morphology and the absence of a hortative particle for the 2s form may suggest that it does not really belong with the other members of the above paradigm. But its plural counterpart seems to bridge the gap towards the other members, by using a special suffix and a hortative particle.

The 2nd person singular form is in most cases formed by the suffix **-ɪk/-úk**. This is the case for 107 out of 122 attested imperatives in the sample. The stem tones, however, are less conservative than with the plural forms. About half the low-toned roots change the tone to *H* for the imperative singular.

Only a few verbs choose different forms for their imperative singulars. The suffix **-ák** is used for the four imperatives **bògák** ‘take out!’, **dí:lák** ‘bring!’⁹⁵, **dí:gárák** ‘sprout!’ and **ɲà:rák** ‘go!’. Five more verbs use the suffix **-a**, which copies the stem tone: **dúgá** ‘hide!’, **ɓùrɓùdà** ‘descend’, **dírkiá** ‘straddle!’, **dǎndǎmá** ‘pray!’ and **à:dà** ‘wash!’. These five verbs are based on complex verb stems ending in a long vowel. Suppletion forms exist for **dɔk**, imperative **dí:lák** ‘bring’ and for **kùc**, imperative **wàdɪk** ‘come’.

All verbs also have the option to leave the imperative singular completely unmarked. This happens regularly when the imperative verb does not end the sentence, but some other material follows afterwards:

Example IV.186: short imperative forms

dí:l^L tá^L mád^L kòciéónk jàrtìà!
dí:l^L tá^L mád^L kòcié-ónk jàrtì-à
carry\IMP.SG Is.DAT fire\SG.ABS pipe\SG-POSS woman\SG.DAT
Carry the fire of the pipe to the woman for me!

Negative imperatives use the hortative particle **kàt** in front of a simple main-clause verb form. This implies that **kàt** is not a negative auxiliary form, but rather a negative hortative particle, filling the same slot as **in** and **kó^L** in example IV.185. Otherwise one would expect the use of a negative verb form following **kàt**.

⁹⁵ This is actually a suppletion form of the root **dɔk**.

Example IV.187: negative imperatives

- a) **kàt ɕér-rín!**
kàt **ɕér-rín**
 HORT\NEG crush-2S.DJ
Don't crush!
- b) **kàt gà:làkí!**
kàt **gà:là-k-ĩ**
 HORT\NEG forget-EXT-1P.DJ
Let's not forget!
- c) **kàt kè:ɖín gàbìjójá!**
kàt **kè:ɖín** **gàbìjójá-a^L**
 HORT\NEG go-2S.DJ market\SG-DAT
Don't go to the market!

Only for the 2nd person plural, the imperative form is used in the negative, instead of the simple main clause verb form. Again, the negative hortative particle is used:

Example IV.188: negative 2_P imperatives

- kàt gà:làké^L kékàr!**
kàt **gà:là-k-é^L** **kékàr**
 HORT\NEG forget-EXT-IMP.PL again
Don't forget again!

But even this is freely exchangeable with the regular 2_P form:

Example IV.189: alternative use of 2_P main-clause form for negative 2_P imperatives

- kàt gà:làkăr kékàr!**
kàt **gà:là-k-ăr** **kékàr**
 HORT\NEG forget-EXT-2P.DJ again
Don't forget again!

IV.2.3.5 Referential-object forms

The same forms used for relative-past subordinate clauses can also be used in main clauses. When this happens, they always attach to transitive verbs if the object is an activated participant of the discourse and is therefore not overtly mentioned. In other words, this *referential-object* form indicates that

the object of the proposition has just been talked about and therefore is not shown in an overt NP. This is a very different situation from the detransitivizing/antipassive marking seen in section IV.2.2.2, which is used only when the object has no topicality at all and therefore is not worth mentioning. The referential-object marking, instead, has the object not overtly mentioned because it is topical and activated, and therefore needs no overt reference. The referential-object marker is not an object suffix, providing a clear reference to the object, but a marker indicating that the object of the clause is an activated participant mentioned immediately before. The following example is taken out of a narrative, where the main character speaks about the other main character:

Example IV.190: referential-object verb form

nè dð:c, nòmé:ɗá^L kɔ:^L rómî:ɗ.
nè dð:c nòm-é:ɗ-a^L kɔ:^L rómî:ɗ
CONJ okay follow-REFOBJ-1S NFUT morning
Okay, I will follow her in the morning.

This example is a full sentence consisting of one main clause. The verb form looks exactly like the relative-past form, which, however, cannot make up a main-clause verb. So the form serves a different purpose in this example, providing object reference to the participant that was the subject of the previous sentence.

Here is the full paradigm of the referential-object form:

Example IV.191: referential-object verb paradigm

	nòm (ε)		follow
1 _S	nòmé:ɗá ^L	nòm-é:ɗá ^L	<i>I follow her/him/it</i>
2 _S	nòmé:ɗín ^L	nòm-é:ɗín ^L	<i>you_{sg} follow her/him/it</i>
3 _S	nòmè:ɗ	nòm-è:ɗ	<i>he follows her/him/it</i>
1 _P	nòmé:ɗí: ^L	nòm-é:ɗí: ^L	<i>we follow her/him/it</i>
2 _P	nòmérɗɔ ^L	nòm-érɗɔ ^L	<i>you_m follow her/him/it</i>
3 _P	nòmèrɗ	nòm-èrɗ	<i>they follow her/him/it</i>

Referential-object forms are readily used in clause combinations, where the reference is made clear in the first clause. The syntactic status of this first mention can be both *S* or *P*.

Example IV.192: referential-object form in coordinated main clauses

má^L lè:r bònú émé^L nè èkàṇ-ɛ:ɖ lònḡólót-è ḡòr-à dḡ:ḡá^L cɔ^L.
má^L lè:r bòn-í émé^L nè èkàṇ-ɛ:ɖ
but Leer\NOM take-3S.DJ mother\3S.SG.ABS CONJ CROSS-REFOBJ.3S
lònḡólót-è ḡòr-à dḡ:ḡá^L cɔ^L
vine\SG-LOC river\SG-DAT across DEM\SG.DIST.DAT
But Leer took his mother and brought her with a rope across the river.

This complex sentence consists of two main clauses. In the first clause the object is overtly mentioned in a noun phrase (émé^L); in the second clause this overt reference is not needed, and the referential-object form is used.

Since the referential-object form is identical to the relative-past form, it may be tempting to find a common denominator between them, so that one can be seen as a semantic extension of the other. Both forms often refer to a preceding context in the discourse, and the referential-object form actually requires such a context. Still, the various differences between the forms do not encourage the search for a common origin. They have striking syntactic differences: in a clause combination, the referential-object form is usually found in the later parts of a sentence, whereas the relative-past subordinate verb tends to introduce a clause combination. As said before, the relative-past form is excluded from use in main clauses, whereas the referential-object form is encountered in this context. It is not tied to main clauses, though. Example IV.193 shows that it can also appear in subordinate clauses. Even morphologically the two forms can hardly be reconciled. Subordinate-tense forms can never be combined in Majang; the referential-object suffix, however, can follow another subordinate-tense marker and therefore fills a different slot in the verbal-affix template⁹⁶; this is illustrated in the next section.

IV.2.3.6 Combined forms

It is possible in Majang to combine subordinate forms with direction and referential-object forms. This may result in very complex morpheme combinations. When this happens, the differing inflectional categories are added to the stem in the following order:

⁹⁶ I have not encountered a verb with both the referential-object marker and the relative-past marker, and I cannot say whether such a verb is possible in Majang.

stem – CP or CF marker – subordinate tense marker – REFOBJ marker – TF marker

The person marking is always attached to the last marker of the verb, except for inflection-class markers, which follow the stem directly. As usual, the class markers form one morpheme together with the suffix that follows them.

Example IV.193: combined form with *SIMUL* and *REFOBJ*

ègè cìnì cìnò pà:rkúndɔ̌ dákédàk.
 ègè cì-n-ì cì-n-ò pà:r-írkun-d-ɔ̌ dákédà = k
COP DEM-SG-SP REL-SG-DIST try-SIMUL-REFOBJ-2P.DJ only=SUB
Only this is what you are going to try.

In this example the verb pà:rkúndɔ̌ ‘while you_{pl} will try it’ consists of the stem **pà:r**, the simultaneous-subordinate marker **-kun** preceded by the inflection-class marker **-ír**, and finally the referential-object marker **-d** together with the 2_P marker **-ɔ̌**.

Another example of a combined form is the following conjoint paradigm of a centripetal relative-past form, based on the verb **dénér** ‘notice’, which is in itself a derived inceptive form of the ε-class verb **dèn** ‘see’:

Example IV.194: centripetal relative-past paradigm

	dénér		<i>notice</i>
1 _S	dénérkíðà	dèn-er-kí-ðà	<i>after I noticed</i>
2 _S	dénérkíðin	dèn-er-kí-ðin	<i>after you_{sg} noticed</i>
3 _S	dénérkíð	dèn-er-kí-ð	<i>after he noticed</i>
1 _P	dénérkíði:	dèn-er-kí-ði: ^L	<i>after we noticed</i>
2 _P	dénértárkíðò	dèn-ɛ:-tárki-ðò	<i>after you_{pl} noticed</i>
3 _P	dénértárkíð	dèn-ɛ:-tárki-ð	<i>after they noticed</i>

In this example, as well as in example IV.142 above, which shows a simultaneous-progressive paradigm on a derived stem, there is a formative **-t** separating the derivation marker from the subsequent inflection-class marker. In this case the preceding /r/ is replaced by compensatory lengthening.

IV.2.4 Stative verbs (adjectives)

Stative verbs share most of their properties with other intransitive verbs of Majang, but they also have some characteristics unique to this particular

subclass. In this sense, Dixon's (2010a, p. 112) claim that "*I know of no language which has been thoroughly and insightfully described for which an adjective class cannot be recognized*" at least cannot be falsified when looking at the Majang language. It is for that reason that the term adjective is noted in parentheses in the heading of this section, so that those who look for this part of speech can find it easily. But otherwise, from now on, going with the usual terminology applied to Surmic and Eastern-Sudanic languages, I call these words stative verbs.

IV.2.4.1 *Properties of stative verbs*

In spite of the terminological decision to talk about stative verbs, Dixon's proposed procedure for identifying adjectives (Dixon, 2010b, p. 74) is nonetheless helpful for narrowing down the exact class of stative verbs of Majang, so that they can be more readily distinguished from other intransitive verbs. It is first necessary to investigate the words which are predicted by Dixon to be the most likely candidates for prototypical adjectives in all languages, the basic antonymic pairs for each of the four core semantic types *DIMENSION*, *AGE*, *VALUE* and *COLOR*. These are represented in Majang by the following lexemes:

Example IV.195: prototypical stative verb lexemes in Majang

<i>DIMENSION</i>	<i>AGE</i>	<i>VALUE</i>	<i>COLOR</i>
bó:b <i>big</i>	bólónjúrġ <i>old</i>	mèntán <i>good</i>	kòpúlġ <i>white</i>
bálá^L <i>small</i>	átéġ^L <i>young</i>	ġé:wén <i>bad</i>	kóġ <i>black</i>
			dé: <i>red</i>

As a first observation, the nine lexemes of IV.195, given by my informants as Majang translations of these English lexemes⁹⁷, do not belong to the same morphosyntactic class in Majang. **átéġ^L** 'young' is always used with noun morphology, and refers to a young human being. There is no special modifier that can be added to a human-referent noun to add the quality 'young'. There are semantically similar or related nouns such as **tóm** 'child', **cácálè** 'baby', or, as an example for a non-human referent, **bò:kóġ** 'calf'. **átéġ^L** 'young' is therefore not a stative verb, but a noun, and will be excluded from the following examination.

⁹⁷ or their Amharic equivalents.

The remaining eight roots of example IV.195 all have verbal morphology, which means that they are always at least marked for person. They sort themselves into quite different verbal inflection classes (see section IV.2.3.1 for more information on these classes).

Example IV.196: inflection classes of prototypical stative verb lexemes in Majang

bólóŋúrk	<i>old</i>	CP-derived verb
méntán	<i>good</i>	a-class
ŋérwén	<i>bad</i>	a-class with k-extension
bálá:^L	<i>small</i>	durative (see section Error: Reference source not found)
bó:b	<i>big</i>	ε-class
kòpùlk	<i>white</i>	u-class (see page 281)
kóʃ	<i>black</i>	u-class
dé:	<i>red</i>	a-class with k-extension

It can, however, be observed that none of these lexemes belongs to the i-class of verbs. Furthermore, the u-class was not identified as an inflection class for verbs in section IV.2.3.1, but is exclusively reserved for stative verbs. Its characteristics are presented on page 281. Also the stative verbs of the a-class with k-extension behave slightly differently from verbs of the same inflection class. So there are reasons to look at stative verbs differently compared to other intransitive verbs, just based on their assignment to inflection classes.

There is one morphological criterion that unifies all these (and many other semantically adjectival) lexemes in a way that does not apply to any other verb: for their infinitive formation (see section *Infinitives* in section IV.2.2.1 to compare stative verbs with intransitive verbs) they invariably⁹⁸ take the suffix **-ká:**. In turn this suffix is never used for transitive verbs or intransitive verbs that do not express property concepts. So this appears to be a reliable criterion to distinguish stative verbs from regular active intransitive verbs. The lexemes **bòd** ‘*escape*’ and **còngùj** ‘*play music*’ instead are typical intransitive verbs, and indeed take different infinitive forms (**bódé:^L** and **còngùjè:t**). Other lexemes are ambivalent in their meaning – semantically they could be

⁹⁸ The surprising exception to this is **bólóŋúrk** ‘*old*’, which has the infinitive **bólóŋúrán:^L**, and therefore, according to what follows, needs to be interpreted as a regular intransitive verb. A possible explanation for this is that **bólóŋúrk** in itself appears to be a derivation of the stative verb **bò:l** ‘*weak*’. Interestingly, **bólóŋúrk** does not have a proper antonym, since, as was seen, there is no real word for ‘*young*’ in the language.

interpreted as stative verbs or intransitive verbs. For example the lexeme **dá:w** has shown up in my notes with the glosses ‘*shine*’ and ‘*bright*’. The semantics do not allow a conclusive decision as to which class it belongs to. Its infinitive **dá:wán^L**, however, reveals that it is an active intransitive verb and therefore the gloss ‘*shine*’ would be more appropriate.

Dozens of stative verbs exist in Majang⁹⁹, as established by the criterion of their infinitive formation. Examples are **à:dí:k** ‘*ripe*’, **áj** ‘*slow*’, **báká:n** ‘*wide*’, **bò:là** ‘*tired*’, **ǎáj** ‘*bitter*’, **ǎànkáw** ‘*strong*’, **ǎóká** ‘*abundant*’, **càló** ‘*cold*’, **càlíd** ‘*green*’, **dildíl** ‘*thick*’, **díj** ‘*short*’, **dòdó** ‘*wet*’, **dòrtó** ‘*slippery*’, **děndě:r** ‘*flat*’, **dǎnân** ‘*unripe*’, **dóm** ‘*sharp*’, and many more.

If used as modifiers to an NP, all stative verbs, just like other verbs, appear in a relative clause construction.

Example IV.197: stative verbs and intransitive verbs as modifiers

- a) **nè dènè gòdé òm cìnò mènán ǎók.**
 nè dèn-è gòdé òm cì-n-ò mènán ǎók
 CONJ see-3S.CJ house\SG.ABS one REL-SG-DIST good\3S.DJ SUB
 She saw a good house.
- b) **è:t ré ídít^L cìnò té:té:jí:^L ǎók.**
 è:t ré ídít^L cì-n-ò té:té:j-í:^L ǎók
 1S 2S.PRAG person\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST skin\IPFV-AP.3S SUB
 Please, I am the butcher (the one who skins).

Example a) uses a stative verb as modifier, and example b) a regular intransitive verb.

In Majang, stative verbs do not occur in comparative constructions.

IV.2.4.2 Derivations from stative verbs

Stative verbs can undergo the same derivation processes as regular verbs, which means that they can be nominalized. They can also form derived adverbs.

⁹⁹ My database contains about 55 clearly identified stative verbs.

Nominalizations

Nominalizations of stative verbs are comparatively rare. As shown, infinitives can only be created from stative verbs by using the suffix **-kà:**, which replaces the root tone with a constant low tone in all cases.

Example IV.198: infinitives and negative forms based on stative verbs

root	infinitive	negative	gloss
à:j	à:j kà:	à:j kà:	<i>being slow</i>
dé:	dé: kà:	dé: kà:	<i>being red</i>
dòm	dòm kà:	dòm kà:	<i>being sharp</i>

These nouns derived from stative verbs all follow the same inflectional number and case-marking paradigm, illustrated here by the stative verb **mé:** ‘*be in pain*’.

Example IV.199: case-marking paradigm of **mè:kà:** *being in pain*

SG.ABS	mè:kà:	PL.ABS	mè:kà:ták^L
		PL.ABS.MOD	mè:kà:tá^L
SG.ERG	mè:kà:t	PL.ERG	mè:kà:tâ
SG.ERG/NOM.MOD	mè:ká^L	PL.ERG/NOM.MOD	mè:kà:tá^L
SG.NOM	mè:kà:t^L	PL.NOM	mè:kà:tá^L
SG.DAT	mè:kà:tá¹⁰⁰	PL.DAT	mè:kà:táká^L
SG.LOC	mè:kà:t	PL.LOC	mè:kà:táké^L
SG.LOC.MOD	mè:kà:t		
SG.POSS	mè:kà:tònk	PL.POSS	mè:kà:tákònk

Some stative verbs create abstract nouns by using the verbal derivation marker **-V:ɗ** (see section IV.2.2.6). The resulting stems always have a high tone, although the stative-verb stems mostly have a low tone. The plural is formed by adding the suffix **-ák^L**.

Example IV.200: nominalizations of stative verbs with suffix **-V:ɗ**

root	gloss of root	NOMIN.SG	NOMIN.PL	gloss
ɲàdì	<i>angry</i>	ɲàdí ^L	ɲàdí:ɗák ^L	<i>anger</i>
pá:k	<i>hot</i>	pá:ká ^L	pá:ká:ɗák ^L	<i>heat</i>

¹⁰⁰My language consultants informed me about an apparent dialect difference regarding the singular non-central case stem, which looks as shown here, with a *LH* pattern, in the area around Teppi, but comes entirely low-toned in the Godare area.

Adverbs derived from stative verbs

Adverbs can be derived from stative verbs in two productive ways. One way is the use of the clause-internal conjunction **à** to introduce adverbial verbs or stative verbs:

Example IV.201: adverbial elements from stative verbs using the conjunction **à**

nè è:ŋádɪr dũŋéd^L à jòwé:dɪŋ.
 nè è:ŋádɪr dũŋéd^L à jòwé:dɪr^L=ŋ
 CONJ smell-CF.3S hyena\SG.ABS CONJ far-3S.DJ=SFT
 He smelled Hyena far away.

This is a rather syntactic way to create adverbial elements, and it also applies to regular verbs. The result of this is not a new word category of adverbs, but rather adjuncts that are used in an adverbial function. Syntactically, in spite of the clause-internal conjunction, a second clause is added to the sentence. This strategy is supplemented by a device of a more morphological nature, the use of the infinitive of the stative verb in the locative case:

Example IV.202: adverbs from stative verbs using the locative infinitive **-kàt**

nè tàjé ɓànkàw^Lkàt.
 nè tàj-é ɓànkàw-kàt
 CONJ open-3S.DJ strong-INF.SG.LOC
 He opened (it) forcefully.

Although making use of grammatical means seen elsewhere in the language, this device may rightfully be called a derivation; it creates a different word category called adverbs. It can be used with all stative verbs, as in **bò:là:kàt** 'weakly', **gòrgòrkàt** 'speedily', **à:jkàt** 'slowly', **bàlà:kàt** 'a little', **bò:bkàt** 'hugely', **ɓò:kàkàt** 'abundantly'.

Inceptive derivation

Some stative verbs were found to take on the inceptive marker **-Vr** (see example IV.132 for its full description), which effectively turns the stative verb into an intransitive verb denoting a process and not a state. Thus **ɓànkáw** 'strong' turns into **ɓànká:wúr** 'become strong', **kóɟ** 'black' into **kóɟúr** 'fade', **jòwé:d** 'far' into **jòwé:dir** 'avoid' and **èɲà:** into **èɲèr** 'fill'. The last two examples even function as transitive verbs.

IV.2.4.3 Inflectional processes

Stative verbs are inflected almost exactly like other verbs, in the sense that they take six different person suffixes, which vary according to the inflection class of the stative verb. But these classes are not the same as the ones established for other verbs in section IV.2.3. Some of those verbal inflection classes seem to be avoided by stative verbs. No stative verbs at all are found in the *i*-class. On the other hand, almost all of the *u*-class lexemes are stative verbs, except for **lāk** ‘have’, which is treated syntactically like a transitive verb. Because of their inherent semantics, stative verbs are restricted in what verb morphology they can take: they cannot be used with an impersonal marker, and directional morphology (centrifugal, centripetal and deictic transfer) were encountered very sparsely.

Majang stative verbs cannot undergo any comparative inflection. All attempts to elicit comparative or superlative forms revealed nothing of that sort.

a-class stative verbs

Most stative verbs belong to the *a*-class with *k*-extension (see example IV.158 for their regular-verb counterparts). About 30 such stative verbs were counted. All of these come either with a high stem tone, or with a *LH* melody.

Example IV.203: *a*-class stative verbs with *k*-extension

	ḡáj <i>H</i>	<i>bitter</i>	kòpúl <i>LH</i>	<i>white</i>	ḡıldıl <i>LH</i>	<i>fat</i>
<i>1s</i>	ḡáj-ká	ḡáj-k-á	kòpúl-ká	kòpúl-k-á	ḡıldıl-ká	ḡıldıl-k-á
<i>2s</i>	ḡáj-kín	ḡáj-k-ín	kòpúl-kín	kòpúl-k-ín	ḡıldıl-kín	ḡıldıl-k-ín
<i>3s</i>	ḡáj	ḡáj	kòpúl	kòpúl	ḡıldıl	ḡıldıl
<i>1p</i>	ḡáj-kì:	ḡáj-k-ì:	kòpúl-kì:	kòpúl-k-ì:	ḡıldıl-kì:	ḡıldıl-k-ì:
<i>2p</i>	ḡáj-kār	ḡáj-k-ār	kòpúl-kār	kòpúl-k-ār	ḡıldıl-kār	ḡıldıl-k-ār
<i>3p</i>	ḡáj-ér	ḡáj-er	kòpúl-já	kòpúl-ja	ḡıldıl-kár	ḡıldıl-k-ár

As can be seen, not all of these stative verbs behave like regular *a*-class verbs with *k*-extension. **ḡáj** ‘bitter’ and **càlów** ‘cold’ form their *3p* form according to the ϵ -class of verbs. Three more, **áj** ‘slack’, **pák** ‘hot’, and **gól** ‘selfish’ even have the *3s* form according to the ϵ -class. Other stative verbs, like **kòpúl** ‘white’, **còlíd** ‘green’ or **à:ḡí:** ‘ripe’ have stem changes in their *3p* forms: **kòpúl-já**, **còlúr-já** and **à:ḡí-tá**. These stem changes are similar to the ones seen in the *u*-class of stative verbs below. A special case is **mèntán** ‘good’, which has a very irregular *3p* form **mèntá:ná** (*DJ*) and **mèntá:nà** (*CJ*).

u-class stative verbs

A group of 17 stative verbs were found with person markers very similar to the a-class (including the stem extension **-k** for the 1st and 2nd person forms), but it uses a 3_P marker including the vowel /u/ plus a consonant from the set /t, ɟ or d/. All of these stative verbs have a *H* or *LH* tone pattern, just as the a-class stative verbs.

The following paradigms show the general pattern, but more information needs to be given on other individual stative verbs:

Example IV.204: u-class stative verbs

	ɓálá: <i>H</i>	<i>little</i>	ɲá: <i>H</i>	<i>smelly</i>	tòkól <i>LH</i>	<i>narrow</i>
1 _S	ɓálá:ká	ɓálá:k-á	ɲá:ká	ɲá:k-á	tòkól:ká	tòkól:k-á
2 _S	ɓálá:kín	ɓálá:k-ín	ɲá:kín	ɲá:k-ín	tòkól:kín	tòkól:k-ín
3 _S	ɓálá:	ɓálá:	ɲà:	ɲà:	tòkól	tòkól
1 _P	ɓálá:kì:	ɓálá:k-ì:	ɲá:kì:	ɲá:k-ì:	tòkól:kì:	tòkól:k-ì:
2 _P	ɓálá:kǎr	ɓálá:k-ǎr	ɲá:kǎr	ɲá:k-ǎr	tòkól:kǎr	tòkól:k-ǎr
3 _P	ɓálá:tù	ɓálá:tù	ɲà:dù	ɲà:dù	tòkòlɲù	tòkòl-ɲù

Ten stative verbs use the 3_P-marker **-tù**: **ɓálá:** ‘little’, **díná:n** ‘unripe’, **dó:m** ‘sharp’, **kóɟ** ‘black’, **jé:dó:** ‘long’, **rómá:** ‘equal’, **pəjɔ:** ‘light’, **óbú:** ‘big’, **pá:l** ‘dry’, and **dínɟ** ‘short’. They have in common that they usually either end in a long vowel, or a nasal /m, n, ŋ/. But this picture is disturbed by the presence of **pá:l** and **kóɟ** in this group. All these stative verbs, except **pəjɔ:**, have a *H* melody. Two of these add the marker **-tù** also preceding the 2_P suffix, resulting in the forms **pá:l-tùkǎr** and **dínɟ-tùkǎr**.

Six stative verbs use the 3_P-marker **-ɲù**: **ɓùkúr** ‘deep’, **tùpé:ɲ** ‘white’, **təŋé:l** ‘thin’, **tòkól** ‘narrow’, **jòwé:d** ‘narrow’ and **bàkán** ‘wide’. They all have a *LH* melody, and their stems end in a consonant from the set /l, r, d, ɲ/, which overlaps with the **tu**-type stative verbs only for **pá:l** ‘dry’. These six stative verbs all behave regularly as **tòkól** shown in example IV.204 above, except for **tùpé:ɲ**, which has a *H* on the 3_P suffix **tùpé:ɲù** ‘they are white’.

The stative verb **ɲá:** ‘smelly’ is the only one of its kind – no other stative verb was found using the 3_P-marker **-dù**. Its irregular nature is reinforced by the tone change between 1st and 2nd person on one side and the 3rd person with a low tone on the other.

Another verb of the u-class is the possessive verb **làk** ‘have’. Although it seems to have a higher valence than stative verbs (it requires the possessor as the subject and the possessed as the second constituent) it has the person

marking pattern of u-class stative verbs – the only bivalent verb in Majang to do so. It does not have an attested negative or an infinitive form (one would expect the form ***lakkà:**), but otherwise it takes on the person markers of stative verbs:

Example IV.205: the auxiliary **lāk** ‘have’

1 _S	lāká	lāk-á	<i>I have</i>
2 _S	lākín	lāk-ín	<i>you_{SG} have</i>
3 _S	lākí	lāk-í	<i>he has</i>
1 _P	lākí:^L	lāk-í:^L	<i>we have</i>
2 _P	lātùkǎr	lā-tùkǎr	<i>you_{PL} have</i>
3 _P	lātù	lā-tù	<i>they have</i>

In its impersonal form **lāké:^L**, this verb is used as an existential copula, as in example IV.274a).

Durative stative verbs

Four stative verbs follow the person marking pattern of durative verb forms (see section Error: Reference source not found for the full paradigm): **ḡḡ:ká:^L** ‘abundant’, **bò:là:** ‘tired’, **èṇà:** ‘full’ and **rúrúṅá:** ‘crooked’.

ε-class stative verb

Only one more stative verb was found aligning itself with the ε-class verbs. This is **ṇé:kó:t** ‘brown’, and it sticks out from the other ε-class verbs by maintaining its *H* on the 3_S stem even in a disjoint situation, as in **ṇé:kó:tén** ‘it is brown’. But it was seen above that some other a-class stative verbs tend to mark their 3rd person forms according to the ε-class.

Other verbal conjugations for stative verbs

Majang stative verbs were almost always encountered in simple paradigms, involving neither directional nor subordinate verb form markings. But this tendency does not amount to an exclusion. One example was found in the text corpus in which a stative verb is used both in the centripetal form and in the relative-past subordinate form:

Example IV.206: complex stative-verb form

cá:^L pròjét nè:ké^L ḡànkáwkú^Lḡúk nè cìnì jùmùrì:^L mélcí:^L né:k kócùnk.
 cá:^L pròjét nè:k-é^L ḡànkáw-kí-ḡ=k nè
thereafter project\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM strong-CP-RELPST.3S=SUB CONJ
 cì-n-ì jùmùr-ì:^L mélcí:^L né:k kócùnk
DEM-SG-SP return-1P.DJ response\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS like.this
When the project itself is strengthened, we will give this very answer.

The following is a full paradigm for all persons of this complex stative verb:

Example IV.207: centripetal relative-past paradigm for a stative verb

	ḡànkáw		strong
1 _S	ḡànkáwkúḡā	ḡànkáw-ki-ḡā	after I got strong
2 _S	ḡànkáwkúḡùn	ḡànkáw-ki-ḡùn	after you _{SG} got strong
3 _S	ḡànkáwkúḡ	ḡànkáw-ki-ḡ	after he got strong
1 _P	ḡànkáwkúḡì	ḡànkáw-ki-ḡì	after we got strong
2 _P	ḡànkàwárkíḡḡ	ḡànkàw-árki-ḡḡ	after you _{PL} got strong
3 _P	ḡànkàwárkíḡ	ḡànkàw-árkí-ḡ	after they got strong

IV.3 Other Word Classes

Apart from the nouns and verbs already seen, the Majang language provides pronouns (including demonstratives), adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, quantifiers, and particles and interjections.

IV.3.1 Pronouns

The Majang language uses indexing to show the *A* or *S* on the verb, which means that in a clause the only reference to a subject constituent may be this subject-indexing marker. These markers were introduced in section IV.2.3.1. This present section only describes the free pronouns occurring outside the verb, but not necessarily outside the verb phrase.

IV.3.1.1 Personal pronouns

There are four kinds of free personal pronouns in Majang. They are here called regular personal pronouns, short pronouns, contrastive pronouns and pragmatic pronouns.

Regular personal pronouns

Regular personal pronouns are inflected for person, number and case. As shown below, for pronouns the language does not use the ergative-absolutive-nominative distinction seen elsewhere in the language. There is only one unmarked set for *A*, *S* and *P* pronouns. The cases that are marked on personal pronouns beyond this basic set are dative and locative.

It is very difficult to obtain examples of *A* pronouns, both in the text corpus or through elicitation. The only two instances of bivalent verbs with preposed *A* pronouns are seen here:

Example IV.208: preposed *A*-pronouns

- a) nè kó cè:g àmbàbèr cìgè:gé^L kán^L jémék jô:
 nè kó cè:g àmbàb-er cì-g-é:-g-é^L kán^L jé:mé=k jô:
 CONJ REC PST 3P read-3P.DJ REL-PL-SP-PL-LOC MED PST before=SUB QUEST
Have they read in those which were previously? (= Have they read in the old orthography?)
- b) nè dǽ'já à tá^L cǽ:n^L cénk^L jùmùrún.
 nè dǽj-á à tá^L cǽ:n^L cénk^L jùmùr-ín =ŋ
 CONJ want-1S.DJ CONJ 1S-DAT 2S 3S.CONTR answer-2S.DJ=SFT
I want you to answer me this!

Example a) is only a marginally transitive example, as it does not actually show a *P* constituent. The verb is more profitably interpreted as intransitive. Possibly the antipassive marking is not used with loan words, as in this case. Example b) semantically looks much more like a transitive clause, but it can be seen in section V.3.1.2 that there are doubts about the transitivity of clauses involving speech verbs. A subject pronoun of an indubitably transitive clause was not found in any of my texts. The following example a) is an unsuccessful attempt to elicit an *A* pronoun into a transitive clause from a natural text which came without this pronoun. The language consultants agreed that this is not grammatical. To redeem it, one would have to choose a contrastive pronoun (example b).

Example IV.209: ungrammatical use of personal pronoun for *A* constituents

- a) ***nè ɓá^L cɛ̃m jàwé kú'rój cìnè ɓákɪŋ.**
nè ɓá^L cɛ̃m jàw-é kú'rój cì-n-è ɓák^L=ŋ
 CONJ REM PST 3S cut.through-3S.DJ donkey\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMSPT=SFT
He cut through that aforementioned donkey.
- b) **nè ɓá^L cɛ̃mk^L jàwé kú'rój cìnè ɓákɪŋ.**
nè ɓá^L cɛ̃mk^L jàw-é kú'rój cì-n-è ɓák^L=ŋ
 CONJ REM PST 3S.CONTR cut.through-3S.DJ donkey\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMSPT=SFT
He (not someone else) cut through that aforementioned donkey.

This leaves only *S* and *P* as the syntactic domain for personal pronouns.

All 1st person pronouns and all plural pronouns each have the same form in all contexts, but the 2*s* and 3*s* pronouns differ in different contexts:

Example IV.210: different tone patterns of personal pronouns

- a) **nè kój cɛ̃m mèlé cè:gà kédɔm?**
nè kój cɛ̃m mèl-é cè:g-à kédɔm
 CONJ DFUT 3S arrive-3S.DJ 3P-DAT properly
Will it reach them properly?
- b) **nè tàwárwê: tɪm cɛ̃mɪŋ.**
nè tàwárwê: tɪm cɛ̃m=ŋ
 CONJ Tawaawee\NOM wound-3S.DJ 3S=SFT
Tawaawee wounded him.
- c) **...nò pò:cí^L cɛ̃m.**
nò pò:cí^L cɛ̃m
 CONJ thank-1P.DJ 3S
...for us to thank him.

Example a) shows the 3*s* pronoun with a *LH* sequence. This is only used in pre-verbal position. Examples b) and c) show 3*s* pronouns with a low tone, which always seems to be used in post-verbal position. This tonal difference may be the result of some opaque phonological process and does not seem to have any morphosyntactic significance.

The difference regarding the use of the *SFT*-clitic in example IV.210b) and its absence in example IV.210c) I interpret to be a case of free variation on

pronouns, as I cannot present a better explanation without having to resort to reckless conjecture¹⁰¹.

The following is a summary of the regular personal pronouns of Majang.

Example IV.211: regular personal pronouns

person	<i>S, P</i>	dative	locative
<i>1s</i>	èt	étá ^L	éte
<i>2s</i>	ĩm / ìm	ìná	ìné
<i>3s</i>	cěm / cèm	cèmà	cèmè
<i>1p</i>	ètén(k ^L)	èténká ^L	èténké
<i>2p</i>	ìná ^L k	ìnáká	ìnáké
<i>3p</i>	cè:g	cè:gà	cè:gè

The picture presented in these paradigms provides some justification for Bryan's (1968, p. 182) inclusion of the Didinga-Murle group (= Surmic languages) into her *N/*K languages, which use n-like consonants in singular pronouns and k-like consonants in plural pronouns. The *1p* form, though, can be used with and without the final /k/. The dative and locative pronouns, if at the end of a sentence, can be followed by the *SFT*-clitic:

Example IV.212: dative and locative personal pronouns with *SFT*-clitic

person	dative	locative
<i>1s</i>	étâ:ŋ	étê:ŋ
<i>2s</i>	ìná:ŋ	ìné:ŋ
<i>3s</i>	cèmă:ŋ	cèmê:ŋ
<i>1p</i>	èténká:ŋ	èténké:ŋ
<i>2p</i>	ìná ^L kă:ŋ	ìná ^L kê:ŋ
<i>3p</i>	cè:gă:ŋ	cè:gê:ŋ

Short pronouns

The second set of pronouns are shorter forms used for topical non-subject constituents, including as person marker in an impersonal construction (see p. 238):

¹⁰¹The reason behind this free variation could be that both *ìm* (*2s*) and *cěm* (*3s*) end in a nasal, which frequently prevents the use of the *SFT*-clitic for phonological reasons. In other instances words ending in a nasal use the epenthetic vowel /i/. As can be seen in section II.4, the effects of the *SFT*-clitic on preceding words are not entirely predictable.

Example IV.213: short pronouns

- a) ...à tí ò:dfúké^L cè:dfí^L né:ké^L.
 à tí ò:dfúk-é^L cè:dfí^L né:k-é^L
CONJ 1s.P difficult-IMPS.DJ here POSS\3s.SG.LOC
...so I was in difficulties right here
- b) bòi:lé^L ní kékàr.
 bòi-l-é^L ní kékàr
hit-IMPS 2s.P again
You are hit again.

These forms must follow other words, which can be of all categories. In example a) the short pronoun attaches to a conjunction in a preverbal position. In example b) it serves to specify the person of the *P* of an impersonal construction. Generally, whenever a clause is introduced by a conjunction, the short pronoun follows this conjunction. If and only if there is no conjunction, the short pronoun follows the verb.

These short pronouns exist only for the 1st and 2nd person. They can be used for *P* constituents, and for the dative and locative cases; the locative use is very infrequent.

Example IV.214: short pronoun paradigm

person	<i>P</i>	dative	locative	<i>DAT=SFT</i>	<i>LOC=SFT</i>
<i>1s</i>	tí	tà	té ^L	tâ:ŋ	tê:ŋ
<i>2s</i>	ní	nà	né ^L	nă:ŋ	ně:ŋ
<i>1p</i>	tín ^L	tíná ^L	tí+né ^L	tínâ:ŋ	tínê:ŋ
<i>2p</i>	kǎn	kòná	kònè	kònă:ŋ	kòně:ŋ

Short pronouns are apparently not phonological clitics, in spite of their need to follow other words. In the following example the short pronoun attaches to a word ending in a contour tone. If the short pronoun were a clitic, it would then extend the phonological word and therefore prevent the use of a contour tone, as such can only appear on a word-final syllable.

Example IV.215: short pronoun is not a clitic

- cé^L dǎn^L tǐn^L bójí:dfé^L ɣónk, kó^L ɣà:rí:^L!
 cé^L dǎn^L tǐn^L bój-í:df-e^L ɣónk kó^L ɣà:r-í:^L
DEM-SP seem\3s.DJ 1p.P hate-REL PST-IMPS SUB HORT.1p go-1p.DJ
As it seems that we are hated, let's go!

A qualification needs to be given to the statement that the short pronouns are not clitics: at least one example was found where the short pronoun has attached itself to the preceding tense marker so that its high tone is downstepped and the vowel undergoes labial harmony:

Example IV.216: short pronoun as a clitic

kàlèjí kó'tú ké ...
kàlèj-í kó=tú ké
beg-3S.DJ RECPST=1S.P QUOT
He begged me, saying ...

The recent-past particle usually does not trigger downstep on a following high-toned word; the downstep observed here is therefore the morpheme downstep happening only inside a phonological word. This is confirmed by the rounding of the vowel of the short pronoun, which again can only happen inside a phonological word. So in this example the short pronoun has turned into a pronoun clitic. But I have found no other examples of a similar nature. Apparently the short pronouns are currently in a transition from free words, probably hailing from full pronouns, via verb-phrase particles, to pronominal clitics. It may be predicted that they will develop into object markers on the verb. Their behavior, in conjunction with the deictic-transfer form to fill the 3rd person gaps, already now creates paradigms that seem to fulfill this function (see example V.46).

Contrastive pronouns

Another personal pronoun is used to indicate the status of contrastive focus or contrastive topic on a particular participant.

Example IV.217: contrastive pronouns

1 _S	cá:k^L	1 _P	cé:k^L
2 _S	cénk^L	2 _P	có:k^L
3 _S	cénk^L	3 _P	cé:k^L

These pronouns were not encountered with any case marking. In example V.81c) it can be seen that they may refer to both subjects and objects. They do not trigger conjoint marking on a preceding verb.

Example IV.218: no conjoint marking preceding contrastive pronouns

làká cá:k^L à ànàn.
làk-á cá:k^L à ànàn
have-1S.DJ 1S.CONTR CONJ four
I instead have four (children).

These contrastive pronouns can be followed by co-referential material, which is used in the absolutive case. This is the only way to have preposed absolutive constituents.

Example IV.219: contrastive pronoun followed by co-referential noun phrase

má^L cénk^L kú'rój dǎdámí^L cà:dí.
má^L cénk^L kú'rój dǎdám-i^L cà:dí
but 3S.CONTR donkey\SG.ABS eat\IPFV-AP.3S there
But he, Donkey, was eating there.

Whenever the contrastive pronouns appear in a preverbal position, their function is to mark a contrastive topic. When found in a postverbal position, they are never joined by the NP they refer to, but stand on their own, and as such seem to be marking contrastive focus.

Example IV.220: postverbal contrastive pronouns

- a) **làká cá:k^L à ànàn.**
làk-á cá:k^L à ànàn
have-1S.DJ 1S.CONTR CONJ four
I instead have four.
- b) **nè gǎb-é^L cénk^L cè:gà.**
nè gǎb-é^L cénk^L cè:g-à
CONJ give-IMPS.DJ 3S.CONTR 3P-DAT
It (not anything else) will be given to them.

Pragmatic pronouns

A fourth, final set of pronouns is a set of pragmatic pronouns that is often used for reference to speech-act participants. These pronouns are also regularly used in conjunction with certain particles, such as **ǎd** 'also' or **kéjn^L** 'or', to introduce the new participant.

Example IV.221: pragmatic pronouns

<i>1_S</i>	rá	<i>1_P</i>	ré
<i>2_S</i>	ré	<i>2_P</i>	ró
<i>3_S</i>	ré	<i>3_P</i>	ré

There are only four different forms of this pronoun, with *3_S* and *3_P* sharing the form **ré** and *2_S* and *1_P* sharing the form **ré**. These pronouns always follow another element, but tonally they do not behave as clitics, as they are not downstepped when following a high-toned word without established floating low tone:

Example IV.222: pragmatic pronoun following a tense marker

òkòtún	kó	ré	ṣáṣá^L	cénk.
òkòt-ín	kó	ré	ṣáṣá^L	cénk
<i>kill-2_S.DJ</i>	<i>RECPST</i>	<i>2_S.PRAG</i>	<i>mother\2_S.ABS</i>	<i>2_S.CONTR</i>
<i>It was you who has killed your mother (not me).</i>				

If this **ré** were a clitic, it would have to appear downstepped in this clause.

These pragmatic pronouns have a low tone at the end of a clause:

Example IV.223: pragmatic particle at the end of a clause

òkòdìkín	kó	rè.
òkò-dì-k-ín	kó	rè
<i>kill-AP-EXT-2_S</i>	<i>RECPST</i>	<i>2_S.PRAG</i>
<i>It was you who were the killer.</i>		

The function of pragmatic pronouns is difficult to characterize. Their most frequent occurrence is following the particle **ò** ‘also’.

Example IV.224: pragmatic pronoun following **ò** ‘also’

- a) **nè ò ré dùnkú dè^L.**
nè ò ré dùn-kí dè^L
CONJ also 3_S.PRAG lie-CP.3_S.DJ down
He also lay down.
- b) **gèlè:w-er ò ré tìn-a=ŋ.**
gèlè:w-er ò ré tìn-a=ŋ.
listen-3_P.DJ also 3_P.PRAG 1_P-DAT=SFT
They also will listen to us.

- c) **má^L ɓ̀ð ré kú'rój^L àrí òkó cìnèk.**
má^L ɓ̀ð ré kú'rój^L àr-í òkó cì-n-è=k
but also 3S.PRAG donkey\SG.NOM do-3S.DJ like DEM-SG-HR=SUB
But Donkey also acted in the same way.

Here the purpose of the pronoun is to provide a clear reference as to who or what the particle **ɓ̀ð** refers to. A similar use is accomplished with the conjunction **kéjn^L** 'or'.

Example IV.225: pragmatic pronoun combined with conjunction **kéjn^L**

- àgút^L jìkôn nò mó tú:kí:ɗík àɲ òmáj^L nò mó tú:kí:ɗík kéjn^L ré ké wòrí kéjn^L ré ké jìkôn.**
àgút^L jìkôn nò mó tú:k-í:ɗ=k àɲ
because what CONJ alone join-PURP-CP.3S=SUB thing\SG.NOM.MOD
òm-áj^L nò mó tú:k-í:ɗ=k kéjn^L ré ké
one-nom CONJ alone join-PURP-CP.3S=SUB or 3S.PRAG QUOT
wòrí kéjn^L ré ké jìkôn.
money\ABS.SG or 3S.PRAG QUOT what?
This is in order to not have another thing join in, to not have, say, money join in, or not, say, whatever else.

Often the pragmatic pronoun is combined with a contrastive pronoun, as seen in examples IV.222 or V.81a). All this seems to indicate that the function of this pragmatic pronoun is to introduce a new referent. In a speech act, it seems to call for the attention of a participant:

Example IV.226: pragmatic pronoun used to address speech-act participants

- a) **ɔ́cɔ́^L ró ɓ̀ðkó:rján^L pìrìk!**
ɔ́cɔ́^L ró ɓ̀ðkó:rján^L pìr=k!
there! 2P.PRAG tortoise\SG.ABS fly\3S=SUB
Look there, you all, a tortoise that flies!
- b) **kàt ré pà:rín!**
kàt ré pà:r-ín
HORT\NEG 2S.PRAG try-2S.DJ
Please, don't try it!

Based on this, it is likely that the pragmatic pronoun's main function is to provide participant focus in the clause, often in conjunction with contrastive devices.

IV.3.1.2 Demonstratives

Majang demonstratives can be used in a pronominal function and in adnominal position, modifying a pronoun. The language has a three-way distinction for demonstratives in terms of deictic proximity (Joswig, 2011, p. 9f; Getachew, 2014, p. 141ff): there are demonstratives for items close to the speaker (*SP*), others for items close to the hearer (*HR*), and a final set for those items neither close to the hearer nor to the speaker (*DIST*). Demonstratives also agree with their referents in number and partly in case. In a noun phrase the demonstrative follows the head noun:

Example IV.227: NP with demonstrative

gǐdǎ: cǐnè
gǐdǎ: cǐ-n-è
 stone *DEM-SG-HR*
that stone with you

The following table shows demonstratives for the central cases absolutive, ergative and nominative. These are not differentiated for case.

Example IV.228: demonstrative forms of central cases

	<i>SG</i>	short	<i>PL</i>	short
<i>SP</i>	cǐnǐ	cè	cǐgǐ	gè
<i>HR</i>	cǐnè	cè	cǐgè	gè
<i>DIST</i>	cǐndǐ	cǐj	cǐgǐj	gǐj

As shown, for all forms there are two variants, which appear to be freely interchangeable, a regular form and a somewhat shortened form. The regular forms can be analyzed as following this system: the demonstrative stem is **cǐ-**. This is followed by the number marker, which is **-n** for the singular and **-g** for the plural. This number marking on demonstratives (and relative pronouns, see below) is again consistent with what one would expect from a language belonging to Bryan's (1968) *N/*K language group. Proximity is expressed by the suffixes **-i** '*SP*', **-è** '*HR*' and **-ǐj** '*DIST*'.

That these forms occur in all central cases can be demonstrated by the following examples. They contrast the use of the possessive pronoun (see section IV.3.1.4 below) with the demonstrative. Possessive pronouns are clearly case marked, but their demonstrative counterparts, at least for the central cases shown here, are not. Example a) and b) show the demonstrative and the possessive pronoun modifying an ergative noun (the homonymy between the ergative marker on the possessive pronoun and the *HR*-deixis marker on

the demonstrative is purely coincidental). Examples c) and d) show them modifying a nominative noun, and examples e) and f) show them modifying an absolutive noun. The possessive pronoun changes for all cases, the demonstrative does not.

Example IV.229: demonstratives in use with the four central cases

- a) **màlé wár^L nà:kè ídít^L.**
màl-é wár^L nà:k-è ídít^L
hit-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG.MOD POSS\1S.SG-ERG man\SG.ABS
My dog hit the man.
- b) **màlé wár^L cìnè ídít^L.**
màl-é wár^L cì-n-è ídít^L
hit-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG.MOD DEM-SG-HR man\SG.ABS
That dog hit the man.
- c) **bò:bé wár^L nà:ké^L kékàr.**
bò:b-é wár^L nà:k-é^L kékàr
big-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\1S.SG-NOM again
My dog is big again.
- d) **bò:bé wár^L cìnè kékàr.**
bò:b-é wár^L cì-n-è kékàr
big-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR again
That dog is big again.
- e) **màlé wár ídít^L ná:k kékàr.**
màl-é wár ídít^L ná:k kékàr
hit-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM man\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS again
The dog hit my man again.
- f) **màlé wár ídít^L cìnè kékàr.**
màl-é wár ídít^L cì-n-è kékàr
hit-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM man\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR again
The dog hit that man again.

Although no case distinction was observed regarding the three central cases for the demonstratives, the non-central case forms are marked for dative and locative case. These case-marked forms are more complex because of their doubling of the number suffix. The demonstrative template looks like this:

cì – number – proximity – number – case

The proximity markers are different compared to the ones seen with the central-case demonstratives in example IV.228. There is a short form for each proximity value that can be used for both locative and dative forms. For the singular *HR* form there are two short forms which are freely interchangeable.

Example IV.230: case-marked demonstratives and their short forms

	<i>SG.DAT</i>	<i>SG.LOC</i>	<i>SHORT</i>	<i>PL.DAT</i>	<i>PL.LOC</i>	<i>SHORT</i>
<i>SP</i>	cìné:ná ^L	cìné:'né ^L	cé ^L	cìgé:gá ^L	cìgé:'gé ^L	gé ^L
<i>HR</i>	cíná:ná ^L	cíná:'né ^L	cá ^L , cé ^L	cìgá:gá ^L	cìgá:'gé ^L	gé ^L
<i>DIST</i>	cìnó:ná ^L	cìnó:'né ^L	có ^L	cìgó:gá ^L	cìgó:'gé ^L	gó ^L

These forms all end in a *HL* sequence if they appear at the end of a clause:

Example IV.231: differing forms of demonstratives at clause boundaries

- a) nè bá^L gù:gúp gòdèà cá^L bák tàkàà.
 nè bá^L gù:gúp gòdè-a^L cá^L bák tàk-àà
CONJ REM PST enter-3S.DJ house\SG-DAT DEM.HR.DAT REF\REMPST inside-DAT
She went inside that previously mentioned house.
- b) nè bá^L ñàrà à jòwé:'dí dóká^L òmáltá^L òkà cá.
 nè bá^L ñàrà-à à jòwé:'dí dók-a^L òm-áltá^L
CONJ REM PST go-3P.DJ CONJ far-3S.DJ land\SG-DAT one-DAT
 òk-a^L cá^L.
forest\SG-DAT DEM.HR.DAT
They went to a far away land, to the forest.

The *HR*-form of demonstratives also serves as an anaphoric modifier in discourse:

Example IV.232: use of the *HR* pronoun as anaphoric modifier in discourse

- nè tè:jí târ cìnè bàgè.
 nè tè:j-í târ cì-n-è bàgè
and arrange-3S.DJ meat\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR all
And he arranged all that meat.

In this example, the demonstrative identifies a pile of meat mentioned earlier in the narrative, providing anaphoric reference. It is not used as a deictic element understandable from the pragmatic situation.

IV.3.1.3 Relative pronouns

Demonstratives are further used with slight modifications as relative pronouns (for their use in relative clauses, see section V.8.5). These relative pronouns are almost identical to the demonstrative pronouns, except that the *DIST*-form is shortened as a relative pronoun from **cìnòj** to **cìnò**. Furthermore, they are often shortened to the forms seen in example IV.234, which give information about proximity, but have very restricted case marking.

Example IV.233: use of the demonstrative as relative pronouns

làkɛ^L ɓà jàrtí òm cìnò lákí^L ámdúk.
làk-ɛ^L ɓà jàrtí òm cì-n-ò lák-i^L
have-IMPS.DJ REMPST.CJ woman\SG.ABS one DEM-SG-PROX have-AP.3S.DJ
ámd=k
stomach\SG.LOC=SUB
There was a woman which was pregnant (lit: which had in the stomach).

Accordingly the following forms are used as relative pronouns:

Example IV.234: relative pronouns of central and other cases

	SG	short	DAT/LOC	PL	short	DAT/LOC
SP	cìnì	cè	cé^L	cìgì	gè	gé^L
HR	cìnè	cè	cá^L, cé^L	cìgè	gè	gá^L, gé^L
DIST	cìnò	cò	có^L	cìgò	gò	gó^L

For the central cases, the short forms with a low tone can be used as an alternative to the full forms. For the non-central cases, the full forms as seen in example IV.230 for the demonstratives seem to be avoided for relative pronoun use. Here the short forms with a high tone are used:

Example IV.235: relative pronoun use for modifying a locative noun

nè rí:ɓákún^L gòpè cá^L kó^L mèlkíd^L lèrk,
nè rí:ɓ-a-kún^L gòp-è cá^L kó^L
CONJ place-DIR-SIMUL.3S.DJ path\SG-LOC REL.HR.LOC NFUT
mèl-kí-d^L lè:r=k
arrive-CP-RELPST.3S Leer\NOM=SUB
While he placed (her) on the path on which Leer would come along, ...

IV.3.1.4 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns provide reference to the possessor of the head noun of a noun phrase. Possessive pronouns follow the head noun in Majang, and they are inflected for the person of the possessor, the morphological number of the head noun, and the case of the head noun.

Example IV.236: noun phrase with possessive pronoun

- a) **át nênk** b) **tá:ráké^L gá:né^L**
át **nênk** **tá:r-ák-é^L** **gá:n-é^L**
language\SG.ABS POSS\3P.SG.ABS *meat-PL-LOC* POSS\1S.PL-LOC
their language *at my meat chunks*

The following table shows the various forms for each of the possessive categories. When a possessive pronoun modifies a noun, this head noun appears in the modified case form, where applicable.

	singular head noun				
	ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE	NOMINATIVE	DATIVE	LOCATIVE
1 _S	ná:k	nà:kè	nà:ké ^L	ná:ká ^L	ná:ké ^L
2 _S	nó:k	nò:kè	nò:ké ^L	nó:ká ^L	nó:ké ^L
3 _S	né:k	nè:kè	nè:ké ^L	né:ká ^L	né:ké ^L
1 _P	nânk	nànk	nànk	nànk	nànk
2 _P	nônk	nònk	nònk	nònk	nònk
3 _P	nênk	nènk	nènk	nènk	nènk
	plural head noun				
1 _S	gá:nk	gà:nè	gà:né ^L	gá:ná ^L	gá:né ^L
2 _S	gó:nk	gò:nè	gò:né ^L	gó:ná ^L	gó:né ^L
3 _S	gé:nk	gè:nè	gè:né ^L	gé:ná ^L	gé:né ^L
1 _P	gânk	gànk	gànk	gànk	gànk
2 _P	gônk	gònk	gònk	gònk	gònk
3 _P	gênk	gènk	gènk	gènk	gènk

Table 9: possessive pronouns

The dative and locative forms are sometimes followed by the consonant /k/, resulting in forms like **ná:kák^L** or **gó:né:k^L**. No factors were identified that might influence this choice.

Possessive pronouns are also used to provide an emphatic reference when an accessible participant enters the narrative as an activated participant:

Example IV.237: possessive pronoun used for emphatic reference

nè 6á^L cà:dí^L né:ké^L gāj cājtiē á:rn nè mèlki dūŋé^L nè:kêŋ.
nè 6á^L cà:dí^L né:k-e^L gāj cājti^L-e^L á:rn nè mèl-kí
 CONJ REMPT then POSS\3S.SG-LOC at hour-PL.ABS ten CONJ arrive-CP.3S.DJ
dūŋé^L nè:k-é=ŋ
 hyena\SG.NOM POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SFT
Then, at four o'clock, Hyena himself came.

In this example, there are formally two possessive pronouns. The final word of the sentence is an emphatic reference to the hyena, which was already talked about twice in the narrative leading up to this sentence, and now it enters the scene itself. The first possessive in the locative illustrates another special pragmatic use of possessive pronouns, which in this locative 3rd person form can be used to specify a temporal (*then*) or local (*there*) reference. In this function, the possessive pronoun practically serves as an adverb.

IV.3.1.5 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns stand in place of a noun when the speaker wants to ask about this noun. About the form and use of all interrogative pronouns, see section V.7.3.2.

IV.3.2 Modifiers

Modifiers are words that are used to modify a noun phrase, adding qualitative or identifying information. Stative verbs (see section IV.2.4) and other relative clauses are one kind of modifier. Demonstratives and possessive pronouns are other sets of modifiers already introduced earlier (sections IV.3.1.2 and IV.3.1.4). Although modifiers are named after their function of modifying a noun phrase, most of them have the potential to be used in a predicative function (see section V.3.2 for details).

Except for the quantifiers (which apparently are not treated as modifiers at all by the grammar of Majang) all modifiers trigger the use of modified case forms on the head noun, where applicable. Furthermore, some modifiers agree in number and case with the head noun. This is all true for the possessive pronouns, and partly true for demonstratives, which show case agreement only for the non-central cases. The following other modifiers, which serve as determiners, show a different agreement behavior.

IV.3.2.1 Determiner òm, ògò ‘one, another’

The determiner òm, plural ògò, serves to provide reference to a different participant in the pragmatic context. The form òm is apparently based on the Majang cardinal numeral òmóŋ ‘one’.

Example IV.238: determiner òm

nè làŋìr kɛ́tˀ nè ídɪˀ òmájˀ gámú gójˀ òmáltè máˀ ɓò ré ídɪˀ òmájˀ.
 nè làŋ-ìr kɛ́tˀ nè ídɪˀ òm-ájˀ gám-í
 CONJ find-3P.CJ wood\SG.ABS CONJ man\SG.NOM.MOD one-NOM hold-3S.DJ
 gójˀ òm-áltè máˀ ɓò ré ídɪˀ òm-ájˀ
 side\SG.LOC one-LOC but also 3S.PRAG man\SG.NOM.MOD one-NOM
 They found a stick, and one man holds one side, and also another man (the other side).

The following example displays the agreement of this determiner with case and number of its head noun.

Example IV.239: agreement pattern of òm

SG.ABS	ánˀ òm	another thing, one thing
SG.ERG	àn òmájˀ	another thing
SG.NOM	àn òmâj	another thing
SG.DAT	àntà òmáltáˀ	towards another thing
SG.LOC	ànt òmáltè	at another thing
PL.ABS	òlà ògò	other things
PL.ERG	òláˀ ògò:k	other things
PL.NOM	òláˀ ògò:kˀ	other things
PL.DAT	òlá:táˀ ògò:káˀ	towards other things
PL.LOC	òlá:téˀ ògò:kéˀ	at other things

As seen with the possessive pronoun, this determiner's case agreement serves to distinguish between homophonous ergative and nominative forms of the head noun.

IV.3.2.2 Temporal anaphoric-reference markers

The Majang language has a unique set of anaphoric-reference markers that are based on the past-tense markers introduced in section IV.3.4.2. They are attached to a noun phrase to indicate that a participant has become accessible at a previous stage of the discourse, and they serve to re-activate this participant.

Example IV.240: temporal anaphoric-reference markers

- a) **nè ɓá^L jàwé kú'rój cìnè ɓákɪŋ.**
nè ɓá^L jàw-é kú'rój cì-n-è ɓák^L=ŋ
 CONJ REM PST cut-3S.DJ donkey\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMPST=SFT
He cut that aforementioned donkey apart.
- b) **má^L ɓò ré dàké tárl cìnè kánk^L cà:dl^L.**
má^L ɓò ré dàk-é tárl cì-n-è kánk^L cà:dl^L
 but also 3S.PRAG remain\3S.DJ meat\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR REF\MEDPST there
But that aforementioned meat also remained there.
- c) **nè jàrti^L kónk ði:lé mádl kónkún.**
nè jàrti^L kónk ði:l-é mádl kónk=ŋ
 CONJ woman\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST carry-3S.DJ fire\SG.ABS REF\RECPST=SFT
The aforementioned woman carried the aforementioned fire.

These three anaphoric-reference markers are formed from the past-tense markers ɓá^L 'remote past', kánk^L 'medium past' and kó 'recent past', augmented by the consonant /k/ or /nk/. They do not agree with the number or case of their head nouns, with the single exception that an ergative NP receives these markers with a HL tone sequence.

Example IV.241: temporal anaphoric-reference marker for an ergative NP

- màlé kú'rój^L kónk ídl^L.**
màl-é kú'rój^L kónk ídl^L
 hit-3S.DJ donkey\SG.ERG.MOD REF\RECPST.ERG man\SG.ABS
The aforementioned donkey hit a man.

Accordingly, there are six different forms of temporal anaphoric-reference markers:

Example IV.242: temporal anaphoric-reference markers overview

	<i>ABS, NOM, DAT, LOC</i>	<i>ERG</i>
recent past	kónk	kônk
medium past	kánk^L	kânk
remote past	ḡák^L	ḡâk

IV.3.3 Quantifiers

The Majang language does not seem to attach quantifiers as modifiers to a noun phrase, but treats them as adverbials modifying the clause as a whole.

IV.3.3.1 Non-numeral quantifiers

The non-numeral quantifier **bàṅé** ‘all’ serves as a good illustration for the fact that quantifiers are not modifiers of the noun phrase they provide quantifying information for. As was discussed in section IV.1.3.2, many nouns come in two forms, depending on whether they stand alone or are modified. This is the case for modifications by demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and the other modifiers discussed in section IV.3.2¹⁰². Quantifiers do not trigger modified noun forms, and therefore cannot be treated like proper modifiers of the language. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

Example IV.243: **bàṅé** ‘all’ is not a modifier

- a) **dégàràr òlát^L bàṅé.**
dégàr-àr òlát^L bàṅé
sleep-3P.DJ things\NOM all
All the people sleep.
- b) **dégàràr dúndèé:k^L bàṅé.**
dégàr-àr dúndè-é:k^L bàṅé
sleep-3P.DJ heart\PL.NOM all
All the hearts sleep.

¹⁰²Stative verbs also do not trigger modified noun forms, as they can only modify a noun phrase by means of being the predicate of a relative clause. Relative clauses do not trigger modified noun forms, as they stand outside the matrix clause and therefore outside the NP they modify.

- c) **màlèr òlâ:t bàṅé ídít^L.**
màl-èr òlâ:t bàṅé ídít^L
hit-3P.DJ things\ERG all man\SG.ABS
All things beat a man.

Examples a) and b) both have a nominative intransitive subject, followed by **bàṅé**. That these are not absolutive NPs is demonstrated by the disjoint verb form. Also, the absolutive plural form of ‘things’ is **òlà**, and the absolutive plural of ‘heart’ is **dúndèè**. The first thing to be noted is that the *SFT*-clitic is not used at the end of these two sentences. If **bàṅé** were part of the NP headed by **òlâ:t^L**, then one would expect the clitic to be in evidence, as the sentence would then end in a nominative NP. That the clitic is not used reveals **bàṅé** to be a constituent outside the subject NP. Furthermore, in both clauses the plain nominative form is used, instead of the modified nominative forms **òlá^L** and **dúndèé^L**, which gives additional proof that **bàṅé** is not serving as modifier to either NP. Example c) shows an ergative NP followed by **bàṅé**, and again the plain ergative form **òlâ:t** is used instead of the modified ergative **òlá^L**. It might appear more helpful to translate **bàṅé** as ‘entirely’, to give a better rendition of its adverbial nature. Nonetheless, for the sake of simplicity, it is glossed as ‘all’ throughout this work.

It is puzzling, however, that **bàṅé** is not found where other adverbs are expected to be, that is at the end of the clause. Example c) clearly shows it between the subject NP, to which it provides quantitative information, and the object NP.

Other quantifiers are even more openly adverbial in their nature by using the clause-internal conjunction **à** in front of a person-marked stative-verb form:

Example IV.244: modifier **ḡókâ** ‘many’

- a) **làké^L ìyá:gák^L à ḡókâ:ṅ.**
làk-é^L ìyá:g-ak^L à ḡókâ:=ṅ
have-IMPS.DJ work-PL.ABS CONJ many\3S.DJ=SFT
There are many works.
- b) **làké^L ìyá:gák^L à bálâ:ṅ.**
làk-é^L ìyá:g-ak^L à bálâ:=ṅ
have-IMPS.DJ work-PL.ABS CONJ few\3S.DJ=SFT
There are few works.

IV.3.3.2 Numerals

The numerals of Majang follow a peculiar quintesimal system based on the small limbs of hand and feet (Unseth, 1989b, p. 101). The first 20 cardinal numbers follow a neat arrangement based on this body-part related way to count:

Example IV.245: the first 20 cardinal numbers of Majang

	first hand		second hand		first foot		second foot
1	òmón ^L	6	tù:l à òm	11	á:rn à òmón ^L	16	á:rn à tù:l à òm
2	péj ^L	7	tù:l à péj ^L	12	á:rn à péj ^L	17	á:rn à tù:l à péj ^L
3	jít ^L	8	tù:l à jít ^L	13	á:rn à jít ^L	18	á:rn à tù:l à jít ^L
4	àṅàṅ	9	tù:l à àṅàṅ	14	á:rn à àṅàṅ	19	á:rn à tù:l à àṅàṅ
5	tù:l	10	á:rn ¹⁰³	15	á:rn à tù:l	20	rù:mèr ídít ^L

Two of the ingredients to these first 20 numerals can be traced back to body parts: the number 10 apparently goes back to **á:rn**, the plural of **àrí** ‘hand’; the number 20 is a full grammatical sentence using the word for ‘person’.

Example IV.246: number 20

rù:mèr ídít^L.
 rù:m-èr ídít^L
complete-INCPT.3S.CJ person\SG.ABS
A man is complete.

Counting onwards from twenty, it continues regularly with **rù:mèr ídít^L à òmón^L** 21, **rù:mèr ídít^L à péj^L** 22, etc. This is kept up beyond 30 (**rù:mèr ídít^L à àṅṅ^L**) until 39 with **rù:mèr ídít^L à á:rn à tù:l à àṅàṅ**.

From 40 onwards the number of complete persons serves as the basis for the continued count:

Example IV.247: numbers beyond 40

40	pólpólé ^L jó: ^L péjk ^L	70	pólpólé ^L jó: ^L jítík ^L à á:rn ^L
50	pólpólé ^L jó: ^L péjk ^L à á:rn ^L	80	pólpólé ^L jó: ^L àṅàṅk
60	pólpólé ^L jó: ^L jítík ^L	90	pólpólé ^L jó: ^L àṅàṅk à á:rn ^L

pólpólé^L is the plural of **pólpól** ‘finger’ or ‘toe’, and **jó:** the plural of **ídít^L** ‘person’. 40 translates therefore as ‘fingers and toes of two persons’, 50 accordingly as ‘fingers and toes of two persons, plus hands’. The number 100

¹⁰³This is used in all language areas except in Yeki Wereda (around Teppi), where the speakers use **gúrúṅ** for ‘ten’.

is **ɔ́ɓɛ^L**, with 200 and 500 regularly as **ɔ́ɓɛ: pé:j^L** and **ɔ́ɓɛ: tù:l**. 1000 is **kúmɛ^L**.

Syntactically, these cardinal numbers, like the non-numeral quantifiers, don't act as modifiers to a noun phrase. They are connected with the noun they quantify through the clause-internal conjunction **à**.

Example IV.248: a numeral with the noun it refers to

lākà tɔ:mɔk^L à jít^L.
lāk-à tɔ:m-ɔk^L à jít^L
have-1S.CJ child-PL.ABS CONJ three
I have three children.

Like with the non-numeral quantifiers, the noun comes in the plain form, not the modified form **tɔ:mɔ^L**.

The cardinal number forms take restricted case marking, which only differs for the ergative case:

Example IV.249: ergative case marking on cardinal numbers

- a) **mèlèrk jó:p à pé:j.**
mèl-erk jó:p à pé:j
arrive-CP.3P persons\ABS CONJ two
Two men come.
- b) **màlèr jò: à pè:j ídít^L.**
màl-er jò: à pè:j ídít^L
beat-3P.DJ people\ERG CONJ two\ERG man\SG.ABS
Two men beat a man.

The following are other ergative forms: **jít^L** (three), **àṇàṇ** (four), **tù:l** (five), **â:rn** (ten), **ɔ́ɓɛ** (100), **kúmɛ** (1000). All further case forms beyond the central cases are used in relative clauses, with the number itself not case-marked.

Example IV.250: other case forms of cardinal numbers

- a) **kè: ídít^L jò:pà cìgɔ:gá^L pé:jk.**
kè: ídít^L jò:p-à cì-g-ɔ:-g-a^L pé:j=k
go\3S.DJ man\SG.NOM persons-DAT REL-PL-DIST-PL-DAT two=SUB
The man went to the two men.

b) àr ídf^L jò:pè cìgó:gé^L pé:jk.

àr ídf^L jò:p-è cì-g-ó:-g-e^L pé:j=k
be\3s.DJ man\SG.NOM persons-LOC REL-PL-DIST-PL-LOC two=SUB
The man was with the two men.

Ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinal numerals by adding the formative **-ém^L** to the numeral stem.

Example IV.251: ordinal numerals

1 st	òmòhém ^L	6 th	tùlà òmém ^L
2 nd	pè:jém ^L	7 th	tùlà pè:jém ^L
3 rd	jì:tém ^L	8 th	tùlà jì:tém ^L
4 th	àḡàné ^L	9 th	tùlà àḡàné ^L
5 th	tù:lém ^L	10 th	àrném ^L

These ordinal numerals are syntactically nouns, and they can be inflected for number and case. The formative **-ém** may be related to the nominalizer **-ikem** seen in example IV.2.

Example IV.252: number and case marking on ordinal numerals

<i>SG.ABS</i>	pè:jém^L	<i>PL.ABS</i>	pè:jémák^L
		<i>PL.ABS.MOD</i>	pè:jémá^L
<i>SG.ERG</i>	pè:jêm	<i>PL.ERG</i>	pè:jémà
<i>SG.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	pè:jém^L	<i>PL.ERG/NOM.MOD</i>	pè:jémá^L
<i>SG.NOM</i>	pè:jém	<i>PL.NOM</i>	pè:jémá^L
<i>SG.DAT</i>	pè:jémá^L	<i>SG.DAT</i>	pè:jémáká^L
<i>SG.LOC</i>	pè:jémè	<i>SG.LOC</i>	pè:jémáké^L
<i>SG.LOC.MOD</i>	pè:jémè		
<i>SG.POSS</i>	pè:jémôn^L	<i>SG.POSS</i>	pè:jémákôn^L

IV.3.4 Adverbs

The Majang language uses two kinds of adverbs – the one being an open class of regular adverbs which is used to provide any kind of adverbial information on the clause-level, and the other a small closed class of particles which provide information on tense.

IV.3.4.1 Adverbs on the clause level

Clause level adverbs can be created in several different ways. First there are a number of short adverbs providing information about the temporal or local pragmatic setting. Many of them go back to some kind of demonstrative form.

Temporal adverbs are: **né:kè** 'now (POSS.3S.SG.LOC)', **cìcè^L/cìcè^L/cìcò^L** 'now', **cà:dí^L** 'then', **kè:** 'then', **kèbú:** 'sometimes', **òtó:p** 'often', **bá'ŋí** 'afterwards', **cá:^L** 'thereafter', **jé:mé^L** 'previously', **bé:ncè** 'today' (from **bé:ŋó** 'day' and **cé^L** 'DEM.SP.LOC'), **kó álé** 'yesterday', **kó:^L álé** 'tomorrow', **kó ájtínán** 'day before yesterday', **kó:^L ájtínán** 'day after tomorrow', **rómû:d** 'in the morning', **írkí:d** 'at dawn', **ká:lt** 'at midnight', **têm** 'in the beginning'.

Local adverbs are: **cè:d/cè:dí^L** 'here', **cè:d/cè:dí^L** 'there (HR)', **cò:d/cò:dí^L** 'there (DIST)', **cá:^L** 'there', **ìcì^L** 'right here', **òcò^L** 'right there', **cõ:j** 'far away', **ónkùn** 'near', **jók** 'nearby', **dí:díká** 'right', **kántá^L** 'left' (dative of **kánt^L** 'left hand'), **dé:gá^L** 'across, down', **èdèn** 'up, east', **pà:nì** 'down, west', **rà:jànà** 'upwards', **wàlàc** 'outwards', **wàlèc** 'from outside', **cèm** 'straight'.

Further short adverbs are used for providing modal information about the action: **jét** 'very', **còkà**, **kàdē:ŋ** 'perhaps', **dáké:dā** 'only', **dò:c** 'well', **é:kérè** 'truly' (locative of **é:kēr** 'truth'), **kócèk**, **kójùnk** 'like this', **kócùnk** 'like that', **ìcìgìcìgì** 'exactly like that', **kékàr** 'again', **ín^L** 'yet', **kèlòt** 'carefully', **kédòm** 'properly', **tócè** 'correct', **líkì** 'correct' (loanword from Amharic), **mó** 'alone'.

Some adverbs are formed from two words, such as **àgút^L òmónj^L** 'together' or **támétàkán** 'directly' from **támá^L** 'face' and **tàk** 'inside'.

At least one adverb needs to combine with another particle to form a complete unit, the adverb **ḡḡ** 'also'. It needs to be followed by a pragmatic pronoun (see example IV.221). It comes in the following combinations:

Example IV.253: adverb **ḡḡ** with pragmatic particles

1 _S	ḡḡ rá	1 _P	ḡḡ ré
2 _S	ḡḡ ré	2 _P	ḡḡ ró
3 _S	ḡḡ ré	3 _P	ḡḡ ré

Other ways to form adverbs were presented elsewhere. Stative verbs can turn to adverbs by use of their locative infinitive form, as seen in example IV.202. Other stative verbs are adverbialized by using the clause-internal

conjunction **à** (see example IV.201). But this device does not only work for stative verbs, but for other verbs, too.

Example IV.254: adverbs formed from verbs through clause-internal conjunction **à**

tàmà:rèr tómó^L gè:nék^L à kír ràkàtèt.
 tàmà:r-er tóm-ó^L gè:n-ék^L à k-ír ràkàt-èt
 learn-3P.DJ child-PL.NOM.MOD POSS.3S.PL-NOM CONJ NEG-3P suffer-NEG
 His children learn without problems.

Even nouns can be used adverbially in the same way:

Example IV.255: adverbs formed from nouns by clause-internal conjunction

nè kán^L ñà:ràrk à màcá:pák^L.
 nè kán^L ñà:r-ark à màcá:p-ák^L
 CONJ MEDPST go-CP.3P CONJ book-PL.ABS
 They went out (=they were published) as books.

IV.3.4.2 Tense markers

There are five tense adverbs in Majang, which were interpreted to establish a metrical tense system by Bender (1983, p. 132f), Unseth (1989b, p. 110) and Getachew (2014, p. 159ff). These adverbs are **6á^L** ‘remote past (REMPST)’, **kán^L** ‘medium past (MEDPST)’, **kó^L** ‘recent past (RECPST)’, **kó^L** ‘near future (NFUT)’ and **kój** ‘distant future (DFUT)’. These are called tense markers throughout the present language description, in order to emphasize their different nature compared to the clause-level adverbs seen above.

Syntactic behavior

It is first necessary to explain why they are treated as free forms in this description of the language. Both Unseth and Bender were ambivalent in their interpretation of these markers, sometimes (Bender, 1983, p. 134; Unseth, 1989b, p. 112) showing them as suffixes to the verb, sometimes (Bender, 1983, p. 135; Unseth, 1989b, p. 110) as separate words. From my interaction with Majang writers it is apparent that the currently used orthography is interpreting the markers consistently as suffixes (or at least enclitics, which would make them part of the phonological word).

In spite of this, they are treated as separate words in the present description because of their tonal behavior. Example II.30 on page 91 demonstrates that the tense markers are not subjected to the word-internal downstep, which provides hard and fast evidence of their status as free phonological word forms. Tense markers like **ḡá^L** ‘remote past’ or **kṣ** ‘recent past’ have a consistent high tone¹⁰⁴, which is not downstepped even following a morpheme carrying its own high tone. If the marker were a suffix or a clitic, one would expect the *H* on the particle to be downstepped. Therefore one needs to assume that these tense markers are used as free words.

Example IV.256: tense marker following a high-toned stative verb

pà:ké kṣṇ.
pà:k -é kṣ =ṇ
hot -3S.DJ RECPST =SFT
He was hot.

On the other hand there is some good evidence that tense markers directly following a verb are in terms of constituency a part of the verb phrase, as opposed to being outside of the verb phrase; this may cause their current orthographic treatment as suffixes or clitics. In a clause which satisfies the condition for flagging the *SFT*-marker **=ṇ** (section III.4) this marker is attached to the verb only if it is not followed by a tense marker:

Example IV.257: tense marker with *SFT*-clitic

pá:kká^L kṣṇ.
pá:k-ká^L kṣ^L=ṇ
hot-CP.1S.DJ NFUT=SFT
I will soon be hot.

If, like in this example, such a tense marker is present, the *SFT*-marker is attached to the particle. The *SFT*-marker attaches itself to a sentence-final constituent – this would hardly apply to the tense marker as such; the constituent that is really flagged by the *SFT*-clitic is the verb phrase that the tense marker is apparently just a part of.

Another piece of evidence comes from the fact that for three of these tense markers there are two forms. **ḡá^L** is sometimes substituted by **ḡà**, **kṣ** by **kḡ**

¹⁰⁴Except when followed by the *SFT*-marker **=ṇ**. **ḡá** ‘recent past’ and **kṣ** ‘near future’ then have a long vowel and a *HL* tone sequence: **ḡáṇ**, **kṣṇ**. Some tense adverbs also have a low tone in a conjoint verb phrase (see section IV.3.4.2).

and **kó^L** by **kò**. The reason for this is the conjoint-disjoint distinction on Majang verbs, which shows the conjoint form whenever a verb is followed directly by a non-topical absolutive NP, and a disjoint form in all other cases (see section III.3). At first glance it may appear as if this distinction does not hold when a tense marker follows the verb:

Example IV.258: tense marker apparently preventing conjoint marking on the verb

làŋá kò wár^L ná:k.
làŋ-á kò wár^L ná:k
find-1s.DJ RECPST dog\SG.ABS POSS\1s.SG.ABS
I found my dog.

Although the NP following the combination of verb and tense markers is non-topical and in the absolutive case, it does not seem to trigger conjoint marking on the verb, as the *1s*-suffix appears in the disjoint form. But this analysis is deceptive, as indeed the whole verb phrase, including the tense marker, is marked as conjoint by the use of the low-toned form of the tense marker. The recent-past particle **kò** is therefore the conjoint form of its disjoint counterpart **kó**.

Example IV.259: tense marker with disjoint marking

làŋá kó wár^L ná:kín.
làŋ-á kó wár^L ná:k=ŋ
find-1s.DJ RECPST.DJ dog\SG.ABS POSS\1s.SG.ABS=SFT
I found my dog.

This conjoint-disjoint distinction on tense markers allows the conclusion that this distinction doesn't operate narrowly on the verb as such, but on the whole verb phrase. Frequently these tense markers actually appear in the preposed temporal slot preceding the verb and other preposed constituents such as nominative subjects. This is true whenever a clause is introduced by a conjunction such as **nè**, **nò** or **è**:

Example IV.260: tense markers in preverbal position

a) **nè ɓá^L ăr à dɔ:rún, jét.**
nè ɓá^L ăr à dɔ:r-í=ŋ jét
CONJ REMPT do\3s.DJ CONJ bray-3s.DJ=SFT very
He did bray, loudly.

- b) **nè ɓá^L jàrtí^L cìnè bònú tá:rá^L gé:mk, ...**
nè ɓá^L jàrtí^L cì-n-è bòn-í tá:r-á^L gé:mk
 CONJ REMPST woman\SG.NOM DEM-SG-HR take-3S.DJ meat\PL.ABS POSS\3S.PL.ABS
The woman took this meat, ...
- c) **nò kój jò: bàṅé bàrèrd tá:píé^L gé:mkík, ...**
nò kój jò: bàṅé bàr-erd tá:pí-é^L
 CONJ DFUT people\NOM.MOD all write-RELPST.3P letter-PL.ABS.MOD
gé:mk=k
 POSS\3S.PL.ABS
In order to get all people to write in this orthography, ...

Tense markers are also used to form other words of Majang, such as some of the temporal adverbs seen in section IV.3.4.1, and also the temporal anaphoric-reference markers introduced in section IV.3.2.2.

What distinguishes tense markers from normal temporal adverbs like **ɓéjncè** ‘today’ or **cà:di^L** ‘then’ is that the tense markers are a little more flexible as to where they can appear.

Example IV.261: tense marker preceding and following the verb

- a) **nè ɓá^L tònú ké...**
nè ɓá^L tòn-í ké
 CONJ REMPST say-3S.DJ QUOT
He said that ...
- b) **... ké àmbàbèr kój májájér^L kócùnk ...**
ké àmbàb-er kój májáj-er^L kócùnk
 QUOT read-3P.DJ DFUT Majang-PL.NOM like.this
... that the Majang people will read like this ...

These tense markers cannot only appear in the temporal preverbal slot, as in example a), where all other temporal adverbs are usually found, but also, as in example b), between the verb and other constituents, a place where other adverbs cannot be placed at all. It was already shown that these postverbal tense markers must be seen as part of the verb phrase, because of their service as carrier of the conjoint marking in clauses like the following:

Example IV.262: tense marker as carrier of the conjoint marking of the verb phrase

mèlki kò ídít^L cìnè kónk.
 mèl-kí kò ídít^L cì-n-è kónk
 arrive-CP.3S.DJ RECPST.CJ man\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\RECPST
 That aforementioned man has come.

Tense markers only follow the verb in verb-initial main clauses or in complement clauses (see example IV.261). In all other clauses the tense marker follows the conjunction that begins the clause, and take the same slot as any other temporal adverb. In this position they can also co-occur with verbal subordinate tense markers:

Example IV.263: tense marker in combination with a subordinate tense marker

nè cá^L 6á^L tònúrkúd^L tàwá:wê: òkó cìníkík, ...
 nè cá^L 6á^L tòn-ir-kí-d^L tàwá:wê: òkó cì-n-ì-k=k
 CONJ then REM PST say-INCPT-CP-RELPST.3S Tawaawee\NOM like DEM-SG-SP-POSS=SUB
 After Tawaawee said this, ...

In this clause the remote-past marker follows a regular temporal adverb, but precedes the subordinate verb, which is marked for the relative-past tense (see section V.6.1.2).

Semantics of tense markers

Only five different tense markers were found to follow the verb as part of the verb phrase: 6á^L ‘remote past (REMPST)’, kán^L ‘medium past (MEDPST)’, kó ‘recent past (RECPST)’, kó^L ‘near future (NFUT)’ and kój ‘distant future (DFUT)’. Bender (1983, p. 133) listed three more markers (kót, 6òŋ and dí), but he could not provide good evidence for their use, nor were they encountered in my data. Getachew (2014, p. 159ff) and Unseth (2007, p. 628) both restricted their inventory to the five markers listed here, so there is good agreement that they belong to a closed class. Their glosses were taken from Bender’s, Unseth’s and Getachew’s descriptions, and they served well for analyzing the text corpus for this study. Tense in Majang therefore appears to be metrical, in the sense that the time around the temporal reference point (the time of the utterance) is divided up into somewhat unspecific domains of increasing distance to the reference point. When I asked my consultants about what the individual markers are used for, they came up with specific time frames, like “several years ago” for 6á^L, “a few days ago at most” for kó,

etc. The fact that Majang provides more past markers than future tense markers is quite in line with descriptions of metrical tense in other languages (Chung & Timberlake, 1985, p. 209).

Still, from looking at the examples in the texts, this neat metrical categorization of tense appears to be doubtful. For example in the story of Dog and Donkey (see p. 415), the tense marker **ḡá^L** is used throughout the story for referring to main-line actions. Then, following the climax, where Dog unexpectedly kills Hyena, the narrative switches to the tense marker **kán^L** (which, interestingly, was called *narrative past* by Bender, although it is not used much elsewhere within my text collection). There is no reason to assume that from this point in the narrative the reported events are significantly closer to the time of the telling of the story; therefore it is very likely that the marker **kán^L** serves some other purpose than just being a medium-past marker.

In the same way, the two future-tense markers may be less characterized by a difference in temporal distance than in probability. Of the 16 examples found in my texts using the tense marker **kój**, almost every single one is used either in a question or in a purpose clause:

Example IV.264: use of distant-future marker **kój**

- a) **nè cēm cìnì kój ṅărkîḡ ...**
nè cēm cì-n-ì kój ṅăr-kí-ḡ
 CONJ 3S DEM-SG-SP DFUT go-CP-PURP.3S.DJ
For this to be published ...
- b) **mánk mèlêr kój májănérá^L géná^L òkód?**
mánk mèl-er kój májăn-er-a^L gé-n-a^L òkód?
 or reach-3P.DJ DFUT Majang-PL-DAT POSS\3P.SG-DAT when?
Or when will they reach the Majang people themselves?

The only exception to this is the following example, which makes a prediction about the fate of a generic group of people:

Example IV.265: use of distant-future marker **kój** for vague predictions

- má^L íḡíṭ^L cìnò dóték dàké kój à cēm gírójkàn.**
má^L íḡíṭ^L cì-n-ò dóté=k dàk-é kój
 but man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST lazy.man\SG.ABS=SUB remain-3S-DJ DFUT
à cēm gírój-kàn
 CONJ 3S poverty-NOMIN.SG.ABS
But a lazy man will remain poor.

This contrasts with the use of the near-future marker **kó^L** that seems to express a greater confidence that the action is actually going to happen:

Example IV.266: use of near-future marker **kó^L**

nè dò:c, nòmé:dǎ^L kó^L rómî:d.
 nè dò:c nòm-ě:d-a^L kó^L rómî:d
 CONJ well follow-REFOBJ-1s.DJ NFUT morning
 Okay, I will follow her in the morning.

This is not to say that the future tense markers don't have a metrical reality to them. In any case, future tense and modal functions are not always easily distinguished in the world's languages (Chung & Timberlake, 1985, p. 206). What certainly becomes clear is that the scope and use of the tense markers should be subjected to further research based on a bigger text corpus.

One noteworthy fact about these tense markers is that they do not have to be used at all. The lack of a tense marker does not just mark the present tense, as Getachew (2014, p. 163) mistakenly suggests. Even in a narrative text dealing with a mythical past, most main-line actions are not marked for tense. In the following multi-clause section from a traditional narrative, only the first clause features a tense marker (**ǎ^L**, remote past, the tense marker usually used for narratives):

Example IV.267: sparing use of tense markers

nè **ǎ^L** ǎǎ òmáltè làk ǎǎǎ^L kà:rìònk. nè kè: òkà cê. nè cà:dí^L né:ké^L kèté kà:rí
 kónk òkó cìnik lè:kè jògùkú ámd^L né:k à mǎ:ŋ. nè cà:dí^L dǎgér ké dǎjé kò: ǎàrtè:t.
 nè ǎàr wà:. nè dènè gòdé òm cìnd mǎntán ǎónk kí: dǎ^L ídít^L tákik. nè wìdêr é:k^L
 gòdèà kónk òkó cìnik.
 nè **ǎ^L** ǎǎ òmáltè làk ǎǎǎ^L kà:rìònk
 CONJ REMPST day on.one she.had neck of.coffee.leaf
 nè kè: òkà cê.
 CONJ she.went to.forest that
 nè cà:dí^L né:ké^L kèté kà:rí kónk òkó cìnik
 CONJ then while she.collected coffee.leaf aforementioned like this
 lè:kè jògùkú ámd^L né:k à mǎ:ŋ
 then she.felt in.abdomen her CONJ it.hurt
 nè cà:dí^L dǎgér ké dǎjé kò: ǎàrtè:t
 CONJ then she.knew QUOT she.needed NFUT to.give.birth
 nè ǎàr wà:
 conj she.went home

nè dènè gòdé òm cìnò mètán ɲónk kí: dɛ̃^L ídít^L tàkík
 CONJ she.saw house one that was.good SUB was.not exist man inside

nè wìdêr ék^L gòdèà kónk òkó cìnìk
 CONJ she.turned herself to.house that like this

One day she had (REMPST) a craving for coffee-leaf drink. She went to the forest. While she collected this aforementioned coffee leaf just like this, she then felt a pain in her abdomen. Then she knew that she needed (NFUT) to give birth. She went home. She saw a good house in which there was nobody. She turned herself to that aforementioned house just like that.

The text goes on for two more clauses before the next main-line tense marker appears (the near-future marker in the fifth clause provides temporal reference to a complement speech clause and therefore is outside the time line of the narrative). The tense for all these main-line actions was set by the first-clause tense marker **ɓá^L**, which means that in Majang the tense stays active until a new tense marker, usually at a change of time, place or participants, resets the temporal setting.

This explains why, in some of the examples used in this grammar, a clause without a tense marker has still been translated as past tense, as the example was taken out of a context where this past tense was the current tense of the narrative.

IV.3.5 Auxiliaries

There are not many auxiliaries in the Majang language. Auxiliaries are lexically empty verbs whose purpose is to provide the grammatical information needed for another verb that comes in a reduced grammatical shape, but that provides the semantic content to the proposition (T. Payne, 1997, p. 84).

The morpheme that fits this definition best is the negative auxiliary **k-** that is needed to precede the negative verb forms introduced in section IV.2.2.1. Whereas the negative verb form is unchanged for all persons, the subject information is provided by the negative auxiliary.

The negative auxiliary, just like verbs, has different endings for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in the singular and plural:

Example IV.268: conjugation of the negative auxiliary

1 _S	ká pà:kkà	<i>I am not hot</i>
2 _S	kín pà:kkà	<i>you_{SG} are not hot</i>
3 _S	kí pà:kkà	<i>it is not hot</i>
1 _P	kí: pà:kkà	<i>we are not hot</i>
2 _P	kír pà:kkà	<i>you_{PL} are not hot</i>
3 _P	kír pà:kkà	<i>they are not hot</i>

Unseth (1989a, p. 119) recorded the negative marker as **ku-**, which is probably a dialectal variation that I did not encounter during my data collection. Getachew (2014, p. 177ff) seems to have recorded the negative marker without the vowel /u/.

The negative auxiliary can undergo further inflection than just the bare person suffixes seen above. It can appear with the impersonal marker:

Example IV.269: impersonal negative auxiliary

má^L té:nàn jé:mé^L ké^L róríjǎ:tɪŋ.
má^L té:nàn jé:mé^L k-é^L róríjǎ:tɪŋ
<i>but instead previously NEG-IMPS teach\NEG</i>
<i>But they were not previously taught.</i>

Furthermore, the negative auxiliary is also the carrier of any directional inflection marking:

Example IV.270: negative auxiliary with centripetal inflection

kì:kí^L tú:ké^L jó:p^L ðgò wàlèc.
k-ì:k-ì^L tú:k-é^L jó:p^L ðgò wàlèc
<i>NEG-CP-1P join-NEG people\ABS.MOD other from.outside</i>
<i>We don't join with other outside people.</i>

The following are the negative auxiliaries with direction markings:

Example IV.271: negative auxiliary direction paradigms

	centripetal (CP)	centrifugal (CF)	deictic transfer (TF)
1 _S	k̀i:ka ^L	k-ì:k-á ^L	k̀i:gdá ^L
2 _S	k̀i:kin ^L	k-ì:k-ín ^L	k̀i:gđín ^L
3 _S	k̀i:k	k-ì:k	k̀i:gê:d
1 _P	k̀i:ki ^L	k-ì:k-î ^L	k̀i:gđî ^L
2 _P	k̀i:rkó ^L	k-írk-ó ^L	k̀i:rgídó ^L
3 _P	k̀i:rk	k-írk	k̀i:rgê:d

In the same way, the subordinate tenses can be formed of the negative auxiliary:

Example IV.272: negative auxiliary subordinate-tense paradigms

	rel. past (<i>REL PST</i>)	simultaneous (<i>SIMUL</i>)	inchoative (<i>INCH OA</i>)	
1 _S	kí:ǎ́ ^L	k-í:ǎ́-a ^L	k-í:kú:m-á	k-í:ká:j-á
2 _S	kí:ǎ́n ^L	k-í:ǎ́-in ^L	k-í:kú:m-ín	k-í:ká:j-ín
3 _S	kí:ǎ́	k-í:ǎ́	k-í:kú:n ^L	k-í:ké ^L
1 _P	kí:ǎ́i ^L	k-í:ǎ́-i ^L	k-í:kú:m-í ^L	k-í:ká:j-í ^L
2 _P	kí:ǎ́s ^L	k-í:ǎ́-s ^L	k-í:kú:n-ǎ́r	k-í:ka:j-ǎ́r
3 _P	kí:ǎ́í	k-í:ǎ́-í	k-í:kú:n ^L	k-í:ke ^L

The modal auxiliary **ó:l** ‘can’ is used to indicate that the subject has the capacity to do something. It is inflected as an ε-class verb.

Example IV.273: auxiliary **ó:l** ‘can’

ó:lùn típír à é:kê:r.

ó:l-in tí-pír à é:k-ê:r

can-2_{S,CJ} INF-fly\ABS.SG CONJ truth-PL.ABS

You can truly fly!

As seen here, this auxiliary is followed by an infinitive verb form.

Furthermore there are a few verbs which can serve as full verbs in some contexts, but which can also serve as auxiliaries to other verbs, in order to provide modal or aktionsart information.

The first of these is the ε-class verb **děj** with the meaning ‘want’ and ‘need’. This is used to indicate deontic or optative mode to a proposition. If so, then the other verb appears in the infinitive form:

Example IV.274: **děj** as an auxiliary

a) òkà:n làk-é^L jó:p^L gò děj-ér àmbàb-è:t, ...

òkà:n làk-é^L jó:p^L gò děj-er àmbàb-ert

if have-IMPS.DJ people\NOM REL\PL.DIST want-3_{P,DJ} read-INF

If there are people who want to read, ...

b) dègér ké děj-é kò: bàrt-è:t.

dègér ké děj-é kò: bàrt-ert

know\3_{S,DJ} QUOT need-3_{S,DJ} NFUT.CJ give.birth-INF

She knew that she needed to give birth.

The same lexeme is also used as a full transitive verb, with the desired object in the *P* slot:

Example IV.275: **děj** ‘want’ as a transitive verb

děj-ér^L màcá:pé^L né:k cìnŋ jô:?
děj-er^L màcá:pé^L né:k cì-n-ì=ŋ jô:
want-3P.DJ book\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS DEM-SG-SP=SFT QUEST
Do they want this book, or not?

Another full verb that sometimes serves as an auxiliary is the verb **kúc** ‘come’, which is used as an inchoative marker in main clauses, or possibly to indicate an associative motion. It is accompanied by another verb which is inflected in the same way. This construction appears to be a serial-verb construction.

Example IV.276: **kúc** as an auxiliary

- a) **nè kúcí^L tàj^L kékàr.**
nè kúc-i^L tàj-ì^L kékàr
CONJ come-1P.DJ investigate-1P.DJ again
We will begin to investigate again.
- b) **nò dǝkún^L nò kúcí^L tùjìdǝ:điŋ.**
nò dǝk-in^L nò kúc-i^L tùjìd-í:d-i^L=ŋ
CONJ bring-2S.DJ CONJ come-1P.DJ roast-REFOBJ-1P=SFT
...you bring it and we begin roasting it.

The verb/auxiliary **kúc** inflects very irregularly, but the paradigm seems to be somewhat based on a centripetal verb form, minus the centripetal marker:

Example IV.277: inflection of **kúc**

	kúc	disjoint	conjoint		place
1 _S	kúcá ^L	kúc-a ^L	kúcà	kúc-à	<i>I come</i>
2 _S	kúcún ^L	kúc-ún ^L	kúcún	kúc-ùn	<i>you_{sg} come</i>
3 _S	kúcú	kúc-ú	kúcù	kúc-ù	<i>he comes</i>
1 _P	kúcí ^L	kúc-i ^L	kúcì	kúc-ì	<i>we comes</i>
2 _P	kù-rákɔ ^L	kù-rakɔ ^L	kùrákɔ ^L	kù-rákɔ ^L	<i>you_{pl} come</i>
3 _P	kùràk(í)	kù-ràk(í)	kùràk(í)	kù-ràk(í)	<i>they come</i>

The imperative of **kúc** is **wàd(ík)**:

Example IV.278: imperative of **kúc**

nè tɔ́ tǎ́ wǎɗ té:ǰá!
 nè tɔ́ tǎ́ wǎɗ té:ǰá
so.what 1s-DAT come\IMP.SG butcher\IMP.SG
So what? Start butchering for me!

The centripetal auxiliary **kúc** is complemented by the centrifugal counterpart **kè:**, which is a shortened form of the full intransitive verb **kè:ɗ** ‘go’ (see example IV.164 for its full paradigm). It is also used as a first element in serial verb constructions to indicate an inceptive aktionsart, or to express an associated motion (see section V.8.4 for its use).

Example IV.279: serial verb construction with **kè:**

nè kè: tònú lè:rà ké ...
 nè kè: tòn-í lè:r-à ké
CONJ go\3s say-3s.DJ Leer-DAT QUOT
She went to tell Leer that ...

IV.3.6 Adpositions

One of the Majang language’s claims to fame up to this point was its alleged use of postpositions in spite of its *VAP* nature. Unseth (1989b, p. 106) states that words like **ràŋ** ‘top’, **tàk** ‘inside’ and **wàlèc** ‘from outside’ are postpositions, linking these to similar findings in Murle (Arensén, 1982, p. 117) and Didinga (Odden, 1983, p. 169). Therefore, these Surmic languages apparently contradict Greenberg’s (1966, p. 78) language universal 3, stating that “languages with dominant *VSO* order are always prepositional.”

Contrary to Unseth’s findings, these words show several characteristics that preclude their interpretation as postpositions. T. Payne (1997, p. 87) states that adpositions derive historically from nouns or verbs, and that a good way to find out if a word is one or the other is its behavior. When it is a verb or a noun, it takes on verbal or nominal inflection markers; when it is a preposition, it doesn’t. Applied to Majang, one needs to see whether the stated words still can take on nominal morphology (as they apparently go back to nouns) or not. Now, the two words **ràŋ** ‘top’ and **tàk** ‘inside’ can indeed be inflected for case. They show up in this form when the noun they relate to is locative:

Example IV.280: **tàk** and **ràŋ** with locative case

- a) **lànká^L kó ðũk tàk!**
làn-ká^L kó ðũk tàk
find-CP.1S.DJ RECPST forest\SG.LOC inside\LOC
I found (her) in the forest.
- b) **nò òjĩ^L ɲá:w à gírójkê:n dó:k ràŋ.**
nò òj-ĩ^L ɲá:w à gírój-kê:n
CONJ drive-1S.DJ hunger\SG.ABS CONJ poor.person-NOMIN.SG.ABS
dó:k ràŋ
land\SG.LOC top\LOC
...and we drive hunger and poverty from the land.

But these words can also be used in the dative case:

Example IV.281: **tàk** with dative case

- nè cà:di^L gàbɛ^L èkédà tàkà:nà ké ...**
nè cà:di^L gàb-ɛ^L èkéd-à tàk-à:nà ké
CONJ then give-IMPS.DJ plan-SG.DAT inside-DAT QUOT
Then it was given into the plan that... (=it was planned that...)

In the same way, the dative of **ràŋ** is **ràŋà:nà**. Furthermore, these words can also be used as heads of their own noun phrase, as seen in the following example:

Example IV.282: **tàk** as head of a noun phrase

- nè kónkũd tàk cìgè mógúnkônk, nè dǎmɲ.**
nè kón-k-ĩd tàk cì-g-è mógún-k-ônk
CONJ gather-CP-RELST.3S.CJ inside\LOC REL-PL-HR duiker-PL-GEN
nè dǎm = ɲ
CONJ eat.3S.DJ=SFT
Having gathered inside those (the meat chunks) of the duikers, she ate.

In this example, **tàk** 'inside' clearly does not serve as a postposition, as there is no noun it relates to. It may be analyzed as an adverb in this clause, but if so, it still goes back to the locative use of the noun 'inside'. Now, if these so-called postpositions can be marked for case and form their own noun phrases, two conclusions can be drawn: first, their morphological and syntactic behavior is too close to that of nouns to be called something else.

Second, if they agree in case with the noun they relate to, this is the opposite of what an adposition should do; an adposition should govern the case of the noun that it introduces in a prepositional phrase (T. Payne, 1997, p. 31).

It can be shown that these words modify the noun phrase, as the nouns they relate to appear in a modified case form, where this is applicable:

Example IV.283: so-called postpositions modify the noun

- a) **dé:gár^L dèpé:^L jàrti:**
 dé:gár^L dèpé:^L jàrti:
sleep\3s.DJ lion\SG.NOM woman\SG.LOC
The lion sleeps near the woman.
- b) **dé:gár^L dèpé:^L jàrti: ná:ké^L.**
 dé:gár^L dèpé:^L jàrti: ná:k-é^L
sleep\3s.DJ lion\SG.NOM woman\SG.LOC.MOD POSS\1s.SG-LOC
The lion sleeps near my woman.
- c) **dé:gár^L dèpé:^L jàrti: jók.**
 dé:gár^L dèpé:^L jàrti: jók
sleep\3s.DJ lion\SG.NOM woman\SG.LOC.MOD close\LOC
The lion sleeps next to the woman.

In example a), ‘woman’ appears in its plain locative form **jàrti:**. In example b), this NP is modified by a possessive pronoun, which results in the modified locative form **jàrti:**, with a different tone pattern. Now, in example c) this possessive pronoun is replaced by what appears to be a postposition, which again shows ‘woman’ to be the head of a modified NP, and not the syntactic dependent in a postpositional phrase. Therefore, these words are better seen as relational nouns, like Amharic ውስጥ ‘inside’ or ላይ ‘top’, and not as postpositions.

Other instances of what Unseth called postpositions are really just adverbs, such as **wàlèc** ‘from outside’, which can easily stand without a relating noun:

Example IV.284: **wàlèc** not a postposition, but an adverb

- à kíkí:^L tú:ké:^L jó:p^L ðgò wàlèc.**
 à k-ìk-ì^L tú:k-é:^L jó:p^L ðgò wàlèc
CONJ NEG-CP-1P join-NEG people.ABS.MOD other.ABS from.outside
... and we don't join other people from outside.

In light of the fact that Unseth's postpositions belong to at least two different parts of speech and clearly are not characterized by a uniform behavior, the evidence for challenging Greenberg's typological claim is too weak. Instead it is necessary to point out that there are a few instances of possible prepositions to be found in the language, although the evidence is similarly shaky as for the presence of postpositions.

Generally all spatial relations are indicated by the two cases locative and dative (see section V.4), where the locative serves for both static location and ablative. Any further specification is handled by relational nouns. But there are a few cases where something approaching the characteristics of a preposition can be found in the language. A first possible candidate is the clause-internal conjunction **à** (see IV.3.9), which in almost all instances could be translated by the English preposition 'with'. Another likely preposition is **òkó** 'like':

Example IV.285: possible preposition **òkó**

nè kójúrú'rúg òkó cìnik.
nè kójúrú=ŋ òkó cì-n-ì-k
 CONJ fade\IPFV.3S=SFT like DEM-SG-SP-POSS
It became dark, just like that.

This sequence **òkó cìnik** is encountered frequently in narrative texts, where **òkó** is best translated by the English preposition 'like'. In about 20 occurrences in the corpus, like here, **òkó** appears together with a demonstrative. But three instances were found where it introduces other types of noun phrases with the same semantic function:

Example IV.286: possible preposition **òkó** preceding pronoun and noun

- a) **dějér àmbàbè:t né:k òkó ì:níŋ.**
děj-er àmbàb-è:t né:k òkó ì:n=ŋ
 want-3P.DJ read-INF POSS\3S.SG.ABS like 2S=SFT
They want to read it like you.
- b) **nè dēgégérí:^L à tēm jémé^L òkó kán^L èmé òmáltèk.**
nè dēgégér-i:^L à tēm jémé^L
 CONJ agree-AC.3P.DJ CONJ initially previously
òkó kán^L èm-é òm-áltè=k
 like MEDPST year\SG-LOC OTHER-LOC-SUB
They agreed previously, like in that other year.

- c) **dê:ŋ, òkó mád^L.**
dé:=ŋ, òkó mád^L
red\3S.DJ=SFT like fire\SG.ABS
It is red, like fire.

Therefore, **òkó** might be a promising candidate for a preposition, but there are also problems with this analysis. The use of the subordinate-clause marker in example b) and also the tense marker suggest that it here serves as a conjunction introducing a comparative clause. Even in example c) the prepositional phrase appears to be placed outside the clause structure, following the *SFT*-clitic.

The following example from a text contains another word **dě** that appears to have a prepositional function. Its function is not clear, and its gloss is given entirely based on the English translation of the whole clause. A more confident analysis would require more occurrences in a bigger text corpus.

Example IV.287: possible preposition **dě**

- ɲà: tá^L dě wár^L cè:di.**
ɲà: tá^L dě wár^L cè:di^L
smell\3S.DJ 1S.DAT of dog\SG.ABS here
It smells of dog to me here.

Another doubtful candidate for the very short list of Majang prepositions is **còlāk** in the following example:

Example IV.288: possible preposition **còlāk** preceding pronoun and noun

- ɲà:r kó é:tá^L còlāk bà:búj né:kík.**
ɲà:r kó é:t-a^L còlāk bà:búj né:k=k
go\3S.DJ RECPST 1S-DAT towards husband\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SUB
She left me towards her husband.

Probably **còlāk** goes back to a relative pronoun **cò** followed by the verb **lākè**: ‘one has’. It clearly serves as some kind of allative preposition here, but it is in fact not needed, as the dative case on ‘husband’ would have accomplished the same. And again the use of the subordinate-clause marker may instead indicate a function as a subordinating conjunction or even a relativizer.

All things told, it becomes clear that the Majang language does not have a well-developed inventory of adpositions, be they prepositions or postpositions. It is certainly misplaced to cite Majang (and probably other Surmic

languages) as a counterexample regarding Greenberg's claim on postpositions in *VAP* languages. If Majang has any adpositions, they are prepositions, quite in line with Greenberg's universal. But Majang's preferred way of marking NPs for spatial relations is locative or dative case marking supported by relational nouns.

IV.3.7 Conjunctions

There are very few conjunctions in the Majang language. Their use is demonstrated in section V.8 Clause Combinations.

IV.3.8 Particles and all the other stuff

The Majang lexicon contains a number of words which do not fall within any of the grammatical categories introduced so far. I lump them into one big and messy left-over category *particles*. At least it is possible to divide what's there into a number of convenient subcategories.

IV.3.8.1 Pragmatic particles

Pragmatic particles are used by the speaker to interact with other speech-act participants. The following is a list of pragmatic particles identified in Majang.

In Majang agreement is expressed with the affirmative particle *ĩ*.

Example IV.289: affirmative particle *ĩ*:

ĩ: líkí mèlel cìnêŋ.

ĩ: líkí mël-é cì-n-è = ŋ

yes correct arrive-3S.DJ DEM-SG-HR=SFT

Yes, right, that is clear.

There is no particle in Majang that takes the function of English 'no'.

The particle *ánè* expresses the doubt of the speaker to something said previously:

Example IV.290: particles **ánè** and **kí:**

ánè **né:dà** **kí:** **èk?**
ánè **né:dà** **kí:** **èk?**
really end\SG.ABS QUEST how?
Really, how can it be the end?

This example also features another pragmatic particle, the question marker **kí:**, which is not necessary to create a question (the interrogative **èk** would accomplish this on its own), but it reinforces the question to the hearer.

Both particles **ĩ** and **ánè** could alternatively be classified as interjections (see next section), as they can serve as non-elliptic utterances on their own (Ameka, 2006, p. 1).

The particle **àná** is used instead of the imperative/jussive particle **in** in order to downplay the magnitude of the imposed task:

Example IV.291: particle **àná**

àná **tùrgùmé^L**
àná **tùrgùm-é^L**
just translate-IMP.PL
Just translate!

Majang people greet each other by use of the particle **dìgój**. This is very similar to the greeting **digé** observed in the Omotic Benchnon language neighboring the southern pockets of the Majang language area. The response to this greeting is the verb **bòdén** ‘it is well’.

The particle **tɿ^L** is used together with the conjunction **nè** and the *1s* short pronoun **tá^L** to exhort another speech-act participant to act on something.

Example IV.292: particle **tɿ^L**

nè **tɿ^L** **tá^L** **wàɗ** **té:jà!**
CONJ PRAG 1s.DAT come\IMP.SG skin\IMP.SG
So what? Start butchering!

A final pragmatic particle is **óré**, which serves as a thematic development marker, which leads into a new thematic topic in a non-narrative discourse.

Example IV.293: pragmatic particle **óré**

nè óré kékàr turgùmí: áṅ^L kónk à pèbèrṅ.
 nè óré kékàr turgùm-í: áṅ^L kónk à pèbèrṅ
 CONJ now again translate-1P.DJ thing\SG.ABS REF\RECPST CONJ finish\3S.DJ=SFT
 Now, again, we finished translating this thing.

IV.3.8.2 Interjections

Interjections refer “to a class of words which are unproductive, do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes, and whose function is purely emotive” (Crystal, 2003, p. 239). Some of these were found in the text corpus:

The interjection **tè** serves to catch the attention of the hearer:

Example IV.294: interjection **tè**

wà:lók, kó^L tè! bókót:tì: indíá^L gānk
 wà:lók kó^L tè bókót:tì: indí-á^L gānk
 Waalook HORT.1P te! kill-1P.CJ mother\1S-PL.ABS POSS\1P.PL.ABS
 Waalook, hey, let's kill our mothers!

The interjection **pô:** is used as an idiophonic speech clause to indicate the complete disappearance of something:

Example IV.295: interjection **pô:**

nè dām ké “pô:!” nè ṅǎ:rṅ.
 nè dām ké pô: nè ṅǎ:r=ṅ
 CONJ eat\3S.DJ QUOT po! CONJ go\3S.DJ=SFT
 He ate it all up and left.

The interjection **wě:** is the Majang cry of anguish:

Example IV.296: interjection **wě:**

nè dūrìjé ké “wě:!”
 nè dūrìj-é ké wě:
 CONJ cry-3S.DJ QUOT we!
 He cried “ouch!”

IV.3.9 Clause-internal conjunction

In section V.8 various ways are described in which clauses can be combined into complex sentences. But there are also ways in which phrases can be combined to form complex phrases or clauses.

The all-purpose clause-internal conjunction of Majang is **à**. It can be used for all kinds of connecting functions inside the clause. Other conjunctions with similar uses are also introduced in the following sections. As said above, it is possible to interpret **à** as a preposition ‘with’.

IV.3.9.1 Phrase coordination

The clause-internal conjunction **à** is used for combining two or more noun phrases into a coordinated noun phrase.

Example IV.297: coordinated noun phrases

- a) **làk-é^L ɓà wár^L à kú^Lrój.**
làk-é^L ɓà wár^L à kú^Lrój
have-IMPS.DJ REMPST\CJ dog\SG.ABS CONJ donkey\SG.ABS
There was a dog and a donkey.
- b) **wà:lók à lěɾ, cè:g ɓá^L cà:kómák^L.**
wà:lók à lěɾ cè:g ɓá^L cà:kóm-ak^L
Waalook CONJ Leer 3P REMPST friend-PL.ABS
Waalook and Leer, they were friends.

A greater variety can be observed for *or*-type noun-phrase coordination.

Example IV.298: *or*-type coordinated noun phrases

- a) **má^L ɓá^L bàr-er átútúné:kè ògóké mánkíré àmáré-è:k-è.**
má^L ɓá^L bàr-er átú-tún-ék-è ògók-é
but REMPST be.used-3P.DJ language-PL-LOC others-LOC
mánkíré àmáré-è:k-è
or Amharic-PL-LOC
But they were used to (reading) in other languages or in Amharic.
- b) **jártiá:tók^L kéjgún^L tó:mók^L, làtù ìjá:g^L cè:g bàṅé.**
járti-ártók^L kéjgún^L tó:m-ók^L là-tù ìjá:g^L cè:g bàṅé
woman-PL.ABS or child-PL.ABS have-3P.CJ work\SG.ABS 3P all
Women or children, they all have work.

- c) àgút^L jìkôn nò mó tú:kí:dfì:k àn òmá:j^L nò mó tú:kí:dfì:k kéjn^L ré ké wòrí kéjn^L
 ré ké jìkôn.
 àgút^L jìkôn nò mó tú:k-í:df=k àn òmá:j^L
because what CONJ alone join-PURP.3S=SUB thing\SG.NOM one
 nò mó tú:k-í:df=k kéjn^L ré ké
CONJ alone join-PURP.3S=SUB or 3S.PRAG QUOT
 wòrí kéjn^L ré ké jìkôn
money\ABS.SG or 3S.PRAG QUOT what?
This is in order to not have another thing join in, to not have, say, money join in, or not, say, whatever else.

In example a) the conjunction **mánkíré** ‘or’ is used to connect two NPs in a disjunctive way. In b) this same function is accomplished by **kéjgún^L**, and in c) by the use of **kéjn^L** preceding both terms.

IV.3.9.2 Adverbial conjunction

In the Majang language many clause-level adverbials are not case-marked noun phrases or prepositional phrases, but mini-clauses which consist of no more than a verb, stative verb or numeral, and which are not treated as independent clauses. They clearly are placed in the adverbial slot of the clause and are introduced by the clause-internal conjunction **à**. These adverbials have a very different status from the adverbial clauses presented in section V.8.3. For example they can never precede the clause they belong to.

Example IV.299: clause-internal conjunction used for adverbials

- a) àdàràt, ìn tá^L gàb-é^L à òmóŋ^L!
 àdàràt ìn tá^L gàb-é^L à òmóŋ^L
please! HORT 1S.DAT give-IMP\PL CONJ one
Please, give me one!
- b) mèlé kó ré tá^L à tém.
 mèl-é kó ré tá^L à tém
arrive-3S.DJ RECPST 3S.PRAG 1S.DAT CONJ little\3S.DJ
I understand it a little.
- c) nè kè:d-é^L àrè: lálán^L à kómój-èr.
 nè kè:d-é^L àr-è: lálán^L à kómój-èr
CONJ go-IMPS.DJ weave-IMPS.CJ relationship\SG.ABS CONJ nation\PL.ABS
A relationship is formed with the nations.

In example a) the conjunction **à** introduces a numeral, in b) a modal adverbial consisting of a stative verb (see section IV.2.4.2 for this construction) and in c) it almost serves like a preposition introducing a comitative NP. All three examples have in common that the adverbial phrase introduced by the conjunction **à** appears at the end of the total clause, where one would expect adverbial information.

Part V: Other Syntactic and Pragmatic Topics

This part of the language description deals with the use of the various forms explored in the previous sections, focusing on what they accomplish mostly from a functional perspective. Section V.1 investigates the structure of the noun phrase, and section V.2 does the same for verb phrases. In section V.3, the structure of the various kinds of simple clauses is presented, and section V.4 surveys the semantic functions of various noun phrases. Sections V.5 to V.6 briefly deal with further syntactic topics (valence-changing constructions and tense, aspect and mode). Section V.7 lists a number of pragmatically marked structures, such as fronting, negation, questions, focus and imperatives. Section V.8 investigates the various ways to combine clauses to complex sentences, and section V.9 addresses topics relating to topical continuity and discontinuity.

V.1 The Structure of the Noun Phrase

The head noun appears at the beginning of a noun phrase. The order of constituents is as follows:

*head noun – demonstrative/possessive – relational noun – quantifier –
relative clause*

Example V.1: examples for noun phrase ordering

- a) òlá^L cìgì bàṅé
 òlá^L cì-g-ì bàṅé
 things\NOM.MOD DEM-PL-SP all
 all these things
- b) ǵéṅǵé^L ǵéṅk bàṅé
 ǵéṅǵé-é^L ǵéṅk bàṅé
 day-PL.ABS.MOD POSS\3S.PL.ABS all
 all his days

It was shown in section IV.3.3 that quantifiers are less closely connected to the noun phrase than demonstratives or possessives. While these trigger the modified form of certain cases on the noun, any quantifier (if not joined by a demonstrative or possessive, as in example V.1) leaves the head noun in a non-modified state.

Example V.2: quantifier and noun

ɔ́lát^L bǎŋé
things\NOM all
all things

In this example, as opposed to example V.1a), the quantifier is the only other constituent relating to this noun, and the noun appears in its plain form **ɔ́lát^L** instead of in the modified form **ɔ́lá^L**. It therefore appears as if the quantifier is not really part of the noun phrase. The same is true for all relative clauses – they leave the head noun in the plain, not in the modified state.

Example V.3: noun followed by relative clause

ǰó:p^L cìgì rǐbéc'ká:ná'kík
ǰó:p^L cì-g-ì rǐbéc^L-ká:n-ak^L=k
people\ABS REL-PL-SP trouble-NOMIN-PL.ABS=SUB
persons that are troublemakers

In this example the plain absolutive plural form **ǰó:p^L** is used as the head-word, not the modified form **ǰó:^L**. It is interesting to note that in spite of their formal similarity, the demonstrative and relative pronouns have a different effect regarding the modification status of the noun that precedes them; demonstratives trigger a modified case form, whereas relative pronouns do not.

Relational nouns typically convey spatial information and derive from nouns. See section IV.3.6 for a discussion about their status as part of the noun phrase. Relational nouns always appear as the last element of a noun phrase, but preceding any quantifiers.

Example V.4: relative order of relational nouns in the NP

a) **ɖũk ná:ké tàk**
ɖũk ná:k-ɛ^L tàk
forest\SG.LOC POSS\1s.SG-LOC inside\LOC
inside my forest

- b) **dũk cé^L tàk**
dũk cé^L tàk
forest\SG.LOC DEM\SG.SP.LOC inside\LOC
inside this forest
- c) **dũk:kè tàk bàṅé**
dũk-ìk-è tàk bàṅé
forest-PL-LOC inside\LOC all
inside all forests

Interestingly, a noun phrase modified by a relative clause places the relational noun following the relative clause:

Example V.5: relational noun following a relative clause

dũk cé^L mènán ṅónk tàk
dũk cé^L mènán ṅónk tàk
forest\SG.LOC REL\SG.SP.LOC good\3S.DJ SUB inside
inside this good forest (lit: inside this forest that is good)

In this example, the relational noun **tàk** follows the subordinate marker **ṅónk** which ends the relative clause containing the stative verb **mènán**.

V.1.1 Number and case marking

The various elements of a noun phrase in Majang differ in the extent to which they agree with the noun in number and case. Possessive pronouns show the most amount of agreement with their head noun. All singular possessive pronouns agree in number and case with the head noun.

Example V.6: number and case agreement of singular possessives

- a) **màlé ídī wár^L ná:k.**
màl-é ídī wár^L ná:k
hit-3S.DJ man\SG.ERG dog\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS
A man hit my dog.
- b) **bò:bèr wár^L nàk-é^L kékàr.**
bò:b-é wár^L nàk-é^L kékàr
big-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\1S.SG-NOM again
My dog is big again.

- c) **bò:bèr wár^L gàné^L kékàr.**
bò:b-er wár-tun^L gà-m-é^L kékàr
big-3P.DJ dog\PL.NOM.MOD POSS\1s.PL-NOM again
My dogs are big again.

In this example, there is no overt difference between the absolutive noun in a) and the nominative noun in b). The different possessives **nák** and **nàké^L** therefore serve to show the case difference on the two noun phrases as a whole. In c) the possessive **gàné^L** provides redundant information on the plural of the noun phrase, together with the nominative case marking.

The plural possessive pronouns also agree with the number of the head noun, but mostly leave the case unmarked.

Example V.7: limited case agreement of plural possessives

- a) **màlé ídì wár^L nànk kékàr.**
màl-é ídì wár^L nànk kékàr
hit-3S.DJ man\SG.ERG dog\SG.ABS POSS\1P.SG.ABS again
A man hit our dog again.
- b) **màlé wár^L nànk ídít^L.**
màl-é wár^L nànk ídít^L
hit-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG.MOD POSS\1P.SG.ERG man\SG.ABS
Our dog hit a man.
- c) **bò:bé wár^L nànk kékàr.**
bò:b-é wár^L nànk kékàr
big-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\1P.SG.NOM again
Our dog is big again.

In example a) the plural possessive comes in the absolutive form **nànk**, the only form differentiated from the default form **nànk**, which is used not only for the ergative in example b) and the nominative in example c), but also for the dative and locative.

As was seen in section IV.3.1.2, demonstratives provide a clear number distinction, but they only show limited case agreement, as the three central cases share the same form; the locative and dative cases have their own separate forms. As the relative markers are almost identical to the demonstratives, relative clauses share this behavior: they agree with the head noun in number, but they only agree with the head noun in case if this is dative or locative (see section IV.3.1.3).

Except for the ergative case marking on cardinal numerals, quantifiers (see section IV.3.3) do not show any agreement with the noun they relate to, a fact that reflects their position somewhat outside of the noun phrase.

V.1.2 Specific reference

The Majang language makes use of a variety of strategies to provide specific reference to a participant. Demonstratives, temporal anaphoric-reference markers and possessive pronouns were encountered serving this function.

V.1.2.1 Demonstratives as specific reference markers

Demonstratives provide anaphoric reference to a participant mentioned before. But they can also be used to indicate a reference that is grounded in the world-view of the hearer. The following example is taken from a text in which no forest whatsoever was mentioned before. The forest is an entity taken for granted in the world-view of the Majang people, and the demonstrative is used to make reference to this ubiquitous entity.

Example V.8: demonstrative used for providing specific reference

- a) **nè kè: dũkà cê:**
nè kè: dũk-a^L cê:
and go\3s.DJ forest\SG-DAT DEM.SP.DAT
And she goes to the forest.

V.1.2.2 Temporal anaphoric-reference markers

The temporal anaphoric-reference markers introduced in section IV.3.2.2 are the preferred device for referring anaphorically to a participant or entity mentioned earlier in the discourse. They always follow the headword.

Example V.9: temporal anaphoric-reference marker

- jàrti^L kónk**
jàrti^L kónk
woman.SG.ABS REF\RECPST
the aforementioned woman

It was shown in example V.7 that for plural possessives the absolutive form is the only one marked in a different way from the other case forms. For

temporal anaphoric-reference markers the situation is intriguingly different, as here the ergative form is the only one with a different tonal pattern:

Example V.10: ergative temporal anaphoric-reference marker

màlé mè:ká^L kônk ídít^L.
 màl-é mè:ká^L kônk ídít^L
hit-3S.DJ pain\SG.ERG.MOD REF\RECPST.ERG man\SG.ABS
That aforementioned pain hit the man.

V.1.2.3 Possessive pronouns as specific reference markers

Finally, possessive pronouns are also used to provide specific reference. They are used particularly to provide reference to a participant that has been talked about before, but that did not participate in the narrative so far.

Example V.11: possessive pronoun as specific reference marker

nè mèlkí dúné^L nè:kê:ŋ.
 nè mèl-kí dúné^L nè:k-é=ŋ
CONJ arrive-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SFT
And Hyena himself arrived.

V.2 The Structure of the Verb Phrase

The verb phrase¹⁰⁵ in Majang may consist of the verb itself and a number of accompanying words, which T. Payne (1997, p. 84) proposes to call auxiliaries, which is not the terminology chosen in this grammar. In Majang these words are the tense markers introduced in section IV.3.4.2, and the short pronouns introduced in section IV.3.1.1. They can also co-occur in the same verb phrase, in the order *tense marker* – *short pronoun*:

¹⁰⁵This understanding of the verb phrase is different from definitions of the VP in generative grammar models, where the VP may include all information that is not contained in the subject NP, including the object NP. The verb phrase in Majang only contains the non-nominal material presented in the following discussion.

Example V.12: order of elements in a verb phrase

dàkín kɔ́^L tá^L à ìndíŋ.
 dàk-ín kɔ́^L tá^L à ìndí=ŋ
 remain-2S.DJ NFUT 1S.DAT CONJ mother\1S.NOM=SFT
 You will remain my mother to me.

The verb phrase of this clause is **dàkín kɔ́^L tá^L**. That the tense markers and the short pronouns are indeed part of the verb phrase (at least when they follow the verb) is evidenced by a number of phenomena. One of these is the conjoint-disjoint distinction (see section III.3). The conjoint verb phrases undergo special treatment in case the verb is followed by a tense marker. All such verbs are marked as disjoint, but some of the tense markers (**6á^L** ‘remote past’, **kɔ́** ‘recent past’ and **kɔ́^L** ‘near future’) display a different form if they are followed by a non-topical absolutive NP:

Example V.13: disjoint form used preceding tense marker

mèlki kò ídít^L cìnè kónk.
 mèl-kí kò ídít^L cì-n-è kónk
 arrive-CP.3S.DJ RECPST.CJ man\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\RECPST
 That aforementioned man has come.

In this example, the verb phrase (verb plus tense marker) is followed by a non-topical absolutive NP. The verb itself appears in the disjoint form, but the tense marker **kò** is marked by a low tone as conjoint. Such syntactic behavior is best explained by the assumption of the verb phrase (VP) as a unit relevant to Majang syntax. The conjoint marking applies not to the verb as such, but to the whole verb phrase headed by this verb. A conjoint form identifies the next constituent as being non-topical and in the absolutive case (see section III.3). If only the verb were the carrier of the conjoint-disjoint distinction, then the next constituent would be the tense marker in the above example, which is not an NP marked by the absolutive case. Therefore the verb would remain a disjoint verb. But the distinction affects the verb phrase as a whole, which is indeed followed by a non-topical absolutive NP, and therefore the conjoint is marked on the VP, on its last element.

Tense markers don’t have to follow the verb. When a clause is introduced by a conjunction, they appear in a time-related pre-nuclear slot preceding the verb:

Example V.14: tense markers preceding the verb

nè cá^L ɓá^L ɗi:rárkíɗ òlá cìgì bàŋék, nè ɓá^L gǒn.
 nè cá^L ɓá^L ɗi:r-árk-ɗ òlá cì-g-ì
 CONJ then REM PST fall-CP-REL PST.3P things\ABS DEM-PL-SP
 bàŋék=k nè ɓá^L gǒn
 all=SUB CONJ REM PST flee\3S.DJ
When all these things had fallen down, he fled.

Here the two remote past particles are both placed preceding the verb. They then also appear in the disjoint form.

The need to include the short pronouns inside the verb phrase arises from the fact that they are placed between the verb and any overt subject or object.

Example V.15: short pronoun preceding the subject

ɗi:ɓé ɓá^L tɪn^L wà:kójóɗ.
 ɗi:ɓ-é ɓá^L tɪn^L wà:kójóɗ
 create-3S.DJ REM PST 1P.P God\NOM
God created us.

Further evidence comes from the fact that these short pronouns, too, may change their tone to low when preceding a non-topical absolutive NP, as in the following example:

Example V.16: short pronoun carries conjoint marking

ɲà: tà ídɪt^L.
 ɲà: tà ídɪt^L
 smell\3S 1S.DAT.CJ man\SG.ABS
I smell a man (literally: a man smells to me).

This is a somewhat fascinating construction. The short pronoun **tà** is semantically the same as the *1S.DAT* pronoun **tá^L** seen in example V.12. This results in a dative NP preceding the absolutive object, which again would violate the order of constituents in Majang. The canonical order of constituents is only preserved by the assumption that **tà** is part of the verb phrase. This is confirmed by the change of tone to *L* on the particle, which is best explained as the conjoint marking of the VP, because the VP as a whole is followed by a non-topical absolutive NP. In this, **tà** mirrors the tonal behavior of tense markers, which also take on the conjoint marking in the appropriate environ-

ment. Assuming that these short pronouns are part of the verb phrase therefore avoids having to assume a special constituent order just for their sake.

Short pronouns can also precede the verb, as in the following sentence:

Example V.17: short pronoun preceding the verb

nè kó:^L nà dí:lê:r èpcón.
nè kó:^L nà dí:l-ê:r èpcón
 CONJ NFUT 2s.DAT carry-CF.3s Epheson
Epheson will bring it out to you.

It appears that both tense markers and short pronouns precede the verb whenever a conjunction introduces the clause, such as the conjunctions **nè** or **mà**. They are only found following the verb when no conjunction is in evidence. This appears somewhat odd – following the verb they clearly manifest themselves as part of the verb phrase; but the presence of some other element preceding the verb appears to cut them out of the verb phrase. Short pronouns always end up directly preceding the verb and can therefore still be seen as a part of the verb phrase without trouble. But the tense markers can be dislocated quite far away from the verb, and in a clause like the following it is difficult to defend their status as being part of the verb phrase:

Example V.18: tense marker dislocated far from the verb

nè ǎá^L rómî:d né:ké^L nòmé jàrtî: cìná:né^L ǎák^L.
nè ǎá^L rómî:d né:k-ε^L nòm-é jàrtî:
 CONJ REMPT morning POSS\3s.SG-LOC follow-3s.DJ woman\SG-LOC.MOD
cì-n-á:n-ε^L ǎák^L
 DEM-SG-HR-SG-LOC REF\REMPST
In the morning he followed after that aforementioned woman.

The alternation regarding the position of the verb apparently goes back to a restriction that each clause needs to begin with either a conjunction or a verb.

The only other material that can be analyzed as being part of the verb phrase is the particle **ǎé^L**, which is part of a few phrasal verbs: **dòkú ǎé^L** 'he sits down' or **dùnkú ǎé^L** 'he lies down'. This particle is always found immediately following the verb and is therefore apparently an integral part of the verb phrase. It cannot be left-dislocated like tense markers or short pronouns.

V.3 Grammatical Relations in the Simple Clause

Grammatical relations are the way in which a language establishes formal relationships between a predicate and the most important participants in a simple clause, based on the perspective the language has on the semantic and pragmatic situation (T. Payne, 1997, p. 129ff). Each language's grammar is deeply impacted by the perspective the language takes. This is certainly the case for the Majang language, which places a high emphasis on the pragmatic outlook of a proposition. It forces different case-marking strategies for the most central participants.

This grammar does not intend to follow the terminology, even less the formalisms of any particular theory or model of grammar. It hopes to be still useful and readable when all the models or theories of grammar fashionable at the time of its production have long been cast aside by future generations of linguists. But this does not mean that it ignores all contemporary thinking; the early 21st century provides a wide variety of useful models to inform the work of a descriptive linguist. Particularly the area of grammatical relations requires that a grammarian discloses what perspective was adopted when looking at the data.

The choice of terms such as *predicate* and *participant* in the preceding sections reveals that my perspective has been chiefly a functional one. I believe that the concept of valence and the idea of the predicate frame, both well developed by Simon Dik (1989) in his *Functional Grammar*, provide simple and insightful tools to describe what is going on in a clause, and my terminology borrows heavily from Dik's model. Slightly more modern influences on my analysis of the Majang data come from Croft (2001), Dixon (2010a) and VanValin & LaPolla (1997). The following terms are used in this section:

- *Predicate*: the central element of a clause, semantically defined by what is being said about the subject. The predicate slot of a clause may be filled by verbs, stative verbs, nouns, pronouns, quantifiers, even adverbs. Each different word category may require a different construction.
- *Participant*: a being or object involved in the semantic representation of a clause. This participant may or may not be referred to by a noun phrase.

- *A*: the most agent-like participant in a transitive clause.
- *P*: the patient or undergoer of a transitive clause. The participant most affected by the action.
- *S*: the only central participant of an intransitive clause.
- *Construction*: a syntactic configuration resulting from the combination of a particular predicate with particular participants in a particular pragmatic setting.

The simple clauses in Majang are characterized by a surprising variety of constructions, triggered by various factors to which the Majang syntax pays particular attention. Some of these factors are of a syntactic nature. Other factors make reference to the semantic and pragmatic makeup of the proposition.

In this section various simple-clause constructions of Majang are presented. They are introduced by stating the various parameters that influence these constructions, followed by a listing of these constructions, showing how differing combinations of the listed parameters result in different clause configurations.

V.3.1 Some further factors affecting Majang clause constructions

A good part of the information that might have fit into this section was already introduced in *Part III: Basic Syntax*. That section gives a basic introduction and general discussion regarding the case-marking system for central cases (section III.2), including a consideration of differential ergative marking (DEM) and differential-S marking (section III.2.1.2). It further contains all relevant information about the sentence-final topicality marker (*SFT*, section III.4) and the conjoint-disjoint distinction of Majang (section III.3). This happened in order to provide the context necessary for the understanding of forms and structures presented in *Part IV: Morphology*.

Two more factors not introduced in Part III have further effects on the structure of simple clauses in Majang.

V.3.1.1 Modification of noun phrases

As was seen in section IV.1.3.2, the case marking of a noun may vary between modified and unmodified noun phrases. This distinction affects all

case forms except the absolutive singular, the locative plural and the dative singular and plural.

Not everything that semantically modifies a noun phrase triggers modified case forms. It was shown in section IV.3.3 that quantifiers attach to plain nouns, as do relative clauses (see section V.1).

V.3.1.2 Fronting of constituents

Some non-verbal constituents can be placed in a pre-nuclear position preceding the verb. *A* and *S* are then marked by the nominative case.

Example V.19: fronting of *S*

...má^L wár^L kónk ñàrkí nè ðàm à óbí: = η.
 má^L wár^L kónk ñàr-kí nè ðàm à óbí: = η
but dog\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST go-CP.3S.DJ CONJ eat\3S.DJ CONJ big\3S.DJ=SFT
...but Dog went over and ate a lot.

For this sentence it would have been syntactically possible to have the *S* in the nominative case following the verb, as the verb is intransitive. For *S*, fronting is an option, not an obligation – fronting happens to re-activate an accessible participant (see section III.2.2.2) – Givón (1990, p. 916) calls this function the *activation of an existing file*. If an *S* is fronted, it needs to be marked by the nominative case. If following the verb, it can be either in the nominative or in the absolutive case.

An *A*, instead, is always fronted if in the nominative case, and always follows the verb if in the ergative case.

Example V.20: fronting of an *A*

nè ɓá^L ídɪ^L cìnè bòṇù tá:r-á^L gé:mk.
 nè ɓá^L ídɪ^L cì-n-è bòṇ-ì tá:r-á^L gé:mk
CONJ REMPST man\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR take-3S.CJ meat.chunk-PL.ABS POSS\3S.PL
That man took his meat chunks.

The only exception to this are verbs of speech, which behave rather like intransitive verbs. The nominative subject can either precede or follow the verb.

Example V.21: fronting and non-fronting of a speech-verb subject

- a) **nè ɓá^L wár tònú kú^Lrójá^L ké...**
nè ɓá^L wár tòn-í kú^Lrój-a^L ké
 CONJ REM PST dog\SG.NOM say-3S.DJ donkey\SG-DAT QUOT
Dog told Donkey...
- b) **nè ɓá^L cà:df^L ká:lt tònú kú^Lrój^L cà:kómá^L né:ká^L ké...**
nè ɓá^L cà:df^L ká:lt tòn-í kú^Lrój^L
 CONJ REM PST then midnight\SG.LOC say-3S.DJ donkey-SG.NOM
cà:kóm-a^L né:k-a^L ké
 friend\SG-DAT POSS\3S-SG-DAT QUOT
Then, at midnight, Donkey told his friend...

Both examples, taken out of natural texts, take a nominative subject with the same verb **tònú**. In example a) this subject is fronted, but in example b) it follows the verb. Apart from such speech verbs, no other transitive verbs not fronting a nominative subject were found. This may be seen as an indication that speech verbs are treated inherently as intransitive verbs in Majang.

Another exception to the rule that a nominative *A* cannot appear post-verbally is example V.125, where this happens in a causal adverbial clause. Possibly there is more flexibility in subordinate clauses.

The following examples give the impression that a *P* (therefore in the absolute case) can also be found in the preposed position:

Example V.22: left-dislocation of *P*

- a) **mèlé kó:mjón^L cèŋ. kó:mjón^L cè, làkí^L ètéŋ^L bàŋé.**
mèl-é kó:mj-ón^L cè=ŋ. kó:mj-ón^L cè
 arrive-3S.DJ question-NOMIN.SG.NOM DEM\HR=SFT question-NOMIN.SG.NOM DEM\HR
làk-í^L ètéŋ^L bàŋé
 have-1P.DJ 1S all
That question is clear. That question, we all have it.
- b) **jàrtí ná:k, ðam kó jikónt?**
jàrtí ná:k ðam kó jikónt
 woman\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS eat\3S.DJ RECPST what\ERG
My woman, what ate her?

But these examples show a different phenomenon from fronting, the left-dislocation of constituents to a position outside the clause (see section V.7.1.2).

Fronting is further used to mark a constituent as a contrastive topic (see section V.7.1).

V.3.2 *Intransitive clauses*

In the model followed for writing this grammar (see Dik (1989, p. 67ff) for his presentation of the concept of the nuclear predication) it is assumed that each clause consists of at least a subject (the entity that the clause is about) and a predicate (what is being said about the subject). The predicate determines the number and type of arguments that are needed for the clause (Dixon, 2010a, p. 98). In many cases the predicate is a verb, but not necessarily so. Therefore the first part of this section deals with non-verbal predicates, whereas the second part covers verbal intransitive predicates.

V.3.2.1 *Non-verbal predicates*

Functional models of grammar differ in the treatment of non-verbal predicates. The analysis here follows Dik (1989, p. 166), who ascribes the full weight of the predicate to the noun phrase which fills the predicate position of the clause. Dixon (2010a, p. 100f) instead treats a clause with non-verbal predicate as a copula-construction, where a noun phrase serves as the copula complement to the copula verb, which he sees as the real predicate of the clause. Such an analysis does not do justice to the situation in Majang, as a copula is not present in all such constructions.

Example V.23: completely verbless clause

wà:lók à lěɾ, cè:g ɓá^L cà:kómák^L.
 wà:lók à lěɾ cè:g ɓá^L cà:kóm-ak^L
 Waalook CONJ Leer 3P REMPST friend-PL.ABS
 Waalook and Leer, they were friends.

This is an example of a complete grammatical clause of Majang. Nothing can be added to make it more grammatical, and therefore in such constructions no copula is required or even allowed. If a copula is not present, then an analysis of the non-verbal predicate as a copula complement does not appear very appealing. Instead, Dik's (1989, p. 166) analysis is followed here in that "we assume that the copula is introduced in those conditions in which it appears, rather than being deleted in those in which it does not occur." This makes the NP **cà:kómák^L** the uncontested predicate of the above

example. The *RMPST*-marker ǂá^L also needs to be seen as part of the predicate phrase.

Clauses with nominal predicate and personal-pronoun subject

If a noun serves as a predicate, then the clause denotes either a proper inclusion, a specification or an equation (T. Payne, 1997, p. 114ff). The subject is either identified as a member of a bigger group, or it is established as identical with the referent of the predicate. A case of an equation clause is example V.26 below.

A first important observation about Majang¹⁰⁶ is that there are clauses which contain not even the semblance of a verb. Where many other languages have to insert a copula as a link between subject and verbless predicate, Majang allows constructions which juxtapose subject and predicate without the need for any further material. This happens when the subject consists of a regular personal pronoun.

Example V.24: pronominal subject with nominal predicate

ǂěm ǂǎǎlt^L.
 3_S thief\SG.ABS
He is a thief.

This clause is a perfectly grammatical sentence in Majang. If the subject is a personal pronoun, no copula is used. The predicate noun phrase appears in the absolutive case. Another instance of this construction is example V.23 above – the two proper names in the beginning are preposed to a position preceding the clause.

Such clauses can have tense markers, as in example V.23, where the tense marker is placed between subject and predicate. The predicate NP can be as complex as any NP in the language:

Example V.25: pronominal subject with complex nominal predicate

ǂnák^L jóp^L cǐǐ rébéc^Lkámá^Lkík!
 ǂnák^L jóp^L cǐ-g-ǐ rébéc-kám-ák^L=k
 2_S people\ABS.MOD REL-PL-SP trouble-NOMIN-PL.ABS=SUB
You are troublemakers!

¹⁰⁶See Unseth (1989a, p. 109ff) for an early description of Majang copula constructions.

In this example the predicate jó:p^L is modified by a relative clause, which in itself has a nominal predicate without a copula or any other verbal introduction.

In an important way this construction is exceptional for Majang. Whereas in all other constructions the *S* usually follows the predicate (if it is not fronted into a preverbal position), here the predicate clearly follows the *S*. There is no indication that any fronting of the *S* has happened, as there is no alternative to this construction that would have the *S* following the predicate. An explanation may be that in such a construction the *S* usually refers to known information, whereas the predicate constitutes new information – the structure seen here therefore grammaticalizes the iconic representation of the order old–new.

Clauses with nominal predicate and non-pronominal subject

In a clause with a nominal predicate, if the subject is a noun phrase other than a personal pronoun, the copula ègè is used at the beginning of the clause. In the following example, the subject is a demonstrative pronoun.

Example V.26: use of the copula ègè in equation clauses

- a) $\text{ègè cì:n-òj bá:tát}^L \text{ ná:k.}$
 $\text{ègè cì:n-òj bá:tát}^L \text{ ná:k}$
COP DEM-SG-DIST brain\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS
That is my brain.
- b) $\text{ègè cì:g-òj jó:r}^L \text{ gá:nk.}$
 $\text{ègè cì:g-òj jó:r}^L \text{ gá:nk}$
COP DEM-PL-DIST feces\PL.ABS POSS\1S.PL.ABS
Those are my feces.

In this construction, too, the predicate appears at the end of the clause, but this time the copula at the beginning of the clause provides a verb-like element at the expected place to create a *VS* structure that mirrors the clause structure with verbal predicates. It can also be seen that the form ègè is used for both singular and plural *S*. Further person marking is not possible, as no copula is used at all for 1st or 2nd person *S*, but just the personal pronouns, as seen above. Therefore, there is no morphological variation to this copula.

In the next construction the subject is a proper name:

Example V.27: use of the copula **ègè** in a proper-inclusion clause

ègè wà:lók gá:gè.
COP Waalook\NOM stupid.person\SG.ABS
Waalook is an idiot.

Some similar constructions may give the impression that the copula **ègè** can also be used with stative-verb predicates:

Example V.28: use of the copula **ègè** with stative-verb-like predicates

- a) **ègè àbí cìní dāmé.**
ègè àbí cì-n-ì dāmé
COP cloth\SG.ABS DEM-SG-SP yellow
This cloth is yellow.
- b) **ègè bépècè dàrí céngí.**
COP today sky\SG.ABS blue
Today the sky is clear.

Although the two words **dāmé** ‘yellow’ and **céngí** ‘blue’ are color terms, they are not stative verbs, but nouns, which is why they can appear in this construction. Real stative verbs as predicates are treated in their own section below.

Clauses with locative noun phrases as predicates

When a locative noun phrase serves as the predicate, the locative copula **àr** is used in the same place as the regular copula **ègè**.

Example V.29: locative predicate with copula **àr**

àr tíné^L.
àr tín-e^L
COP.LOC IP-LOC
It is with us.

If the subject ever appears in a position preceding the locative copula **àr**, as in the following example, then this is a case of left-dislocation (see section V.7.1.2).

Example V.30: locative predicate with left-dislocated subject

cìtétí^L né:k, àr cè:díŋ.
 cìtétí^L né:k àr cè:dí=ŋ
error POSS\3S.SG.ABS COP.LOC here=SFT
His error, it is here.

Predicate pronouns

All kinds of pronouns can be found in the predicate slot of Majang clauses.

A personal pronoun was already seen as a predicate in the above example V.29 **àr tíné^L** ‘it is with us’. Further it is possible to have a possessive pronoun in the predicate slot of a clause:

Example V.31: possessive pronoun as predicate

ègè cìnì nó:k.
 ègè cì-n-ì nó:k
COP DEM-SG-SP POSS\2S.SG.ABS
This is yours.

In this example the copula **ègè** is needed, as the subject is not a personal pronoun. The pronoun in the predicate slot has the high-tone marking of the absolutive case. The demonstrative pronoun in the subject slot is not visibly marked for case.

Interrogative pronouns also frequently fill the predicate slot.

Example V.32: interrogative pronoun as predicate

nè àr é:t?
CONJ COP.LOC where?
Where is it?

And finally it is possible to have demonstrative pronouns as predicates:

Example V.33: demonstrative pronoun as predicate

àr ídf^L cìnó:'nê.
 àr ídf^L cì-n-ó:n-é^L
COP.LOC man\SG.NOM DEM-SG-DIST-SG-LOC
The man is in this.

Predicate numerals

Cardinal numerals can be used as predicates in Majang.

Example V.34: cardinal numeral as predicate

ègè jégúát^L gè:mé^L jí:t^L.
 ègè jégú-át^L gè:m-é^L jí:t^L.
COP OX-PL.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.PL-NOM three
His oxen are three.

As one would expect from the preceding sections, the subject can be marked by both the nominative and the absolutive case. In the above example, the subject is a modified nominative noun phrase.

Just like cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals can also be used as predicates. This is not surprising, as it was established in section IV.3.3.2 that ordinal numerals function as nouns.

Example V.35: ordinal numeral as predicate

cě:m kán^L òmònjé.
3S MEDPST first.one\SG.ABS
He was first.

This sentence once more has a personal-pronoun subject, and therefore does not use the copula ègè.

Predicate adverbs

Even adverbs can fill the predicate slot in the Majang language.

Example V.36: adverb as predicate

má^L kó:^L è:t mó?
but NFUT 1S alone
But will I be alone?

V.3.2.2 Verbal intransitive predicates

As opposed to the intransitive predicates seen so far, many intransitive constructions make use of a verb. This implies that these predicates are marked for person, which was not the case with any of the predicates seen in the previous section. All subjects of intransitive clauses are marked by either the absolutive or the nominative case, depending on their topicality.

Existential clauses

Existential clauses denote the existence of a participant. These are formed with the impersonal form **láké^L** of the transitive root **lák** ‘have’ (see section V.3.3.1). It has the single participant marked in the absolutive case.

Example V.37: existential clause

láké^L ɓà ádámójín^L.
lák-é^L ɓà ádámój-ín^L.
have-IMPS.DJ REM PST.CJ hunter-SG.ABS
Once there was a hunter.

The existential construction treats the entity whose existence is asserted as the *P* of the predication in the absolutive case, with the verb in its conjoint configuration, as the *P* is invariably a non-topical entity whose existence is established through the clause. The preceding example is a typical introductory formula to a traditional narrative, presenting information entirely new to the hearer.

Stative verbs as predicates

Stative verbs as predicates can co-occur with both topical and non-topical subjects. Topical subject NPs are marked by the nominative case, and non-topical subject NPs come in the absolutive case. If this absolutive case NP follows the stative verb directly, the stative verb uses a conjoint verb form.

Example V.38: stative-verb predicate clauses

- a) **gòl-é ídɪ̃.**
gòl-é ídɪ̃^L = ɲ.
selfish-3S.DJ man\SG.NOM=SFT
The man is selfish.
- b) **ɓànkàw pròjèt né:k.**
ɓànkàw pròjèt né:k
strong\3S.CJ project\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS
The project itself is strong.

In example a), the subject has the nominative form **ídɪ̃^L**, tonally modified by the *SFT*-clitic **=ɲ**. The absence of an absolutive NP results in disjoint marking on the verb. Example b) instead has a non-topical subject, which therefore

comes in the absolutive case. As it follows the verb directly, it triggers the conjoint form of the verb.

The topical subject of a stative-verb clause can also be preposed to a position preceding the stative verb:

Example V.39: stative-verb predicate clause with fronted subject

nè róríjón^L nè:kék ò:dfiŋ.
nè róríj-on^L nè:k-ék ò:dfi =ŋ
 CONJ teach-NOMIN.SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM difficult\3S.DJ=SFT
Its teaching is difficult.

Many stative verbs are used attributively, which makes them the predicate of a relative clause. These are treated in section V.8.5.

Clauses with monovalent verbs

Clauses with monovalent verbs are syntactically indistinguishable from stative-verb clauses. They have an absolutive or nominative subject, depending on its topicality. A nominative subject can be preposed to the position preceding the verb.

Example V.40: simple clauses with monovalent verbs

- a) **nè mèlki dúmáat^L wà:**
nè mèl-kì dúmáat^L wà:
 CONJ arrive-CP.3S.CJ owner\SG.ABS house\SG.DAT
The owner comes home.
- b) **nè bá^L cénk^L dádámí^L kú'rôjŋ.**
nè bá^L cénk^L dádám-i^L kú'rój^L =ŋ
 CONJ REMPT 3S.CONTR eat\IPFV-AP.3S donkey\SG.NOM=SFT
He, Donkey, was eating.
- c) **nè nàrkí dúnjé^L kékàr.**
nè nàr-kí dúnjé^L kékàr
 CONJ go-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM again
Hyena comes over again.
- d) **ìm dàkín kós^L tá^L à jàrtí.**
ìm dàk-ín kós^L tá^L à jàrtí
 2S stay-2S.DJ NFUT 1S.DAT CONJ wife\SG.ABS
You will stay with me as (my) wife.

Example a) has an absolutive subject, and therefore the verb is in the conjoint form. A further constituent in the dative case is added to the clause, but since this has an allative function, this clause remains intransitive. Examples b) and c) have topical and therefore nominative subjects. In example b) this subject is both preposed as a contrastive pronoun and in its regular post-verbal position as a full NP. This device serves to create a pragmatic contrast with another participant in the following clause. Example c) has an adverb as a further constituent, which again has no consequences regarding the lack of transitivity in the clause, but it prevents the use of the *SFT*-clitic, as the topical subject is not placed at the end of the sentence. Example d) has the pronominal subject preposed preceding the verb, and again there are further constituents in the clause which do not affect the lack of transitivity.

Intransitive bivalent clauses

Some bivalent verbs do not adopt a transitive pattern for marking their two participants. An example is the verb of perception **ṇá:** ‘*smell*’. It shows the experienced NP as the syntactic subject, and the experiencer as a dative NP which can be added as a short pronoun to the verb phrase.

Example V.41: intransitive bivalent clauses

ṇá: tà ídít^L
smell\3S 1S.DAT.CJ man\SG.ABS
I smell a man. (lit: A man smells to me.)

It was already noted that speech verbs mostly behave like intransitive verbs in Majang, as they code their participants in the same way as a perception verb like example V.41 above. A speech verb has three possible participants: the speaker, the hearer and the message. If the message consists of a noun phrase, then this is indeed coded as absolutive, serving as the uncontested *P* of the clause.

Example V.42: speech verbs with speaker and message

tònà wá:cíé^L.
tòn-à wá:cí-é^L
say-1S.CJ news-PL.ABS
I tell a story.

As noted, the message (**wá:cíé^L**) is coded as object in the absolutive case, in this example triggering the conjoint form on the verb. The subject is indicated by the subject marking on the verb.

Now, for most speech verbs the message is actually not part of the clause, but is placed into an extra clause opened by the quotative (*QUOT*) marker **ké**:

Example V.43: speech verbs with following speech clause

nè dūrìjé ké “wě:!”
nè dūrìj-é ké wě:
CONJ shout-3S.DJ QUOT ouch!
He shouted “ouch!”

This main clause does not have an object inside the nuclear clause, and therefore no NP is marked by the absolutive case. The verb comes in a disjoint form.

Many speech verbs make reference to the hearer, instead. The hearer is consistently marked by the dative case.

Example V.44: speech verbs with hearer in dative case

tònú étà òmáltá^L ké...
tòn-í ét-à òm-áltá^L ké
say-3S.DJ person\SG-DAT other-DAT QUOT
He told the other one “[...]”.

When the hearer is not a full noun phrase, it is attached as a short pronoun to the verb phrase, exactly like the perception verb in example V.41.

Example V.45: speech verbs with hearer as short pronoun in the verb phrase

- a) **tònún tá^L ké...**
tòn-ín tá^L ké
say-2S.DJ 1S.DAT QUOT
You tell me “[...]”.
- b) **tònún tà wá:cíé^L.**
tòn-ín tà wá:cí-é^L
say-2S.DJ 1S.DAT.CJ news-PL.ABS
You tell me a story.

Example a) has the message of the speech act as a speech clause, and because there is no absolutive NP in the clause, the verb phrase is disjoint,

leaving a *H* on the short pronoun. Example b) shows the message as a non-topical absolutive NP, and the verb phrase shows up as conjoint, which is marked by the *L* on the short pronoun, just as seen in example V.41.

These short pronouns are only used for 1st and 2nd person hearers. A third person hearer is indicated by the deictic-transfer form (*TF*) of the verb:

Example V.46: hearer marking in speech verbs (disjoint)

	tònú 'he says to ____'		
1 _S	tònú tá ^L	tòn-í tá ^L	he says to me
2 _S	tònú nà	tòn-í nà	he says to you _{SG}
3 _S	tòṅgê:d̥	tòṅ-gê:d̥	he says to him (<i>TF</i>)
1 _P	tònú tìnà	tòn-í tìnà	he says to us
2 _P	tònú kònà	tòn-í kònà	he says to you _{PL}
3 _P	tòṅgê:d̥	tòṅ-gê:d̥	he says to them (<i>TF</i>)

That this is really a mixed paradigm, using quite different morphological devices, becomes apparent from the fact that the subject marking appears in different places for the 1st and 2nd person hearer on one side (as in example V.45 **tònún tá^L** 'you tell me' between verb stem and short pronoun) and for the 3rd person hearer on the other side (as in **tòṅgúǎ^L** 'I tell him', at the end of the whole verb).

V.3.3 Transitive constructions

Transitive clauses are characterized by having at least two constituents besides the verb, and these use the ergative or nominative for the transitive subject *A*, and the absolutive for the object *P*.

Example V.47: transitive clauses

- a) **kàkàw wâr áduréák^L.**
kàkàw wâr áduré-ak^L
bite\IPFV.3S dog\SG.ERG cat-PL.ABS
A dog keeps biting cats.
- b) **nè tàwá:wê: tìṁ cè:níṅ.**
nè tàwá:wê: tìṁ cè:n = ṅ
CONJ Tawaawee\NOM wound\3S.DJ 3S=SFT
Tawaawee wounded him.

- c) **é rí:ḡérgé:^L kòcǐé né:k ád-a:^L.**
 é rí:ḡ-er-gé:^L kòcǐé né:k ád-a:^L.
 CONJ place-INCPT-TF.3S.CJ pipe\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS mouth\SG-DAT
He placed her pipe in her mouth.
- d) **má^L lè:r bònú éméC^L, ...**
 má^L lè:r bòn-í éméC^L
 but Leer.NOM take-3S.DJ mother\3S.ABS
But Leer took his mother and...
- e) **jàrtí ná:k, lǎnká^L kó ðũk tàk!**
 jártí ná:k lǎnk-a:^L kó ðũk tàk
 woman\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS find-1S.DJ RECPST forest\SG.LOC inside.LOC
My wife, I found her in the forest!

As seen in these examples, transitive clauses can come in various configurations, depending on the factors explored in section V.3.1 and particularly in *Part III: Basic Syntax*. Example a) has an ergative-absolutive configuration, whereas the other examples either have no overt *A* (c and e), or the *A* is in the nominative. The *A* is preposed in examples b) and d), and the *P* is left-dislocated in example e). Example c), with the verb phrase immediately followed by the absolutive *P*, has a conjoint form, whereas the other examples use disjoint forms. What all these examples have in common is that there is always an overt *P* in the absolutive case (or the clause would not be transitive), and that an *A*, if overtly present, always precedes the *P* (see section V.7.3 for exceptions to this based on focality). Other clause constituents, such as the dative-allative noun in example c), always follow both *A* and *P*.

The complex case system of Majang, influenced by the factor of topicality, leads to the question of whether bivalent constructions are all equally transitive, or some are more transitive than others. They are certainly coded in different ways. When a nominally transitive action is seen as non-telic or non-punctual, a plain verb is turned into a derived imperfective verb stem. These in turn tend to have a non-individuated object, which is easily left out through the antipassive derivation:

Example V.48: transitivity decreased by non-telic and non-punctual action

- ...**má^L cénk^L kú'rój dǎdámí:^L cà:dí.**
 má^L cénk^L kú'rój dǎdám-i:^L cà:dí
 but 3S.CONTR donkey\SG.ABS eat\IPFV-AP.3S there
...but he, Donkey, was eating there.

In this example, the non-telic and non-punctual action on a non-individuated object ensures the use of the antipassive derivation on an imperfective verb stem. This construction displays considerably less transitivity than any of the clauses in example V.47.

Drossard (1991, p. 411), following and extending Tsunoda (1981), established a differentiated scale of semantic verb classes based on Hopper & Thompson's (1980, p. 253f) factor of affectedness of the object. Verbs like *kill* and *destroy* maximally affect the object and therefore are maximally transitive. Other transitive verbs merely impact the object, like *beat*. Others leave the object fully unaffected, like verbs of perception, or emotional verbs like *love* or *envy*. Finally, some verbs requiring two participants are hardly perceived to entail any semantic transfer, such as *imitate* or *resemble*. Many verbs of these semantic classes behave like regular transitive verbs:

Example V.49: verbs with less affected objects

- a) **dɛjɛ ɪdɪ^L gòdɛ.**
 dɛj-ɛ ɪdɪ^L gòdɛ
 want-3S.DJ man\SG.NOM house\SG.ABS
 The man wants a house.
- b) **dɛnɛr dɛpɛɪk ɪdɪ^L.**
 dɛn-er dɛpɛ-ɪk ɪdɪ^L
 see-3P.DJ lion-PL.ERG man\SG.ABS
 Lions see a man.

Other perception verbs use non-transitive patterns to code the experiencer and the experienced participant of the proposition (see example V.41). It was further seen above that in Majang, speech verbs can have a nominative *S* following the verb – a characteristic that separates intransitive verbs from transitive verbs in Majang. So it appears that Drossard's scale does have an influence on what kind of construction can be chosen in Majang.

V.3.3.1 Possessive clauses

It appears that some concepts of a semantically rather intransitive nature are expressed using syntactically transitive constructions. One example of these is the possessive construction. A possessive clause denotes the notion of belonging. In Majang this is formally expressed as a transitive construction, using the verb **lāk** 'have'.

Example V.50: possessive clause

nè ɓá^L ɓén òmáltè làk ɲóɗɗ^L kàrìònk.
 nè ɓá^L ɓén òm-áltè làk ɲóɗɗ^L kàrì-onk
and REMPT day\SG.LOC.MOD one-LOC have\3S.CJ neck\SG.ABS coffee.leaf-GEN
And one day she had a craving for coffee-leaf drink.

As seen in this example, the possessed item serves as the *P* to the verb **làk**, with the possessor serving as the *A* of the clause. If an *A* shows up, it is often fronted to the position preceding the verb, which in turn requires the use of the nominative case or of a contrastive pronoun.

Example V.51: possessive clause with fronted subject

má^L cénk^L wár^L làk ɲá:w.
 má^L cénk^L wár^L làk ɲá:w.
but 3S.CONTR dog\SG.ABS have\3S.CJ hunger\SG.ABS
And he, Dog, was hungry.

But it is also possible to use the verb **làk** with a subject marked by the ergative case. My consultants agreed that the following example is grammatical:

Example V.52: possessive clause with ergative subject

làk wâr ɲá:w.
 làk wâr ɲá:w
have\3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG hunger\SG.ABS
A dog was hungry.

V.3.3.2 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses contain verbs that require three arguments, usually an *A*, a *P* and a recipient (Dik, 1989, p. 69). Languages can differ considerably in the way in which these three arguments are coded (Joswig, 1996, p. 62ff), beyond the already discussed coding of *A* and *P*. Some languages treat the *P* as the default object of the clause, whereas others consistently choose the recipient for the object function. Other languages, such as Amharic, display split-phenomena regarding the object function similar to the ones observed for ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative systems.

Majang consistently marks all recipient and benefactive arguments as indirect objects with the dative case and in this way keeps them out of reach of the object function.

Example V.53: ditransitive clauses

- a) **nè tá^L gàkín^L dúndè né:kín!**
nè tá^L gà6-kín^L dúndè né:k = η
CONJ 1S.DAT give-CP.2S.DJ heart\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SFT
You give me his heart!
- b) **dí:l tá^L mád^L kòcìéónk jàrtià cò.**
dí:l tá^L mád^L kòcìé-ónk jàrti-à cò^L
bring\IMP.SG 1S.DAT fire\SG.ABS pipe\SG-POSS woman\SG-DAT DEM\SG.DAT
Bring for me the fire of the pipe to that woman.
- c) **nè cìnè jùmúrké:^L wó:dá^L?**
nè cì-n-è jùmúr-ké:^L wó:d-á^L
CONJ DEM-SG-HR return-CP.IMPS who-DAT
To whom will that be returned?

Examples a) and b) are orders to a second person, and example c) is an impersonal construction. The recipient is coded as dative in all cases. Example b) actually has two dative constituents; beyond the recipient the speaker introduces himself as the beneficiary into the proposition, which is marked as a dative short pronoun inside the verb phrase.

The benefactive can of course also be used with intransitive verbs. The following example rather shows a malefactive use of the dative case with the intransitive verb **ɲàɹ** ‘go’:

Example V.54: benefactive use with intransitive verbs

- ɲàɹ kó é:tá^L còlák bà:búj né:kík.**
ɲàɹ kó é:t-a^L còlák bà:búj né:k = k
go\3S.DJ RECPST 1S-DAT towards husband\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SUB
She left me towards her husband. (lit: She went – against me – to her husband.)

All in all, the nature of the dative case marking as a non-central case of Majang gives the impression that the third argument of Majang ditransitive verbs carries less syntactic prominence than can be observed in countless other African languages. Whereas many Bantu languages treat it on par with the object or even as the only object of ditransitive constructions, as described in Joswig (1996) for Swahili, and whereas several Afro-Asiatic languages of Ethiopia show similar structures, in the Majang language the recipient is always coded by the dative case. In order to give it a more central status, one needs to use the *TF*-form in the recipient-removal construction

(section V.5.4). In this sense, the language needs to be seen as a *direct-object language* in the terminology of Dryer (1986, p. 815), or a *patient-oriented language* according to my own terminology (Joswig, 1996, p. 62).

V.4 Semantic Functions of Noun Phrases

Section V.3 dealt only with the central constituents of a clause, which are either the object or the transitive and intransitive subject. Section V.3.3.2 additionally introduced the recipient and the benefactive (including malefactive) functions, which are both covered by the dative case. This section explores some other uses of noun phrases in Majang, and how they are coded.

A noun phrase is marked as a static location by use of the locative case:

Example V.55: locative case used for a static location

- a) **nè kè: rí:ḡê:r ḡòp-ε.**
nè kè: rí:ḡ-ê:r ḡòp-ε
 CONJ go\3S.DJ put-CF.3S.DJ path\SG-LOC
He placed her on the path.
- b) **làk-é^L ḡà jàrtí òm cì-n-ò lák-i^L ámfúk.**
làk-é^L ḡà jàrtí òm cì-n-ò lák-i^L
 have-IMPS.DJ REM PST.CJ woman\SG.ABS one DEM-SG-DIST have-AP.3S
ámf=k
 abdomen\SG.LOC=SUB
There was a woman who had something in the abdomen (=who was pregnant).
- c) **nè ḡàḡ-é:ḡ tá:r-ák^L cìḡ-ḡ ḡá^L mèd-é^L ḡūk tàkík.**
nè ḡàḡ-ḡ-é:ḡ tá:r-ák^L cì-ḡ-ḡ ḡá^L mèd-é^L
 CONJ give-TF.3S.CJ meat-PL.ABS REL-PL-HR REM PST roast-IMPS.DJ
ḡūk tàk=k
 forest\SG.LOC.MOD inside\LOC=SUB
He gave her meat chunks that were roasted in the forest.

All three clauses refer to a location that does not involve any horizontal movement – example a) has some vertical movement which does not factor into the view of the place as a static location. The locative case is chosen for all three noun phrases. In example a) and b) this locative NP stands on its

own, in example c) the relational noun **tàk** ‘inside’ is chosen to provide a more specific spatial reference.

As already stated by Unseth (1989b, p. 104), the locative case is also regularly used for the semantic ablative function:

Example V.56: locative case used for ablative function

- a) **nè ɓá^L pìrkí bà:búj^L kónk jàrtí: kónk.**
nè ɓá^L pìr-kí bà:búj^L kónk jàrtí:
 CONJ REM PST hurry-CP.3S.DJ husband\SG.NOM REF\RECPST woman\SG.LOC.MOD
kónk
 REF\RECPST
The aforementioned husband hurried over from the aforementioned woman.
- b) **nò òjír^L ɗá:w à gírój-kèn dó:k ràŋ.**
nò òj-ír^L ɗá:w à gírój-kèn dó:k ràŋ
 CONJ drive-IP.DJ hunger\SG.ABS CONJ poor-NOMIN.SG.ABS land\SG.LOC.MOD top\LOC
We will drive hunger and poverty from the country.

Allative noun phrases are marked by the dative case instead:

Example V.57: dative case used for allative function

- a) **kó^L pìrír^L étè cé^L kàtàméá^L.**
kó^L pìr-ír^L ét-è cé^L kàtàmé-a^L
 HORT\IP fly-IP.DJ man\SG-LOC DEM.SG.SP.LOC town\SG-DAT
Let's fly to town with this man!
- b) **nè òl:lé wà: tàpádónk.**
nè òl:l-é wà: tàpád-onk
 CONJ carry-3S.DJ house\SG.DAT ruler\SG-POSS
He carried (her) to the house of the ruler.

Example a) shows another use of the locative case, which gives the NP **étè cé^L** ‘this man (LOC)’ a comitative semantic role. The locative case is further used to code the instrumental function, usually without any relational noun:

Example V.58: instrumental use of locative noun phrase

- nè èkàŋ:ɗ lòngóló:tè gòròà dɛ:gá^L cɔ^L.**
nè èkàŋ-ɗ lòngóló:t-è gòrò-à dɛ:gá^L cɔ^L
 CONJ bring-REFOBJ.3S vine\SG-LOC river\SG-DAT across DEM\DIST.DAT
He brought her across the river with a vine.

Noun phrases can be used in a comparing function. For this the preposition òkó ‘like’ is used.

Example V.59: comparison with preposition òkó

nè ɓá^L kár dènèr ɲédán à dēɲ òkó mád^L.
 nè ɓá^L kár dèn-èr ɲédán à dé:=ɲ òkó mád^L
 CONJ REM PST go\3P.DJ see-3P.CJ tooth\SG.ABS CONJ red\3S=SFT like fire\SG.ABS
 They saw a tooth, red like fire.

All noun phrases introduced by this preposition òkó seem to be placed outside the predication, as in this example following the *SFT*-clitic, which normally ends the whole sentence. A noun phrase headed by òkó is the only material which can follow this clitic.

V.5 Voice and Valence-Related Constructions

This section covers all devices used by the Majang language to manipulate the valence of a predicate.

V.5.1 Antipassive construction

The antipassive is the syntactic-pragmatic counterpart to the impersonal form (see section IV.2.3.1), as both create semantically intransitive clauses out of transitive verbs. While the impersonal form is used for backgrounding a non-topical *A*, the antipassive is used for backgrounding a non-topical *P* (Givón, 1990, p. 624). Ergative languages which also display syntactic ergativity, such as verb agreement with the *P*, would additionally have a need for an antipassive construction to make an *A* available for equi-NP deletion (Anderson, 1976, p. 17), but this is clearly not a need for Majang, which displays no syntactic ergativity.

The presence of antipassive structures was observed by Schröder (2006) as characteristic for Nilotic and Surmic languages. That Majang has an antipassive construction was already addressed (with insufficient detail) by myself (Joswig, 2016). More details about the form of antipassive markers in Majang are found in section IV.2.2.2, where it is called *detransitivization derivation*. By comparing the antipassive form with the impersonal form, it

can be noted that the antipassive marking appears to be closer to the verb root, and that it takes further person marking. For this reason it is treated in section IV.2.2.2 as a derivation, whereas the impersonal marker fills the person slot of a verb with a dedicated impersonal formative, and is treated as inflection in section IV.2.3.1. This forces the conclusion that the antipassive is structurally unrelated to the impersonal form.

The antipassive, as stated above, entirely removes a non-topical *P* from the proposition. In Majang it is not possible to state an object in an antipassive clause, except in question clauses (see example V.91).

Example V.60: antipassive constructions

- a) **nè ǎá^L cénk^L ǎǎǎmí^L kú'rôjɲ.**
nè ǎá^L cénk^L ǎǎǎm-i^L kú'rój=ɲ
 CONJ REM PST 3S.CONTR eat\IPFV-AP.3S donkey\SG.NOM=SFT
He, Donkey, was eating.
- b) **ǎǎǎǎǎ:kím kó rě.**
ǎǎǎǎǎ-ǎi-k-ín kó rě
 kill-AP-EXT-2S.DJ RECPST 2S.PRAG
It is you who has killed.
- c) **kó^L ǎǎǎǎǎ:wɲi: nò ǎǎǎǎǎ:kì.**
kó^L ǎǎǎǎǎ-w-r-ǎ^L nò ǎǎǎǎǎ-ǎi-k-ǎ^L
 HORT.1P strong-INCPT-1P.DJ CONJ work-AP-EXT-1P.DJ
Let's get strong and work!

In all three examples, the *P* of the action has no impact on the discourse, as it has no topicality. The unstated *P* of example b) had in fact been a specific and important participant in the narrative, but at this stage of the story it only matters that the addressee is a killer.

It appears that both the impersonal and the antipassive construction in Majang are only used for backgrounding non-topical arguments of transitive verbs. While the impersonal form removes the *A* from the picture, creating a semantically intransitive clause with *P* as the main central constituent, the antipassive construction removes the *P*, creating an intransitive clause with *A* as the subject.

V.5.2 Anticausative construction

The detransitivization derivation (see section IV.2.2.2) is not only used for the antipassive, but also for verbs that are semantically transitive, but can be used in an intransitive way, indicating that agent and undergoer are not to be distinguished. Comrie (1985, p. 328) and Palmer (1994, p. 155) call this use *anticausative*, which I prefer over the rather imprecise *middle voice* or *middle construction* (T. Payne, 1997, p. 216), that was also used by Unseth (1989b, p. 113) to describe this construction in Majang.

Example V.61: anticausative use of the suffix **-di^L**

- a) **ɲù:lè béá^L.**
 ɲù:l-è béá^L
 break-3S.CJ spear\SG.ABS
 He broke a spear.
- b) **ɲù:lɗi: béá^L nè:kêŋ.**
 ɲù:l-di^L béá^L nè:k-é=ŋ
 break-AC.3S.DJ spear\SG.NOM POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SFT
 And his spear broke.

Example a) shows the verb **ɲù:l** ‘break’ in its transitive form, with the *A* indexed on the verb, and an absolutive *P*. In example b), instead, the spear is breaking on its own accord, which then requires the use of the detransitivization marker. The *S* of this clause is marked by the nominative case, and, being the last element of the sentence, is also followed by the *SFT*-clitic **=ŋ**.

V.5.3 Causative constructions

The Majang language does not have a productive way to produce morphologically derived causative verbs from basic verbs. Unseth (1998) demonstrated that Majang verbs like **ibá:l** ‘play’, **icíc** ‘prepare’, **ɪ́á:g** ‘work’, **ilìà:** ‘sing’ and a few others show an old Surmic causative prefix **i-**, which apparently lost its productivity some time ago.

If there is a need to introduce a causer into a proposition, the language nowadays accomplishes this via a periphrastic construction involving the verb **àr** ‘do’, followed by the main verb preceded by the clause-internal conjunction **à**. As no causative construction was encountered in a text, the following contrived example needs to illustrate this:

Example V.62: periphrastic causative construction

àrá ídíᵀ à rě:ríŋ.
 àr-á ídíᵀ à rě:r=ŋ
do-1s.DJ man\SG.NOM CONJ run\3s.DJ=SFT
I make the man run.

In this sentence the *1s* causer is indexed as subject on the verb, and the causee (assumed to be topical) appears as a further *S* in the nominative case.

V.5.4 Recipient removal

One function of the deictic-transfer (*TF*) form is to remove the recipient as an overt constituent from the clause when it is an activated participant in the discourse. As an example, the ditransitive verb **gàḁ** ‘give’ has the three arguments *A* (marked as nominative or ergative), *P* (the thing given, marked as absolutive) and the recipient (marked as dative).

Example V.63: canonical ditransitive construction

à 6áᵀ tínáᵀ gàḁḁ òlà bàṅḁ.
 à 6áᵀ tín-aᵀ gàḁ-é òlà bàṅḁ
CONJ REM PST 1P-DAT give-3s.DJ things\ABS all
..., he gave us everything.

If such a verb is used with a *TF*-form, the recipient does not need to be overtly expressed in the clause, if it is an activated participant in the discourse at this stage. The *TF*-form ensures the interpretation that the transfer goes from one deictic center, the *S* or *A* of the clause, to the other deictic center, as in the following example:

Example V.64: *TF*-removal of activated recipient

nè gàḁḁ:ḁ tá:r-áᵀ célcélékònk.
 nè gàḁ-gè:ḁ tá:r-áᵀ célcél-ek-ònk
CONJ give-TF.3s.CJ meatchunk-PL.ABS.MOD lizard-PL-POSS
He gave her lizard-meat chunks.

In this example, the recipient of the verb **gàḁ** is the female main character mentioned immediately before, and serving as secondary deictic center in this clause. The identity of the recipient is not revealed by any of the grammatical forms of this clause – the *TF*-marker **-gè:ḁ** is marked for the person of

the subject, but its form allows no identification of the recipient. The identification happens solely through the pragmatic means of the activation status of the participants in the discourse.

This construction is used very frequently with speech verbs in a conversation environment, where the speakers are taking turns in a predictable pattern:

Example V.65: recipient removal with speech verbs

nè tòngé:^L ménk^L ké
 nè tòn-gê:d ménk^L ké
CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ comrade\SG.NOM QUOT
The comrade told him that ...

This recipient-removal construction therefore serves to elevate the otherwise dative recipients or hearers of ditransitive verbs into a more central role of the proposition, but in this way actually removes them from overt appearance in the clause.

It would be possible to view this use of the *TF*-form as a dative-shift construction instead, were it not for the copious marking on the verb, which seems to be a disqualifying feature for dative shift (T. Payne, 1997, p. 192).

V.5.5 Dative of interest

A dative of interest construction can be observed in the Majang language. Dative of interest means that a further constituent is added to a proposition that refers to the beneficiary of an action (or to the one who is badly affected by it in an indirect way). This constituent is coded by the dative case (T. Payne, 1997, p. 192f).

Example V.66: dative of interest, positively affected

dí:l^L tá^L mád^L kòcìéónk jàrtià cò!
 dí:l^L tá^L mád^L kòcìé-ónk jàrti-à cò^L
take\IMP.SG 1s.DAT fire\SG.ABS pipe-POSS woman\SG-DAT DEM\SG.DAT
Take the fire of the pipe towards that woman for me!

In this example, the dative of interest is expressed by the dative short pronoun following the verb. The dative NP at the end refers to the recipient of this ditransitive verb.

The next example shows a negatively affected participant referred to by the dative of interest:

Example V.67: dative of interest, negatively affected

ɲà:r kɔ́ é:tá^L còlāk bà:búj né:kík.
 ɲà:r kɔ́ é:t-a^L còlāk bà:búj né:k=k
 go\3s.DJ RECPST 1s-DAT towards husband\SG.ABS POSS\3s.SG.ABS=SUB
She left me towards her husband. (lit: She went – against me – to her husband.)

I have only found 1st person examples of the dative of interest in my text corpus, but this does not exclude the possibility that it can be used for other persons in Majang.

No clear examples of the phenomenon called possessor raising (T. Payne, 1997, p. 193f) were found in Majang. In a proposition featuring both the affected possessor and the affected body part, both elements appear in juxtaposition, with the body part clearly marked as possessed. Both items appear as object, however, using the absolutive case:

Example V.68: construction with possessor and possessed affected in the same way

nè kàwè dūŋéd^L cìnè bá:k^L kómú:c né:k.
 nè kàw-è dūŋéd^L cì-n-è bá:k^L kómú:c né:k
 CONJ bite-3s.CJ hyena\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMPST muzzle\SG.ABS POSS\3s.SG.ABS
He bit that aforementioned hyena into its muzzle.

V.5.6 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Reflexive constructions of Majang use the noun é:k^L ‘body’ as a reflexive pronoun.

Example V.69: reflexive constructions

a) má^L bô ré wár àgàlkún^L é:k^L nè kè: dām jét.
 má^L bô ré wár àgàl-kún^L é:k^L
 but also 3s.PRAG dog\SG.NOM hide-SIMUL. 3s.DJ body\SG.ABS
 nè kè: dām jét
 CONJ go.3s eat\3s.DJ very
But also Dog, while hiding himself, went to eat properly.

- b) **nè wìdêr é:k^L gòdèà kónk.**
nè wìd-êr é:k^L gòdè-à kónk
 CONJ turn-INCPT.3S body\SG.ABS house\SG-DAT REF\RECPST
She turned herself to that aforementioned house.

The reflexive pronoun still functions as a noun phrase in the sense that it can have different topicality status and therefore has an impact on disjoint or conjoint marking. On the other hand, there is no plural marking on the noun for ‘body’ when the subject is plural. This becomes obvious when looking at the Majang reciprocal construction, which makes use of the same reflexive pronoun, still in the singular:

Example V.70: reciprocal construction

- nè kó^L kàkàcì^L é:k^L.**
nè kó^L kàkàc-ì^L é:k^L
 CONJ NFUT share\IPFV-1P.DJ body\SG.ABS
We will share with each other.

Here the reciprocal subject (as is expected in reciprocal constructions) is clearly marked as plural on the verb, but the reflexive pronoun stays in its singular form. The plural form of the absolutive noun **é:k^L** would be **èkàn**. A further feature of the reciprocal construction is the use of an imperfective verb stem to represent the non-punctual nature of reciprocal actions.

V.6 Tense, Aspect and Mode

Tense, aspect and mode (TAM) are grammatical features that provide information about the non-spatial setting of a proposition (Dixon, 2012, p. 1ff). Studying these extensively requires a very deep look into how the Majang language community views events and their temporal structure. This section does not attempt to get close to a comprehensive treatment of these parameters in the Majang language. This would have required much more space, and, more importantly, a bigger text corpus in order to identify the various functions covered by the devices used in the Majang language. It is therefore important to state beforehand that the area of tense, aspect and mode remains an area for very rewarding future research.

One thing that can be said as a general remark about the workings of TAM is that the Majang language does not treat the three components tense, aspect and mode in the same way, or even in the same slots of any morphological template. Quite different devices and strategies are chosen to address these, and even in the single functional area of tense, the marking strategies range from tense markers over verb suffixes to temporal markings used on referential particles.

V.6.1 Tense

In Majang there are two ways to indicate tense. One consists of a metrical tense system involving free tense markers which can appear both in the verb phrase and preceding the verb. A second system makes use of inflection markers on subordinate verbs.

V.6.1.1 Tense markers

The Majang tense system was described by others (Bender, 1983; Getachew, 2014; Unseth, 1989b, 2007) as a metrical system, using markers that were variously classified as either particles (Bender, 1983, p. 132; Unseth, 1989b, p. 106) or as clitics or even suffixes (Bender, 1983, p. 134; Getachew, 2014, p. 159; Unseth, 1989b, p. 108). These tense markers are **ḡà** ‘remote past (REMPST)’, **kán^L** ‘medium past (MEDPST)’, **kś** ‘recent past (RECPST)’, **kś^L** ‘near future (NFUT)’ and **kój** ‘distant future (DFUT)’. Most of what needs to be said about Majang tense markers was said in section IV.3.4.2.

One more piece of evidence that the tense markers indeed mark tense in Majang is the use of three of them in the formation of the temporal anaphoric-reference markers **ḡák^L**, **kánk^L** and **kónk** (section IV.3.2.2). Apparently these markers somehow ground the anaphoric reference in the time structure of the pragmatic context. They state that their referent has been mentioned earlier in the discourse, in this way re-activating a participant with somewhat faded accessibility. But it is by no means clear that the choice of the temporal anaphoric-reference marker reflects the textual distance of the anaphoric reference, as one would expect from a choice based on a metrical tense system.

Example V.71: use of temporal anaphoric-reference markers in narrative discourse

- a) nè ɓá^L cà:ɗí^L ɓák^L làkè ðũɗéd^L.
 nè ɓá^L cà:ɗí^L ɓák^L làk-è ðũɗéd^L
 CONJ REM PST there REF\REMPST have-IMPS.CJ hyena\SG.ABS
In that aforementioned place there was a hyena.
- b) má^L ɓò ré ðàkè tá:r^L cìnè kánk^L cà:ɗí^L.
 má^L ɓò ré ðàk-é tá:r^L cì-n-è kánk^L cà:ɗí^L.
 but also 3S.PRAG remain-3S.DJ meat\SG.NOM DEM-SG-HR REF\MEDPST there
But that aforementioned meat also remained there.
- c) má^L wár^L kónk ñàrkí nè ðàm à óbîŋ.
 má^L wár^L kónk ñàr-kí nè ðàm
 but dog\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST come-CP.3S.DJ CONJ eat\3S.DJ
 à óbî: =ŋ
 CONJ big\3S.DJ=SFT
But that aforementioned dog came over and ate a lot.

In example a) the anaphoric reference goes back just one clause, in example b) eight clauses, and in example c) two clauses. What might play a role in the choice of the markers is the currently active tense. In example a) the marker ɓák^L appears together with the tense marker ɓá^L at the beginning of the clause. In example b) the tense marker kánk^L was used in the previous clause. In example c) no tense marker has been used in quite a while, and the narrative is just about to reach its climax, which might cause the use of a recent-past marker to build up the tension.

V.6.1.2 Tense inflection of subordinate verbs

Beyond the use of the tense markers, the Majang language provides another tense system exclusively used on subordinate verbs providing a relative time reference compared to the action of the main verb. Three different subordinate verb forms were encountered: the relative-past subordinate verbs, the simultaneous subordinate verbs, and the inchoative subordinate verbs. They incorporate a good deal of aspectual or aktionsart information in their temporal structure. These forms and their uses are described in detail in section IV.2.3.2. They were only encountered in their tense function in adverbial subordinate clauses, so it is assumed that they are restricted from being used in main clauses.

V.6.2 Aspect

Aspect in language refers to the “*pattern of distribution of action through time*” (Talmy, 1985, p. 77), or, as Chung and Timberlake (1985, p. 213) put it, “*aspect characterizes the relationship of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs*”. The Majang language is clearly sensitive to this relationship and uses grammatical means to indicate deviations from the norm; this norm is defined by a *perfective* action. A perfective action is one that is seen as completed within the event frame and therefore has *closure* (Chung & Timberlake, 1985, p. 219). Perfective actions as the default are not in any way marked by the Majang language:

Example V.72: perfective propositions

- a) **nè ɓá^L jàwé kúrój cìnè ɓákɿŋ.**
nè ɓá^L jàw-é kúrój cì-n-è ɓák=ŋ
 CONJ REM PST cut-3S.DJ donkey\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMPST=SFT
He cut through that aforementioned donkey.
- b) **má^L ɓòkòtú éméç^L lèrɿŋ.**
má^L ɓòkòt-í éméç^L lèr-à=ŋ
 but kill-3S.DJ mother\3S.ABS Leer-DAT=SFT
But he killed Leer's mother.
- c) **nè ɓò ré kè:ɗí ɗé:ǵá^L ɕó^L.**
nè ɓò ré kè:ɗ-í ɗé:ǵá^L ɕó^L
 CONJ also 3S.PRAG go-3S.DJ across DEM\SG.DIST.DAT
He also went across.

Each of these clauses has a verb that reaches closure – in a) and b) the respective objects are dead as a result, and in c) the subject reached the other side. The verbs are not particularly marked for this fact – therefore it appears that the perfective aspect is the unmarked value of the aspect distinction in Majang, except for stative verbs, which can only have an imperfective reading in their base form. But even stative verbs reveal the perfective aspect to be the unmarked state, as many stative verbs come with a reduplicated stem without corresponding simple root (see section IV.2.4).

There is no reason to agree with Getachew (2014, p. 168) that the language uses a perfective marker – he identified the sentence-final topicality (*SFT*) marker =ŋ as such, but without presenting any convincing evidence to support this idea (see example III.35 in section III.4).

Unlike Southwest-Surmic languages such as Suri-Tirmaga (Bryant, 1999, p. 103), Mursi (Mütze, 2014, p. 85f) and Me'en (Will, 1989, p. 141f), Majang uses neither suffixes nor any suppletive verb forms to indicate imperfective aspect; instead, it uses reduplicated stems (see section IV.2.2.7 for details on their formation). These are mainly used to provide imperfective contrast to verbs that are otherwise interpreted as inherently perfective:

Example V.73: reduplication to create imperfective verbs from perfective roots

- a) **dēné wâr áduréák^L**
dēn-é wâr áduré-ak^L
see-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG cat-PL.ABS
A dog sees cats.
- b) **dédén wâr áduré.**
dédén wâr áduré
see\IPFV.3S dog\SG.ERG cat\SG.ABS
A dog is seeing a cat.

Having an overtly imperfective stem does not in any way trigger further morphological processes in the clause – imperfective verbs are not treated differently by the grammar than perfective verbs. Of course imperfective transitive verbs, because of their lack of object individuation, have a tendency to be detransitivized, but that is by no means obligatory (see section IV.2.2.7).

Example V.74: imperfective detransitivized predicate

- má^L tártápí:kì kócùnk?**
má^L tártáp-i-k-ĩ^L kócùnk
but write\IPFV-AP-EXT-1P.DJ like.this
But are we writing like this?

Other ways to show more fine-grained aspectual differences were presented in section IV.2.3.2 – the various subordinate verb forms contain information about the relationship of the predicate to the time interval. The inchoative form looks at the beginning of an action, the repetitive construction characterizes an action as happening several times within the given time interval, and the simultaneous form displays an action as ongoing – all of these are actions without closure, as opposed to the relative-past form, which is clearly perfective in nature.

V.6.3 Mode

T. Payne defines mode as follows (1997, p. 244): “*Mode describes the speaker’s attitude toward a situation, including the speaker’s belief in its reality, or likelihood.*” This section presents what little information was gleaned on mode so far. Just like the sections on tense and aspect, much deeper research is needed, based on a larger corpus of texts, to fully investigate the inventory and strategies of the Majang language to deal with mode.

The data reveals very few ways to distinguish between the state of reality of given propositions. A realis clause makes the assertion that an event holds true within the framework of the discourse (T. Payne, 1997, p. 244). This is the default situation in Majang, and such a clause is not marked at all.

Example V.75: realis clauses

- a) *nè ój-èr jó:p^L má^L ðgó:k^L nánájɿŋ.*
nè ój-èr jó:p^L má^L ðgó:k^L nánáj-i^L=ŋ
 CONJ shout-3P.CJ people\PL.ABS but others surprised\IPFV-AC.3S=SFT
The people shouted, and others were surprised.
- b) *nè bá^L cénk^L dǎdǎmí^L kú'rôjɿŋ.*
nè bá^L cénk^L dǎdǎm-i^L kú'rôj^L=ŋ
 CONJ REM PST 3S.CONTR eat\IPFV-AP.3S donkey\SG.NOM=SFT
He, Donkey, was eating.

All three clauses in these two examples are realis, and therefore are not expected to display any particular marking that indicates their realis status.

The conjunction *ðkòŋ* ‘if’ is the introduction to the protasis part of a conditional construction. Such a clause is conceptually irrealis, and therefore the apodosis, which depends on the truth value of the protasis, also needs to be seen as an irrealis form. But even in a counterfactual conditional situation, no particular irrealis marking takes place:

Example V.76: counterfactual conditional without special irrealis marker

- ðkòŋ kó làk dúnděŋ gún^L kó kí rérín*
ðkòŋ kó làk dúndé=ŋ gún^L kó k-í rér-ín
 if RECPST have\3S.CJ heart\SG.ABS=CND before RECPST NEG-3S.DJ die-NEG
If he had had a heart, he would not have died before.

Further irrealis situations are negative clauses and imperatives/jussives, which are treated in their respective sections V.7.2 and V.7.4.1. For these,

too, it can only be noted that they are semantically irrealis, but they show no particular irrealis marking beyond the negative or imperative morphology.

One way in which the Majang language does show the irrealis nature of the clause is the use of the clause combining conjunction **é**. It is used instead of the conjunction **nè** if two clauses are connected that are each either negative, or the protasis of a conditional construction, or assumed future events.

Example V.77: use of irrealis clause-combining conjunction **é**

- a) **nè ðkòn mèjké^L é ìjá:gkè^L ...**
nè ðkòn mèj-ké^L é ìjá:g-ké^L
 CONJ if rush-INCHOA.3P CONJ\IRR work-INCHOA.3P
If they started to rush and to work ...
- b) **bòdɪ:kí:^L kó:^L ñá:wěŋ. é kó:^L ɓàlò:ré dɔ:^L nànk.**
bòdɪ:k-i:^L kó:^L ñá:w-é=ŋ é kó:^L
 escape-EXT-1P NFUT hunger\SG.LOC=SFT CONJ\IRR NFUT
ɓàlò:r-é dɔ:^L nànk
 grow-3S.DJ land\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\1P.SG.NOM
We will escape from hunger. Our land will increase.
- c) **ìjá:g ké:^L cìnò témk é ké:^L cìnò dàrà:jé:k.**
ìjá:g k-é:^L cì-n-ò témk=k é k-é:^L
 work\SG.ABS NEG-IMPS REL-SG-DIST small\3S.SG=SUB CONJ\IRR NEG-IMPS.DJ
cì-n-ò dàrà:j-é:^L=k
 REL-SG-DIST despise-IMPS=SUB
There is no work that is small or despised.

Example a) has the irrealis conjunction between two protasis clauses; in example b) it is between two future clauses, and in example c) between two negative clauses. As all these factors can be seen as providing an irrealis environment, the use of this different conjunction **é** therefore seems to indicate this change of mode.

V.6.4 Location and direction

It was shown in section IV.2.3.3 that the Majang language is quite sensitive to movement in space and has various strategies to mark directional concepts either through derivational morphology or through productive inflection on the verb. The derivational direction markers **-a** and **-V:ɗ** (sections IV.2.2.4

and IV.2.2.6) are already quite lexicalized and don't lend themselves to a careful semantic analysis.

The inflectional direction morphology is certainly interesting from a comparative perspective, as it provides one extra value compared to the other Surmic languages. Whereas they regularly distinguish between ventive and itive verb forms (here called centripetal *CP* and centrifugal *CF*), the Majang language additionally has a morphological marking for a movement from one deictic center to another, what is here called deictic transfer (*TF*). Examples are easily found in texts:

Example V.78: clauses with inflectional direction morphology

- a) **nè dènè gòdé òm.**
nè dèn-è gòdé òm
CONJ see-3S.CJ house\SG.ABS one
She saw a house.
- b) **nè dènêr wár^L cìnè à dũdũn dẽ^L tàdápút.**
nè dèn-êr wár^L cì-n-è à dũdũn dẽ^L
CONJ see-CF.3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD dem-SG-HR CONJ lie\IPFV down
tàdápút
ashpile\SG.LOC
He noticed that dog lying on the ash-pile.
- c) **nè nàrkí dũgẽ^L kékàr.**
nè nàr-kí dũgẽ^L kékàr
CONJ go-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM again
Hyena came over again.
- d) **nè bòná'gè:ɗ cākáí: lè:rík.**
nè bòn-á-gè:ɗ cākáí: lè:rík
CONJ take-DIR-TF.3S.CJ food\SG.ABS Leer-POSS
She brought out Leer's food to him.

Example a) has a directionally unmarked verb, for ease of comparison with b), which shows the same verb with the centrifugal marker. This centrifugal component seems to imply that the subject looks away from its initial focus and thereby notices something. Example c) has a centripetal verb, which indicates a movement towards the deictic center. Example d) has the deictic-transfer form, indicating a movement from one deictic center to another activated participant.

Directional marking systems are not unknown in the linguistic landscape of Nilo-Saharan languages in East Africa, as similar systems were described for Komo (Otero, 2017), Maasai (D. Payne & Otero, 2016) and various other Nilotic languages (Mietzner, 2012). Regarding the Surmic relatives of Majang, Bryant (1999, p. 88ff) described two sets of *Motion Away* and *Motion Towards* suffixes for Tirmaga, which don't seem to have any phonological similarity with the morphemes found in Majang. Mütze (2014, p. 91) showed a ventive marker operating in Mursi. Dimmendaal (1998a, p. 49f) reported further use of directional morphology in Tennet.

But the deictic-transfer form seen above is so far not attested in Surmic languages. Although the details are quite different, the Majang system seems to be reminiscent of the intriguing situation described by Otero (2017), which also features not just the two often-encountered distinctions between centrifugal and centripetal, but a third value; this again seems to be tied to a second deictic reference point. On the other hand, the situation in Koman languages is much more complex than in Majang, as the deictic-directional markers there make use of the concept of *associated motion* (see Belkadi (2015, p. 50) for a recent discussion of this concept from a typological perspective). Majang directional morphology only appears to be used where the basic verbal semantics allow for a directed interpretation. Associated motion, instead, is expressed by serial-verb constructions (see section V.8.4 and example V.80 for an illustration of this).

It was shown in section IV.2.3.3 that the deictic-transfer form exhibits morphologically different behavior from the other two direction forms centripetal and centrifugal. Therefore it would not be surprising to find that other Surmic languages make no use of deictic transfer. Everything points to the assumption that the *TF*-form is a quite recent innovation of the Majang language. But the source could hardly have been the similar systems found in Koman languages (Otero, 2017; D. Payne & Otero, 2016), as the Majang moved into the vicinity of the Komo settlements only a few generations ago – probably not enough time to borrow and establish such an intricate system all over the Majang habitat. Nilotic languages (D. Payne & Otero, 2016, p. 15f) from the neighborhood of the original Majang habitat near the Boma plateau should rather be considered as sources of this innovation in Majang. Other languages with more complex directional systems in East Africa are Somali and Pāri (Belkadi, 2015, p. 50). These do not advertise themselves as possible sources of more involved directional systems in Majang, as they have never been in contact with any Majang population.

It was shown in section V.5.4 that the deictic-transfer form is also used to provide the material for the recipient-removal construction for the language. In these clauses, an activated participant is elevated from a mere dative NP to the no longer overtly expressed secondary deictic center of the construction. But there are other constructions involving the *TF*-form, where the dative NP is not removed.

Example V.79: deictic-transfer clause without recipient removal

nè mùkérǵé^L ðùkà cê.
nè mùk-ér-ǵé:ɗ ðùk-à cê^L
CONJ stab-INCPT-TF.3S.DJ forest\SG-DAT DEM\SG.SP.DAT
He dashed into the forest.

In this example no recipient removal happens – the secondary deictic center, the forest, stays in the dative case, and remains overtly present in the clause. It may well be that recipient removal only applies to animate dative NPs of trivalent clauses, which is in accordance with the examples found showing this construction.

V.7 Pragmatically Marked Structures

This section deals with the pragmatically motivated choices a speaker faces in the Majang language. Such choices lead the speaker to use pragmatically marked structures that deviate from what the language does in a pragmatically unmarked situation. The pragmatically unmarked situation looks as follows: in section III.2.2.1 it was established that the Majang language sees the sequence of verb–absolute NP as the default and morphologically least marked syntactic structure:

Example V.80: pragmatically unmarked structure

nè kè: làŋkì éméç^L lèrà.
nè kè: làŋ-kì éméç^L lèr-à
CONJ go\3S find-CP.3S.CJ mother\3S.SG.ABS Leer-DAT
He went to find Leer's mother.

Although this sentence has some morphological complications, such as the use of a serial-verb construction to express an associated motion, and the use

of the dative to express possession on a kinship noun, the sentence does not deviate from the basic clause configuration. The verb is directly followed by an absolutive noun phrase, and therefore none of the pragmatic markings provided by the language are in evidence. The verb appears in the conjoint form, indicating that the *P* is non-topical, and no sentence-final topicality marker is placed. The constituent order is in compliance with the canonical *VAP* of Majang.

Other pragmatically relevant features are also set to the default: the sentence is affirmative, and therefore has no negative morphology. It is a declarative sentence, therefore there is no question morphology or sentence tone involved, and also no imperative or jussive morphology is in evidence.

This section now presents the effects of any changes to this default pragmatic setting: markings for individual constituents as topical or focus, negation, questions, and imperatives with jussives.

V.7.1 Constituent order variation

The basic constituent order of Majang was introduced in section III.2.2.1 as verb – *A/S* – *P* – complements and adjuncts, with a preverbal slot that contains any temporal information of the simple clause. But it was also seen that *A* and *S* constituents can be preposed to the preverbal position to re-activate the participants (see section III.2.2.2).

More fronting happens with noun phrases marked as contrastive topics, even beyond the subject.

Example V.81: fronting of NPs with contrastive topic

- a) **í'tó ré cénk^L dādamùn júmój?**
 í'tó ré cénk^L dādam-in júmój
it.seems 2S.PRAG 2S.CONTR eat\IPFV-2S.CJ root\SG.ABS
Does it seem that you are eating roots (and I don't)?
- b) **nè 6á^L cénk^L dādamí^L kú'rôj. má^L cénk wár^L làk ɲá:w^L.**
 nè 6á^L cénk^L dādam-i^L kú'rój = ɲ
CONJ REM PST 3S.CONTR eat\IPFV-AP-3S donkey\SG.NOM=SFT
má^L cénk^L wár^L làk ɲá:w^L
but 3S.CONTR dog\SG.ABS have\3S.CJ hunger\SG.ABS
He, Donkey, was eating, but he, Dog, was hungry.

- c) **nè dǝ́'já à tá^L cǝm^L cénk^L jùmùrún.**
nè dǝ́j-á à tá^L cǝm^L cénk^L jùmùr-ín = ɲ
 CONJ want-1s.DJ CONJ 1s.DAT 2s 3s.CONTR answer-2s.DJ=SFT
This is what I want you to answer me (and not something else)!

Contrastive topic is marked by the contrastive pronoun set (represented by **cénk^L** and **cénk^L** in these examples). A NP with contrastive topic is likely to have some representation in the preverbal slot; in example a) this is the contrastive 2s pronoun. In example b) there are two clauses with contrasting subjects; in the first of these the preposed contrastive pronoun is picked up by the postverbal subject. In the second clause the subject NP appears also in the preverbal position together with the contrastive pronoun¹⁰⁷. Example c) is particularly interesting as it has two preposed constituents: The regular personal pronoun **cǝm^L** refers to the non-contrastive subject, and is then followed by the contrastive pronoun **cénk^L** which here refers to the object.

Contrastive pronouns appear to be the only way in which non-subject constituents can be preposed to a position preceding the verb, assuming that the short pronouns in examples IV.213 and V.17 are not preposed at all, but part of the verb phrase.

V.7.1.1 Cleft constructions

Cleft constructions are not a frequently used device, at least based on the sample of texts analyzed for this study. Only one affirmative cleft construction was encountered:

Example V.82: rare Majang cleft construction

- ègè cìnì cìnò pàr-írkúndǝ́^L dákédǎk.**
ègè cì-n-ì cì-n-ò pàr-írkun-d-ǝ́^L dákédǎ = k
 COP DEM-SG-SP REL-SG-DIST try-SIMUL-REFOBJ-2P.DJ only=SUB
This is what you are only going to try.

The clefted nominal clause is introduced by the copula **ègè**. This is then followed by a relative clause. This clause was used as a conclusion following a lengthy procedure described in the previous paragraph. The cleft construction with anaphoric demonstrative therefore puts a strong focus on the described procedure, which is the transitive object of the nuclear clause.

¹⁰⁷In this context, the NP always comes in the absolutive case.

More frequent are cleft constructions in questions.

Example V.83: cleft construction in a question

wô:ɖ cìnè màlɛ ídɪ'tík?
wô:ɖ cì-n-è màl-é ídɪt^L=k
who REL-SG-HR hit-3S.DJ man\SG.ABS=SFT
Who was it that hit the man?

Usually, interrogative pronouns in Majang are placed at the end of the question clause. This cleft construction is the only way to get the interrogative out of its clause-final position, with the effect of adding additional focus to the interrogative pronoun. As the clefted constituent is now an interrogative pronoun and not a demonstrative, the copula *ègè* is not used here.

V.7.1.2 Left-dislocation of participants

Left-dislocation (T. Payne, 1997, p. 273) is another way besides the cleft construction to get material out of the nuclear clause; it serves the purpose to set this participant up as the propositional topic of the clause. In the following two examples a noun phrase is placed without any linkage, but with a noticeable pause, in a position preceding the clause:

Example V.84: left-dislocated noun phrases

- a) **jàrtí ná:k, làŋká^L kó dũk tàk!**
jàrtí ná:k làŋ-ká^L kó dũk tàk
woman\SG.ABS POSS\I.S.SG.ABS find-CP.I.S.DJ RECPST forest\SG.LOC inside\LOC
My woman, I found (her) in the forest!
- b) **jàrtí ná:k, dām kó jìkónt?**
jàrtí ná:k dām kó jìkónt
woman\SG.ABS POSS\I.S.SG.ABS eat\3S.DJ RECPST what.ERG
My woman, what ate (her)?

These two clauses have a highly marked structure. Because in both clauses the left-dislocated NP refers to the object of the clause, this is not the regular fronting of re-activated constituents discussed in section V.3.1. Further instances of left-dislocation can be observed in examples IV.297b), IV.298b), V.30 and V.100b), some of them with *S* constituents dislocated to the left.

V.7.2 Negation

Negation is pragmatically marked in the sense that it asserts that “*some event, situation or state of affairs does not hold*” (T. Payne, 1997, p. 282). For a thorough treatment of this aspect of Majang grammar, see Unseth (1994). The Majang language uses a fully inflectable auxiliary **k-** (see section IV.3.5) for creating negative sentences in conjunction with the negative verbal nouns introduced in section IV.2.2.1.

The negative auxiliary takes the place of the verb in the clause, whereas the lexical negative verb form follows later as a complement to the auxiliary predication.

Example V.85: negative auxiliary and negative verb

- a) **nè k-ir cè:n-à gájé^L òlát^L bàṇé.**
nè k-ir cè:n-à gáj-é^L òlát^L bàṇé
 CONJ NEG-3P 3S-DAT succeed-NEG things\NOM all
All things will fail him.
- b) **nè òkòṇ kí bònḡ:ḡṇ ...**
nè òkòṇ k-í bònḡ-í:ḡ=ṇ
 CONJ if NEG-3S take-NEG=CND
If she refuses it, ...

Example a) shows that some material can be placed between the auxiliary and the negative verb, such as a dative pronoun. Interestingly, I have not encountered a single example where the subject appears between the auxiliary and the negative verb. Unseth (1989b, p. 119) seems to have found such examples, however, so this is apparently a sporadic gap in my data and not a structural one. My language consultants accept Unseth’s following example as grammatical:

Example V.86: subject between negative auxiliary and negative verb

- kí kó jò:sép òkòt-ir ḡépé^L.**
k-í kó jò:sép òkòt-ir ḡépé^L
 NEG-3S RECPST Joseph\NOM kill-NEG lion\SG.ABS
Joseph didn’t kill a lion.

The subject can also be placed following the negative verb form, as happened in example V.85a).

The combination of negative auxiliary and negative verb does not create a unified verb phrase; this can be concluded from the fact that the sentence-final topicality marker is never used following a negative verb:

Example V.87: no *SFT*-marker following negative verb

kí:^L gájé:^L.
k-í:^L gáj-é:^L
NEG-1P succeed-NEG
We don't succeed.

If this example consisted just of a negative verb phrase, then one would expect the *SFT*-marker to be placed at the end of the sentence. But this can never be done. Unseth (1989b, p. 111) therefore correctly assumes that the negative verb needs to be seen as a complement of the negative auxiliary. This also fits its nature as a nominalization, which is quite often formally identical to the infinitive.

Verbless predicates are negated by the use of a negative copula:

Example V.88: use of negative copula

mókò òt ágá:^L cìnò kómój òmój^L ɲónk dáké:dà.
mókò òt ágá:^L cì-n-ò kómój òmój^L ɲónk dáké:dà
COP\NEG work\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST kind\SG.ABS one SUB only
Work is not just of one kind.

This negative copula works like affirmative copulas in that it stays the same for all persons; it is further specified by a regular personal pronoun:

Example V.89: use of negative copula

mókò è:t àgá:^L!
mókò è:t àgá:^L
COP\NEG 1S thief\SG.ABS
I am not a thief!

There is also a negative existential form, which, just as the affirmative form **láké:^L**, is an impersonal verb form:

Example V.90: use of negative existential form

òt ágá: k-é:^L cìnò tэмk é k-é:^L cìnò dàrà:ǰé:k.
òt ágá: k-é:^L cì-n-ò tэм=k é k-é:^L
work\SG.ABS NEG-IMPS REL-SG-DIST small\3S.SG=SUB CONJ\IRR NEG-IMPS

cì-n-ò dàrà:j-é^L=k

REL-SG-DIST despise-IMPS=SUB

There is no work that is small or despised.

V.7.3 Questions and focus

This section presents a short overview of questions and focus phenomena, as far as they have been studied so far.

Majang contrastive focus is accomplished by the use of the contrastive pronouns (see section IV.3.1.1). Contrastive focus often entails a choice from already known entities, which is why Dik (1989, p. 278) cautions against equating focus with information new to the hearer. This is therefore a pragmatically different situation from new-information focus, as defined by Thwing and Watters (1987, p. 101): “*Focus: that information in an utterance which the speaker believes, assumes or knows that the hearer does not share*”.

Information questions are a widely accepted and applied test for new-information focus (Van der Wal, 2016, p. 264ff), as the component in question is assumed to be in focus. The expected answer provides confirmation or information, and as such is always new information (Dixon, 2012, p. 377). Studying questions can therefore be revealing about focus structure, because, as Dik (1989, p. 280) points out, “*if a language has special strategies for the expression of focus constituents, these strategies will typically be also used for question words.*”

The Majang language, in spite of its *VAP* syntax, places information with new-information focus at the end of the clause, and does so also with interrogative pronouns, which fill the slot of new information. The responses to questions fill exactly the same slot as the question words that solicited them:

Example V.91: information packaging in questions and their responses

- a) dāmí^L kò târ wô:d?
 dām-tí^L kò târ wô:d
 eat-AP.3S.DJ RECPST\CJ meat\SG.ABS who\SG.ERG
 *Who ate meat?*¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸Here is an unexplained use of the detransitivized verb form in a question. This seems to be in free variation with the plain verb form in example V.92. Possibly the use of the detransitivized form has to do with the use of an unspecified and therefore non-individuated object, which may then result in a less than fully transitive form of the verb.

b) **dāmí:^L kò târ tōn.**

dām kò târ tōn
eat\3S.DJ RECPST\CJ meat\SG.ABS child\SG.ERG
A child ate meat.

Example b) shows the *A* noun phrase, marked by the ergative case, as the last element of the clause, even following the object. This pragmatically marked structure is the only environment in which the order of subject and object can be reversed in the language. This is also the case for an *A* marked by the nominative case:

Example V.92: question and response with nominative *A*

a) **dām kò târ wô:dʔ**

dām kò târ wô:dʔ
eat\3S.DJ RECPST\CJ meat\SG.ABS who\SG.ERG
Who ate meat?

b) **dām kò târ tōn^L kónkún.**

dām kò târ tōn^L kónk=ŋ
eat\3S.DJ RECPST\CJ meat\SG.ABS child\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST=SFT
That aforementioned child ate meat.

Example b) shows the subject noun **tōn^L** ‘child’ to be in new-information focus, as it is in the last position of the clause, following the object, and as a topical constituent, because it is marked by the nominative case and followed by a modifier with the *SFT*-marker. The language consultants agree that both clauses V.91b) and V.92b) cannot invert the order of subject and object to the canonical order. This is very instructive for the interpretation of central cases in Majang. If one were to pursue the analysis that the difference between ergative and nominative was not grounded in topicality, but in focality, then all ergative occurrences would have to be explained as focused constituents of a clause. The situation here now suggests that any constituent in new-information focus appears at the end of a clause. But this is not the place where ergative constituents are usually found. This implies that there is an inherent difference between focus and ergative, which is confirmed by the fact that when focus and topical constituent go together, as in example V.92b), the nominative case is chosen.

The same can be tested for the *P* of a transitive clause. The response to a question for the *P* can follow both a disjoint and a conjoint verb, and it can

come with and without a sentence-final topicality marker. Again, all responses need to be interpreted as having a *P* in information focus.

Example V.93: question and response with topical and non-topical *P* in focus

- a) **dām kó dòmô:n jíkôn?**
dām kó dòmô:n jíkôn
eat\3S.DJ RECPST leopard\SG.ERG what\SG.ABS
What did the leopard eat?
- b) **dām kò tâ:r.**
dām kò tâ:r
eat\3S.DJ RECPST\CJ meat\SG.ABS
He ate meat.
- c) **dām kó tâ:r kónkún.**
dām kó tâ:r kónk=ŋ
eat\3S.DJ RECPST meat\SG.ABS REF\RECPST=SFT
He ate the aforementioned meat.

Both clauses b) and c) are responses to question a). In b), the response lacks the *SFT*-clitic, and follows the conjoint marking on the verb phrase. In example c), the response has a disjoint verb phrase, and comes with an *SFT*-clitic. So once more topical constituent and focus are combined in the same noun phrase. If the conjoint marking were to indicate focus on a following noun phrase, then example c) should also have a conjoint VP. Therefore it can be deduced that the conjoint rather indicates the presence of a non-topical NP than the presence of a focal NP (see section III.3 and footnote 48 for an extended discussion of this question).

V.7.3.1 Polar questions

Polar questions seek confirmation or disavowal of a proposition (Dixon, 2012, p. 377). In Majang this does not have to be marked by any means other than a rising sentence tone at the end of the question (see section II.8.2). This interrogative sentence tone is in all examples only represented by the question mark.

Example V.94: polar questions without question markers

- a) **má^L kó:^L è:t mó?**
má^L kó:^L è:t mó
but NFUT 1S alone
Will I now be alone?
- b) **í'tó ré cénk^L ðaðàm-ìn júmój?**
í'tó ré cénk^L ðaðàm-ìn júmój
it.seems 2S.PRAG 2S.CONTR eat\IPFV-2S.CJ root\SG.ABS
Does it seem that you are eating roots?

In both cases, the two questions do not differ in their order of constituents or in any other morphological way from their affirmative counterparts. The only difference is a sharply rising sentence tone at the end of the clause, as in the following (stereo) pitch curve of example a):

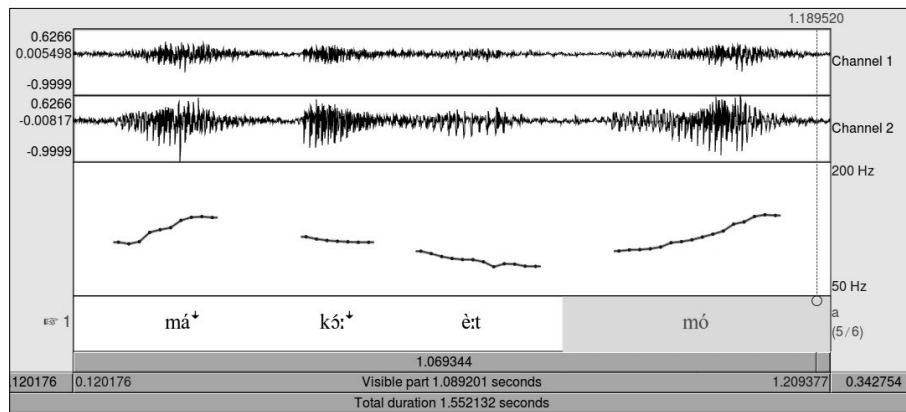
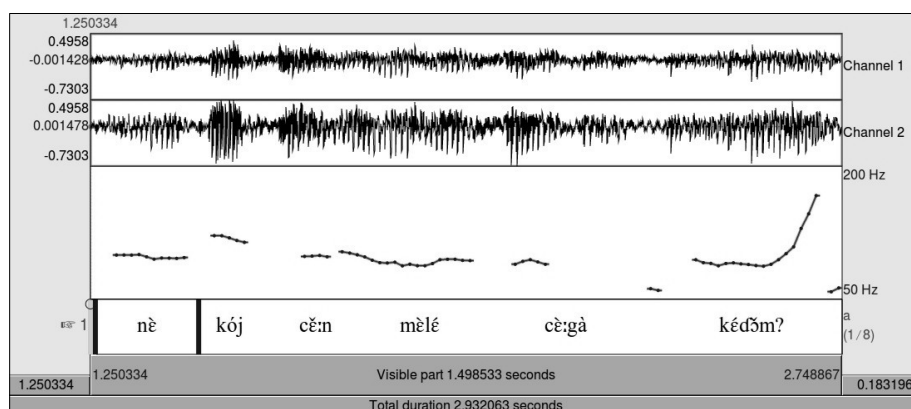


Figure 10: pitch drawing of **má^L kó:^L è:t mó?**

The pitch on the final high-toned word **mó** starts out moderately higher than the preceding low tone on **è:t**, which is what is expected because of automatic downstep. But then it rises sharply up to the level of the initial high tone on **má^L** at the beginning of the clause. This is the effect of the polar-question sentence tone. This can also be observed on polar questions ending in a low tone, as in the following example:

Figure 11: Pitch drawing of **nè kój cě:n mèlé cè:gà kédòm?**

This illustration is part of the following example V.95, where the polar question ends in the low tone of **kédòm**. Here, too, the sharp rise of the interrogative sentence tone can be observed.

There is also the option to use a special question particle **kí:** in polar questions:

Example V.95: question marker **kí:**

nè cìnì ódò:kà kí: nè kój cě:n mèlé cè:gà kédòm?

nè cì-n-ì ódò:k-à kí: nè kój cě:n mèl-é

CONJ DEM-SG-SP face-DAT QUEST CONJ DFUT 3S arrive-3S.DJ

cè:g-à kédòm

3P.DAT properly

In the future, will they understand it well (lit: will it reach them properly)?

As can be seen in figure 11, this question marker does not prevent the marking of the polar question by sentence tone. The question marker is not obligatory for marking questions, but it seems to be used particularly when the question is a complex sentence, and it marks the question as such already near the beginning of the sentence.

A second question marker is **jò:**, which seems to particularly stress the polarity of a question:

Example V.96: question marker **jô:**

dějér^L màcá:pé^L né:k cìnŋjô?
děj-er^L màcá:pé^L né:k cì-n-ì=ŋ jô:
need-3P.DJ book\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS DEM-SG-SP=SFT QUEST
Do they need this book or not?

This marker always comes at the end of a question, even, like here, following the *SFT*-clitic. It prevents the use of the interrogative sentence tone – no sharp rise of the pitch is observed in any example involving this particle. It often appears when the question is followed up immediately by another question (which, in example V.97, uses the interrogative sentence tone):

Example V.97: question marker **jô:** between questions

nè kó:^L kékàr tà:pèrkínjô: èk cénk cìnì?
nè kó:^L kékàr tà:p-erk=ŋ jô: èk cénk cì-n-ì
CONJ NFUT again write-CP.3P=SFT QUEST how 3S.CONTR DEM-SG-SP
Will they write it again or how will it be?

V.7.3.2 Content questions

A content question contains an interrogative pronoun (Dixon, 2012, p. 400). This simple definition is easily applied to Majang, where a number of interrogative pronouns have been identified. As seen in section III.2.2.4, these interrogative pronouns do not comply with Greenberg's (1966, p. 111) prediction that VAP languages have their question words at the beginning of the clause. In Majang they come invariably at the end, in the same slot where material in information focus is placed, and they are affected by interrogative sentence tone (see section II.8.2).

Example V.98: question words at the end of the clause

- a) **àrì:^L kój cá:^L òlà cìgì èk?**
àr-ì:^L kój cá:^L òlà cì-g-ì èk
do-1P.DJ DFUT thereafter things\ABS.MOD DEM-PL-SP how?
How will we then do these things?
- b) **làkín tó:mók^L à ègèr?**
làk-ín tó:m-òk^L à ègèr
have-2S.DJ child-PL.ABS CONJ how.many?
How many children do you have?

Participant interrogative pronoun **wô:d** ‘who’

Participant interrogative pronouns ask for the identity of a participant of the discourse. Majang provides three different forms of participant interrogative pronouns.

The participant interrogative pronoun **wô:d** asks for a human referent, in any grammatical role. The form **wô:d** is used for all central cases. The dative is **wó:ďá^L**, the locative **wó:ďé**, and the possessive **wó:k**. The plural forms are **wó:ďák^L** for all central cases, **wó:ďáká^L** (dative), **wó:ďáké^L** (locative) and **wó:ďéik^L** (possessive).

In a traditional fable, where animals take the part of human participants, they qualify for the use of this interrogative. Therefore Hyena can ask Dog:

Example V.99: human interrogative for animal participant in traditional narrative

má^L cénk^L, ɪn^L wô:d?
 CONJ 2S.CONTR 2S who
But you, who are you?

Since the **wô:d** asks for a participant, it can be inflected like other participant NPs. For example it can be used in the dative or in the plural.

Example V.100: number and case marking on human interrogative

- a) **nè cìnè jùmúrké^L wó:ďá^L cénk?**
nè cì-n-è jùmúr-ké^L wó:ď-a^L cénk
 CONJ DEM-SG-HR return-CP.IMPS.DJ who-DAT 3S.CONTR
To whom will that be returned?
- b) **nè ɓànkàwkà: néik ɓàŋé, lá^Lki^L wó:ďák?**
nè ɓànkàw-kà: néik ɓàŋé lák-í^L wó:ď-àk
 CONJ strong-INF.ABS POSS\3S.SG all have-AP.3P.CJ who-PL
And all that power, who has it?

Example a) shows **wô:d** in the dative case. It is reinforced and modified by the contrastive pronoun, which forms an NP together with the interrogative pronoun. As a whole, the NP still stands at the end of the clause. Example b) shows the interrogative **wô:d** in its central-case plural form. This example also displays another mysterious use of the detransitivized form of the verb which appears to be frequently used in content questions (see footnote 108 and example V.102). Semantically, these clauses are not intransitive at all; the *P* of ‘have’ is left-dislocated to a position preceding the clause. In example V.102 the *P* is found in its rightful place following the verb.

Participant interrogative pronoun *jìkôn* ‘what?’

The participant interrogative pronoun *jìkôn* ‘what?’ refers to non-human participants of the discourse. For *A* constituents, this is replaced by the ergative form *jìkónt*. This pronoun can also be used in the other cases. The dative is *jìkóntá*, the locative *jìkój* and the possessive *jìkónk*. In the plural, the forms are *jìkónàk* (all central cases), *jìkónáké^L* (locative), *jìkónáká^L* (dative) and *jìkónákônk* (possessive).

Example V.101: non-human interrogative *jìkôn*

- a) ... *mánk tókój^L cìnè tíná^L gàðèrk cé:kík jìkôn?*
mánk tó-kój^L cì-n-è tìn-a^L gàð-erk cé:k⁺=k jìkôn
or INF-help\SG.ABS REL-SG-HR IS-DAT give-CP.3P 3P.CONTR=SUB what
... or what is the help that they provide for us?
- b) *jàrtí ná:k, ðàm kó jìkónt?*
jàrtí ná:k ðàm kó jìkónt
woman\SG.ABS POSS\IS.SG.ABS eat\3S.DJ RECPST what\ERG
My woman, what ate her?

In example a), the interrogative refers to an action noun, and in example b) to an unknown predator. There it is used for the *A* of the clause and therefore comes in the ergative. Since an interrogative always asks for new information, it is difficult to conceive of a topical use for them. Indeed I have not isolated any nominative forms of interrogative pronouns.

Participant interrogative pronoun *wón* ‘which one?’

A final form that can be used for all syntactic positions is *wón^L* ‘which one?’, which is used in this form in all cases. The plural of this form, again for all cases, is *wò:k*. The pronoun asks for a choice from several options.

Example V.102: interrogative *wón*

- bónđí^L tâ:r wón?*
bón-đí^L tâ:r wón
take-AP.3S meat\SG.ABS which.one
Which one took the meat?

Following is a list of interrogative pronouns that ask for adverbial information and can therefore not be further inflected.

Temporal interrogative pronoun òkód ‘when?’

The interrogative pronoun òkód ‘when?’ is used to ask for temporal information. As this information would always be found in an adverbial slot, the interrogative cannot be inflected for case.

Example V.103: temporal interrogative pronoun òkód

àmbàbè:^L kój cè:g òkód?
 àmbàb-é:^L kój cè:g òkód
read-IMPS.DJ DFUT 3P when
When are they going to be read?

Local interrogative pronoun é:^L ‘where?’

Just like the temporal interrogative pronoun, the local interrogative pronoun é:^L asks for information in an adverbial role and cannot be inflected for case.

Example V.104: local interrogative é:^L

làṅá kó:^L ìndí:^L é:^L?
 làṅ-á kó:^L ìndí:^L é:^L
find-1S.DJ NFUT mother\1S.SG.ABS where
Where will I find a mother?

Modal interrogative pronoun èk ‘how?’

The modal interrogative pronoun èk ‘how?’ asks for the way in which an action is carried out. Again, this refers to adverbial information and therefore cannot be inflected for case.

Example V.105: modal interrogative èk

àr:^L kój cá:^L òlà cìgì èk?
 àr-í:^L kój cá:^L òlà cì-g-ì èk
do-1P.DJ DFUT then things\ABS.MOD DEM-PL-SP how
How are we then going to do these things?

Quantitative interrogative pronoun ègèr ‘how many?’

The quantitative interrogative pronoun ègèr asks for numbers. Like other quantifiers, it is usually preceded by the clause-internal conjunction à.

Example V.106: quantitative interrogative *ègèr*

làkín tó:mók^L à ègèr?
làk-ín tó:m-ók^L à ègèr
have-2S,DJ child-PL,ABS CONJ how.many
How many children do you have?

This interrogative is only used for countable items. For uncountables, one needs to use the combined interrogative pronoun *èté èk* ‘how much?’.

Example V.107: asking for a non-countable amount

làkín ótì: à èté èk?
làk-ín ótì: à èté èk
have-2S,DJ flour\SG,ABS CONJ much how
How much flour do you have?

Causal interrogative *àgút^L jìkôn* ‘why?’

The causal interrogative pronoun consists of two words in Majang, the causal conjunction *àgút^L* ‘because’ and the non-human participant interrogative *jìkôn*.

Example V.108: causal interrogative *àgút^L jìkôn?*

ìndí rògúkún^L tá^L àgút^L jìkôn?
ìndí ròg-kún^L tá^L àgút^L jìkôn
mother\1S,SG,ABS laugh-CP,2S,DJ 1S,DAT because what
My mother, why do you laugh at me?

V.7.4 Orders and hortatives

The Majang language has a dedicated paradigm for imperative and jussive forms (see section IV.2.3.4 for their formation). These are frequently used, but Majang speakers have additional options to exhort people to do what they want.

Majang imperative and jussive clauses have in common that they never show a sentence-final topicality clitic (*SFT*).

V.7.4.1 Imperatives

Imperatives are used to give direct orders to second-person speech-act participants.

Example V.109: imperative clauses

- a) **nè tɔ^L tá^L wàɗ téjǎ!**
nè tɔ^L tá^L wàɗ téjǎ
CONJ INTERJ 1s.DAT come\IMP.SG skin\IMP.SG
So what? Come and slaughter (it) for me!
- b) **dí:l^L tá^L mǎɗ^L kòciéónk jàrtià cɔ!**
dí:l^L tá^L mǎɗ^L kòcié-ónk jàrti-à cɔ^L
take\IMP.SG 1s.DAT fire\SG.ABS pipe-POSS woman\SG-DAT DEM\SG.DAT
Take the fire of the pipe towards that woman for me!
- c) **dǎmú^L tá:mé^L á:béé:kònk!**
dǎm-i^L tá:m-e^L á:bé-ék-ònk
eat-IMP.SG fruit-PL.ABS figtree-PL-POSS
Eat figs!

Quite often, as in examples a) and b), the speaker can place the *1s.DAT* short pronoun as a dative of interest into the clause to indicate that s/he is the beneficiary of the action. Just as often as the imperative form speakers use the regular *2s* indicative verb form to give something that very much sounds like a command:

Example V.110: orders given with indicative verbs

- téjɗi:kín nè tá^L gǎkín^L dúndè né:kín!**
téj-ɗi-k-in nè tá^L gǎɓ-kín^L dúndè né:k=ŋ
slaughter-AP-EXT-2s.DJ CONJ 1s.DAT give-CP.2s.DJ heart\SG.ABS POSS\3s.SG.ABS=SFT
Slaughter and give me its heart!

This example does not display any imperative morphology, which is also confirmed by the fact that the absolutive object at the end of the clause is marked by the *SFT*-marker. My consultants agreed that it is neither more nor less polite to place an order in this way. It is just a different option. The use of the dative short pronoun in this example is different from the dative of interest seen in other examples of orders; here it is used to refer to the indirect object of this ditransitive clause.

V.7.4.2 Jussive

Jussive forms are like imperatives, but directed at participants other than 2nd person. All jussive forms have a particular hortative particle directly in front of the verb, which is used in its regular indicative form. In the following I only call third person forms jussive, and use the more specific terms hortative for 1st person plural jussive forms, and precative for 1st person singular and plural jussive forms.

3rd person jussives

A Majang jussive form in the third person expresses a wish or an expectation that some participant not directly involved in the speech act should perform an action.

Example V.111: 3rd person jussive clause

íðí^L cínò tàràré ñónk ìn tàràré kéðòm!
 íðí^L cì-n-ò tàrà-r-é ñónk ìn tàrà-r-é kéðòm
man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST study-3S.DJ SUB HORT\3S study-3S.DJ properly
Someone who studies should study hard!

The hortative particle for all 3rd person forms is *ìn*, which is also used for plural imperatives.

Hortatives

A hortative clause exhorts the addressee to participate in an action together with the speaker (Chung & Timberlake, 1985, p. 247). In Majang, it requires the use of the 1st person plural verb form. This is preceded by the *1P* hortative particle *kó^L*.

Example V.112: hortative clauses

- a) *kó^L bánká:wri: nò òjá:g-dí:kì!*
kó^L bánká:w-r-í^L nò òjá:g-dí:k-í^L
HORT\1P strong-INCPT-1P.DJ CONJ work-AP-EXT-1P.DJ
Let's get strong and work!
- b) *kó^L tè bókó:tì: òndíá^L gânk*
kó^L tè bókó:t-í^L òndí-a^L gânk
HORT\1P INTERJ kill-1P.DJ mother\1S-PL.ABS.MOD POSS\1P.PL.ABS
Hey, let's kill our mothers!

Example a) shows two coordinated hortative clauses. Only the first is introduced by the hortative particle. The second clause is introduced by the conjunction **nə**, which is regularly used for this purpose. Its second function is to serve as the conjunction introducing purpose clauses (see section V.8.3.3).

Precative modality

Precative modality (Palmer, 1986, p. 10) is a *1s* or *1p* jussive form that solicits permission to perform the action expressed by the verb. In Majang, this is introduced by the precative marker **gúndě́n**, which appears to be composed of **gún^L** ‘before’ and the verb **dě́n** ‘see’.

Example V.113: precative clause

cà:kóm^L, gúndě́n pàrà áń^L kónk à bálá:ŋ!
 cà:kóm^L gúndě́n pàrà-à áń^L kónk à bálá:=ŋ
friend\SG.ABS PRCTV try-1s.CJ thing\SG.ABS REF\RECPST CONJ small\3S.DJ=SFT
Friend, let me try this thing a little!

V.8 Clause Combinations

The following section presents the way in which clauses combine with each other within a sentence. One needs to distinguish between *coordination*, that is the combination of two or more main clauses, and *subordination*, where clauses of different status are combined into a complex sentence.

Whenever an utterance in Majang consists of more than one clause, the grammar of the language prefers some kind of linkage to be expressed between them. Only the initial clause of an utterance stands without a conjunction. This is even the case between sentences; a conjunction is expected to be placed between them, as in the following section from a narrative:

Example V.114: conjunctions between sentences

láké^L fà nə bókórján. nə bá^L tónú cò:lílántá^L ké “ó:lùn típír à é:kèr. ìnkó:’té
 pírí:’!” nə tòngé:’^L cò:lílánt^L ké “dò:c.” nə tónú cò:lílánt^L ménkà ké “kó^L pírí:’^L éte
 cé^L kàtáméá^L!” nə tòngé:’^L ménk^L ké “dò:c.”

There once was a tortoise. It said to the vulture “You can truly fly. Let’s fly together!” Vulture said “Okay”. Vulture told his comrade “Let’s fly with this man to town!” His comrade said “Okay”.

In this example all clauses but the first are introduced by a conjunction. The first clause is not connected to a previous clause, so there is no conjunction. All main clauses are connected by the clause conjunction **nè**¹⁰⁹. The speech clauses are connected to their main clauses through the quotative marker **ké**. There are several full sentences in this example, but each of them begins with a conjunction.

The necessity to begin a clause with a conjunction varies between text genres. In a narrative text practically all clauses (except direct speech) begin with a conjunction. In a hortatory text or in a discussion sentence-combining conjunctions are much less frequent, which may lead to the conclusion that such texts consist of more than just one utterance.

Quite a number of different subordination clause types are marked by the subordinate-clause marker **=k** at the end of the clause. Such a subordinate-clause marker seems to be a common feature in Surmic (Bryant, 1999, p. 114f) and possibly even in Eastern Sudanic languages, attested for example in the Jebel language Gaahmg (Stirtz, 2012, p. 148ff). The following are examples with this marker from Majang, following a relative clause in a) and a causal clause in b).

Example V.115: subordinate-clause marker **=k**

- a) **má^L lèr ídít^L cìnò dègèj^Lk.**
má^L lèr ídít^L cì-n-ò dègèj=k
but Leer\NOM man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST deceiver=SUB
But Leer was a deceiver.
- b) ... **àgút^L cìnò kán^L bòkòtì:d dúnjé^L cìnè cà:kóm^L né:kík**
àgút^L cì-n-ò kán^L bòkòt-i:d dúnjé^L
because DEM-SG-DIST MEDPST kill-REL PST.3s hyena\SG.NOM.MOD
cì-n-è cà:kóm^L né:k=k
DEM-SG-HR friend\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SUB
... because that Hyena had killed his friend.

¹⁰⁹There is a suggestive similarity in form and function to the Maa (Nilotic) connective **n[HL]** as described by D. Payne (2015, sec. 3). See also sections V.9.2 and V.9.3 for the use of **nè**.

The subordinate-clause marker is apparently not a conjunction, as it never stands at the beginning of the clause, such as the other conjunctions of the language. It appears together with real conjunctions in the same clause (see example V.125).

The subordinate-clause marker =k is mostly used when a noun phrase ends the subordinate clause. It is replaced by the particle **ɲónk** whenever the subordinate clause ends in a verb or numeral.

Example V.116: subordinate-clause marker **ɲónk**

- a) èt ré ídít^L cìnò té:té:ji^L ɲónk.
 èt ré ídít^L cì-n-ò té:té:ji-i^L ɲónk
Is 2S.PRAG man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST skin\IPFV-AP.3S SUB
Sir, I am the butcher.
- b) mókò ìyá:g^L cìnò kómó:j òmón^L ɲónk dáké:da.
 mókò ìyá:g^L cì-n-ò kómó:j òmón^L ɲónk dáké:da
COP\NEG work\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST kind\SG.ABS one SUB only
Work is not just of one kind.
- c) ...àgút^L cìnò àtù májájér^L gè:nék^L cò:gí:áké^L bàkànyù ɲónk mánk jòwèrjù
 ɲónk.
 àgút^L cì-n-ò à-tù májáj-er^L gè:n-ék^L cò:gí-ák-é^L
because DEM-SG-DIST exist-3P Majang-PL.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.PL-NOM place-PL-LOC
 bàkànyù ɲónk mánk jòwèrjù ɲónk
widespread-3P SUB or far-3P SUB
...because the Majang people live at places that are widespread or far away.

V.8.1 Coordination

Two clauses of equal grammatical status are combined into a larger sentence in order to express a closer relationship between the two clauses. As clause-combining conjunctions are almost always used anyway, it would be difficult to distinguish between two sentences following each other and two clauses forming one sentence, were it not for the rules of placing the sentence-final topicality marker. It was stated in section III.4 that this marker =ɲ can only appear at the end of a sentence. Therefore, if there is a situation where the syntactic and pragmatic context would warrant the placing of the *SFT*-clitic, but it is not in evidence, then this indicates that the sentence has not yet reached its end, and at least one more clause follows in the sentence.

Example V.117: lack of *SFT*-marker shows clause coordination

nè cà:di^L bònú nè di:lé wà: tàpádónk.
 nè cà:di^L bòn-í nè di:l-é wà: tàpád-ónk
CONJ then take-3S.DJ CONJ carry-3S.DJ house\SG.DAT ruler\SG-POSS
He took (her) and brought (her) to the house of the ruler.

This example shows a sentence of two coordinated main clauses. The first clause ends with the verb **bònú**, and if this were a sentence on its own, the *SFT*-marker would turn this word into **bònúy**. But as this marker is lacking it becomes clear that the sentence does not end here.

Disjunctive clause coordination is accomplished by the conjunction **mánk**.

Example V.118: disjunctive clause coordination

nè kój cénk cìgì àmbàbè:^L kój cè:g òkód **mánk** mèlèr kój májányérá^L gé:ná^L òkód?
 nè kój cénk cì-g-ì àmbàb-é:^L kój cè:g òkód
CONJ DFUT 3S.CONTR DEM-PL-SP read-IMPS.DJ DFUT 3P when
mánk mèl-er kój májány-er-a^L gé:n-a^L òkód
or arrive-3P.DJ DFUT Majang-PL-DAT POSS\3P.PL-DAT when
Now, when are these going to be read, or when will they reach the Majang people?

Since the Majang language shows full subject agreement on all main-clause verbs, it is difficult to see how gapping would work in two consecutive sentences. The subject (both transitive and intransitive) is just never left out, and therefore there is no gapping. For this reason no valence-reducing device has the function of enabling the object of one clause to serve as the subject of another clause without indicating it overtly. The only way in which the subject of one predicate serves as a pivot for another predicate is in infinitive clauses:

Example V.119: subject as pivot for an infinitive clause

nè cà:di^L dègér ké dèjé kò: bàrtè:t.
 nè cà:di^L dègér ké dèj-é kò: bàrt-è:t
CONJ then know\3S.DJ QUOT need-3S.DJ NFUT.CJ give.birth-INF
Then she knew that she needed to give birth.

Here the subject of **dèjé** serves as the unnamed subject of **bàrtè:t**, which is a gapping situation, but it does not fall into the scope of coordination (see the discussion in the following section V.8.2.2 on the status of **bàrtè:t** as a separate predicate).

V.8.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are clauses that fill an argument slot in a matrix clause (T. Payne, 1997, p. 313). As such, they are clearly subordinated to the matrix clause. In Majang, complement clauses can be formed in two ways, either by using infinitives (for subject clauses), or by using a fully inflected complement clause as the complement of a speech verb or a similar predicate (such as cognitive verbs) with the quotative marker **ké** (for object clauses).

V.8.2.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses provide the subject for the matrix clause. The only attested way to form subject clauses in Majang is by the use of an infinitive.

Example V.120: subject clause with infinitive

nè róríjón^L nè:kék ò:dfiŋ.
nè róríj-3n^L nè:k-é=k ò:dfi=ŋ
CONJ teach-INF\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SUB difficult\3S.DJ=SFT
Teaching it (lit: its teaching) is difficult.

A subject clause is placed in a position preceding the main-clause predicate and requires the use of the subordination marker **=k** at the end of the clause. This subordination marker is a good indicator of the clausal nature of the subject, as it is elsewhere exclusively used in syntactic structures involving a predicate. The use of the infinitive as a predicate testifies to its partly verbal nature. In the texts sampled for this study I have not found an example of a subject clause with a fully inflected verb.

V.8.2.2 Object clauses

Object clauses are subordinate clauses filling the slot of the object of the matrix clause. Just like subject clauses, object clauses can be formed by using an infinitive. Some infinite verbs following auxiliaries look very similar to object clauses. This happens with auxiliaries with a deontic meaning, and these are not really object clauses; instead the infinitives serve as the semantically main verb in modal constructions. Example V.119 has such a construction with the apparent main-clause verb **deje** ‘she needs’ and the infinitive **ɓartɛt** ‘to give birth’. Syntactically, the infinitive could be conceived as the object of **deje**, but, in line with the analysis in section IV.3.5, **deje** needs to be seen as an auxiliary. This is confirmed by the fact that unlike in a sub-

ject clause, the infinitive in example V.119 is not and cannot be followed by the subordinate-clause marker **=k**, which can only occur following a clause with its own separate predicate. The phrase **dɛjɛ kɔ: ɓàrtɛ:t** ‘she needs to give birth’ is semantically only one predicate.

A genuine object clause with an infinitive is seen in the following example:

Example V.121: object clause formed with the infinitive

dɔk dákɛ:ˀ ɓàɲiàk òlátɛˀ cígó:géˀ ɓóká:ˀ ɲónk.
dɔk dák-ɛˀ ɓàɲi-a=k òlát-ɛˀ cì-g-ó:-g-ɛˀ
bring\3S.DJ remain-INF back\SG-DAT=SUB things-LOC REL-PL-DIST-PL-LOC
ɓóká:ˀ ɲónk
many\3S SUB
It will result in many things staying backwards.

In this sentence, the clause headed by the infinitive **dákɛˀ** is the object of the matrix clause headed by the verb **dɔk**. This is a genuine object clause, indicated by the use of the subordinate-clause marker **=k**. Another subordinate marker **ɲónk** follows the relative clause used as the quantifier.

Many object clauses stand for the message part of speech verbs, or, by metaphorical extension, for the result of cognitive verbs. These are not formed with infinitives, but with fully inflected clauses introduced by the quotative marker **ké**.

Speech clauses

The quotative marker **ké** is primarily used for introducing speech clauses.

Example V.122: quotative marker **ké** introducing a speech clause

nè tòngé:ˀ ké “láká à jítˀ.”
nè tòn-gê:d ké lāk-á à jítˀ
CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ QUOT have-1S.DJ CONJ three
She told him “I have three.”

In such a construction, as indicated by the quotation marks, the content of the speech clause is syntactically fully independent of the matrix clause, and the quotative marker **ké** is just a placeholder for the object of the speech verb. Phonologically, **ké** is part of the matrix clause, as there is usually a noticeable pause between **ké** and the speech clause.

In the text corpus perused for this study, no example of an unambiguous indirect speech clause (based on shifted use of pronouns) was encountered, so the study of indirect speech needs to be left to future research.

Quite similar to the use of the quotative marker **ké** before speech clauses is its occurrence following the verb **ríj** ‘call’ in the sense of giving a name. It then introduces the result of this naming as the object complement.

Example V.123: quotative marker **ké** introducing the result of a naming

nè kó lánkà áńń, écò rìjé^L ké ìjó:b.
 nè kó lán-kà áńń écò rìj-é^L ké ìjó:b
 CONJ RECPST find-CP.1S.CJ thingy REL.DIST call-IMPS.DJ COMP Ijob
I met this guy, someone called Ijob.

This complement is certainly not any longer an actual speech act, except for the very indirect reference to the speech act of calling the name of a person.

Object complements of cognitive verbs

By metaphoric extension to its use for speech acts, the quotative marker also introduces a complement clause that serves as an object to a cognitive verb, such as ‘think’ or ‘know’.

Example V.124: **ké** introducing an object complement to a cognitive verb

kòḍún ké dílká^L nà ólṭír?
 kòḍ-ín ké díl-ká^L nà ólṭ-ír
 think-2S.DJ COMP carry-CP.1S.DJ 2S.DAT fish-PL.ABS
Do you think that I bring you fish?

V.8.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses modify a verb or a clause in the same way as an adverb does (T. Payne, 1997, p. 316f). There are several different kinds of adverbial clauses: temporal, causal, conditional, purpose and modal.

V.8.3.1 Temporal

The various temporal subordinate clause structures were introduced with their examples in section IV.2.3.2 on subordinate tense forms. These struc-

tures don't need to be repeated here, but it is worth noting that for temporal clauses the subordinate-clause marker =k is usually not used, although there are also examples where it appears. Further research needs to show what may trigger the presence and absence of this marker in temporal clauses.

V.8.3.1 Causal

Causal clauses in Majang are introduced by the conjunction **àgút^L** 'because', often followed by the relative pronoun **cìnò**. The causal clause usually follows the main clause in Majang. If the cause for the main clause is in the past, the causal clause has a relative-past verb form:

Example V.125: causal relative-past clause

nè kàwè dūŋéd^L cìnè ɓák^L kó:múc né:k à ɓòkòtîr dákédā, àgút^L cìnò kán^L
 ɓòkòtîr dūŋéd^L cìnè cà:kóm^L né:kík.
 nè kàw-è dūŋéd^L cì-n-è ɓák^L kó:múc né:k
 CONJ bite-3S.CJ hyena\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMPST muzzle\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS
 à ɓòkòtîr dákédā àgút^L cì-n-ò kán^L ɓòkòtîr
 CONJ kill-CF.3S only because DEM-SG-DIST MEDPST kill-RELPST.3S
 dūŋéd^L cìnè cà:kóm^L né:k=k
 hyena\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR friend\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SUB
 He bit that hyena into its muzzle until it died, because that hyena had killed his friend.

This example is the single exception found in the corpus with a nominative *A*-constituent following the verb.

If the cause for the main clause is ongoing, a tenseless main-clause verb is used in the causal clause:

Example V.126: tenseless causal clause

nè róríjón^L nè:ké:k ò:díŋ, àgút^L cìnò àtù májájér^L gè:nék cò:gí-áké ɓàkàŋjù ŋónk.
 nè róríj-ŋn^L nè:k-ék ò:dí=ŋ àgút^L cì-n-ò
 CONJ teach-INF.SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM difficult\3S=SFT because DEM-SG-DIST
 à-tù májáj-er^L gè:nék cò:gí-ák-e ɓàkàŋ-jù ŋónk
 exist-3P Majang-PL.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.PL place-PL-LOC widespread-3P SUB
 This teaching is difficult, because the Majang people live in widespread places.

The sentence-final topicality marker on ò:díŋ is very unexpected in this position, as it does not end the sentence. An explanation may be that at first the

speaker intended to end the sentence here, and then provided the following causal clause as an afterthought – there is a noticeable pause in the recording after the *SFT*-clitic.

Not all causal clauses make use of the conjunction **àgút^L**. If the expressed reason is not fully validated, the conjunction **cé:děñ** ‘because it seems’ can be used:

Example V.127: causal clause with **cé:děñ**

cé:děñ tɪn^L ɓó:jíɗé:^L ɲónk, kó^L ɲà:rɪ:^L!
cé:děñ tɪn^L ɓó:j-íɗ-ɛ:^L ɲónk kó^L ɲà:r-ɪ:^L
because.it.seems 1P hate-REL PST-IMPS SUB HORT\1P go-1P.DJ
Because it appears that we are hated, let's go!

Not all causal clauses use a subordination marker **=k** or **ɲónk**, and once more, the reason for its presence or absence is not clear.

V.8.3.2 Conditional constructions

Conditional constructions are treated in the typological literature as consisting of two parts: they contain a main clause, called *apodosis*, and a subordinate clause, called *protasis* (Dancygier, 1998); the *protasis* provides a condition under which the proposition of the main clause may be true. Such *protasis* clauses have a different syntax in Majang than other adverbial clauses, as they are never followed by a subordinate-clause marker **=k** or **ɲónk**, but by the conditional clause clitic **=ɲ**, which has the same form as the sentence-final topicality marker (*SFT*).

Example V.128: conditional construction

ɲè ɔ̀kòɲ cá:^L lɔ̀ɲírkɪɗ cɪtétɪɲ ɲè kó:^L kékàr tà:pèrkɪɲ.
ɲè ɔ̀kòɲ cá:^L lɔ̀ɲ-írk-ɪɗ cɪtét=ɲ** ɲè kó:^L kékàr**
CONJ if then find-CP-REL PST.3P mistake\SG.ABS=CND CONJ NFUT again
tà:p-ɛrk=ɲ****
write-CP.3P=SFT
If they find a mistake, they will write it again.

In this conditional construction the *protasis* precedes the *apodosis*, which is the normal order in Majang. Both clauses are followed by a clitic **=ɲ**, but in the case of the *protasis* this is the conditional marker, whereas at the end of the main clause it is the *SFT*-clitic.

It is rewarding to consider whether these two clitics are actually the same. This should be the obvious conclusion drawn from Haiman's (1978) well-defended assumption that conditional clauses (=protases) are topics, as they provide the presuppositional context under which the apodosis holds true. He therefore warns us to expect that in some languages the conditional markers are identical to the topical markers (Haiman, 1978, p. 577). In light of this the identity of the conditional marker and the sentence-final topicality marker in Majang certainly goes well beyond the scope of mere coincidence. Therefore, if I do not gloss them in the same way, it is not because I disagree with Haiman's assessment and don't want to apply it to the Majang language, but in order to avoid confusion among the readers who rightly note that this conditional marker behaves quite differently from the *SFT*-clitic. This usually ends the sentence, which the conditional marker decidedly does not. Because of its very different scope over the whole clause, the conditional marker can appear on NPs which are not topical, as in example V.128 above. Accordingly, in spite of their apparent common origin, the conditional clitic and the sentence-final topicality clitic behave differently enough to warrant a different gloss.

There are different kinds of conditional constructions in Majang. The following sections contain examples of those which were encountered in the corpus. Most of them have in common that they are introduced by the conjunction **ðkòñ** 'if', and that they have the protasis followed by the clitic **=ŋ**.

Potential conditional constructions

Potential conditional clauses speak about a condition that has the potential to be fulfilled. Quite often this assumes that the apodosis holds true in a potential future; a future-tense marker is therefore often used.

Example V.129: potential conditional clause

ðkòñ ðánká:wrì: é ðá:gdfi:kì: jétŋ, bòdɪ: kó: òlá:té bəŋé.
 ðkòñ ðánká:wr-ì^L é ðá:g-di:-k-ì^L jét=ŋ bòd-ì^L
if get.strong-1P.DJ CONJ\IRR work-AP-EXT-1P.DJ very=CND well-1P.DJ
 kó: òlá:t-ɛ^L bəŋé
NEARFUT things-LOC all
If we get strong and work hard, we will be well off in all things.

Both clauses have the verb in a tenseless main-clause form, with the apodosis tense only expressed by a tense marker. But the tense does not have to

be expressed overtly, as in the next example, where the future idea is expressed by a regular temporal adverb:

Example V.130: potential conditional clause without overt tense marker

ðkòn tɪná^L dòmɛŋ nè ɓám^Lé^L ɲàrɪ^L nè àrɪ: lè:wɛt.
 ðkòn tɪn-a^L dòm-é=ŋ nè ɓám-é^L ɲàr-ɪ^L nè àr-ɪ: lè:w-ɛt
if 1P-DAT allow-3S.DJ=CND CONJ after-LOC go-1P.DJ CONJ do-1P.CJ visit-INF
If the project allows us, we can afterwards go and make a visit.

Counterfactual conditional constructions

A counterfactual conditional construction has an apodosis that is known to be not true, and therefore also renders the protasis as not true by implication.

Example V.131: counterfactual conditional construction

ðkòn kó làk dúndɛŋ gún^L kó kɪ rérɪn. kɪ dé^L dúndè.
 ðkòn kó làk dúndè=ŋ gún^L kó k-í rérɪn
if RECPST have.3S heart\SG.ABS=CND before RECPST NEG-3S die.NEG
 k-í dé^L dúndè
NEG-3S exist.NEG heart\SG.ABS
If he had had a heart, he would not have died before. There is no heart.

In this example, the apodosis states that the subject had not died, which contradicts the experience of both speaker and hearer. This then reveals that the protasis cannot be true, and therefore the conclusion of the last sentence can be validly drawn. Counterfactual conditional constructions have the protasis begin with the conjunction **ðkòn**, and use the conditional clitic **=ŋ** at the end of the protasis. The use of past-tense markers in both protasis and apodosis assures the understanding that the validity of both of them can be inferred on the basis of contextual knowledge.

Negative conditional clauses

Negative conditional clauses are protases which state that a condition is not met. They usually also have a negative apodosis. In the following example the rare situation is encountered where the protasis follows the apodosis.

Example V.132: negative conditional construction

kí gájé^L à tòné^L ké àmbàbèr kój májáñé^L má^L té:nàn jé:mé^L ké^L róríjártìṅ.
 k-í gáj-é^L à tòñ-é^L ké àmbàb-er kój májáñ-er^L
NEG-3S succeed-NEG CONJ say-IMPS.DJ QUOT read-3P.DJ DFUT Majang-PL.NOM
 má^L té:nàn jé:mé^L k-é^L róríj-art=ṅ
but instead previously NEG-IMPS teach-NEG=CND
It is impossible to claim that the Majang people will read if they are not first being taught.

This negative protasis does not make use of the conjunction **àkòn** ‘if’, but begins with the conjunction cluster **má^L té:nàn** ‘but instead’. Only the use of the conditional clitic at the end of the clause makes it evident that this is indeed a conditional clause; it cannot be an *SFT*-clitic, as such never follows a negative verb.

V.8.3.3 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are adverbial clauses that express the purpose to which the action of the main clause is performed. In Majang a purpose clause is often introduced by the conjunction **nò**, which is used instead of the regular conjunction **nè**.

Example V.133: purpose clauses with quotative marker

rì:6é 6á^Ltín^L wà:kójót^L à 6á^L tìná^L gà6é òlà bàṅé ké nò òjá:g-dí:kì, nò kòñí^L èkán gānk, nò pò:cí^L cè:n.
 rì:6-é 6á tìn^L wà:kójót^L à 6á^L tìná^L gà6-é òlà
create-3S.DJ REM PST IP God\NOM CONJ REM PST IP.DAT give-3S.DJ things\NOM
 bàṅé ké nò òjá:g-dí-k-í^L nò kòñ-í^L èk-án gānk
all QUOT CONJ work-AP-EXT-IP.DJ CONJ help-IP.DJ body-PL.ABS POSS\IP.PL.ABS
 nò pò:c-í^L cè:n
CONJ thank-IP.DJ 3S
God created us and gave us all things, in order for us to work, to help ourselves, and to thank Him.

In this example the three purpose clauses are introduced by the quotative marker **ké**, probably to imply an explicitly stated purpose. But this quotative marker can be left out, as well as the conjunction **nò** – then the purpose marking on the verb needs to be used. As seen in section IV.2.3.2, the verbal marker for purpose clauses is identical in form with the relative-past subordi-

Example V.134: purpose marker in simultaneous subordinate verb

The following example displays another frequent feature of Majang purpose clauses: they are often accompanied by a future-tense marker.

It is also possible to create negative purpose clauses:

The negative purpose clause also uses the conjunction **nè**, followed by the negative copula **mó**, and it uses the purpose marker on the verb.

V.8.3.4 Modal clauses

A modal clause provides adverbial information about how the main-clause action is performed. In Majang such clauses are introduced by the conjunction **òkó cè**, which consists of the preposition **òkó** 'like', followed by the short demonstrative **cè**. The subordinate verb comes in the relative-past form. Such clauses may be accompanied by the subordinate-clause marker **=k**.

Example V.137: modal clause

nè cénk, jò: cìgè cǒjk róríjǎ:^L ré cék^L òkó cè dǎjérdík.
 nè cénk jò: cì-g-è cǒj=k róríj-a:^L
 CONJ 3S.CONTR people\NOM.MOD REL-PL-HR there=SUB teach-DUR.3P
 ré cék^L òkó cè dǎj-erd=k
 3P.PRAG 3P.CONTR like REL\SG.HR want-RELST.3P=SUB
 Now this, the people over there, they teach it as they wanted it.

V.8.4 Serial verbs

To a limited extent the Majang language makes use of serial-verb constructions. Only two verbs were found that can be the first part of such a construction: **kè:ɗ** 'go' and **kùc** 'come'. These are the two directional variants (centrifugal and centripetal) of the same concept, an associated motion preceding the action reported in the second verb. Some examples, such as IV.167b), suggest that the verb **kè:** 'go' may also be used in a serial verb construction with an inceptive meaning, expressing that the subject begins the action of the second verb.

Example V.138: serial-verb constructions

- a) nè nàrkí dǔné^L kékàr nè kùc tòngé:^L ké ...
 nè nàr-kí dǔné^L kékàr nè kùc tòn-gê:ɗ ké
 CONJ go-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM again CONJ come\3S say-TF.3S QUOT
 Hyena came over again and came telling him...
- b) kè:ɗín gǎgíɗín^L òkó cìnik
 kè:ɗ-ín gǎb-gíɗ-in^L òkó cì-n-ì=k
 go-2S.DJ give-TF-2S.DJ like DEM-SG-SP=SUB
 Go and give her like this!

These are serial-verb constructions because the syntax gives no indication that the two verbs belong to two different predicates or even clauses. The two verbs stand in immediate juxtaposition to each other. The absence of the

SFT-clitic following the first verb rules out the possibility of a sentence boundary between the verbs. There is also no conjunction and no pause between the verbs, which makes them appear to be a single unit.

V.8.5 Relative clauses

The Majang language makes prolific use of relative clauses, which can be added to noun phrases by use of a relatively simple construction. Almost all relative clauses are introduced by a relative pronoun (based on demonstratives, see section IV.3.1.3) which agrees with the head noun in number, but not in any case but dative and locative. The predicate of a relative clause is as flexible as that of a main clause, which means it can be a verb, a noun phrase or any other constituent listed in section V.3.2.1. The relative clause is invariably closed by the subordinate markers =**k** or **ḡónk**.

Example V.139: relative clauses

- a) **làkè ídít^L cìnò kós^L tíná^L mèlkí ḡónk.**
làk-è ídít^L cì-n-ò kós^L tìn-a^L mèl-kí ḡónk
have-IMPS.CJ man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST NFUT 1P-DAT arrive-CP.3S.DJ SUB
There is a man who is coming towards us.
- b) **nè dèn-è ḡòdé òm cìnò mènán ḡónk.**
nè dèn-è ḡòdé òm cì-n-ò mènán ḡónk
CONJ see-3S.CJ house\SG.ABS one\ABS REL-SG-DIST good\3S.DJ SUB
She saw a good house.
- c) **ìná^L jóp^L cìḡì rébéc^Lkámá^Lkík!**
ìná^L jóp^L cì-g-ì rébéc-kám-ak^L=k
2S people\ABS.MOD REL-PL-SP trouble-NOMIN-PL.ABS=SUB
You are troublemakers!

As can be seen, in all examples the relative clause follows the head noun as last element in the NP. In example a) the relative-clause predicate is an active verb, in example b) a stative verb, and in example c) a noun. The relative clause is the only way to use a stative verb as modifier to a noun phrase, and therefore stative-verb relative predicates are very frequent. Relative clauses in Majang can be both restrictive and non-restrictive (descriptive), without any change to how they are formed. Example V.139b) shows an apparently non-restrictive relative clause; the following example even more clearly illustrates the descriptive use of a relative clause:

Example V.140: restrictive relative clause

nè gágè:ɗ tá:r-á^L célcélekònk cìgè ɓá^L mède:ɗ dũk tàkík.
 nè gág-ge:ɗ tá:r-á^L célcél-ek-ònk
 CONJ give-TF.3S.CJ meat-ABS.PL.MOD lizard-PL-POSS
 cì-g-è ɓá^L mède-é^L dũk tàk=k
 REL-PL-HR REMPST roast-IMPS.DJ forest\SG.LOC.MOD inside\LOC=SUB
 He gave her lizard-meat chunks that had been roasted in the forest.

The head noun of a relative clause does not have to be overtly mentioned:

Example V.141: headless relative clause

nè kó cè:g àmbàbèr cìgè:ge^L kán^L jé:mék?
 nè kó^L cè:g àmbàb-er cì-g-é-g-é^L kán^L jé:mé=k
 CONJ NFUT 3P read-3P.DJ REL-PL-SP-PL-LOC MEDPST previous=SUB
 Are they going to read in the ones (letters) that were previously?

This sentence is from a conversation about different orthography standards. The relative clause refers to the previous orthography system without bringing it up as a head noun.

The use of the relative pronoun allows the Majang language great flexibility regarding the question of what kind of NPs can be relativized (Keenan, 1985, p. 155). Example V.139a) relativizes a non-topical *S*. The relative clause in example V.139b) refers to the *P* and c) to the topical *S* of a verbless clause. Example V.141 has the headless relative clause referring to an adverbial constituent in the locative case. As one would expect, the *A* can also be relativized:

Example V.142: *A* relativized

nè èténk^L gè kó àrkí:^L òjá:g né:kékík gà:mí:^L nè kè:ɗí:^L jònità:kà.
 nè èténk^L gè kó àr-kí:^L òjá:g né:k-ek^L=k
 CONJ 1P REL\PL.HR RECPST do-CP.1P.DJ work\SG.LOC POSS\3S.SG.LOC=SUB
 gà:m-í:^L nè kè:ɗ-í:^L jònità-ak-a^L
 take-1P-DJ CONJ go-1P.DJ place-PL-DAT
 We, who have been at that work, take it and go everywhere.

In the same way, a dative constituent can be relativized:

Example V.143: dative constituent relativized

ò:lé^L gódéíká^L cìgá:gá^L ɓè:lèrk.
 ò:l-é^L gòdé-ík-a^L cì-g-á-g-a^L ɓè:l-er=k
can-IMPS house-PL-DAT REL-PL-HR-PL-DAT exist-3P.DJ=SUB
It can be done to those houses that are there.

Relativized nouns can take at least two differing argument roles within the relative clause. All examples seen so far had the head of the relative clause in the role of *A* or *S* of the relative clause. But the head noun can also have the role of *P*.

Example V.144: head of NP is *P* in the relative clause

- a) ... mánk tókóŋ^L cìnè tíná^L gàðèrk cé:kík jíkôn?
 mánk tó-kóŋ^L cì-n-è tìn-a^L gàð-erk cé:k⁺=k jíkôn
or INF-help\SG.ABS REL-SG-HR IS-DAT give-CP.3P 3P.CONTR=SUB what
... or what is the help that they provide for us?
- b) ègè cìnì cìnò pà:rírkúndó^L dákédàk.
 ègè cì-n-ì cì-n-ò pà:r-írkun-d-ó^L dákédà=k
COP DEM-SG-SP REL-SG-DIST try-SIMUL-REFOBJ-2P.DJ only=SUB
This is what you are only going to try.

No examples were encountered where the relative NP takes the dative or locative slot in the relative clause, but this does not mean that they do not exist. A bigger text corpus may reveal more options.

V.9 Continuity (Cohesion) and Discontinuity

In this section a number of devices are briefly introduced that allow Majang speakers to keep track of topics and ideas in discourse. A full treatment of these factors requires a much more extensive discourse analysis based on a larger text corpus, but a few initial thoughts can already be presented here.

Continuity refers to the cohesion a text may display because of recurring themes, actions, and topics (T. Payne, 1997, p. 344). Languages use specific devices to make this cohesion visible, and also to show where continuity is broken by the introduction or dropping of current themes, actions or topics.

V.9.1 Topical (referential) continuity

The Majang language shows topical continuity by referring to ongoing topical constituents in a minimal way. The default clause structure of Majang is *VP* or *VS*, depending on transitivity, as codified in the least marked order of constituents Verb – NP_{ABS} (see section III.2.2.1). This assumes that the subject is identical with a current activated participant. In this case, the subject is not expressed overtly in the clause, but just through indexing by the subject marker on the verb.

Example V.145: topical continuity in Majang discourse

làké^L b̃à j̃artí òm cìnd̃ làkí àmd̃ùk. nè b̃á^L b̃èp̃ òmáltè lák ɲòd̃ kà:rìònk.

làk-é^L b̃à j̃artí òm cì-n-ò làk-í^L

have-IMPS.DJ REMPST\CJ woman\SG.ABS one REL-SG-DIST have-AP.3S

àmd̃=k

stomach\SG.LOC=SUBORD

Once there was a woman who was pregnant.

nè b̃á^L b̃èp̃ òm-áltè lák ɲòd̃ kà:rì-onk

CONJ REMPST day\SG.LOC one-LOC have.3S.CJ neck\SG.ABS coffee.leaf-POSS

One day she had a craving for coffee-leaf drink.

In this example the initial sentence introduces the main character of the narrative, by using a full NP giving the necessary information about this participant. In the next clause this participant is then an activated participant, and topical continuity allows the participant to be no longer mentioned overtly except by indexing on the verb. Adjustments are only necessary when new participants are introduced, or when different participants become activated in rapid succession.

A participant can keep its activated status as object in the next clause by the use of the referential-object verb form (see section IV.2.3.5).

Example V.146: referential-object form providing reference to the preceding subject

ɲà:r kó é:tá^L còlák bà:búj né:kík. nè d̃ò:c, nòmé:d̃á^L kó^L rómî:d̃.

ɲà:r kó é:t-á^L còlák bà:búj né:k=k

go\3S.DJ RECPST 1S-DAT towards husband\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG=SUB

nè d̃ò:c nòm-é:d̃-a^L kó^L rómî:d̃

CONJ okay follow-REFOBJ-1S NFUT morning

She has left me towards her husband. Okay, I will follow her in the morning.

This referential-object verb form, which is formally identical with the relative-past subordinate form, but syntactically very different from it, almost appears like an object marker. But the form is the same for all possible object persons. Instead of providing anaphoric reference through indexing for a specific participant it alerts the hearer to the fact that the object is identical with the subject or object of the previous clause. The following example shows the use of the referential-object form for reference to the preceding object.

Example V.147: referential-object form for reference to the preceding object

má^L lèr bònú émé^L nè èkàñè:ɗ lònɡólótè ɡòròà ɗé:ɡá^L cò.
 má^L lèr bòn-í émé^L nè èkàñ-ɛ:ɗ
but Leer\NOM *take-3S.DJ* *mother*\3S.SG.NOM CONJ *bring.across-REFOBJ.3S*
 lònɡólót-è ɡòrò-à ɗé:ɡá^L cò^L
rope\SG-LOC *river*\SG-DAT *across* DEM\DIST.DAT
But Leer took his mother and brought her across the river by a rope.

Another device used to provide topical continuity is the deictic-transfer form (*TF*), which incorporates both deictic centers in a two-participant situation into the verbal morphology. It was already shown in section V.5.4 that this form is used in the recipient-removal construction, elevating the addressee or recipient of a ditransitive proposition from its more marginal dative-NP status to that of the secondary deictic center, at the price of removing its overt expression from the clause. But even without this removal of the recipient the *TF*-marking ensures that reference to a second deictic center (and therefore to a second important participant) is coded into the verb morphology.

Example V.148: *TF*-form providing non-subject topical continuity

kéjñ^L nò kè:ɗi^L lálánj:ɗi^L à jó:p^L màngístìònk bànkàw jìkòn? bànkàw pròjèt né:k
 nè dòkúrgé^L jò: kócùnk.
 kéjñ^L nò kè:ɗ-i^L lálánj-í:ɗ-i^L à jó:p^L màngístí-ònk
or CONJ *go*\1P.DJ *meet*\IPFV-REL PST-1P CONJ *people*\ABS.MOD *government*-POSS
 bànkàw jìkòn? bànkàw pròjèt né:k nè
strong\3S.CJ *what* *strong*\3S.CJ *project*\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS CONJ
 dòk-ír-ɡè:ɗ jò: kócùnk
sit-INCPT-TF-3P.DJ *people*\NOM *like.this*
Or what authority (do we have) to engage the government people? The project itself has authority and the people (of the project) will sit down with them (the government people) like this.

In this example, the *TF*-form in the verb **dòkúrgé^L** ‘sit down’ implies the previously mentioned government people as the target of the action. Like with the referential-object form, the *TF*-marking on the verb does not provide specific reference to a particular entity, but it alerts the hearer to identify the secondary deictic center from the short list of activated participants.

V.9.2 Tail-head linkage

In one text of the corpus analyzed for this grammar I found a lengthy stretch of narrative with a tail-head linkage structure; this means that each new sentence begins with a subordinate clause repeating the new information of the previous sentence, before adding its own new information in the main clause (Longacre, 1968; Dooley & Levinsohn, 2000, p. 8). Here is a passage from this to illustrate the phenomenon, only roughly interlinearized for ease of reading:

Example V.149: illustration of tail-head linkage

- a) **nè cá^L ɓá^L jàrtí^L cìnè dún^Lkúd^L dé^L à bálá^L ɲónk.**
 CONJ then REMPST woman\SG.NOM that sleeping down CONJ little SUB
After the woman had slept a little,
- b) **nè mèlki dúmá^Lt^L wà:, ídít^L cìnò ríjé^L ké tàwá:wé:k**
 CONJ he.came owner\SG.ABS home man who they.call.him QUOT Tawaawee\ABS
the owner came home, a man called Tawaawee.
- c) **nè cá^L ɓá^L mèlkíd^L dúmá^L wà: dòárík,**
 CONJ then REMPST coming owner\SG.NOM home from.hunt
After the owner came home from hunting,
- d) **nè dèné gòdé né:k à kórtàn.**
 CONJ he.sees house\SG.ABS his CONJ closed
he saw his house closed.
- e) **nè cá^L ɓá^L tàjè:d gòdé né:kík,**
 CONJ then REMPST opening house\SG.ABS his
When opening his house,
- f) **nè jògùkú à ɓànkáwɲ.**
 CONJ he.feels CONJ it.resists
he felt that it resisted.

- In this stretch of narrative, the clauses b), d), f), h), j) and l) are main clauses, which are always preceded by a temporal subordinate clause. Clauses a) and e) are not repetitions of the previous main clause, but the other clauses c), g), i) and k) contain virtually only the information of the preceding main clause. This tail-head linkage provides a means to slow down the narrative and ensure that the hearer is tracking. This seems to be a device more useful to oral discourse (Dooley & Levinsohn, 2000, p. 8), and other texts of my corpus do not make use of it. The very liberal use of the regular conjunction *ne* increases the sense of high continuity in this passage.

Discontinuity occurs when something unexpected happens in the discourse. This affects the unity of either time, place, action, or participants (Givón, 1984, p. 245). It was already pointed out in section V.3.1 that fronting of

participants is used to (re-)activate a different accessible participant, often in conjunction with contrastive pronouns or pragmatic particles.

Changes of time and place are indicated by the appropriate adverbial phrases or clauses at the beginning of a new paragraph:

Example V.150: discontinuity of place or time

- a) **nè cà:di^L ɓɛɲ òmáltè dɛné wà:lô:k gòpàn...**
nè cà:di^L ɓɛɲ òm-áltè dɛn-é wà:lô:k gòpàn
 CONJ then day\SG.LOC one-LOC see-3S.DJ Waalook\ERG path\SG.ABS
Then one day Waalook saw a path...
- b) **nè cà:di^L ɓòɲú nè dɪ:l-é wà: tàpád-ònk.**
nè cà:di^L ɓòɲ-í nè dɪ:l-é wà: tàpád-ònk
 CONJ then take-3S.DJ CONJ carry-3S-DJ house\SG.DAT ruler\SG-POSS
Then he took (her) and carried (her) to the house of the ruler.

Discontinuity of action may involve unexpected or new developments, which usually bring the discourse forward. As was seen in section V.8, the Majang language goes to great lengths to provide connections between clauses, using the default conjunction **nè**, which signals the beginning of a new clause. This clause may refer to a new event, but it would not be expected to initiate a new or completely unforeseen development. Unexpected developments are announced by the conjunction **má^L** 'but', which serves as the thematic development marker of Majang.

Example V.151: thematic development marker **má^L**

- a) **má^L jàrtí^L kónk ɓòɲú tá:r-á^L cìgè mógúnk-ònk, nè ɲà:r ɲák-á^L né:k-á^L.**
má^L jàrtí^L kónk ɓòɲ-í tá:r-á^L cì-g-è
 but woman\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST take-3S.DJ meat-PL.ABS DEM-PL-HR
mógún-k-ònk nè ɲà:r ɲák-a^L né:k-a^L
 duiker-PL-POSS CONJ go\3S.DJ house-DAT POSS\3S.SG-DAT
But the woman took the duiker meat chunks and went home.
- b) **nè dām ké pō: nè ɲǎ:rɲ. má^L ɓòkòtú émé^L lè:rǎ:ɲ.**
nè dām ké pō: nè ɲǎ:r=ɲ
 CONJ eat\3S.DJ QUOT all CONJ go\3S=SFT
má^L ɓòkòt-í émé^L lè:r-à=ɲ
 but kill-3S.DJ mother\SG.3S.ABS Leer-DAT=SFT.
He ate it all up and went. But he killed Leer's mother.

In example a), the presence of **má^L** signals an unexpected action by the woman who so far had shown herself as a grateful and willing guest; now she turns into a thief and abandons the host, setting the stage for the climax of the story. In example b), the subject had just been fed by Leer's mother – the reported killing is not only unexpected, it also sets in motion the biggest part of the narrative, in which Leer tries to win for himself a surrogate mother.

Given its use to signal discontinuity, the conjunction **má^L** is used much less frequently than its cohesion-signaling counterpart **nè**. In the story of *The pregnant woman and Tawaawee* **má^L** is used twice as opposed to 57 occurrences of **nè**.

Part VI: Texts and Lexicon

VI.1 Texts with Interlinear Translation

VI.1.1 *Dog and Donkey* – wár^L à kú'rój

This text is a traditional narrative, originally collected and transcribed in a similar form by Pete Unseth in 1989, as told by Ermias Rite. It was re-told (and recorded), with some modifications, by Joseph Kalakun in March 2013. A different version of this story is related by Getachew (2014, p. 252ff).

làkè^L bà wár^L à kú'rój. nè bá^L kár ké cò:nà. nè tòné^L cè:gà ké “ì:nák^L jó:p^L cìgì rébéc^Lkáná^Lkík!” nè bò:lé^L wár^L nè dùrìjé ké “wè:!” má^L bò ré kú'rój^L àrí òkó cìnèk. nè bá^L wár tònú kú'rójá^L ké “cà:kóm^L, cé:dën tín^L bójíjé^L ñónk, kó^L ñàrí^L!”

nè bá^L ñàrá^L à jòwé:^Ldí dó:ká^L òmáltá^L òkà cà. nè bá^L cà:dí^L bá^L làkè dùjé^Ldí. nè bá^L cénk^L dádámí^L kú'ròj. má^L cénk^L wár^L làk ñá:w^L. nè bá^L làj tàdápú^L nè dūdūn dé^L tàdápút má^L cénk^L kú'rój dádámí^L cà:dí.

nè bá^L cà:dí^L ká:lt tònú kú'rój^L cà:kómá^L né:ká^L ké “cà:kóm^L, gúndën pàrà áj^L kónk à bálâ:ñ!” nè tòngé:^L wár ké “ì:nè kàt pà:rín! làkè ídít^L cìnò kó^L tíná^L mèlkí ñónk, ídít^L cìnò rìjé^L ké dùjé^Ldík.” má^L cénk^L wár^L è:ñàdã:ñ. nè è:ñàdã:ñ dùjé^Ldí à jòwé:^Ldí. nè tòngé:^L ké “kàt ré pà:rín!”

nè cà:dí^L gáj cájtiè árn ká:jònk nò kó^L à írkídík. nè tòngé:^L kú'rój^L kékàr ké “gúndën pàrà áj^L kónkún!” nè tòngé:^L ké “kàt ré pà:rín! mèlkí kò ídít^L cìnè kónk.” nè tòngé:^L wár kékàr ké “àrín à bálâ:ñ!” nè bá^L àr à dō:rún, jét. òkó kó dùrìrì:d kú'rój^L jét, à dō:rún.

nè bá^L cà:dí^L né:ké^L gáj cájtiè árn nè mèlkí dújé^L nè:kē:ñ. nè bá^L jàwé kú'rój cìnè bákin. nè dēnē:r wár^L cìnè à dūdūn dé^L tàdápút, nè tònúrgé:^L ké “má^L cénk^L, ìm^L wō:d?” nè jùmúrgé:^L ké “è:t ré ídít^L cìnò té:té:jí^L ñónk.” nè tònúrgé:^L ké “nè tó^L tá^L wád té:já!” nè kúc wár^L cìnè kónk nè tè:jí tâ:r cìnè bàñé. nè tònágé:^L ké “té:jdí:^Lkín nè tá^L gákín^L dúndè né:kín!” nè tònúrgé:^L ké “òkò kó

làk dúndɛŋ gún^L kó kí rérín. kí:ɛ́^L dúndè.” nè cà:dí^L rù:mé téján^L né:k bàŋé. nè kùc dúŋé^L nè òàm târ né:k jét nè òàr nè kè: ɛ́:gâŋ.

má^L ɓò ré wár àgàlkún^L é:k^L nè kè: òàm jét. nè ɓò ré dùnkú ɛ́^L. nè òàrkí dúŋé^L kékàr nè kùc tòngé:^L ké “òà: tá^L ɛ́ wár^L cè:ɛ́.” nè tòngé:^L wár ké “á^L mókó tó^L téjâ târ cìnè cǎ:k?” nè ɗáɗámí:^L dúŋé^L dòŋè ɛ́^L, nè òàŋŋ.

má^L wár^L kónk òàrkí nè òàm à óbîŋ. nè òàrkí cà:dí^L kónk nè kàwè dùŋéɗ^L cìnè ɓák^L kómúc né:k à ɓòkòtîr ɗákédâ, àgút cìnò kán^L ɓòkòtî:ɗ dúŋé^L cìnè cà:kóm^L né:kík, àgút cìnò ègè kán^L kú'rój cìnè à wár^L cìnè cà:kómák^L. nè kán^L cà:dí^L né:ké^L wár^L cìnè ɓòkòtú dùŋéɗ^L né:kín.

nè kán^L tónú wár^L cìnè ké “má^L kó:^L èt mó?” nè kán^L ɓò ré òàr wà:. má^L ɓò ré ɗáké tá:r^L cìnè kánk^L cà:dí^L.

VI.1.1.1 Free translation

Once there was a dog and a donkey. They went to a place. It was said to them “You are troublemakers!” Dog was beaten and barked “ouch!” Donkey, too, did like this. Dog said to Donkey “Friend, because we are hated, let’s go!”

They went to a different country far away, into the forest. There was a hyena at that place. He, Donkey, was eating. But he, Dog, was hungry. He found an ash-pile and was sleeping on the ashes, but Donkey was eating there.

At midnight Donkey said to his friend “Friend, let me try this thing a little!” Dog told him, “You, don’t try it! There is someone who is coming to us, someone called Hyena.” But he, Dog, sniffed. He smelled Hyena far away. He said “Please don’t try!”

After that it became 4 o’ clock in the morning. Donkey said again “Let me try this thing!” He (Dog) said to him “Please, don’t try it! That person has already come!” Again Dog said “Do it just a little!” And so he did, and brayed very loudly. As loudly as a donkey can cry, he brayed.

It was just 4’ o clock and Hyena came. He tore Donkey apart. He saw Dog sleeping in the ashes, and said to him “And you, who are you?” Dog told him “Sir, I am the butcher.” He (Hyena) shouted to him “So what? Come and butcher for me!” So Dog came and slaughtered all the meat. He (Hyena) said “After you slaughter, give me his heart!” He (Dog) shouted to him “If he had had a heart, he would not have died. He did not have a heart.”

Then he finished all his slaughtering. Hyena came, ate a lot of his meat, and went to sleep.

Dog also, hiding himself, went to eat properly. He also lay down. Hyena, again getting up, came and said “Here it smells to me like Dog.” – “Me? No, not me, but perhaps that meat I slaughtered there?” Hyena sat down to eat, and went away.

But Dog came and ate a lot. Then he came there and bit Hyena on his muzzle until he died, because Hyena had killed his friend, because Donkey and Dog had been friends. And so Dog killed Hyena himself.

He said “Will I now be alone?” And he also went home. But that meat also stayed at that place.

VI.1.1.2 Text with interlinearization

- 1) làké^L ɓà wár^L à kú^Lrój.
 làk-é^L ɓà wár^L à kú^Lrój
 have-IMPS.DJ REMPST.CJ dog\SG.ABS CONJ donkey\SG.ABS
Once there was a dog and a donkey.
- 2) nè ɓá^L kár ké còmà.
 nè ɓá^L kár ké còm-a
 CONJ REMPST go\3P.DJ QUOT far.away-DAT
They went to a place far away.
- 3) nè tòn-é^L cè:gà ké “ìná^Lk jóp^L cìgì rébéc^Lkáná^Lkík!”
 nè tòn-é^L cè:g-à ké ìná^Lk jóp^L cì-g-ì
 CONJ say-IMPS 3P-DAT QUOT 2P people\PL.ABS.MOD REL-PL-SP
 rébéc-kán-ak^L=k
 trouble-NOMIN-PL.ABS=SUB
It was said to them “You are troublemakers!”
- 4) nè bòl-é^L wár^L nè dùrìj-é ké “wě:!”
 nè bòl-é^L wár^L nè dùrìj-é ké wě:
 CONJ hit=IMPS dog\SG.ABS CONJ cry-3S.DJ QUOT ouch!
Dog was beaten and barked “ouch!”

- 5) **má^L bò ré kú'rój^L àrí òkó cìnèk.**
má^L bò ré kú'rój^L àr-í òkó cì-n-è=k
but also 3S.PRAG donkey\SG.NOM do-3S.DJ like DEM-SG-HR=POSS
Donkey, too, did like this.
- 6) **nè bá^L wár tònú kú'rój^L ké “cà:kóm^L, cé:děń tìn^L bójí:dě^L ńónk,**
kó^L ńà:rí^L!”
nè bá^L wár tòn-í kú'rój-á^L ké cà:kóm^L
CONJ REM PST dog\SG.NOM say-3S.DJ donkey-SG.DAT QUOT friend\SG.ABS
cé:děń tìn^L bój-í:d-è^L ńónk kó^L ńà:r-í^L
because 1P hate-RELPST-IMPS SUB HORT.1P go-1P.DJ
Dog said to Donkey “Friend, because we are hated, let's go!”
- 7) **nè bá^L ńà:rár à jòwé:ǀdí dóká^L òmáltá^L dūkà câ.**
nè bá^L ńà:r-ár à jòwé:d-í dók-á^L òm-áltá^L
CONJ REM PST go-3P.DJ CONJ far-3S.DJ land-SG.DAT one-DAT
dūk-à cá^L
forest-SG.DAT DEM\SG.HR.DAT
They went to a different country far away, into the forest.
- 8) **nè bá^L cà:dí^L bá^L làkè dūńéd^L.**
nè bá^L cà:dí^L bá^L làk-è dūńéd^L
CONJ REM PST there REF\REMPST have-IMPS.CJ hyena\SG.ABS
There was a hyena at that place.
- 9) **nè bá^L cénk^L dǎdǎmí^L kú'rôj.**
nè bá^L cénk^L dǎdǎm-i^L kú'rój^L=ń
CONJ REM PST 3S.CONTR eat\IPFV-AP.3S donkey\SG.NOM=SFT
He, Donkey, was eating.
- 10) **má^L cénk^L wár^L làk ńá:w^L.**
má^L cénk^L wár^L làk ńá:w^L
but 3S.CONTR dog\SG.ABS have\3S hunger\SG.ABS
But he, Dog, was hungry.
- 11) **nè bá^L làn tǎdǎpú^L nè dūdūn dǎ^L tǎdǎpút má^L cénk^L kú'rój dǎdǎmí^L cà:dí.**
nè bá^L làn tǎdǎpú^L nè dūdūn dǎ^L
CONJ REM PST find\3S.CJ ashpile\SG.ABS CONJ sleep\IPFV.3S down
tǎdǎpút má^L cénk^L kú'rój dǎdǎmí^L cà:dí
ash.pile\SG.LOC but 3S.CONTR donkey\SG.ABS eat\AP.3S there
He found an ash-pile and was sleeping on the ashes, but Donkey was eating there.

- 12) nè bá^L cà:dl^L ká:lt tònú kú'rój^L cà:kómá^L né:ká^L ké "cà:kóm^L, gúndě̀n pà:rà ápn^L kónk à bálá:ŋ!"

nè bá^L cà:dl^L ká:lt tòn-í kú'rój^L cà:kóm-a^L
 CONJ REMPT then midnight say-3S.DJ donkey\SG.NOM friend\SG-DAT
 né:k-a^L ké cà:kóm^L gúndě̀n pà:r-à ápn^L
 POSS\3S.SG-DAT QUOT friend\SG.ABS let.me! try-1S.CJ thing\SG.ABS
 kónk à bálá:=ŋ
 REF\RECPST CONJ little\3S=SFT

At midnight Donkey said to his friend, "Friend, let me try this thing a little!"

- 13) nè tòngé:^L wár ké "ì:nè kàt pà:rín!

nè tòn-gê:d wár ké ì:nè kàt pà:r-ín
 CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM QUOT you HORT\NEG try-2S.DJ
 Dog told him, "You, don't try it!"

- 14) làkè ídít^L cìnò kó:^L tíná^L mèlki ŋónk, ídít^L cìnò rìjé^L ké dūṅédík."

làk-è ídít^L cì-n-ò kó:^L tìn-a^L mèl-kí
 have-IMPS.CJ person\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST NFUT 1P-DAT arrive-CP.3S.DJ
 ŋónk ídít^L cì-n-ò rìj-é^L ké dūṅédík=k
 SUB person.SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST call-IMPS QUOT hyena\SG.ABS=SUB
 There is someone who is coming to us, someone called Hyena."

- 15) má^L cénk^L wár^L è:ṇàdǎ:ŋ.

má^L cénk^L wár^L è:ṇàdǎ:=ŋ
 but 3S.CONTR dog\SG.ABS sniff\3S=SFT
 But he, Dog, sniffed.

- 16) nè è:ṇádǎr dūṅéd^L à jòwé:dí:ŋ.

nè è:ṇádǎr dūṅéd^L à jòwé:dí-i:=ŋ
 CONJ smell-CF.3S.DJ hyena\SG.ABS CONJ far-3S=SFT
 He smelled Hyena far away.

- 17) nè tòngé:^L ké "kàt ré pà:rín!"

nè tòn-gê:d ké kàt ré pà:r-ín
 CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ QUOT HORT\NEG 2S.PRAG try-2S.DJ
 He said "Please don't try!"

- 18) nè cà:dl^L gāj cājtiè árn kájònk nò kó:^L à írkídík.

nè cà:dl^L gāj cājti^L-é^L árn káj-ònk
 CONJ then succeed\3S.CJ hour-PL.ABS ten night\SG-POSS

nò kó^L à írkíɗ=k
 CONJ NFUT CONJ dawn=SUB

After that it became 4 o' clock in the morning.

- 20) nè tòngé^L kú'rój^L kékàr ké "gúndě́n pàrà ɲ^L kónkúŋ!"
 nè tòn-gê:ɗ kú'rój^L kékàr ké gúndě́n pàr-à
 CONJ say-TF-3S.DJ donkey\SG.NOM again QUOT let.me try-1S.CJ
 ɲ^L kónk=ŋ
 thing\SG.ABS REF\RECPST=SFT
Donkey said again "Let me try this thing!"

- 21) nè tòngé^L ké "kàt ré pà:ín!
 nè tòn-gê:ɗ ké kàt ré pàr-ín
 CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ QUOT HORT\NEG 2S.PRAG try-2S.DJ
He (Dog) said to him "Please, don't try it!"

- 22) mèlkí kò ídít^L cìnè kónk."
 mèl-kí kò ídít^L cì-n-è kónk
 arrive-CP.3S.DJ RECPST\CJ man\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\RECPST
That person has already come!"

- 23) nè tòngé^L wár kékàr ké "àrín à bálâŋ!"
 nè tòn-gê:ɗ wár kékàr ké àr-ín à bálá: =ŋ
 CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM again QUOT do-2S.DJ CONJ little\3S=SFT
Again Dog said "Do it just a little!"

- 24) nè ɓá^L ǎ à dɔ:rúŋ, jét.
 nè ɓá^L ǎ à dɔ:r-í=ŋ jét
 CONJ REM PST do\3S.DJ CONJ shout-3S.DJ=SFT very
And so he did, and brayed very loudly.

- 25) òkó kó dūrì:rì:ɗ kú'rójk jét, à dɔ:rúŋ.
 òkó kó dūr-ir-i:ɗ kú'rój=k jét
 like RECPST cry-INCPT-REL PST.3S donkey\SG.ABS=SUB very
 à dɔ:r-í=ŋ
 CONJ shout-3S.DJ=SFT
As loudly as a donkey can cry out, he brayed.

- 26) nè ɓá^L cà:dí^L né:ké^L gài cájtíè árn nè mèlkí dūŋé^L nè:kêŋ.
 nè ɓá^L cà:dí^L né:k-e^L gài cájtí^L-e^L árn
 CONJ REM PST then POSS\3S.SG-LOC succeed\3S.CJ hour-PL.ABS ten
Then he succeeded at ten o'clock.

nè mèl-kí dŋɛ́ nè:k-é=ŋ
 CONJ arrive-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM=SFT
It was just 4 o'clock and Hyena himself came.

27) nè ɓá^L jàwé kú'rój cinè ɓákɪŋ.
 nè ɓá^L jàw-é kú'rój cì-n-è ɓák=ŋ
 CONJ REM PST cut-3S.DJ donkey\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMPST=SFT
He tore that aforementioned donkey apart.

28) nè dènêr wár^L cinè à dũdũn dɛ^L tādāpút, nè tònúrgé^L ké “má^L cénk^L, ɪn^L wô:d?”
 nè dèn-êr wár^L cì-n-è à dũdũn dɛ^L tādāpút
 CONJ see-CF.3S dog\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR CONJ lie\IPFV.3S down ash\SG.LOC
 nè tòn-ír-gê:d ké má^L cénk^L ɪn^L wô:d
 CONJ say-INCPT-TF.3S QUOT but 2S.CONTR 2S who
He saw Dog sleeping in the ashes, and said to him “And you, who are you?”

29) nè jùmúrgé^L ké “è:t ré ídít^L cinò té:téjɪ: ɲónk.”
 nè jùmúr-gê:d ké è:t ré ídít^L cì-n-ò
 CONJ reply-TF.3S.DJ QUOT 1S 2S.PRAG man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST
 té:téj-i^L ɲónk
 skin\IPFV-AP.3S SUB
And Dog said to him “Sir, I am the butcher.”

30) nè tònúrgé^L ké “nè tɔ^L tá^L wād téjɪ!”
 nè tòn-ír-gê:d ké nè tɔ^L tá^L wād téj-a
 CONJ say-INCPT-TF.3S.DJ QUOT CONJ INTERJ 1S.DAT come\IMP.SG skin-IMP.SG
He (Hyena) shouted to him “So what? Come and butcher for me!”

31) nè kúc wár^L cinè kónk nè tèjɪ tār cinè bàŋé.
 nè kúc wár^L cì-n-è kónk
 CONJ come\3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR REF\RECPST
 nè tèj-i tār cì-n-è bàŋé
 CONJ skin-3S.DJ meat\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR all
So Dog came and slaughtered all that meat.

32) nè tónágé^L ké “téjɪ: kín nè tá^L gākín^L dúndè né:kɪŋ!”
 nè tòn-á-gê:d ké téj-ɔi-k-ín nè tá^L
 CONJ say-DIR-TF.3S.DJ QUOT skin-AP-EXT-2S.DJ CONJ 1S.DAT
 gāɓ-kín^L dúndè né:k=ŋ
 give-CP.2S.SG heart\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SFT
He (Hyena) said “After you slaughter, give me his heart!”

- 33) nè tònúrgé:^L ké “òkòn kó làk dúnděṅ gún^L kó kí rérín. kí:ḍé:^L dúndè.”
 nè tòn-ír-gê:ḍ ké òkòn kó làk dúndě=ṅ
 CONJ say-INCPT-TF.3S.DJ QUOT if RECPST have\3S heart\SG.ABS=CND
 gún^L kó k-í rérín k-íḍ-e:^L dúndè
 before RECPST NEG-3S die\NEG NEG-RELPST-IMPS heart\3S.ABS
 He (Dog) shouted to him “If he had had a heart, he would not have died. He did not have a heart.”
- 34) nè cà:ḍí^L rù:mé téján^L né:k bàṅé.
 nè cà:ḍí^L rù:m-é téj-an^L né:k bàṅé
 CONJ then finish-3S.DJ skin-INF\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS all
 Then he finished all his slaughtering.
- 35) nè kùc ḍúṅé^L nè òàm târ né:k jét nè ṅàr nè kè: ḍé:gâr.
 nè kùc ḍúṅé^L nè òàm târ né:k jét
 CONJ come\3S hyena\SG.NOM CONJ eat\3S.CJ meat\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS very
 nè ṅàr nè kè: ḍé:gâr=ṅ
 CONJ go\3S.DJ CONJ go\3S sleep\3S.DJ=SFT
 Hyena came and ate his meat thoroughly and went to sleep.
- 36) má^L ḥò ré wár àgàlkún^L é:k^L nè kè: òàm jét.
 má^L ḥò ré wár àgàl-kún^L é:k^L
 but also 3S.PRAG dog\SG.NOM hide-SIMUL.3S.DJ body\SG.ABS
 nè kè: òàm jét
 CONJ go\3S eat\3S.DJ very
 Dog also, while hiding himself, went to eat properly.
- 37) nè ḥò ré dùnkú ḍé:^L.
 nè ḥò ré dùn-kí ḍé:^L
 CONJ also 3S.PRAG lie-CP.3S.DJ down
 He also lay down.
- 38) nè ṅàrkí ḍúṅé^L kékàr nè kùc tòngé:^L ké “ṅà: tá^L ḍé wár^L cè:ḍí.”
 nè ṅàr-kí ḍúṅé^L kékàr nè kùc tòng-e:ḍ
 CONJ go-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM again CONJ come\3S say-TF.3S.DJ
 ké ṅà: tá^L ḍé wár^L cè:ḍí
 QUOT smell\3S.DJ 1S.DAT of dog\SG.ABS here
 Hyena, again getting up, came and said “Here it smells to me like Dog.”
- 39) nè tòngé:^L wár ké “á^L mòkótó^L téjà târ cì:ṅ cǎ:k?”
 nè tòng-e:ḍ wár ké
 CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM QUOT

á^L mókó tó^L téj-à târ cì-n-è cá^L=k
 INTERJ NEG\EXIST INTERJ skin\1s.CJ meat\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR there=SUB
 Dog told him “Me? No, not me, but perhaps the meat I slaughtered there?”

- 40) nè dǎdǎmí^L dǔŋé^L dònè dǎ^L, nè ɲǎrɲ.
 nè dǎdǎm-i^L dǔŋé^L dòn-è dǎ^L nè ɲǎr=ɲ
 CONJ eat\IPFV-AP.3s hyena\SG.NOM sit-3s.CJ down CONJ go\3s.DJ=SFT
 Hyena sat down to eat, and went away.
- 41) má^L wár^L kónk ɲǎrkí nè dām à óbí:ɲ.
 má^L wár^L kónk ɲǎr-kí nè dām à óbí:=ɲ
 but dog\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST go-CP.3s.DJ CONJ eat\3s CONJ big\3s=SFT
 But Dog came and ate a lot.
- 42) nè ɲǎrkí cà:dí^L kónk nè kàwè dǔŋéd^L cìnè báá^L kó:múc né:k à bòkòtúr
 dákédǎ, àgút cìnè kán^L bòkòtù:d dǔŋé^L cìnè cà:kóm^L né:kík, àgút cìnè ègè
 kán^L kú'rój^L cìnè à wár^L cìnè cà:kómák^L.
 nè ɲǎr-kí cà:dí^L kónk nè kàw-è dǔŋéd^L cì-n-è
 CONJ go-CP.3s.DJ there REF\RECPST CONJ bite-3s.CJ hyena\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR
 báá^L kó:múc né:k à bòkòt-ír dákédǎ àgút
 REF\REMPST muzzle\SG.ABS POSS\3s.SG.ABS CONJ kill-CF.3s.DJ only because
 cì-n-ò kán^L bòkòt-i:d dǔŋé^L cì-n-è cà:kóm^L
 DEM-SG-DIST MEDPST kill-REL PST.3s hyena-SG.NOM.MOD¹¹⁰ DEM-SG-HR friend\SG.ABS
 né:k=k àgút cì-n-ò ègè kán^L kú'rój^L
 POSS\3s.SG.ABS=SUB because DEM-SG-DIST COP MEDPST donkey\SG.NOM.MOD
 cì-n-è à wár^L cì-n-è cà:kóm-ak^L
 DEM-SG-HR CONJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR friend-PL.ABS
 Then he came there and bit Hyena on his muzzle until he died, because
 Hyena had killed his friend, because Donkey and Dog had been friends.
- 43) nè kán^L cà:dí^L né:ké^L wár^L cìnè bòkòtú dǔŋéd^L né:kín.
 nè kán^L cà:dí^L né:k-e^L wár^L cì-n-è
 CONJ MEDPST then POSS\3s.SG-LOC dog\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR
 bòkòt-í dǔŋéd^L né:k=ɲ
 kill-3s.DJ hyena\SG.ABS POSS\3s.SG.ABS=SFT
 And so then Dog killed Hyena himself.

¹¹⁰ The case of this noun is ambiguous. An interpretation as ergative is possible. The same is true for dog and donkey in the following clause, which could be interpreted as absolutive cases. If so, these unexpected case markings may be related to the status of these two sentences as the moral or summary line of the story.

- 44) nè kán^L tònú wár^L cìnè ké “má^L kó^L è:t mó?”
 nè kán^L tòn-í wár^L cì-n-è ké má^L kó^L è:t mó
 CONJ MEDPST say-3S.DJ dog\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR QUOT but NFUT 1s alone
 He said “Will I now be alone?”
- 45) nè kán^L ɓò ré ɲà:r wà:.
 nè kán^L ɓò ré ɲà:r wà:
 CONJ MEDPST also 3S.PRAG go\3S.DJ house\SG.DAT
 And he also went home.
- 46) má^L ɓò ré dàkɛ tá:r^L cìnè kánk^L cà:dí^L.
 má^L ɓò ré dàk-é tá:r^L cì-n-è kánk^L cà:dí^L
 but also 3S.PRAG stay-3S.DJ meat\SG.NOM.MOD DEM-SG-HR REF\MEDPST there
 But that meat also stayed at that place.

VI.1.2 Waalook and Leer – wà:lók à lɛr

This text is a traditional narrative, originally collected and transcribed in a similar form by James and Whashu Kim around the year 2002. It is apparently based on a similar story transcribed by Pete Unseth in 1988, as told by Nigusse Tula. Kim’s version was later re-told (and recorded), with some modifications, by Joseph Kalakun in July 2012, and received further editing by Hawariat Babure, Epheson Teramaj and Joseph Kalakun himself. Stauder (1970, p. 107) states that Leer was the founding father of the Majangir, and that Walo was his brother. Leer later disappeared to the land of the white people, but Walo stayed. The two main characters of the following story are difficult to reconcile with Leer and Walo as mentioned by Stauder. Leer is here clearly a trickster and does not display the characteristics of wisdom and responsibility as would befit a founding father. This story is very similar to the longer narrative told in English by Damene (2016). Another shorter version (in Majang) is found in Getachew’s collection (2014, p. 302ff).

wà:lók à lɛr cè:g ɓá^L cà:kómá^L. nè ègè wà:lók gá:gè. má^L lè:r ídít^L cìnò dɛgèjɪk.

nè ɓá^L ɓɛɲ òmáltè tònú lè:r ké, “wà:lók, kó^L tè ɓòkò:tù: ìndíá^L gánk!” nè wà:lók kòɓú ké é:kêr. nè ɓòkòtù émé^L. má^L lè:r ɓòɲú émé^L nè èkàɲè:f lònɡóló:tè gòrɔà dɛ:gá^L cɔ. nè tònú cà:kómá^L né:ká^L ké “dámú^L tá:mé^L á:béé:kònk.” nè cà:kóm^L nè:ké^L kòɓú ké é:kêr nè dām tá:mé^L á:béé:kònk. nè cà:dí^L kár ɲó:dá^L nè dèné cà:kóm^L nè:ké^L à kír gájít^L à gé:nk. nè kò:nj ké “í‘tó ré cénk dādamùn júmój?” nè jùmúrgé^L lè:r ké “dāmún jét à rɛɲ.”

nè cà:df^L bɛɲ òmáltè dɛné wà:lók gòpàn wéj lè:rík à ɪci lònɔ́lò:t. nè bɔ̀ ré kè:df^L dɛ:gá^L cɔ̀. nè kè: lànki émé^L lè:rà. nè bòná^Lgè:ɗ cākàí: lè:rík. nè dām ké pò: nè ɲá:ɲ. má^L bòkòtú émé^L lè:rā:ɲ. nè rí:bákún^L gòpè cá^L kó^L mèlkí^L lè:rk, é rí:bérgé^L kòcǐé né:k ádá^L.

nè mèlkí lè:r nè dɛné émé^L à bɛ:lér ɲèdá^L gè:mé^L tóré^L nè cāká:gé^L ké “índí rògúkún^L tá^L àgút^L ɲíkòñ? kòbún ké dílká^L nà ólǐr?” nè wídérgé^L é:k^L nè bɛ:cé òkó cìnik. nè kì:gè:ɗ nájé^L, rèr bá^L èmé^Lcá:ɲ. nè dɛgér ké bòkòtú kó wà:lók.

nè cà:df^L bònú nè dɪ:lé wà: tàpádónk. nè kè: rí:bè:r gòpè. nè mèlé wà: pɛ:tákònk nè kòmíj cè:gín. tònú étà òmáltá^L ké “làkín tó:mók^L à ègèr?” nè tòngé^L ké “làká à jít^L.” má^L bɔ̀ ré ídɪ^L òmáj tònú ké “làká cá:k^L à ànàn.” má^L ɲì:tén^L nè:ké^L tònú ké “làká cá:k^L à pé:j^L.” nè tòngé^L lè:r ké “dí:l^L tá^L mád^L kòcǐéónk ɲàrtià cós^L bɛ:bèr gòpè còk. kè:ɗín gágíɗín^L òkó cìnik nè òkòñ kí bóñí:ɗín nè mùké:ɗín áto^L né:k”. nè ɲàrtí^L kónk dɪ:lé mád^L kónkún. nè gágé:ɗín nè ɲàrtí^L kónk kí bóñí:ɗ. nè mùké:ɗ áto^L né:k. nè ɲàrtí^L kónk dɪ:rín. nè ɲóɗúrgè:ɗ cāmā. nè kè: tònú lè:rà ké “gágábkéjgídá^L nè kí bóñí:ɗ.” nè kùcú lè:r nè dɛné à kó dɪ:rín . má^L kó rí:bé bɛ:ɗit nè lè:r tònú ɲàrtià kónk ké “à bòkòtún kó ré índín. làná kó^L índí^L é:t^L? dàkín kó^L tá^L à índín”. nè ɲàrtí^L kónk tònú ké “á^L má^L ègè cìni rākáté^L ké ɲíkòñ? bòkòtún kó ré ɲá:ɲá^L cénk, nè kó àrín dɛgè”. nè tònú lè:r ké “bòkòdɪ:kín kó rɛ. ɪ:n^L dàkín kó^L tá^L à ɲàrtí.”

VI.1.2.1 Free translation

Waalook and Leer were friends. Waalook was an idiot. But Leer was a deceiver. One day Leer said: “Waalook, hey, let us kill our mothers!” Waalook thought he was serious. So he killed his mother. But Leer took his mother and brought her across the river with a vine. He told his friend: “Eat figs!”¹¹¹ His friend thought this was serious and he ate figs. Then they went to the toilet and he saw that his friend’s (excrement) didn’t seem to look like his. He asked “Does it seem that you are eating roots?” Leer responded “You need to chew very properly.”¹¹²

Later, one day, Waalook saw the way to Leer’s house, with the vine hanging. He also went across to the other side. He went to find Leer’s mother. She gave him Leer’s prepared food. He ate all and went. But he killed Leer’s mother. While putting her down on the path that Leer would come along, he

¹¹¹Because he had no mother to cook for him any more. Figs are always available.

¹¹²lit: eat until it dies. The implication is that Waalook’s excrements would look like Leer’s if he just chewed the figs properly.

put her pipe in her mouth. When Leer came along, he saw his mother with her teeth open and asked "Why are you laughing at me? Do I seem to bring you fish?" He came closer and touched her like this. She did not respond to him; his mother had died. He knew that Waalook had killed her.

He then took (her) to the ruler's house. He put her down on the path. He arrived at the house of the women, and he asked them. He told one of them "How many children do you have?" She said "I have three." But another woman said "I have four children." But the third one said "I have two." Leer told her "Take for me the fire of the pipe to the woman sitting on the path! Go and give her just like this, and if she does not take it, push it into her mouth!"

So the woman took the fire. When she gave it to her, the woman did not take it. She pushed it into her mouth. The woman fell over. She left her there. She went to tell Leer "Whenever I gave it to her, she did not take it." Leer came and saw that she had fallen. But Leer had placed her sitting. He said to the woman "So you have killed my mother. Where do I find a mother now? You will be my mother for me." The woman said: "Oh! What kind of problem is this? You yourself have killed your mother." Leer said "You are the one who killed. You will remain my wife."

VI.1.2.2 Text with interlinearization

- 1) wà:lók à lèr cè:g bá^L cà:kómák^L.
wà:lók à lèr cè:g bá^L cà:kóm-ak^L
Waalook CONJ Leer 3P.CONTR REMPST friend-PL.ABS
Waalook and Leer were friends.
- 2) nè ègè wà:lók gá:gè.
nè ègè wà:lók gá:gè
CONJ COP Waalook\NOM idiot\SG.ABS
Waalook was an idiot.
- 3) má^L lèr ídít^L cìnò dègèjík.
má^L lèr ídít^L cì-n-ò dègèj=k
but Leer\NOM man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST deceiver\SG.ABS=SUB
But Leer was a deceiver.

- 4) nè ɓá^L ɓɛɲ òmáltè tònú lèr ké “wà:ló:k, kó^L tè ɓòkót:tì: ìndíá^L gânk!”
 nè ɓá^L ɓɛɲ òm-áltè tòn-í lèr ké
 CONJ REM PST day\SG.LOC one-LOC say-3S.DJ Leer\NOM QUOT
 wà:ló:k kó^L tè ɓòkót:t-í^L ìndí-a^L gânk
 Waalook\NOM HORT\1P INTERJ kill-1P.DJ mother\1S-PL.ABS.MOD POSS\1P.PL.ABS
 One day Leer said: “Waalook, hey, let us kill our mothers!”
- 5) nè wà:ló:k kòɓú ké é:kêr.
 nè wà:ló:k kòɓ-í ké é:kêr
 CONJ Waalook\NOM think-3S.DJ QUOT truth\SG.ABS
 Waalook thought he was serious.
- 6) nè ɓòkòtù éméç^L.
 nè ɓòkòt-ì éméç^L
 CONJ kill-3S.CJ mother\3S.SG.ABS
 So he killed his mother.
- 7) má^L lèr ɓòɲú éméç^L nè èkàɲè:ɗ lònɲólót:tè gòrɗà ɗé:ɡá^L cɔ̃.
 má^L lèr ɓòɲ-í éméç^L nè èkàɲ-ɛ:ɗ
 but Leer\NOM take-3S.DJ mother\3S.SG.ABS CONJ cross-REFOBJ.3S
 lònɲólót:t-è gòrɗ-à ɗé:ɡá^L cɔ̃^L
 vine\SG-LOC river\SG-DAT across DEM\SG.DIST.DAT
 But Leer took his mother and brought her with a vine across the river.
- 8) nè tònú cà:kómá^L né:ká^L ké “ɗámú^L támmé^L á:béé:kònk.”
 nè tòn-í cà:kóm-a^L né:k-a^L ké ɗám-i^L
 CONJ say-3S.DJ friend\SG-DAT POSS\3S.SG-DAT QUOT eat-IMP.SG
 támm-é^L á:bé-ɛ:k-ònk
 fruit-PL.ABS.MOD fig.tree-PL-POSS
 He told his friend: “Eat figs!”
- 9) nè cà:kóm^L nè:ké^L kòɓú ké é:kêr nè ɗám támmé^L á:béé:kònk.
 nè cà:kóm^L nè:k-é^L kòɓ-í ké é:kêr
 CONJ friend\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM think-3S.DJ QUOT truth\SG.ABS
 nè ɗám támm-é^L á:bé-ɛ:k-ònk
 CONJ eat\3S.CJ fruit-PL.ABS fig.tree-PL-POSS
 His friend thought this was serious and he ate figs.
- 10) nè cà:ɗí^L kár ɲó:ɗá^L nè ɗèné cà:kóm^L nè:ké^L à kír ɡájít^L à ɡé:mk.
 nè cà:ɗí^L kár ɲó:d-a^L nè ɗèn-é cà:kóm^L
 CONJ then go\3P.DJ excrement\SG-DAT CONJ see-3S.DJ friend\SG.NOM.MOD

nè:k-é^L à k-ìr gáj-it^L à gé:nk

POSS\3S.SG-NOM CONJ NEG-3P resemble-NEG CONJ POSS\3S.PL.ABS

Then they went to the toilet and he saw that his friend's (excrement) didn't seem to look like his.

- 11) nè kò:níj ké “í'tó ré cénk dādamùn júmój?”

nè kò:níj ké í'tó ré cénk dādam-ín júmój

CONJ ask\3S.DJ QUOT it.seems 2S.PRAG 2S.CONTR eat\IPFV-2S.CJ root\SG.ABS

He asked “Does it seem that you are eating roots?”

- 12) nè jùmúrgé:^L lè:r ké “dāmún jét à rě:r.”

nè jùmúrgé:^L lè:r ké dām-ín jét à rě:r=ŋ

CONJ respond-TF.3P.DJ Leer\NOM QUOT eat-2S.DJ very CONJ die\3S.DJ=SFT

Leer responded “You need to chew very properly.” (lit: eat until it dies)

- 13) nè cà:dí^L bēn òmáltè dēné wà:lô:k gòpàn wēj lè:rík à ìc-í lònghólô:t.

nè cà:dí^L bēn òm-áltè dēn-é wà:lô:k

CONJ then day\SG.LOC one-LOC see-3S.DJ Waalook\ERG

gòp-an^L wēj lè:r-k à ìc-í lònghólô:t

path-SG.ABS house\SG.ABS Leer-POSS CONJ hang\3S.DJ rope\SG.ABS

Later, one day, Waalook saw the way to Leer's house, with the vine hanging.

- 14) nè bô ré kè:dí dē:gá^L cō.

nè bô ré kè:d-í dē:gá^L cō^L

CONJ also 3S.PRAG go-3S.DJ across DEM\SG.DIST.DAT

He also went across to the other side.

- 15) nè kè: lànkì émé:^L lè:rà.

nè kè: lànk-ì émé:^L lè:r-a^L

CONJ go\3S find-CP.3S.CJ mother\3S.ABS Leer-DAT

He went to find Leer's mother.

- 16) nè bòná'gē:d cākàí: lè:rík.

nè bòn-á-gē:d cākàí: lè:rík

CONJ take-DIR-TF.3S.CJ meal\SG.ABS Leer-POSS

She gave him Leer's meal.

- 17) nè dām ké pô: nè ǵǵ:r.

nè dām ké pô: nè ǵǵ:r=ŋ

CONJ eat\3S.DJ QUOT INTERJ CONJ go\3S.DJ=SFT

He ate all and went.

- 18) **má^L ɓòkòtú émé^L lèrǎŋ.**
má^L ɓòkòt-í émé^L lèr-à=ŋ
but kill-3s.DJ mother\SG.NOM Leer-DAT=SFT
But he killed Leer's mother.
- 19) **nè rí:ɓákú^L gòpè cá^L kó^L mèlkí^L lèrk, é rí:ɓérgé^L kòcíé né:k ádá^L.**
nè rí:ɓ-a-kú^L gòp-è cá^L kó^L mèl-kí-d^L
CONJ place-DIR-SIMUL.3s.DJ path\SG.LOC DEM\SG.HR.LOC NFUT arrive-CP-RELPST.3s
lèr=k é rí:ɓ-er-gè:d kòcíé né:k ád-a^L
Leer\NOM=SUB CONJ\IRR put-INCPT-TF.3s.CJ pipe\SG.ABS POSS\3s.SG.ABS mouth\SG-DAT
While putting her down on the path that Leer would come along, he put her pipe in her mouth.
- 20) **nè mèlkí lèr nè dèné émé^L à ɓé:íler nédá^L gè:mé^L tóré^L nè càká:gè:d ké “índí**
ràgúkú^L tá^L àgút^L jìkôn?
nè mèl-kí lèr nè dèn-é émé^L à
CONJ arrive-CP.3s.DJ Leer\NOM CONJ see-3s.DJ mother\3s.SG.ABS CONJ
ɓé:í-er néd-á^L gè:n-é^L tóré^L nè càká:gè:d ké
exist-3p.DJ tooth-PL.NOM.MOD POSS\3s.PL.NOM open CONJ address-TF.3s.DJ QUOT
índí ràg-kín^L tá^L àgút^L jìkôn
mother\1s.SG.NOM laugh-CP.2s.DJ 1s.DAT because what?
When Leer came along, he saw his mother with her teeth open and asked
“Why are you laughing at me?”
- 21) **kòɓún ké dílká^L nà óltǎr?”**
kòɓ-ín ké díl-ká^L nà ólt-ǎr
think-2s.DJ QUOT bring-CP.1s.DJ 2s.DAT.CJ fish-PL.ABS
Do I seem to bring you fish?”
- 22) **nè wídergé^L é:k^L nè ɓè:cé òkó cìnik.**
nè wí-d-ér-gè:d é:k^L nè ɓè:c-é òkó cì-n-ì-k
CONJ turn-INCPT-TF.3s.DJ body\SG.ABS CONJ touch-3s.DJ like DEM-SG-SP-POSS
He approached and touched her like this.
- 23) **nè kì:gè:d nájé^L, rèr ɓá^L èmécáŋ.**
nè kì:gè:d náj-é^L rèr ɓá^L èméc-a^L=ŋ
CONJ NEG-TF.3s speak-NEG die\3s.DJ REM PST mother\3s.SG-DAT=SFT
She did not respond to him; his mother had died.

- 24) nè dɛgér ké ɓòkòtú kɔ wà:lók.

nè dɛgér ké ɓòkòt-í kɔ wà:lók
 CONJ know\3S.DJ QUOT kill-3S.DJ RECPST Waalook\NOM
 He knew that Waalook had killed her.

- 25) nè cà:di^L ɓòŋú nè di:lé wà: tàpádónk.

nè cà:di^L ɓòŋ-í nè di:l-é wà: tàpád-onk
 CONJ then take-3S.DJ CONJ carry-3S.DJ house\SG.DAT ruler\SG-POSS
 He then took (her) to the ruler's house.

- 26) nè kè: rí:ɓê:r gòpè.

nè kè: rí:ɓ-ê:r gòp-è
 CONJ go\3S place-CF.3S.DJ path\SG-LOC
 He put her down on the path.

- 27) nè mèlé wà: pé:tákônk nè kòmíj cè:gíŋ.

nè mèl-é wà: pé:t-ak-onk nè kòmíj cè:g=ŋ
 CONJ arrive-3S.DJ house\SG.DAT girl-PL-POSS CONJ ask\3S.DJ 3P=SFT
 He arrived at the house of the women, and he asked them.

- 28) tònú étà òmáltá^L ké “làkín tòmók^L à ègèr?”

tòn-í ét-à òm-áltá^L ké làk-in tòm-ók^L à ègèr
 say-3S.DJ person-DAT one-DAT QUOT have-2S.DJ child-PL.ABS CONJ how.many
 He told one of them “How many children do you have?”

- 29) nè tòngé:^L ké “làká à jí:t^L.”

nè tòng-ê:ɗ ké làk-á à jí:t^L
 CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ QUOT have-1S.DJ CONJ three
 She said “I have three.”

- 30) má^L ɓò ré ídɪ^L òmáj tònú ké “làká cá:k^L à ànàn.”

má^L ɓò ré ídɪ^L òm-áj tòn-í ké
 CONJ also 3S.PRAG person\SG.NOM.MOD one-NOM say-3S.DJ QUOT
 làk-á cá:k^L à ànàn
 have-1S.DJ 1S.CONTR CONJ four
 But another woman said “I have four children.”

- 31) má^L jì:tém^L nè:ké^L tònú ké “làká cá:k^L à péj^L.”

má^L jì:t-én^L nè:k-é^L tòn-í ké làk-á cá:k^L
 but three-ORD.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.SG-NOM say-3S.DJ QUOT have-1S.DJ 1S.CONTR
 à péj^L
 CONJ two
 But the third one said “I have two.”

- 32) nè tòngé:^L lè:r ké “dí:^L tá^L mád^L kòcìéónk jàrtià cò^L bè:bèr gòpè còk.
 nè tòn-gê:^d lè:r ké dí:^L tá^L mád^L kòcìé-ónk
 CONJ say-TF.3S.DJ Leer\NOM QUOT carry\IMP.SG 1s.DAT fire\SG.ABS pipe\SG-POSS
 jàrti-à cò^L bè:bèr gòp-è cò=k
 woman\SG-DAT REL\SG.DIST.DAT sit\IPFV.3S path\SG-LOC DEM\SG.DIST.LOC=SUB
 Leer told her “Take for me the fire of the pipe to the woman sitting on the
 path!
- 33) kè:dín gágídín^L òkó cìnik nè òkòn kí bóñí:díñ nè mùké:dín áto^L né:k.”
 kè:d-ín gág-gíd-ín^L òkó cì-n-i-k nè òkòn
 go-2S.DJ give-TF-2S.DJ like DEM-SG-SP-POSS CONJ if
 k-í bóñ-í:d=ñ nè mùk-é:d-ín áto^L né:k
 NEG-3S take-NEG=CND CONJ push-REFOBJ-2S.CJ mouth\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS
 Go, give her just like this, and if she does not take it, push it into her mouth!”
- 34) nè jàrtí^L kónk dí:lé mád^L kónkúñ.
 nè jàrtí^L kónk dí:l-é mád^L kónk=ñ
 CONJ woman\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST carry-3S.DJ fire\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST=SFT
 So the woman took the fire.
- 35) nè gágé:^d díñ nè jàrtí^L kónk kí bóñí:díñ.
 nè gág-gé:^d=ñ nè jàrtí^L kónk k-í bóñ-í:díñ
 CONJ give-TF.3S.DJ=CND CONJ woman\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST NEG-3S take-NEG
 When she gave it to her, the woman did not take it.
- 36) nè mùkè:d áto^L né:k.
 nè mùk-é:d áto^L né:k
 CONJ push-REFOBJ.3S.CJ mouth\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS
 She pushed it into her mouth.
- 37) nè jàrtí^L kónk dí:rìñ.
 nè jàrtí^L kónk dí:r=ñ
 CONJ woman\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST fall\3S.DJ=SFT
 The woman fell over.
- 38) nè ñódíúrgê:^d cà:nâ.
 nè ñó-d-ir-gê:^d cà:nâ
 CONJ abandon-INCPT-TF.3S.DJ there
 She left her there.
- 39) nè kè: tònú lè:rà ké “gágábkéjgídá^L nè kí bóñí:díñ.”
 nè kè: tòn-í lè:r-à ké gágáb-kéj-gíd-a^L nè k-í
 CONJ go\3S say-3S.DJ Leer-DAT QUOT give\IPFV-INCHOA-TF-1S.DJ CONJ NEG-3S

bòŋ-í:ɗ

take-NEG

She went to tell Leer “Whenever I gave it to her, she did not take it.”

- 40) nè kùcú lèr nè dèné à kó dīr=ŋ

nè kùc-í lèr nè dèn-é à kó dīr=ŋ

CONJ come-3S.DJ Leer\NOM CONJ see-3S.DJ CONJ RECPST fall\3S.DJ=SFT

Leer came and saw that she had fallen.

- 41) má^L kó rì:6é bè:dīt.

má^L kó rì:6-é bè:d-īt

but RECPST place-3S.DJ sit-INF

But Leer had placed her sitting.

- 42) nè lèr tònú jàrtià kónk ké “à bòkòtún kó ré indīŋ.

nè lèr tòn-í jàrti-à kónk

CONJ Leer\NOM say-3S.DJ woman\SG-DAT REF\RECPST

ké à bòkòt-ín kó ré indī^L=ŋ

QUOT CONJ kill-2S.DJ RECPST 2S.PRAG mother\1S.SG.ABS=SFT

He told the woman “So you have killed my mother.

- 43) làŋá kó^L indī^L ért^L?

làŋ-á kó^L indī^L ért^L

find-1S.DJ NFUT mother\1S.SG.ABS where

Where do I find a mother now?

- 44) dàkín kó^L tá^L à indīŋ.”.

dàk-ín kó^L tá^L à indī^L=ŋ

stay-2S.DJ NFUT 1S.DAT CONJ mother\1S.SG.NOM=SFT

You will be my mother for me.”

- 45) nè jàrtí^L kónk tònú ké “á^L má^L ègè cìni rākáté^L ké jìkôn?

nè jàrtí^L kónk tòn-í ké á^L má^L ègè

CONJ woman\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST say-3S.DJ QUOT INTERJ but COP

cì-n-ì rākáté^L ké jìkôn

DEM-SG-SP problem\SG.ABS QUOT what

The woman said “Oh! What kind of problem is this?

- 46) bòkòtún kó ré ǵáǵá^L cénk, nè kó àrìn dègè.”

bòkòt-ín kó ré ǵáǵá^L cénk nè kó àr-ìn

kill-2S.DJ RECPST 2S.PRAG mother\2S.SG.NOM 2S.CONTR CONJ RECPST do-2S.CJ

dɛgɛ

lie\SG.ABS

You yourself have killed your mother, and you told a lie.

47) nè tònú lèr ké “òkòtí:kín kó rẹ.

nè tòn-í lèr ké òkòt-í:k-ín kó rẹ

CONJ say-3S.DJ Leer\NOM QUOT kill-AP-EXT-2S.DJ RECPST 2S.PRAG

and Leer said “You are the one who killed her.

48) ɪn^L dàkín kó^L tá^L à jàrtí.”

ɪn^L dàk-ín kó^L tá^L à jàrtí

2S stay-2S.DJ NFUT 1S.DAT CONJ wife\SG.ABS

You will be my wife.

VI.2 Word List

The following word list (with its English-Majang reverse index) was compiled from various sources. It contains all the words collected from the various texts analyzed for this study, but these make up only a small part of the 1500 words presented here. Other entries come from the Comparative African Word List (Snider & Roberts, 2004). These entries were originally collected and transcribed by Sandra Hufnagel with initial help from Stephanie Hauser. They were later re-checked (and classified according to their inflection classes) by me. Further material comes from Unseth (1992a), of which I have re-transcribed and classified a number of entries.

VI.2.1 Abbreviations used

Here are some remarks about abbreviations used in this word list. These differ from the abbreviations used in earlier parts of this language description. Other abbreviations are used as on p. 15, and are not shown here again.

VI.2.1.1 General abbreviations and remarks

<i>Amh</i>	loanword from Amharic	<i>interrog</i>	interrogative pronoun
<i>adv</i>	adverb	<i>nkin</i>	kinship noun
<i>ant</i>	antonym	<i>num</i>	numeral
<i>coord</i>	coordinating conjunction	<i>ordnum</i>	ordinal numeral
<i>der</i>	derivation	<i>pers</i>	personal pronoun
<i>det</i>	determiner	<i>ph. v</i>	phrasal verb
<i>fr. var</i>	free variant	<i>prep</i>	preposition
<i>engl</i>	loanword from English	<i>prt</i>	particle
<i>existmrkr</i>	existential copula	<i>quant</i>	quantifier
<i>Godare</i>	dialect of Godare	<i>relpro</i>	relative pronoun
<i>id</i>	idiomatic expression	<i>sp</i>	species
<i>interj</i>	interjection	<i>syn</i>	synonym
		<i>Yeki</i>	dialect of Yeki Wereda

VI.2.1.2 Inflection classes of verbs

The citation forms for all Majang verbs in this word list is the second person plural (2_P), as this gives the best information about the inflection class and the stem tone, without making any changes to the segmental material of the stem (except for a few complex verbs). In spite of this, inflection-class information is additionally provided as follows:

<i>a</i>	a-class
<i>a-k</i>	a-class with k-extension
<i>a~</i>	a-class verb with variable vowel length
<i>a +</i>	a-class verb with fixed 3 _s tone
<i>ap</i>	antipassive or anticausative verb
<i>cplx-i</i>	complex verb based on i-class verb
<i>cplx-ε</i>	complex verb based on ε-class verb
<i>cplx-a</i>	complex verb based on a-class verb
<i>dur</i>	verb with durative derivation marker -a:
<i>ε</i>	ε-class
<i>i</i>	i-class
<i>u</i>	u-class stative verb

VI.2.1.3 Inflection classes of nouns

<i>Øp</i>	no attested singular, plural form unmarked
<i>Øs</i>	no attested plural, singular unmarked
<i>Ø-ǎ:tok^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ǎ:tok^L
<i>Ø-ak^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ak^L
<i>Ø-ák^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ák^L
<i>Ø-ǎkɔ^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ǎkɔ^L
<i>Ø-án</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -án
<i>Ø-ε^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ε^L
<i>Ø-er^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -er^L
<i>Ø-è:r</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -è:r
<i>Ø-i^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -i^L
<i>Ø-ík^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ík^L
<i>Ø-ír^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ír^L
<i>Ø-í^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -í^L
<i>Ø-kàk</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -kàk
<i>Ø-kúk</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -kúk
<i>Ø-ŋ</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ŋ
<i>Ø-ɔk^L</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -ɔk^L

<i>Ø-tùn</i>	singular unmarked, plural marked by -tùn
<i>a^L-Ø</i>	singular marked by -a^L , plural unmarked
<i>a^L-ε^L</i>	singular marked by -a^L , plural marked by -ε^L
<i>an^L-ak^L</i>	singular marked by -an^L , plural marked by -ak^L
<i>an^L-è:r</i>	singular marked by -an^L , plural marked by -è:r
<i>án^L-Ø</i>	singular marked by -án^L , plural unmarked
<i>án^L-er^L</i>	singular marked by -án^L , plural marked by -er^L
<i>n^L-Ø</i>	singular marked by -Vn^L , plural unmarked
<i>n^L-er^L</i>	singular marked by -Vn^L , plural marked by -er^L
<i>ɔn^L-ɔk^L</i>	singular marked by -ɔn^L , plural marked by -ɔk^L
<i>un^L-i^L</i>	singular marked by -un^L , plural marked by -i^L

VI.2.2 Majang – English

a

à 1) <i>coord</i> conjunction connecting phrases within a clause 2) <i>coord</i> introduces adverbial phrase 3) <i>conj</i> so	árñ à tù:l à òm <i>num</i> 16
á ^L <i>interj</i> no way!	árñ à tù:l à pé:j ^L <i>num</i> 17
á:bé <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) fig tree 2) fig	átùj <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L razor
à:cì <i>adv</i> just	à:wòjǎr <i>v a</i> 1) bring up 2) compromise 3) tame, domesticate
à:díir <i>v i</i> wash	àbî: <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L 1) cloth 2) article of clothing
à:di:di:kǎr <i>v ap</i> 1) bathe 2) wash oneself	àbòkádó ^L (from amh. አቮካዶ) <i>n</i> Ø-kàk avocado
à:dí:kǎr <i>stv a-k</i> 1) ripe 2) ripen, become ripe	ácù:lé <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L island
á:dórár <i>v a +</i> ripe	ádámójín ^L <i>n</i> n ^L -er ^L hunter
á:jǎkǎr <i>stv a-k</i> slacken, loosen	àdàràt <i>interj</i> please!
à:měir <i>v ε</i> yawn	àdúré: ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L cat
á:ré <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) knife 2) sickle 3) sword	àgàlír <i>v i</i> 1) steal 2) hide
árñ (Yeki gúrún) (from àrí) <i>num</i> ten	àgált ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ĩr ^L thief
árñ à àṅàn <i>num</i> 14	àgút ^L <i>conj</i> because
árñ à jí:t ^L <i>num</i> 13	àgút ^L òmón ^L <i>adv</i> together
árñ à òmón ^L <i>num</i> eleven	àján <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L porcupine
árñ à pé:j ^L <i>num</i> twelve	ájéràn <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L roof
árñ à tù:l <i>num</i> 15	ájí'géá <i>adv</i> in the afternoon
árñ à tù:l à àṅàn <i>num</i> 19	ájígè <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L sunset
árñ à tù:l à jí:t ^L <i>num</i> 18	àkómó <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L kind

àkúr^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> groundnut, peanut	ápání^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) current 2) waterfall
àmàcíní^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> soldier	àpátí^L <i>n Ø-íí^L</i> breast
àmáré^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> Amhara	ápèr^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> fly species (biting)
àmbàbèr^L <i>v ε</i> read	ápé^L <i>nkin Ø-ak^L</i> grandfather
àmbá'cój^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> rainbow	àpíné^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> fertile soil
ámá^L <i>n Ø-tùn</i> 1) abdomen (external) 2) stomach (internal)	àr <i>prt</i> locative copula
àmùn^L <i>n un^L-í^L</i> 1) hair of head 2) fur	àràc <i>adv</i> counterexpectational
àná <i>prt</i> just	àrí^L <i>n Ø-η</i> 1) arm 2) forearm 3) wrist 4) hand
ànànáci^L (from Amh. አናና) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> pineapple	àrír^L <i>v i</i> 1) weave 2) do 3) say
ánè <i>interj</i> really?	àtàwàn^L <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> tendril
ánín <i>interj</i> filler word used for a person whose name the speaker can't remember for the moment	áté^L <i>n</i> <i>0s</i> young male <i>ant:</i> pét^L
áp^L (pl òlà) <i>n</i> <i>0s</i> thing	àtí <i>prep</i> without
ànàn <i>num</i> four	átó^L <i>n Ø-tùn</i> 1) language 2) mouth
ájé^L <i>n Ø-í^L</i> elephant	àtù <i>existmrkr</i> <i>u</i> they are present
	áwé^L <i>n Ø-íí^L</i> 1) iron 2) non-precious metal

b

bà:bé^L <i>nkin Ø-ak^L</i> my father, our father	bálá:kār <i>stv u</i> 1) inexpensive 2) little
bà:búj^L <i>n Ø-k^L</i> husband	bàlà:tój^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> bird trap
bà:ldí:dó^L <i>v cplx-i</i> throw	bàldí: (from Amh. ባልዲ) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> bucket, pail
bàdèr^L <i>v ε</i> 1) disappear 2) lost	bàlgàjàn^L <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> gill
bádtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> stupid person	bámbáci^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> elephantiasis
bàdī^L <i>n Ø-èr</i> 1) upper arm 2) biceps	
bàká:pkār <i>stv u</i> widespread	

bàmbé: ^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) sweet potato 2) potato	bó:bǎr <i>stv a-k</i> 1) big 2) huge
bàndángê: <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> agama lizard	bó:cì:c <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) anteater 2) aardvark
bándúrǎr <i>v a</i> groan with pain	bô:jâ:k <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> paint
bàngí <i>n Ø-ǎ:tok^L</i> rainy season	bó:l^L <i>n Ø-ǎk^L</i> navel
bá'ŋí <i>adv</i> afterwards	bò:lě:r <i>v ε</i> hit
bàŋé <i>adv</i> all	bò:lúá'kán^L <i>n -án^L -ák^L</i> bladder
bàŋì <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> back <i>syn:</i> jímá ^L ; bàmbe	bò:rò <i>n Ø-ǎ:tok^L</i> gecko
bàrbáròt (from Amh. ባርባሮ) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> pepper	bò:cě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) accumulate 2) heap up 3) load
bàrcúm (from Amh. ባርጽ) <i>n Ø-ǎ:tok^L</i> stool	bóctàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> heap
bàrě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) learn <i>syn:</i> tàrà:rě:r. 2) be used to	bógó^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> stutter
báré: ^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) tradition 2) custom	bòjcìjě:r <i>v ε</i> engaged
bè:ďír <i>v i</i> 1) seated 2) dwell, inhabit 3) wait 4) stay	bókúj <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> waterhole
bé:dtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> inhabitant, resident	bólból <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> calf of leg
béá^L <i>n Ø-kàk</i> 1) spear <i>syn:</i> bìdí 2) lance	bòlból^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> slime
bétúmé <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> ant	bòpónj^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> mushroom
bèrój <i>n Ø-k^L</i> bed	bòŋj^L <i>v i</i> 1) take 2) accept, receive 3) marry
bíró (from Amh. ቢሮ) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> office	bòŋákǎr (der.) <i>v a-k</i> bring out
bilingîr <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> mud wasp	bóŋj^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) marriage 2) refusal
bímbílot <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> butterfly	bò:l <i>adv</i> weak
bìtāk <i>quant</i> half	bò:lākǎr <i>stv dur</i> 1) tired 2) faint 3) weak
bìtākě:r <i>v ε</i> subtract, take away	bó:lón^L <i>n Ø-ε:r^L</i> 1) senile person 2) elder 3) adult 4) not new
bìtě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) hit 2) strike with fist	bódé^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) oil palm 2) palm tree

bòdǽr <i>v</i> ε 1) escape 2) be well 3) evade	bùcák <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L malaria
bòdérkó^L (der.) <i>v</i> cplx- ε get well	bùcùlé <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L puppy
bòdí:kǎr <i>v</i> ap escape	búllú:^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L dung beetle
bógó:^Lán^L <i>n</i> -án ^L -ák ^L ankle	bùlúmkùr <i>n</i> Øs bubble
bólónúrárkó^L <i>v</i> cplx-a old (of person)	búrjak <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L blight
bòngò:rǽr <i>v</i> ε 1) raise, lift 2) be high	bùrtùkámí^L (from Amh. ብርቱካን) <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L orange
bú:cé^L <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L corpse	

6

6á^L <i>prt</i> remote past	6àkèj <i>n</i> Ø-ík ^L sorrow
6à <i>adv</i> remote past conjoint	6àkèj:ǫ:kǎr <i>v</i> ap hesitate
6à:6á <i>nkin</i> Øs your father	6àlír <i>v</i> i buy
6á:cír <i>v</i> i 1) sharpen pointed objects 2) peel	6áldíǫ^L (der.) <i>v</i> cplx-i sell
6à:j <i>n</i> Ø-tùn heart <i>syn:</i> dúndè	6ànkáwkǎr (cf. 6ànká:wúró ^L) <i>stv</i> a-k 1) strong, powerful 2) hard 3) fierce
6á:jkǎr <i>stv</i> a-k bitter	6ànkàwkà:t 1) <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L strength, power 2) <i>adv</i> forcefully
6à:rǎr <i>v</i> a forbid	6àrǽr <i>v</i> ε graze (of bullet)
6á:ríǫ^L <i>v</i> cplx-a protect, defend	6á:ǵá:ǵùj <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L leech
6à6àlǽr <i>v</i> ε crack	6àrtǽr <i>v</i> ε 1) bear 2) give birth
6àdèjír <i>v</i> i break	6àtàkír <i>v</i> i 1) load 2) carry
6àjè <i>n</i> Ø-tùn bile, gall	6àtá^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L 1) load 2) burden
6ák^L <i>det</i> remote-past anaphoric-reference marker	6é:cǽr <i>v</i> ε 1) touch 2) feel (active) 3) dip
6àkájâǫ <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L orphan	6é:nír <i>v</i> i sew
6àkàtír <i>v</i> i unwrap	6é:ntàn (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L sewn object

ḡérṡón^L <i>n</i> ṡn ^L -ṡk ^L waist	ḡòkòṡṡr <i>v</i> i 1) kill 2) murder
ḡèḡṡr <i>v</i> i 1) awake 2) alert 3) wake up	ḡòkòṡṡṡṡṡ^L <i>v</i> cplx-i have a mis-carriage
ḡéṡcè <i>adv</i> today	ḡòkòṡṡṡṡ^L <i>v</i> cplx-i stalk
ḡéṡṡṡ 1) <i>v</i> ε exist 1.1) <i>v</i> be visible	ḡò <i>prt</i> also
ḡéṡṡ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L day <i>syn</i> : ḡṡṡ	ḡóṡ <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L coward
ḡérṡṡr <i>v</i> a crush	ḡóṡákṡṡr <i>stv dur</i> 1) abundant 2) many
ḡérṡṡn <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L forge	ḡòṡkṡkṡṡṡ <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L crowd
ḡértṡṡn (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L blacksmith	ḡòkṡṡr <i>v</i> ε dry up
ḡéṡṡ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ṡ ^L thorn	ḡòkòṡṡṡr <i>v</i> ε 1) choke 2) strangle
ḡèṡṡṡr <i>v</i> ε burst	ḡòṡṡṡṡṡr <i>v</i> ε 1) grow 2) rich
ṡéḡṡṡ^L (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L thunder	ḡòṡṡkṡṡṡ^L <i>n</i> -án ^L -ák ^L bone marrow
ḡṡṡḡṡ <i>n</i> Ø-k ^L 1) reed 2) bamboo	ḡùṡṡṡṡṡṡr <i>stv u</i> deep
ḡóṡḡóṡṡṡr <i>v</i> a + sated	ḡùṡḡùṡṡṡṡṡr <i>v</i> ap go down
ḡóṡṡṡṡr <i>v</i> i 1) hate 2) contradict	ḡúṡṡṡṡr <i>v</i> ε wrap
ḡòḡṡ <i>n</i> Ø-k ^L 1) antelope 2) reedbuck	ḡúṡṡṡṡr (der.) <i>v</i> ε uncover
ḡòkòṡṡṡṡṡ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L tortoise	

c

cṡ^L <i>adv</i> 1) then 2) there	cṡṡṡṡṡṡṡr <i>v</i> a mix
cṡṡṡṡ^L <i>adv</i> 1) there 2) then	cṡṡṡṡṡṡ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L piglet
cṡṡṡ^L <i>pers</i> contrastive pronoun 1 st sg	cṡṡṡṡṡ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L meeting
cṡṡṡṡṡ <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) valley 2) cliff	cṡṡṡṡ^L <i>n</i> 0s drizzle
cṡṡṡṡṡ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L friend	cṡṡṡṡṡ <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L baby
cṡṡṡṡ^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L shoe	cṡṡṡṡ^L (from Amh. ሰዓት) <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L hour
cṡṡṡṡ <i>adv</i> there	cṡṡṡṡṡ <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) meal 2) leftovers

càkĩr <i>v i</i> begin	cé^L <i>dem</i> short singular demonstrative or relative pronoun, with hearer deixis, locative and absolutive
càká:kār (der.) <i>v dur</i> address	cè:g <i>pers</i> pronoun 3 rd pl
càló:kār <i>stv a-k</i> cold (of objects) <i>syn:</i> bà:tèrój	cè:gà <i>pers</i> dative pronoun 3 rd pl
càlò:kàt <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> cold weather	cé:k^L <i>pers</i> contrastive pronoun 3 rd pl
càmbáté^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> Sunday	cè:m, cẽm <i>pers</i> pronoun 3 rd sg
cámójójár <i>v a</i> kiss	cè:mà <i>pers</i> dative pronoun 3 rd sg
cámún^L <i>n Ø-è:r</i> beard (of chin) <i>syn:</i> gàcìnè	cèm <i>adv</i> straight
càndúk^L (from Amh. ሳንዳዊ) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> box	cèmíj^L (from Amh. ሽግግ) <i>n Ø-é^L</i> shirt
càně:r <i>v ε 1)</i> lose 2) find not	cénk <i>pers</i> contrastive pronoun 3s
cáo:j^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> tree, sp.	cì 1) <i>dem</i> demonstrative 2) <i>relpro</i> relative pronoun
càwě:r <i>v ε</i> sprinkle	cì:pě:r <i>v ε 1)</i> widen 2) increase
cáwtún^L <i>n Ø-ak^L 1)</i> edge 2) boundary	cìcě^L <i>adv</i> now (sp)
cé^L <i>dem 1)</i> this.dat 2) this.loc	cìcě^L <i>adv</i> now (hr)
cè:cèkě:r <i>v ε</i> saw	cìcś^L <i>adv</i> now (dist)
cè:d <i>adv</i> here	cígír^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> ladder
cé:dě:n <i>conj</i> because	cìmbí^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> rat
cè:dí^L <i>adv</i> here	círpè <i>n Ø-é^L</i> cliff
cé:kě:r <i>v ε</i> mean	cìtét^L (from Amharic ስህተት) <i>n Ø-é^L</i> mistake <i>syn:</i> tíkíjé 1 (nomin of tìkě:r)
cér:'lân^L <i>n -án^L-ák^L</i> shin	có:'mój <i>n Ø-é^L</i> tree, sp.
cé:té <i>n Ø-é^L</i> flute	có:bě:r <i>v ε</i> suck
cékíé^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> command	cò:d <i>adv</i> there
célcél <i>n Ø-é^L</i> lizard	cõ:j <i>adv</i> away from
cénk^L <i>pers</i> contrastive pronoun 2 nd sg	cò:mój <i>n Ø-k^L</i> quiver

còm <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> place (dist)	cóké <i>n Ø-é^L</i> marsh
córřer <i>v ε 1)</i> wring out 2) squeeze	còkër <i>v ε 1)</i> destroy 2) spoil
córtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> juice	còkìdìkär <i>v ap 1)</i> ruined 2) spoiled
còrwër <i>v ε 1)</i> plant 2) sow	cò:lílän^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> vulture
cócó^Lán^L <i>n -án^L -ák^L</i> maize flower	cóm <i>nkin Ø-í^L</i> sister's child
cójnìkàn <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> madman	còkà <i>adv</i> maybe
cókócí <i>n Ø-é^L</i> tree, sp.	còkón <i>adv 1)</i> hollow 2) empty 3) for free
còlàk <i>prep</i> towards	còlídär <i>stv a-k</i> green
cómbál <i>n Ø-é^L</i> bamboo	cú:mí^L <i>n Ø-é^L 1)</i> master 2) god 3) fetish
còmërr <i>v ε</i> chew	cùrwër <i>v ε</i> sting
còngúj <i>n Ø-ätk^L</i> music	cú:cúwí:kär (der.) <i>v ap 1)</i> labor 2) birth pains
còngùjërr <i>v ε</i> play (instrument)	cúbój <i>n Ø-é^L 1)</i> clay 2) mud block
cójncómërr <i>v ε 1)</i> wrap up 2) coil	cúk^L <i>n Ø-äkw^L</i> point
cópólkój <i>n Ø-írr^L</i> fingernail	cùnkúrtí^L (from Amh. ኸንኩርት) <i>n Ø-é^L</i> onion
cò <i>relpro</i> short singular relative pronoun with distal deixis	cùpkër <i>v ε</i> soak
cô 1) <i>dem</i> short singular demonstrative pronoun with distal deixis, locative or dative case 2) <i>relpro</i> short singular relative pronoun with distal deixis, locative or dative case	cúrúj^L (from Amh. ሱሪ) <i>n Ø-èrr</i> trousers
có:bí <i>n Ø-é^L</i> hoof	cùwèt <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> stinger
có:c^L (fr. var. kú:l^L) <i>n Ø-äkw^L</i> tail	cúwöj <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> eel
cók^L <i>pers</i> contrastive pronoun 2 nd pl	

d

dà:gùcé (from Amh. ዳጉሳ) <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L millet	děñ^L <i>prt</i> it appears
dámǎr <i>v a</i> 1) choose 2) pick	dèněɾ <i>v ε</i> see
dàmé <i>n</i> Ø-ǰ ^L beehive	dèwêl (from Amh. ደወል) <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L bell
dá:rí <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) frontier 2) border	dèwèlěɾ (from Amh. ደወለ) <i>v ε</i> ring
dácój <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L tree, sp.	dì:cè <i>n</i> Ø-ǎ:tok ^L crest of bird
dákěɾ <i>v ε</i> remain	dì:dí <i>n</i> Ø-ǰ ^L scar
dáké:da (der.) <i>adv</i> only	díkěɾ <i>v ε</i> kick
dàlí <i>n</i> Ø-ǎ:tok ^L hump of cow	dí:lěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) carry (on head) 2) take (away) 3) blow (away)
dàmpé <i>n</i> Ø-ǰ ^L tree, sp.	dí:ré <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L rubbish
dàrà:jěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) despise, disdain 2) stubborn 3) egoistic	dìgòjěɾ <i>v ε</i> greet
dàrì <i>n</i> Ø-ǎ:tok ^L sky	dìgój <i>prt</i> greeting
dè:dé: <i>nkin</i> 1) my brother 2) my sister	díkí:ʔán^L <i>n</i> -án ^L -Ø 1) intestines, guts
dé:dénè <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) corn cob 2) shrew	dildílkǎɾ <i>stv a-k</i> 1) thick 2) dull, blunt
dé:lékéc^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L 1) hare 2) rabbit	dìnjàtúkǎɾ <i>stv u</i> 1) short 2) unripe
dédérí:kǎɾ <i>v ap</i> lie down	dìráké <i>adv</i> backward
dèměɾ <i>v ε</i> threaten	dìrěɾ <i>v ε</i> push
dérán^L neg. of kè:dǎɾ go	dírkíjǎ:kǎɾ <i>v dur</i> straddle
dèréj <i>adv</i> under	dó:cój <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L wound, sore
dèrtěɾ <i>v ε</i> slide	dó:díɾ <i>v i</i> squat
dè:dèwěɾ <i>v ε</i> set a trap	dó:ján^L <i>n</i> an ^L -ak ^L repentance
dé:kǎɾ <i>stv a-k</i> red	dó:kún <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L brideprice
dédébé:mì <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L cockroach	dòmâ: (from Amh. ደማ) <i>n</i> Ø-ǰ ^L big hoe
dèké <i>n</i> Ø-ǰ ^L tree, sp.	

dò:mě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) allow, permit 2) translate 3) agree	dù:bùjě:r <i>v</i> ε dance
dó:rí <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L 1) trunk of tree 2) log	dù:bùè:t <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}k^L$ dance
dò:rój <i>n</i> \emptyset - \acute{k}^L hat	dù:dák <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}k^L$ hammer
dòdókă:r <i>stv</i> <i>a-k</i> wet	dú:duèn <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L turtle
dò:kĩ:r <i>v</i> <i>i</i> 1) land 2) sit	dú:dúr^L <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L dust
dò:kĩ:r dé^L <i>v</i> <i>i</i> sit down	dú:ŋě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) evaporate 2) steam 3) smoke
dòrtókă:r <i>stv</i> <i>a-k</i> slippery	dú:ré <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L village
dò:bój <i>n</i> \emptyset - \acute{k}^L leprosy	dúbì <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L moth
dò:c <i>adv</i> 1) good 2) okay 3) better (after sickness)	dùè <i>n</i> \emptyset - \acute{r}^L tree, sp. sesbania sesban
dókě:r <i>v</i> ε wander	dùgě:r <i>v</i> ε hide
dóké^L <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L tree, sp.	dùgídí:kă:r <i>v</i> <i>ap</i> hide oneself
dòmòn <i>n</i> ɔn^L - ɔk^L leopard	dúnárkó^L <i>v</i> <i>cplx-a</i> lie down

d

dă:kă:n <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}k^L$ quarrel	dé:gără:r <i>v</i> <i>a</i> + 1) sleep 2) sleepy
dă:wĩ:r <i>v</i> <i>i</i> 1) bright 2) shine	dē:pĩ:r <i>v</i> <i>i</i> poison
dă:wán^L <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}k^L$ 1) light 2) bright	dērò <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}:\text{ɔk}^L$ monkey
dă:mă:r (ipfv. dădămí:kă:r , neg. àdà) <i>v</i> <i>a</i> eat	dégégérí:kă:r <i>v</i> <i>ap</i> 1) agree 2) befit, suit
dă:mà (nomin) <i>n</i> <i>0s</i> food	dégeger^L <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}k^L$ 1) acquaintance 2) agreement
dăndămá:kă:r <i>v</i> <i>dur</i> pray	dégéră:r <i>v</i> <i>a</i> know
dăndămón^L (nomin) <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}k^L$ prayer	dégérón^L (nomin) <i>n</i> \emptyset - $\acute{a}k^L$ 1) knowledge 2) wisdom
dăngé <i>n</i> \emptyset - \acute{r}^L 1) chair 2) stool	dēpó <i>n</i> \emptyset - \acute{r}^L entrance hall
dé^L <i>adv</i> down	

dě <i>prep</i> of	dó:₁ <i>n Ø-í¹</i> 1) dirt 2) soil
dě:gá¹ <i>adv</i> 1) bottom 2) across 3) down	dó:₂ <i>n Ø-án¹</i> 1) world 2) inheritance 3) county, ethnic area 4) ground, land
dě:wó¹ <i>n</i> <i>Øp</i> saliva	dó:ran¹ <i>n Ø-ák¹</i> 1) noise 2) sound 3) voice
dějěr <i>v ε</i> 1) desire 2) want 3) need 4) important	dó:rír <i>v i</i> crow
dějŋ¹ <i>n</i> <i>Øs</i> cooking stone	dó:tír <i>v i</i> harvest
dëndě:rkār <i>stv a-k</i> flat	dōjír <i>v i</i> 1) overtake 2) pass
děpé¹ <i>n Ø-í¹</i> lion	dókój¹ <i>n Ø-é¹</i> mud
dī:dě:r <i>v ε</i> accompany	dōpěr <i>v ε</i> 1) smear 2) apply ointment, besmear
dī:gárákó¹ <i>v cplx-a</i> sprout	dóŋ¹ <i>n Ø-í¹</i> day
dī:líkìc <i>n Ø-ák¹</i> monitor lizard	dōŋàn <i>n an¹-ak¹</i> tree, sp.
dīmánkār <i>stv u</i> unripe	dókārko¹ <i>v cplx-a</i> bring
dīrā¹ <i>n Ø-kàk</i> baboon	dōkowé:t¹ <i>n Ø-ak¹</i> eagle
dī:rárkó¹ <i>v cplx-a</i> fall <i>syn:</i> buḅukidi:	dōmkār <i>stv u</i> sharp
dībē¹ <i>num Ø-é¹</i> 100	kédōm (der.) <i>adv</i> 1) well 2) properly 3) especially
dībē: péj¹ <i>num</i> 200	dú:pěr <i>v ε</i> pluck
dībē: tù:l <i>num</i> 500	dúk¹ <i>n Ø-í¹</i> 1) forest 2) bush
dīdíká¹ <i>adv</i> rightwards	dúmá:t¹ <i>n</i> <i>Øs</i> owner
dīlkār <i>stv u</i> heavy	dúmú:túm¹ <i>n Ø-ák¹</i> flying ant
dīlkà:t <i>n Ø-ák¹</i> weight	dūŋéd¹ <i>n Ø-í¹</i> hyena
dīŋěr <i>v ε</i> spank	

e

è:bòděr <i>v ε</i> heal	ékēr <i>n Ø-è:r</i> truth
è:gògěr <i>v ε</i> carry (in arms)	ékérè <i>adv</i> 1) really 2) truly

è:mè:kǎ:j <i>nkin Ø-ak^L 1) son-in-law 2) daughter-in-law</i>	ějǵǵǵ <i>v a 1) milk 2) bear (of animals) 3) lay egg</i>
è:mějǵǵ <i>v a 1) honour 2) respect</i>	èkǵǵǵ <i>v ε cross river</i>
éméjón^L <i>n Ø-ák^L 1) awe, reverence 2) splendour, glory</i>	èkéd^L (from Amh. አቅድ) <i>n Ø-ák^L plan</i>
è:ǵǵǵǵ <i>v a smell</i>	émǵǵ <i>n Ø-ák^L termite</i>
è:ǵǵǵǵ:kǵǵ (der.) <i>v dur sniff</i>	émǵ^L <i>n Ø-ǵǵǵ^L canoe</i>
è:t <i>pers pronoun 1st sg</i>	èmè <i>n Ø-ǵ^L year</i>
ét^L <i>interrog where?</i>	èǵǵǵǵ <i>v a fill</i>
èdùgé <i>n Ø-ε^L warthog</i>	èǵǵǵǵ (der.) <i>stv dur 1) full 2) whole</i>
ègè <i>prt copula</i>	èpǵǵǵ <i>v a chase</i>
ègèr <i>interrog how many?</i>	ètéǵǵ^L <i>pers pronoun 1st pl</i>

E

é₃ <i>coord modal conjunction</i>	èkǵǵǵ <i>v ε take</i>
ék^L 1) <i>n Ø-án body 2) pro self</i>	élt^L n Ø-ǵ^L 1) <i>grassland 2) grass</i>
è:kǵǵ <i>v ε 1) draw (water) 2) rain</i>	émé:nán^L <i>n án^L-Ø 1) bone 2) skeleton</i>
è:ǵǵǵǵ <i>v a-k travel</i>	éméc^L <i>nkin Ø-kǵǵ mother (3rd)</i>
é:ǵǵǵón^L (nomin) <i>n Ø-ák^L journey</i>	énkóǵ^L <i>n Ø-ε^L tree, sp.</i>
é:ǵǵǵtǵǵ (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L traveler</i>	éǵǵ^L <i>n Ø-ε^L pelican</i>
érǵǵ <i>n Ø-ak^L tree, sp.</i>	èǵén <i>n n^L-Ø 1) nose 2) bridge of nose</i>
édén <i>n Ø-ǵ^L mountain</i>	épên <i>nkin Ø-kǵǵ father, his/her</i>
èdèn <i>adv 1) up 2) east</i>	ércé:^L <i>n Ø-ε^L milk (no singular)</i>
éjén^L <i>n Ø-è:r 1) moon 2) month</i>	èrgín <i>n Ø-ǵ:ǵǵ^L bow tt: kèlèǵ arrow</i>
èk₁ <i>interrog how?</i>	ètǵǵ <i>v ε 1) stand 2) be</i>
	ètéd^L <i>n Ø-ǵǵ^L honey</i>

g

gá^L <i>dem</i> towards them	gàjě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) enough 2) cease, stop 3) succeed
gá:cé <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L 1) mould 2) scar (decorative) 3) tattoo	gámá^Lán^L <i>n</i> -án ^L -ák ^L 1) molar tooth 2) jaw
gà:cě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) draw (pictures) 2) cut decorative marks in skin	gàmě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) fetus (be a) 2) conceive
gà:cín (from Amharic ታሻ) <i>n</i> \emptyset - \acute{k}^L shield	gándám <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L bat (large)
gá:lír <i>v</i> <i>i</i> sweep	gángój^L (fr. var. gángój) <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L horse
gà:làkár (der.) <i>v</i> <i>a-k</i> forget	gànk <i>poss</i> our (pl)
gàmĩ:r <i>v</i> <i>i</i> 1) hold 2) catch 3) attack	gânk <i>poss</i> our (pl, abs)
gá:mtàn (nomin) <i>n</i> \emptyset -ak ^L 1) handle 2) trapped animal	gàpùt <i>n</i> \emptyset -ák ^L bat (small)
gà:múrkó^L (der.) <i>v</i> <i>cplx-i</i> 1) embrace 2) hug	gàtí <i>n</i> \emptyset -á:tók ^L price
gà:műj <i>n</i> \emptyset -ak ^L tree, sp.	gè <i>dem</i> short plural demonstrative and relative pronoun, speaker deixis
gà:nàně:r <i>v</i> ε 1) condole 2) comfort 3) appease	gé^L <i>dem</i> these (loc, dat)
gà:ndě <i>n</i> \emptyset -í ^L snail	gé:gejá:kár <i>v</i> <i>dur</i> fetch firewood
gá:nk <i>poss</i> my (pl)	gé:pě:r <i>v</i> ε swallow
gàbìjój (from Amh. ገበያ) <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L market	gétíé^L <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L blessing
gàbě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) accuse 2) betray 3) pack 4) give	gējĩ:r <i>v</i> <i>i</i> gnaw
gàcój <i>n</i> \emptyset -á:tók ^L hoe	gèlè:wě:r <i>v</i> ε listen
gàjǎr₁ <i>v</i> <i>ap</i> resemble	gérbój^L <i>n</i> \emptyset - ε^L bedbug
gàjǎr₂ <i>v</i> <i>a~</i> imitate	gè <i>dem</i> short plural demonstrative and relative pronoun, hearer deixis
tàgáj^L (nomin) <i>n</i> \emptyset -ak ^L pretense	gé^L <i>dem</i> those (loc, dat; hearer deixis)
	gé:ná^L <i>pers</i> his/her (pl, dat)
	gè:né^L <i>poss</i> his/her (pl nom)

gémk <i>poss</i> his/her (pl, abs)	gòrí <i>n Ø-ǵ</i> upper grinding stone
gédǵl <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> bird of prey	gòdé <i>n Ø-ǵ^L</i> house
gènk <i>poss</i> their (pl)	gògídǵkǵr <i>v ap</i> bark
gíd^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> shoot	gòj <i>adv</i> over there
gígírón^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> potter's kiln	gólkǵr <i>stv a-k 1)</i> greedy 2) selfish
gíbi <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> sunrise	gòmbé^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> mudfish
gìbijǵr <i>v ε 1)</i> intercede 2) mediate	gònǵr <i>v a 1)</i> flow 2) flee
gìbírl^L <i>n Ø-ε^L 1)</i> tax 2) tribute	góngódí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> clam
gídí^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> tree, sp.	gònk <i>poss</i> your _{pl} (pl)
gìdǵ <i>n Ø-ǵ^L 1)</i> stone 2) gravel	gòṅgòṅǵr <i>v ε</i> beat a drum <i>syn:</i> ǵò:kejǵí
gǵjǵr <i>v a 1)</i> prepare dough on a grinding stone 2) let dough rise	gòpàn <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> path, road <i>syn:</i> bú:l
gǵǵr <i>v ε 1)</i> nurse 2) suckle (baby)	gòrgórkǵr <i>stv a-k 1)</i> fast
gìtátámén^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> dragonfly	gòrír <i>v i 1)</i> sick 2) ill
gǵné <i>n Ø-tùn</i> heel	góri^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> illness, disease
gípój fr. var. of pógí	góróǵcóm <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> larynx
gìrgídǵkǵr <i>v ap</i> roll	gòtǵr <i>v ε 1)</i> blow (with mouth) 2) blow horn 3) fan
gìròjdǵkǵr <i>v ap</i> poor	gòtérkó^L <i>v cplx-ε</i> blow down
gòǵé <i>n Ø-ǵ^L</i> tree, sp.	gò <i>relpro</i> those which (distal deixis)
gòkǵr <i>v ε</i> abstain	gó^L <i>dem</i> short plural relative and demonstrative pronoun, dative and locative, distal deixis
gómǵr <i>v ε</i> growl	gó^L <i>n Ø-è:r</i> side
gò:mòj <i>n Ø-ǵ^L</i> trap	gò:gòj <i>n Ø-ǵ^L</i> ford
gómúj^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> tree, sp.	gò:mùrǵr <i>v a 1)</i> fat 2) thick
gómk <i>poss</i> your _{sg} (pl)	góré^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> cripple
gòṅǵnǵr <i>v a bump, knock against</i>	gòṅǵr <i>v ε</i> clot
gópân <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> penalty, punishment	
gópǵr <i>v a 1)</i> punish 2) rebuke	

gòṅgór^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> tomato	gún^L <i>pri</i> before
gòrò^L <i>n Ø-ík^L</i> river	gúnděṅ <i>aux</i> auxiliary expressing pre-cative modality, showing that the utterance is a request
góté^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> ladle	gùndí <i>n Ø-á:tok^L</i> bunch of bananas
gú:ni^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> caterpillar	gùpà:ṅě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) throb (with pain) 2) have a rumbling feeling in the stomach
gú:gúnǎr <i>v a</i> enter, go in	gùpà:ṅikǎr <i>v ap</i> capsize
gúj^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> gall bladder	gùpà:ṅě:r <i>v ε</i> spill
gúmá:kén^L <i>n n^L-er^L</i> enemy	gùpù:jě:r <i>v ε</i> ferment
gùmbój <i>n Ø-ík^L</i> 1) club, cudgel 2) cane, walking stick	gúrúnj Yeki of árn
gúmi^L <i>n Ø-è:r</i> cobra	gútárin^L <i>n 0s</i> old person
gùmùn <i>n Ø-á:tok^L</i> owl	

i

ĩ <i>pri</i> yes	ící:ctàn <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> arrangement
íliá^L (from ĩlià:kǎr 1) <i>n 0p</i> song	ícír <i>v i</i> hang
ĩlià:kǎr <i>v dur</i> 1) sing 2) hum	ídít^L <i>n 0s</i> person
ìn, ǐn^L <i>pers</i> pronoun 2 nd sg	ígí^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> law
ínák^L <i>pers</i> pronoun 2 nd pl	ìjá:g^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> work
ìnè <i>pro</i> you!	ìjá:gǎr <i>v a</i> 1) create, make 2) work 3) act 4) serve
ìbá:l^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> game	ìjá:gén^L <i>n n^L-er^L</i> 1) (domestic) servant 2) farmer 3) worker
ìbá:lír <i>v i</i> 1) play 2) dance 3) chat	ìjò:pě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) indicate 2) point (with finger) 3) peck
ìcí^L <i>adv</i> here	ìjòm <i>n Ø-á:tok^L</i> hippopotamus
ìcígì <i>dem</i> these	ìkòmír <i>v i</i> count
ìcígìcígì <i>adv</i> exactly like that	
ìcícě:r <i>v ε</i> prepare	

ílán^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> udder	ìndí:^L <i>nkin Ø-ak^L</i> mother (my, our)
ímí:ǵěɾ <i>v ε</i> rest	íré:^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> footprint
ìn <i>prt</i> 1) imp.pl 2) hort.1s 3) hort.3s 4) hort.3p	ìrěɾ <i>v ε</i> herd
ín^L <i>adv</i> yet	ìrkíɾ <i>v i</i> dawn
ín^L kékàr <i>adv</i> once more	írkíd (der.) <i>adv</i> at dawn
	í'tó <i>interj</i> it seems

j

jà:kàt <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> peace	jépcój <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> spider
jà:ǵěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) announce 2) show	jèrměɾ <i>v ε</i> bleed
já:ǵié^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) announcement 2) account 3) report	jéróm <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> blood
já:ǵtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) marker 2) peg	jíké:^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> rattle
jà:těɾ <i>v ε</i> lick	jìkěɾ <i>v ε</i> rattle
jàkáná^L <i>conj</i> but	jílój <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> hair of maize
jàwěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) shorten 2) cut through	jímá^L <i>n Ø-èɾ</i> back <i>syn:</i> bàmbè ; báɲì
jáwé:^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) circumcision	jímé:^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> cemetery
jé:tí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> intestinal worm	jírbí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) cotton 2) cotton plant
jègěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) knock down 2) knock over	jô: <i>prt</i> question particle
jè:jègěɾ <i>v ε</i> whisper	jògíɾ <i>v i</i> feel
jèjār <i>v a</i> leak	jòngòjěɾ <i>v ε</i> blow
	jòngój <i>n Ø-ík^L</i> wind
	jòwérkār <i>stv u</i> far
	jú:jé (fr. var. jú:já) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> tree, sp.

J

jàměɾ <i>v</i> ε spread	jínkùj <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L sheep
jámè <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L machete	jìnjìkǎɾ <i>stv</i> <i>a-k</i> lukewarm
járti <i>n</i> Ø- $\acute{a}tɔk^L$ 1) woman 2) wife	jôn <i>n</i> Ø- ak^L secondary administrative level in the Ethiopian government, Zone
jé:dókǎɾ <i>stv</i> <i>u</i> long	jòɾǎɾ <i>v</i> <i>a</i> diminish
jé:ɲěɾ <i>v</i> ε soar	jók <i>adv</i> nearby
jègúj <i>n</i> Ø- $\acute{a}tɔk^L$ ox	jómpôl <i>n</i> Ø- $ák^L$ termite hill
jè:gòjdí:kǎɾ <i>v</i> <i>ap</i> hunt	jòlěɾ <i>v</i> ε help
jémé^L <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L tree, sp.	jónkólé <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L porcupine
jé:wè (fr. var. kè:wè) <i>n</i> <i>os</i> 1) sand 2) pebble	júm (abs. pl júm) <i>n</i> Ø- $kũk^L$ 1) bump 2) small hill
jějtí^L <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L oil	júr^L <i>n</i> Ø- $ákw^L$ wound, sore
jét <i>adv</i> very	jùkúl <i>n</i> Ø- $\acute{a}tɔk^L$ tree, sp.
jít^L <i>num</i> three	jùmùɾǎɾ (from múɾíɾ) <i>v</i> <i>a</i> 1) answer, reply 2) return sth
jì:tén^L <i>ordnum</i> third	
jìkôn <i>interrog</i> what?	
jímtí <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L oil palm	

k

ká:6án^L <i>n</i> Ø- ak^L taboo	káj <i>n</i> Ø- <i>tùn</i> 1) night 2) dusk, twilight
ká:6íɾ <i>v</i> <i>i</i> 1) prevent 2) taboo 3) delay 4) postpone	kà:kà <i>n</i> Ø- $\acute{a}tɔk^L$ cave
kà:cěɾ <i>v</i> ε 1) divide 2) separate 3) generous	ká:kántàn (from kàněɾ) <i>n</i> Ø- ak^L phlegm
kà:kácǎɾ <i>v</i> <i>a</i> share	ká:kê: <i>nkin</i> Ø- ε^L grandchild
	kà:ké:^L <i>nkin</i> Ø- ak^L grandmother

kà:l <i>n Ø-kũk^L</i> camp	kánk^L <i>det</i> medium-past anaphoric-reference marker
kà:n <i>n Ø-kũk^L</i> brideprice	kántá^L <i>adv</i> leftwards
kà:rär <i>v a</i> 1) fight 2) avenge recent grudge	kántè <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> basket
kárn^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) war 2) revenge	kànÿr <i>v i</i> trap
kà:rí <i>n Ø-k^L</i> coffee leaf	kárkárär <i>v a</i> undress
kácíkír <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> stump	kàt <i>prt</i> do not!
kádá^L <i>n Ø-è:r</i> tongue	kàtámé (from Amh. ከተማ) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> town, city
kádāŋdāŋ^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> palate	kàwē:r <i>v ε</i> bite
kādē:ŋ <i>adv</i> perhaps	káwój^L (nomin) <i>n Ø-è:r</i> gun
kàdikán^L <i>n</i> 0s sugar cane	ké:ci^L (from Amh. ቁስ) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> priest
kàjà:rē:r <i>v ε</i> change	kè:gùn <i>n n^L-Ø</i> animal
kàjánín^L <i>n n^L-er^L</i> fly	ké:ŋikär <i>v ap</i> 1) prepare food to cook 2) boil
kàjtē:r <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> tarantula	ké:ŋ <i>n Ø-kũk^L</i> shame
kálbí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) brain 2) character	kér <i>n Ø-āk^L</i> 1) courtyard 2) fence 3) hedge
kàlēr <i>v ε</i> clear (land for planting)	kè:rék^L <i>nkin Ø-ák^L</i> 1) mother-in-law 2) father-in-law
kàlējÿr <i>v i</i> 1) plead, implore 2) beg for money	ké:wán^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) sharp object 2) sharpened object
káléjtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> beggar	kér:wÿr <i>v i</i> sharpen knife
kàlkálkär <i>stv a-k</i> boast, brag	kèdèndén^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> one-string violin
kàmär <i>v a~</i> limp	kējär <i>v a</i> cook
kámti: <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> partridge	kèkè <i>n Ø-ik^L</i> door
kán^L <i>prt</i> medium past	kèlkèlēr <i>v ε</i> tickle
kàn <i>prt</i> medium past conjoint	kéllékùt <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> kingfisher
kànāk^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> broom	kélŋán^L <i>n an^L-è:r</i> armpit
kànēr <i>v ε</i> cough	
ká:kántàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> phlegm	

kèmr̥ <i>v i</i> straighten	kèman <i>adv</i> for a long time
kém^L <i>n</i> 0s goat	kénté <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L rural area
kèr̥r̥ <i>v i</i> stretch	kéréc <i>adv</i> completely full (of containers)
kèrjòn <i>n</i> Ø-á:tok ^L navel	kèt̥r̥ <i>v</i> ε 1) cut 2) dig 3) chop 4) chip
kérkéǎr <i>v a</i> wipe off	kèt̥w <i>adv</i> full (of flat objects, such as a plate)
kèwkéwk̥r̥ <i>stv a-k</i> thin	kì <i>adv</i> up
ké <i>comp</i> particle which introduces direct or indirect speech, quotative marker	kí: <i>prt</i> question
kè:ǎr̥ (neg. dérán^L) <i>v a</i> go	k̥r̥ <i>aux i</i> neg
kè:kìd̥k̥r̥ <i>v ap</i> cackle as of chicken	kí:r̥r̥ <i>v i</i> finish the bottom of a pot, after inside and outside have dried
két^L <i>n</i> 0s 1) tree 2) wood	kíci^L <i>n</i> Ø-k̥ ^L pocket
kèt̥r̥ <i>v</i> ε scatter	kìjá:mén^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L giraffe
kè:wè fr. var. of jé:wè	kílt^L <i>n</i> Ø-kàk mouse
kè:w̥r̥ <i>v</i> ε paddle	kír̥^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L thread
kèbú: <i>adv</i> sometimes	kít̥i:d̥t̥ <i>n</i> 0s 1) deaf person 2) mute person
kèd̥ik <i>adv</i> firmly	kó^L <i>prt</i> hortative particle for 1 st person plural
kédòm (from d̥m̥k̥r̥ , ké) <i>adv</i> 1) well 2) properly 3) especially	kò:géle <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L 1) chicken 2) turkey
kèg̥r̥ <i>v a</i> pound	kô:j <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L bridge syn: dànkáré
kègúpún <i>adv</i> soon	kók <i>prt</i> indicates agreement to do something just mentioned
kéján <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L tree, sp.	kókó^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L snake
kéjgún^L <i>coord</i> or	kó:ltún^L <i>n</i> n ^L -Ø 1) rib 2) side
kéjn^L <i>conj</i> or	kómát^L <i>n</i> 0s 1) stranger 2) guest, visitor
kékàr <i>adv</i> again	
kékétí <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L green mamba	
kèlòt <i>adv</i> 1) loose, slack 2) carefully 3) slowly	

kóŋ <i>n Ø-kũk^L</i> curse	kókóm^L <i>n Ø-èr</i> chest of humans and primates
kòŋěŕ <i>v ε</i> 1) curse 2) swear	kólbé <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> horn
kór <i>n Ø-kũk^L</i> ditch	kólé <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) leaf of maize 2) husk
kórán^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) throwing stick 2) spear handle	kòlèt <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> dawn
kòŕěŕ <i>v ε</i> 1) watch 2) tend livestock 3) guard 4) wait for	kóllóŋěŕ <i>v ε</i> whistle
kóḃè <i>nkin</i> men who are married to women who are sisters have this relationship	kòmè <i>n Ø-á:tok^L</i> fire starting sticks
kòḃŕ <i>v i</i> think	kómój <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) descendant 2) kind 3) tribe, ethnic group 4) clan
kóḃŕ^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> idea	kóndé <i>n Ø-èr</i> bottle
kòḃúrkó^L (der.) <i>v cplx-i</i> remember	kóndi <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) fish trap 2) fish hook
kòcè <i>n Ø-ík^L</i> 1) bag 2) sack	kòndijěŕ <i>v ε</i> fish
kócèk <i>adv</i> like that	kòngój <i>n Ø-ík^L</i> 1) noise 2) sound
kòcíé <i>n Ø-èr</i> tobacco pipe	kòŋcì:lám <i>n Ø-á:tok^L</i> porcupine
kócùnk <i>adv</i> like this	kòŋăŕ <i>v a~</i> 1) gather 2) pick up
kòdóbŕ <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> stork	kòpúlkăŕ <i>stv a-k</i> white
kògòd <i>n Ø-er^L</i> elbow	kòŕěŕ <i>v ε</i> 1) peel 2) strip off 3) husk
kój <i>adv</i> remote future	kòŕŕ <i>v i</i> 1) close 2) shut
kójdŕ:kăŕ <i>v ap</i> repay	kórtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> door, doorway cover
kójŕ^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> payment	kórkódăŕ <i>v a</i> tie a knot
kòjŕ <i>v i</i> pay	kórmè <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> lime, whitewash
kójtàn <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) payer 2) money used to pay a dept	kórŋán^L <i>n an^L-èr</i> knee
kójtán^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> fireplace	kòruc^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> medicine
kòjùnk <i>adv</i> like this	kówěŕ <i>v ε</i> sour
kòkókăŕ <i>stv a-k</i> soft (of food)	kó <i>adv</i> recent past, up to a few days
	kó ájtínán (comp.) <i>adv</i> day before yesterday

kó álé (comp.) <i>adv</i> yesterday	kónk <i>det</i> reference for something mentioned in the recent past
kó ðínkónk (comp.) <i>adv</i> some days ago	kòpán^L <i>n</i> -án ^L -ák ^L shoe, sandal
kò recent past conjoint	kòwǎr <i>v</i> a~ 1) dig 2) deepen 3) bury
kó^L <i>prt</i> near future	kúk^L <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L bellows
kó^L ájtínán (comp.) <i>adv</i> day after tomorrow	kúkúrǎr <i>v</i> a hollow out
kó^L álé (comp.) <i>adv</i> tomorrow	kú^L fr. var. of có:c^L tail
kó^L ðínkómk (unspec. comp. form) <i>adv</i> later (this evening)	kù:lmè:t <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L 1) promise 2) oath
kómán^L <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L story	kúc 3s.dj. of kúrákó^L come
kómíjǎr <i>v</i> a 1) ask 2) request	kùdǎ:r <i>v</i> ε cry, weep
kómíjón^L (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L 1) request 2) question	kúlbǎ:r <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L dove
kór <i>n</i> Ø-kúrk ^L middle	kùlúbí^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L garlic
kòbé <i>n</i> Ø-ík ^L tree, sp.	kúmé^L <i>num</i> 1000
kòbǎ:r <i>v</i> ε move	kùŋgúm^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L noise of waterfall
kóyé:mé <i>adv</i> early	kùpà:jǎ:r <i>v</i> ε prepare
kóykǎr <i>stv</i> u black	kú'rój <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L donkey
kóyúrarkó^L (der.) <i>v</i> cplx-a fade	kúrákó^L (3s.dj kúc) <i>v</i> cplx-a come
kókóó^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L repositioning	kùròù <i>n</i> Ø-í:r ^L 1) caterpillar 2) maggot (in rotten meat)
kòlkòdá:dén^L <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L spider's web	kúré <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L hunting net
kómi^L <i>n</i> Ø-í ^L zebra	kúrí <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L tree, sp.
kòpǎ:r <i>v</i> ε 1) persuade 2) help	kúrkúm <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) mountain 2) hill 3) backbone
kòŋ <i>n</i> Ø-ǎk ^L pangolin	kùrŋàn <i>n</i> an ^L -ak ^L nasal mucus, snot
	kùrú <i>n</i> Ø-ǎ:tok ^L 1) foam 2) bubble
	kùtúr <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) pig 2) warthog

I

lá:đí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> bud	lé:íá:kǎr <i>v dur</i> float
lá:gápǎr (2p lá:gápě̃r) <i>v a</i> gossip	lè:wě̃r <i>v ε</i> visit
lá:gápón^L (nomin) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) reputation 2) gossip	lèmtě̃r <i>v ε</i> pierce
lá:lávǎr <i>v a</i> hang up	lí:lě̃r <i>v ε</i> 1) sink 2) drown
là:ńój <i>n Ø-ík^L</i> hardship, distress	lí6^L <i>n Ø-ǎkɔ^L</i> hiccough
là:ńójín^L <i>n n^L-er^L</i> slave	líkì (from Amh. ለቅ) <i>adv</i> 1) right 2) correct
là:rǎr <i>v a</i> 1) lose 2) go out (of light)	lò:kǎr <i>v i</i> angry
làk ámf (from làtùkǎr) <i>v</i> pregnant	lò:lòmùn <i>n un^L-í^L</i> 1) charcoal 2) charred wood
là:màlámé^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> Ethiopian wild cat	lò:mí:^L (from Amh. ለሙሽ) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> lemon
làmbé^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> lamp, torch	lò:mùn <i>n un^L-í^L</i> feather
là:mě̃r <i>v ε</i> 1) bewitch 2) cast (spell) 3) curse	lò:tí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> earring
là:ńír <i>v i</i> 1) meet (ipfv. láláńí:kǎr) 2) encounter 3) find 4) get 5) obtain	lòngólò:t <i>n</i> vine
láláńí:kǎr <i>v</i> meet	lòtě̃r <i>v ε</i> add
lálán^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> relationship	lòwǎr <i>v i</i> 1) lead 2) guide 3) light fire
làptě̃r <i>v ε</i> dive	lówtà̃n (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> hut
làtùkǎr <i>v</i> 1) have 2) possess	lójě̃r <i>v ε</i> melt
làk ámf (id.) <i>v</i> pregnant	lòcídí:kǎr <i>v ap</i> 1) conquer 2) defeat
lé:lák^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) well 2) spring	lòkě̃r <i>v ε</i> 1) overturn 2) pour out
lê:w <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> bow	lòkòj <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> plate
lèjǎr <i>v a</i> swim	lù:rí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> horn
lé:ján^L <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> bracelet	lùgèjě̃r <i>v ε</i> hunt
lè:lèmè:t <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> taste	lúk^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> bastard, illegitimate child

m

má^L <i>coord</i> contrastive coordinating conjunction but	màlě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) strike 2) hit with stick or axe 3) thresh
má:lé^L <i>nkin Ø-ak^L</i> mother's brother	málwán <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> hail
má:jé^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> dwarf	màngíctí^L (from Amh. መንግስት) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> government
mà:kólój (from Amh. ብቁሎ) <i>n Øs</i> maize, corn	mànkíá^L (from Amh. ማንከያ) <i>n Ø-kàk</i> spoon
mà:mé^L <i>nkin Ø-ak^L</i> 1) father's sister 2) mother's sister	mápná^L <i>nkin Ø-kàk</i> his/her sibling
má:tó <i>n Ø-è:r</i> dry season	mánk <i>conj</i> or
má:w^L <i>n Øp</i> water	mánkíré <i>conj</i> or
màcá:pé^L (fr. var. màcá:p) (from Amh. መጽሐፍ) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> book	márátikàn <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> mad person
màcàré <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> fence	màrjòn <i>n n^L-Ø</i> star
mácé^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> debt	máryí^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) poison 2) venom of snake 3) poison on arrow
màcě:r <i>v ε</i> borrow	màtágé^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> cup
màcídí:gídó^L <i>v cplx-ε</i> lend	mè:jà:kă:r <i>v dur</i> 1) stumble 2) hurry
màckó:tí^L (from Amh. መስኮት) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> window	mé:kă:r <i>stv a-k</i> hurt oneself
mácó:kòj^L <i>nkin Ø-ak^L</i> 1) brother 2) sister	mè:kà:t <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> pain
mád^L <i>n Ø-í^L</i> fire	mé:lát <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> tendon
màjmájòt^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> parrot	mè:ně:r <i>v ε</i> steer
máká:jí^L (from Amh. መጋዝ) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> saw	mè:rín <i>n n^L-Ø</i> vein
máké^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> flower	mè:tòák^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> pus
màlà:jě:r <i>v ε</i> knead	mèdě:r <i>v ε</i> roast
	mèjád^L <i>n Ø-í^L</i> buffalo
	mél^L <i>n Ø-í^L</i> 1) string 2) vine
	mélítí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> mosquito

mèněř *v ε* twist

mèntánkăř *stv a-k* 1) good *ant:*
ņérwénkăř 2) healthy, well 3) beautiful 4) clean 4.1) innocent 5) kind

mérménăř *v a* 1) notice 2) investigate

mèrmét^L *n Ø-ak^L* red pepper, hot pepper

mérmé *n Ø-ε^L* 1) whip 2) throwing spear

mé:đí *n Ø-ε^L* lower grinding stone

mé:j^L *n Ø-ak^L* 1) fiancée 2) fiancé

mèckèběř (from Amh. መዝገበ) *v ε* register

mèkèkórót *n Ø-ák^L* chameleon

mèkélém^L *n Ø-ε^L* hawk

mélci^L (from Amh. መልክ) *n Ø-ε^L* response

mèlěř *v ε* arrive

mèlérđíđ^L *v cplx-ε* approach

mèrĩ^L (from Amh. መሪ) *n Ø-ák^L* leader

mĩ:đĩř *v i* push

mĩjěř *v ε* cover

mĩ:ptàn (nomin) *n Ø-ak^L* mask

mìcìmarĩ^L (from Amh. ምስጢር) *n Ø-ε^L* nail

mó *adv* alone

mó:ĩ *n Ø-ε^L* salt

mò:j *nkin Ø-ák^L* male

mó:mójěř *v ε* 1) caress 2) rub

mó:mónăř *v a* 1) hoe 2) weed

mó:ņán^L *n an^L-ak^L* 1) kidney 2) muscle

mò:r *n Ø-ăk^L* anvil

mó:ré *n Ø-ε^L* fat

mò:rěř *v ε* boil (water)

mò:tàn *n Ø-ák^L* ant

mòàn *adv* different

móđĩkăř *v ap* 1) burn 2) blaze 3) ambush and kill a person

mògój^L *n Ø-ak^L* namesake

mòjěř *v ε* 1) rot 2) spoil

mókó *existmrkr* negative existential marker

mòkòđĩđĩkăř *v ap* dip

móndĩkăř *v ap* forget

mòntěř *v ε* harvest root plants

mòņàmóņăē *n 0s* centipede

mówé *n Ø-ε^L* coffee

mó:rěř *v ε* 1) shriveled 2) wrinkled

mòđěř *v ε* deny

mòđăkôņkăř *stv a-k* sticky

mòròđĩân *n Ø-ák^L* ant

mù:cěř *v ε* congratulate

mù:jĩ *n Ø-ĩ^L* spy

mú:jĩ^L (from Amh. ሙዝ) *n Ø-ε^L* banana

mù:ɟjěɾ <i>v ε</i> spy	múɾɿɾ <i>v i</i> 1) return (itr) 2) reply
mú:wěɾ <i>v ε</i> mould	ɟùmùɾɿɾ (der.) <i>v a</i> 1) answer, reply 2) return sth
mùkěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) stab 2) push inside	múrákɔ^L (der.) <i>v cplx-a</i> go back
múná <i>n Ø-ǎ:ɬɔk^L</i> earthworm	múta^L <i>n Ø-kàk</i> needle

n

nà <i>pers</i> 2s.dat	né:ká^L <i>poss</i> his/her (sg, dat)
ná:k <i>poss</i> my (sg)	né:ké^L 1) his/her (sg, loc) 2) <i>adv</i> then <i>tt: lè:kè</i>
náci^L <i>n Ø-é^L</i> bread	nè:ké^L <i>poss</i> his/her (sg, nom)
nàcɿjěɾ <i>v ε</i> bake	nènk <i>poss</i> their (sg)
nàgá:dé^L (from Amh. ገጋዴ) <i>n Ø-é^L</i> trader	ní <i>pers</i> short <i>P</i> pronoun, 2 nd sg
nàgàdɿ:kǎɾ <i>v ap</i> 1) barter 2) exchange	nók <i>poss</i> your _{sg} (sg)
nájɬɿ:kǎɾ <i>v ap</i> admire	nónógá:kǎɾ <i>v dur</i> 1) grumble 2) complain
nàjěɾ (ipfv. nánájɿ:kǎɾ) <i>v ε</i> surprised	nòměɾ <i>v ε</i> follow
nànk <i>poss</i> our (pl)	nónk <i>poss</i> your _{pl} (sg)
nè <i>coord</i> and	nò <i>coord</i> coordinating conjunction for purpose clauses
nè tɔ^L (id.) <i>interj</i> so what?	
né:k <i>poss</i> his/her (sg)	

ɲ

ɲáj <i>n Ø-ǎkɔ^L</i> liver	ɲà:ɾí <i>n Ø-ǎk^L</i> dental gum
ɲá:lán^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> lightning	ɲák^L <i>n Ø-ɪ^L</i> 1) compound 2) house
ɲá:lěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) light of color 2) shine	ɲàkiè <i>n Ø-é^L</i> polygamy

ɲé:d^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) umbilical cord 2) womb	ɲòn <i>n 0s</i> 1) place 2) spot
ɲé:wǎɾ <i>v i</i> urinate	ɲòn tòkòwònk (id.) <i>n</i> grave
ɲègèm <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> chin	ɲòn wùdákònk (comp.) <i>n</i> place of mourning
ɲéjǎɾ <i>v a</i> 1) strain food 2) brew	ɲón^L <i>n 0p</i> lie
ɲé:dā <i>det</i> last	ɲó:d^L <i>n 0p</i> excrement
ɲékó:těɾ <i>stv ε</i> brown	ɲókán^L <i>n -án^L-ák^L</i> chick
ɲējěɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) resolve 2) settle 3) calm oneself 4) cease, stop	ɲómá^L <i>n 0p</i> insult
ɲìlgí:kǎɾ <i>stv a-k</i> 1) blunt, dull	ɲómǎɾ <i>v a</i> insult <i>syn:</i> ɲàráté
ɲòlɲólkǎɾ <i>stv a-k</i> 1) smooth 2) soft	ɲù:gùɾ <i>n 0s</i> darkness
	ɲùkěɾ <i>v ε</i> blow nose

ɲ

ɲà:dǎɾ <i>v i</i> 1) admit 2) believe	ɲàděɾ <i>v ε</i> decorate
ɲà:j <i>n 0s</i> 1) crone 2) female animal	ɲájórǎɾ <i>v a +</i> 1) swell
ɲà:kàɾ <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) smell 2) aroma	ɲànǎɾ <i>v i</i> 1) turn round 2) twist vines apart for making ropes
ɲá:kǎɾ <i>stv u</i> 1) stink 2) smell bad	ɲárótówǎɾ <i>v a</i> snore
ɲá:ɲá^L <i>nkin</i> mother (2nd)	ɲàwí:těɾ <i>v ε</i> 1) walk 2) step
ɲà:rǎɾ <i>v a</i> go	ɲédán <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> bee
ɲà:r rǎnǎnâ (ph. v.) <i>v</i> rise up	ɲèdàn <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> tooth
ɲà:rǎk^L <i>v cplx-a</i> exit	ɲèdè:měɾ <i>v ε</i> smile
ɲá:tǎɾ <i>v i</i> surprised	ɲèdɛɲ^L <i>n Ø-ɲ</i> sorghum
ɲá:w^L <i>n 0s</i> hunger	ɲé:wénkǎɾ <i>stv a-k</i> 1) bad <i>ant:</i>
ɲàcákáwkǎɾ <i>stv a-k</i> rough	mèntánkǎɾ 2) wicked 3) dirty 4) ugly
ɲádí:^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> 1) pity 2) anger	ɲéj^L <i>n Ø-tùn</i> 1) male sorcerer 2) witch 3) healer
ɲàdǎɾ <i>v i</i> 1) sad 2) angry	

ɲɛ̀tɪn <i>n</i> <i>n^L-Ø</i> louse	ɲɔ́dɔ̃^L <i>n</i> <i>Ø-èr</i> 1) neck 2) craving 3) throat
ɲó:lán^L <i>n</i> <i>an^L-ak^L</i> nape of neck	ɲɔ́dɔ̃cè <i>n</i> <i>Øs</i> interest
ɲòɲì <i>n</i> <i>Øp</i> 1) vegetation 2) plants	ɲòlɲólkǎ̃r <i>stv</i> <i>a-k</i> sweet
ɲòɲĩr <i>v</i> <i>i</i> stir	ɲónk <i>prt</i> subordination marker following a verb
ɲò:lě̃r <i>v</i> <i>ε</i> 1) slaughter 2) kill (animal)	ɲòɲùn <i>n</i> <i>un^L-l^L</i> 1) weeds 2) weed 3) blade of grass
ɲòdǎ̃r <i>v</i> <i>a</i> 1) abandon 2) let go 3) leave sth somewhere	ɲú:kě̃r <i>v</i> <i>ε</i> pull
ɲɔ́dúrǎ̃r <i>v</i> <i>a</i> abandon	ɲú:ltàn <i>n</i> <i>Ø-ak^L</i> hernia

O

ó:cón <i>n</i> <i>Ø-ε^L</i> burrow of small animal	ólákàn <i>n</i> <i>Ø-ak^L</i> twin
ò:dě̃r <i>v</i> <i>ε</i> 1) difficult 2) cause problem 3) bother	ólí^L <i>n</i> <i>Ø-ĩr^L</i> fish
ó:jě̃r <i>v</i> <i>ε</i> 1) shout 2) grunt	òm <i>det</i> 1) other 2) one certain
ó:l <i>aux</i> can	òmóɲ^L <i>num</i> one
ó:púnóɲ <i>n</i> <i>Ø-ε^L</i> worm	òmòɲé:n <i>ordnum</i> first
ó:tè <i>prep</i> about	ópàl <i>n</i> <i>Ø-ε^L</i> paddle
óbí:kǎ̃r <i>stv</i> <i>u</i> 1) big 2) expensive	òré: <i>nkin</i> grandfather
ògàrě̃r <i>v</i> <i>ε</i> cut (hair) <i>syn:</i> pɛt	òrĩr <i>v</i> <i>i</i> 1) throw away, get rid of 2) drop 3) divine the future by throwing ɲédú̃k
ógô:l <i>n</i> <i>Øp</i> 1) mead 2) liquor	órkan^L <i>n</i> <i>an^L-ak^L</i> bark of tree
òjókě̃r <i>v</i> <i>ε</i> shake	órpán^L <i>n</i> <i>n^L-Ø</i> naming ceremony
òkó <i>prep</i> like	ótù:t <i>n</i> <i>Ø-ák^L</i> flour
òkód <i>interrog</i> when?	òtó:p <i>adv</i> often
òlà <i>pl</i> of áɲ^L	

o

ðjǽr <i>v ε</i> 1) drive away 2) obstruct	ðǫwén^L <i>n n^L-er^L</i> 1) guide 2) chief, headman
ðnkùŋ <i>adv</i> near	ðgð <i>det</i> others
ðr <i>nkin Ø-ɪ^L</i> 1) brother-in-law 2) sister-in-law	ðkðn <i>conj</i> if
ðtè <i>n Ø-ɛ^L</i> 1) time 2) situation	ðré <i>prt</i> now (not temporal), but (discourse particle that introduces a new thought)
ðbð <i>n Ø-ik^L</i> knot	ðré^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> ancestor
ðcð^L <i>adv</i> there	
ðdð^L <i>n Ø-k^L</i> 1) head 2) skull 3) face	

p

páján^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> diarrhea	pàcǽr <i>v ε</i> 1) carve 2) chop with hatchet
pá:kǽr <i>stv ε</i> hot	pàjǽr <i>v ε</i> vomit
pá:kán^L (nomin) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> hot weather	pàjò:tǽr <i>v ε</i> 1) rub 2) set a broken bone
pà:kúcé^L <i>n Ø-ɛ^L</i> comb	pàká:cój^L <i>n Ø-èr</i> hip
pá:ltùkǽr <i>stv u</i> dry	pàkàlám <i>n Ø-ǎ:tək^L</i> egg shell
pà:lkà:t (nomin) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> drought, famine	pàkàtǽr <i>v i</i> 1) decrease 2) disappear
pà:nì <i>adv</i> 1) down 2) towards sunset	pàkkátí:kǽr <i>v ap</i> take leave of
pá:j^L <i>n Ø-ɪ^L</i> 1) mortar 2) kitchen hut	pàlámɸi:kǽr <i>v ap</i> argue
pá:ŋǽr <i>v i</i> slap	pàlámé^L <i>n Ø-ɛ^L</i> argument
pá:pè <i>n Ø-ɛ^L</i> shelter	pàlámǽr <i>v ε</i> 1) haggle 2) barter
pà:rǽr <i>v i</i> 1) try 2) taste	pàlè₁ <i>n Ø-ik^L</i> grain rack
pà:tòn <i>n Ø-k^L</i> 1) desert 2) uninhabited area	pàlè₂ <i>n Os</i> perch

páɲá^L <i>nkin Ø-kàk</i> cousin	pí:ɲón^L <i>n ɔn^L-ɔk^L</i> leaf
pàpájé^L (from Amh. ፓፓያ) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> papaya	pítóɟ <i>n Ø-ε^L 1) fin 2) tail</i>
pàpâl <i>n</i> <i>Øs</i> small piece of wood	pìdél (from Amh. ፈደል) <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> letter
pàránɟ^L (from Amh. ፈረንጅ) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> white man	pìlàn <i>n an^L-ak^L 1) eyebrow 2) eye-lash</i>
pàrɛr <i>v ε</i> split pieces off a big log	pìlètàn <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> tear
pá'rán^L (nomin) <i>n -án^L-ák^L</i> plank	pírá^L <i>n Ø-kàk 1) friend 2) neighbour</i>
pàriwàn <i>n an^L-ak^L 1) cheek syn: ɓàkìwàn</i>	pìrɛr <i>v ε 1) fly 2) hurry</i>
pér^L 1) n Ø-ak^L girl <i>ant: átéɲ^L 2) nkin female</i>	pô: <i>interj</i> all
pèdír <i>v i 1) used up 2) finish</i>	pó:cɛr <i>v ε</i> polish
péditàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L 1) end 2) last one</i>	pó:dír <i>v i 1) cut open 2) pluck</i>
pèjàrɛr <i>v a</i> defecate	pó:dúrks^L (der.) <i>v cplx-i</i> pick fruit
pèlépèlê: <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> flame	pó:tàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> chisel
pérè <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> wickerwork	pór <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> wrinkle on skin
pé: <i>n</i> <i>Øp</i> soup, broth	pó:wâɟ <i>n Ø-ák^L 1) wooden mallet for splitting logs 2) mallet</i>
pé:ɟ^L <i>num</i> two	pógí (fr. var. gípój) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> beeswax
pè:jém <i>ordnum</i> second	pòmpó:ckɛr <i>v a-k</i> split incorrectly (of wood)
pémí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> word	póɲ <i>n Ø-ák^L 1) herd 2) group 3) group of wood</i>
pélté <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> bowl	pòrír <i>v i</i> love
pérkié <i>n Ø-ε^L 1) dream 2) vision</i>	pòròtɛr <i>v ε</i> remove shells from groundnuts
pèrkà (der.) <i>n</i> <i>Øp</i> prophecy	pò:cɛr <i>v ε 1) bless someone 2) thank</i>
pètè:kán^L <i>n -án^L-ák^L</i> chaff	pó:cíjé^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> praise
pì: <i>n Ø-ák^L 1) grave 2) funeral</i>	pò:kɛr <i>v ε</i> tear
pí:dɛr <i>v ε 1) shiver 2) tremble</i>	pò:kìdì:kɛr <i>v ap</i> torn

pó:ŋán <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L wave	pólpólé^L jó:^L pé:jk^L à á:ŋ^L num 50
pòdók^L <i>n</i> Os calabash	pròjèt (from Engl. project) <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L project
pòjǎr <i>v</i> a~ drunk	pú:dě:r <i>v</i> ε rip apart (rope)
pòjókǎr <i>stv</i> u not heavy	púrě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) cultivate (land) 2) farm (land)
pólpól <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L 1) finger 2) toe	pú:rtàn (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L clearing
pólpólé^L jó:^L àŋànk num 80	pùcùwě:r <i>v</i> ε break wind, fart
pólpólé^L jó:^L àŋànk à á:ŋ^L num 90	pùpùtě:r <i>v</i> ε crawl of lizard
pólpólé^L jó:^L jí:tík^L num 60	pùrùtě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) drag 2) pull
pólpólé^L jó:^L jí:tík^L à á:ŋ^L num 70	
pólpólé^L jó:^L pé:jk^L num 40	

r

rá <i>pers</i> 1s.prag	rètèt: <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L squeak
ràmě:r <i>v</i> ε 1) lie 2) deceive 3) scare	rètètě:r <i>v</i> ε squeak
rà:wír <i>v</i> i 1) singe 2) smoke fish	remé:^L <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L duty, obligation
ràgádír <i>v</i> i 1) arrange 2) prepare 3) plan	rèr <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L 1) death 2) plague 3) epidemic
ràkáté^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L problem, trouble	réréríkǎr <i>v</i> ap 1) restless 2) unsettled
ràkàtěr <i>v</i> ε 1) suffer 2) lack	ré <i>pers</i> pragmatic particle 3 rd sg and 3 rd pl
ràŋàrà <i>adv</i> upwards	rè:rémún <i>n</i> un ^L -í ^L spark
ré <i>pers</i> 1) pragmatic particle 2 nd sg and 1 st pl 2) please!	rébéckàn (from Amh. ርባሽ trouble) <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L troublemaker
ré:g <i>nkin</i> husband's sibling or brother's wife (reciprocal term)	réké'nán^L <i>n</i> -án ^L -ák ^L 1) branch of tree 2) palm branch, frond
réré^L <i>n</i> Ø-ε ^L dew	rèrǎr <i>v</i> a~ die
rérír <i>v</i> i 1) run 2) slither	rèrkón (nomin) <i>n</i> Os dead person

rì: *n Ø-ák^L* shadow

rí:ḡēr *v ε* **1)** put, place, set **2)** keep, save **3)** put a hex on someone by putting something down at their house

rí:ḡ^L *n Ø-ák^L* witchcraft

rí:ḡákār (der.) *v a-k* put down

rí:ḡérār (der.) *v a* put inside

rījār *v a* **1)** call **2)** invite

tírjáj^L (nomin) *n* *Op* name

rìkìtérkō^L *v cplx-ε* lower

ròkòkó:én^L *n Ø-ák^L* **1)** scorpion **2)** crab

rómí:^L *n Ø-ák^L* morning

rómîḡ (der.) *adv* in the morning

ró *pers* pragmatic particle **2nd** pl

rórīj *v a* **1)** advise

ró:riá:kār (der.) *v dur* teach

ròḡēr *v ε* laugh

rómá:kār *stv u* equal

rómé:^L (der.) *n Ø-ák^L* proverb

ròmēr *v ε* **1)** measure **2)** compare

rù:ḡi:kār *v ap* twisted

rù:kèjēr *v ε* rain for a long time

rù:mēr *v ε* **1)** finish, complete **2)** decide **3)** spend time, pass time

rù:mèr íḡit^L *num* 20

rù:mèr íḡit^L à à:ḡ^L *num* 30

rù:mèr íḡit^L à òmóḡ^L *num* 21

rù:mèr íḡit^L à pé:j^L *num* 22

rù:mérdō^L *v cplx-ε* judge

rú:ḡkàn *n Ø-ak^L* prostitute

rúḡé:^L *n Ø-ák^L* **1)** curve **2)** bend **3)** crook

rúḡtàn (nomin) *n Ø-ak^L* hunchback

rú:rúḡá:kār *stv dur* crooked

t

tá^L *pers* 1s.dat

tà:jēr *v ε* **1)** harvest **2)** collect honey

táján (from Amh. **ጠጃ** mead) *n Ø-k^L* traditional beer

támá^L *n a^L-ε^L* **1)** face **2)** eye **3)** fruit **4)** stone, pit

támétákán (comp.) *adv* directly

tà:ḡá:ḡín^L *n Ø-ák^L* heron

tà:pēr (ipfv. **tátápí:kār**) (from Amh. **ጻፈ**) *v ε* write

tá:pí (nomin) *n Ø-ε^L* letter

târ *n Ø-ák^L* meat

tá:wá^L (pl **tàwùn**) *n a^L-Ø* field

tàḍájjír <i>v i</i> clap	tè:tè: <i>n Ø-ḵ^L</i> threshing-floor
táḍé <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> tobacco	tè:tòn <i>n n^L-Ø</i> bird
tàḍápú^L <i>n Ø-ĩr^L</i> ash	ték^L <i>n Ø-āk^L</i> fish dam
tágá^L <i>n Ø-kàk</i> camel	téká:ján^L <i>n n^L-er^L</i> firstborn
tágáj^L (from gàjār₂) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> pretense	tékán^L <i>n Ø-er^L</i> 1) blood relative 2) clan
tágóm^L <i>n Ø-er^L</i> bride	tèkán^L <i>n -án^L-ák^L</i> in-law, relative by marriage
tàjě:r <i>v ε</i> open	tèmán^L (pl tèmà) <i>n -án^L-ák^L</i> firewood
tàjě:r <i>v ε</i> investigate	tércíkàn <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) impotent man 2) barren woman
tàkàwâ:j <i>n Øs</i> rattle	tè:lějě:r <i>v ε</i> bind
tàlà:ḍe <i>n Ø-ā:ṭok^L</i> rock	têm <i>adv</i> in the beginning
tálój <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> swarm	témàn <i>adv</i> instead
tàmà:rě:r (from Amh. ተማረ) <i>v ε</i> learn <i>syn:</i> bàrě:r	tébé^L (from ḍèrě:r) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> thunder
tàmăr <i>v a</i> drip	témkăr <i>stv u</i> small
tàŋ <i>n Ø-āk^L</i> abscess	tèŋé:lkăr <i>stv u</i> thin
tánj^L <i>n Ø-ī^L</i> cow	tèŋòní:^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) grasshopper 2) locust
tápá:dāmě:r <i>v ε</i> rule over, dominate	tépén^L <i>n Ø-āk^L</i> forehead
tàrbúj <i>n Ø-ā:ṭok^L</i> 1) big drum 2) small drum	tèpér <i>n Ø-ī^L</i> shoulder blade
tàrmàn <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> hide of animal	tùjě:r <i>v ε</i> take revenge
tàwě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) snatch 2) seize 3) catch an object in the air	túkăr <i>v a-k</i> scratch
tàwùn pl of tárwá^L	tímân <i>n Ø-āk^L</i> cloud
tè <i>interj</i> hey!	tírì <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> buttock
té:ḍé <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> belt	tídí:gídō^L <i>v cplx-a</i> obey
té:gét <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> pimple	tígí^L <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> 1) gift 2) sacrifice
té:jír <i>v i</i> 1) skin 2) slaughter	
té:l <i>n Ø-kúk^L</i> 1) lake 2) pool	

tígónán^L (fr. var. tígón) <i>n an^L-ak^L</i> shoulder	tò:tò:kě̀r <i>v ε</i> repair
tíjār <i>v a</i> hear	tòdí <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> colobus monkey
tíkàcój <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> feast	tòjě̀r <i>v ε</i> 1) annoy 2) disturb
tíkě̀r <i>v ε</i> make mistake	tòkó:lkār <i>stv u</i> narrow
tíkíjé (nomin) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> 1) mistake <i>syn:</i> cítét^L 2) sin	tóldí:kār <i>v ap</i> 1) assemble 2) meet together
tíltíł <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> root	tòlě̀r <i>v ε</i> store up
tímá:dš^L <i>v cplx-a</i> 1) shoot 2) throw	tóní:^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> speech, discourse
tímār <i>v a</i> wound	tònĩr <i>v i</i> 1) say 2) explain 3) tell, recount
tín^L <i>pers</i> short <i>P</i> pronoun, 1 st pl	tònákār (der.) <i>v a-k</i> order
tí'ne^L <i>pers</i> short locative pronoun, 1 st pl	tònúrār (der.) <i>v a</i> shout
tíná^L <i>pers</i> short dative pronoun, 1 st pl dative	tòně̀r <i>v ε</i> stop up
tíntímě̀r <i>v ε</i> fold	tójtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> stopper, plug
tíjě̀jĩr <i>v i</i> 1) dry out 2) spread out	tòpà:jě̀r <i>v ε</i> spit
típí: <i>n Ø-ǎ:tək^L</i> shadow	tòpĩr <i>v i</i> 1) continue 2) resume
tíríjā^L (from rĩjār) <i>n op</i> name	tòró:kār <i>v ap</i> trample
tìròjě̀r <i>v ε</i> sneeze	tòró:kĩr (der.) <i>v i</i> stamp (with foot)
títídí:kār <i>v ap</i> lean against	tórój^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> flea
tòjě̀r <i>v ε</i> pierce	tótó'kán^L <i>n -án^L-ák^L</i> egg
tójtàn <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> tattoo	tš^L <i>přt</i> so id. ně tš^L (see under ně) <i>interj</i>
tò:kě̀r <i>v ε</i> 1) go round 2) (make a) detour 3) surround	tó:dák^L <i>n Ø-ák^L</i> goiter
tò:l <i>n Ø-kũk^L</i> hole	tó:jš^L <i>n op</i> urine
tò:r <i>n Ø-kũk^L</i> smoke	tôm <i>n Ø-ɔk^L</i> 1) child 2) new thing
tótà <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> harvest season	tòbò:jòn <i>n n^L-Ø</i> wing
	tóçè <i>adv</i> correct
	tòkijě̀r <i>v ε</i> sweat

tókóɟ <i>n</i> Ø-ɛ ^L lazy	tùcěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ 1) string 2) bind 3) tether
tóntómǎɾ <i>v</i> a 1) incubate 2) hatch	túctàn (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L bundle
túr:túk <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L stumbling block, obstruction	tùkěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ begin
tùɟěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ roast	túkɪ (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ɛ ^L beginning
túkěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ 1) join, put together 2) lengthen	tùl <i>n</i> Ø-ɪ ^L rain
tù:l <i>num</i> five	tùlǎɾ <i>v</i> a~ shave
tù:l à àŋàn <i>num</i> nine	tùmák <i>v</i> i crunch
tù:l à jɪɪ^L <i>num</i> eight	tùmál <i>n</i> Ø-ɛ ^L boar
tù:l à òm <i>num</i> six	tùpé:ɲkǎɾ <i>stv</i> u white
tù:l à pé:j^L <i>num</i> seven	tùɾ <i>n</i> Ø-áko ^L garbage dump
túfúr^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L fear	tùrgùměɾ (from Amh. ተገምግሙ) <i>v</i> ɛ translate

u

úrúɟ <i>n</i> Ø-ɛ ^L tree, sp.	úgúl^L <i>n</i> Ø-tùn crocodile
úrtěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ rust	úké:^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L squirrel
úr:tútàn (nomin) <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L rust	úlùpêɾ <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L ostrich
ùbù <i>n</i> Øp lung	ùrúr^L <i>n</i> Ø-ák ^L waterfall
ùbùgà:kǎɾ <i>v</i> dur pant	ùtà:lěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ jump
ùdù:lěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ 1) ruminate, chew cud 2) belch	ùtěɾ <i>v</i> ɛ drink
ùdé: <i>n</i> Ø-k ^L pestle	ùtúl^L <i>n</i> Ø-ak ^L 1) pit 2) hole

W

wà:cěɾ <i>v</i> ε speak, talk	wè:lěɾ <i>v</i> ε rob
wá:cí <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L 1) news 2) story	wéná^L <i>n</i> \dot{a}^L -Ø ear
wà:jàn <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L plant	wè:rěɾ <i>v</i> ε 1) alter 2) change
wá:jĩɾ <i>v</i> <i>i</i> 1) transplant 2) plant	wè:tāḳɾ <i>v</i> <i>a-k</i> 1) move away 2) migrate
wà:kójót <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L God	wé:wé:l^L <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L plunder
wán <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{t}^L 1) skin 2) skin of fruit 3) shell of groundnut	wé:wé:ɾiḳɾ <i>v</i> <i>ap</i> swing
wám <i>v</i> ε wither	wèné <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L : $\dot{t}ak^L$ antenna
wá:wán^L <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L marriage	wé:ŋá^L <i>n</i> <i>Op</i> 1) breath 2) life 3) soul 4) spirit of dead 5) ghost
wà:wùj <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{k}^L 1) sun 2) day	wé:ŋǎɾ <i>v</i> <i>a</i> breathe
wà:cél^L <i>n</i> kin Ø- \dot{a}^L father's brother	wéɾ <i>n</i> Ø- $\dot{a}k\dot{o}^L$ storm
wáká'cák^L <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L 1) crossroads, intersection 2) fork in path	wéj^L <i>n</i> Ø- $\dot{o}k^L$ 1) compound 2) house
wáká:rân <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L scabies	wèjǎɾ <i>v</i> <i>a</i> fry
wà:là:těɾ <i>v</i> ε scratch	wéjkón^L <i>n</i> $\dot{o}n^L$ - $\dot{o}k^L$ seed
wà:làc <i>adv</i> to outside	wèké:rǎɾ <i>v</i> <i>a</i> scrape off
wàlé <i>n</i> Ø- $\dot{t}k^L$ air (breathed)	wèngê:l (from Amh. ወንጌል) <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L gospel
wà:lèc <i>adv</i> from outside	wèngèlāwí (from Amh. ዊንጌላዊ) <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L evangelist
wángój^L <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L jackal	wì:rǐjěɾ <i>v</i> ε turn over
wár^L <i>n</i> Ø- $\dot{t}un$ dog	wìděɾ <i>v</i> ε turn
wà:rěɾ <i>v</i> ε look for	wìdérǎɾ (der.) <i>v</i> <i>a</i> turn towards
wàrgáté^L (from Amh. ወረቀት paper) <i>n</i> Ø- ε^L 1) paper 2) book	wílán^L <i>n</i> Ø- $\dot{e}ɾ$ python
wàrkój^L <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L cattle egret	wô:d <i>interrog</i> who?
wě: <i>interj</i> ouch!	wó:rán^L <i>n</i> Ø- \dot{a}^L meaning

wó:rĩr <i>v i</i> untie	wórí:kàn <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> rich man
wòcéjě:r <i>v ε</i> 1) send something to someone 2) send someone to do something	wórké^L (from Amh. ወርቅ) <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> gold
wócéjtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> messenger	wòrwòríkó^L <i>v cplx-i</i> bale out
wón <i>interrog</i> which?	wónkăr <i>stv u</i> near
wóní^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> tree, sp.	wór <i>n Ø-ákó^L</i> feast
wònòjě:r <i>v ε</i> change	wórtàn (nomin) <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> host
wópé^L <i>n Ø-ε^L</i> stem, stalk	wò:wòj <i>n Ø-á:tó^L</i> 1) frog 2) toad
wòrí <i>n Ø-á:tó^L</i> money	wúđ <i>n Ø-ak^L</i> mourning

VI.2.3 English – Majang

A a

aardvark bó:cì:c <i>n</i>	advise ró:ríj <i>v</i>
abandon ŋòdǎr <i>v</i> ; ŋóduǎr <i>v</i>	afternoon ájí'géá <i>adv</i>
abdomen ámɔ̃^L <i>n</i>	afterwards bá'ŋí <i>adv</i>
able ó:l <i>aux</i>	again kékàr <i>adv</i>
about ótè <i>prep</i>	agama lizard bàndángê: <i>n</i>
abscess tàŋ <i>n</i>	agree dòmǎ:r <i>v</i> ; dégégéríkǎr <i>v</i>
abstain gò:kǎ:r <i>v</i>	agreement dégeger^L <i>n</i>
abundant ḡó:ká:kǎr <i>stv</i>	air wàlé <i>n</i>
accept bòŋǎr <i>v</i>	alert ḡèdǎ:r <i>v</i>
accompany dí:dǎ:r <i>v</i>	all bàŋé <i>adv</i>
account já:ŋíé^L <i>n</i>	allow dòmǎ:r <i>v</i>
accumulate bòcǎ:r <i>v</i>	alone mó <i>adv</i>
accuse gàḡǎ:r <i>v</i>	also ḡò <i>prt</i>
acquaint láláŋí:kǎr <i>v</i>	alter wè:rǎ:r <i>v</i>
acquaintance dégeger^L <i>n</i>	alveoles ŋà:rí <i>n</i>
across dé:gá^L <i>adv</i>	Amhara àmáré^L <i>n</i>
act ìjá:gǎr <i>v</i>	ancestor òré:^L <i>n</i>
add lòtǎ:r <i>v</i>	and à <i>coord</i> ; é <i>coord</i> ; nè <i>coord</i> ; nò <i>coord</i>
address càká:kǎr <i>v</i>	anger ŋádí:^L <i>n</i>
admire nájdí:kǎr <i>v</i>	angry lò:kǎ:r <i>v</i> ; ŋàdǎ:r <i>v</i>
admit ŋà:dǎ:r <i>v</i>	animal kè:gùn <i>n</i>
adult bó:lóŋ^L <i>n</i>	

ankle bógó:án^L <i>n</i>	armpit kélnán^L <i>n</i>
announce jà:ŋě:r <i>v</i>	aroma ŋà:kà:t <i>n</i>
announcement já:ŋié^L <i>n</i>	arrange ràgádĩ:r <i>v</i>
annoy tòjě:r <i>v</i>	arrangement íci:ctàn <i>n</i>
answer jùmùrǎ:r <i>v</i>	arrive mèlě:r <i>v</i>
ant bétúmé <i>n</i> ; mò:tà:n <i>n</i> ; mò:ròdíàn <i>n</i>	ashes tàdǎpú^L <i>n</i>
anteater bó:cì:c <i>n</i>	ask kómíjǎ:r <i>v</i>
antelope bòè <i>n</i>	assemble tóldí:kǎ:r <i>v</i>
antenna wèné <i>n</i>	attack gàmĩ:r <i>v</i>
anvil mò:r <i>n</i>	aunt mà:mé:^L <i>nkin</i>
appease gà:nàně:r <i>v</i>	avenge kà:rǎ:r <i>v</i>
apply ointment dōjě:r <i>v</i>	avocado àbòkádó^L <i>n</i>
approach mèlérǵídó^L <i>v</i>	awake ḡèdĩ:r <i>v</i>
argue pàlámđí:kǎ:r <i>v</i>	away from cō:j <i>adv</i>
argument pàlámé^L <i>n</i>	awe é:méjón^L <i>n</i>
arm àrí <i>n</i>	axe pó:wâ:ɟ <i>n</i>

B b

baboon đĩrǎ^L <i>n</i>	bake nàcìjě:r <i>v</i>
baby cácálè <i>n</i>	bale out wòrwòrí:kó^L <i>v</i>
back báŋì <i>n</i> ; jímá^L <i>n</i>	bamboo ḡi:ḡè <i>n</i> ; cómbál <i>n</i>
backbone kúrkúm <i>n</i>	banana mújǐ^L <i>n</i>
backward đĩráké <i>adv</i>	bark gògídí:kǎ:r <i>v</i>
bad ŋé:wénkǎ:r <i>stv</i>	bark of tree órkán^L <i>n</i>
bag kòcè <i>n</i>	barren land kè:wè <i>n</i>

barren woman tércíkàn <i>n</i>	beginning túkì <i>n</i>
barter nàgàdì:kǎr <i>v</i> ; pàlámě:r <i>v</i>	belch ùdù:lě:r <i>v</i>
basket kántè <i>n</i>	believe ṇà:dír <i>v</i>
bastard lúk^L <i>n</i>	bell děwêl <i>n</i>
bat gándám <i>n</i> ; gàpùt <i>n</i>	bellows kúk^L <i>n</i>
bathe à:dìdì:kǎr <i>v</i>	belt té:fé <i>n</i>
be ètě:r <i>v</i>	bend rúgè:^L <i>n</i>
be not mókó <i>existmrkr</i>	besmear dōpě:r <i>v</i>
be there àr <i>prt</i>	betray gàbě:r <i>v</i>
beam pátántàn <i>n</i>	better dò:c <i>adv</i>
bear ḡàrtě:r <i>v</i>	bewitch lámě:r <i>v</i>
bear (of animals) ěṇṇǎr <i>v</i>	biceps bàdĩ <i>n</i>
beard cámún^L <i>n</i>	big bó:bǎr <i>stv</i> ; óbí:kǎr <i>stv</i>
beat bitě:r <i>v</i> ; màlě:r <i>v</i> ; pá:ṇǎr <i>v</i>	big drum tàrbúj <i>n</i>
beautiful mèntánkǎr <i>stv</i>	bile ḡàjè <i>n</i>
because àgút^L <i>comp</i> ; cé:dě:n <i>advlizer</i>	bind tè:lějě:r <i>v</i> ; tùcě:r <i>v</i>
bed bè:rój <i>n</i>	bird tè:tòn <i>n</i>
bedbug gérbój^L <i>n</i>	bird of prey gédêl <i>n</i>
bee ṇédán <i>n</i>	bird trap bàlà:tój <i>n</i>
beehive dà:né <i>n</i>	birth pains cú:cúwí:kǎr <i>v</i>
beer tá:ṇán <i>n</i>	bite kàwě:r <i>v</i>
beewax pógí <i>n</i>	bitter ḡá:jkǎr <i>stv</i>
befit děgégérí:kǎr <i>v</i>	black kójkǎr <i>stv</i>
before gún^L <i>prt</i>	blacksmith ḡé:rtàn <i>n</i>
beg kàlějǎr <i>v</i>	bladder bò:lúá'kán^L <i>n</i>
beggar káléjtàn <i>n</i>	blade of grass ṇò:nùn <i>n</i>
begin càkǎr <i>v</i> ; tùkě:r <i>v</i>	blaze módí:kǎr <i>v</i>

bleed jèrmě̀r <i>v</i>	brain kálbí <i>n</i>
blessing gé:tié^L <i>n</i>	branch réké^Lnán^L <i>n</i>
blight búrjàk <i>n</i>	bread náci^L <i>n</i>
blood jéróm <i>n</i>	break ḡàdèjǐr <i>v</i>
blow dí:lě̀r <i>v</i> ; gòtě̀r <i>v</i> ; gòtérkó^L <i>v</i> ; jòngòjě̀r <i>v</i>	break wind pùcùwě̀r <i>v</i>
blow horn gòtě̀r <i>v</i>	breast àpátí^L <i>n</i>
blow nose jùkě̀r <i>v</i>	breath wé:ḡá^L <i>n</i>
blunt díldílkǎr <i>stv</i> ; jùlgí:kǎr <i>stv</i>	breathe wé:ḡǎr <i>v</i>
boar tùmál <i>n</i>	brew jéjǎr <i>v</i>
boast kàlká:kǎr <i>stv</i>	bride tágóm^L <i>n</i>
body é:k^L <i>n</i>	brideprice dó:kún <i>n</i> ; kà:n <i>n</i>
boil ké:jí:kǎr <i>v</i> ; mòrě̀r <i>v</i>	bridge kô:j <i>n</i>
bone émé:nán^L <i>n</i>	bridge of nose èḡén <i>n</i>
bone marrow ḡòlòkán^L <i>n</i>	bright dá:wan^L <i>n</i> ; dá:wí:r <i>v</i> ; já:lě̀r <i>v</i>
book màcá:p <i>n</i> ; màcá:pé^L <i>n</i> ; wàrgáté^L <i>n</i>	bring dókárkó^L <i>v</i>
border dá:rí <i>n</i>	bring out bòḡákǎr <i>v</i>
borrow màcě̀r <i>v</i>	bring up à:wòjǎr <i>v</i>
bother ò:dě̀r <i>v</i>	broom kàḡǎ:k^L <i>n</i>
bottle kóndé <i>n</i>	broth pé: <i>n</i>
bottom dé:ḡá^L <i>adv</i>	brother mácó:kòj^L <i>nkin</i> ; máḡá^L <i>nkin</i>
boundary cáwtún^L <i>n</i>	brother (my) dè:dé: <i>nkin</i>
bow èrgín <i>n</i> ; lê:w <i>n</i>	brother-in-law kóḡè <i>nkin</i> ; ḡr <i>nkin</i>
bowl pélté <i>n</i>	brown jé:kó:tě̀r <i>stv</i>
box càndúk^L <i>n</i>	bubble bùlúnkùr <i>n</i> ; kùrú <i>n</i>
bracelet léjǎn^L <i>n</i>	bucket bàldí: <i>n</i>
brag kàlká:kǎr <i>stv</i>	bud lá:dí <i>n</i>
	buffalo mèjád^L <i>n</i>

bulge júm <i>n</i>	bury kòwǎr <i>v</i>
bump gómǎnǎr <i>v</i> ; júm <i>n</i>	bush ǫúk^L <i>n</i>
bundle túctàn <i>n</i>	but jàkáná^L <i>conj</i> ; má^L <i>coord</i> ; té:nàn <i>coord</i>
burden ǫáták^L <i>n</i>	butterfly bímǐlòt <i>n</i>
burn móǫíkǎr <i>v</i>	buttock tírì <i>n</i>
burst ǫèrǎr <i>v</i>	buy ǫálír <i>v</i>

C c

cackle kè:kìǫíkǎr <i>v</i>	caterpillar gúr:ni^L <i>n</i> ; kùrǫù <i>n</i>
calabash pòǫǫ^L <i>n</i>	cattle egret wàrkój^L <i>n</i>
calf of leg bólból <i>n</i>	cave kà:kà <i>n</i>
call rǐjǎr <i>v</i>	cease gǎjǎr <i>v</i> ; jèjǎr <i>v</i>
calm jèjǎr <i>v</i>	cemetery jímé:^L <i>n</i>
camel tágá^L <i>n</i>	centipede mò:nàmónáè <i>n</i>
camp kà:l <i>n</i>	chaff pètè:kán^L <i>n</i>
cane gùmbój <i>n</i>	chair dǎngé <i>n</i>
canoe émǫ^L <i>n</i>	chameleon mèkèkórót <i>n</i>
capsize gùpàǫíkǎr <i>v</i>	change kàjǎrǎr <i>v</i> ; wèrǎr <i>v</i> ; wònòjǎr <i>v</i>
carefully kèlòt <i>adv</i>	character kálbí <i>n</i>
caress mómómǎjǎr <i>v</i>	charcoal lò:lòmùn <i>n</i>
carry ǫàtǎkír <i>v</i> ; dí:lǎr <i>v</i> ; è:gògǎr <i>v</i>	chase èpà:jǎr <i>v</i>
carve pàcǎr <i>v</i>	chat ìbá:lír <i>v</i>
cast làměr <i>v</i>	cheek pàrìwàn <i>n</i>
cat ǎǫúré:^L <i>n</i>	chest kókóm^L <i>n</i>
catch gàmír <i>v</i> ; gám:tàn <i>n</i> ; tàwǎr <i>v</i>	chew còmǎr <i>v</i>

chew cud ùdù:lě:r <i>v</i>	cockroach dédébé:nì <i>n</i>
chick nó:kán^L <i>n</i>	coffee mówé <i>n</i>
chicken kò:géle <i>n</i>	coffee leaf kà:rí <i>n</i>
chief ódówén^L <i>n</i>	coil cópcómě:r <i>v</i>
child tò:n <i>n</i>	cold càló:kă:r <i>stv</i>
chin nègè:n <i>n</i>	cold weather càlò:kà:t <i>n</i>
chip kètě:r <i>v</i>	collect tà:jě:r <i>v</i>
chisel pówtàn <i>n</i>	colobus monkey tòdí <i>n</i>
choke òkò:cě:r <i>v</i>	comb pà:kúcé^L <i>n</i>
choose dámă:r <i>v</i>	come kúrákó^L <i>v</i>
chop kètě:r <i>v</i> ; pàcě:r <i>v</i> ; pàrě:r <i>v</i>	comfort gà:năně:r <i>v</i>
circumcision jáwé:^L <i>n</i>	command cékié^L <i>n</i>
city kàtàmé <i>n</i>	compare ròmě:r <i>v</i>
clam góngódí <i>n</i>	complain nó:nógá:kă:r <i>v</i>
clan kómój <i>n</i> ; tékám^L <i>n</i>	complete rùmě:r <i>v</i>
clap tàbá:jír <i>v</i>	compound jàk^L <i>n</i> ; wéj^L <i>n</i>
clay cúbój <i>n</i>	compromise à:wòjă:r <i>v</i>
clean mèntánkă:r <i>stv</i>	conceive gàmě:r <i>v</i>
clear kălě:r <i>v</i>	condole gà:năně:r <i>v</i>
clearing púrtàn <i>n</i>	congratulate mù:cě:r <i>v</i>
cliff cá:kòj <i>n</i> ; círpe <i>n</i>	conquer lòcídí:kă:r <i>v</i>
close kòrî:r <i>v</i>	consumed pèdí:r <i>v</i>
clot gòņě:r <i>v</i>	continue tòpî:r <i>v</i>
cloth àbî: <i>n</i>	contradict òó:jír <i>v</i>
clothing article àbî: <i>n</i>	cook ké:júkă:r <i>v</i> ; kějă:r <i>v</i>
cloud tímân <i>n</i>	cooking stone dějŋ^L <i>n</i>
club gùmbój <i>n</i>	corn mà:kólój <i>n</i>

corn cob dé:dénè <i>n</i>	crocodile úgúl <i>n</i>
corpse bú:cé <i>n</i>	crone ɲà:j <i>n</i>
correct líkì <i>adv</i> ; tó:cè <i>adv</i>	crook rú:ɲé <i>n</i>
cotton jír bí <i>n</i>	crooked rúrú:ɲá:kár <i>stv</i>
cotton plant jír bí <i>n</i>	cross èkà:ɲè:r <i>v</i>
cough kà:ɲè:r <i>v</i>	crossroads wáká'cák <i>n</i>
count íkò:mír <i>v</i>	crow dó:rír <i>v</i>
county dó: <i>n</i>	crowd bò:kà:kà:t <i>n</i>
courtyard kér <i>n</i>	crunch tùmák <i>v</i>
cousin pápá <i>nkin</i>	crush ḡérár <i>v</i>
cover mì:ɲè:r <i>v</i>	cry kùdè:r <i>v</i>
cow táj <i>n</i>	cudget gùmbój <i>n</i>
coward ḡó:j <i>n</i>	cultivate púrè:r <i>v</i>
crab ròkòkó:én <i>n</i>	cup màtágé <i>n</i>
crack ḡàḡàlè:r <i>v</i>	current ápání <i>n</i>
cracked pòm:pó:ckár <i>stv</i>	curse kó:j <i>n</i> ; kò:ɲè:r <i>v</i> ; là:mè:r <i>v</i>
craving ɲóḡḡ <i>n</i>	curve rú:ɲé <i>n</i>
crawl gògḡjār <i>v</i> ; pùpù:tè:r <i>v</i>	custom bá:ré <i>n</i>
create ɲá:gár <i>v</i>	cut kètè:r <i>v</i> ; ògàrè:r <i>v</i>
crest of bird dì:cè <i>n</i>	cut open pó:dír <i>v</i>
crevice lál:tàn <i>n</i>	cut through jàwè:r <i>v</i>
cripple gó:rè <i>n</i>	

D d

dance dù:bùèt <i>n</i> ; dù:bùjè:r <i>v</i> ; ìbá:lír <i>v</i>	darkness ɲù:gùr <i>n</i>
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daughter-in-law è:mè:kǎ:j <i>nkin</i>	destroy cò:kě:r <i>v</i>
dawn ìrkĩr <i>v</i> ; kòlèt <i>n</i>	detour (make a) <i>v</i> tò:kě:r <i>v</i>
dawn (at) írkíd <i>adv</i>	dew réré^L <i>n</i>
day ḡé:nó <i>n</i> ; ḡón^L <i>n</i> ; wà:wùj <i>n</i>	diarrhea páján^L <i>n</i>
day after tomorrow kó:^L ájtínán <i>adv</i>	die rèrǎr <i>v</i>
day before yesterday kó ájtínán <i>adv</i>	different mòàn <i>adv</i>
dead person rèrkón <i>n</i>	difficult ò:dě:r <i>v</i>
deaf person kítí:dít <i>n</i>	dig kètě:r <i>v</i> ; kòwǎr <i>v</i>
death rèr <i>n</i>	dig up mòntě:r <i>v</i>
debt mácé: <i>n</i>	diminish jò:rǎr <i>v</i>
deceive ràmě:r <i>v</i>	dip ḡécě:r <i>v</i> ; mòkòdídí:kǎr <i>v</i>
decide rù:mě:r <i>v</i>	directly támétàkán <i>adv</i>
decorate ḡàdě:r <i>v</i>	dirt dó: <i>n</i>
decrease pàkàtĩr <i>v</i>	dirty ḡé:wénkǎr <i>stv</i>
deep ḡùkúr:kǎr <i>stv</i>	disappear bàdě:r <i>v</i> ; pàkàtĩr <i>v</i>
deepen kòwǎr <i>v</i>	discourse tóní:^L <i>n</i>
defeat lòcídí:kǎr <i>v</i>	disdain dàrà:jě:r <i>v</i>
defecate pèjàrǎr <i>v</i>	disease górí:^L <i>n</i>
defend ḡá:ridó^L <i>v</i>	distress là:ḡój <i>n</i>
delay ká:ḡĩr <i>v</i>	disturb tò:jě:r <i>v</i>
den ó:cón <i>n</i>	ditch kó:r <i>n</i>
deny mòdě:r <i>v</i>	dive lápťě:r <i>v</i>
descend ḡùrḡùdĩ:kǎr <i>v</i>	divide kà:cě:r <i>v</i>
descendant kómój <i>n</i>	divine future òrĩr <i>v</i>
desert pà:tòn <i>n</i>	do àrĩr <i>v</i>
desire dějě:r <i>v</i>	dog wár^L <i>n</i>
despise dàrà:jě:r <i>v</i>	domesticate à:wòjǎr <i>v</i>

dominate tápá:dámě:r <i>v</i>	drop òrř:r <i>v</i>
donkey kú'rój <i>n</i>	drought pà:lkà:t <i>n</i>
don't! kàt <i>prt</i>	drown lí:lě:r <i>v</i>
door kèkè <i>n</i> ; kórtàn <i>n</i>	drunk pòjǎ:r <i>v</i>
doorway cover kórtàn <i>n</i>	dry pá:ltùkǎ:r <i>stv</i>
dove kúl'bě:r <i>n</i>	dry out tìné:jǎ:r <i>v</i>
down dě^L <i>adv</i> ; dě:gá^L <i>adv</i> ; pà:nì <i>adv</i>	dry season má:tó <i>n</i>
drag pùrù:tě:r <i>v</i>	dry up òòkě:r <i>v</i>
dragonfly giltàtá:mén^L <i>n</i>	dull ðildílkǎ:r <i>stv</i> ; jìlgí:kǎ:r <i>stv</i>
draw è:kě:r <i>v</i> ; gà:cě:r <i>v</i>	dung beetle búllú:^L <i>n</i>
dream pérkié <i>n</i>	dusk ká:j <i>n</i>
drink ùtě:r <i>v</i>	dust dú:dú:^L <i>n</i>
drip tàmǎ:r <i>v</i>	duty rémé:^L <i>n</i>
drive away òjě:r <i>v</i>	dwarf má:jé^L <i>n</i>
drizzle cácá:j^L <i>n</i>	dwell bè:dǎ:r <i>v</i>

E e

eagle ðòkòwé:t^L <i>n</i>	edge cáwtún^L <i>n</i>
ear wéná^L <i>n</i>	eel cúwǒj <i>n</i>
early kóje:mé <i>adv</i>	egg tótó'kán^L <i>n</i>
earring lò:tí <i>n</i>	egg shell pàkàlám <i>n</i>
earthworm múná <i>n</i>	egoistic dàrà:jě:r <i>v</i>
east èdèn <i>adv</i>	eight tù:l à jí:t^L <i>num</i>
eat ðamǎ:r <i>v</i>	eighteen á:rn à tù:l à jí:t^L <i>num</i>
eat not àdà <i>neg</i>	eighty pòlpólé^L jó:^L ànànk <i>num</i>

elbow kògòd <i>n</i>	ethnic area ḏó: <i>n</i>
elder bó:lóŋ^L <i>n</i>	ethnic group kómój <i>n</i>
elephant áŋé^L <i>n</i>	evade bòdǽr <i>v</i>
elephantiasis bámbáci <i>n</i>	evangelist wèngèlàwí <i>n</i>
eleven á:rn à òmóŋ^L <i>num</i>	evaporate dúŋǽr <i>v</i>
embrace gàmúrkó^L <i>v</i>	even àràc <i>adv</i>
empty còkón <i>adv</i>	exactly like that ìcìgìcìgì <i>adv</i>
encounter làŋǽr <i>v</i>	exchange nàgàdì:kǽr <i>v</i>
end pédà:n <i>n</i>	excision jáwé:^L <i>n</i>
enemy gúmá:kén^L <i>n</i>	excrement ŋó:d^L <i>n</i>
engaged bòjcìjǽr <i>v</i>	exist ḡé:lǽr <i>v</i>
enough gàjǽr <i>v</i>	exit ŋà:rákó^L <i>v</i>
enter gú:gúŋǽr <i>v</i>	expensive óbí:kǽr <i>stv</i>
entrance hall ḡépó <i>n</i>	explain tònǽr <i>v</i>
epidemic rèr <i>n</i>	eye támá^L <i>n</i>
equal rómá:kǽr <i>stv</i>	eyebrow pìlàn <i>n</i>
escape bòdǽr <i>v</i> ; bòdì:kǽr <i>v</i>	eyelash pìlàn <i>n</i>
especially kédòm <i>adv</i>	

F f

face òḡó^L <i>n</i> ; támá^L <i>n</i>	fan gòtǽr <i>v</i>
fade kójúrárkó^L <i>v</i>	far jòwé:rkǽr <i>stv</i>
faint bò:là:kǽr <i>stv</i>	farm púrǽr <i>v</i>
fall ḡírárkó^L <i>v</i>	farmer íjá:gén^L <i>n</i>
famine pà:lkà:t <i>n</i>	fart pùcùwǽr <i>v</i>

fast gòrgórkǎr <i>stv</i>	fight kà:rǎr <i>v</i>
fat gò:mùrǎr <i>v</i> ; mó:ré <i>n</i>	fill èpèrǎr <i>v</i>
father ḡà:ḡá <i>nkin</i>	fin pí:tó:j <i>n</i>
father (his/her) épèn <i>nkin</i>	find lànǵr <i>v</i>
father (my) bà:bé:^L <i>nkin</i>	find not càně:r <i>v</i>
father (your) bà:bé:^L <i>nkin</i>	finger pól:pól <i>n</i>
father-in-law kè:rék:^L <i>nkin</i>	finger nail cópól:kój <i>n</i>
fear túḡúr:^L <i>n</i>	finish pèḡr <i>v</i> ; rù:mě:r <i>v</i>
feast tíkà:cój <i>n</i> ; wó:r <i>n</i>	fire mád:^L <i>n</i>
feather lòmùn <i>n</i>	fire starting sticks kòmè <i>n</i>
feel ḡé:cě:r <i>v</i> ; jòḡr <i>v</i>	fireplace kójtán:^L <i>n</i>
female pét:^L <i>nkin</i>	firewood tèmán:^L <i>n</i>
female animal ḡà:j <i>n</i>	firmly kèḡik <i>adv</i>
fence kér <i>n</i> ; mà:cà:ré <i>n</i>	first òmòḡé:n <i>n</i>
ferment ḡù:pù:jě:r <i>v</i>	firstborn téká:ján:^L <i>n</i>
fertile soil àpíné:^L <i>n</i>	fish kòḡḡjě:r <i>v</i> ; ólt:^L <i>n</i>
fetch ḡé:ḡé:jákǎr <i>v</i>	fish dam ték:^L <i>n</i>
fetish cú:mí:^L <i>n</i>	fish hook kòḡḡ <i>n</i>
fetus (be a) ḡàmě:r <i>v</i>	fish trap kòḡḡ <i>n</i>
fiancé mé:j:^L <i>n</i>	fisherman kúḡḡ:tàn <i>n</i>
fiancée mé:j:^L <i>n</i>	five tù:l <i>num</i>
field tá:wá:^L <i>n</i>	five hundred ḡíbê: tù:l <i>num</i>
fierce ḡàḡkákǎr <i>stv</i>	flame pèlé:pèlé: <i>n</i>
fifteen á:rḡ à tù:l <i>num</i>	flat ḡèḡḡérkǎr <i>stv</i>
fifty pól:pólé:^L jò:^L pé:jk:^L à á:rḡ:^L <i>num</i>	flea tórój:^L <i>n</i>
fig á:bé <i>n</i>	flee ḡòḡǎr <i>v</i>
fig tree á:bé <i>n</i>	float lé:líá:kǎr <i>v</i>

flour ótùt <i>n</i>	forge ḡérân <i>n</i>
flow gònǎr <i>v</i>	forget gà:làkǎr <i>v</i> ; mónđí:kǎr <i>v</i>
flower máké^L <i>n</i>	fork in path wáká'cák^L <i>n</i>
flute cé:té <i>n</i>	four àṇàn <i>num</i>
fly kàjǎnín^L <i>n</i> ; pìrě:r <i>v</i>	fourteen á:rn à àṇàn <i>num</i>
fly (biting) ápè:r <i>n</i>	fourty pólpólé^L jó:^L pé:jk^L <i>num</i>
flying ant ḡúmú:r'tú:n^L <i>n</i>	free of charge còkón <i>adv</i>
foam kùrú <i>n</i>	friend cà:kóm^L <i>n</i> ; pírá:^L <i>n</i>
fold tíntímě:r <i>v</i>	frog wò:wòj <i>n</i>
follow nòmě:r <i>v</i>	frond (of palm) réké'nán^L <i>n</i>
food ḡamà <i>n</i>	frontier dá:rí <i>n</i>
footprint íré:^L <i>n</i>	fruit tá:má^L <i>n</i>
forbid ḡà:rǎr <i>v</i>	fry wějǎr <i>v</i>
forcefully ḡànkàwkà:t <i>adv</i>	full ḡnà:kǎr <i>stv</i> ; kéréc <i>adv</i> ; kétèw <i>adv</i>
ford gò:gòj <i>n</i>	full moon éjén^L <i>n</i>
forearm àrí <i>n</i>	funeral pì: <i>n</i>
forehead tépén^L <i>n</i>	fur àmùn <i>n</i>
forest ḡúk^L <i>n</i>	

G g

gall ḡàjè <i>n</i>	garlic kùlúbí^L <i>n</i>
gall bladder ḡújí^L <i>n</i>	gather kòṇǎr <i>v</i>
game ìbá:l^L <i>n</i>	gecko bò:rò <i>n</i>
garbage dump tùr <i>n</i>	generous kà:cě:r <i>v</i>
garden wà:jàn <i>n</i>	get lànjír <i>v</i>

get well bòdérkó^L <i>v</i>	grandmother kà:ké:^L <i>nkin</i>
ghost wé:ŋá^L <i>n</i>	grass élt^L <i>n</i>
gift tígí^L <i>n</i>	grasshopper tèŋdñí:^L <i>n</i>
gill bàlgàjàn <i>n</i>	grassland élt^L <i>n</i>
giraffe kijámén^L <i>n</i>	grave pòn tòkòwònk <i>n</i> ; pì: <i>n</i>
girl pér^L <i>n</i>	gravel gìdè: <i>n</i>
give gàðè:r <i>v</i>	graze (of bullet) ðàrè:r <i>v</i>
give birth ðàrtè:r <i>v</i>	greedy gólkär <i>stv</i>
glory éméjón^L <i>n</i>	green còlídär <i>stv</i>
gnaw gèjür <i>v</i>	green mamba kékétí <i>n</i>
go kè:ðär <i>v</i> ; ŋà:rär <i>v</i>	greet ðìgòjè:r <i>v</i>
go in gú:gúpär <i>v</i>	greeting ðìgój <i>pvt</i>
go out (of light) là:rär <i>v</i>	grind gíjär <i>v</i>
go round tò:kè:r <i>v</i>	grinding stone gò:rí <i>n</i>
goat kém^L <i>n</i>	groan bándúrär <i>v</i>
god cú:mí^L <i>n</i>	ground dó: <i>n</i>
God wà:kójót <i>n</i>	group pón <i>n</i>
goiter tó:ðák^L <i>n</i>	grow ðòlò:rè:r <i>v</i>
gold wórké^L <i>n</i>	growl gómè:r <i>v</i>
good dò:c <i>adv</i> ; mèntánkär <i>stv</i>	grumble nó:mógákär <i>v</i>
gospel wèngê:l <i>n</i>	grunt ó:jè:r <i>v</i>
gossip lá:gápär <i>v</i> ; lá:gápè:r <i>v</i> ; lá:gápón^L <i>n</i>	guard kò:rè:r <i>v</i>
government màngíctí^L <i>n</i>	guest kómát^L <i>n</i>
granary pàlè <i>n</i>	guide lòwür <i>v</i> ; ðóðwén^L <i>n</i>
grandchild ká:kè: <i>nkin</i>	gum ŋà:rí <i>n</i>
grandfather ápé:^L <i>nkin</i> ; òré: <i>nkin</i>	gun káwój^L <i>n</i>
	guts ðíkí:‘nán^L <i>n</i>

H h

haggle pàlāmě:r <i>v</i>	headman ódówén^L <i>n</i>
hail málwán <i>n</i>	heal è:bòdě:r <i>v</i>
hair àmùn <i>n</i>	healer ɲéj^L <i>n</i>
hair of maize jílój <i>n</i>	healthy mèntánkă:r <i>stv</i>
half bitàk <i>quant</i>	heap bóctàn <i>n</i>
hammer dù:dák <i>n</i>	heap up bòcě:r <i>v</i>
hand àrí <i>n</i>	hear tíjă:r <i>v</i>
handle gámtàn <i>n</i>	heart ɓà:j <i>n</i>
hang ìcî:r <i>v</i>	heavy dîlkă:r <i>stv</i>
hang up láláwă:r <i>v</i>	hedge kér <i>n</i>
hard ɓànkáwkă:r <i>stv</i>	heel gîné <i>n</i>
harden ɓánkă:wró^L <i>v</i>	hello dîgój <i>pvt</i>
hardship làŋój <i>n</i>	help jòlě:r <i>v</i>
hare dé:lécéc^L <i>n</i>	hem dîrtàn <i>n</i>
harvest dótî:r <i>v</i> ; tà:jě:r <i>v</i>	her cêm <i>pers</i>
harvest season tótà <i>n</i>	herd îrě:r <i>v</i> ; pón <i>n</i>
hat dòrój <i>n</i>	here cè:d <i>adv</i> ; cè:dí^L <i>adv</i> ; ìcî^L <i>adv</i>
hatch tóntómă:r <i>v</i>	hernia ɲú:ltàn <i>n</i>
hate ɓójî:r <i>v</i>	heron tà:ɲá:ɲín^L <i>n</i>
have lákî^L <i>v</i>	hesitate ɓàkèjdî:kă:r <i>v</i>
have, possess lâtúkă:r <i>v</i>	hey! tè <i>interj</i>
hawk mèkélém^L <i>n</i>	hiccough lîf^L <i>n</i>
he cêm <i>pronoun</i> ; cénk <i>contrastive</i> ; ré <i>pragmatic</i>	hide àgâlî:r <i>v</i> ; dùgě:r <i>v</i> ; dùgídî:kă:r <i>v</i>
head ódó^L <i>n</i>	hide of animal tàrmàn <i>n</i>

high bòngdòrě̀r <i>v</i>	hot weather pá:kán^L <i>n</i>
hill jú:m <i>n</i> ; kúrkúm <i>n</i>	hour cájtí^L <i>n</i>
him cè:n <i>pers</i>	house ṣák^L <i>n</i> ; wéj^L <i>n</i>
hip pàká:cój^L <i>n</i>	how many? ègèr <i>interrog</i>
hippopotamus ḡòm <i>n</i>	how? èk <i>interrog</i>
his (pl) génk <i>poss</i>	hug gà:múrkó^L <i>v</i>
his (sg) né:k <i>poss</i>	huge bó:bằr <i>stv</i>
hit bitě̀r <i>v</i> ; bò:lě̀r <i>v</i> ; màlě̀r <i>v</i> ; pá:ṣjĩr <i>v</i>	hum ì:lià:kằr <i>v</i>
hoe gà:cój <i>n</i> ; mó:mónằr <i>v</i>	human being ídfí^L <i>n</i>
hoe (big) dòmâ: <i>n</i>	hump of cow dàlí <i>n</i>
hold gà:mĩr <i>v</i>	hunchback rúṣtàn <i>n</i>
hole tò:l <i>n</i> ; ùtúl^L <i>n</i>	hundred dfibé^L <i>num</i>
hollow còkón <i>adv</i>	hunger ṣá:w^L <i>n</i>
hollow out kú:kúrà̀r <i>v</i>	hunt jè:gòjdfíkằr <i>v</i> ; lùgèjě̀r <i>v</i>
honey ètéd^L <i>n</i>	hunter ádámójín^L <i>n</i>
honor è:mèjằr <i>v</i>	hunting net kúré <i>n</i>
hoof cóbí <i>n</i>	hurry mè:jằkằr <i>v</i> ; pìrě̀r <i>v</i>
horn kólbé <i>n</i> ; lù:rí <i>n</i>	hurt oneself mé:kằr <i>stv</i>
horse gángój^L <i>n</i>	husband bà:búj <i>n</i>
host wórtàn <i>n</i>	husk kólé <i>n</i> ; kòrě̀r <i>v</i>
hot pá:kě̀r <i>stv</i>	hut lówtàn <i>n</i>
hot pepper mèrmét^L <i>n</i>	hyena ḡuṣéd^L <i>n</i>

I i

I cá:k^L <i>contrastive</i> ; èt <i>pronoun</i> ; rá <i>pragmatic</i>	idea kóbfí^L <i>n</i>
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if ɔ̀kà̀n <i>comp</i>	inheritance ɔ̀fó: <i>n</i>
ill gòrĩr <i>v</i>	in-law ré:g <i>nkin</i> ; tèkán^L <i>n</i>
illegitimate child lúk^L <i>n</i>	innocent mèntánkàr <i>stv</i>
illness góri^L <i>n</i>	insult ɲó:ná^L <i>n</i> ; ɲó:nàr <i>v</i>
imitate gàjãr <i>v</i>	intercede gìbìjẽr <i>v</i>
implore kàlèjĩr <i>v</i>	interest ɲóɔ́ɔ̀cè <i>n</i>
important déjẽr <i>v</i>	intersection wáká'cák^L <i>n</i>
impotent tércíkàn <i>n</i>	intestinal worm jé:tí <i>n</i>
increase cì:pẽr <i>v</i>	intestines díkí:'ján^L <i>n</i>
incubate tóntómãr <i>v</i>	investigate mérménãr <i>v</i> ; tàjẽr <i>v</i>
indicate ɲò:pẽr <i>v</i>	invite rìjãr <i>v</i>
inexpensive bálá:kãr <i>stv</i>	iron áwé <i>n</i>
inhabit bè:dĩr <i>v</i>	island ácù:lé <i>n</i>
inhabitant bé:dtàn <i>n</i>	it cè:n , cẽ:n <i>pronoun</i> ; cénk <i>contrastive</i>

J j

jackal wángóǵ^L <i>n</i>	judge rù:mérdǵ^L <i>v</i>
jaw gámá'án^L <i>n</i>	juice có:rtàn <i>n</i>
jinx rí:ḡẽr <i>v</i>	jump ùtá:lẽr <i>v</i>
join túkẽr <i>v</i>	just à:cì <i>adv</i> ; à:ná <i>prt</i>
journey éɲé:kón^L <i>n</i>	

K k

keep rí:ḡẽr <i>v</i>	kick díkẽr <i>v</i>
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kidney mó:ɲán^L <i>n</i>	knee kórɲán^L <i>n</i>
kill ḡòkòdɪ:kǎ <i>v</i> ; ḡòkòtɪr <i>v</i> ; móɪ:kǎ <i>v</i> ; ɲò:lě <i>v</i>	knife á:rě <i>n</i>
kind àkómó <i>n</i> ; kómój <i>n</i> ; mèntánkǎ <i>stv</i>	knock gòɲgòɲě <i>v</i>
kingfisher kéllé:kùt <i>n</i>	knock against gó:ɲánǎ <i>v</i>
kiss cámḡójǎ <i>v</i>	knock down jègě <i>v</i>
kitchen hut páɲ^L <i>n</i>	knot ḡbó <i>n</i> ; réwtàn <i>n</i>
knead màlǎ:jě <i>v</i>	know dégérǎ <i>v</i>
	knowledge dégérón^L <i>n</i>

L I

labour cú:cúwíkǎ <i>v</i>	lay egg ěɲǎ <i>v</i>
lack ràkàtě <i>v</i>	lazy tókój <i>n</i>
ladder cígí^L <i>n</i>	lead lòwír <i>v</i>
ladle góté^L <i>n</i>	leader mèrɪ^L <i>n</i>
lair ó:cón <i>n</i>	leaf pí:ɲón^L <i>n</i>
lake té:l <i>n</i>	leaf of maize kólé <i>n</i>
lamp lámbe^L <i>n</i>	leak jèjǎ <i>v</i>
lance béá^L <i>n</i>	lean against títídɪ:kǎ <i>v</i>
land dòkír <i>v</i> ; dó: <i>n</i>	learn bàrě <i>v</i> ; tàmà:rě <i>v</i>
language átó^L <i>n</i>	leave something somewhere ɲòdǎ <i>v</i>
larynx góróɲcóm <i>n</i>	leech ḡáɲá:ɲìɲ <i>n</i>
last ɲé:ḡá <i>det</i> ; pédàn <i>n</i>	left kántá^L <i>adv</i>
later kó:^L dɪnkómk <i>adv</i>	leftovers càkái: <i>n</i>
laugh rògě <i>v</i>	leg dérán^L <i>n</i>
law ígí^L <i>n</i>	lemon lòmí:^L <i>n</i>

lend màcídí:gídɔ̃^L <i>v</i>	liquor ógô:l <i>n</i>
lengthen túkě:r <i>v</i>	listen gèlè:wě:r <i>v</i>
lengthily kəmàp <i>adv</i>	little bálá:kǎr <i>stv</i>
leopard dòmò:n <i>n</i>	liver ná:j <i>n</i>
leprosy dò:bój <i>n</i>	lizard célcél <i>n</i>
let go ɲòdǎ:r <i>v</i>	like this kójùnk <i>adv</i>
let me! gúndě:n <i>pvt</i>	load bòcě:r <i>v</i> ; ḡàtá:k^L <i>n</i> ; ḡàtākĩ:r <i>v</i>
let's! kó^L <i>pvt</i>	locust tɛ̀ɲòní:^L <i>n</i>
letter pìdél <i>n</i> ; tá:pí <i>n</i>	log dó:rí <i>n</i>
lick jà:tě:r <i>v</i>	long jé:dó:kǎr <i>stv</i>
lie pón^L <i>n</i> ; ràmě:r <i>v</i>	look at kò:rě:r <i>v</i>
lie down dédéríkǎr <i>v</i> ; dúnárkó^L <i>v</i>	look for wà:rě:r <i>v</i>
life wé:ɲá^L <i>n</i>	loose kèlòt <i>adv</i>
lift bòngò:rě:r <i>v</i>	loosen á:jkǎr <i>v</i>
light dá:wán^L <i>n</i> ; pòjókǎr <i>stv</i>	lose càně:r <i>v</i> ; là:rǎr <i>v</i>
light fire lòwĩ:r <i>v</i>	lost bàdě:r <i>v</i>
lightning ná:lán^L <i>n</i>	louse ɲètín <i>n</i>
like òkó <i>prep</i>	love pòrĩ:r <i>v</i>
like that kócèk <i>adv</i>	lower rìkìtérkó^L <i>v</i>
like this kócùnk <i>adv</i>	lower grinding stone mé:dí <i>n</i>
lime kórmè <i>n</i>	lukewarm jìɲjìkǎr <i>stv</i>
limp kàmǎr <i>v</i>	lung ùbù <i>n</i>
lion dépé^L <i>n</i>	

M m

machete jámè <i>n</i>	meat târ <i>n</i>
mad person márátíkàn <i>n</i> cójnìkàn <i>n</i>	mediate gìbìjě̀r <i>v</i>
maggot kùrù <i>n</i>	medicine kòrúc^L <i>n</i>
maize mà:kólój <i>n</i>	meet lànjír <i>v</i> ; tóldí:kár <i>v</i>
maize flower cóco^Lán^L <i>n</i>	meeting càcábé^L <i>n</i>
make ìjá:gār <i>v</i>	melt lójě̀r <i>v</i>
malaria bùcák <i>n</i>	messenger wócéj̀tàn <i>n</i>
male mò:j <i>nkin</i>	middle kór <i>n</i>
mallet pò:wāj <i>n</i>	migrate wè:tàkār <i>v</i>
many ḡó:ká:kār <i>stv</i>	milk ě̀njār <i>v</i> ; ércé:^L <i>n</i>
marker já:ntàn <i>n</i>	millet dà:gùcé <i>n</i>
market gàbìjój <i>n</i>	miscarriage ḡòkòtítáró^L <i>v</i>
marriage bónjì:^L <i>n</i> ; wá:wán^L <i>n</i>	mistake cìtét^L <i>n</i> ; tíkíjé <i>n</i>
marry bònjír <i>v</i>	mix cá:péjār <i>v</i>
marsh cóké <i>n</i>	molar tooth gámá^Lán^L <i>n</i>
mask mí:ntàn <i>n</i>	money wòrí <i>n</i>
master cú:mí^L <i>n</i>	monitor lizard dí:líkìc <i>n</i>
mat épáttàn <i>n</i>	monkey dè:rò <i>n</i>
maybe còkà <i>adv</i>	month éjén^L <i>n</i>
mead ógò:l <i>n</i>	moon éjén^L <i>n</i>
meal càkái:^L <i>n</i>	morning rómí:^L <i>n</i>
mean cé:kě̀r <i>v</i>	mortar pá:n^L <i>n</i>
meaning wó:rán^L <i>n</i>	mosquito méltít <i>n</i>
measure ròmě̀r <i>v</i>	moth dúbì <i>n</i>

mother (his/her) éméc^L <i>nkin</i>	mud block cúḡój <i>n</i>
mother (my) indí^L <i>nkin</i>	mud wasp bìlìngîr <i>n</i>
mother (your) ṇá:ṇá^L <i>nkin</i>	mudfish gòmbé^L <i>n</i>
mother-in-law kèréré^L <i>nkin</i>	murder ḡòkòtîr <i>v</i>
mould gá:cé <i>n</i> ; mú:wě:r <i>v</i>	muscle mó:ṇán^L <i>n</i>
mountain édén <i>n</i> ; kúrkúm <i>n</i>	mushroom bòṇóṇ^L <i>n</i>
mourning wúḡ <i>n</i>	mushy food cápátàn <i>n</i>
mouse kílt^L <i>n</i>	music còngúj <i>n</i>
mouth átó^L <i>n</i>	mute person kítí:dít <i>n</i>
move kòḡě:r <i>v</i>	my (pl) gánk <i>poss</i>
move away wè:tàkăr <i>v</i>	my (sg) nák <i>poss</i>
mud dókó^L <i>n</i>	

N n

nail mìcìmá:rí^L <i>n</i>	need dějě:r <i>v</i>
name tíríjá^L <i>n</i>	needle mútá^L <i>n</i>
namesake mògój^L <i>n</i>	neg kîr <i>aux</i>
naming ceremony órpán^L <i>n</i>	neighbour pírá^L <i>n</i>
nape of neck ṇó:lán^L <i>n</i>	nephew cóm <i>nkin</i>
narrow tòkó:lkăr <i>stv</i>	new moon éjén^L <i>n</i>
nasal mucus kùṇṇàn <i>n</i>	news wá:cí <i>n</i>
navel bó:l^L <i>n</i> ; kèrjòn <i>n</i>	night káj <i>n</i>
near ó:mkùṇ <i>adv</i> ; wó:mkăr <i>stv</i>	nine tù:l à àṇàn <i>num</i>
nearby jók <i>adv</i>	nineteen á:rn à tù:l à àṇàn <i>num</i>
neck ṇóḡ^L <i>n</i>	ninety pól:pólé^L jó^L àṇànk à á:ṇ^L <i>num</i>

noise dó:ran^L <i>n</i> ; kòngó:j <i>n</i>	now cìcè^L <i>adv</i> ; cìcè^L <i>adv</i> ; cìcò^L <i>adv</i>
nose èhén <i>n</i>	now (discourse particle) óré <i>prt</i>
notice mérménǎr <i>v</i>	nurse gìjě:r <i>v</i>

O o

oath kù:lmè:t <i>n</i>	open tàjě:r <i>v</i>
obey tídf:gidò^L <i>v</i>	or kéjgún^L <i>coord</i> ; kéjn^L <i>conj</i> ; mánk <i>coord</i> ; mánkíré <i>conj</i>
obligation rémé:^L <i>n</i>	orange bùrtùkámí^L <i>n</i>
obstruct òjě:r <i>v</i>	order tónákǎr <i>v</i> ; tònúrgúdò^L <i>v</i>
obstruction tú:túk <i>n</i>	orphan òákáyǎd <i>n</i>
obtain lànjír <i>v</i>	ostrich úlùpê:n <i>n</i>
office bí:ró <i>n</i>	other òm <i>det</i>
often òtó:p <i>adv</i>	others ògò <i>det</i>
oil jějí^L <i>n</i>	ouch! wě: <i>interj</i>
oil palm bódé^L <i>n</i> ; jímtí <i>n</i>	our (pl) gànk <i>poss</i>
okay dò:c <i>adv</i> ; kók <i>prt</i>	our (sg) nànk <i>poss</i>
old bó:lón^L <i>n</i> ; bólónúrárkò^L <i>v</i>	outside wàlàc <i>adv</i>
old person gútárin^L <i>n</i>	over there gòj <i>adv</i>
once more ín^L kékàr <i>adv</i>	overtake dòjír <i>v</i>
one òmón^L <i>num</i>	overturn lòkě:r <i>v</i>
one certain òm <i>det</i>	owl gùmùn <i>n</i>
one-string violin kèdèndén^L <i>n</i>	owner dúmá:r^L <i>n</i>
onion cùnkúrtí^L <i>n</i>	ox jègúj <i>n</i>
only dáké:dà <i>adv</i>	

P p

pack gàbě̀r <i>v</i>	peck ìyò:pě̀r <i>v</i>
paddle kè:wě̀r <i>v</i> ; ópàl <i>n</i>	peel ḡá:cír <i>v</i> ; kòrě̀r <i>v</i>
pail bàldî <i>n</i>	peg já:ŋtàn <i>n</i>
pain mè:kà:t <i>n</i>	pelican éncí <i>n</i>
paint bô:jâ:k <i>n</i>	penalty gópân <i>n</i>
palate kádánđán^L <i>n</i>	pepper bàrbá:ròt <i>n</i>
palm branch réké^Lnán^L <i>n</i>	perch pàlè <i>n</i>
palm tree bódé^L <i>n</i>	perhaps kàdē:ŋ <i>adv</i>
pangolin kòŋ <i>n</i>	permit dò:mě̀r <i>v</i>
pant ùbùgà:kár <i>v</i>	persuade kòŋě̀r <i>v</i>
pap cápátàn <i>n</i>	pestle ùdé: <i>n</i>
papaya pàpájé^L <i>n</i>	phlegm ká:kántàn <i>n</i>
paper wàrgáté^L <i>n</i>	pick dámằr <i>v</i>
parrot màjmájòt^L <i>n</i>	pick fruit pó:đúrkó^L <i>v</i>
partridge kámťi: <i>n</i>	pick up kòŋằr <i>v</i>
pass đòjĩr <i>v</i>	piece ŋápátàn <i>n</i>
pass time rù:mě̀r <i>v</i>	pierce lèmtě̀r <i>v</i> ; tò:jě̀r <i>v</i>
path gòpàn <i>n</i>	pig kùtúr <i>n</i>
pay kòjĩr <i>v</i>	piglet cà:pólé^L <i>n</i>
payer kójtàn <i>n</i>	pimple té:gét <i>n</i>
payment kójí:^L <i>n</i> ; kójtàn <i>n</i>	pineapple ànànáci^L <i>n</i>
peace jà:kà:t <i>n</i>	pipe kòcíé <i>n</i>
peanut àkúr:^L <i>n</i>	pit ùtúl^L <i>n</i>
pebble jé:wè <i>n</i>	pit of fruit támá^L <i>n</i>

pity ɲádí: <i>n</i>	pound kègǎr <i>v</i>
place cò:n <i>n</i> ; ɲòn <i>n</i> ; rí:ḃě:r <i>v</i>	pour out lòkě:r <i>v</i>
plague rèr <i>n</i>	power ḃànkàwkà:t <i>n</i>
plan èkéd^L <i>n</i> ; ràgádír <i>v</i>	powerful ḃànkáwkǎr <i>stv</i>
plank pá'rán^L <i>n</i>	praise pò:cě:r <i>v</i> ; pó:cíjé^L <i>n</i>
plant cò:wě:r <i>v</i> ; wá:jír <i>v</i>	pray dǎndámá:kǎr <i>v</i>
plants ɲòɲì <i>n</i>	prayer dǎndámón^L <i>n</i>
plaster pú:ctàn <i>n</i>	pregnant lák ámf <i>v</i>
plate lókòj <i>n</i>	prepare ké:jíkǎr <i>v</i> ; kùpà:jě:r <i>v</i> ; ràgádír <i>v</i> ; ìcì:cě:r <i>v</i>
play còngùjě:r <i>v</i> ; ìbá:lír <i>v</i>	pretend tàgá^L <i>n</i>
plead kàlèjír <i>v</i>	prevent ká:ḃír <i>v</i>
please! àdàràt <i>interj</i> ; ré <i>pers</i>	price gàtí <i>n</i>
pluck dú:pě:r <i>v</i> ; pó:dír <i>v</i>	priest ké:ci^L <i>n</i>
plug tóntàn <i>n</i>	problem ràkáté^L <i>n</i>
pocket kíci^L <i>n</i>	problematic ò:dě:r <i>v</i>
point cúk^L <i>n</i> ; ìjò:pě:r <i>v</i>	project pròjèt <i>n</i>
poison dè:pír <i>v</i> ; máryí'n	promise kù:lmè:t <i>n</i>
polish pó:cě:r <i>v</i>	properly kédòm <i>adv</i>
polygamy ɲàkiè <i>n</i>	prophecy pèrkà <i>n</i>
pool té:l <i>n</i>	prostitute rú:ɲkàn <i>n</i>
poor gìròjǎ:kǎr <i>v</i>	protect ḃá:ridó^L <i>v</i>
poor man gírójkan <i>n</i>	proverb rómé:^L <i>n</i>
porcupine àján <i>n</i> ; ɲónkólé <i>n</i> ; kòɲci:lám <i>n</i>	pull ɲú:kě:r <i>v</i> ; pùrù:tě:r <i>v</i>
postpone ká:ḃír <i>v</i>	punish gó:pǎr <i>v</i>
potato bàmbé:^L <i>n</i>	punishment gó:pân <i>n</i>
potter's kiln gí:gíró^L <i>n</i>	puppy bùcùlé <i>n</i>

pus mè:tòák^L <i>n</i>	put down rí:ḡákǎr <i>v</i>
push dīrǎr <i>v</i> ; mì:dīr <i>v</i>	put inside rí:ḡérǎr <i>v</i>
push inside mùkǎr <i>v</i>	put together tú:kǎr <i>v</i>
put rí:ḡér <i>v</i>	python wílǎṅ^L <i>n</i>

Q q

quarrel ḡǎ:kǎn <i>n</i>	quotative ké <i>conj</i>
quiver cò:mój <i>n</i>	

R r

rabbit dé:lékéc^L <i>n</i>	red pepper mèrmét^L <i>n</i>
rafter pátántàn <i>n</i>	reed ḡi:ḡè <i>n</i>
rain è:kǎr <i>v</i> ; rù:kèjǎr <i>v</i> ; tùl <i>n</i>	reedbuck ḡòè <i>n</i>
rainbow àmbá'cój <i>n</i>	refusal bójí:^L <i>n</i>
rainy season bàngí <i>n</i>	bunch of bananas ḡùndí <i>n</i>
rat cimbí:^L <i>n</i>	register mèckèbǎr <i>v</i>
rattle jíké:^L <i>n</i> ; jìkǎr <i>v</i> ; tàkàwâṅ <i>n</i>	relationship lálǎṅ^L <i>n</i>
razor á:tùj <i>n</i>	relative tékán^L <i>n</i>
read àmbàbǎr <i>v</i>	relative by marriage tékán^L <i>n</i>
really é:kéré <i>adv</i>	remain dákǎr <i>v</i>
really? ánè <i>interj</i>	remember kòḡúrko^L <i>v</i>
rebuke gópǎr <i>v</i>	remote future kój <i>adv</i>
recount story tònǎr <i>v</i>	repair tò:tò:kǎr <i>v</i>
red dé:kǎr <i>stv</i>	repay kójḡí:kǎr <i>v</i>

repentance dó:ján^L <i>n</i>	rip pú:dě:r <i>v</i>
reply jùmùrǎr <i>v</i> ; múrǐ:r <i>v</i>	ripe à:dí:kǎr <i>stv</i> ; á:dó:rǎr <i>v</i>
report já:ŋíé^L <i>n</i>	ripen à:dí:kǎr <i>stv</i>
repositioning kókóó^L <i>n</i>	rise up ŋà:r ráŋá:ná <i>v</i>
reputation lá:gáŋón^L <i>n</i>	river gòró^L <i>n</i>
request kómíjǎr <i>v</i> ; kómíjón^L <i>n</i>	road gòpàn <i>n</i>
resemble gǎjǎr <i>v</i>	roast mèdě:r <i>v</i> ; tù:ǎjě:r <i>v</i>
resolve ŋějě:r <i>v</i>	rob wè:lě:r <i>v</i>
respect è:mějǎr <i>v</i>	rock tàlà:dè <i>n</i>
response mélci^L <i>n</i>	roll gìrgìdì:kǎr <i>v</i>
rest imíjǎr <i>v</i>	roof ájéràn <i>n</i>
restless réréríkǎr <i>v</i>	room gòdé <i>n</i>
resume tòpǐ:r <i>v</i>	root tíltí <i>n</i>
return jùmùrǎr <i>v</i> ; múrákó^L <i>v</i>	rotten mòjě:r <i>v</i>
return (itr) múrǐ:r <i>v</i>	rough ŋàcákáwkǎr <i>stv</i>
revenge ká:rn^L <i>n</i>	rub mómómójě:r <i>v</i> ; pàjò:tě:r <i>v</i>
reverence éméjón^L <i>n</i>	rubbish dí:ré <i>n</i>
rib kó:ltún^L <i>n</i>	ruined cò:kìdì:kǎr <i>v</i>
rich òdò:rě:r <i>v</i>	rule over tápá:dǎ:ně:r <i>v</i>
rich man wórí:kàn <i>n</i>	ruminate ùdù:lě:r <i>v</i>
rid oneself of òrǐ:r <i>v</i>	run rérǐ:r <i>v</i>
right dídíká^L <i>adv</i> ; líkì <i>adv</i>	rural area kénté <i>n</i>
ring dèwèlě:r <i>v</i>	rust úrtě:r <i>v</i> ; úrtútàn <i>n</i>

S s

sack kòcè <i>n</i>	seem f'tó <i>interj</i>
sacrifice tígí^L <i>n</i>	seize tàwě̀r <i>v</i>
sad ṇàdír <i>v</i>	self é:k^L <i>pro</i>
saliva dě:rwó^L <i>n</i>	selfish gólkār <i>stv</i>
salt mó:í <i>n</i>	sell ḡáldíḡó^L <i>v</i>
sand jé:we <i>n</i> ; kè:we <i>n</i>	send wòcějě̀r <i>v</i> ; wòcějě̀r <i>v</i>
sandal kòpán^L <i>n</i>	senile person bó:lón^L <i>n</i>
sated ḡó:dórār <i>v</i>	separate kà:cě̀r <i>v</i>
save rí:ḡě̀r <i>v</i>	servant íjá:gén^L <i>n</i>
saw cè:cěkě̀r <i>v</i> ; màkájí^L <i>n</i>	serve íjá:gār <i>v</i>
say ārír <i>v</i> ; tònír <i>v</i>	set dè:děwě̀r <i>v</i> ; rí:ḡě̀r <i>v</i>
say goodbye pàkkātār <i>v</i> ; pàkkátí:kār <i>v</i>	settle ṇějě̀r <i>v</i>
scabies wàkárân <i>n</i>	seven tù:l à pé:j^L <i>num</i>
scar ḡí:ḡí <i>n</i>	seventeen á:rn à tù:l à pé:j^L <i>num</i>
scar (decorative) gá:cé <i>n</i>	seventy pólpólé^L jó^L jí:tík^L à árṇ^L <i>num</i>
scare rà:mě̀r <i>v</i>	sew ḡémír <i>v</i>
scatter kè:tě̀r <i>v</i>	sewn object ḡé:ntàn <i>n</i>
scorpion ròkòkó:én^L <i>n</i>	shadow rì <i>n</i> ; típí <i>n</i>
scrape wèkérār <i>v</i>	shake òjókě̀r <i>v</i>
scratch tíkār <i>v</i> ; wàlà:tě̀r <i>v</i>	shame ké:n <i>n</i>
seated bè:dír <i>v</i>	share kà:kàcār <i>v</i>
second pè:jém <i>ordnum</i>	sharp ḡómkār <i>stv</i> ; ké:wán^L <i>n</i>
see dè:ně̀r <i>v</i>	sharpen ḡá:cír <i>v</i> ; ké:wír <i>v</i>
seed wéjkón^L <i>n</i>	sharpened ké:wán^L <i>n</i>

shave tùlǎr <i>v</i>	sing ì:lià:kǎr <i>v</i>
she cè:n , cě:n <i>pronoun</i> ; cénk <i>contrastive</i>	singe rà:wǎr <i>v</i>
sheep jínkùj <i>n</i>	sink lí:lě:r <i>v</i>
shell pòròtě:r <i>v</i>	sister mácó:kòj^L <i>nkin</i> ; mápná^L <i>nkin</i>
shell of groundnut wám <i>n</i>	sister (my) dè:dé: <i>nkin</i>
shelter pá:pè <i>n</i>	sister-in-law ð:r <i>nkin</i>
shield gà:cín <i>n</i>	sit down dòkǎr <i>v</i> ; dòkǎr dǎ^L <i>v</i>
shin cé:^Llán^L <i>n</i>	situation ótè <i>n</i>
shine dá:wǎr <i>v</i> ; ná:lě:r <i>v</i>	six tù:l à òm <i>num</i>
shirt cémíj^L <i>n</i>	sixteen á:rn à tù:l à òm <i>num</i>
shiver pí:dě:r <i>v</i>	sixty pólpólé^L jó:^L jí:tík^L <i>num</i>
shoe cá:mé^L <i>n</i> ; kòpán^L <i>n</i>	skeleton émé:nán^L <i>n</i>
shoot gí:d^L <i>n</i> ; tímá:dǎ^L <i>v</i>	skin té:jǎr <i>v</i> ; wám <i>n</i>
short đinjàtúkǎr <i>stv</i>	skin of fruit wám <i>n</i>
shorten jàwě:r <i>v</i>	skull ðdǎ^L <i>n</i>
shoulder tígónán^L <i>n</i>	sky dà:rì <i>n</i>
shoulder blade tèpér <i>n</i>	slack kèlòt <i>adv</i>
shout ó:jě:r <i>v</i> ; tònúrǎr <i>v</i>	slap pá:ŋǎr <i>v</i>
show jà:ŋě:r <i>v</i>	slaughter ŋò:lě:r <i>v</i> ; té:jǎr <i>v</i>
shrew dé:dénè <i>n</i>	slave lámójín^L <i>n</i>
shrivelled mó:rě:r <i>v</i>	sleep dé:gá:rǎr <i>v</i> ; dūdūnǎr <i>v</i>
shut kòrǎr <i>v</i>	sleepy dé:gá:rǎr <i>v</i>
sick gòrǎr <i>v</i>	slide dèrtě:r <i>v</i>
sickle á:ré <i>n</i>	slime bòlból^L <i>n</i>
side gó:^L <i>n</i> ; kó:ltún^L <i>n</i>	slippery dòrtó:kǎr <i>stv</i>
sin tíkíjé <i>n</i>	slither rérǎr <i>v</i>
	slowly kèlòt <i>adv</i>

small témkǎr <i>stv</i>	sorcerer ɲéj^L <i>n</i>
small drum tàrbúj <i>n</i>	sore dó:cój <i>n</i> ; júr^L <i>n</i>
small piece of wood pàpâl <i>n</i>	sorghum ɲèdɛj^L <i>n</i>
smear dɔɲɛr <i>v</i>	sorrow ɓàkɛj <i>n</i>
smell ɛɲàdǎr <i>v</i> ; ɲà:kàt <i>n</i>	soul wé:ɲá^L <i>n</i>
smell bad ɲá:kǎr <i>stv</i>	sound dó:ran^L <i>n</i> ; kòngój <i>n</i>
smile ɲèdɛ:mɛr <i>v</i>	soup pé: <i>n</i>
smoke dú:ɲɛr <i>v</i> ; tò:r <i>n</i>	sour kówɛr <i>v</i>
smoke fish rà:wír <i>v</i>	sow cò:wɛr <i>v</i>
smooth ɲòlɲólkǎr <i>stv</i>	spank dɪɲɛr <i>v</i>
snail gà:ndɛ <i>n</i>	spark rè:rémún <i>n</i>
snake kó:kó^L <i>n</i>	speak wà:cɛr <i>v</i>
snatch tàwɛr <i>v</i>	spear béá^L <i>n</i>
sneeze tiròjɛr <i>v</i>	spear handle kó:rán^L <i>n</i>
sniff ɛɲàdǎ:kǎr <i>v</i>	speech tóní:^L <i>n</i>
snore ɲárótówǎr <i>v</i>	speed gòrgòrkǎr <i>stv</i>
snot kùrɲàn <i>n</i>	spend time rù:mɛr <i>v</i>
so à <i>conj</i> ; tɔ^L <i>prt</i>	spider jépcój <i>n</i>
soak cùpkɛr <i>v</i>	spider's web kòlkòdǎ:dén^L <i>n</i>
soar jé:ɲɛr <i>v</i>	spill gùpàtɛr <i>v</i>
soft kòkó:kǎr <i>stv</i> ; ɲòlɲólkǎr <i>stv</i>	spirit of dead wé:ɲá^L <i>n</i>
soil dó: <i>n</i>	spit tòpà:jɛr <i>v</i>
soldier àmàcíní^L <i>n</i>	spitting cobra gúmí^L <i>n</i>
sometimes kɛɓú: <i>adv</i>	splendor éméjón^L <i>n</i>
song í:líá^L <i>n</i>	split vines ɲànír <i>v</i>
son-in-law ɛ:mè:kǎj <i>nkin</i>	spoil cò:kɛr <i>v</i> ; mòjɛr <i>v</i>
soon kègúpún <i>adv</i>	spoiled cò:kidí:kǎr <i>v</i>

spoon mànkíá^L <i>n</i>	stinger cùwè:t <i>n</i>
spot pòn <i>n</i>	stink ṇá:kǎr <i>stv</i>
spread jà:mě:r <i>v</i>	stir ṇòṇĩr <i>v</i>
spread out tĩné:jĩr <i>v</i>	stomach ámd^L <i>n</i>
spring lé:lák^L <i>n</i>	stone gìdē: <i>n</i> ; támá^L <i>n</i>
sprinkle càwě:r <i>v</i>	stool bàrcúm <i>n</i> ; dàngé <i>n</i>
sprout dĩ:garákó^L <i>v</i>	stop gàjě:r <i>v</i> ; ṇèjě:r <i>v</i>
spy mù:ʒí <i>n</i> ; mù:ʒjě:r <i>v</i>	stop up tòṇě:r <i>v</i>
squat dó:dĩr <i>v</i>	stopper tóṇtàn <i>n</i>
squeak rè:tēt: <i>n</i> ; rè:tētě:r <i>v</i>	store up tòlě:r <i>v</i>
squeeze có:rě:r <i>v</i>	stork kòdóbí: <i>n</i>
squirrel úké:^L <i>n</i>	storm wér <i>n</i>
stab mùkě:r <i>v</i>	story kó:mán^L <i>n</i> ; wá:cí <i>n</i>
stack pón <i>n</i>	straddle dĩrkíjákǎr <i>v</i>
stalk ḡòkòtúrko^L <i>v</i>	straight cēm <i>adv</i>
stalk of plant wópé^L <i>n</i>	straighten kēmĩr <i>v</i>
stamp tòrókĩr <i>v</i>	strain food ṇéjǎr <i>v</i>
stand ètě:r <i>v</i>	stranger kó:ná:t^L <i>n</i>
star màrjòn <i>n</i>	strangle ḡòkò:cě:r <i>v</i>
stay bè:dĩr <i>v</i>	strength ḡànkàwkà:t <i>n</i>
steal àgàlĩr <i>v</i>	stretch kě:rĩr <i>v</i>
steam dú:ṇě:r <i>v</i>	strike bitě:r <i>v</i> ; màlě:r <i>v</i>
steer mè:mě:r <i>v</i>	string mél^L <i>n</i> ; tùcě:r <i>v</i>
stem wópé^L <i>n</i>	strip off kòrě:r <i>v</i>
step ṇàwítě:r <i>v</i>	strong ḡànkáwkǎr <i>stv</i>
sticky màḡòkòṇkǎr <i>stv</i>	stubborn dàrà:jě:r <i>v</i>
sting cù:wě:r <i>v</i>	stumble mè:ʒà:kǎr <i>v</i>

stumbling block túr'túk <i>n</i>	sunset ájígè <i>n</i>
stump kácíkír <i>n</i>	surprised nàjě̀r <i>v</i> ; nánájí:kǎr <i>v</i> ; ḡátír <i>v</i>
stupid person bádtàn <i>n</i>	surround tò:kě̀r <i>v</i>
stutter bógó^L <i>n</i>	swallow gépě̀r <i>v</i>
subtract bitákě̀r <i>v</i>	swarm tálój <i>n</i>
succeed gàjě̀r <i>v</i>	swear kò:pě̀r <i>v</i>
suck có:ǎjě̀r <i>v</i>	sweat tò:kìjě̀r <i>v</i>
suckle gìjě̀r <i>v</i>	sweep gá:lír <i>v</i>
suffer ràkátě̀r <i>v</i>	sweet ḡòḡòlókǎr <i>stv</i>
sugar cane kàdíkán^L <i>n</i>	sweet potato bàmbé:^L <i>n</i>
suit dégégérí:kǎr <i>v</i>	swell ḡájórǎr <i>v</i> ; ḡájórǎr <i>v</i>
sun wà:wùj <i>n</i>	swim lèjǎr <i>v</i>
Sunday càmbáté^L <i>n</i>	swing wér:wérí:kǎr <i>v</i>
sunrise gíbì <i>n</i>	sword áré <i>n</i>

T t

taboo ká:bán^L <i>n</i> ; ká:ǎjír <i>v</i>	tattoo gá:cé <i>n</i> ; gà:cě̀r <i>v</i> ; tó:jtàn <i>n</i>
tail có:c^L <i>n</i> ; kú:l^L <i>n</i> ; pítój <i>n</i>	tax gìbírí^L <i>n</i>
take bòḡír <i>v</i> ; dí:lě̀r <i>v</i> ; èkàḡě̀r <i>v</i>	teach ró:ríá:kǎr <i>v</i>
take off pìrèdǎ^L <i>v</i>	tear pò:kě̀r <i>v</i>
take revenge tìjě̀r <i>v</i>	tears pìlètàn <i>n</i>
talk wà:cě̀r <i>v</i>	tell tònír <i>v</i>
talk with each other wà:cì:díkǎr <i>v</i>	temple of head pàrìwàn <i>n</i>
tarantula kàjtě̀r <i>n</i>	ten árn <i>num</i> ; gúrún <i>num</i>
taste lè:lèmè:t <i>n</i> ; pà:rír <i>v</i>	tend livestock kò:rě̀r <i>v</i>

tendon mé:lát <i>n</i>	thread kírí^L <i>n</i>
tendril àtàwàn <i>n</i>	threaten dèmě:r <i>v</i>
termite émâ:r <i>n</i>	three jít^L <i>num</i>
termite hill jómpól <i>n</i>	thresh màlě:r <i>v</i>
tether tùcě:r <i>v</i>	threshing-floor tè:tè: <i>n</i>
thank pò:cě:r <i>v</i>	throat ηóđđ^L <i>n</i>
thatch ú:túmtàn <i>n</i>	throb gùpà:ηě:r <i>v</i>
their (pl) gènk <i>poss</i>	throw bà:ldí:đđ^L <i>v</i> ; mérmé <i>n</i> ; tímá:đđ^L <i>v</i>
their (sg) nènk <i>poss</i>	throw away òrĩ:r <i>v</i>
then cà:đí^L <i>adv</i>	throwing stick kó:rán^L <i>n</i>
there cá:^L <i>adv</i> ; cà:đí^L <i>adv</i> ; cà:nâ <i>adv</i> ; cò:đ <i>adv</i> ; có^L <i>dem</i> ; gé^L <i>adv</i> ; đcó^L <i>adv</i>	thunder téđé^L <i>n</i>
thereafter cá:^L <i>adv</i>	tickle kèlkèlě:r <i>v</i>
these ìcígì <i>dem</i>	tie kórkóđăr <i>v</i>
they cè:g <i>contrastive</i> ; cé:ik^L <i>pronoun</i> ; ré <i>pragmatic</i>	time cájtí^L <i>n</i> ; ótè <i>n</i>
thick đıldílkăr <i>stv</i> ; gò:mùrăr <i>v</i>	tired bò:là:kăr <i>stv</i>
thief àgált^L <i>n</i>	toad wò:wòj <i>n</i>
thin kèwkéwkăr <i>stv</i> ; tèjé:lkăr <i>stv</i>	tobacco táđé <i>n</i>
thing áñ^L <i>n</i>	tobacco pipe kòcíé <i>n</i>
things òlà <i>n</i>	today đéncè <i>adv</i>
think kòđĩ:r <i>v</i>	toe pólpól <i>n</i>
third jíté:n^L <i>ordnum</i>	together àgút^L òmónj^L <i>adv</i>
thirteen á:rñ à jít^L <i>num</i>	tomato gòngó^L <i>n</i>
thirty rù:mèr ídít^L à à:rñj^L <i>num</i>	tomorrow kó:^L álé <i>adv</i>
thorn đéjn^L <i>n</i>	tongue káđá^L <i>n</i>
thousand kúmé^L <i>num</i>	tooth ηèdàn <i>n</i>
	torch lámbe^L <i>n</i>
	torn pò:kíđĩ:kăr <i>v</i>

tortoise ḡòkórjǎn^L <i>n</i>	tribute gìbírí^L <i>n</i>
touch ḡé:cě̃r <i>v</i>	trouble ràkáté^L <i>n</i>
towards cò:m <i>dem</i> ; còlàk <i>prep</i>	troublemaker rébéckàn <i>n</i>
towards them gá^L <i>dem</i>	trousers cúúrj^L <i>n</i>
town kàtámé <i>n</i>	truly é:kérè <i>adv</i>
track dérán^L <i>n</i>	trunk of tree dó:rí <i>n</i>
trader nàgá:dé^L <i>n</i>	truth é:kê:r <i>n</i>
tradition báré^L <i>n</i>	try pà:rír <i>v</i>
traitor ká:dítàn <i>n</i>	turkey kò:géle <i>n</i>
trample tòró:kǎr <i>v</i>	turn widě̃r <i>v</i>
translate dò:mě̃r <i>v</i> ; tùrgùmě̃r <i>v</i>	turn over wì:rjě̃r <i>v</i>
transplant wá:jír <i>v</i>	turn round ḡàñír <i>v</i>
trap gò:mòj <i>n</i> ; kàñír <i>v</i>	turn towards widérǎr <i>v</i>
travel è:ḡèkǎr <i>v</i>	turtle dú:dúèn <i>n</i>
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tremble pí:dě̃r <i>v</i>	twenty-two rù:mèr ídít^L à pé:j^L <i>num</i>
tribe kómój <i>n</i>	twilight ká:j <i>n</i>
	twin ólákàn <i>n</i>
	twist mèñě̃r <i>v</i>
	twisted rù:dí:kǎr <i>v</i>
	two pé:j^L <i>num</i>
	two hundred díbê: pé:j^L <i>num</i>

U u

udder ílán^L <i>n</i>	unsettled réréríkǎr <i>v</i>
ugly ɲé:wénkǎr <i>stv</i>	untie wó:rír <i>v</i>
umbilical cord ɲé:d^L <i>n</i>	unwrap ɓàkàtír <i>v</i>
uncle már:'lé:^L <i>nkin</i> ; wàcél^L <i>nkin</i>	up èdèn <i>adv</i> ; kì <i>adv</i>
uncover ɓú:kǎr <i>v</i>	upper arm bàdí <i>n</i>
under dèréj <i>adv</i>	upwards ràṇàṇà <i>adv</i>
undress kárkárǎr <i>v</i>	urinate ɲé:wír <i>v</i>
unload bòṇúrks^L dó:ká <i>v</i>	urine tó:ǵ^L <i>n</i>
unripe ɗiṇjàtúkǎr <i>stv</i> ; ɗí:nánkǎr <i>stv</i>	used to bàrǎr <i>v</i>

V v

valley cákòj <i>n</i>	visible ɓé:lǎr <i>v</i>
vegetation ɲòṇì <i>n</i>	vision pérkié <i>n</i>
vein mè:rìn <i>n</i>	visit lè:wǎr <i>v</i>
venom of snake márǵi^L <i>n</i>	visitor kómá:t^L <i>n</i>
very ǵét <i>adv</i>	voice ɗó:ran^L <i>n</i>
village dú:ré <i>n</i>	vomit pàǵǎr <i>v</i>
vine mél^L <i>n</i> ; lòṇgólo:t <i>n</i>	vulture cò:líláṇ^L <i>n</i>

W w

waist ɓé:tón^L <i>n</i>	wait for kòrǎr <i>v</i>
wait bè:dír <i>v</i>	wake up ɓè:dír <i>v</i>

walk ɲàwítě̀r <i>v</i>	where? éɛ̃^L <i>interrog</i>
walking stick gùmbój <i>n</i>	which? wón <i>interrog</i>
wall réktàn <i>n</i>	whip mérmé <i>n</i>
wander dókě̀r <i>v</i>	whisper jè:jègě̀r <i>v</i>
want dě̀jě̀r <i>v</i>	whistle kóllójě̀r <i>v</i>
war ká:rn^L <i>n</i>	white kòpùlkār <i>stv</i> ; tùpé:ɲkār <i>stv</i>
warthog èdùgé <i>n</i> ; kùtúr <i>n</i>	white man pàránjɛ̃^L <i>n</i>
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west pà:mì <i>adv</i>	witchcraft rí:ò^L <i>n</i>
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Y y

yawn àmě:r <i>v</i>	you! ɪnè <i>pro</i>
year èmə <i>n</i>	young átéꞑ^L <i>n</i>
yes ĩ <i>prt</i>	young man átéꞑ^L <i>n</i>
yesterday kó álé <i>adv</i>	your (pl, pl) gònk <i>poss</i>
yet ín^L <i>adv</i>	your (pl, sg) nónk <i>poss</i>
you _{pl} cók^L <i>contrastive</i> ; ɪnák^L <i>pronoun</i> ; ró <i>pragmatic</i>	your (sg, pl) gómk <i>poss</i>
you _{sg} cénk^L <i>contrastive</i> ; ɪn , ín^L <i>pronoun</i> ; ré <i>pragmatic</i>	your (sg, sg) nók <i>poss</i>

Z z

zebra **kómí^L** *n*

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Samenvatting

The following is a summary of the thesis in Dutch. See section I.11 for an overview in English.

Vergeleken met andere Surmische talen heeft het Majang een zeer beperkte set medeklinkers met slechts 18 medeklinkers, waaronder twee implosieven (§II.2.1). Er is geen systematische tegenstelling tussen plosieven, fricatieven en affricaten; deze klanken vallen alle onder de noemer obstruenten.

Het Majang heeft zeven klinkers (waaronder twee paren middenklinkers, zie §II.1.1), zonder ATR klinkerharmonie. Klinkerlengte is contrastief (§II.1.3). Een belangrijke fonologische wet in het Majang is labiaalharmonie, waardoor in werkwoordachtervoegsels de korte ongeronde klinker /i/ in een geronde /u/ wordt veranderd na een lettergreep met een geronde klinker of een labiale medeklinker. Een tweede wet betreft harmonie in de hoogte van klinkers, waardoor in een van de werkwoordsklassen de /ɛ/ tot een /e/ wordt na lettergrepen met een hoge klinker (§II.5).

In de tonologie spelen twee tonen en een *downstep* een rol (§II.6). Het kan worden aangetoond dat sommige morfemen geen eigen toon hebben, en dat andere morfemen moeten worden geanalyseerd met een polaire toon. Veel woorden eindigen in een zwevende lage toon, die zich vaak hecht aan een toonloze lettergreep. Toon speelt een belangrijke rol, niet alleen in het lexicon, maar ook in de grammatica van het Majang, bijvoorbeeld in de *conjoint/disjoint* tegenstelling in het werkwoord en in de naamvalsmarkering.

Het Majang heeft een agglutinatieve morfologie; dat wil zeggen dat de toevoegsels met grammaticale informatie veelal eenvoudig te scheiden zijn. De achtervoegsels zijn productief; de twee voorvoegsels zijn heden ten dage niet meer productief. Niettemin worden enkele grammaticale categorieën zoals meervoud en naamval eerder aangeduid met tonale middelen of een verandering in de naamwoordstam dan met toevoegsels. Het Majang kent een veelvoud aan verbuigingen voor meervoud en naamval (§IV.1.3), terwijl het geen onderscheid maakt in het geslacht van zelfstandige naamwoorden, net zoals de meeste Oost-Soedanische talen. De aanduiding van de naamvallen wordt verder gecompliceerd door het voorkomen van speciale vormen voor gemodificeerde zelfstandige naamwoorden in enkele syntactische naamvallen (§IV.1.3.2).

Wat voornaamwoorden betreft biedt de taal een keur aan vormen voor verschillende functies. Eén serie persoonlijke voornaamwoorden wordt gebruikt voor anaforische verwijzing in het algemeen, een tweede serie voor verwijzing binnen de werkwoordsfrase, en een derde voor contrastieve focus (§IV.3.1.1). Het Majang wijkt af van andere Surmische talen door het ontbreken van het onderscheid tussen inclusieve en exclusieve vormen in de eerste persoon meervoud. Aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en betrekkelijke voornaamwoorden worden gemarkeerd voor drie niveaus in het deictische systeem: dicht bij de spreker, dicht bij de aangesproken persoon, of ver van beiden (§IV.3.1.2; IV.3.1.3). Bezittelijke voornaamwoorden duiden zowel de persoon van de bezitter aan als het getal van het bezit (§IV.3.1.4). Vragende voornaamwoorden komen alleen aan het eind van de vragende zin/zinsdeel voor.

Werkwoorden kennen een tweedeling in voltooid en onvoltooid aspect, waarbij de onvoltooide vorm is afgeleid van de voltooide vorm door reduplicatie (§IV.2.2.7). Daarnaast worden alle werkwoorden verbogen met achtervoegsels die het onderwerp aanduiden. Voorts kennen de meeste werkwoorden een tonaal onderscheid tussen een *conjoint* vorm en een *disjoint* vorm; de *conjoint* vorm wordt alleen gebruikt als het werkwoordelijk gezegde direct gevolgd wordt door een niet-topicale frase in de absolutieve naamval (§IV.2.3). Een andere grammaticale categorie die vaak in het werkwoord wordt uitgedrukt is richting. Richting in het Majang heeft drie waarden, namelijk middelpuntzoekend (een beweging aanduidend die naar het uitgangspunt, meestal de spreker, toe leidt), middelpuntvliedend (een beweging aanduidend die wegleidt van het uitgangspunt) en overdragend (een beweging aanduidend van het ene uitgangspunt naar het andere). Overigens heeft het Majang een subset van statische werkwoorden, die dezelfde functie hebben als bijvoeglijke naamwoorden in andere talen. (§IV.2.4).

De gebruikelijke woordvolgorde in het Majang is werkwoord – onderwerp – lijdend voorwerp. De volgorde is vrij strict; alleen vanwege pragmatische redenen kunnen zinsdelen (meestal onderwerpen) vóór het werkwoord geplaatst worden (§V.7.1).

Pragmatische factoren beïnvloeden de zinsopbouw van het Majang in sterke mate. De naamval van het onderwerp in een zin hangt af van hun topicaliteit, d.w.z. een topicaal onderwerp is recentelijk genoemd in de tekst of te verwachten op grond van de context, maar een niet-topicaal onderwerp wordt als nieuw of onverwacht gepresenteerd. Als onderwerpen onder de nieuwe of

onverwachte informatie in de zin vallen, hebben ze in onovergankelijke zinnen de absolutieve naamval, terwijl ze in overgankelijke zinnen gemarkeerd worden met de ergatieve naamval. Daarentegen worden topicale onderwerpen in overgankelijke zowel als onovergankelijke zinnen gemarkeerd met de nominatieve naamval. Lijdende voorwerpen krijgen altijd de normale absolutieve naamval, maar hun topicaliteit beïnvloedt de keuze tussen de bovengenoemde *conjoint* en *disjoint* werkwoordsvormen. De overige naamvallen op zinsniveau betreffen de datieve en de locatieve naamvallen, en er is nog een possessieve naamval die zelfstandige naamwoorden aanduidt als bezitter in een naamwoordelijke zin. Alle naamvallen en hun functies worden uitgebreid besproken in §IV.1.3.2 en §III.2.1.2. Een ander middel dat topicaliteit uitdrukt is de markeerder =ŋ die vaak (maar niet altijd) voorkomt aan het eind van een zin, en aangeeft dat het laatste zinsdeel ofwel het gezegde ofwel een topicale nominale frase is (zie §III.4 voor een bespreking).

Er zijn een aantal middelen die de overgankelijkheid (valentiewaarde) van een werkwoord veranderen. De opvallendste zijn de anti-passief (§V.5.1) en de onpersoonlijke vorm (§IV.2.3.1), die de functie van de passief (lijdende vorm) in andere talen vrijwel geheel overneemt. Een specifieke constructie voor de lijdende vorm kent het Majang niet.

Het Majang maakt veel gebruik van bijvoeglijke bijzinnen, die zowel beperkend als uitbreidend kunnen zijn (§V.8.5). Sommige bijwoordelijke bijzinnen van tijd hebben werkwoorden met ondergeschikte tijdsvormen (§V.8.3.1). Voor het overige kan tijd alleen worden uitgedrukt door bijwoorden, die op een metrisch tijdsstelsel gebaseerd lijken te zijn (§V.6.1.1), waarbij de verleden tijd wordt opgesplitst in drieën (zojuist, kort geleden en lang geleden) en de toekomstige tijd in tweeën.

Curriculum Vitae

Andreas Joswig was born in Celle, Germany, on March 29, 1968. He graduated from Hölty Gymnasium in Celle (with Abitur) in 1988, and participated in that summer in SIL's basic linguistic summer course in Burbach, Germany. In April 1989 he began studying linguistics at Göttingen University. In April 1991 he transferred to Cologne University and graduated with an MA in General Linguistics, Anthropology and African Studies in July 1995. From 1989 to 1998 he was assistant teacher for phonology at SIL's summer courses in Burbach. In 1999 he moved to East Africa, and began an assignment with SIL in Ethiopia. From 2001 to 2006 he worked in a language-development project for the Awnji language in northern Ethiopia. He then began his training as a linguistics consultant with SIL Ethiopia, and in December 2006 he became an external Ph.D. student with Leiden University. Since then he has been working in Ethiopia as a linguistics consultant and trainer, focusing on orthography development, dictionary making, language software, and community-based grammar writing, while conducting research on the Majang language.