The Majang Language

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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) **ɔ̀lá^{L} cìgì bàŋɛ́**
ɔ̀lá^{L} **cì-g-ì** **bàŋɛ́**
things\NOM.MOD DEM-PL-SP *all*
all these things

b) **ɓɛ́ːŋɔ́ɛ́^{L} gɛ́ːnk bàŋɛ́**
ɓɛ́ːŋɔ́-ɛ^{L} **gɛ́ːnk** **bàŋɛ́**
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

òlát^{L}	**bàŋé**
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 **òlát^{L}** instead of in the modified form **òlá^{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

ɟó:p^{L} cìgì rébéc^{L}ká:ná^{L}kík		
ɟó:p^{L}	**cì-g-ì**	**rébéc^{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 **ɟó:p^{L}** is used as the head-word, not the modified form **ɟó:^{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) **dûk ná:kɛ́ tàk**

dûk	**ná:k-ɛ^{L}**	**tàk**
forest\SG.LOC	POSS\1S.SG-LOC	*inside*\LOC
inside my forest		

b) **dʉ̀k cé^{L} tàk**
dʉ̀k **cé^{L}** **tàk**
forest\SG.LOC DEM\SG.SP.LOC *inside*\LOC
inside this forest

c) **dʉ̀kì:kɛ̀ tàk bàŋɛ́**
dʉ̀k-ì:k-ɛ̀ **tàk** **bàŋɛ́**
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

dʉ̀k cé^{L} mèntán ŋɔ́nk tàk
dʉ̀k **cé^{L}** **mèntán** **ŋɔ́nk** **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 **ŋɔ́nk** which ends the relative clause containing the stative verb **mèntán**.

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) **màlɛ́ ídî wár^{L} ná:k.**
màl-ɛ́ **ídî** **wár^{L}** **ná:k**
*hit-3*S.DJ *man*\SG.ERG *dog*\SG.ABS POSS*1*S.SG.ABS
A man hit my dog.

b) **bɔ̀:bɛ̀r wár^{L} nàkɛ́^{L} kɛ́kàr.**
bɔ̀:b-ɛ́ **wár^{L}** **nàk-ɛ́^{L}** **kɛ́kàr**
*big-3*S.DJ *dog*\SG.NOM.MOD POSS*1*S.SG-NOM *again*
My dog is big again.

c) **bò:bèr wártún^{L} gà:né^{L} kɛ́kàr.**
bò:b-ɛr wár-tun^{L} gà:n-ɛ́^{L} kɛ́kàr
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 **ná:k** and **nàkɛ́^{L}** therefore serve to show the case difference on the two noun phrases as a whole. In c) the possessive **gà:né^{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 ídî wár^{L} nânk kɛ́kàr.**
màl-ɛ́ ídî wár^{L} nânk kɛ́kàr
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 ídĩt^{L}.**
màl-ɛ́ wár^{L} nànk ídĩt^{L}
hit-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG.MOD POSS\1P.SG.ERG man\SG.ABS
Our dog hit a man.

c) **bò:bɛ́ wár^{L} nànk kɛ́kàr.**
bò:b-ɛ́ wár^{L} nànk kɛ́kàr
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 **nânk**, 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 kɛ̀: dʊ̀kà cê:**
nè **kɛ̀:** **dʊ̀k-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

jàrtí^{L} kɔ́nk
jàrtí^{L} **kɔ́nk**
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} kôŋk ídĩt^{L}.
màl-é mè:ká^{L} kôŋk ídĩt^{L}
hit-3$_{S.DJ}$ *pain*\$_{SG.ERG.MOD}$ $_{REF\backslash RECPST.ERG}$ *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 dũŋé^{L} nè:kê:ŋ.
nè mèl-kí dũŋé^{L} nè:k-é=ŋ
$_{CONJ}$ *arrive-*$_{CP.3S.DJ}$ *hyena*\$_{SG.NOM.MOD}$ $_{POSS\backslash 3S.SG\text{-}NOM=SFT}$
And Hyena himself arrived.

V.2 The Structure of the Verb Phrase

The verb phrase[105] 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:*

[105]This 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 kɔ́ːᴸ táᴸ à ìndîːŋ.
dàk-ín kɔ́ːᴸ táᴸ 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 kɔ́ːᴸ táᴸ**. 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 (**ɓáᴸ** *'remote past'*, **kɔ́** *'recent past'* and **kɔ́ːᴸ** *'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

mèlkí kɔ̀ ídĭtᴸ cìnè kɔ́nk.
mèl-kĭ́ kɔ̀ ídĭtᴸ cì-n-è kɔ́nk
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 **kɔ̀** 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 cáːᴸ ɓáᴸ dîːrárkîɗ òlá cìgì bàŋɛ́k, nè ɓáᴸ gɔ̌n.
nè **cáːᴸ** **ɓáᴸ** **dîːr-árk-ɗ** **òlá** **cì-g-ì**
CONJ *then* *REMPST* *fall-CP-RELPST.3P* *things\ABS* *DEM-PL-SP*
bàŋɛ́=k **nè** **ɓáᴸ** **gɔ̌n**
all=SUB *CONJ* *REMPST* *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

rìːɓé ɓáᴸ tínᴸ wàːkójótᴸ.
rìːɓ-é **ɓáᴸ** **tínᴸ** **wàːkójótᴸ**
create-3S.DJ *REMPST* *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

ŋàː tà ídîtᴸ.
ŋàː **tà** **ídîtᴸ**
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 **táᴸ** 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 ɓá^{L} rómîːɗ né:ké^{L} nòmé ɟàrtĭː cìná:né^{L} ɓák^{L}.
nè ɓá^{L} rómîːɗ né:k-ɛ^{L} nòm-é ɟàrtĭː
CONJ REMPST morning POSS\3S.SG-LOC follow-3S.DJ woman\SG-LOC.MOD
cì-n-á:-n-é^{L} ɓák^{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 **ɗé^{L}**, which is part of a few phrasal verbs: **dòkú ɗé^{L}** *'he sits down'* or **dùnkú ɗé^{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 ŋà:rkí nè dâm à óbî:ŋ.
má^{L} wár^{L} kónk ŋà:r-kí nè dâm à óbí:=ŋ
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} ídî^{L} cìnè bòŋù tá:ˈrá^{L} gé:nk.
nè ɓá^{L} ídî^{L} cì-n-è bòŋ-ì tá:r-á^{L} gé:nk
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 ɓáᴸ wár tònú kúˈrójáᴸ ké...**
nè ɓáᴸ wár tòn-í kúˈrój-aᴸ ké
CONJ REMPST dog\SG.NOM say-3S.DJ donkey\SG-DAT QUOT
Dog told Donkey…

b) **nè ɓáᴸ càːdíᴸ káːlt tònú kúˈrójᴸ càːkómáᴸ néːkáᴸ ké...**
nè ɓáᴸ càːdíᴸ káːlt tòn-í kúˈrójᴸ
CONJ REMPST then midnight\SG.LOC say-3S.DJ donkey-SG.NOM
càːkóm-aᴸ néːk-aᴸ 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 absolutive case) can also be found in the preposed position:

Example V.22: left-dislocation of *P*

a) **mèlé kóːníjónᴸ cèːŋ. kóːníjónᴸ cè, làkíːᴸ ètéŋᴸ bàŋé.**
mèl-é kóːníj-ónᴸ cè=ŋ. kóːníj-ónᴸ cè
arrive-3S.DJ question-NOMIN.SG.NOM DEM\HR=SFT question-NOMIN.SG.NOM DEM\HR
làk-ɨːᴸ ètéŋᴸ bàŋé
have-1P.DJ 1S all
That question is clear. That question, we all have it.

b) **ɟàrtí náːk, dàm kó ɟìkónt?**
ɟàrtí náːk dàm kó ɟìkónt
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

wàːlóːk à lɛ̌ːr, cɛ̀ːg ɓáᴸ càːkómákᴸ.
wàːlóːk à lɛ̌ːr cɛ̀ːg ɓáᴸ càːkóm-akᴸ
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 **càːkómákᴸ** the uncontested predicate of the above

example. The *RMPST*-marker **ɓáᴸ** 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 Majang[106] 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

cɛ̌ːn **àgáltᴸ**.
3S *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

ìːnákᴸ ɟóːpᴸ cìgì rɛ́bɛ́cˈkáːnáˈkík!
ìːnákᴸ **ɟóːpᴸ** **cì-g-ì** **rɛ́bɛ́c-káːn-ákᴸ=k**
2S *people\ABS.MOD* *REL-PL-SP* *trouble-NOMIN-PL.ABS=SUB*
You are troublemakers!

[106]See Unseth (1989a, p. 109ff) for an early description of Majang copula constructions.

In this example the predicate **ɟóːpᴸ** 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) **ègè cìnɔ̀j ɓátátᴸ náːk.**
ègè cì-n-ɔ̀j ɓátátᴸ náːk
COP DEM-SG-DIST brain\SG.ABS POSS\1S.SG.ABS
That is my brain.

b) **ègè cìgɔ̀j ɲɔ́ːtᴸ gáːnk.**
ègè cì-g-ɔ̀j ɲɔ́ːtᴸ gáːnk
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:ló:k 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 cìnì dá:mɛ́.**
ègè àbí cì-n-ì dá:mɛ́
COP cloth\SG.ABS DEM-SG-SP yellow
This cloth is yellow.

b) **ègè béɲcè dàrí^{L} céngí.**
COP today sky\SG.ABS blue
Today the sky is clear.

Although the two words **dá:mɛ́** *'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 1P-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

cìtétíᴸ né:k, àr cè:dî:ŋ.
cìtétíᴸ **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 tínéᴸ** *'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 absolute 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 ídîᴸ cìnɔ́:ˡnê.
àr **ídîᴸ** **cì-n-ɔ́:-n-ɛ́ᴸ**
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 ɟégúátɔ́^{L} gɛ̀ːnɛ́^{L} ɟíːtˈ^{L}.
ègè ɟégú-ấtɔ^{L} gɛ̀ːn-ɛ́^{L} ɟíːtˈ^{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

cɛ̌ːn kán^{L} òmòŋéːˈ.
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} kóː^{L} èːt móʔ
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 **làkɛ́^{L}** of the transitive root **làk** *'have'* (see section V.3.3.1). It has the single participant marked in the absolutive case.

Example V.37: existential clause

làkɛ́^{L} ɓà ádámójín^{L}.
làk-ɛ́^{L} ɓà ádámój-ín^{L}.
have-IMPS.DJ REMPST.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) **gòlɛ́ ídîŋ.**
gòl-ɛ́ ídî^{L}=ŋ.
selfish-3S.DJ man\SG.NOM=SFT
The man is selfish.

b) **ɓànkàw prɔ̀jêt nɛ́ːk.**
ɓànkàw prɔ̀jêt nɛ́ːk
strong\3S.CJ project\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS
The project itself is strong.

In example a), the subject has the nominative form **ídî^{L}**, tonally modified by the *SFT*-clitic **=ŋ**. 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 rɔ́ːríjɔ́nᴸ nèːkéːk ɔ̀ːdǐːŋ.
nè rɔ́ːríj-ɔnᴸ nèːk-éːk ɔ̀ːdǐː=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 mèlkì dúmáːtᴸ wàː.**
nè mèl-kì dúmáːtᴸ wàː
CONJ *arrive*-CP.3S.CJ *owner*\SG.ABS *house*\SG.DAT
The owner comes home.

b) **nè ɓáᴸ cénkᴸ dǎdǎmíːᴸ kúˈrôjŋ.**
nè ɓáᴸ cénkᴸ dǎdǎm-iːᴸ kúˈrójᴸ=ŋ
CONJ REMPST 3S.CONTR *eat*\IPFV-AP.3S *donkey*\SG.NOM=SFT
He, Donkey, was eating.

c) **nè ŋàːrkí dúŋéᴸ kɛ́kàr.**
nè ŋàːr-kǐ dúŋéᴸ kɛ́kàr
CONJ *go*-CP.3S.DJ *hyena*\SG.NOM *again*
Hyena comes over again.

d) **ìːn dàkín kɔ́ːᴸ táᴸ à ɟàrtí.**
ìːn dàk-ín kɔ́ːᴸ táᴸ à ɟàrtí
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 **ŋá:** *'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

ŋà: **tà** **ídǐt**^{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:cíɛ́^{L}**.**
tòn-à **wá:cí-ɛ́**^{L}
say-1S.CJ *news-PL.ABS*
I tell a story.

As noted, the message (**wá:cíɛ́^{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 **kɛ́**:

Example V.43: speech verbs with following speech clause

nè dùrìjé kɛ́ "wɛ̌:!"
nè dùrìj-ɛ́ kɛ́ wɛ̌:
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} kɛ́...
tòn-í ét-à òm-áltá^{L} kɛ́
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} kɛ́...**
tòn-ín tá^{L} kɛ́
say-2S.DJ 1S.DAT QUOT
You tell me "[...]".

b) **tònún tà wá:cíɛ́^{L}.**
tòn-ín tà wá:cí-ɛ^{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 __'*		
1S	**tònú tá^{L}**	**tòn-í tá^{L}**	*he says to me*
2S	**tònú nà**	**tòn-í nà**	*he says to you$_{SG}$*
3S	**tòŋgêːɗ**	**tòŋ-gêːɗ**	*he says to him (TF)*
1P	**tònú tìnà**	**tòn-í tìnà**	*he says to us*
2P	**tònú kɔ̀nà**	**tòn-í kɔ̀nà**	*he says to you$_{PL}$*
3P	**tòngêːɗ**	**tòŋ-gêːɗ**	*he says to them (TF)*

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 **tòngúɗá^{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 ádúréák^{L}.**

kàkàw	**wâr**	**ádúré-ak^{L}**
bite\IPFV.3S	*dog\SG.ERG*	*cat-PL.ABS*

A dog keeps biting cats.

b) **nè tàwáːwêː tìm cɛ̀ːníŋ.**

nè	**tàwáːwêː**	**tìm**	**cɛ̀ːn=ŋ**
CONJ	*Tawaawee\NOM*	*wound\3S.DJ*	*3S=SFT*

Tawaawee wounded him.

c) **ɛ́ rí:ɓérgé:^{L} kòcíé nɛ́:k ádá^{L}.**

ɛ́	**rí:ɓ-ɛr-gɛ́:^{L}**	**kòcíé**	**nɛ́: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} lɛ̀:r bòŋú ɛ́mɛ́c^{L}, ...**

má^{L}	**lɛ̀:r**	**bòŋ-í**	**ɛ́mɛ́c^{L}**
but	*Leer.NOM*	*take-3S.DJ*	*mother\3S.ABS*

But Leer took his mother and…

e) **ɟàrtí ná:k, làŋká^{L} kɔ́ ɗùk tàk!**

ɟàrtí	**ná:k**	**làŋk-á^{L}**	**kɔ́**	**ɗùk**	**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} cɛ́nk^{L} kúꜜrój ɗáɗámí:^{L} cà:dí.

má^{L}	**cɛ́nk^{L}**	**kúꜜrój**	**ɗáɗám-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) **ɗɛ̀jɛ́ íɗí^{L} gòdé.**
ɗɛ̀j-ɛ́ íɗí^{L} gòdé
*want-3*S.DJ *man*SG.NOM *house*SG.ABS
The man wants a house.

b) **dɛ̀nɛ̀r ɗɛ̀pɛ́ìk íɗít^{L}.**
dɛ̀n-ɛr ɗɛ̀pɛ́-ìk íɗít^{L}
see-*3*P.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 **làk** *'have'*.

Example V.50: possessive clause

nè ɓáᴸ ɓéɲ òmáltè làk ŋɔ́ɗɔ́ᴸ kà:rìònk.
nè ɓáᴸ ɓéɲ òm-áltè làk ŋɔ́ɗɔ́ᴸ kà:rì-onk
and REMPST *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

máᴸ cénkᴸ wárᴸ làk ŋá:w.
máᴸ cénkᴸ wárᴸ làk ŋá: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 ŋá:w.
làk wâr ŋá: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:kíŋ!**
nè **tá^{L}** **gà6-kín^{L}** **dúndè** **né:k=ŋ**
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} kòcíéónk ɟàrtìà cô.**
dí:l **tá^{L}** **mád^{L}** **kòcíé-ónk** **ɟàrtì-à** **cɔ́^{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 ɟùmúrké:^{L} wó:ɗá^{L}?**
nè **cì-n-è** **ɟùmúr-kɛ́:^{L}** **wó:ɗ-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 **ŋà:r** *'go'*:

Example V.54: benefactive use with intransitive verbs

ŋà:r kɔ́ é:tá^{L} còlàk bà:búj né:kík.
ŋà:r **kɔ́** **é:t-a^{L}** **còlàk** **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 kɛ̀ː rí:ɓêːr gòpɛ̀.**
nè kɛ̀ː rí:ɓ-êːr gòp-ɛ
CONJ go\3S.DJ put-CF.3S.DJ path\SG-LOC
He placed her on the path.

b) **làkɛ́^{L} ɓà ɟàrtí òm cìnɔ̀ lákíː^{L} ámɗúk.**
làk-ɛ́^{L} ɓà ɟàrtí òm cì-n-ɔ̀ lák-iː^{L}
have-IMPS.DJ REMPST.CJ woman\SG.ABS one DEM-SG-DIST have-AP.3S
ámɗ=k
abdomen\SG.LOC=SUB
There was a woman who had something in the abdomen (=who was pregnant).

c) **nè gàgêːɗ táːˈrák^{L} cìgè ɓá^{L} mèdéː^{L} ɗùk tàkík.**
nè gàɓ-gêːɗ táːr-ák^{L} cì-g-è ɓá^{L} mèd-éː^{L}
CONJ give-TF.3S.CJ meat-PL.ABS REL-PL-HR REMPST roast-IMPS.DJ
ɗùk 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} kɔ́nk ɟàrtĭ: kɔ́nk.**
nè ɓá^{L} pìr-kĭ bà:búj^{L} kɔ́nk ɟàrtĭ:
CONJ REMPST hurry-CP.3S.DJ husband\SG.NOM REF\RECPST woman\SG.LOC.MOD
kɔ́nk
REF\RECPST
The aforementioned husband hurried over from the aforementioned woman.

b) **nɔ̀ ɔ:jí:^{L} ŋá:w à gírójkê:n ɗɔ́:k ràŋ.**
nɔ̀ ɔ:j-ĭ:^{L} ŋá:w à gírój-kê:n ɗɔ́:k ràŋ
CONJ drive-1P.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} pìrí:^{L} étè cé^{L} kàtàmɛ́á^{L}.**
kó^{L} pìr-ĭ:^{L} ét-è cé^{L} kàtàmɛ́-a^{L}
HORT\1P fly-1P.DJ man\SG-LOC DEM.SG.SP.LOC town\SG-DAT
Let's fly to town with this man!

b) **nè dì:lé wà: tàpáɗónk.**
nè dì:l-é wà: tàpáɗ-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 èkàŋè:ɗ lòŋgóló:tè gɔ̀rɔ̀à ɗɛ́:gá^{L} cɔ́^{L}.
nè èkàŋ-ɛ:ɗ lòŋgóló:t-è gɔ̀rɔ̀-à ɗɛ́:gá^{L} cɔ́^{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 **ɔ̀kó** *'like'* is used.

Example V.59: comparison with preposition **ɔ̀kó**

nè ɓáᴸ káːr dènèr ŋédán à dêːŋ ɔ̀kó mádᴸ.
nè ɓáᴸ káːr dèn-èr ŋédán à déː=ŋ ɔ̀kó mádᴸ
CONJ REMPST *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 **ɔ̀kó** 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 **ɔ̀kó** 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 ɓáᴸ cénkᴸ ɗáɗámíːᴸ kúˈrôjŋ.**
nè ɓáᴸ cénkᴸ ɗáɗám-iːᴸ kúˈrój=ŋ
CONJ REMPST 3S.CONTR eat\IPFV-AP.3S donkey\SG.NOM=SFT
He, Donkey, was eating.

b) **ɓòkòdîːkín kó rè.**
ɓòkò-dîː-k-ín kó rè
kill-AP-EXT-2S.DJ RECPST 2S.PRAG
It is you who has killed.

c) **kóᴸ ɓánkáːwrìː nɔ̀ ìɲáːgɗíːkìː.**
kóᴸ ɓánkáːw-r-ɨ́ːᴸ nɔ̀ ìɲáːg-dîː-k-ɨ́ːᴸ
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 **-dî:^{L}**

a) **ŋù:lè béá^{L}**.
ŋù:l-è **béá^{L}**
break-3S.CJ *spear\SG.ABS*
He broke a spear.

b) **ŋù:ldî: béá^{L} nè:kê:ŋ.**
ŋù:l-dî:^{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 **ŋù: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 **ìbá:l** *'play'*, **ìcí:c** *'prepare'*, **ìɟá:g** *'work'*, **ì:lìà:** *'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^{L} à rè:ríŋ.
àr-á **ídí^{L}** **à** **rĕ: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 **gàɓ** *'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 ɓá^{L} tíná^{L} gàɓé òlà bàŋé.
à **ɓá^{L}** **tín-a^{L}** **gàɓ-é** **òlà** **bàŋé**
CONJ *REMPST* *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 gàgê:ɗ tá:ˈrá^{L} célcélɛ́kònk.
nè **gàɓ-gê:ɗ** **tá:r-á^{L}** **célcél-ɛk-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 **gàɓ** 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 **-gê:ɗ** 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 tòngéːᴸ ménkᴸ ké
nè tòn-gêːɗ ménkᴸ 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

díːlᴸ táᴸ mádᴸ kòcíéónk ɟàrtìà cɔ̀!
díːlᴸ táᴸ mádᴸ kòcíé-ónk ɟàrtì-à cɔ́ᴸ
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

ŋà:r kɔ́ é:tá^{L} còlàk bà:búj né:kík.
ŋà:r kɔ́ é:t-a^{L} còlàk 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 dʊ̀ŋéd^{L} cìnè ɓák^{L} kɔ́:múc né:k.
nè kàw-è dʊ̀ŋéd^{L} cì-n-è ɓák^{L} kɔ́:múc 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} ɓɔ̀ ré wár àgàlkún^{L} é:k^{L} nè kè: dâm ɟét.**
má^{L} ɓɔ̀ ré wár àgàl-kʊ́n^{L} é:k^{L}
but also 3S.PRAG dog\SG.NOM hide-SIMUL.3S.DJ body\SG.ABS
nè kè: dâm ɟét
CONJ go.3S eat\3S.DJ very
But also Dog, while hiding himself, went to eat properly.

b) **nè wìdêr é:k^{L} gòdèà kɔ́nk.**
nè **wìd-êr** **é:k^{L}** **gòdè-à** **kɔ́nk**
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 kɔ́:^{L} kà:kàcí:^{L} é:k^{L}.
nè **kɔ́:^{L}** **kà:kàc-ĭ:^{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 **ɓà** *'remote past (REMPST)'*, **kán**^{L} *'medium past (MEDPST)'*, **kɔ́** *'recent past (RECPST)'*, **kɔ́ː**^{L} *'near future (NFUT)'* and **kɔ́j** *'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 **ɓák**^{L}, **kánk**^{L} and **kɔ́nk** (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 ɓáᴸ càːdíᴸ ɓákᴸ làkè dʊ̀ŋédᴸ.**
nè ɓáᴸ càːdíᴸ ɓákᴸ làk-è dʊ̀ŋédᴸ
CONJ REMPST there REF\REMPST have-IMPS.CJ hyena\SG.ABS
In that aforementioned place there was a hyena.

b) **máᴸ ɓɔ̀ rɛ́ dàkɛ́ táːrᴸ cìnè kánkᴸ càːdíᴸ.**
máᴸ ɓɔ̀ rɛ́ dàk-ɛ́ táːrᴸ cì-n-è kánkᴸ càːdíᴸ.
but also 3S.PRAG remain-3S.DJ meat\SG.NOM DEM-SG-HR REF\MEDPST there
But that aforementioned meat also remained there.

c) **máᴸ wárᴸ kɔ́nk ŋàːrkí nè dâm à óbîːŋ.**
máᴸ wárᴸ kɔ́nk ŋàːr-kí nè dâm
but dog\SG.NOM.MOD REF\RECPST come-CP.3S.DJ CONJ eat\3S.DJ
à óbíː=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 **ɓákᴸ** appears together with the tense marker **ɓáᴸ** at the beginning of the clause. In example b) the tense marker **kánᴸ** 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 ɓáᴸ jàwé kúˈrój cìnè ɓákìŋ.**
nè ɓáᴸ jàw-é kúˈrój cì-n-è ɓák=ŋ
CONJ REMPST cut-3S.DJ donkey\SG.ABS DEM-SG-HR REF\REMPST=SFT
He cut through that aforementioned donkey.

b) **máᴸ ɓòkòtú émécᴸ lèːrăːŋ.**
máᴸ ɓòkòt-í émécᴸ lèːr-à=ŋ
but kill-3S.DJ mother\3S.ABS Leer-DAT=SFT
But he killed Leer's mother.

c) **nè ɓɔ́ ré kèːdí dɛ́ːgáᴸ cɔ́ᴸ.**
nè ɓɔ́ ré kèːd-í dɛ́ːgáᴸ cɔ́ᴸ
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) **dɛ̀nɛ́ wâr ádúréák^{L}.**
dɛ̀n-ɛ́ wâr ádúré-ak^{L}
see-3S.DJ dog\SG.ERG cat-PL.ABS
A dog sees cats.

b) **dɛ̌dɛ́n wâr àdúré.**
dɛ̌dɛ́n wâr àdúré
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} tá:tápí:kì: kócùnk?
má^{L} tá:táp-i:-k-ǐ:^{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 ó:jèr ɟó:p^{L} má^{L} ɔgó:k^{L} nánájîːŋ.**
nè ó:j-èr ɟó:p^{L} má^{L} ɔgó:k^{L} nánáj-iː^{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 ɓá^{L} cénk^{L} dăɗămíː^{L} kúˈrôjŋ.**
nè ɓá^{L} cénk^{L} dăɗăm-iː^{L} kúˈrój^{L}=ŋ
CONJ REMPST 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 **ɔkɔ̀n** *'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

ɔkɔ̀n kó làk dúndĕŋ gún^{L} kó kí rérín
ɔkɔ̀n 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 **ɛ́**. It is used instead of the conjunction **nɛ̀** 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 **ɛ́**

a) **nɛ̀ ɔ̀kɔ̀n mɛ̀ɟkɛ́^{L} ɛ́ ìɟá:gkɛ́^{L} ...**
nɛ̀ ɔ̀kɔ̀n mɛ̀ɟ-kɛ́^{L} ɛ́ ìɟá:g-kɛ́^{L}
CONJ if rush-INCHOA.3P CONJ\IRR work-INCHOA.3P
If they started to rush and to work ...

b) **bɔ̀dí:kí:^{L} kɔ́:^{L} ŋá:wɛ̌ŋ. ɛ́ kɔ́:^{L} ɓɔ̀lɔ̀:rɛ́ ɗɔ́:^{L} nànk.**
bɔ̀dí:-k-i:^{L} kɔ́:^{L} ŋá:w-é=ŋ ɛ́ kɔ́:^{L}
escape-EXT-1P NFUT hunger\SG.LOC=SFT CONJ\IRR NFUT
ɓɔ̀lɔ̀:r-ɛ́ ɗɔ́:^{L} nànk
grow-3S.DJ land\SG.NOM.MOD POSS\1P.SG.NOM
We will escape from hunger. Our land will increase.

c) **ìɟá:g kɛ́:^{L} cìnɔ̀ témk ɛ́ kɛ́:^{L} cìnɔ̀ dàrà:jɛ́:k.**
ìɟá:g k-ɛ́:^{L} cì-n-ɔ̀ tém=k ɛ́ k-ɛ́:^{L}
work\SG.ABS NEG-IMPS REL-SG-DIST small\3S.SG=SUB CONJ\IRR NEG-IMPS.DJ
cì-n-ɔ̀ dàrà:j-ɛ́:^{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 **ɛ́** 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 **-V̋: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 dènêːr wárᴸ cìnè à dʉ̀dʉ̀n dɛ́ᴸ tàdáput.**
nè dèn-êːr wárᴸ cì-n-è à dʉ̀dʉ̀n dɛ́ᴸ
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 ŋàːrkí dʉ́ŋɛ́ᴸ kékàr.**
nè ŋàːr-kí dʉ́ŋɛ́ᴸ kékàr
CONJ go-CP.3S.DJ hyena\SG.NOM again
Hyena came over again.

d) **nè bòŋáˈgêːɗ càkàíː lèːrík.**
nè bòŋ-á-gêːɗ càkàíː lèːrík
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 Päri (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 mùkérgéːᴸ dûkà cê.
nè mùk-ér-gêːɗ dûk-à céᴸ
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–absolutive NP as the default and morphologically least marked syntactic structure:

Example V.80: pragmatically unmarked structure

nè kèː làŋkì émécᴸ lèːrà.
nè kèː làŋ-kì émécᴸ lèːr-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) **íˈtó ré cénk^{L} dàdàmùn júmój?**
íˈtó ré cénk^{L} dàdàm-ìn 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 ɓá^{L} cénk^{L} dădámí:^{L} kúˈrôjŋ. má^{L} cénk wár^{L} làk ŋá:w^{L}.**
nè ɓá^{L} cénk^{L} dădám-i:^{L} kúˈrój=ŋ
CONJ *REMPST* *3S.CONTR* *eat\IPFV-AP-3S* *donkey\SG.NOM=SFT*
má^{L} cénk^{L} wár^{L} làk ŋá: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 dɛ́ʲjá à tá^{L} cɛ̌ːn^{L} cénk^{L} ɟùmùrún.**
nè dɛ́j-á à tá^{L} cɛ̌ːn^{L} cénk^{L} ɟùmùr-ín=ŋ
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 pronoun[107]. Example c) is particularly interesting as it has two preposed constituents: The regular personal pronoun **cɛ̌ːn^{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 cìnɔ̀ pàːrírkúndɔ́^{L} dákédâk.
ègè cì-n-ì cì-n-ɔ̀ pàːr-írkun-ɗ-ɔ^{L} dákédâ=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.

[107]In 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

wôːɗ cìnè màlé ídíˈtík?
wôːɗ cì-n-è màl-é ídít^{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) **ɟàrtí náːk, làŋká^{L} kó dûk tàk!**
ɟàrtí náːk làŋ-ká^{L} kó dûk tàk
woman\SG.ABS *POSS\1S.SG.ABS* *find-CP.1S.DJ* *RECPST* *forest\SG.LOC* *inside\LOC*
My woman, I found (her) in the forest!

b) **ɟàrtí náːk, dâm kó ɟìkónt?**
ɟàrtí náːk dâm kó ɟìkónt
woman\SG.ABS *POSS\1S.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 kìr cè:nà gájé:^{L} òlá:t^{L} bàŋé.**
nè k-ìr cè:n-à gàj-é:^{L} òlá:t^{L} bàŋé
CONJ NEG-3P 3S-DAT *succeed*-NEG *things*\NOM *all*
All things will fail him.

b) **nè ɔ̀kɔ̀n kí bóŋí:dĩŋ ...**
nè ɔ̀kɔ̀n k-í bɔ̀ŋ-ĩ:dˊ=ŋ
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 kɔ́ jɔ:sép ɓɔ̀kɔ̀tì:t dɛ̃pé^{L}.
k-í kɔ́ jɔ:sép ɓɔ̀kɔ̀t-i:t dɛ̃pé^{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

kíː^{L} gájéː^{L}.
k-íː^{L} gàj-ɛ́ː^{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 ìŋáːg^{L} cìnɔ̀ kómój ɔ̀móŋ^{L} ŋɔ́nk dákéːdà.
mókò ìŋáːg^{L} cì-n-ɔ̀ kómój ɔ̀móŋ^{L} ŋɔ́nk dákéːdà
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 èːt àgáltˡ!
mókò èːt àgáltˡ
COP\NEG 1S thief\SG.ABS
I am not a thief!

There is also a negative existential form, which, just as the affirmative form **làkɛ́^{L}**, is an impersonal verb form:

Example V.90: use of negative existential form

ìŋáːg kɛ́ː^{L} cìnɔ̀ témk ɛ́ kɛ́ː^{L} cìnɔ̀ dàràːjéːk.
ìŋáːg k-ɛ́ː^{L} cì-n-ɔ̀ tém=k ɛ́ k-ɛ́ː^{L}
work\SG.ABS NEG-IMPS REL-SG-DIST small\3S.SG=SUB CONJ\IRR NEG-IMPS

cì-n-ɔ̀ dàrà:j-ɛ́:^{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) **dâmí:^{L} kɔ̀ tâ:r wô:ɗ?**
dâm-í:^{L} kɔ̀ tâ:r wô:ɗ
eat-AP.3S.DJ RECPST\CJ meat\SG.ABS who\SG.ERG
Who ate meat?[108]

[108]Here 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) **dàmíːᴸ kɔ̀ tâːr tɔ̂ːn.**

dàm	**kɔ̀**	**tâːr**	**tɔ̂n**
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) **dàm kɔ̀ tâːr wɔ̂ːɗ?**

dàm	**kɔ̀**	**tâːr**	**wɔ̂ːɗ**
eat\3S.DJ	*RECPST\CJ*	*meat\SG.ABS*	*who\SG.ERG*

Who ate meat?

b) **dàm kɔ̀ tâːr tɔ́nᴸ kɔ́nkúŋ.**

dàm	**kɔ̀**	**tâːr**	**tɔ́nᴸ**	**kɔ́nk=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 **tɔ́nᴸ** *'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) **dàm kó dɔ̀mɔ̂ːn ɟìkôn?**
dàm kó dɔ̀mɔ̂ːn ɟìkôn
eat\3S.DJ RECPST leopard\SG.ERG what\SG.ABS
What did the leopard eat?

b) **dàm kɔ̀ tâːr.**
dàm kɔ̀ tâːr
eat\3S.DJ RECPST\CJ meat\SG.ABS
He ate meat.

c) **dàm kó tâːr kónkúŋ.**
dàm kó tâːr 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} kɔ́:^{L} è:t mó?**
má^{L} kɔ́:^{L} è:t mó
but *NFUT* *1S* *alone*
Will I now be alone?

b) **í$^{+}$tó ré cénk^{L} dàdàmùn júmój?**
í$^{+}$tó ré cénk^{L} dàdàm-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):

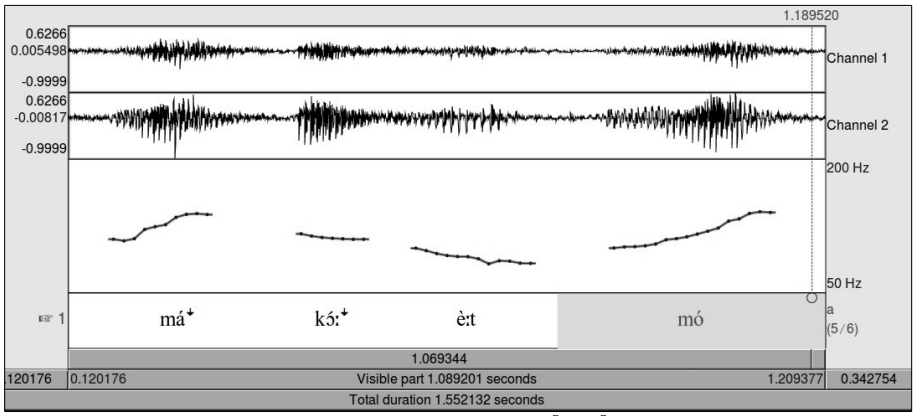

Figure 10: pitch drawing of **má^{L} kɔ́:^{L} è:t mó?**

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:

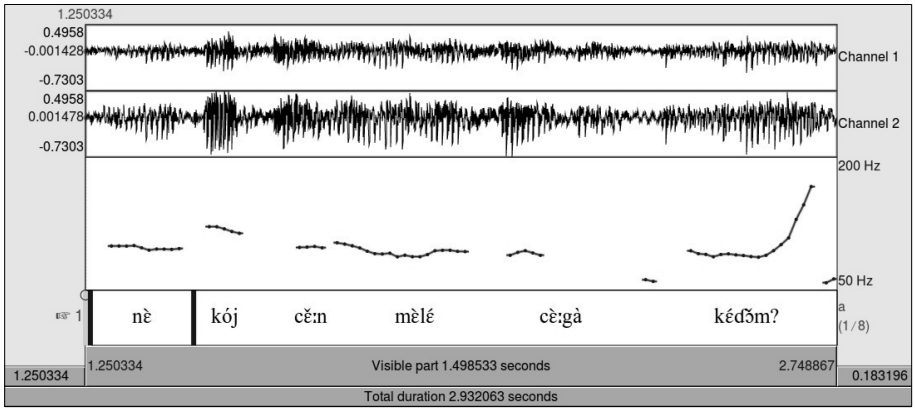

Figure 11: Pitch drawing of **nè kój cě:n mèlé cè:gà kédɔ̀m?**

This illustration is part of the following example V.95, where the polar question ends in the low tone of **kédɔ̀m**. 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 ɔ́dɔ́:kà kí: nè kój cě:n mèlé cè:gà kédɔ̀m?
nè cì-n-ì ɔ́dɔ́: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 kédɔ̀m
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 **jô:**, which seems to particularly stress the polarity of a question:

Example V.96: question marker **jô:**

dɛ̌jér^{L} màcá:pé^{L} né:k cìnɨ̌ŋ jô:?
dɛ̌j-ɛr^{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:pèrkíŋ jô: èk cénk cìnì?
nè kó:^{L} kékàr tà:p-ɛrk=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) **àrí:^{L} kój cá:^{L} òlà cìgì èk?**
àr-ɨ̌:^{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:mɔ́k^{L} à ègèr?**
làk-ín tó:m-ɔk^{L} à ègèr
have-2S.DJ child-PL.ABS CONJ how.many?
How many children do you have?

Participant interrogative pronoun wôːɗ *'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 **wôːɗ** asks for a human referent, in any grammatical role. The form **wôːɗ** is used for all central cases. The dative is **wóːɗáᴸ**, the locative **wóːɗè,** and the possessive **wóːk**. The plural forms are **wóːˈɗákᴸ** for all central cases, **wóːɗákáᴸ** (dative), **wóːɗákɛ́ᴸ** (locative) and **wóːɗɛ́ːkᴸ** (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

máᴸ	**cénkᴸ,**	**ɨ̌ːnᴸ**	**wôːɗ?**
CONJ	*2S.CONTR*	*2S*	*who*

But you, who are you?

Since the **wôːɗ** 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 ɟùmúrkɛ́ːᴸ wóːɗáᴸ cénk?**

nè	**cì-n-è**	**ɟùmúr-kɛ́ːᴸ**	**wóːɗ-aᴸ**	**cénk**
CONJ	*DEM-SG-HR*	*return-CP.IMPS.DJ*	*who-DAT*	*3S.CONTR*

To whom will that be returned?

b) **nè ɓànkàwkàː néːk bàŋé, láˈkíːᴸ wóːɗàk?**

nè	**ɓànkàw-kàː**	**néːk**	**bàŋé**	**lák-íːᴸ**	**wóːɗ-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 **wôːɗ** 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 **wôːɗ** 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 ɟìkôn *'what?'*

The participant interrogative pronoun **ɟìkôn** *'what?'* refers to non-human participants of the discourse. For *A* constituents, this is replaced by the ergative form **ɟìkónt**. This pronoun can also be used in the other cases. The dative is **ɟìkóntá**, the locative **ɟìkój** and the possessive **ɟìkónk**. In the plural, the forms are **ɟìkónàk** (all central cases), **ɟìkónákɛ́**^{L} (locative), **ɟìkónáká**^{L} (dative) and **ɟìkónákônk** (possessive).

Example V.101: non-human interrogative **ɟìkôn**

a) **… mánk tɔ́kɔ́ŋ**^{L} **cìnè tíná**^{L} **gàɓèrk cɛ́:kìk ɟìkôn?**
mánk **tɔ́-kɔŋ**^{L} **cì-n-è** **tín-a**^{L} **gàɓ-ɛrk** **cɛ́:k^{ɨ}=k** **ɟìkôn**
or *INF-help\SG.ABS* *REL-SG-HR* *1S-DAT* *give-CP.3P* *3P.CONTR=SUB* *what*
... or what is the help that they provide for us?

b) **ɟàrtí ná:k, dâm kɔ́ ɟìkónt?**
ɟàrtí **ná:k** **dâm** **kɔ́** **ɟìkónt**
woman\SG.ABS *POSS\1S.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**

bóŋdí:^{L} **tâ:r wón?**
bóŋ-dí:^{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 òkódʃ *'when?'*
The interrogative pronoun **òkódʃ** *'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 **òkódʃ**

àmbàbéːᴸ kój cèːg òkódʃ?
àmbàb-éːᴸ kój cèːg òkódʃ
read-IMPS.DJ DFUT 3P when
When are they going to be read?

Local interrogative pronoun éːtᴸ *'where?'*
Just like the temporal interrogative pronoun, the local interrogative pronoun **éːtᴸ** asks for information in an adverbial role and cannot be inflected for case.

Example V.104: local interrogative **éːtᴸ**

làŋá kóːᴸ ìndíːᴸ éːtᴸ?
làŋ-á kóːᴸ ìndíːᴸ éːtᴸ
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**

àríːᴸ kój cáːᴸ òlà cìgì èk?
àr-ɨːᴸ kój cáːᴸ 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 tɔ́:mɔ́k^{L} à ègèr?
làk-ín tɔ́:m-ɔk^{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 **ètɛ́ èk** *'how much?'*.

Example V.107: asking for a non-countable amount

làkín ótì: à ètɛ́ èk?
làk-ín ótì: à ètɛ́ èk
have-2S.DJ flour\SG.ABS CONJ much how
How much flour do you have?

Causal interrogative àgút^{L} ɟìkôn *'why?'*
The causal interrogative pronoun consists of two words in Majang, the causal conjunction **àgút^{L}** *'because'* and the non-human participant interrogative **ɟìkôn**.

Example V.108: causal interrogative **àgút^{L} ɟìkôn?**

ìndí rɔ̀gúkún^{L} tá^{L} àgút^{L} ɟìkôn?
ìndí rɔ̀g-kín^{L} tá^{L} àgút^{L} ɟìkôn
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 tɔ́^{L} tá^{L} wàɗ té:já!**
nè tɔ́^{L} tá^{L} wàɗ té:já
CONJ INTERJ 1S.DAT come\IMP.SG skin\IMP.SG
So what? Come and slaughter (it) for me!

b) **dí:l^{L} tá^{L} mád^{L} kòcíéónk ɟàrtìà cɔ̂!**
dí:l^{L} tá^{L} mád^{L} kòcíé-ónk ɟàrtì-à cɔ́^{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) **ɗámú^{L} tá:mɛ́^{L} á:bɛ́ɛ́:kònk!**
ɗám-i^{L} tá:m-ɛ^{L} á:bɛ́-ɛ́:k-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

té:jɗí:ˡkín nè tá^{L} gàkín^{L} dúndè né:kíŋ!
té:j-ɗí:-k-ín nè tá^{L} gà6-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

ídĭtᴸ cìnɔ̀ tàmà:ré ŋɔ́nk ìn tàmà:ré kédɔ̀m!

ídĭtᴸ	**cì-n-ɔ̀**	**tàmà:r-é**	**ŋɔ́nk**	**ìn**	**tàmà:r-é**	**kédɔ̀m**
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 **kóᴸ**.

Example V.112: hortative clauses

a) **kóᴸ ɓánká:wrì: nɔ̀ ìɟá:gdĭ:kì:!**

kóᴸ	**ɓánká:w-r-ĭ:ᴸ**	**nɔ̀**	**ìɟá:g-dì:-k-ĭ:ᴸ**	
HORT\1P	*strong-INCPT-1P.DJ*	*CONJ*	*work-AP-EXT-1P.DJ*	

Let's get strong and work!

b) **kóᴸ tè ɓɔ̀kó:tì: ìndíáᴸ gânk**

kóᴸ	**tè**	**ɓɔ̀kó:t-ĭ:ᴸ**	**ìndí-aᴸ**	**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 **nɔ̀**, 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 **gúndɛ̌n**, which appears to be composed of **gún**^{L} *'before'* and the verb **dɛ̀n** *'see'*.

Example V.113: precative clause

cà:kóm^{L}, gúndɛ̌n pà:rà áŋ^{L} kɔ́nk à bálâ:ŋ!

cà:kóm^{L}	**gúndɛ̌n**	**pà:r-à**	**áŋ^{L}**	**kɔ́nk**	**à**	**bálá:=ŋ**
friend\SG.ABS	PRCTV	*try-1*S.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

làkɛ́^{L} ɓà nɔ̀ ɓɔ̀kó:rján. nɛ̀ ɓá^{L} tònú cɔ̀:líláŋtá^{L} kɛ́ "ó:lùn típír à é:kê:r. ìnkó:ˈté pìrí:^{L}!" nɛ̀ tòngé:^{L} cɔ̀:líláŋt^{L} kɛ́ "dɔ̀:c." nɛ̀ tònú cɔ̀:líláŋt^{L} ménkà kɛ́ "kó^{L} pìrí:^{L} étè cé^{L} kàtàméá^{L}!" nɛ̀ tòngé:^{L} ménk^{L} kɛ́ "dɔ̀: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 **kɛ́**. 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} lɛ̀ːr íɗít^{L} cìnɔ̀ ɗɛ̀gɛ̀ɟík.**
má^{L} lɛ̀ːr íɗít^{L} cì-n-ɔ̀ ɗɛ̀gɛ̀ɟ=k
but Leer\NOM man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST deceiver=SUB
But Leer was a deceiver.

b) **… àgút^{L} cìnɔ̀ kán^{L} ɓòkòtìːɗ ɗúŋé^{L} cìnɛ̀ càːkóm^{L} nɛ́ːkík**
àgút^{L} cì-n-ɔ̀ kán^{L} ɓòkòt-iːɗ ɗúŋé^{L}
because DEM-SG-DIST MEDPST kill-RELPST.3S hyena\SG.NOM.MOD
cì-n-ɛ̀ càːkóm^{L} nɛ́ːk=k
DEM-SG-HR friend\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS=SUB
... because that Hyena had killed his friend.

[109]There 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 **ŋɔ́nk** whenever the subordinate clause ends in a verb or numeral.

Example V.116: subordinate-clause marker **ŋɔ́nk**

a) **èːt ré ídɪ̋tᴸ cìnɔ̀ téːtéːjíːᴸ ŋɔ́nk.**
èːt ré ídɪ̋tᴸ cì-n-ɔ̀ téːtéːj-iːᴸ ŋɔ́nk
1S 2S.PRAG man\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST skin\IPFV-AP.3S SUB
Sir, I am the butcher.

b) **mókɔ̀ ìɟáːgᴸ cìnɔ̀ kómój ɔ̀móŋᴸ ŋɔ́nk dákɛ́ːdà.**
mókɔ̀ ìɟáːgᴸ cì-n-ɔ̀ kómój ɔ̀móŋᴸ ŋɔ́nk dákɛ́ːdà
COP\NEG work\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST kind\SG.ABS one SUB only
Work is not just of one kind.

c) **…àgútᴸ cìnɔ̀ àtù májáŋéːrᴸ gèːnékᴸ cɔ̀ːgíᴸákéᴸ bàkàŋɟù ŋɔ́nk mánk jɔ̀wèrɟù ŋɔ́nk.**
àgútᴸ cì-n-ɔ̀ à-tù májáŋ-eːrᴸ gèːn-ékᴸ cɔ̀ːgí-ák-ɛᴸ
because DEM-SG-DIST exist-3P Majang-PL.NOM.MOD POSS\3S.PL-NOM place-PL-LOC
bàkàŋ-ɟù ŋɔ́nk mánk jɔ̀wèɗ-ɟù ŋɔ́nk
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 **=ŋ** 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 càːdíᴸ bòŋú nè dìːlé wàː tàpáɗónk.
nè càːdíᴸ bòŋ-í nè dìːl-é wàː tàpáɗ-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 **bòŋú**, and if this were a sentence on its own, the *SFT*-marker would turn this word into **bòŋúŋ**. 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 àmbàbéːᴸ kój cèːg òkóɗ mánk mèlèr kój máɟáŋéːráᴸ géːnáᴸ òkóɗ?
nè kój cénk cì-g-ì àmbàb-éːᴸ kój cèːg òkóɗ
CONJ DFUT 3S.CONTR DEM-PL-SP read-IMPS.DJ DFUT 3P when
mánk mèl-ɛr kój máɟáŋ-ɛːr-aᴸ géːn-aᴸ òkóɗ
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 càːdíᴸ dɛ̀gér ké dɛ̀jé kɔ̀ː ɓàrtɛ̀ːt.
nè càːdíᴸ dɛ̀gér ké dɛ̀j-é kɔ̀ː ɓàrt-ɛːt
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 **dɛ̀jé** serves as the unnamed subject of **ɓàrtɛ̀ːt**, 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 **ɓàrtɛ̀ːt** 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 rɔ:ríjɔ́n^{L} nè:ké:k ɔ:dǐ:ŋ.
nè **rɔ:ríj-ɔ́n^{L}** **nè:k-é=k** **ɔ:dǐ:=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 **dɛ̂jɛ́** *'she needs'* and the infinitive **ɓàrtɛ̀:t** *'to give birth'*. Syntactically, the infinitive could be conceived as the object of **dɛ̂jɛ́**, but, in line with the analysis in section IV.3.5, **dɛ̂jɛ́** 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 **ɗɛ̀jɛ́ kɔ̀ː ɓàrtɛ̀ːt** *'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

ɗɔ̀k dákɛ́ː^{L} báŋìàk ɔ̀láːtɛ́^{L} cìgɔ́ːgɛ́^{L} ɓɔ́ːkáː^{L} ŋɔ́nk.
ɗɔ̀k dák-ɛ́ː^{L} báŋì-a=k ɔ̀láːt-ɛ^{L} cì-g-ɔ́ː-g-ɛ^{L}
bring\3S.DJ remain-INF back\SG-DAT=SUB things-LOC REL-PL-DIST-PL-LOC
ɓɔ́ːkáː^{L} ŋɔ́nk
many\3S SUB
It will result in many things staying backwards.

In this sentence, the clause headed by the infinitive **dákɛ́^{L}** is the object of the matrix clause headed by the verb **ɗɔ̀k**. This is a genuine object clause, indicated by the use of the subordinate-clause marker **=k**. Another subordinate marker **ŋɔ́nk** follows the relative clause used as the quantifier.

Many object clauses stand for the message part of speech verbs, or, by metaphoric extension, for the result of cognitive verbs. These are not formed with infinitives, but with fully inflected clauses introduced by the quotative marker **kɛ́**.

Speech clauses

The quotative marker **kɛ́** is primarily used for introducing speech clauses.

Example V.122: quotative marker **kɛ́** introducing a speech clause

nɛ̀ tòngɛ́ː^{L} kɛ́ "làkáː à ɟíːt^{L}."
nɛ̀ tòn-gɛ̂ːɗ kɛ́ làk-á à ɟíːt^{L}
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 **kɛ́** is just a placeholder for the object of the speech verb. Phonologically, **kɛ́** is part of the matrix clause, as there is usually a noticeable pause between **kɛ́** 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 làŋkà ánîːn, écɔ̀ rìjéᴸ ké ìjóːb.
nè kó làŋ-kà ánîːn écɔ̀ rìj-éᴸ ké ìjóːb
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

kòɓún ké dílkáᴸ nà óltɨ̌ːr?
kòɓ-ín ké díl-káᴸ nà ólt-ɨ̌ːr
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 **cìnɔ̀**. 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

nɛ̀ kàwɛ̀ ɗũ̀ŋéɗ^{L} **cìnɛ̀ ɓák**^{L} **kó:múc nɛ́:k à ɓòkòtî:r dákɛ́ɗâ,** <u>**àgút**^{L} **cìnɔ̀**</u> **kán**^{L} **ɓòkòtì:ɗ ɗúŋé**^{L} **cìnɛ̀ cà:kóm**^{L} **nɛ́:kík.**

nɛ̀	kàw-ɛ̀	ɗũ̀ŋéɗ^{L}	cì-n-ɛ̀	ɓák^{L}	kó:múc	nɛ́:k
CONJ	*bite-3S.CJ*	*hyena\SG.ABS*	*DEM-SG-HR*	*REF\REMPST*	*muzzle\SG.ABS*	*POSS\3S.SG.ABS*

à	ɓòkòt-î:r	dákɛ́ɗâ	àgút^{L}	cì-n-ɔ̀	kán^{L}	ɓòkòt-i:ɗ
CONJ	*kill-CF.3S*	*only*	*because*	*DEM-SG-DIST*	*MEDPST*	*kill-RELPST.3S*

ɗúŋé^{L}	cìnɛ̀	cà:kóm^{L}	nɛ́: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

nɛ̀ rɔ́:ríjɔ́n^{L} **nɛ̀:kɛ́:k ò:ɗí:ŋ,** <u>**àgút**^{L} **cìnɔ̀**</u> **àtù máɟáŋé:r**^{L} **gɛ̀:nɛ́k cò:gí**^{L}**ákɛ́ bàkàɲɟù ŋɔ́nk.**

nɛ̀	rɔ́:ríj-ɔ̃́n^{L}	nɛ̀:k-ɛ́:k	ò:ɗî:=ŋ	àgút^{L}	cì-n-ɔ̀
CONJ	*teach-INF.SG.NOM.MOD*	*POSS\3S.SG-NOM*	*difficult\3S=SFT*	*because*	*DEM-SG-DIST*

à-tù	máɟáŋ-e:r^{L}	gɛ̀:nɛ́k	cò:gí-ák-ɛ	bàkàɲ-ɟù	ŋɔ́nk
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:ɗí:ŋ** 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 **àgútᴸ**. If the expressed reason is not fully validated, the conjunction **cé:dɛ̌n** *'because it seems'* can be used:

Example V.127: causal clause with **cé:dɛ̌n**

cé:dɛ̌n tínᴸ ɓó:jídɛ́:ᴸ ŋɔ́nk, kóᴸ ŋà:rí:ᴸ!
cé:dɛ̌n **tínᴸ** **ɓó:j-í:d-ɛ:ᴸ** **ŋɔ́nk** **kóᴸ** **ŋà:r-ɨ̌:ᴸ**
because.it.seems *1P* *hate-RELPST-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 **ŋɔ́nk**, 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 **ŋɔ́nk**, but by the conditional clause clitic **=ŋ**, which has the same form as the sentence-final topicality marker *(SFT)*.

Example V.128: conditional construction

nè ɔ̀kɔ̀n cá:ᴸ làŋírkîd cìtétìŋ nè kó:ᴸ kékàr tà:pèrkíŋ.
nè **ɔ̀kɔ̀n** **cá:ᴸ** **làŋ-írk-id** **cìtét=ŋ** **nè** **kó:ᴸ** **kékàr**
CONJ *if* *then* *find-CP-RELPST.3P* *mistake\SG.ABS=CND* *CONJ* *NFUT* *again*
tà:p-ɛrk=ŋ
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 **=ŋ**, 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 **ɔ̀kɔ̀n** *'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

ɔ̀kɔ̀n ɓánká:wrì: é ìɟá:gdĩ:kì: ɟétĩŋ, bɔ̀dí:^{L} kɔ́:^{L} ɔ̀lá:té^{L} bàŋé.
ɔ̀kɔ̀n ɓánká:wr-ĭ:^{L} é ìɟá:g-dĩ:-k-ĭ:^{L} ɟét=ŋ bɔ̀d-ĭ:^{L}
if get.strong-1P.DJ CONJ\IRR work-AP-EXT-1P.DJ very=CND well-1P.DJ
kɔ́:^{L} ɔ̀lá:t-ɛ^{L} bàŋé
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

ɔ̀kɔ̀n tínáᴸ dɔ̀ːméŋ nè ɓáːnᴸéᴸ ŋàːríːᴸ nè àrìː lèːwèːt.
ɔ̀kɔ̀n tín-aᴸ dɔ̀ːm-é=ŋ nè ɓáːn-éᴸ ŋàːr-ǐːᴸ nè àr-ìː lèːw-ɛːt
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

ɔ̀kɔ̀n kɔ́ làk dúndɛ̌ŋ gúnᴸ kɔ́ kí rérín. kí déᴸ dúndɛ̀.
ɔ̀kɔ̀n kɔ́ làk dúndɛ̀=ŋ gúnᴸ kɔ́ k-í rérín
if *RECPST have.3S heart\SG.ABS=COND before RECPST NEG-3S die.NEG*

k-í déᴸ dúndɛ̀
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 **ɔ̀kɔ̀n**, 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 gájéːᴸ à tònéːᴸ ké àmbàbèr kój májáŋéːrᴸ máᴸ téːnàn ɟéːméᴸ kéːᴸ róːríjáːtìŋ.
k-í gàj-éːᴸ à tòn-éːᴸ ké àmbàb-er kój májáŋ-eːrᴸ
NEG-3S succeed-NEG CONJ say-IMPS.DJ QUOT read-3P.DJ DFUT Majang-PL.NOM
máᴸ téːnàn ɟéːméᴸ k-éːᴸ róːríj-aːt=ŋ
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 **ɔ̀kɔ̀n** *'if'*, but begins with the conjunction cluster **máᴸ téːnàn** *'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 **nɔ̀**, which is used instead of the regular conjunction **nè**.

Example V.133: purpose clauses with quotative marker

rìːɓé ɓáˈtínᴸ wàːkójótᴸ à ɓáᴸ tínáᴸ gàɓé ɔlà bàŋé ké nɔ̀ ìɟáːgdĭːkìː , nɔ̀ kɔ̀ŋíːᴸ èkán gânk, nɔ̀ pɔːcíːᴸ cèːn.
rìːɓ-é ɓá tínᴸ wàːkójótᴸ à ɓáᴸ tínáᴸ gàɓ-é ɔlà
create-3S.DJ REMPST 1P God\NOM CONJ REMPST 1P.DAT give-3S.DJ things\NOM
bàŋé ké nɔ̀ ìɟáːg-dĭː-k-ĭːᴸ nɔ̀ kɔ̀ŋ-ĭːᴸ èk-án gânk
all QUOT CONJ work-AP-EXT-1P.DJ CONJ help-1P.DJ body-PL.ABS POSS\1P.PL.ABS
nɔ̀ pɔːc-ĭːᴸ cèːn
CONJ thank-1P.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 **nɔ̀** – 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-

nate-tense marker, and the paradigm can be found in that section. This does not mean, however, that they are the same marker. In the following example, the purpose marker appears in combination with another subordinate-tense marker in the same verb, which proves that purpose and relative-past markers do not fill the same slot in the verbal template.

Example V.134: purpose marker in simultaneous subordinate verb

cè ɓáᴸ ìɟáːˈgéːᴸ nè pàːrkúndéːᴸ dákéːdâk.
cè ɓáᴸ ìɟáːg-éːᴸ nè pàːr-kʉ́n-ɗ-éːᴸ dákéːdâ=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.

No example was found in which purpose marker and relative past occur together, but such an example would be semantically very difficult to conceive.

The following example displays another frequent feature of Majang purpose clauses: they are often accompanied by a future-tense marker.

Example V.135: purpose clause without quotative marker

nɔ̀ kój mèlèːɗ cèːgàk nè róːríˈjéːᴸ cèːg táːpˈtáːnákɛ́ cìgéːgê.
nɔ̀ kój mèl-ɛːɗ cèːg-à=k nè róːríj-éːᴸ cèːg táːp-táːn-akᴸ-ɛ
CONJ DFUT arrive-PURP.3S 3P.DAT=SUB CONJ teach-IMPS.DJ 3P letter-NOMIN-PL-LOC
cì-g-éː-g-eᴸ
DEM-PL-SP-PL-LOC
For it to reach them they will need to be taught in these letters.

It is also possible to create negative purpose clauses:

Example V.136: negative purpose clause

àgútᴸ ɟìkôn nɔ̀ mó túːkíːɗîːk àŋ ɔ̀mâːjŋ...
àgútᴸ ɟìkôn nɔ̀ mó túːk-íːɗ=k
because what CONJ COP-NEG join-PURP.3S
This is in order to not join...

The negative purpose clause also uses the conjunction **nɔ̀**, 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, ɟò: cìgè cǒ:jk rɔ́:ríjá:^{L} ré cé:k^{L} òkó cè dɛ́jɛ́rdîk.
nè cénk ɟò: cì-g-è cǒ:j=k rɔ́:ríj-a:^{L}
CONJ 3S.CONTR people\NOM.MOD REL-PL-HR there=SUB teach-DUR.3P
ré cé:k^{L} òkó cè dɛ́j-ɛrɗ=k
3P.PRAG 3P.CONTR like REL\SG.HR want-RELPST.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 ŋà:rkí dúŋé^{L} kékàr nè kùc tòngé:^{L} ké …**
nè ŋà:r-kí dúŋé^{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 gàgídín^{L} òkó cìnìk**
kè:ɗ-ín gàɓ-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 **ŋɔ́nk**.

Example V.139: relative clauses

a) **làkè ídĩ̀tᴸ cìnɔ̀ kɔ́ːᴸ tínáᴸ mèlkí ŋɔ́nk.**
làk-è ídĩ̀tᴸ cì-n-ɔ̀ kɔ́ːᴸ tín-aᴸ mèl-kí́ ŋɔ́nk
*have-*IMPS.CJ *man*\SG.ABS REL-SG-DIST NFUT *1*P-DAT *arrive-*CP.*3*S.DJ SUB
There is a man who is coming towards us.

b) **nè dènè gòdé òm cìnɔ̀ mèntán ŋɔ́nk.**
nè dèn-è gòdé òm cì-n-ɔ̀ mèntán ŋɔ́nk
CONJ *see-3*S.CJ *house*\SG.ABS *one*\ABS REL-SG-DIST *good**3*S.DJ SUB
She saw a good house.

c) **ìːnákᴸ ɟóːpᴸ cìgì rébéc⁺káːná⁺kík!**
ìːnákᴸ ɟóːpᴸ cì-g-ì rébéc-káːn-akᴸ=k
*2*S *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 gàgêːɗ táːˈráᴸ célcélɛ́kònk cìgè ɓáᴸ mèdɛ́ːᴸ dûk tàkík.
nè gàɓ-gêːɗ tâːr-áᴸ célcél-ɛk-ònk
CONJ give-TF.3S.CJ meat-ABS.PL.MOD lizard-PL-POSS
cì-g-è ɓáᴸ mèd-ɛ́ːᴸ dûk 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 kɔ́ cèːg àmbàbèr cìgɛ́ːgɛ́ᴸ kánᴸ ɟɛ́ːmɛ́k?
nè kɔ́ːᴸ cèːg àmbàb-ɛr cì-g-ɛ́ː-g-ɛ́ᴸ kánᴸ ɟɛ́ːmɛ́=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 ètéŋkᴸ gè kɔ́ àrkíːᴸ ìɟáːg nɛ́ːkɛ́kìk gàːmíːᴸ nè kèːɗíːᴸ ɲònìtàːkà.
nè ètéŋkᴸ gè kɔ́ àr-kǐːᴸ ìɟáːg nɛ́ːk-ɛkᴸ=k
CONJ 1P REL\PL.HR RECPST do-CP.1P.DJ work\SG.LOC POSS\3S.SG.LOC=SUB
gàːm-ǐːᴸ nè kèːɗ-ǐːᴸ ɲònìt-aːk-aᴸ
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-ɛr=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 tɔ́kɔ́ŋ^{L} cìnè tíná^{L} gàɓèrk cɛ́:kìk ɟìkôn?**
mánk tɔ́-kɔ́ŋ^{L} cì-n-è tín-a^{L} gàɓ-ɛrk cɛ́:k$^{!}$=k ɟìkôn
or INF-help\SG.ABS REL-SG-HR 1S-DAT give-CP.3P 3P.CONTR=SUB what
… or what is the help that they provide for us?

b) **ègè cìnì cìnɔ̀ pà:rírkúndɔ́^{L} dákɛ́dâk.**
ègè cì-n-ì cì-n-ɔ̀ pà:r-írkun-ɗ-ɔ^{L} dákɛ́dâ=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

làkɛ́^{L} ɓà ɟàrtí òm cìnɔ̀ làkí àmɗùk. nè ɓá^{L} ɓèŋ òmáltè lák ŋɔ̀dɔ̀ kà:rìònk.
làk-ɛ́^{L} ɓà ɟàrtí òm cì-n-ɔ̀ làk-í:^{L}
have-IMPS.DJ REMPST\CJ woman\SG.ABS one REL-SG-DIST have-AP.3S
àmɗ=k
stomach\SG.LOC=SUBORD
Once there was a woman who was pregnant.

nè ɓá^{L} ɓèŋ òm-áltè lák ŋɔ̀dɔ̀ 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

ŋà:r kɔ́ é:tá^{L} còlàk bà:búj né:kík. nè dɔ̀:c, <u>nòmé:dâ^{L}</u> kɔ́:^{L} rómî:ɗ.
ŋà:r kɔ́ é:t-á^{L} còlàk bà:búj né:k=k
go\3S.DJ RECPST 1S-DAT towards husband\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG=SUB
nè dɔ̀:c nòm-ɛ́:ɗ-a^{L} kɔ́:^{L} rómî:ɗ
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

máᴸ lɛ̀ːr bòŋú émécᴸ nè èkàŋɛ̀ːɗ lòŋgólóːtè gɔ̀rɔ̀à dɛ́ːgáᴸ cɔ̂.
máᴸ lɛ̀ːr bòŋ-í émécᴸ nè èkàŋ-ɛːɗ
but Leer\NOM take-3S.DJ mother\3S.SG.NOM CONJ bring.across-REFOBJ.3S
lòŋgólóːt-è gɔ̀rɔ̀-à dɛ́ːgáᴸ cɔ́ᴸ
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

kɛ́jnᴸ nɔ̀ kɛ̀ːɗɨ̄ːᴸ lálàŋ́ːɗɨ̄ːᴸ à ɟóːpᴸ màngístíònk ɓànkàw ɟɨ̀kôn? ɓànkàw prɔ̀ɟêt nɛ́ːk nè dɔ̀kúrgɛ́ːᴸ ɟɔ̀ː kócùnk.
kɛ́jnᴸ nɔ̀ kɛ̀ːɗ-ɨ̄ːᴸ lálàŋ-ɨ́ːɗ-ɨːᴸ à ɟóːpᴸ màngístí-ònk
or CONJ go\1P.DJ meet\IPFV-RELPST-1P CONJ people\ABS.MOD government-POSS
ɓànkàw ɟɨ̀kôn? ɓànkàw prɔ̀ɟêt nɛ́ːk nè
strong\3S.CJ what strong\3S.CJ project\SG.ABS POSS\3S.SG.ABS CONJ
dɔ̀k-ír-gêːɗ ɟɔ̀ː 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 **dòkúrgéːᴸ** *'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 cáːᴸ ɓáᴸ ɟàrtíᴸ cìnè dúnˈkúɗᴸ dɛ́ᴸ à báláᴸ ŋɔ́nk.**
CONJ *then* REMPST *woman*\SG.NOM *that sleeping down* CONJ *little* SUB
After the woman had slept a little,

b) **nè mèlkì dúmáːtᴸ wàː, ídĭtᴸ cìnɔ̀ rìjɛ́ᴸ kɛ́ tàwáːwɛ́ːk**
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 cáːᴸ ɓáᴸ mèlkíɗᴸ dúmáᴸ wàː dòáːrík,**
CONJ *then* REMPST *coming owner*\SG.NOM *home from.hunt*
After the owner came home from hunting,

d) **nè dɛ̀nɛ́ gòdé nɛ́ːk à kórtàn.**
CONJ *he.sees house*\SG.ABS *his* CONJ *closed*
he saw his house closed.

e) **nè cáːᴸ ɓáᴸ tàjɛ̀ːɗ gòdé nɛ́ːkík,**
CONJ *then* REMPST *opening house*\SG.ABS *his*
When opening his house,

f) **nè jògùkú à ɓànkáwŋ.**
CONJ *he.feels* CONJ *it.resists*
he felt that it resisted.

g) **nè cá:^{L} ɓá^{L} jògúkúɗ^{L} gòdé né:k à ɓànkáw ŋɔ́nk,**
CONJ then REMPST feeling house\SG.ABS his CONJ it.resists SUB
After feeling that his house resisted,

h) **nè tàjé ɓànkàwkà:t.**
CONJ he.opens forcefully
he opened it forcefully.

i) **nè cá:^{L} ɓá^{L} tàjè:ɗ gòdé né:kík,**
CONJ then REMPST opening house\SG.ABS his
After opening his house,

j) **nè dènér ɟàrtí cìnè à ɗùɗùn ɗé^{L}.**
CONJ he.notices woman\SG.ABS that CONJ she.sleeps down
he noticed that sleeping woman.

k) **nè cá:^{L} ɓá^{L} tàwá:wê: dènérkîɗ ɟàrtí cìnè**
CONJ then REMPST Tawaawee\NOM noticing woman\SG.ABS that
à ɗùɗùn ɗé:k,
CONJ she.sleeps down
After Tawaawee noticed that sleeping woman,

l) **nè tònú ké, "ɟàrtí ná:k, làŋká^{L} kɔ́ ɗùk tàk!"**
CONJ he.says QUOT woman\SG.ABS my I.find RECPST forest\SG.LOC inside\LOC
he said "My woman, I found her inside the forest!"

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 **nè** increases the sense of high continuity in this passage.

V.9.3 Discontinuity

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:dí^{L} ɓéɲ òmáltè dèné wà:lô:k gòpàn...**
nè cà:dí^{L} ɓéɲ òm-áltè dèn-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:dí^{L} bòŋú nè dì:lé wà: tàpáɗónk.**
nè cà:dí^{L} bòŋ-í nè dì:l-é wà: tàpáɗ-onk
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} ɟàrtí^{L} kónk bòŋú tá:ˈrá^{L} cìgè mógúnkônk, nè ŋà:r ɲáká^{L} né:ká^{L}.**
má^{L} ɟàrtí^{L} kónk bòŋí 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-ônk nè ŋà: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 dâm ké pô: nè ŋă:rŋ. má^{L} ɓòkòtú émécˈ^{L} lè:ră:ŋ.**
nè dâm ké pô: nè ŋà:r=ŋ
CONJ eat\3S.DJ QUOT all CONJ go\3S=SFT
má^{L} ɓòkòt-í émécˈ^{L} lè:r-à=ŋ
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 **nɛ̀**. In the story of *The pregnant woman and Tawaawee* **má**^{L} is used twice as opposed to 57 occurrences of **nɛ̀**.