A Grammar of Mankanya
An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and the Gambia
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<tr>
<td>PFX</td>
<td>Nominal Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRHB</td>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Past</td>
</tr>
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<td>PSTV</td>
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<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
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<td>Serial</td>
</tr>
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<td>Situation Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Time of Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMTV</td>
<td>Terminative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td>Topic Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TU</td>
<td>Time of Utterance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

Over the years many speakers of Mankanya have helped me understand their language better, and I am thankful to all of them. I can't name them all, but in particular I would like to thank Gustave Campal, Jacques Toupane and Francois Boissy for their input at different stages.

I would also like to thank all my SIL colleagues, both past and present, for all the ways they have helped me become a better linguist.

My thanks go to my supervisor Maarten Mous who has guided me through the process of creating this study, and my co-supervisor Victoria Nyst and my committee, Maarten Kossmann, Friederike Lüpke, and Konstantin Pozdniakov whose comments helped me refine it.

Thanks also to Gerrit de Witt who translated the Dutch Samenvatting at the end of this book.

Finally thanks to my wife Maggie and my daughters Ruth and Anna for all their support and interest along the way.
Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Sociolinguistic situation

According to the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2013), Mankanya is a language spoken by approximately 75,000 people across the countries of Senegal, Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia. Mankanya is an exonym, and the majority call themselves bahula, the people of Hula, (the original name for their chief town which is now called Bula), and the language is referred to as uhula. A small number of Mankanya refer to themselves as bawuh, reflecting their origins in the town of Co\[ko\].

Bula/hula and Co[ko]/wuh may indicate a historical system of consonant mutation which no longer exists.
Bula and Co are towns in the Cacheu region of Guinea-Bissau. However, over the years there has been a steady migration of Mankanya northwards. Trifković (1969, p. 3) cites Carreira (1960) as putting the start of this migration in the first quarter of the 19th century. The same sources indicate that the migration was due to a number of causes: insufficient cultivable land, internal conflicts and abuse of power by the colonial authorities. The Mankanya first moved into southern Senegal (the area known as the Casamance), particularly around Ziguinchor the regional capital, and then expanded eastwards along the southern bank of the River Casamance. Later they also moved into the Gambia. Like virtually all Senegalese languages, internal migration has additionally created Mankanya communities in most major urban centres.

Many Mankanya speakers in the home area are farmers, and in recent times have been heavily involved in the cultivation of cashew nuts, a major export cash crop for both Guinea-Bissau and Senegal.

Traditionally, the Mankanya have a hierarchical social structure, with each village having a chief, who would ultimately be under the authority of the chief (or king) of Bula. This chieftaincy has been apparently traced back to 1522 (Niouky and Robert, 2011). The chief of Co seems to have the second highest authority and at some point in the past broke away, but was then brought back under the authority of Bula. Though the system of chiefs still exists, they now play a largely symbolic role. For example, in the past the royal compound at Bula would be the home to the royal officials as well as the king, but now only the king and his family live there with very little pomp and ceremony.

The Mankanya were one of the main groups to respond to the outreach of Catholic missions in the area around the beginning of the 20th century, and most Mankanya would now call themselves Catholic. However, many of them also maintain their traditional religious practices.

One aspect of the Catholic influence is that, since Catholic missions often involved schools, education has a high value amongst the Mankanya. Particularly in Senegal, many Mankanya are well educated. Mankanya are exposed to schooling in one of three different languages, depending on the country in which they live: Portuguese, French, or English, in Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and the Gambia respectively. Because of the history of civil war, the education system in Guinea-Bissau is much less developed than those in the other two countries.

Mankanya has been in contact with Upper Guinea Creole, a Portuguese based creole, probably since its origins around the beginning of the 17th century (Kihm, 1994, p. 4). For over 400 years this creole has been the language of wider communication in what is now Guinea-Bissau and the
Casamance area of Senegal. In the past 30 years Wolof has begun to take over that role in the Casamance.

Mankanya, along with Manjaku and Pepel, form a group of closely related languages, often referred to as Manjaku, the largest of the three. This group is part of the Atlantic family of languages, which in turn is part of the Niger-Congo phylum.

The most recent work on the structure of the Atlantic family is by Pozdniakov and Segerer (Forthcoming). They propose the following structure:

- **Wolof** Wolof, Lebu
- **Nyun** Baynunk; Buy
- **Tenda** Basari, Bedik, Konyagi, Tanda, Bapen
- **Jaad** Biafada, Badarianke
- **Fula-Sereer** Fula (Pular, Pulaar, ...); Sereer
- **Cangin** Palor, Ndut, Noon, Laala, Saafi
- **Nalu** Nalu; Baga Fore; Baga Mboteni

In the BAK group, all the languages apart from Bijogo were originally classified as part of a group of the same name in earlier work, e.g. Sapir (1971). The BAK group has the common feature that some version of the *bak* morpheme appears as a marker of the third person plural. For example in Mankanya the third person plural object pronoun is *baka*.

Variation within Mankanya has not been formally described. Trifković (1969) treats Mankanya as one language without dialects. Anecdotally, Mankanya speakers say that there are only two dialects – the main one *uhula*, and a second minor one *uwuh*, spoken by Mankanya living in the region of Co. More significant differences are influences from the languages of wider communication. For example, code switching with French for large numbers and dates is common in Senegal, but with English in the Gambia.

The lack of variation in Mankanya as compared to neighbouring languages like the Jola languages is a question for further research. One factor maybe...
that Mankanya society is traditionally hierarchical, with an overall king based in Bula. Another may be that the Mankanya put a high value on education, which results in an increase in mobility between the various Mankanya communities, both for schooling, and afterwards for work.

1.2 Previous work

The only formal description published on Mankanya is “Le Mancagne: étude phonologique et morphologique: étude phonologique et morphologique” (Trifković, 1969). This description does not completely correspond with my data, and I will note where there are differences. Since then a number of students at the University Cheik Anta Diop in Dakar have produced unpublished phonologies at the French Maîtrise level, but those I have seen have not produced new analyses.

The Mankanya people have been discussed in some anthropological work notably Jacqueline Trincaz e.g. “Mythes, sens et représentations de la maladie chez les Mancagne de Casamance” (Trincaz, 1973).

More recently there has been “Pratiques et representations des parlers macagnes de Goudomp (Senegal)” (Ndecky, 2011).

The most closely related languages have been described in “A Manjako grammar with special reference to the nominal group” (Karlik, 1972) and “Phonologie, morphologie et structures syntaxiques du Pepel” (Ndao, 2011).

The three languages together are discussed and compared in a chapter of “Guinea Languages of the Atlantic group: description and internal classification” (Wilson and Storch, 2007).

Data from Mankanya can also be found in the work of Alain Kihm, e.g. “Noun class, gender, and the lexicon-syntax-morphology interfaces: A comparative study of Niger-Congo and Romance languages” (Kihm, 2005).

1.3 Data sources

The data used as the basis of this thesis was collected over the time period 2000-2012, whilst I was resident in Senegal and working principally with Mankanya speakers who were involved in translation and literacy programmes in their language.

I have a corpus of 45 texts of different lengths and genres and this is supported by elicited data. Some of the texts were originally oral, and others were written. Not all the texts have been fully glossed. Two examples can be found in the appendixes.

Additionally I had access to the translation of the New Testament and some parts of the Old Testament into Mankanya. As a translation this can not be
considered a primary source, but it was a useful source of ideas and illustrations that informed my analysis.

My lexical database contains 4055 lexemes (mostly roots, but also containing some expressions). 2361 of these were published as “Petit lexique mancagne-français: suivi d’un index français-mancagne” (Gaved and Stammers, 2004)

1.4 Language overview

1.4.1 Phonology

In this section I will give a brief overview of the phonology and more details can be found in chapter 2. Both here and in that chapter I use IPA symbols but elsewhere I use the officially recognised orthography for Mankanya (Republic of Senegal, 2006) as that is how many of the texts were either written or transcribed.

Mankanya has 37 consonant phonemes and 13 vowel phonemes (assuming length as a contrastive feature), which are shown below. Where the orthographic symbol is different from the IPA, that is shown in brackets. Vowel length is shown orthographically by repeating the vowel symbol.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labials</th>
<th>Apicals</th>
<th>Retroflexes</th>
<th>Palatals</th>
<th>Velars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ť ţ</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised plosives</td>
<td>Ḿp (mp)</td>
<td>ḿt (nt)</td>
<td>ḿť (ntř)</td>
<td>ńk (nk)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced plosives</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ɲ (j)</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised voiced plosives</td>
<td>Ḽb (mb)</td>
<td>Ḽd (nd)</td>
<td>Ḽɲ (nj)</td>
<td>Ḽg (ng)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ň (ň)</td>
<td>ň</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrants</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised vibrant</td>
<td>ṡr (nr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ (t)</td>
<td>ŝ (š)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised fricatives</td>
<td>Ḽf (nf)</td>
<td>Ḽθ (nt)</td>
<td>Ḽš (nš)</td>
<td>Ḽh (nh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorants</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>j (y)</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised sonorants</td>
<td>Ḽl (nl)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ḽj (ny)</td>
<td>Ḽw (nw)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: Consonant Phonemes
All oral consonants can appear in a prenasalised form, though not all prenasalised consonants are found in word roots. (See section 2.8 Occurrences and co-occurrence restrictions)

Mankanya is not a tonal language, nor, unlike the related Jola family, does it have vowel harmony based on so-called advanced tongue root distinctions.

Considering long vowels and prenasalised consonants as units then common root patterns are CVC, and CVCVC (and longer patterns). There are a few CV roots, and some grammatical terms have a V root. Addition of affixes can lead to forms like VCVCV, CVCVCCVC and others.

1.4.2 Orthography

Mankanya had no widely accepted written form until recently. It is only in the last 20 years that an orthography was developed, resulting in Mankanya’s official recognition as a “National Language” by the Senegalese government in 2005 (Republic of Senegal, 2006) (it was officially recognised in 2005 but not signed into law until 2006). The orthography uses Latin characters, and in common with other Senegalese languages uses Є/є [ŋ], N/н [ʍ], and Ё/ё [ŋ]. It also uses some symbols found in few other languages of the region Т/т [θ], Т/т [ʈ] and Ѕ/ѕ [ʂ]. The Senegal based Mankanya cultural association, Pkumel, has been running literacy classes (mostly in the Casamance and Guinea-Bissau) since 2001 and a translation of part of the Bible (Genesis and the New Testament) was published in 2014.

Some orthographic representations follow the conventions used with all other Senegalese languages. Prenasals are represented orthographically with “m” before “b” or “p” and “n” before any other consonant. Vowel length is represented by doubling the vowel symbol. e.g [ɔː] is written “oo”.

1.4.3 Morphology and syntax

Most words in Mankanya are multimorphemic – a stem is normally prefixed, and maybe also have derivative suffixes. Like many Niger-Congo languages there are noun classes, and there is agreement between a noun and its
modifiers. There is also verb agreement with its subject. The morphology of
nouns is described in chapter 3 and that of verbs in chapter 4. Infinitives
and participles are described in chapter 5 and other word classes in chapter
6.

The dominant order of constituents in a clause is Subject Verb Object,
adpositions are prepositions, and in a noun phrase most modifiers follow the
head noun. Simple sentence types as described in chapter 7 and more
complex types in chapter 9. Tense, aspect and mode in Mankanya is mostly
expressed by means of auxiliary verbs. This system is described in chapter 8.

The following short text from the beginning of a folk story illustrates some
of these features.

1 Ûñïîŋ ùbi ìya ùnuur ùloŋ
   u- ñïîŋ u- bi a- ya u- nuur u- loŋ
   c2s hyena c2s PAST SER go c2s day c2s INDEF
   du õûëëh
   d- u ù- õëëh
   EXT LOC.DIST c2s field
   “Hyena went one day into the bush”

2 Awin bïob ÷ë bïë bi
   a- win b- nob ÷- i b- hër b- i
   SER see c5s beehive INT LOC.PROX c5s hole c5s GEN
   bko
   b- ko
   c7s tree
   “He saw a beehive in the hole of a tree.”

3 Ašë kak adu ðmaalu ãji ìya
   a- ñë kak a- du ð- maalu a- ãji ba- ya
   c1s SEQ return SER call NAME hare SER say c1p go
   bðuuf ðë ðmaalu akak ãji “Ìjàa”.
   b- duuf ðë ð- maalu a- kak a- ãji ña- ya
   c5s extraction DS NAME hare c1s REP SER say c2p go
   “He came straight back to call Hare to come and help him extract the
   honey. The hare came, saying ‘Let’s go’ ”

Noun classes and noun modifier agreement can be seen in sentence 1 u-nuur
u-loŋ “a day” and sentence 2 b-hër b-i b-ko “hole of the tree”. This is
discussed in sections 3.3.1 Class prefixes and 6.1 Agreeing Noun Modifiers.

The first sentence shows verbal subject agreement with the u- c2s prefix on
the initial noun and the initial auxiliary. See section 4.2.1 Subject prefixes
for more information.
Sentences 1 and 2 show two different locatives *du* (exterior distal locative) and *ti* (interior proximal locative). These are discussed in section 6.4 Locatives.

This text also illustrates several auxiliaries: *bi* _PST_ “Past” (section 8.7.2 Past), *şē* _SEQ_ “Sequential” (section 8.7.3 Sequential) and *kak* _REP_ “Repetitive” (section 8.8.6 Repetitive).

There also examples in this text of the use of the reduced serial prefix *a-* _SER_ “Serial” which is discussed in sections 4.2.2 Serial and 9.2 Clauses linked by verbal forms, and the different subject marker *kē* (section 11 The particle *kē*).
Chapter 2 - Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a sketch of the phonology of Mankanya. It does not aim to be exhaustive, but rather to give a background so as to aid the reader of the later chapters.

Mankanya has 51 phonemes of which 38 are consonants (including 2 semi-vowels and their pre-nasalised equivalents) and 13 vowels. 22 of the 38 consonants are pre-nasalised.

The reasons for considering pre-nasals as consonants, rather than NC consonant clusters will be discussed later.

2.2 Phonemic tables

2.2.1 Consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labials</th>
<th>Apicals</th>
<th>Retroflexes</th>
<th>Palatals</th>
<th>Velars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>voiceless plosives</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced plosives</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced plosives</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrants</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
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<td>Pre-nasalised</td>
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<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorants</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-nasalised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonorants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.1: Consonant Phonemes*
Chapter 2

The phoneme /c/ is very rare in Mankanya. I have found it only in ideophones and in a few others word which are possibly borrowed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[kɐˈcɐh]} & \quad /kɐˈcɐh/ \quad \text{basket} \\
\text{[bʰɛcəkəɾa]} & \quad /bʰɛcəkəɾə/ \quad \text{trousers} \\
\text{[uˈcəːlu]} & \quad /uˈcəːlu/ \quad \text{sardine} \\
\text{[pʰɛwɾəɾa]} & \quad /pʰɛwɾəɾa/ \quad \text{basket}
\end{align*}
\]

Trifkovič (1969) agrees that /c/ is rare, and lists two other words with this phoneme. However, in my data these words are pronounced differently.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[nɐˈɟʊːk]} & \quad /nɐˈɟʊːk/ \quad \text{poor person (Trif: [nɐˈcʊk])} \\
\text{[kɐˈkiʈ]} & \quad /kɐˈkiʈ/ \quad \text{harvest (Trif: [kɐˈkic])}
\end{align*}
\]

Despite its rarity, there are sufficient contrasts with similar sounds to prove that it is a separate phoneme (see section 2.3.3).

I have only found /s/ in borrowed words, so don’t consider it a phoneme.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[sˈkɔːle]} & \quad /sˈkɔːle/ \quad \text{school} \\
\text{[ŋəˈɾiːʑeɾa]} & \quad /ŋəˈɾiːʑeɾa/ \quad \text{church}
\end{align*}
\]

It’s noticeable that some Mankanya, for example those born in Dakar, have a tendency to replace the sound [θ] with the sound [s]. This substitution may partly be explained by the influence of French and Wolof where the sound [θ] does not exist.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[mɐɟ kɐˈsʊpəɾa]} & \quad \text{instead of:} \quad [mɐɟ kɐˈθʊpəɾa] \quad \text{maize} \\
\text{[nɐˈʃeːk]} & \quad \text{instead of:} \quad [nɐˈθeːk] \quad \text{the first}
\end{align*}
\]

Trifkovič (1969) doesn’t mention this sound in her study, maybe because she was exposed to fewer French or Wolof speaking Mankanya.

It is noteworthy that all the consonants except /c/ (and of course the nasals themselves) have a corresponding pre-nasal form. The reasons for considering these as unit phonemes, rather than a NC sequence are considered below in section 2.5.2.1. Trifkovič (1969, p. 19) says that /c/ can also be preceded by a nasal, but I have not found any examples, and so therefore have left that blank in the chart.

Trifkovič (1969) has the phonemes /tɕ/ (alveo-palatal voiceless affricate) and /ɕ/ (alveo-palatal voiceless affricate) where I have /t/ (retroflex voiceless plosive) and /s/ (retroflex voiceless fricative). These sounds are phonetically close. Note also that the phoneme /t/ has a tendency to be realised as the afficate [tʃ] at the end of a word. (See section 2.4 Allophones and their distribution).
Note that the apical plosives /t/ and /d/ are realised as dentals – [t] and [d], whereas the other apical consonants, /n/, /l/ and /r/, are alveolar.

### 2.2.2 Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i iː</td>
<td></td>
<td>ʊ ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e eː</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o oː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>v vː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.2: Vowel Phonemes*

Trifkovič (1969, p. 22), considers that /e/ has two allophones [e] and [ɛ], the first in word final positions, and in the interior of monosyllabic roots, the second in all other positions. I did not find examples that showed this distribution, but rather found that the phoneme was realised somewhere between the two cardinal positions.

Trifkovič (1969) also found two allophones of /o/ - [o] and [ɔ]. She found [o] in closed monosyllables, and [ɔ] elsewhere. As with [e] and [ɛ] above my data suggest that there is just one sound somewhere between the two.

I have decided to use the closed symbols to represent the two phonemes, that is /e/ and /o/.

On the other hand Trifkovič (1969) doesn’t recognise the existence of the phoneme /ʊ/ or it’s long version /ʊː/. However, I have found words which contrast these sounds. See section 2.3.5.

Some speakers of Mankanya claim that there is similar distinction with front vowels presumably including /ɪ/. I have not had the opportunity to gather any data that might prove this.

There is no vowel harmony in Mankanya, like the other members of the Manjaku family, but unlike the Jola languages which make up most of the rest of the BAK family.

### 2.2.3 The mid central vowel /ə/ and [Pʰ] prefixes

In Mankanya, nouns and verbs often have prefixes of the form [Pʰ] (where ‘P’ is a stop or a nasal). The [ʰ] is not very perceptible and Trifkovič describes it as a pause (Trifkovič, 1969, p. 34). In addition it is not clear whether this short sound always has the same quality as the vowel [ə]. Trifkovič considers it as an indeterminate vowel (Trifkovič, 1969, p. 34).
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\[p'\text{kumel}\] central pillar of a house
\[m'\text{jik}\] it's hot
\[b'tak]\] mortar
\[n'de]\] we eat
\[d'je]\] I'm going

It is difficult to find true contrasts between \([P^*]\) and \([\P]\), because \([P^*]\) is normally found at the beginning of words and unstressed. \([\P]\) can be found initially in some inflected words, but it is then also stem initial and stressed.

\[\text{[p'a.nun]}\] take out!
\[\text{[b'a.ben]}\] wrap!
\[\text{[k'a.ben]}\] enter!

\([\P]\) can also be found in some non-initial non-stressed contexts:

\[\text{[ka'n\thetai.nta.m\text{\text{\'a}s]}\] folk story
\[\text{[p'nde.m\text{\text{\'a}nt]}\] tongue
\[\text{[u'b'a.r\text{\text{\'a}s]}\] he grinds

Note that an unstressed \([\alpha]\) can sometimes be deleted and a word resyllabified, for example through derivation.

\[\text{[u.'\text{\text{\'a}.m\text{\text{\'a}s]}\] he extinguishes (e.g. the fire)
\[\text{[be.'\text{\text{\'a}m.\text{\text{\'a}s}]\) (e.g. the fire) extinguishes itself

The minimal vowel sound in \([P^*]\) can also be deleted where the plosive is nasal, and the initial consonant of the root is homorganic

\[\text{[n'ko]}\] animals \([n^*]\) + \([k\alpha]\)
\[\text{[n'boş]}\] ground \([m^*]\) + \([bo\text{\text{\'a}s]}\]

I will therefore interpret \([^\prime]\) as a preaccentual realisation of /\text{\text{\'a}/.

Though in this chapter I have written this realisation of /\text{\text{\'a}/ this is not the orthographic convention used in other chapters, where it is omitted.

2.3 Contrasts

The following sections give illustrative contrasts for the above phonemes.
Phonology

A common contrast for the prenasal is found in the form of the verb found in relative clauses, where the initial consonant of the root is prenasalised. Where possible I have tried to find other contrasts.

2.3.1 Labials and Dentals

/p/

- /b/
  - /pa'wo/ it (C4s) is /be'wo/ they (C1p) are
  - /pa'pok/ to refuse /pa'bok/ to climb a palm
  - /v'jip/ he dug /v'kib/ he cut
- /m/
  - /pa'put/ to rot /pa'mut/ cotton
  - /pa'tem/ to bite /pa'tem/ to be hard
- /f/
  - /pa'fan/ to go out /pa'fan/ to count
  - /u'lep/ hoe /u'le:f/ body
- /w/
  - /pa'pet/ to paddle /pa'wet/ to let drop
  - /ba'kup/ shelter /ba'kow/ head
- /m'/
  - /pa'lep/ ear lobe /u'le/mp/ work
  - /v'poluŋ/ which he pulled /v'mpoluŋ/ he who worked

/m'/

- /p/ - see /p/ above
- /m/
  - /pa'le'mpp/ to work /pa'lem/ to sit on an egg
  - /kn'mpob/ chickenpox /mn'mob/ sponsor
/b/

- /m'b/
  - /pa'ben/ to touch /pa'mbun/ soap
  - /v'benuŋ/ which he touched /v'mbenuŋ/ he who touched
- /p/ - see /p/ above
- /f/
  - /u'be:ru/ butterfly /u'fe:ru/ market
  - /pa'mab/ to carry /pa'maf/ to wake early
2.3.2 Alveolars and Retroflexes

/θ/

• /θ/ - see /θ/ above

/ⁿθ/ - see /θ/ above
Phonology

- /n/  
  /paˈnʊk/ crowd  /ʊˈnʊk/ flu
  /baˈjoʊθ/ chest  /nuˈjɑ̃/ human
  /uˈteʊθ/ sorrel seed  /boʊˈten/ appearance

- /t/
  /vˈtʊŋ/ who he shoots  /vˈtʊŋ/ the one who shoots
  /poˈgʊt/ to mark out  /poˈgʊt/ to fight

- /θ/ - see /θ/ above

- /ʈ/  
  /pəˈtuh/ to close  /pəˈtuh/ to be blunt
  /pəˈfət/ to peel  /pəˈfət/ to dwell
  /d/  
  /pəˈfət/ to boil  /pəˈfəd/ to whip
  /nəˈte/ you (pl) hear  /nəˈde/ you (pl) eat

- /n/  
  /pəˈtɪme/ to wear  /pəˈnɪme/ to marry
  /poˈdət/ uproot  /poˈdən/ to be dense

- /r/  
  /pəˈfər/ to peel  /pəˈfər/ to spend the night

- /ʂ/  
  /pəˈton/ to urinate  /pəˈʂon/ to grind
  /pəˈgʊt/ to fall  /pəˈɡʊt/ to select

- /l/  
  /pəˈfət/ to boil  /pəˈfel/ to cut
  /pəˈtih/ to groan  /pəˈlih/ to roar

- /t/  
  /pəˈpənt/ take a detour  /pəˈbɛn/ to touch
  /nəˈtʊħi/ (an) elder  /nəˈnɔh/ friend

- /t/ - see /t/ above

- /n/  
  /pəˈwʊnt/  /pəˈbɛn/ to touch
  /nuˈtohi/ (an) elder  /nuˈnɔh/ friend

- /t/ - see /t/ above
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/pəˈtʊ/</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/beˈti/</td>
<td>they run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/ˈtenən/</td>
<td>offer!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ˈnenən/</td>
<td>give!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/pəˈkʊtən/</td>
<td>to galvanise (someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pəˈfət/</td>
<td>to cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/ˈmpoːt/</td>
<td>fruit (sense: children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bəˈjoʊt/</td>
<td>malice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/pəˈfəl/</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pəˈli/</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
<td>- see /ʈ/ above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/ʊˈɟoⁿt/</td>
<td>cold (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pəˈnʊt/</td>
<td>metal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/kəˈdʊŋ/</td>
<td>altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bəˈdʊŋ/</td>
<td>piece of bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>- see /θ/ above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>- see /t/ above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
<td>- see /ʈ/ above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/pəˈdʊg/</td>
<td>to make a noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pəˈbəd/</td>
<td>to be low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
<td>/pəˈbʊʊd/</td>
<td>to punch hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/pəˈled/</td>
<td>to be completely full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/pəˈlámən/</td>
<td>to raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pəˈləmən/</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/"d/
- /d/ - see /d/ above

/n/
/iⁿdøk/ stick for hitting /iⁿuk/ you (sg) touch with the head

/n/
- /θ/- see /θ/ above
- /t/- see /t/ above
- /t/- see /t/ above
- /d/- see /d/ above
- /r/
  /pəˈtɐn/ to attach /pəˈter/ to spread
  /uˈneb/ flycatcher (bird) /uˈreb/ Arabic (language)

/ŋ/

/θ/
- see /θ/ above

/t/
- see /t/ above

/ʈ/
- see /ʈ/ above

/d/
- see /d/ above

/n/

/ʂ/
/mbon/ thinness /mboʂ/ ground

/l/
/pəˈniːm/ to marry /pəˈliːm/ to be lost
/kɐˈmeen/ burial place /kɐˈmeel/ liquid

/r/

/ⁿr/
/v̥rɐtɐnʊŋ/ that he scattered /v̥rɐtenʊŋ/ he who scattered

/θ/
- see /θ/ above

/t/
- see /t/ above

/ʈ/
- see /ʈ/ above

/d/
- see /d/ above

/n/
- see /n/ above

/ʂ/
/pəˈrɐb/ to search /pəˈsub/ to rain

/l/
/pəˈrɐtɐn/ to spill /pəˈletun/ to reheat
/uˈfoːr/ gun powder /uˈfoːl/ hedgehog

/ⁿr/

/r/
- see /r/ above
• /n/  
/v^nretunŋ/ he who scattered /v^nretunŋ/ that he raised  

/ʂ/  
• /mʂ/  
/v'səluŋ/ that he thought /v'ʂəluŋ/ he who thought  
• /θ/ - see /θ/ above  
• /t/ - see /t/ above  
• /ʈ/ - see /ʈ/ above  
• /d/ - see /d/ above  
• /n/ - see /n/ above  
• /r/ - see /r/ above  
• /l/  

/ʂ/  
• /ʂ/ - see /ʂ/ above  
• /n/  
/v^nʃoːrʊŋ/ he who hated /v'nɔːrʊŋ/ (one) who wearies  

/l/  
• /m/  
/v'ilɛtunŋ/ that he reheats /v'ilɛtunŋ/ he who reheats  
• /θ/ - see /θ/ above  
• /t/ - see /t/ above  
• /ʈ/ - see /ʈ/ above  
• /d/ - see /d/ above  
• /n/ - see /n/ above  
• /r/ - see /r/ above  
• /ʂ/ - see /ʂ/ above  

/l/  
• /l/ - see /l/ above  
• /n/  
/v'ilɛtunŋ/ he who reheats /v'nretunŋ/ that he raised
2.3.3 Palatals

/c/

Remember that this phoneme is very rare. Therefore these contrasts are only analogous ones.

- /ɟ/
  /kɐˈcɐh/  basket /ʊˈɟɐnel/  window
- /ɲ/
  /kɐˈcɐh/  basket /nɐˈɲɐbəʂ/  you (pl) eat breakfast
- /j/
  /kɐˈcɐh/  basket /nɐˈjeŋ/  you (pl) watch over

/j/
- /c/ - see /c/ above

- /uːj/ /uːˈjeboŋ/ who he healed /uːˈjeboŋ/ he who healed
- /ɲ/ /joˈteŋ/ be naughty! /joˈteŋ/ bring!
- /j/ /juˈken/ learn! /juˈken/ be beautiful!

/j/ /uːj/ /uːˈjeboŋ/ who he healed /uːˈjeboŋ/ he who healed

/j/ /c/ - see /c/ above
- /y/ /kɐˈɲen/ hand /nɐˈjeŋ/ you (pl) watch over
- /ɲ/ /mɐˈɲeŋ/ darkest night /kɐˈɲen/ hand
- /j/ /uːˈjilʊŋ/ who he sent /uːˈjilʊŋ/ he who sent

/j/ /c/ - see /c/ above
- /j/ - see /j/ above
2.3.4 Velars

/g/

- /ⁿɡ/ - see /ɡ/ above

/k/ /ˈɡʊtən/ fight! /ˈkʊtən/ uproot!

/ŋ/ /kɐˈᵑɡʊri/ bracelet /pəˈŋʊbɐn/ to mock with a gesture

/ŋ/ - see /ŋ/ above

/ŋ/ /pəˈkɐw/ to reap /pəˈŋɐw/ to begin to ripen

/h/ /ʊˈhʊb/ bundle of straw

2.3.4 Velars

/ɲ/

-he's not got well /kɐˈɲen/ hand
-he didn't sing /kɐˈɲen/ five

/c/- see /c/ above

/y/- see /j/ above

/j/- see /j/ above
Phonology

\[^{kn}k\]

- \(^{k}\) - see \(^{k}\) above

\[^{n}\eta\]

- \(^{g}\) - see \(^{g}\) above

- \(^{k}\) - see \(^{k}\) above

- \(^{h}\)
  - \(^{j}\) - see \(^{j}\) above

\[^{n}\h\]

- \(^{h}\) - see \(^{h}\) above

- \(^{n}\)

2.3.5 Vowels

\[^i\]

- \(^{i}\)
  - \(^{t}\) to cut
  - \(^{t}\) to cut

- \(^{n}\)
  - \(^{t}\) to bend over
  - \(^{l}\) good (adj)

- \(^{a}\)
  - \(^{i}\) to agree

- \(^{u}\)
  - \(^{t}\) to run
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- /u/
  /iˈko/  things /ʊˈko/  thing
  /pəˈʒiŋ/  to bend over /pəˈʒoŋ/  to cook

/ɛ/

- /ɛ/
  /kəˈɲen/  hand /kəˈɲen/  five
  /pəˈdɛt/  to hold /pəˈtɛt/  foyer
  /bəˈteŋ/  they look /bəˈteŋ: they understand each other

- /i/- see /i/ above

- /ɑ/
  /pəˈdɛt/  to hold /pəˈdæt/  to uproot
  /pəˈdɛm/  to capture /pəˈdæm/  to grow

- /ʊ/
  /pəˈdɛt/  to hold /pəˈdɛt/  to choose
  /pəˈteŋ/  to look at /pəˈteŋ/  to delay

/ʊ/

- /ʊ/
  /pəˈdɛn/  to disturb /pəˈdɛn/  to be smooth
  /pəˈnɛm/  to flee /pəˈnɛm/  to resemble

- /ɑ/
  /pəˈdɛt/  to choose /pəˈdæt/  to uproot
  /iˈtæl/  ropes /iˈtæl/  hides

- /e/- see /e/ above

- /o/
  /pəˈkəb/  shelter /pəˈkəb/  to hit
  /ʊˈban/  arrival /ʊˈbon/  famine

/o/

- /oː/
  /ˈvɒt/  he then did /ˈvɒt/  he sucks
  /pəˈyɒk/  to be rich /pəˈyook/  to blow (wind)

- /æ/
  /pəˈməb/  to catch /pəˈməb/  to attach
  /pəˈjoʊm/  to stink /pəˈjoʊm/  to cool down

- /u/- see /u/ above

- /u/
  /pəˈjoʊk/  to become engaged /pəˈjʊk/  forehead
• /u/
  /pəˈdʌm/  to attach  /pəˈdʊm/  to bite
  /pəˈdo/  to do  /pəˈdu/  to call

• /uː/
  /pəˈjʊt/  to bend down  /pəˈpuːt/  to spit
  /pəˈjʊt/  to bend down  /pəˈjuː/  to show

• /o/ - see /o/ above

• /u/
  /pəˈjʊk/  forehead  /pəˈjʊk/  to teach

• /i/ - see /i/ above

• /ə/
  /pəˈtʊp/  speak  /pəˈtəp/  to pass

• /u/
  /pəˈjʊk/  to teach  /pəˈjʊk/  poverty

• /o/ - see /o/ above

• /u/ - see /u/ above

• /i/ - see /i/ above

• /ə/
  /pəˈlʊt/  to jump  /pəˈlət/  to sew

• /e/ - see /e/ above

• /ɛ/ - see /ɛ/ above

• /o/ - see /o/ above

• /iː/ - see /iː/ above

• /eː/ - see /eː/ above

• /e/ - see /e/ above
As these two phonemes are rare it’s difficult to find contrasts.
As noted above the vowel /ə/ is unique in several ways. Firstly it has no long counterpart, but it has a preaccentual realisation of [ᵊ]. It is also susceptible to deletion in unstressed positions. This is particularly noticeable with the addition of successive suffixes. For example:

\[/pbəɾəʃ/ + /ə/ \rightarrow /pbəɾə]/
\[/phəɾəғ/ + /ə/ \rightarrow /phəɾə]/

It is also susceptible to assimilation:

\[/və/ + /a^t/ \rightarrow /və:]/

2.4 Allophones and their distribution

I have in my data the sound [ɜ] which I analyse as an allophone of /ɐ/ because it is only found in closed syllables, either in penultimate or final position. It is always in free variation with [ɐ]. [ɐ] is found in all positions.

\[u^kə:kəʃ\] /u^kə:kəʂ/ worm
\[ʈʰpə] /ʈʰpə/ speak!

Note that I have decided to consider the sound [s] as an allophone of the phoneme [θ] (see the discussion in section 2.2.1). It is in free variation with [θ] for Mankanya speakers who are fluent in major European languages (e.g. French, English or Portuguese).

The phoneme /ʈ/ has two allophones. At the end of a word it is often pronounced as an affricate [ʈʂ] :

\[p^ləməʦ] /p^ləmət/ to swim
\[nə'pəʦ] /nə'pət/ child

whilst in every other position it's realised as /ʈ/ :

\[ʈʰnɪ] /ʈʰnɪ/ run!
\[uʈəb] /uʈəb/ fish

Note that stops are normally unreleased before a pause.

2.5 Interpretation

2.5.1 Interpretation between vowels and consonants

The consonants /j/ and /w/ appear intervocalically as well as at the beginning of a word or stem, preceding a vowel, or word finally following vowel. The corresponding vowels /i/, /u/ and /u/ appear in every other position:
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2.5.2 Interpretation between units and sequences

2.5.2.1 Prenasals

As was stated above, all the consonants in Mankanya can be prenasalised. These could be interpreted as units, which would give 16 extra phonemes, or as sequences that would lead to the introduction of 3 new syllable patterns – NCV, NCVC, and CVNC.

Each prenasal can be found at the beginning of a word, and there are many examples where a prenasal crosses a morphological boundary:

- [ᵑko] animals vs. [ʊˈko] animal
- [ᵑki] that I dance vs. [eˈki] he dances
- [ⁿde] that I eat vs. [iˈde] you eat

The construction used in the last two examples can be found with almost all verbs. A nasal prefix is assimilated into the stem initial consonant to become a pre-nasal.

Not all prenasals can be found at the end of words - only prenasalised unvoiced oral stops /ᵐp, ⁿk, ⁿt, ⁿʈ/ and the prenasalised unvoiced interdental fricative /ⁿt/.

- /ʊˈleᵐp/ work
- /iˈniːᵑk/ you’re searching everywhere

However, there is no restriction on simple consonants, e.g. /b/ or /g/

- /vˈeb/ he’s getting better
- /kʰˈbiːɡ/ fence

It should be noted that there is a difference between the nasal prefix N- which results in a prenasal consonant, and the [ŋ⁺] prefix. For example

- [ᵑki] that I dance vs. [ŋᵊki] we dance

(There is sometimes assimilation of the [ŋ⁺] prefix for some common words or in fast speech e.g. [ŋ⁺ko] → [ᵑko] animals)
Phonology

I will treat prenasals as units, e.g. ["p] as the single consonant phoneme /"p/ which is written as “mp” in the orthography.

2.5.2.2 Long vowels

There are never VV sequences where the two vowels are different, so I will treat all long vowels as units:

- /ˈbeɪt/ [beɪt] CVC women
- /ˈgoʊtən/ [ˈgoʊtən] CV.CVC scratch!
- /ˈtiːni/ [ˈtiːni] CV.CV run!
- /vˈbii/ [vˈbii] V.CV he came

Some long vowels are the result of the addition of vowel suffixes to vowel final roots:

- [vˈbi] he’s coming  [vˈbii] he came
- [vˈjə] he’s going  [vˈjəʔ] he’s gone

2.5.3 Glottal stop

The glottal stop is not phonemic, but occasionally appears when there is a short vowel before a pause. There is one word where the glottal stop is found and that is the negative interjection:

- [ʔʔʔ] no!

2.6 Syllables

Syllables in Mankanya usually contain a vowel nucleus, though as shown above the preaccentual realisation of /ɑ/ is very short. The exception is the nominal prefix “m-”. Often it can first analysed as part of the first phoneme in the stem:

“m-boʃ” /mboʃ/ CVC ground

However, there is an allomorph “mn-”, where I analyse it as a separate syllable.

“mn-tow” /mtnow/ C.CV milk

Open syllables are the most frequent. Syllables that contain only a vowel are often found at the beginning of the word. Closed syllables are normally found at the end of the word. Syllabic consonants are only found at the beginning of the word.

Long vowels are attested in CV and CVC in all positions.
## 2.7 Word schemas

The phonological word is composed of one or more syllables. However, monosyllabic words are mostly grammatical function words. The syllables CV, CVC and VC can appear in any position. Syllabic C (/m/) only appears in word initial position, and syllable V normally appears word initially, and can be a monosyllabic word.

### 2.8 Occurrences and co-occurrence restrictions

All the consonants, including the prenasalised ones, but excluding /c/ and /ᶮc/ (which are very rare) are attested word-initially. However, /c/ is attested root-initially. This implies that there is probably no restriction on word initial consonants.

All consonants are found word finally except /mb, nd, c, nc, nf, ng, nh, nj, nl, nr, nş, nw, ny/. As noted in section 2.5.2.1 the only prenasalised consonants found at the end of words are prenasalised unvoiced oral stops /mp, nk, nt, ntʃ/ and the prenasalised unvoiced interdental /ntʃ/.

Vowels only occur word initially as prefixes or as monosyllabic words. The vowels /e, o, i/ occur in this position as noun prefixes or affirmative verbal prefixes. Their long equivalents /eː, oː, iː/ occur in negative verbal prefixes. The vowel /o/ is sometimes found as a monosyllabic disjunctive particle. /e/ and /a/ are never found word initially.
All the short vowels except /ə/ are found word finally. /ɐ, ʊ, i, o, e/ are found word-finally in monosyllabic roots and words. /ɐ, ʊ, i/ are found word finally as the result of suffixation. The long vowels /ɐː, ʊː, iː, oː, eː/ are found in monosyllabic words as the result of the addition of the suffix /-i/.

Vowels are never found noun or verb root initially.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>ə</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ʊ</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 2.9 Interpretation

Unambiguous syllable schemas are CVC, CV, V, and VC:

- ʊˈʂɐl thought V.CVC
- kɐk again CVC
- kɐˈtoh house CV.CVC
- nɐˈme clairvoyant CV.CV
- oˈko animal V.CV
- un 1p independent pronoun VC
- ni my mother CV
- i genitive particle V

### 2.10 Accent

Normally the accent is placed on the first syllable of the root.

### 2.11 Tone

Mankan is not a tonal language. Some informants say that there is a grammatical difference in some sentences which are segmentally identical, which they say is tonal. However, my limited data on this does not corroborate this claim.
3.1 Basic word classes

I will use the following criteria to define some of the basic word classes in Mankanya. These apply to complete words, and the following section will describe how these words are constructed from different stems.

Nouns can designate both concrete objects and abstract ideas, for example *katoh* “house” and *manjoonan* “truth”. A noun can be possessed. There is a nominal agreement system based on the prefix of the noun and the prefixes of most noun modifiers (a few noun modifiers are invariant). On the basis of this agreement nouns can be grouped into noun classes.

Adjectives modify nouns and the prefix of an adjective agrees with the prefix of the noun it is modifying. A word denoting a quality that is not modifying a noun will not by this definition be described as an adjective. An adjective can modify nouns of several different noun classes. For example with the adjectival root *week* “large” - *napoŋ naweek* “large child”, *katoh kaweek* “large house”.

Actions or states are designated by single verbs, or by a combination of auxiliary verbs and main verbs. Only verbs can take inflectional prefixes which agree with the subject, though they can be bare stems when used in combination with auxiliaries. Verbs govern the number and types of other constituents in a clause.

Some word forms overlap these categories, in particular infinite verb forms and participles, which have some characteristics of both nouns and verbs. I will deal with these in chapter 5.

3.2 Word structure

Most words in Mankanya are multi-morphemic. Multi-morphemic words consist of a root, which may take derivational suffixes to form a stem. This stem in turn can take inflectional prefixes and suffixes.
Roots can be divided into three groups, which I will label nominal, verbal and general.

Nominal roots can only take nominal affixes, and result in words that are nouns or noun modifiers.

3.1 a. *u-buş*  "dog"
b. *ka-toh*  "house"
c. *p-maŋa*  "mango fruit"
d. *b-maŋa*  "mango tree"
e. *ka-week*  "big (e.g house)"

A small number of roots are verbal and only take verbal inflectional affixes to become verbal words. They require a derivational suffix to become a nominal stem which can then take noun class prefixes and other nominal affixes.

3.2 root verb noun
a. şub “rain” u-şub “it rains” u-şub-al “rain”
b. jeenk “redden” pa-jeenk “it reddens” u-jeenk-al “red”

Some nominal roots can become verbal stems with the addition of a derivative suffix, however, these are not very productive.

3.3 root noun verb
a. week “big” u-week “big” a-week-a “he gets bigger”
   na-week “elder sibling”
b. naaf “idiot” na-naaf “idiot” a-naaf-a “he is stupid”
c. tiinku “small” u-tiinku “small” ba-tiink-ëţ “they are few”
d. joob “cold” u-joob “cold” u-joob-ëţ “it cools”

general roots either take verbal inflectional affixes to become verbal words, or nominal prefixes to become nouns or noun modifiers. With these roots there is no way of establishing whether one or other form is more basic.

3.4 root verb noun
a. lemp “work” a-lemp “he works” u-lemp “work”
b. kit “break” a-kit “he breaks” ka-kit “harvest”
c. kob “hit” a-kob “he hits” na-kob “drummer” (lit. hitter)
d. yeeh “sing” a-yeeh “he sings” u-yeeh “song”
e. piiŧ “write” a-piiŧ “he writes” u-piiŧ “writing”
f. do “do” a-do “he does” u-do “action”

Roots can also take derivational suffixes to create a stem before taking the affixes that make them verbal or nominal words. Like roots, a stem can
either be nominal (can only result in nouns and noun modifiers) or general (can also result in verbs). I have not found any examples of derived verbal stems (stems that can only result in verbs without further derivation).

3.5 root verb noun
a. do “do” a-do “he does” u-dol-ade “tradition”
b. juk “learn” a-juk-an “he teaches” na-juk-an “teacher”
c. lemp “lemp” a-lemp-ar “he works for” na-lemp-ar “servant”

Verbal words will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 4.

3.3 Noun morphology

3.3.1 Class prefixes

Common nouns are made up of a prefix and a stem, as do most noun modifiers, and these modifiers agree with the noun.

3.6 katoh kajeenkal
ka- toh ka- jeenk -al
c3S house c3S redder CHG
“red house”

3.7 bañaŋ batum
ba- ĭaŋ ba- tum
C1P person C1P many
“many people”

3.8 ŋpi ŋtēb ŋi
ŋ- pi ŋ- tēb ŋ- i
C2P goat C2P two C3P DEM.PROX
“these two goats”

Verbs also take prefixes which agree with the subject noun (see section 4.2.1 for more detail).

3.9 bantoхи baţiini
ba- ntohi ba- ŭiini
C1P elder C1P speak
“The elders speak”

3.10 upi ufeer
u- pi u- feer
c2S goat c2S graze
“The goat grazes”

Most nouns have different prefixes for singular and plural but some also have a differentiation between an unspecified, indefinite plural, and a
counted, definite one, as shown in the examples below. The counted plural form is used when the noun is modified by a cardinal number. This three-way system exists in other related languages e.g. Bainounk (Cobbinah 2013) and I will label them “general plural” (or just “plural”) and “counted plural”. As general plurals are by far the more frequent, for simplicity of glossing they will be glossed P and counted plurals P.CNT.

3.11 **ppiiti** pi
   p- piiti p- i
   C4s pen C4p DEM.PROX
   “this pen”

3.12 **ipiiti** iloŋ
   i- piiti i- loŋ
   C4p pen C4p INDEF
   “some pens”

3.13 **kpiiti** ktëb
   k- piiti k- tëb
   C4p.CNT pen C4p.CNT two
   “two pens”

The pattern of agreement of nouns with modifiers and verbs can be used to divide nouns stems into classes. Unlike among linguists working on Bantu languages, there is no widespread agreement amongst those working in Atlantic languages about how to number classes. For example Trifkovič (1969), Sagna (2008) and Ndao (2011) number each individual prefix, Karlik (1972) and Soukka (2000) assign a number to each singular/plural/counted plural grouping, and others such as Segerer (2000) and Cobbinah (2013) use the phonological form of each individual prefix.

In this thesis I will label classes in the same way as as Karlik and Soukka, e.g. a noun stem which takes (and whose modifiers take) the u- prefix in the singular and ŋ- prefix in the plural will be considered class 2, with glosses C2s and C2p respectively. The numbering is my own, and is arbitrary. In this system what is important is not the form of an individual prefix, but rather the group of prefixes a particular noun stem can have. Homophonous prefixes might therefore appear in different classes. For example p- prefix in pdunk “clay pot” is considered class 4 singular because it groups with i- in idunk “clay pots” and k- in kdunk ktëb “two clay pots”, whereas p- in plaak is considered class 6 singular as it groups with m- in mlaak “stones” and ŋ- in nlaak nteb “two stones”. This is similar to the way Bantuists use “gender” (where numbered individual classes are grouped as singular/plural pairs), or to Cobbinah’s (2013) “paradigm” (where phonologically labelled individual classes are grouped as pairs or triads to create number distinctions).
A number of recent researchers have labelled classes with something reflecting a group of possible phonological forms. For example in Bijogo, Segerer’s KO class includes $k_o-$, $ko-$ and $ku-$ (Segerer 2000). This has advantages in languages where vowel harmony means the form of the prefix changes depending on the form of the stem, but this is not the case in Mankanya.

In my analysis classes are based on the agreement patterns of modifiers, and the noun classes represent an inflectional system, where the two or three prefixes belong to a lexical unit. Labelling a prefix with class and number reflects that.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>English</th>
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<th>Example (two …)</th>
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<td>m-</td>
<td>mmınaña</td>
<td>mango</td>
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<td>mm(a)ñ</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>n-</td>
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<td>meel</td>
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<td>n-</td>
<td>nñiiñ</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>nñiiñ</td>
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<td>k-</td>
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<td>nkow</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Noun Classes

Table 3.1 above summarises the noun prefixes. Modifier prefixes are not identical, there is a summary in table 3.9 at the end of this chapter and I describe them in later chapters. Each class has the possibility of up to three prefixes for the different number values: singular, plural, counted plural. Classes 1, 2 and 3 do not differentiate between general and counted plurals. Classes 4 and 5 (which have singular prefixes $p(a)-$ and $b(a)-$) have the same
general plural and the counted general plural). Classes 6 and 7 (which have singular prefixes p- and b-) also share the same general plural and the same counted plural. Class 8 which includes mass and abstract nouns only has one number value and hence one prefix, which I have assigned to the general plural column. Class 10 (diminutive) only has a singular number value.

The class 1a singular prefix a- is used with a small number of kinship nouns. It is considered a subclass of class 1, as noun modifier agreement and verb subject agreement is identical to those nouns that take the main class 1 singular prefix na-.

Singular prefixes in class 4 and 5 can have forms consisting of a singular consonant, (p- or b-) or forms with consonant followed by a (pa- or ba-). There seems to be no phonological or semantic rule as to which is used, though forms with a are less frequent. These forms are not considered a different class as the agreement pattern is the same as the simple consonant only forms. For example compare 3.14 and 3.15 below.

3.14 blaañ      bweek
   b-  laañ  b-  week
   c5s  wrap  c5s  big
“big wrap”

3.15 batani    bweek
   ba-  tani  b-  week
   c5s  herd  c5s  big
“large herd”

Similarly a small number of class 8 nouns take the form man- instead of mn-. Class 8 nouns roots that begin with a vowel, or n, take the prefix m-, otherwise prefixes mn- or man- are used.

3.16 a. mn-lilan    “joy”
     b. mn-dëm      “greatness”
     c. mn-jooťan   “sadness”
     c. man-joonan  “truth”
     d. man-ţaaf    “anxiety”
     d. m-eel      “water”

There is no singular/plural/uncountable plural distinction in class 8. I have lined up the class 8 prefix with plurals, as it is possible to use m- to indicate many multiple small things, e.g. plaak “stone” (which is class 4 ilaak “stones”, klaak këb “two stones”) can be used with the m- prefix to become mlaak “gravel”, and in this way it is similar to the class 6 and 7 plural m-.

Certain stems can be used with prefixes from more than one class. For example ben can be class 7 bbén “rhun palm”, class 6 pben “fruit of the rhun
palm” or class 5 kabən “rhun palm branch”. The extreme case of this is ko which has a broad meaning of “thing”, the type of thing being indicated by the class prefix, for example ŋko “animals”, bko “tree”, dko “place”. This will be discussed further below.

The class 10 n- is a diminutive prefix that is fairly infrequent. It is found with a small number of stems where the non-diminutive noun is in a different class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>u-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-ŋiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“hyena”</td>
<td></td>
<td>“little hyena”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>ka-hoţ</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n-hoţ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“foot”</td>
<td></td>
<td>“little foot”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>b-kow</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>n-kow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“head”</td>
<td></td>
<td>“little head”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no stem that combines only with n-, and it can only have singular number. It does trigger agreement in noun modifiers and verbs that is different to other classes. This might be evidence for the idea of two different singular prefixes that parallel the two different plural prefixes (uncounted and counted) that are found in some classes. Counter-evidence is that the use of this prefix is restricted to a very small number of stems.

For comparison, here is a table that shows the relationship between the classes I use in this thesis and those used by Trifkovič (1969). Note that Trifkovič does not assign a class to d- because she considers it rare. Though it is true that it is only found on one noun, it is used as an agreement prefix with many others. She also does not describe the n- diminutive prefix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Class in Trifkovič</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Class in Trifkovič</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>a-</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>ba-</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>i-</td>
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<td>p(a)-</td>
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<td>i-</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>b(a)-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>m(a)(n)-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Comparison of class numbers with Trifkovič

3.3.1.1 Noun class semantics

The semantics of a noun word are determined from the semantics of the stem and the prefix. This is clear from the fact that the number of the noun
is determined by the prefix. But equally, as noted above, certain roots and
stems can be used with different prefixes to denote different things. For
example the root ben has semantics related to the rhun palm, but by itself its
meaning is schematic, and we could label it RHUN PALM (using the
semantic convention of capital letters). It is only in combination with the
class 7 prefix b- it becomes bben “rhun palm tree”, with the class 6 prefix p-
phen “fruit of the rhun palm” or class 3 prefix ka- kaben “rhun palm
branch”. Cobbinah (2013) and Watson (2014) describe similar construction
of meaning in two related languages Bainounk Gbèèhèè and Jola Kujireray.

Though the noun prefix contributes meaning to the noun, a prefix’s
semantic content is not clearly defined. For example not all nouns with a ka-
prefix are branches, or parts, or long and thin. Equally while many nouns
with a u- prefix are animals, there is also a group of u- prefix nouns that
relate to languages. Class 6 p- which is predominately fruit also contains
words like pliik “well” and ppaw “log”.

The stem ko – loosely defined as THING, combines with the widest range of
prefixes.

3.18 a. u-ko thing (class 2 singular)
b. p-ko animals (class 2 plural)
c. ka-ko container (class 3 singular)
d. p-ko small object, e.g. a bead or a stick
   (class 4 singular)
e. i-ko things (class 4 or 5 plural)
f. b-ko tree (class 7 singular)
g. mn-ko fruit, trees (class 6 or 7 plural)
h. d-ko place (class 9 singular)

There are some semantic correlates with the different noun classes which I
will discuss below, but there are also many exceptions, for example body
parts can be found in classes 2, 3, 4, and 5. Kihm notes a similar situation in
in Manjaku (Kihm 2005).

Class 1a a-/ba- There are a very small number of nouns found in this
subclass. They are all human, and restricted to kinship terms.

3.19 a. a-yin cousin
    b. a-har wife

Class 1 na-/ba- Nouns that take these prefixes are all human.

A large group of nouns in this class are formed with general stems with the
meaning of “one who does” an action, or “one who is” a state.

3.20 a. na-kob drummer (lit:hitter) c.f. pkob to hit
    b. na-țupar spokesman c.f. pțupar to speak for
Nouns and Nominals

c. na-poţ 

child c.f. ppoţ to be small

When combined with a stem indicating an ethnic or family group, the resulting meaning is a member of that group.

3.21 a. na-hula 
a Mankanya
b. na-laat 
a Balanta
c. na-diŋal 
a member of the Dingal family

This group also includes three common nouns where the prefixes behave irregularly: ńaaň “woman”, ńiiň “man”, ńaan “person”. See section 3.3.1.2 for more detail.

Class 2 u-/ŋ- The majority of nouns in this class are non-human animates e.g. animals, fish, bird, reptiles and spirits.

3.22 a. u-buş 
dog
b. u-laar 
spider
c. u-pi 
goat
d. u-tapal 
catfish
e. u-ntaayi 
spirit

The class also includes some inanimates, for example:

3.23 a. u-bel 
shield
b. u-fêť 
compound
c. u-ţiøj 
word, speech

When u- is combined with an ethnic stem, the meaning of the resulting noun is the language or dialect of that group. This meaning may have developed by extension from u-ţiøj “word, speech” (3.23c above), or perhaps they were originally modifiers of u-ţiøj.

3.24 a. u-wuuh 
the dialect of Ko (the bawuuh)
b. u-laat 
the Balanta language
c. u-mbaabu 
a European language (Europeans are ba-mbaabu)

The u- prefix can also be used with the singular of certain words normally found in class 5 or class 7, to give the sense of augmentative.

3.25 Noun Class Augmentative

a. b-laăň “wrap” 5 u-laăň “big wrap”

Class 3 ka-/i- Most nouns that take this prefix cannot be easily grouped. However, with certain words, these prefixes have a meaning of a “small part of” something.

3.26 a. ka-kën 
palm leaf (c.f. pkën “oil palm”)
b. ka-mpoban 
fragments of a bottle (c.f. umpoban “bottle”)
c. ka-mul  
stick of wood (c.f. bmul “dry tree”)

**Class 4 p(a)-i-** There are no obvious groupings in this class.

**Class 5 b(a)-i-** There are no obvious groupings in this class

**Class 6 p-/m-** The most significant group in this class is fruit (in the most general sense).

3.27  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. p-bēn</td>
<td>rhun palm</td>
<td>(c.f. bbēn “rhun palm”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. p-maŋa</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>(c.f. bmaŋa “mango tree”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. p-maanan</td>
<td>grain of rice</td>
<td>(c.f. umaanan “rice”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some researchers, for example Cobbinah (2013) and Watson (2014) have suggested that the semantic motivation for the equivalent of this class in related languages is things that are “round” or “with spherical diameter”. Though seems to apply to many members beyond fruit, it is difficult to see why that is salient to some nouns in this class, e.g. a grain of rice.

**Class 7 b-/m-** The nouns in this class are almost entirely trees and plants.

3.28  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. b-bēn</td>
<td>rhun palm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. b-maŋa</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. b-liik</td>
<td>peanut plant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. b-joşar</td>
<td>bean plant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is clearly a relationship between these two classes, but it is not possible to determine which might be the basic class. Considering that p-ko means “small object” and b-ko means “tree”, a strong possibility is that b- is the basic class. The use of p- then gives the sense “small thing” when combined with a tree-like stem X, to give a meaning “small thing from X” or in other words “fruit of tree X”.

However, the b- prefix has a derivative augmentative function with certain nouns.

3.29  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. na-poţ “child”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>b-poţ “big child”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ka-hoţ “house”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>b-toh “big house”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This could be an argument that the p- form is the basic class and the use of b- gives the sense “big version of fruit X”, i.e. “the X tree”.

The phenomenon of noun prefix alternation on the same noun stem to distinguish between fruit and trees is very common in Atlantic languages (Creissels and Lüpke Forthcoming).
Class 8 m(a)(n)- This class contains liquids and other uncountables:

3.30  a. meel  water
     b. mn-tow  milk
     c. m-niir  fat

By extension this prefix can also be used with some stems found in other classes to derive a liquid or uncountable meaning.

3.31  a. m-nob  honey (c.f. unob “bee”)
     b. mn-laak  gravel (c.f. plaak “stone”)

It also contains abstract concepts:

3.32  a. mn-lilan  happiness
     b. mn-tit  intelligence
     c. man-jooan  truth

Class 9 d- Only one noun has the prefix d-, dko “place”. However, the d-prefix is used for noun agreement and da- for verb agreement with almost all recently borrowed nouns (even if the nouns themselves don’t have a prefix), proper nouns which signify places, and time nouns.

3.33  a. kaara d-i nul  his face
     b. pekadu d-i baka  their sin
     c. dmass da-kmbiiŋ  Sunday that is coming
     d. faan da-wo di Naşibați  tomorrow belongs to God

Class 10 n- As noted above this is a diminutive prefix.

3.3.1.2 Irregularities

A small number of nouns are irregular.

There are 3 nouns which have class 1 agreement, but where the noun prefixes are different to the agreement prefixes:

3.34  a. ñaaŋ/baaŋ  woman/women
     b. ñiint/biint  man/men
     c. ñaañ/bañaang  person/people

In example 3.34a and b the stems unusually start with a vowel - aŋ “female” and iŋ “male” and the prefixes are ñ- and b- instead of na- and ba-. In 3.34c the singular seems to follow the same pattern where na- has been replace by ñ-, presumably before the now non-existent stem aŋ. However, in the plural the whole singular form has become reinterpreted as the stem ñaŋ, and the prefix is the normal class 1 plural ba-.
There are some other nouns where it seems that a prefix has been dropped, and agreement is alliterative.

3.35  
\[ \text{pkēš/kēš} \quad \text{eye/eyes} \]
\[ \text{kēš ki nan} \quad \text{your eyes (eyes of you)} \]

The noun \textit{meeť} “room” has a plural \textit{imeeť} but has class 9 agreement in the singular (\(d\)-)

3.36  
\[ \text{meeť/imeeť} \quad \text{room/rooms} \]
\[ \text{meeť di ajug katoh} \quad \text{the room of the head of the household} \]

Note that \textit{meeť} is also a locative modifier meaning “inside” (see section 6.2.2).

I have found a couple of other nouns that have unusual patterns.

3.37  
\[ \text{a. mntim/itum} \quad \text{mouth/mouths} \]
\[ \text{b. udolade/idolade} \quad \text{custom/customs} \]

3.3.1.3 Proper noun marker

In animal based folk stories the names of certain central animals have the prefix \(t\)- instead of the normal prefix for animals \(u\)-. This has the effect of creating a proper noun. This is comparable to, in English, “Hare ate the rice” as opposed to “the hare”, or “a hare”.

3.38  
\textbf{Common Noun Proper Noun}
\[ \text{a. } u-\text{nīŋ “hyena” } t-\text{nīŋu “Hyena”} \]
\[ \text{b. } u-\text{maalu “hare” } t-\text{maalu “Hare”} \]

The resulting noun causes agreement either with \(u\)- like its unmodified form, or sometimes \(a\)- as if the character was a human. This is a stylistic variation depending on the narrator. Because of the variability of its agreement and limited use I have not analysed it as a class prefix.

3.3.2 Special cases

3.3.2.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns do not take prefixes (though some proper nouns contain fossilised prefixes). They trigger semantic agreement so human names cause verbs and modifiers to agree like class 1 nouns (\(na\/-ba\)-). Names of places cause agreement as if they were class 9 nouns (\(d\/-i\)-).
3.3.2.2 Borrowed words

Like all languages in contact with others, Mankanya has borrowed words from other languages, notably from Upper Guinea Creole which for many years was the language of wider communication in the Mankanya area.

Some borrowed words have been absorbed into a noun class based on semantics – for example the mango (first recorded in West Africa in 1824) is found in class 6 *p-maŋa* “mango fruit” and class 7 *b-maŋa* “mango tree” like other fruits and their trees.

Other words have developed agreement based on sound similarities. For example *dmaas* “dimanche/Sunday” (borrowed from French) takes agreement with *d-* prefixes (however, this is also a semantic fit as a time word). The word *gritia* “church(es)” (borrowed from Upper Guinea Creole *igrisia*) takes agreement with *ŋ-* prefixes, even in the singular. It might be expected that this word would take agreement with *i-* prefixes, but a possible explanation is that [i] followed by the cluster [gr] has been reinterpreted as [ig] followed by [r] (as [gr] is not an acceptable stem initial cluster in Mankanya) and in turn [ig] > [ŋ].

Other borrowed words do not start with anything that looks like a class prefix, e.g. *skoola* “school”, *rosadi* “shrine”, *kaara* “face”, *pekadu* “sin”. Noun modifiers for these words take the prefix *d-* “class 10”. For example *skoola dnuura* “the good school”, *rosadi dweek* “the big shrine”. In the plural these words take *i-* – *iskoola inuura* “the good schools”, *ikaara* “faces”.

3.3.3 Possessor suffixes

There is a paradigm of suffixes which is used for possession of a small number of nouns, mainly kinship terms, when the possessor is animate. The paradigm is incomplete and there no suffixes for 1ˢᵗ singular, 1ˢᵗ plural exclusive, or 3ʳᵈ person plural. In these cases an independent pronoun must be used. For those nouns which do not use the suffixes, independent pronouns are also used but in a more complex syntactic structure (see section 7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction).
3.3.4 Derivational suffixes

There are two derivational suffixes that can be used with a nominal stem (that is a stem that can be used in either nouns or adjectives), neither of which are very productive. Both have the same function, to change a nominal stem into a verbal one.

The first is -a.

3.39 **stem** | **noun or adjective** | **verb**
---|---|---
a. *week* | “big” | *u-week* “big”
   | | *a-week-a* “to get bigger”
   | | *na-week* “elder sibling”
b. *naaf* | “idiot” | *na-naaf* “idiot”
   | | *a-naaf-a* “to be stupid”

The second is -ëţ. This is mostly used with nominal stems with a primarily property meaning.

3.40 **stem** | **noun or adjective** | **verb**
---|---|---
a. *tiinku* “small” | *u-tiinku* “small” | *ba-tiink-ëţ* “they are few”
b. *kuul* “blind” | *na-kuul* “blind person” | *a-kuul-ëţ* “he is blind”
c. *kow* “head” | *na-kow* “clairvoyant” | *a-kow-ëţ* “he has extraordinary knowledge”
   | | *b-kow* “head”
3.4 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns are a combination of a noun and a noun. Both nouns take their normal prefixes, but verbs and adjectives agree with the class of the first noun.

3.4.1 a.  uyoor-bapoţ – praying mantis  
   u-yoor – something that swallows  
   ba-poţ – children

   b.  ubuš-kajaagal – jackal  
   u-buš – dog  
   ka-jaagal – bush

   c.  kaduŋ-ubopal – toadstool  
   ka-duŋ – umbrella  
   u-bopal – frog

   d.  naţup-kataaki – liar  
   na-ţup – speaker  
   ka-taaki – falsehood

3.5 Pronouns

There is a set of independent subject pronouns shown in the table below. Notice that non human pronouns are prefixed with the noun class prefix of the noun being replaced. Most simple sentences only use the verbal agreement prefix if a subject noun phrase is not present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nji</td>
<td>nja (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>un (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>bukal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wul</td>
<td>yul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kul</td>
<td>yul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pul</td>
<td>yul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>bul</td>
<td>yul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pul</td>
<td>mul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>bul</td>
<td>mul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>dul</td>
<td>yul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>nul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 3.4: Independent subject pronouns |

There is a possible 1st person plural distinction between inclusive nja (including the addressee(s)) and exclusive un (excluding the addressee(s)).
This distinction is becoming obsolete, and many people just the use the two words synonymously.

There is a set of independent object pronouns. Singular human objects, and 1st and 2nd plural objects are normally verbal pronominal suffixes. See section 4.2.7 Object Suffixes and section 7.7.1.2 Object pronouns. These suffixes are not agreement features as there is no verb/object agreement in Mankanya.

Table 3.5 shows the independent object pronouns. For 1st person plural exclusive, both 2nd person forms and class 1 singular a pronominal verbal suffix is used and these are shown in brackets. Like the subject pronouns the non-human pronouns are prefixed with the noun class prefix of the noun being replaced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>naan</td>
<td>nja (incl) (un) (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>(-u)</td>
<td>(-an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(-a)</td>
<td>baka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>na (unattested)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.5: Independent object pronouns*

There is no morphological distinction made between direct and indirect objects, and the same pronouns or suffixes are used in both situations:

3.42 **Tukma** akob baka

Tukma a- kob baka Thukma c1s hit c1s

“Thukma hit them”

3.43 **Tukma** aşen baka kamişa

Tukma a- aşen baka ka- mişa Thukma c1s give (as_present) c1s c3s shirt

“Thukma gives a shirt to them”
As noted in section 3.3.3 above there are independent pronouns used with most nouns to express genitive relations like possession. Their use is illustrated in examples 3.44 and 3.45 but they will be discussed in more detail in section 7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction. The pronouns are listed in Table 3.6 below. The variants starting with $t$- are used by some, mainly older, speakers.

3.44 upi $w_i$ naan
   c2s goat c2s GEN c1s
   "my goat"

3.45 upi $w_i$ baka
   c2s goat c2s GEN c1s
   "their goat"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>naan (or taan)</td>
<td>nja (incl) nuna (or tun) (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>nu (or tu)</td>
<td>nan (or tan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nul (or tul)</td>
<td>baka (or bakan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>na (unattested)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6: Genitive Pronouns

Tables 3.7 and 3.8 summarise all the pronouns. Also included for comparison are the object pronominal forms used with the selectional suffix -$uŋ$ described in the next chapter.
### Table 3.7: All singular pronouns and pronominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Object suffix with -un</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>njì</td>
<td>naan</td>
<td>-aan</td>
<td>naan (or taan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-uŋ</td>
<td>nu (or tu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Class

| 1 | ul | -a | -ul | nul (or tul) |
| 2 | wul | wa | wa | wa |
| 3 | kul | ka | ka | ka |
| 4 | pul | pa | pa | pa |
| 5 | bul | ba | ba | ba |
| 6 | pul | pa | pa | pa |
| 7 | bul | ba | ba | ba |
| 8 | | | | |
| 9 | dul | da | da | da |
| 10 | nul (unattested) | na (unattested) | na (unattested) | na (unattested) |

### Table 3.8: All plural pronouns and pronominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>nja (incl) un (excl)</td>
<td>nja (incl) un (excl)</td>
<td>nja (incl) un (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Class

| 1 | bukal | baka | baka | baka (or bakan) |
| 2 | yul | ya | ya | ya |
| 3 | yul | ya | ya | ya |
| 4 | yul | ya | ya | ya |
| 5 | yul | ya | ya | ya |
| 6 | mul | ma | ma | ma |
| 7 | mul | ma | ma | ma |
| 8 | mul | ma | ma | ma |
| 9 | yul | ya | ya | ya |
| 10 | | | | |
3.6 Summary of agreement prefixes

In the following chapters I will describe the subject agreement on verbs and the three different paradigms of agreement prefixes on noun modifiers. The following table summarises these along with the noun prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bak-/bik/-buk-</td>
<td>bak-/bik/-buk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bak-/bik/-buk-</td>
<td>bak-/bik/-buk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bak-/bik/-buk-</td>
<td>bak-/bik/-buk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>p(a)-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>b(a)-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>m(a)n-</td>
<td>mn-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.9: Summary of agreement prefixes
Chapter 4 - The Verb

4.1 Word structure

As noted in section 3.2 - roots can be divided into three groups, nominal, verbal, and general. Verb words are constructed from verbal or general roots or stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. lemp</td>
<td>“work”</td>
<td>a-lemp “he works”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. jip</td>
<td>“dig”</td>
<td>ba-jip “they dig”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. buur</td>
<td>“escape”</td>
<td>d-buur “I escape”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. ya</td>
<td>“go”</td>
<td>a-ya “he goes”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They can also be constructed from stems which are formed by a nominal root with a class changing stem as in the examples below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun or Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. week</td>
<td>“big”</td>
<td>u-week “big”</td>
<td>a-week-a “he gets bigger”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-week</td>
<td>“elder sibling”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. naaf</td>
<td>“idiot”</td>
<td>na-naaf “idiot”</td>
<td>a-naaf-a “he is stupid”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. tiinku</td>
<td>“small”</td>
<td>u-tiinku “small”</td>
<td>ba-tiink-ëţ “they are few”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. joob</td>
<td>“cold”</td>
<td>u-joob “cold”</td>
<td>u-joob-ëţ “it cools”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this chapter is describing the morphology of verbs, for simplicity I will refer to all stems that are the basis of verb words as verbal stems. I will not therefore distinguish between stems that can only be used in verbs, and stems that can also be used in nouns.

Verbal stems can take various derivational suffixes to form another verbal stem with a different meaning.

Verbal stems when combined with inflectional affixes form a verbal word. Some verbal words have the syntactic role of an auxiliary, and add tense, aspect or modal information to the main lexical verb. There is no morphological distinction between auxiliaries and lexical verbs. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the use of auxiliaries.
4.2 Inflection

4.2.1 Subject prefixes

Generally, verbs take prefixes that agree with the subject in number and person, or nominal class.

4.3 banto·hi  bá·tiini
   ba· ntohi  ba· tiini
   C1P  elder  C1P  speak
   “The elders speak”

4.4 bá·tiini
   ba· tiini
   C1P  speak
   “They speak”

4.5 upi  ufeer
   u· pi  u· feer
   C2S  goat  C2S  graze
   “The goat grazes”

The full paradigm is given in the tables below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>djuk</td>
<td>I learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ijuk</td>
<td>you learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 a-</td>
<td>ajuk</td>
<td>he/she learns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 u-</td>
<td>upi udaan</td>
<td>the goat drinks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 ka-</td>
<td>katoh kajot</td>
<td>the house falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 pa-</td>
<td>pdunk pajot</td>
<td>the pot falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 ba-</td>
<td>bayetì bajot</td>
<td>the coat falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 pa-</td>
<td>pmanja pjaot</td>
<td>the mango falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 ba-</td>
<td>bamaña bajot</td>
<td>the mango tree falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 da-</td>
<td>dko dayiki</td>
<td>the place is hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 na-</td>
<td>nñiìyn naìti</td>
<td>the little hyena runs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.1: Subject prefixes - singular*
The first person plural verb agreement does not have the inclusive/exclusive distinction that is found in pronouns.

It is noticeable that all the consonantal 3rd person prefixes contain an \( a \). One possible analysis might therefore be that they are actually decomposable into \( C \cdot a \cdot \), where \( C \) is the class prefix and \( a \cdot \) indicates third person (\( a \cdot \) does not indicate tense or aspect as it is always present). The exceptions to this would be the class prefixes that are not consonants. It would then have to be argued that third person \( a \cdot \) is deleted when preceded by a vowel. Another problem is the maN- prefix where there is a nasal that follows the \( a \cdot \). The last problem is the existence of the 2nd person plural marker \( na \cdot \), which also contains an \( a \). For these reasons I will use the simpler analysis that prefixes ending with \( a \) are non-decomposable.

The first person singular has three alternative forms: \( m \cdot \) (syllabic consonant, never assimilated) when the verb is negative (see section 4.2.4), \( N \cdot \) (pre-nasalisation of the first consonant) in certain subordinate verb forms (for example with the selectional suffix - see section 4.2.5), and \( ka \cdot \) after the auxiliary \( ji \) “habitual” (section 4.2.6), and in a clause following a proposition headed by \( woli \) “if/when” (section 9.1.2).
Normal form:

4.6 **daan** **meel**
   
   d- **daan** **meel**
   
   1s. drink **water**
   
   “I drink water”

Negative:

4.7 **mëndaan** **meel**
   
   m- **ëndaan** **meel**
   
   1S.NEG drink **water**
   
   “I don’t drink water”

Subordinate:

4.8 **wi** **ndaanuŋ** **meel**
   
   wi **n- daan** -uŋ **meel**
   
   when 1S.SUB drink **water**
   
   “When I drank the water…”

With **woli**:

4.9 **woli abï**, **kaññ** **uguk**
   
   woli a- **bi ka- fiñ u- guk**
   
   if **c1S come 1S.HAB kill c2S chicken**
   
   “If he comes, I will kill the chicken”

In the last context the second person singular also has an alternative **k-**. For example:

4.10 **ji** **klemp** **na** **utaakal**
   
   i- **ji k- lemp na u- taakal**
   
   2S HAB 2S.HAB work with c2S evening
   
   “You work in the evenings”

The class 1 plural prefix **ba-** can also be used as a general non-referential pronoun, indicating a vague someone or some people as the agent. This meaning can often be translated by the passive in English.

4.11 **bamoya** **na** **bañin**
   
   ba- **moy -a na ba- şin**
   
   c1P bury c1S.OBJ with c1P father
   
   “He was buried with his ancestors”

4.12 **Plaak** **pi** **bajaŋ** **badëŧna** **pa**
   
   p- **laak p- i ba- ja- aŋ ba- dëŧ -na p- a**
   
   c6S stone c6S GEN c1P HAB SEL c1P shut INSTR c4S OBJ
   
   **paşë** **wo** **pweek**
   
   pa- **şë wo p- week**
   
   c6S SEQ be c6S older
   
   “The stone that covered it (the well) was large” or “The stone that they covered it with was large”
4.13 Toma bajaaŋ (badaŋ) kbet
toma ba- ja -aŋ ba- du k- bet
Thomas GEN C1P HAB SEL C1P call C3P.CNT twins
“Thomas, known as the twin…”

4.2.2 Serial

The a- prefix is also used in serial clauses (see section 9.2). In clause chaining the second and subsequent verb clusters (i.e. auxiliaries and main verbs) are inflected with the a- prefix regardless of the number, person or class of the subject.

4.14 upi uţi aneej kato
u- pi u- ti a- neej ka- toh
c2s goat c2s run SER enter c3s house
“The goat ran and entered the house”

This prefix combines with the imperfective prefix k- (see section 4.2.8) if the action is not yet completed.

4.15 dde kadaan
d- de k- a- daan
1s eat IMPERF SER drink
“I’m eating and then I will drink”

This combination of prefixes can also be found in other verbal constructions where there is an auxiliary. For example:

4.16 dluŋ kanug ulibra uhalu
d- luŋ k- a- nug u- libra u- halu
1s FUT IMPERF SER buy c2s book c2s new
“I will buy a new book”

However, the combination of IMPERF k- with SER a- functions differently to the combination of IMPERF k- with the Class 1 Singular marker a-. In the latter case, IMPERF k- follows a-. For example, in the subordinate temporal clause:

4.17 wi akyaaŋ (Dakar) wi a- k- ya -aŋ Dakar
when c1s IMPERF go SEL Dakar
“When he was going to Dakar…”

4.2.3 Persistive prefix

When the persistive auxiliary is used with a stative verb (see section 8.8.3) then the stative main verb is prefixed with a prenasalisation of the initial consonant of the root:
4.18 Ahum nwo ti bgah
   a- hum n- wo t- i b- gah
   C1S PSTV PSTV be INT LOC.PROX C5S way
“He was still on the road.”

4.19 Ahum nlowi
   a- hum n- low -i
   C1S PSTV PSTV be_far CMPL
“He was still far away”

4.2.4 Negative
Negation of the verb is marked both with a morphological change plus a distinctive intonation pattern.

If the verb has completive aspect (see section 4.2.8), the surface segmental marking of the negative is a lengthening of the vowel of the subject prefix (if there is one), followed by a pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the stem. If this consonant is a nasal then it is lengthened. In the glosses in this description the negative morpheme is represented by ën-, a possible underlying form.

4.20 Dama aandee
   Dama a- ën- de -e
   Dama C1S NEG eat CMPL
“Dama didn’t eat”

Other examples are:

4.21 Affirmative   Negative
a. ba-juk-i “they learnt” ba-an-juk-i “they did not learn”
b. a-keť-i “he is dead” a-an-keť-i “he is not dead”
c. i-ŋal-i “you loved” i-iŋ-ŋal-i “you did not love”

There are two consonantal prefixes, the 1st person forms. As noted above in section 4.2.1 the 1st person singular has a special negative form m-, but the 1st person plural form is y- as in affirmative sentences. With these two consonantal prefixes the negative does not cause any lengthening of the prefix.

4.22 Affirmative   Negative
a. d-juk-i “I learnt” m-ën-juk-i “I did not learn”
b. y-ŋal-i “we loved” y-ëŋ-ŋal-i “we did not love”

If the verb is in the imperfective (see section 4.2.8), then the k- prefix is used and that is what is pre-nasalised (/ᵑk/ but written in the orthography as “nk”)
4.23 **Dama aankde umaanan**

Dama c1sNEG IMPERF eat maanan

“Dama isn't eating the rice”

Other examples are:

4.24 **Affirmative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba-juk “they learn”</td>
<td>aandee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-win “he sees”</td>
<td>aankde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tok “you spoil”</td>
<td>aandee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-juk “I learn”</td>
<td>aankde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. ŋ-ŋal “we love”</td>
<td>aandee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba-an-k-juk “they don’t learn”</td>
<td>aandee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-an-k-win “they don’t see”</td>
<td>aankde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-in-k-tok “you don’t spoil”</td>
<td>aandee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ën-k-juk “I don’t learning”</td>
<td>aankde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ-ŋ-k-ŋal “we don’t love”</td>
<td>aandee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All verbal negation has a distinctive rising and falling pitch. If only single verb words are considered then it would appear to be tonal and attached to the negative marking.

4.25

**Dama aandee**

Dama c1sNEG eat CMPL

“Dama didn’t eat”

4.26

**Dama aankde umaanan**

Dama c1sNEG IMPERF eat c3s rice

“Dama isn’t eating the rice”

However, in relative clauses where the negative morpheme is found on the second verb word, the pitch pattern seems to be found on the initial verb word. For this reason I consider it a phenomenon of intonation rather than tone.

4.27

**ŋaaŋ anwooŋ aanktaŋ**

ŋaaŋ c1s COREF be SEL c1sNEG IMPERF follow

“The person who does not follow”
4.2.5 Selectional suffixes

In certain constructions, for example relative clauses, the first verbal word requires the suffix -uŋ, which I have labelled the selectional suffix, glossed SEL. Its presence indicates that the clause containing this verb is selecting a certain item from amongst a possible range. There does not seem to be a similar suffix in related languages. Depending on the construction the item in question might be the subject or the object of the verb. A more detailed discussion of when it is used can be found in chapter 9.

The following example shows its use in a temporal clause.

4.28 wi ndaanuŋ meel
    wi n- daan -uŋ meel
    when 1S.SUB drink SEL water

“When I drank the water…”

When -uŋ follows a vowel, the /u/ normally assimilates to that vowel quality, with a resulting long vowel.

4.29 a. a-ya “he goes” wi a-ya-ŋ “when he went”
    b. a-bi “he comes” wi a-bi-ŋ “when he came”
    c. a-du “he calls” wi a-du-uŋ “when he calls”
    d. a-de “he eats” wi a-de-ŋ “when he ate”

There are four exceptions to this rule.

Following the auxiliary şë, both the final vowel /ë/ and the /u/ become /a/.

4.30 a-şë “he.SEQ” wi a-ş-a-ŋ “when he.SEQ”

Following the auxiliary ji, both the final vowel /i/ and the /u/ become /a/.

4.31 a-ji a-nug “he.HAB buys” wi a-ja-ŋ nug “when he.HAB buys”

Following do “do” an /l/ is inserted before -uŋ. When do is the auxiliary “INGR” - ingressive - this tends not to happen, though this is a tendency and not an exceptionless rule.

4.32 a-do “he does” wi a-dol-uŋ “when he did”

Following a verb which has the middle suffix -a (see section 4.2.9 below) both the final vowel of the middle suffix /a/ and the /u/ of the selectional suffix become /i/ (example 4.33a). Note that this is different to what happens when the suffix -a is 3rd person singular object (example 4.33b)

4.33 a. a-naţ-a “he stands up” wi a-naţ-i-ŋ “when he stood up”
    b. a-kob-a “he hits him” wi a-kob-ul-uŋ “when he hit him”
When the verb is followed by the 2pl suffix -an the selectional suffix becomes -aŋ.

4.34 uko wi bakdolanaŋ
u- ko w- i ba- k- dol -an -aŋ
C2S thing C2S GEN C1P IMPERF do 2P. OBJ SEL

“The thing that they are doing to you”

When the verb stem is reduplicated, then the behaviour of the selectional suffix depends on the context of the verb. In most situations the -uŋ suffix is attached to the initial verb stem:

4.35 ul aŋaluŋ ŋal wa
ul a- ŋal -uŋ ŋal w- a
C1S subj C1S like SEL like C2S OBJ

“It was he who wanted it”

4.36 biki nanuguŋ nug du ŋaanŋ
bik- i na- nug -uŋ nug d- u ŋaanŋ
C1P GEN 2P buy SEL buy EXT LOC DIST person

aloŋ nayaanŋ
a- loŋ na- yaanŋ
C1S INDEF C1S stranger

“those you had bought from a foreigner”

However, the causative suffix -an is added after the copy of the root, and then the selectional -uŋ suffix is added after:

4.37 unŧaam wi bafal falanuŋ
u- nŧaam w- i ba- fal fal -an -uŋ
C2S livestock C2S GEN C1P cut cut CAUS SEL

“the meat that they had had cut up”

4.38 ŋaanŋ ankbuk bukanuluŋ
ŋ- aaŋ a- n- k- buk buk- -an -uŋ
C1S woman SER COREF IMPERF produce C1P CAUS C1S. ALT. OBJ SEL

“the woman who is helping her give birth”

In one reduplication context -uŋ becomes -aŋ. This is following wi “when”, and the reduplication give a sense of immediacy.

4.39 wi awinaŋ win baka
wi a- win -aŋ win baka
when C1S see SEL see C2P. OBJ

“As soon as he saw them…”

4.40 wi bapënaŋ pën ři
wi ba- pën -aŋ pën ř- i
when C1P go out SEL go out INT LOC PROX

“As soon as they had left from there”
In this context when the stem ends with the middle suffix -a, there is no assimilation (marked orthographically with an apostrophe), as there would be with -uŋ, but the middle suffix still changes to -i before it.

4.41 Wi baheli’aŋ hela
   wi ba- hel -i ’aŋ hel -a
   when C1P disembark MID SEL disembark MID

“As soon as they got out the boat…”

As noted in section 4.2.1 above the 1st person singular prefix has the form N- when used in a word with the selectional suffix.

There is a rarer selectional suffix -i, which seems in current language to be synonymous with -uŋ but which in the past probably had some difference in meaning. The -i and -uŋ suffixes in this context were possibly derived from the -i and -uŋ demonstrative roots (see section 6.1.5 Demonstratives). Karlik (1972, 111) records a distinction between -i and -uŋ in Manjaku, where he describes -uŋ as emphatic.

4.2.6 Co-reference prefix

In relative constructions (for more detailed discussion see section 9.4.3), where the subject of relative clause is also in a grammatical relation with the main verb, the first verb word in the relative clause is marked with a prefix. This prefix is the pre-nasalisation of the first consonant of the stem, and, if present, the pre-nasalisation of the imperfective marker k- (see section 4.2.8 Aspectual affixes). There is no other context where this co-reference marker is found. In examples 4.42 and 4.43 the subject of the relative clause is the object in the matrix clause. In example 4.44 the subject of the relative clause is also the subject in the matrix clause.

4.42 dwin nalët ambomanuŋ blaañ
   d- win na- lët a- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ
   1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF make SEL C6S wrap

“I saw the tailor who made the dress”

4.43 dwin nalët ankmbomanuŋ
   d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uŋ
   1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL

blaañ
b- laañ
C6S wrap

“I saw the tailor who is making the dress”
4.44 ñaaŋ ankndeñ pnam
ñaaŋ a- n- k- n- de -eŋ p- nam
person C1S COREF IMPERF COREF eat SEL C4S salt

aanhil kawo aankmaak
a- ēn- hil k- a- wo a- ēn- k- maak
C1S NEG be_able IMPERF SER be C1S NEG IMPERF be_ill

“Someone who eats salt will not get ill”

For comparison 4.45 shows an example where the subject of the relative clause (“they” indicated by the 3p prefix ba-) is not in grammatical relation with the main verb ñal “like”, and so there is no co-reference prefix.

4.45 Aŋal iko yi bakbiŋ kanug
a- ñal i- ko y- i ba- k- bi -ŋ k- a- nug
C1S like C3P thing C3P GEN C1P IMPERF FUT SEL IMPERF SER buy

“She likes the things that they are going to buy”

4.2.7 Object Suffixes

4.2.7.1 Object Suffixes on Main Verbs

For most human objects the pronominal form is a verbal suffix. These are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-in²</td>
<td>akobin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>akobu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>akoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st (excl)</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>akobun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>akoban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Object pronominal suffixes

The 1st plural inclusive pronoun, the class 1 plural pronoun, and all pronouns referring to non-human classes are separate words, and have been discussed in section 3.5. The syntax of objects will be discussed in section 7.1.1.

4.46 Tukma akob Naala

Tukma a- kob Naala
Thukma C1S hit Nala

“Thukma hits Naala”

2 Some people pronounce this pronoun ēn.
4.47 **Tukma akoba**

\[
\text{tukma} \quad \text{a- kob } -a \\
\text{Thukma} \quad \text{ClS hit ClS.OBJ}
\]

“Thukma hits her”

4.48 **Tukma akobun**

\[
\text{tukma} \quad \text{a- kob } -un \\
\text{Thukma} \quad \text{ClS hit 1P.OBJ}
\]

“Thukma hits us”

### 4.2.7.2 Object Suffixes on Verbs with the Selectional Suffix

When the selectional suffix -uŋ is present, most object suffixes have a different form, and one becomes an independent word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>aan</td>
<td>ankob-aan-uŋ who hit me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd}</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ankob-i-uŋ who hit you (sg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>ankob-ul-uŋ who hit him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd}</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ankob-an-uŋ who hit you (pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.4: Object suffixes used with the selectional suffix*

The 1\textsuperscript{st} plural exclusive suffix becomes an independent word when the selectional suffix is used. This is shown in example 4.49. It is not a suffix as it comes after the selectional suffix which always marks the end of the verbal word.

4.49 **wi akobun un**

\[
\text{wi} \quad \text{a- kob } -uŋ \quad \text{un} \\
\text{when ClS hit SEL 1P.OBJ}
\]

“When he hit us, …”

As described in section 4.2.5 above the class 1 singular object suffix and the middle voice suffix (which are both -a in main verbs) have a completely different form with the selectional suffix.

4.50 **a. a-naţ-a “he stands up” wi a-naţ-i-uŋ “when he stood up”**

**b. a-kob-a “he hits him” wi a-kob-ul-uŋ “when he hit him”**

However, the change in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person singular from -u to -i with the selectional suffix results in a form that is identical to the allomorph of the middle voice suffix with the selectional suffix.
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4.2.8 Aspectual affixes

There are only two affixes that are related to tense and aspect. One of them, the prefix \( k- \) indicates imperfective. The opposite, perfective, is not marked morphologically. In some contexts the distinction between imperfective and perfective is not marked at all. This distinction (usually called accompli/inaccompli in French descriptions) is common in Atlantic languages. See for example (Soukka 2000; Segerer 2000; Bassene 2017). The other, the suffix \(-i\) (and its allomorphs), marks completive. Note that though \( k- \) and \(-i\) cannot co-occur, they are also not in complementary distribution.

All other tense and aspect distinctions are made by means of auxiliaries.

In this section I will describe the morphology of the affixes \( k- \) and \(-i\); their meaning and use will be described in more detail along with the tense and aspect auxiliaries in section 8.

4.2.8.1 Imperfective

In neutral sentences, in the affirmative the imperfective/perfective distinction is unmarked.

4.52

a. \( a\-daan \) “he drinks/is drinking”

b. \( ba\-poş \) “they walk/are walking”

In the negative, the imperfective is marked with the prefix \( k- \), but the perfective is unmarked.

4.53

a. \( a\-an\-k\-daan \) “he's not drinking” or “he will not drink”

b. \( a\-an\-daan \) “he didn’t drink”

c. \( ba\-an\-k\-win \) “they are not seeing” or “they will not see”

d. \( ba\-an\-win \) “they didn’t see”

In sentences where the verb requires a selectional suffix the imperfective is marked in the affirmative, and the perfective is not marked.

4.54 \( \text{Dwin na\-lët ankmbomanuŋ blaän} \)

\( \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{d-} & \text{win} & \text{na-} & \text{lët} \\
\text{1S} & \text{see} & \text{1S} & \text{tailor} \\
\text{a-} & \text{n-} & \text{k-} & \text{boman} \\
\text{m-} & \text{-uŋ} & \text{b-} & \text{laän} \\
\end{array} \)

I saw the tailor who is making the dress”
4.55 Dwin nalët ambomanuŋ blaañ
   d- win na- lët a- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ
1S see C1S tailor C1S COREF make SEL C6S wrap
“I saw the tailor who made the dress”

The negative with a selectional suffix requires different syntax, but again it is the imperfective that is marked:

4.56 Niinţ anwooŋ aankbi
   ň- iinţ a- n- wo -oŋ a- an- k- bi
C2S man C1S COREF be SEL C1S NEG IMPERF come
amaaki
a- maak -i
C1S be ill CMPL
“The man who's not coming is ill”

The imperfective often co-occurs with the serial prefix a-, for example with future auxiliaries:

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

There is also a k- prefix used to negate the imperative but I analyse this as a separate morpheme.

4.2.8.2 Completive

Completive is marked with suffix -i. It is typically used with change of state verb stems, where it causes the state to be construed as current.

4.58 a-dëm “he is getting bigger” a-dëm-i “he is big”

It can also be used with action verbs in which the whole action is in view and is often assumed to be complete, and therefore in the past.

4.59 a-daan “he drinks” a-daan-i “he drank”

The completive -i makes the verb syntactically intransitive.

4.60 Awula poot kë adaani
   a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i
C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL
“She gave him wine and he drank”

4.61 * Awula poot kë adaani pa
   a- wul -a poot kë a- daan -i p- a
C1S give C1S.OBJ wine DS C1S drink CMPL C4S OBJ
“She gave him wine and he drank it”
Because of this the completive -i suffix never co-occurs or combines with object suffixes like -u (2s) or -a (C1s). It can combine with the middle voice – see example 4.74 below.

This seems to correspond with some uses of the perfective in other Atlantic languages. In the examples below similar morphemes are underlined:

4.62 Noon (Soukka 2000, 40:181)
**Noh-ii tam-in**
sun-DEF hot-PERF
“The sun is hot”

In Jola languages there is an -e suffix which gives a perfective meaning, but also seems to be related to constituent focus.

4.63 Bandial (Bassène 2007)
**Atejo na-bbaŋ-e e-sūg-ol**
Atejo s3s-retourner-TAM CL3-village-PSS3s
“Atejo has returned to his village.”

4.64 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)
**ña a-nifaan-au na-fel-e e-saa-ay**
alors C1-vieux-DEF il.DEV-détacher-EN C3-mouton-DEF
“And so the old man untied the sheep.”

Hopkins also notes a -i derivational marker to which he gives the meaning “characterised by” but which also seems to have a function closer to the -i suffix in Mankanya.

4.65 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)

*moor* “to sleep” *móór-i* “to be asleep”

*ból* “to grill” *ból-ı* “to be hot”

4.66 Fonyi (Hopkins 1995)
**jaat b-ala-ab bú-ból-ı-ból-ı m-áamak**
ajourd’hui C5-soleil-DEF C5-brûler-NA-RDP c10-beaucoup
“It is very hot today.”

Additionally he notes that this suffix makes the verb intransitive, which, as noted above, also happens with the Mankanya -i suffix.

The completive -i can be used in the negative:

4.67

a. **a-an-daan-i** “he didn’t drink”
b. **ba-an-dém-i** “they didn’t grow”

When the completive -i combines with a vowel at the end of a verb stem, then assimilation occurs with a resulting long vowel.
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4.68

a. ade “he eats” adee “he ate”
b. baya “they go” bayaa “they went”

A small number of verbs have stems that end with an i which is not the completive suffix:

4.69

a. awooni “he cries”
b. ateşi “he sows”
c. dţiini “I speak”
d. ṅtaafi “we dream”

With these words the completive suffix -i causes a lengthening of the final i of the stem.

4.70 Nji kak dţaafii
   nji kak d- ṭaafi -i
   1s again 1s dream CMPL
   “I also dreamt”

4.2.9 Middle voice

Verbs can be marked to indicate a middle voice, where the subject has some elements of being both the agent and the patient. In verbs that are not terminated by the selective suffix -uŋ the middle voice is marked by the suffix -a. This is identical in form to the class 1 singular object suffix which means some verbal words are ambiguous. However, when verbs end in -uŋ e.g. in relative clauses, the two morphemes have different forms (as noted in section 4.2.7.2).

The middle voice suffix is used for two functions, reflexivity, where the subject is the agent and the patient, and true middle voice, where the agent of the verb is not specified.

When the middle voice is used on its own there is no syntactic object.

Here are some examples that need to be translated by a reflexive in English:

4.71

a. dñow bapọ̀ “I wash the children” dñow-a “I wash myself”
b. anat “he is standing” anat-a “he stands up”
c. apuunk ţiin “he shaves the man” apuunk-a “he shaves himself”
d. ajemọ̀ bdoò “he extinguishes the fire” bdoò bajemọ̀-a “the fire extinguishes itself”

A passive type meaning is achieved by combining the middle voice suffix -a with the benefactive suffix -ar.
The Verb

4.72
a. dtib pmul  “I cut the wood”  dtib-ar-a  “I was cut”
b. pdum  “to bite”  ddum-ar-a  “I was bitten”

In context the agent is not known and it is not possible to specify the agent in a prepositional phrase, or by other syntactic means. However, this combination of -ar and -a does allow an object (-a reduces the valence but -ar increases it) and with this it is possible to specify a theme. For example:

4.73
awoh imiṣa  “he put on a shirt”  (active)
awohara imiṣa  “he was wearing a shirt”  (passive)

Note that in some cases it is possible to add the completive suffix -i. When this occurs the two suffixes combine with the result of -aa. For example:

4.74
a. bdoobajëmësa  “the fire is extinguishing itself”
bdoobajëmësaa  “the fire has extinguished itself”
(or the fire has been extinguished)
b. meel manwala  “the water is receding”
meel manwalaa  “the water has gone down”

4.2.10 Imperative

The affirmative imperative is formed by adding a suffix of the form -an or -ani. The 2nd person singular has no subject prefix, whereas the 2nd person plural has the normal subject prefix used in declarative verbs.

For example with the verb poṣ “walk”:

4.75
a. poṣ-an  “walk (2s)!”
b. na-poṣ-an  “walk (2p)!”

With a few frequent monosyllabic roots, the form -ani (or an allomorph) is used when the imperative verb is used in isolation. Compare the isolated form in example 4.76a with example 4.76c.

4.76
a. ya-ani  “Go!”
b. bi-ini  “Come!”
c. ya-an du batani  “Go to the herd!”
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One verb behaves irregularly for the imperative, jej “take”. It doesn’t take the imperative suffix, and instead has a reduced root nje in the singular and je in the plural.

4.77

a. nje bęepi “Take the seed!”
   b. na-je bęepi “Take(2p) the seed”

When a pronominal object suffix is used, it combines with the imperative in different ways.

The 1st person singular -in combines with the -an to become -aan.

4.78 na-tiınd-an “Listen to me!”

The 1st person plural -un replaces the -an.

4.79 na-tiınd-un “Listen to us!”

The class 1 singular -a is added after the -an.

4.80 na-tiınd-an-a “Listen to him!”

The causative -an combines with the imperative -an to become -aan. This could lead to word forms that are ambiguous between causative and first person singular object.

4.81 na-jinč-an-an “Make clean!”

There are two ways of creating a negative imperative, one morphological, shown here, and one analytical, shown in section 7.2.1. To create a negative imperative morphologically, the prefix k- is added to the stem.

4.82

a. k-poş “don’t walk! (2s)”
   b. na-k-poş-an “don’t walk! (2p)”

4.3 Derivation

All the verbal affixes which are derivational are suffixes.

Here is a list of the derivational suffixes that can be attached to verb stems. (allomorphs are given in brackets). Note that this is a list of the forms of the affixes. The following sections will be organised functionally, so multifunctional forms will be discussed in several sections. Equally, different forms but with the same function will be grouped together.
Some of the suffixes can be combined (sometimes with the deletion of an unstressed vowel). In the examples below * in the gloss indicates the meaning of the root is unknown because the unmodified root is unattested

4.3.1 Stem Category Change (-al)

The suffix -al changes a verbal stem into a nominal one. It is not very productive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun or adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. şub “rain”</td>
<td>u-şub “it’s raining”</td>
<td>u-şub-al “rain”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. jën “redden”</td>
<td>p-jën “to reden”</td>
<td>u-jën-al “red”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. maak “get ill”</td>
<td>a-maak “he’s getting ill”</td>
<td>na-maak-al “invalid”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suffix can also be used with nominal roots to produce a verbal stem, or with a verbal root without an apparent change of category. This only seems to happen in conjunction with other derivative morphemes, for example the causative -ăş (which is also not very productive). This sometimes results in a major change of meaning. This might indicate that the -al morpheme is not a recent innovation. Alternatively it might indicate that it was once not category changing and that the causative -ăş was used as verbalizer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>noun or adjective</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. hoţ “leg”</td>
<td>ka-hoţ “leg”</td>
<td>a-hoţ-al-ăş “he adds”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. tum “full”</td>
<td>ka-tum-i “full”</td>
<td>u-tum-al-ăş “it is filled up”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.2 Causative (-an, -ēş)

The addition of the suffix -an gives a causative sense to the derived verb. For example:

4.85

a. d-pën “I'm leaving” d-pën-an bapot “I'm making the children leave”
b. p-yiik “to be hot” a-yiik-an meel “he heats up the water”
c. a-juk “he's learning” a-juk-an “he's teaching”

The suffix -ēş (which is less productive than the suffix -an) also gives a causative sense, and is never found in combination with the -an causative.

4.86

a. p-haab “to leave ones mouth open” p-haab-ēş “to open (e.g. a door)”
b. p-yiik “to be hot” p-yiik-ēş “to heat up (e.g. a meal)”
c. p-gar “to separate oneself” p-gar-ēş “to separate”

Neither suffix is repeatable to create a double causative. An idea like “make them learn” would have to be expressed analytically using do “do” (see section 9.4.1.3 Manipulatives).

Note a verb with a 2nd person plural prefix and a causative ending -an is an identical form to a 2nd person plural imperative.

4.87

a. na-juk-an “2p-learn-CAUS” “You are teaching”
    a. na-juk-an “2p-learn-IMP” “Learn!”

For the combination of the causative -an and the imperative -an see example 4.81 above.

4.3.3 Reciprocal (-ar, -ir, -ad)

The addition of the suffix -ar (or its allomorphs -ir and -ad) can give a reciprocal meaning to the derived verb. That is, the subject must be plural (and can be more than just two individuals), and plural subject is both the agent of the verb and the undergoer. I have not found an example of the use of this suffix to give a chain meaning (e.g. A follows B follows C).

The allomorph -ad occurs when the verb stem ends in a liquid consonant, i.e. /l/ or /r/ (see examples 4.88 d and e)
The allomorph -ir seems only to occur after the verb yit “meet”.

4.88
a. p-fiŋ “to kill” p-fiŋ-ar “to kill one another”
b. p-lat “to contradict” p-lat-ar “to discuss”
   (Lit “to contradict one another”)
c. p-yit “to meet” p-yiti-ir “to meet one another”
d. p-ŋal “to love” p-ŋal-ad “love one another”
e. p-şoor “to hate” p-şoor-ad “hate one another”

Note that with some verbs the suffix -ar can also have a benefactive meaning. See the examples in the next section.

The reciprocal -ar suffix reduces the syntactic valence. For example:

4.89
a. Šompi aŋal Naala “Shompi loves Naala”
   Šompi na Naala aŋalad “Shompi and Naala love one another”
b. nawulan Naala mboş “Greet Naala” (lit. give Naala the ground)
   nawuladan mboş “Greet one another”

4.3.4 Benefactive (-ar, -ir, -ad)

A benefactive meaning can be derived by the addition of the suffix -ar (or its allomorphs -ir and -ad). Like the reflexive, the allomorph -ad occurs when the verb stem ends in a liquid consonant, i.e. /l/ or /r/. The allomorph -ir occurs if the stem ends in i (see example 4.98b).

4.90
a. p-duk “to leave” p-duk-ar “to leave for someone”
b. p-nug “to buy” p-nug-ar “to buy for someone”
c. p-lemp “to work” p-lemp-ar “to work for someone”
d. p-fiŋ “to kill” p-fiŋ-ar “to kill for someone”

The benefactive -ar suffix increases the syntactic valence. For example:

4.91 Šompi alemp
   Šompi a- lemp
   Shompi c1S work
   “Shompi works”

4.92 Šompi alempar Naala
   Šompi a- lemp -ar Naala
   Shompi c1S work BEN Naala
   “Shompi works for Naala”
4.93 **Naala** abuk napoţ ńiinţ
   Naala a- buk na- poţ ń- iinţ
   Nala c1s produce c1s child c1s male
   “Naala gave birth to a son”

4.94 **Naala** abukar Şompi napoţ ńiinţ
   Naala a- buk -ar Şompi na- poţ ń- iinţ
   Nala c1as produce ben Shompi c1s child c1s male
   “Naala bore Shompi a son”

As noted in the previous section -ar can mean either reciprocal or benefactive. A benefactive use requires at least one object, and increases the syntactic valence. A reciprocal use must have a plural subject and reduces the syntactic valence. For example with fiŋ “kill”:

4.95 **Mankań** afiş upi
   mankań a- fiŋ u- pi
   Mankanya c1s kill c2s goat
   “Mankanya killed a goat”

4.96 **Mankań** afişar upi Dama
   mankań a- fiŋ- ar u- pi Dama
   Mankanya c1s kill ben c2s goat Dama
   “Mankanya killed a goat for Dama”

4.97 **bantohi** biki Bula baфişar
   ba- ntohi bik- i Bula ba- fiŋ- ar
   c1p elder c1p gen Bula c1p kill rcp
   “The elders of Bula were killing each other”

The benefactive can also be used with some verbs of motion with an object to give a directional sense towards the object, and often with a nuance of purpose.

4.98 a. p-poş “to walk” p-poş-ar “to walk towards”
    b. p-bi “to come” p-bi-ir “to come towards”

For example:

4.99 **ujı** uyaar ŋntaayi paaj na uloŋ
   u- ji u- ya -ar ŋ- ntaayi paaj na u- loŋ
   c2s hab c2s go ben c2p demon six and c2s indef

ľanwuţuŋ apel wa
   ŋa- n- wuţ -uŋ a- pel w- a
   c2p coref be_ugly sel ser be_more c2s obj
   “It (a spirit) goes to seven others who are worse than it”
Two of my peers came to me to take me fishing.

4.3.5 Separative (-ëş)

The addition of the suffix -ëş seems to give an inverted sense to the derived verb. However, the sense tends to be of separation, uncovering, opening, rather than a spread of senses (e.g. including covering, closing etc), so I will label it separative, rather than inversive.

4.101

a. d-gur u-meeşa “I cover the table”
   d-gur-ëş u-meeşa “I uncover the table”

b. p-dëŧ “to close”
   p-dëŧ-ëş “to open”

c. p-jij “to embark”
   p-jij-ëş “to disembark”

d. p-moy “bury”
   p-moy-ëş “dig up”

There are a number of verbs with this suffix where the root no longer exists on its own.

4.102

a. p-fat-ëş “undo”
   *pfat

b. p-fën-ëş “unknot”
   *pfën

c. p-wuñ-ëş “uncover, mix”
   *pwuñ

With certain other words where the separative is used, the “unseparated” sense is not the root, but rather a differently derived stem.

4.103

a. p-woh-ëş “to undress”
   p-woh-ar-a “to dress”

b. p-nig-ëş “to open”
   p-tuh “to close”
   (also p-nig-an “to lock”)

Example 4.103 b above seems to indicate a now lost root nig “close”, where “to lock” p-nig-an is INF-close-CAUS.

4.3.6 Extensive (-ënt, -ëb)

The suffix -ënt seems to widen the meaning of the derived verb, maybe be based on the idea of doing the action for a prolonged amount of time, or repeatedly.
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4.104

a. p-haab “to leave the mouth open”  
p-haab-ënţ “to yawn”
b. p-jej “to take”  
p-jej-ënţ “to gather”
c. p-lam “to swim”  
p-lam-ënţ “to swim for pleasure”
d. p-ya “to go”  
p-ya-anţ “to travel”

Note that following a vowel, the ê in the suffix is changes its quality to match.

There are some verbs which have the -ënţ suffix, but where the root is no longer used verbally without derivation. However, the resulting derived forms are compatible with the sense described above; sleeping is something that occurs over a prolonged period of time and breathing is something that occurs repeatedly.

4.105

a. a-ŋoy-ënţ “he sleeps”  
*a-ŋoy but b-ŋoy “sleep (noun)”
b. a-hef-ënţ “he breathes “  
*a-hef but u-hef-ënţ “breath(noun)”

The suffix -ëb seems to have the same meaning but it is rare.

4.106 a. p-jat “to drip”  
p-jat-ëb “to rain lightly”  
(i.e. “to drip repeatedly”)

There is at least one verb that uses the -ëb suffix where the underived root is no longer used at all:

4.107

a. p-funt-ëb “to whistle”  
*pfunt

4.3.7 Instrumental (-na)

The suffix -na (or -:na when the verb stem terminates with a vowel) gives an instrumental sense. That is to say the object following is now construed as the instrument of the action

4.108

a. p-liik “to draw water”  
p-liik-na u-baldu “to draw water with a bucket”
b. p-de “to eat”  
a-de-ena kataam “he eats with a spoon”

Note that this suffix is not identical to the word na “with”. It is possible to use na with the instrumental -na in the same sentence. For example:

4.109  
ddeena na kataam

d- de -ena na ka- taam
1S eat INSTR with C3S spoon

“I eat with a spoon”
With certain verbs of motion the suffix -na gives a sense of “through”:

4.110
a. p-ţëp “to pass” a-ţëp-na Tilen “he went through Tilene”
b. p-neej “to enter” a-neej-na p-lëman “he entered through the door”

4.3.8 Reduplication

Verbal stems can be completely reduplicated to the right, to alter the meaning in various ways. The reduplicated stem is written separately in the official orthography, in contrast to other languages in the BAK family e.g. Jola-Fonyi. Mankanya has no vowel harmony or tone to help determine phonological word boundaries and other evidence is ambiguous (see below).

Reduplication often adds a sense of continuity.

4.111 dlemp lemp na iñen yi naan
d- lemp lemp na i- ñen y- i naan
1S work work with c3P hand c3P GEN 1S GEN
“I was working (all the time) with my hands”

Or it can give sense of completeness.

4.112 ulemp wi nji nlempuŋ lemp
 u- lemp w- i nji n- lemp -uŋ lemp
 c2S work c2S GEN 1S 1S.SUB work SEL work
pa an
pa an
in order to 2P.OBJ
“The work that I put so much effort into for you” Lit “the work that I worked for you”

It is also often found combined with the auxiliary ba “terminative”, to give a combined sense of having just done something (see section 8.8.7).

4.113 Dba niim niim
d- ba niim niim
1S TMTV marry marry
“I just got married”

4.114 Abuk naan abaa keţ keţ
a- buk naan a- baa keţ keţ
c1AS child 1S GEN c1S TMTV die die
“My child has just died”

Reduplication is also found with the auxiliary bi “past” with a sense of immediacy.
4.115 *pmaak* *pabi* *pën* *pën* *ti* *a*

p- maak pa- bi pën pën ț- i a

C4$ illness$ C4$ PST$ go_out go_out INT LOC.PROX OBJ

“The illness immediately left him”

4.116 *piňaak* *pabi* *țiañan* *țiañan* *ptula*

p- ŭaak pa- bi țañ- an țañ- an p- tul -a

C4$ blood$ C4$ PST$ stop CAUS stop CAUS INF pour_out MID

“The blood immediately stopped flowing”

It can also be found with the combination of auxiliaries *do “ingressive”* and *bi “past”* (see section 8.10 Complex Auxiliary Verb Constructions) to again emphasise the completeness of an event that has already happened.

4.117 *Unuur* *udo* *bi* *yob* *yob*

u- nuur u- do bi yob yob

C2$ day$ C2$ INGR$ PST be_night-time be_night-time

“The day had already become completely night”

4.118 *bado* *bi* *yeenk* *yeenk* *baluk* *bi*

ba- do bi yeenk yeenk ba- luk b- i

C1P INGR PST receive receive C5$ payment C5$ GEN

baka

baka C1P.OBJ

“They have already received completely their reward”

4.119 *ado* *bi* *dinan* *dinan*

a- do bi dinan dinan

C1$ INGR PST agree agree

“They have already agreed”

The whole stem gets repeated, but without any inflectional affixes. In example 4.120 *lut “jump”* is reduplicated, but is a bare stem anyway (as a perfective after the auxiliary *bi “past”). *poş “walk”* is marked as imperfective with *k- (and consequently *a- “SER”) on the initial stem, but the prefixes are not reduplicated with the copy.

4.120 *Kë* *abi* *lut* *lut* *anaț* *abi*

kë a- bi lut lut a- naț a- bi

DS C1$ PST jump jump SER stand SER PST

kapoş poş

k- a- poş poş

IMPERF SER walk walk

“He immediately jumped upright and started walking”

The selective suffix -*unj* is also not repeated (also see example 4.112 above)
4.121  **pntuk**  **pankdëmuŋ**  **dëm**

- **p-**  **ntuk**  **p-**  **a-**  **n-**  **k-**  **dëm**  **-uŋ**  **dëm**
- **C4s**  **group**  **C4s**  **SER**  **COREF**  **IMPERF**  **grow**  **SEL**  **grow**

“The crowd was continually growing”

Similarly, the imperative suffix -**an** is only attached to the main stem.

4.122  **Naţëpan**  **ţëp**

- **na-**  **ţëp**  **-an**  **ţëp**
-  **2p**  **pass**  **IMP**  **pass**

“Make way!”

In contrast derivational affixes are reduplicated. In example 4.123 the beneactive suffix -**ar** is reduplicated, and in 4.124 it is the causative suffix -**an**.

4.123  **balempar**  **lempar**  **naşih**

- **ba-**  **lemp**  **-ar**  **lemp**  **-ar**  **na-**  **şih**
- **C1p**  **work**  **BEN**  **work**  **BEN**  **C1s**  **chief**

“They continually serve the chief (in whatever they are doing)”

4.124  **aşë**  **bi**  **kataran**  **taran**

- **a-**  **şë**  **bi**  **k-**  **a-**  **tar**  **-an**  **tar**  **-an**
- **SER**  **SEQ**  **PST**  **IMPERF**  **SER**  **be_fast**  **CAUS**  **be_fast**  **CAUS**

unuur  **ujinţ**

- **u-**  **nuur**  **u-**  **jinţ**
-  **C2s**  **day**  **C2s**  **clean**

“They waited desperately for dawn” (Lit: “They caused dawn to be fast”)

Object suffixes are attached to the main stem, not the copy.

4.125  **dkooţu**  **kooţ**

- **d-**  **kooţ**  **-u**  **kooţ**
-  **1s**  **petition**  **2s.OBJ**  **petition**

“I urge you”

4.126  **đëňhanu**  **ňehan**

- **d-**  **ňehan**  **-u**  **ňehan**
-  **1s**  **request**  **2s.OBJ**  **request**

“I plead with you”

4.127  **ado**  **bi**  **datan**  **dat**

- **a-**  **do**  **bi**  **dat**  **-an**  **dat**
-  **C1s**  **INGR**  **PST**  **choose**  **2p.OBJ**  **choose**

“He has already chosen you (pl)”

The fact that inflectional suffixes do not get reduplicated but derivational ones do is evidence that the copy is separate word.
4.128 ado bi dat dat baka
   a- do bi dat dat baka
   C1S INGR PST choose choose C2P.OBJ

“He has already chosen them”
In this short chapter I describe two word forms that fall between nouns and verbs. Infinitives and participles both have some verbal features and some nominal features, but infinitives are slightly more verbal, and participles are slightly more nominal.

5.1 Infinitives

The prefix $p$- is the mark of the infinitive form of the verb, and cannot co-occur with a subject prefix. This prefix is identical in form to that used on class 4 and class 6 nouns.

An infinite verb on its own appears to act exactly like a singular noun of class 4 or class 6 but as there is no plural to distinguish it, I will arbitrarily choose class 4. It can appear as a subject or object of another verb, and when a subject, the agreement prefix is $pa$-. For example:

5.1 \textit{phomp} \quad \textit{paniink} \quad \textit{ubeeka} \quad \textit{bti}

\begin{verbatim}
  p- homp  pa-niink  u- beeka  bti
  INF  chatter  C4S  spread  C2S  town  all
\end{verbatim}

"The gossip spread throughout the town"

Infinitives can occur in a genitive phrases (see section 7.3.4.2)

5.2 \textit{pkeţ} \quad \textit{pi} \quad \textit{anin}

\begin{verbatim}
  p- keţ  p- i  a- nin
  C4S  death  C4S  GEN  C1AS  mother
\end{verbatim}

"my mother's death"

An infinite verb cannot take the completive suffix -$i$ or the imperfective prefix $k$-. Neither does it have a negative form (see section 4.2.4). If an infinite verb needs to be negative then the infinitive prefix can be used with
a negative auxiliary like wut (as in example 5.4). Similarly it can be used with other auxiliaries for tense and aspect distinctions (example 5.5).

5.4 uko unnuuriŋ uwo pwut
   u- ko u- n- nuur -i -iŋ u- wo p- wut
   c2s thing c2s coref be.good mid sel c2s be inf leave
kade uyemaţ
   k- a- de u- yemaţ
   imperf ser eat c2s meat
   “It is good to not eat meat” (Lit “The thing that is good is to leave eating meat”)

5.5 bahepar pluŋ katiinka byaaş
   ba- hepar p- luŋ k- a- tiink -a b- yaaş
   c1p ask inf fut imperf ser hear c1s.obj c5s time
bloŋ
   b- loŋ
   c5s indef
   “They asked to hear him another time.”

5.6 bajukan baat pdo kalemp
   ba- jukan b- aat p- do k- a- lemp
   c1p teach c1p woman inf ingr imperf ser work
ti itoh yi baka
   t- i i- toh y- i baka
   int loc.prox c3p house c3p gen c1p.obj
   “They teach women to start working in their homes.”

5.7 iko yi pluŋ kawaap
   i- ko y- i p- luŋ k- a- waap
   c3p thing c3p gen inf fut imperf ser sell
   “The things to be sold”

An infinitive can be the head of a clause which can include objects, verbal modifiers and adverbial phrases. The infinitival clause as a whole is nominal in nature and like an infinite verb word can be the subject or object of the verb in its matrix clause.

5.8 Pwala katemp paanwo nin uko
   p- wala ka- temp pa- ēn- wo nin u- ko
   inf come_down c3s circumcision c4s neg be neg c2s thing
uloŋ
   u- loŋ
   c2s indef
   “To be circumcised is nothing”
An infinative verb word can also take object pronominal suffixes.

5.11 Ńiinř ahoŋ abi pkitun hēŋk ba
ā- iinř -a- hoŋ a- bi p- kit -un hēŋk ba
1S man 1S which SER come INF meet 1P.OBJ NARR QUES
“Who is that man coming to meet us?”

5.12 Woli ņaŋŋ anal plemparaan
woli ņaŋŋ a- nal p- lemp -ar -aan
if person 1S like INF work BEN 1S.OBJ
“When someone wants to work for me”

Many general stems form nouns with a nominal prefix which is not p-. For example:

5.13 infinitive noun
a. p-lemp “to work” u-lemp “the work”
b. p-gut “to fight” u-gut/ŋ-gut “the fight/the fights”
c. p-kit “to harvest” ka-kit/i-kit “the harvest/the harvests”
c. p-ki “to dance” u-ki/ŋ-ki “the dance/the dances”

These verbal nouns cannot be used to replace an infinitive in structures like complements where the subject is the same as the subject of the matrix sentence (for example 5.12 above). Some structures, notably the progressive (see section 8.8.5 Progressive), require a verbal noun rather than an infinitive.

Some other stems can form nouns with a p- nominal prefix but the resulting word is not the infinitive, even though it looks and sounds identical. The two words have different meanings. A frequent example is pde “to eat” (an action) (infinitive) or “the meal (the thing being eaten)” (noun) (which is class 6 as the plural is ide). In the following examples 5.14 and 5.15 pde is a normal noun (note that in 5.15 pde is modified by an adjective) and in 5.16 and 5.17 it is an infinitive which has an agent.

5.14 Baťj pde abēkana
ba- tij p- de a- bēkan -a
1P bring 1S meal SER put down 1S.OBJ
“They brought a meal and put it down in front of him”
5.15 ajuŋa  pde  plil
   a-  juŋ  -a  p-  de  p-  lil
C1S  cook  C1S.OBJ  C6S  meal  C6S  good
“She cooked him a good meal”

5.16 Naşih  aneenan  baŋaŋ  pde  na  pdaan
   na-  şih  a-  neenan  ba-  ŋaŋ  p-  de  na  p-  daan
C1S  chief  C1S  forbid  C1P  person  INF  eat  and  INF  drink
“The chief forbade people to eat and drink”

5.17 aya  aneej  aţo  pde
   a-  ya  a-  neej  a-  ŏ  p-  de
C1S  go  SER  enter  SER  sit  INF  eat
“He went and entered and sat down to eat”

5.2 Participles

There is an -i suffix which can create a nominal stem from a verbal stem. This nominal stem can be used to create nouns or adjectives (depending on the semantics of the stem). I will refer to words created in this way as participles. This -i suffix behaves differently to the completive -i suffix (section 4.2.8). There are some similarities to the structure of the relative verb word (section 4.2.5 and 4.2.6). The participle suffix also behaves differently from the stem category changing suffix -al.

Some examples of participles are:

5.18  batani
   ba-  tan  -i
C5S  secure  PTCP
“herd”

5.19  ptuhi
   p-  tuh  -i
C4S  close  PTCP
“stopper”

5.20  kabuki
   ka-  buk  -i
C3S  produce  PTCP
“womb”

The word used to describe something as small is a common example of a participle used adjectivally. There is no adjective formed simply from the root póŋ as found in napóŋ “child”, but rather póŋ is treated as a verbal stem with the addition of the co-reference prefix N- and the participle suffix -i. The agreement prefixes used are the adjectival ones (na- in example 5.21 and b- in example 5.22, listed in chapter 6) rather than the verbal ones (a- and
ba- respectively). Compare example 5.21 with the relative clause in example 5.23.

5.21 napoṭ nampoṭi
    na- poṭ na- m- poṭ -i
    CLS child CLS COREF be_small PTCP
    “small child”

5.22 batani bmpoṭi
    ba- tan -i b- mpoṭi
    CLS secure PTCP CLS small
    “small herd”

5.23 napoṭ anfēṭuŋ du
    na- poṭ a- n- fēṭ -uŋ d- u
    CLS child SER COREF dwell SEL EXT LOC.DIST
    kañog pliiik
    k- a- ŋog p- liik
    IMPERF SER be_close CLS well
    “the child who lived near the well”

Other adjectives are built similarly.

5.24 ñaaŋ nampaṭi
    ñaaŋ na- m- paṭ -i
    person CLS COREF differ PTCP
    “someone different”

5.25 unuur unjinṭi
    u- nuur u- n- jinṭ -i
    CLS day CLS COREF be_clean PTCP
    “every and all day” (Lit: clean day)

When the head noun is the location or the instrument of the action of the participle then there is no co-reference prefix N- but instead there is the suffix -n which seems to be related to the causative derivation. This is shown in the examples below. Again note that the agreement is d- and b-(noun agreement), not da- and ba- (subject agreement).

5.26 dko djuŋni
    d- ko d- juŋ -n -i
    CLS place CLS cook CAUS PTCP
    “the cooking place”

5.27 bdoo bjčungi
    b- doo b- juŋ -n -i
    CLS fire CLS cook CAUS PTCP
    “the cooking fire”
5.28 bgah bneejni
   b- gah b- neej -n -i
   c5S way c5S enter CAUS PTCP
   “the entry road”

5.29 bgah byaani da
   b- gah b- ya -an -i d- a
   c5S way c5S go CAUS CMPL c9S OBJ
   “the road leading there”

Compare these with with an adjective formed with the stem category
changing suffix -al. This doesn’t require any other morphemes apart from
the agreement prefix.

5.30 naşih najeenkal
   na- ših na- jeenk -al
   c1S chief c1S reddo CHG
   “head chief” (Lit:red chief)

Participles cannot be marked morphologically as negative, nor can they take
the imperfective prefix k- or the completive suffix -i.

A relative clause can be used to modify a noun that has been modified by a
participle.

5.31 dko dmoyni danwooŋ
   d- ko d- moy -n -i da- n- wo -oŋ
   c9S place c9S bury CAUS PTCP c9S COREF be SEL
du ụţeeh meet
   d- u ụ- ţeeh meet
   EXT LOC.DIST c2S field inside
   “the burial place that is in the field”

Participles can also be modified by adverbs.

5.32 unuur unyimani maakan
   u- nuur u- n- yiman -i maakan
   c2S day c2S COREF respect PTCP very
   “a very sacred day”

A participle can also be the head of a participle clause (see section 9.4.4).
Compare example 5.33, which contains a participle clause dbomanani ŋkaaru “car repairing” with example 5.34 which contains a relative.
5.33 aňooţ ukaar u wi nun du
a- ŋooţ u- kaaru w- i nun d- u
C1S take C2S car C2S GEN 1p.poss EXT LOC.DIST
dko dbomanani ŋkaar u
d- ko da- boman -an -i ŋ- kaaru
c9s place c9s make CAUS PTCP c2p car
“He took our car to the garage (lit. the car repairing place)”

5.34 dko dambomanuŋ na iňen yi
 d- ko da- m- boman -uŋ na i- ŋen y- i
c9s place c9s coref make sel. and c3p hand c3p gen
baňaanŋ bajën
ba- ŋaanŋ ba- jën
C1p person C1p black
“a place made by human hands” (Lit: “… made by the hands of black men”)
Chapter 6 - Other word classes

6.1 Agreeing Noun Modifiers

6.1.1 Adjectives

As described in chapter 3, some nominal and general stems (i.e. all those stems that can take a nominal prefix) can take any nominal prefix, and the resulting word can be used to modify a noun (within the bounds of semantic possibility). I will refer to these words as adjectives. Their syntactic behaviour is described in section 7.3.2. Some of the nominal prefixes have a slightly different form when used in adjectives and these are highlighted in bold below.

<table>
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<th>Class</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Count Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>η-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>η-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Adjective prefixes

Adjectives modifying any class 1 noun (whether or not the noun is in subclass 1a) take the main class 1 singular nominal prefix na- as shown in example 6.1.

Adjectives modifying class 4 and 5 nouns always use the p- and b- prefixes, even if the nouns use the pa- or ba- forms.
Adjectives modifying class 8 prefixes never contain an a. The normal form is mn-.

6.1 ayiţul
   a- yiţ -ul
   c1AS relative c1S.POSS c1S close
   “close relative”

6.2 napoţ nadêm
   na- poţ na- dêm
   c1S child c1S large
   “large child”

6.3 katoh kajinţ
   ka- toh ka- jinţ
   c3S house c3S clean
   “clean house”

6.4 iyeeh ijon
   i- yeeh i- jon
   c3P song c3P old
   “old song”

6.5 napoţ naweek
   na- poţ na- week
   c1S child c1S big
   “older child”

6.6 katoh kaweek
   ka- toh ka- week
   c3S house c3S big
   “big house”

6.7 mnllilan mnweek
   mn- llilan mn- week
   c8 happiness c8 big
   “great joy”

Sometimes adjectives can be used with the head noun understood, for example in 6.8 naweek means “the older one”. Furthermore some adjectives have become lexicalised, for example in 6.9 naweek means “older brother”.

6.8 Naweek awo Dama
   na- week a- wo Dama
   c1S older c1S be Dama
   “The elder was called Dama”
To form an attributive adjective from a verbal root, it is necessary to use the derivational stem category changing suffix -al to form a nominal stem.

6.10 katoh kajeenkal
ka- toh ka- jeenk -al
C3S house C3S reden CHG
“red house”

6.11 naşih najeenkal
na- şih na- jeenk -al
C1S chief C1S reden CHG
“red chief (king of the Mankanya)”

6.12 kahoţ kamaakal
ka- hoţ ka- maak -al
C3S leg C3S be_ill CHG
“ill leg”

6.13 bkow bmaakal
b- kow b- maak -al
C5S head C5S be_ill CHG
“aching head”

Predicational adjectival meaning with general or verbal stems is achieved by adding the completive suffix.

6.14 napoţ adêmi
na- poţ a- dém -i
C1S child C1S grow CMPL
“The child is big (or the child has grown)”

6.15 upi umaaki
u- pi u- maak -i
C2S goat C2S be_ill CMPL
“The goat is ill”

Adjectives based on purely nominal stems can be used predicationally with the copula wo.

6.16 uleef uwo ujoob
u- leef u- wo u- joob
C2S body C2S be C2S cold
“I’m feeling fine” (Lit “the body is cold”)
Chapter 6

6.17 **uhaaS** uwo **ujinț** na **nji**

*u- haaaš u- wo u- jinț na nji*

c2s soul c2s be c2s clean with 1s

“My conscience is clear” (Lit “the spirit is clean with me”)

When adjectives are used predicationally with 1st and 2nd person subjects, there is no agreement in person – agreement is as if the subjects are class 1 nouns.

6.18 **Nawo** **bajinț**

*na- wo ba- jinț*

2p be c1p clean

“You are clean.”

6.19 **Dwo** **nayok**

*d- wo na- yok*

1s be c1s rich

“I am rich.”

Two adjectives have quantitative meanings - **tum** “lots” and **ntiinku**, “a little”.

6.20 **bañaanŋ** **batum**

*ba- ñaanŋ ba- tum*

c1p person c1p many

“many people”

6.21 **bañaanŋ** **bantiinku**

*ba- ñaanŋ ba- ntiinku*

*c1p person c1p in_small_amount*

“few people”

Though they are morphologically adjectives, their syntactic behaviour is slightly different – see section 7.3.7.

6.1.2 Determiners

Two noun modifiers form a different word class based on the agreement prefixes they take. These are **loŋ**, the indefinite marker which indicates an indefinite, but not generic, noun, and **ndoli** the individuation marker (“each” in English). Both of these are different from the root of the cardinal number **1 loolan**. I will refer to these as determiners, though this is different from the determiner category in English.

The individuation marker seems to be a grammaticalised form of a participle based on the verb **do “do”**.

The agreement prefixes are similar to those for adjectives, with the only difference being in the class 1 singular form.
Other word classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Determiner prefixes

For class 1 singular nouns the agreement prefix is a- (unlike na- for adjectives, or zero for demonstratives). For class 1 plural nouns and all other noun classes, the agreement is the regular adjectival prefix.

6.22 Bawaapa

 Paísniň aloŋ i katim

ba- waap -a ŋ- iinţ a- loŋ i ka- tim

C1P sell C1S.OBJ C1S man C1S INDEF GEN C3S name

kawoon Şompi

ka- wo ŋ Şompi

C3S be SEL Shompi

“They sold him to a man whose name was Shompi.”

6.23 Woli aya jotna baňaan biki kafah

woli a- ya jotna ba- ŋaan biki k- ka- fah

if C1S FUT dive C1P person C1P gen C3S part

kaloŋ , baňaan biki kandukiiŋ

ka- loŋ ba- ŋaan biki i ka- n- duki -iŋ

C3S indef C1P person C1P GEN C3S COREF stay SEL

bahil kaţi

ba- hil k- a- ti

C1P be_able IMPERF SER run

“If he attacks the people of one group, the people of the other group can escape.”

6.24 Wal mënš awayeş ŋaan andoli

w- al mënš a- wayeš ŋaan a- ndoli

C2S moment that C1S settle person C1S each

“At that moment he will judge each person”
6.1.3 Cardinal numbers

The first 10 cardinal numbers are shown in the table below. Those that agree with the head noun have the agreement prefix shown as CL-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CL-loolan</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>paaj</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL-tëb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>paaj na CL-loŋ</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL-wajënț</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>bakreŋ</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL-baakr</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>kañeen kaloŋ</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañeen</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>iñeen</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Numbers 1-10

The cardinal numbers show evidence of once being based around six. In particular paaj “6” is invariable, and “7” is “six and one” paaj na uloŋ, with uloŋ agreeing with the head noun. (There is also a difference in ordinal numbers above 6 – see section 6.1.4).

However, base 10 now dominates – higher numbers are formed using a tens and units system (see below). Kañeen “5” is related to kañen “hand” and iñeen “10” to iñen “hands”.

The numbers CL-loolan “1”, CL-tëb “2”, CL-wajënț “3” and CL-baakr “4” agree with the noun. As noted above, only part of paaj na CL-loŋ “7” agrees. The other numbers kañeen “5”, paaj “6”, bakreŋ “8”, kañeen kaloŋ “9” and iñeen “10” are invariable.

6.25 Aji ṭu ṭi ubeeka undoli

nThe determiner pattern of agreement is used also used with cardinal numbers (section 6.1.3), demonstratives (section 6.1.5) and the interrogative hoŋ (section 6.6).

“He put grain in each town”

The other numbers kañeen “5”, paaj “6”, bakreŋ “8”, kañeen kaloŋ “9” and iñeen “10” are invariable.

6.26 upi uloolan

“one goat”
The agreement follows the pattern of the determiners (section 6.1.2 above), i.e. class 1 is a- for singular and ba- for plural.

With the nouns in classes 4, 5, 6, 7 (p-/i-, b-/i, p-/m-, b-/m-), the counted plural prefixes (k- or ŋ-) are used on both the noun and the number.

6.32 ḡnug ipiiti
   ḡnug  p-  pliti
   1s buy  c4s pen
   “I bought a pen”

6.33 ḡnug ipiiti
   ḡnug  i-  piiti
   1s buy  c4p pen
   “I bought some pens” or “I bought pens”

6.34 ḡnug kpiiti  ktēb
   ḡnug  k-  piiti  k-  tēb
   1s buy  c4p,CNT pen  c4p,CNT two
   “I bought two pens”

3 Note that the class 2 has no separate counted prefix, ŋ- is used for both counted and uncounted nouns.
For numbers above 10, the tens are conjoined to the units with the conjunction na.

6.35 ŋšubal iñe en na paaj - na - uлоŋ
ŋ- ŋšubal iñe en na paaj na u- loŋ

"seventeen years"

Multiples of ten, are indicated by compounding iñe en “ten” with a number between 2 and 9.

6.36 ŋšubal iñe en - paaj
ŋ- ŋšubal iñe en paaj

“sixty years”

The word for 100 is iñe en-week “big ten”. For numbers above 100, the hundreds are conjoined to the tens with na.

6.37 ŋšubal iñe en - week na iñe en na paaj -
ŋ- ŋšubal iñe en week na iñe en na paaj

na - uлоŋ
na u- loŋ
and C2S INDEF

“one hundred and seventeen years”

Multiples of a hundred are indicated with the word yaaş, (which as a noun uyaaş means “moment in time”) followed by a number between 2 and 9.

6.38 ŋšubal iñe en - week nyaaş paaj
ŋ- ŋšubal iñe en week ŋ- yaaş paaj

"six hundred years"
6.1.4 Ordinals

There are distinct words for ordinal numbers up to the 6th. For 2nd to 6th the ordinal is formed by adding the suffix -anţen to the cardinal number (with some adjustment in the case of 3rd). Those that agree with the head noun have the agreement prefix shown as CL-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CL-teek</th>
<th>1st</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL-tëbanţen</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL-wajanţen</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL-baakanţen</td>
<td>4th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL-ñeenanţen</td>
<td>5th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paajanţen</td>
<td>6th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4: Ordinal numbers

6.39 upi  u-teek
u- pi  u-teek
c2s goat  c2s first
"the first goat"

6.40 ddaan  uyaaş  utëbanţen
d- daan  u- yaaş  u- tēb -anţen
1s drink  c2s time  c2s two ORD
"I drank a second time"

6.41 bapoţ  biinţ  bateek
ba- poţ  b- iinţ  ba- teek
1p child  1p male  1p first
"the first boys"

Ordinals 1st to 5th agree with the head noun using the adjectival agreement pattern given in table 6.1 above. Also note that 6th ordinal paajanţen, like the cardinal 6, is invariable.

For numbers higher than 6 a different structure must be used, which uses the root tēnk. For example:

6.42 naşiḥ  naţēnk  bakreņ
na- ρiḥ  na- ţēnk  bakreņ
1s chief  1s ORD  eight
"the eighth chief"
6.43  **daan**  **uyaaş**  **űtênk**  **iñeen**  **ŋtêb**  **na**  
  
  d- daan  u- yaaş  u- ŭtênk  iñeen  ŋ- têb  na  
  
  1S  drink  c2S  time  c2S  ORD  ten  c2P  two  and  

**uloolan**  
  
  u- loolan  
  
  c2S  one  

“I drank for the twenty-first time” (in context “… umpteenth time”)

Here, ŭênk agrees with the head noun in the singular, also following the adjectival agreement pattern.

With the number “seventh”, the loŋ part agrees using the determiner agreement pattern, whereas the ŭênk follows the adjectival agreement pattern.

6.44  **naşih**  **naţênk**  **paaj**  **na**  **aloŋ**  
  
  na- şih  na- ŭênk  paaj  na  a- loŋ  
  
  c1S  chief  c1S  ORD  six  and  c1S  one  

“the seventh chief”

### 6.1.5 Demonstratives

There are four possible demonstrative roots, depending on the degree of distance from the deictic centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of distance</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near (proximal)</td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far (distal)</td>
<td><em>uŋ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very far</td>
<td><em>undu/undi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral (narrative)</td>
<td><em>aŋ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.5: Demonstratives*

There is some variation with the third root with younger people tending to use *undi*, and older people saying *undu*. Maybe this reflects a lost distinction; compare this with the locatives *di* and *du* (see section 6.4 - Locatives)

The fourth root *aŋ* is not used to indicate things in real space. It is most often found in narratives to refer back to something just stated.

Prefixes for demonstratives differ from those used with adjectives.
Other word classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Count Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>bik-</td>
<td>bik-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buk-</td>
<td>buk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bak-</td>
<td>bak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6: Demonstrative prefixes

Apart from demonstratives that agree with class 1 nouns, all other demonstrative prefixes are single consonants. As the roots are all vowel initial, the class 2 u- prefix is now interpreted as w-. Similarly in the classes that had a plural i- prefix, this is now interpreted as y-. The class 8 prefix is always m- and never mn-.

6.45

upi  ujenel  wi
u-  pi  u-  jenel  w-  i
c2s  goat  c2s  black  c3s  DEM.PROX
“this black goat”

6.46

ŋpi  ŋtēb  ŋi
ŋ-  pi  ŋ-  tēb  ŋ-  i
c2p  goat  c2p  two  c3p  DEM.PROX
“these two goats”

Demonstratives modifying singular class 1 nouns do not have a prefix.

6.47

ŋaŋ  i
ŋaŋ  i
person  DEM.PROX
“this person”

6.48

nantohi  ʊŋ
na-  ntohi  ʊŋ
c1s  elder  DEM.DIST
“that old man over there”

In the plural, class 1 nouns take one of the prefixes bik-, buk-, or bak- depending on the vowel of the root. This may reflect a historic phonological harmony process, but it is not productive in present day speech.
6.49 bañaŋ biki
\begin{align*}
{b-a-} & \text{ñaŋ} \ \text{bik-} \ i \\
\text{C1P} & \text{person} \ \text{C1P} \ \text{DEM.PROX}
\end{align*}
“these people”

6.50 bapoţ bukuŋ
\begin{align*}
{b-a-} & \text{poţ} \ \text{buk-} \ uŋ \\
\text{C1P} & \text{child} \ \text{C1P} \ \text{DEM.DIST}
\end{align*}
“those children over there”

6.51 bantohi bakaŋ
\begin{align*}
{b-a-} & \text{ntohi} \ \text{bak-} \ aŋ \\
\text{C1P} & \text{elder} \ \text{C1P} \ \text{DEM}
\end{align*}
“these old people”

In her study on Mankanya, Trifkovič (1969, pp. 81–83) found examples of the demonstrative \textit{i kuŋ} with singular nouns in classes 1 and 2, in free variation with \textit{uŋ}, but I have not found this variant.

These demonstratives can be used independently as demonstrative pronouns.

6.52 ašë kak awulën i
\begin{align*}
{a-} & \text{šë} \ \text{kak} \ a- \ \text{wul} \ -ēn \ i \\
\text{C1S} & \text{SEQ} \ \text{SER} \ \text{give} \ \text{1S.OBJ} \ \text{DEM.PROX}
\end{align*}
“he also gave me this one” (referring to a baby)

6.53 aji na undu biini abi
\begin{align*}
{a-} & \text{ji} \ \text{na} \ \text{undu} \ \text{bi} \ -\text{ini} \ a- \ \text{bi} \\
\text{C1S} & \text{say} \ \text{and} \ \text{DEM.vdist} \ \text{come} \ \text{IMP} \ \text{C1S} \ \text{come}
\end{align*}
“he says to another one ‘come’ and he comes”

6.54 ploŋ pabi kadëm kapel
\begin{align*}
{p-} & \text{loŋ} \ \text{pa-} \ \text{bi} \ k- \ a- \ \text{dëm} \ k- \ a- \ \text{pel} \\
\text{C4S} & \text{INDEF} \ \text{C4S} \ \text{FUT} \ \text{IMPERF} \ \text{SER} \ \text{grow} \ \text{IMPERF} \ \text{SER} \ \text{be}_ \text{more}
\end{align*}
pundu
\begin{align*}
{p-} & \text{undu} \\
\text{C4S} & \text{DEM.vdist}
\end{align*}
“one will be greater than the other”

The demonstrative roots \textit{i} and \textit{uŋ} are also used in locatives (see section 6.4).

6.1.6 Genitive particle

The genitive particle -\textit{i} is identical in form to the proximal demonstrative -\textit{i}, and follows the same agreement pattern. It can be used to indicate a variety of relationships between two nouns.
Other word classes

6.55 katoh ki naşih
   ka- toh k- i na- ših
   C3s house C3s GEN C1s chief
   “house of the chief”

6.56 naşih i Ko
   na- ših i Ko
   C1s chief GEN Ko
   “king of Ko”

6.57 pntuk pi biinț
   p- ntuk p- i b- iinț
   C4s group C4s GEN C1p man
   “group of men”

6.58 ptoof pi uţeeh
   p- toof p- i u- țeeh
   C4s half C4s GEN C2s field
   “middle of the field”

It is also used to introduce a relative clause when the head noun has the role of an object in the relative clause. (for more detail see section 9.4.3)

6.59 iko yi banuŋ[uŋ]
   i- ko y- i ba- nųŋ -uŋ
   C3p thing C3p GEN C1p buy SEL
   “the things they bought”

They can also be used with an implied head noun.

6.60 biki Dakar
   bik- i Dakar
   C1p GEN Dakar
   “those from Dakar” (implied head bañaŋ “people”)

6.61 Wi Naala akñoguŋ dko
   w- i Naala a- k- ńog -uŋ d- ko
   C2s GEN Naala C1s IMPERF be close SEL C9s place
   di bafețiŋ awin Dama
   d- i ba- fẽt -uŋ a- win Dama
   C9s GEN C1p dwell SEL SER see Dama
   “As Naala got close to where they lived, she saw Dama” (implied head wal “time”)

In example 6.61 the implied head noun is wal “moment/time”. This use is so frequent that wi has become grammaticalised to become a word with the meaning of “when” or “whilst”. I will use this gloss in all examples where this construction is used.
6.2 Invariable Noun Modifiers

6.2.1 Quantifiers

There are two invariable quantifiers that modify nouns and noun phrases, bi “all” and tañ “only”:

6.62 ŋpi bți

ŋ- pi bți
C2p goat all

“all goats”

6.63 bapoţ biki Dama tañ

ba- poţ bik- i Dama tañ
C1P child C1P GEN Dama only

“only Dama’s children”

6.2.2 Invariable locative modifiers

There is a small group of words which modify nouns to give a location in relation to it. They each have a homophonous noun from which they were derived, but in contrast to that noun they have no number and neither agree with other words, nor trigger agreement. For this reason they don’t fit the definition of adjectives. The locative modifiers are:

meet “inside”
bdig “outside”
duut “on top/up high”
uțeeh “under”

6.64 ți bko bloŋ uțeeh

ți i b- ko b- loŋ uțeeh
INT LOC.PROX C7S object C7S INDEF under

“under a tree”

6.65 du pŋkuŋ duut

d- u p- țkuŋ duut
EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill on

“on top of the hill”

Their syntactic behaviour is described in section 7.5, and is shown to be different to the five locative nouns:

kabang “side”
kadun “front”
kamayu “left”
kadeeu “right”
kafeț “back”
Notice that in this example of a locative noun, it does trigger agreement, unlike the locative modifiers.

6.66 ţi kadun ki katoh ki naših
1- i ka-dun k- i ka-toh k- i na-ših
INT LOC.PROX C3S front C3S GEN C3S house C3S GEN C1S chief
“in front of the chief’s house”

6.2.3 Anaphoric demonstratives

In Mankanya there is an invariable anaphoric demonstrative, mënt or mëntan. This is used in a discourse to indicate that the head noun refers to something previously introduced.

Trifkovič (1969, p. 84) says that there is a distinction of proximity between mënt and mëntan. This is not something that occurs in my data.

6.67 Wi nji kapēnuŋ da , dka
wi nji ka-pēn -uŋ d- a d- ka
when 1S.emph 1S.HAB go_out SEL C9S OBJ 1S have
worī mëntan ŋšubal paaj
worī mëntan ŋ- řubal paaj
time that C2P year six
“When I left there, I was at that time 6 years old”

It can also be used in conjunction with the definite demonstrative.

6.68 Paapa aji ŋboman ŋnkuma ŋtēb .
paapa a- ji ŋ- boman ŋ- nkuma ŋ- tēb
daddy SER say 1p make C2P pig C2P two
źńkuma ŋtēb mëntan ŋuŋ ŋafĩŋ ĩnti .
ź- nkuma ŋ- tēb mëntan ŋ- uŋ ŋa- ŋš ŋnti
C2P pig C2P two that C2P DEM.DIST C2P kill all
“Dad told us to prepare two pigs. Both those pigs were killed”

6.3 Prepositions

There are three prepositions:

- *te* until/as far as
- *ji* like/before
- *na* with

The preposition *te* can be used with noun phrases that either indicate time or location.
6.69 te hēnkuŋ
te hēnkuŋ
until now
“until now”

6.70 te unuur mēnṭ
 te u- nuur mēnṭ
until c2s day that
“until that day”

6.71 te mnjinṭ
 te mn- jinṭ
until c9 dawn
“until dawn”

6.72 te du pnkuŋ duuṭ
 te u p- nkunju duuṭ
until LOC.DIST c5s hill up_there
“to the top of the hill”

6.73 aya te Byame
a- ya te Byame
3s go until Byame
“he went as far as Byame”

Te can also introduce a clause.

6.74 te baweek biki naan baanṭaš
 te ba- week bik- i naan ba- an- ŭaš
until c6s elder_sibling c2p GEN 1s.GEN 3p NEG follow
bgah mēnṭan
b- gah mēnṭan
3s way that
“until my brothers don’t follow this way”

It is possible that te has been borrowed from an old form of Upper Guinea Kriol which has a Portuguese superstrate, or an old form of Portuguese. Modern Portuguese has até as in the following example:

6.75 Nós esperaremos até que ele se decida a cruzar o rio
“We will wait until he decides to cross the river”

In modern Upper Guinea Kriol this construction has become tok as shown in the following example:

6.76 E fika la tok Jon muri
“He stayed there until John died”
Ji introduces a comparison:

6.77 Ddo pa patum ji qjah qi batı
d- do a pa- tum ji jah j-i ba- ti
1S do OBJ C4S many like C2P star C2P GEN C5S sky
“I will make them (your offspring) as many as the stars in the sky”

6.78 Bawo bayafan ji başin baka
ba- wo ba- yafan ji ba- şin baka
C1P be C1P shepherd like C1P father C1P.POSS
“They are shepherds like their ancestors”

To describe a verb, ji must be preceded with awo “be”.

6.79 Anaṭ awo ji uniw
a- naṭ a- wo ji u- niw
C1S stand SER be like C2S wall
“He stood like a wall” (Lit “He stood, he is like a wall”)

6.80 Bafooyën awo ji ḋbus
ba- fooy -ën a- wo ji ḋ- buş
C5S surround 1S.OBJ SER be like C2P dog
“They surround me like dogs”

The word ji can also be used non-prepositionally with a clause (see section 9.4.2), and often in this case means “before”.

6.81 Bka bi nu babi wo btiişu
b- ka b- i nu ba- bi wo b- tişu
C7S possessions C7S GEN 2S.POSS C7S PST be C7S little
ji ndo kabi
ji n- do k- a- bi
before 1S.SUB INGR IMPERF SER come
“You weren’t very rich before I came”

It is likely that the preposition ji “like” has been grammaticalised from the verb ji “say”. This is a process that has been documented in other languages see (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 269)

The preposition na indicates either an accompaniment or an instrument.

6.82 Bawo tị bţeeem na aşin
ba- wo t- i b- ţeeem na a- şin
C1P be INT LOC.PROX C5S pirogue with C1AS father
baka
baka
C1P.OBJ
“They were in the boat with their father”
6.83 Bațiini na a
ba- țiini na a
C1P speak with OBJ
“They spoke with him”

6.84 Aдо kē bafiŋa na kakej
a- do kē ba- fiŋ -a na ka- kej
C1S do COMP C1P kill C1S.OBJ with C3S sword
“He made them kill him with a sword”

6.85 Afēt wā na kakaŋa
a- fēt w- a na ka- kana
C1S invert C2S OBJ with C3S calabash
“He covered it with a calabash”

The word na can also be used as a conjunction between noun phrases:

6.86 Naala na Dama banug ŋṭēb
Naala na Dama ba- nug ŋ- ŋēb
Nala and Dama C1P buy C2P fish
“Naala and Dama buy fish”

6.87 Abuk biint na baat
a- buk b- iint na b- aať
C1S produce C1P man and C1P woman
“She had both boys and girls”

6.4 Locatives

Locatives are a combination of a root indicating distance and either the prefix ţ- or d-. The prefix ţ- usually indicates the interior of some conceptual space, or on its surface, so I refer to this as internal (gloss INT). The prefix d- indicates a more general location, conceptually viewed from outside, so is referred to as external (gloss EXT). Most uses of these locatives are syntactically prepositional.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of distance</th>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>External</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near (proximal)</td>
<td>ţi</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far (distal)</td>
<td>ţuŋ</td>
<td>du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7: Locatives
6.88 Naala aňagani ści katoh
Naala a- ňag -i ści ka- toh
Nala 1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX 3S house
“Naala was sad in the house”

6.89 Bawo na mben ści feţ
ba- wo na m- BEN ści feţ
1P be with 3P swelling INT LOC.PROX back
“They had humps on their backs”

6.90 Djuk ści Tugtor ęšubal bakreň
d- juk ści Tugtor ę- şubal bakreň
1S learn INT LOC.PROX Ziguinchor 3P year eight
“I learnt in Ziguinchor for eight years” (The speaker is in Ziguinchor at the time of speaking)

6.91 uţeeh ści pmeš
u- ţeeh ści p- meş
2S field INT LOC.PROX 4S royal_compund
“the field in the royal compound”

6.92 Wi njukuŋ di untabanka
w- i njuk -uŋ di u- untabanka
2S GEN 1S.SEL learn SEL EXT LOC.PROX 3S village
“When I learnt in the village…” (The speaker is not in the village at the time of speaking)

6.93 unuur wi nguran du Bula
unuur w- i nguran d- u Bula
2S day 3S GEN death_rite EXT LOC.DIST Bula
“The day of the death rite in Bula”

6.94 Wal i aŋenuŋ na a du
w- al i a- pën -uŋ na a d- u
2S moment GEN 1S go_out SEL with OBJ EXT LOC.DIST
bdig
b- dig
6S property
“At that time he left with him from the property”

These are the typical uses, but there is evidence that the di/du distinction is being eroded, with a degree of free variation between speakers.

The locatives ści and ụŋ can also be used adverbially.
6.95 Aduk baka ūŋ
   a- duk baka ūŋ
   C1S leave C1P.OBJ INT LOC.DIST
“He left them there”

6.96 Pënan ūŋ
   pën -an ūŋ
   go_out CAUS INT LOC.PROX
“Leave here”

Also, by extension of the adverbial use, ūŋ can be used as a question word, often, but not always, accompanied by the question particle ba.

6.97 Aharu awo ūŋ ba
   a- har -u a- wo ūŋ ba
   C1S wife 2S.POSS C1S be INT LOC.DIST QUES
“Where is your wife?”

6.5 Conjunctions

As seen above the word na can be used as an additive conjunction. For the alternative conjunction there is the word këme.

6.98 ŋsubal ŋtēb këme ŋwajent
   ŋ- ŋubal ŋ- tēb këme ŋ- wajent
   C2P year C2P two or C2P three
“two or three years”

6.99 ūbuş uđugar ņaŋ këme uńtaam
   u- buş u- dug -ar ņaŋ këme u- ntaam
   C2S dog C2S make_noise BEN person or C2S livestock
“The dog made a noise at either people or animals”

Këme can also be used to conjoin clauses:

6.100 ţiki naţaş bgah këme nańyaar
   ţiki na- ţaş b- gah këme na- fiyaar
   because_(of) 2P follow C6S way or 2P believe
uţup wi natiinkuŋ
   u- ţup w- i na- tiink -ūŋ
   C2S speech C2S GEN 2P hear SEL
   “because you follow the law or because you believe the word that you heard”
There are also a number of subordinating conjunctions. All these words are invariable. Their use is discussed in more detail in section 9.4.

- **pa** goal
- **ti** cause
- **ukaaŋ kë** reason
- **woli** conditional
- **le** conditional
- **bë** contrast

### 6.101

Ala dko danwoon na ŋteeh ,
a- la d- ko da- n- wo -on na ŋ- ŋteeh
C1s seek C9s place C9s coref be sel with C2p field

pa phil kado kajaar .
Pa p- hil k- a- do ka- jaar
in order to inf be able imperfect ser do c3s agriculture
“He searched for a place with fields, in order to be able to farm”

### 6.102

Mënhil ptiima blaañ bi
më- ŋen- hil p- tiima b- laañ b- i
1s.neg neg be able inf wear c5s wrap c5s dem.prox

ţiki bañowi
ţiki ba- ſow -i
because (of) c5s wash cmpl
“I can’t wear this wrap because it is wet”

### 6.103

ёт ya ŋteeh woli bnuur baanyikì
ŋ- ya u- ŋteeh woli b- bnuur ba- an- yiik -i
1p go c2s field if c7s sunlight c5s neg be hot cmpl
“We’re going to the field if it’s not hot”

### 6.104

ñaŋ awinën le aﬁñën
ñaŋ a- win -ën le a- fiñ -ën
person c1s see 1s.obj if ser kill 1s.obj
“If someone sees me they will kill me”

### 6.105

ôtuur paaj - na - ulon ŋatëp le ,
ŋ- nuur paaj na u- loŋ ga- ŋet le
C2p day six and C2s Indef C2p pass when

kado ūshabal ūshub
ka- do ū- ūshabal ū- ūshub
1s.alt do c2s rain c2s rain
“When 7 days have passed, I will make it rain”
6.6 Interrogatives

There are six content interrogative words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>“who”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wel(l)</td>
<td>“what”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hum</td>
<td>“what/how/how many”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuŋ</td>
<td>“where”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lum</td>
<td>“when”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoŋ</td>
<td>“which”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words are all invariable apart from hoŋ which agrees with the noun that is being questioned. It has the same agreement pattern as the determiners.

in is used to question human subjects, objects or genitive “possessors”.

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

6.107 In i źukma akobuŋ ?
   in i tukma a- kob -uŋ
   who GEN Thukma C1S hit SEL
   “Who did Thukma hit?”

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

Note that in example 6.106 the verb has the selectional suffix -uŋ, this is for reasons of focus. Similarly example 6.107 uses a relative construction with the genitive particle i, because the question word in has been fronted. This structure is found in other examples below. This is discussed in more detail in section 7.2.3.

We is used for non human subjects or objects and has variant wel before a vowel or semi vowel.

6.109 Wel wi ikdoluŋ ?
   wel w- i i- k- dol -uŋ
   what C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL
   “What are you doing?”

Hum questions manner. This includes questioning someone’s name. It also questions number.
Other word classes

6.110 **Hum** di di ů̄iin̄t i
hum d- i d- ů- iin̄t i
how C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN C1S man GEN

**āñoomuŋ** ațiini hěnk ?
a- řoom -uŋ a- řini hěnk
C1S dare SEL SER speak thus
“How does this man dare to speak like this?”

In this example the demonstrative and the genitive particle agree with *hum*
using the class 9 prefix *d-*, the one used by default for all common nouns
that don’t fit into other classes (typically borrowed words).

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

6.112 **Kē** woli ŋaāt aandi pbi na
kē woli ŋ- aat a- an- di p- bi na
dS when; if C1S woman C1S NEG accept INF come and

**njii**, **kađo** hum ?
njii ka- do hum
1Ssubj 1S.ALT do how
“What shall I do if the woman does not agree to come with me?”

6.113 **Nawo** na ipoom hum ba ?
na- wo na i- poom hum ba
2p be with C3P bread how QUES
“How many loaves do you have?”

Ţuŋ questions location.

6.114 **Aharu** awo ţuŋ ba ?
a- har -u a- wo ţ- ţuŋ ba
C1S wife 2S.POSS C1S be INT LOC.DIST QUES
“Where is your wife?”

Lum questions time.

6.115 **Iluŋ** kajun katiban lum ?
i- luŋ k- a- jun k- a- tiban lum
2S FUT IMPERF SER begin IMPERF SER clear_(field) when
“When are you going to begin clearing?”
6.116 **Lum di di uko waŋ**  
_lum d- i d- i u- ko w- aŋ_  
when? C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN C2S thing C2S DEM

**ukwoŋ**  
_u- k- wo -oŋ_  
C2S IMPERF be SEL  
“When will this thing happen?”  

**hoŋ** selects a particular instance from among several.

6.117 **Baňaaŋ biki bawo bahoon ba ?**  
_ba- ŋaŋ bik- i ba- wo ba- hoŋ ba_  
C1P person C1P DEM.PROX C1P be C1P which QUES

“Who are these people? (Lit: which are these people)”

6.118 **Iwo i pntaali phoŋ ?**  
i- wo i p- ntaali p- hoŋ  
2S be GEN C4S lineage C4S which

“You are from which family?”

### 6.7 Invariable Particles

There are a small number of invariable particles which have a grammatical function.

- **nin** negative
- **ba** interrogative tag
- **i** polar interrogative tag
- **kë** subject switch (different subject) (see chapter 267)
- **keeri** therefore

6.119 **nin uko uloŋ**  
_nin u- ko u- loŋ_  
NEG C2S thing C2S INDEF

“nothing”

6.120 **We wi ikdoluŋ ba ?**  
_we w- i i- k- dol -uŋ ba_  
what? C2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL QUES

“What have you done?”

6.121 **Naaŋ akuŋa uliik i ?**  
_n- aŋ a- kuŋa u- liik i_  
C1S woman C1S carry C2S peanuts QUES

“Is the woman carrying peanuts?”
6.122 Kë untaayi ušë yeenk pben
kë u- ntaayi u- šë yeenk p- BEN
DS C2S demon C2S SEQ receive C6S swelling
amëban , kë Naala aşë neej aki
a- mëb -an kë Naala a- şë neej a- ki
c1S carry CAUS DS Nala c1S SEQ enter c1S dance
“The spirit took the hump and carried it, and Naala entered the ring and danced”

6.123 Nawutan keeri kaṭaaf uko
na- wut -an keeri k- a- ṭaaf u- ko
2p leave IMP in_that_case IMPERF SER worry C2S thing
wi faan
w- i faan
c2S GEN tomorrow
“So don't worry about tomorrow!”

For more details on how these are used see sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1 (nin), section 7.2.2 (i), section 7.2.3 (ba), section 11 (kë), sections 9.1.1 and 9.5.2.2 (keeri).

6.8 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs and some can also modify nouns or a limited number of adjectives.

buṭaan badly
bnuura well
maakan greatly
ntiinku a little
kak again
lah contra factual
le irrealis
ṭañi only

The adverbs buṭaan “badly” and bnuura “well” are derived from the homophonous nouns buṭaan “evil” and bnuura “good/well”.

6.124 Dama awet buṭaan
Dama a- wet buṭaan
Dama c1S sweep badly
“Dama sweeps badly”

6.125 Tiinkaان bnuura
tiink -a -an bnuura
hear IMP 1S.OBJ well
“Listen carefully to me!”
The adverb *maakan* “very”, in addition to modifying verbs, can also modify the adjectives *ŧum* “many/much” and *week* “large”.

6.126 **Uko meņţ ude Šompi maakan**

u- ko meņţ u- de Šompi maakan
c2s thing that c2s eat Shompi very

“This thing worried Shompi a lot”

6.127 **Ado wo nayok naweek maakan**

a- do wo na- yok na- week maakan
c1s INGR be c1s rich c1s big very

“He became very rich”

6.128 **Dwul naweeku itaka itum**

d- wul na- week -u i- taka i- tum
1s give c1s elder_sibling 2s.poss c4p money c3p many

maakan

maakan

very

“I gave your brother lots of money”

The root *ntiinku* is used to create quantifying adjectives (see example 6.21 above) but as an invariable bare root it can be used to modify verbs.

6.129 **Bajon ntiinku du ukalabuş**

ba- jon ntiinku d- u u- kalabuş
c1p last a_little EXT LOC.DIST c2s prison

“They were in prison for a while”

The adverb *kak* is derived from the verb *kak* “return” which is also used as an auxiliary to indicate a repeat of the event. The adverb *kak* has a similar meaning as the auxiliary.

6.130 **Baat bti bajej ŏa kak**

b- aat bti ba- jej ŏ- a kak
c1p woman all c1p take c2p obj again

“All the women also took them.”

It can modify a noun to indicate “as well” or “also”.

6.131 **Šompi ul kak kē abuk napoţ**

Šompi ul kak kē a- buk na- poţ
Šompi 3s.SUBJ again DS c1AS child c1s child

niinţ
n- inţ
c1s man

“Shompi, he also produced a son”

It can also be an intensified by the adverb *maakaan*. 
6.132 **Başoora**  
{kak} maakan  
ba- şoor -a kak maakan  
c1P hate c1S.OBJ again very  
“They hated him even more”  
The adverb *le* is used to mark the verb that is irrealis and is used in some conditional constructions. Unlike other adverbs it appears between the verb and any object (except pronoun suffixes).

6.133 **Iwin**  
le  
uko  
wi  
nu  
kjej  
i- win le u- ko w- i nu k- jej  
2S see IRL c2S thing c2S GEN 2S.POSS 2S.ALT take wa  
w- a  
c2S obj  
“If you see your thing here, then take it.”

6.134 **Ñaaŋ**  
awinën  
le  
afiŋën  
ñaŋ a- win -ën le a- fiŋ -ën  
person c1S see 1S.OBJ IRL SER kill 1S.OBJ  
“If someone sees me, they will kill me.”

It appears between an auxiliary and the main verb

6.135 **Iwo**  
le  
kaluk  
daasha  
lukan  
da  
i- wo le k- a- luk daasha luk -an d- a  
2S must IRL IMPERF SER pay tax pay IMP c9S OBJ  
“If you owe taxes, then pay them!”

The adverb *lah* gives a contrafactual meaning to the verb. It appears in the same position as *le*.

6.136 **Woli**  
ŋdëman  
lah  
untoŋ  
woli  ŋ- dém -an lah u- ntoŋ  
when; if 1P grow CAUS CNTRFACT c2S divinity  
“If we had worshipped an idol…”

6.137 **Dhilan**  
lah  
kadolu  
butaan  
d- hilan lah k- a- dol -u b- utaan  
1S be_able CNTRFACT IMPERF SER do 2S.OBJ c5S evil  
“I could harm you”

The adverb *tañ* “only”, is quantifier that modifies nouns (see example 6.63 above), but it also modifies verbs.

6.138 **Natiiman**  
taşa  
n- tiim  
-ans  
2p stay_still_and_keepQuiet IMP only  
“Just keep quiet”
6.9 Sound symbolic modifiers

There is a closed class of words that modify adjectives or verbs that are monosyllabic of the form CVC and are invariable. They have very strict collocation rules and normally each one can only be used with one or two different words. For example kəfaŧal feh “brilliant white” where feh “brilliant” is a modifier that can only be used with faaŧal “white”. These words are sound symbolic, and I will refer to them as ideophones. Different from what is found in many other languages, Mankanya ideophones do not contain marginal or non-phonemic sounds.

6.139 Katoh ki Naala kawo kəfaŧal feh
ka- toh k- i Naala ka- wo ka- faaŧal feh
Naala’s house Naala’s white very_(white)

6.140 ajej puum abooŧan ŭi
a- jej p- uum a- boot an ŭ- i
Naala’s took Naala’s corpse SER wrap CAUS INT LOC.PROX

blaaŋ bfaaŧal feh
b- laaŋ b- faaŧal feh
Naala’s wrap c7s white very_(white)

6.141 Nateek ampēnuŋ ajeenk jud
na- teek a- m- pēn -uŋ a- jeenk jud
Naala’s first Naala’s go_out SEL Naala’s reddened very_(red)

6.142 Bawoharana bayeti bjeenkal
ba- wohar -an -a ba- yeti b- jeeenk -al
Naala’s dress CAUS Naala’s coat Naala’s reddened CHG

jud
very_(red)

“Then they dressed him in a very red coat”

6.143 ĭṱup hēŋkuŋ na njinṱ piš
l- ŭp hēŋkuŋ na nj- jinṱ piš
2s speak now and c2p clean very_(clean)

“Then they became very quiet and listened to him”
Some of the more frequent ideophones are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Used with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baŋ</td>
<td>kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yiik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feh</td>
<td>faat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jud</td>
<td>jeenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juk</td>
<td>joobëţ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yomp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lot</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëţ</td>
<td>jën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piş</td>
<td>jînt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rad</td>
<td>tam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7 - Simple Syntax

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

7.1 Simple Sentence

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

7.1.1 Basic Verbal Sentence

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

7.1 \textit{Ade}  
\begin{verbatim}
  a- de  
c1S eat  

deat
\end{verbatim}

“He's eating”

7.2 \textit{Jukan}  
\begin{verbatim}
  juk -an  
learn IMP  

Learn!
\end{verbatim}

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

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

7.3 \textit{Aluŋ kade}  
\begin{verbatim}
  a- luŋ k- a- de  
c1S FUT IMPERF SER eat  

He will eat
\end{verbatim}
7.4 Ado bi de
   a- do bi de
   C1S INGR PAST eat
   “He’s already eaten”

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

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

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

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

7.7 Ọpi ọtëb ọweek ọabi
   ọ- pi ọ- tëb ọ- week ọ- bi
   C2P goat C2P two C2P big C2P come
   “The two big goats are coming”

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

7.9 Bañañ Bula baya
   ba- ñañ bik- i Bula ba- ya
   C1P person C1P GEN Bula C1P go
   “The people from Bula are going”

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

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

7.11 Dama akob ubuş
   Dama a- kob u- buş
   Dama C1S hit C2S dog
   “Dama hits the dog”
Some verbs of motion can take an object without the need of another word to express semantic notions like GOAL or SOURCE, where that object is a proper noun.

7.12 **Dama**  
\[\text{Dama} \quad \text{aya} \quad \text{Dakar}\]
Dama a- ya Dakar  
Dama c1S go Dakar  
“Dama is going to Dakar”

7.13 **Dama**  
\[\text{Dama} \quad \text{aluŋ} \quad \text{kabi} \quad \text{Dakar}\]
Dama a- luŋ k- a-bi Dakar  
Dama c1S FUT IMPERF SER come Dakar  
“Dama will come from Dakar”

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

7.14 **Aya**  
\[\text{Aya} \quad \text{du} \quad \text{kaloona} \quad \text{meet}\]
Aya a- ya d- u ka-loona mee t  
c1s go EXT LOC.DIST c3s canvas inside  
“He went inside the tent”

7.15 **Bañaaŋ**  
\[\text{Bañaaŋ} \quad \text{batum} \quad \text{babi} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{a}\]
bañaaŋ ba-tum ba-bi ti a  
c1P person c1P many c1P come INT LOC.PROX OBJ  
“Many people are coming to him”

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

7.16 **Dama**  
\[\text{Dama} \quad \text{awul} \quad \text{pmoh} \quad \text{ubuš}\]
Dama a- wul p- moh u- buš  
Dama c1S give c4s bone c2s dog  
“Dama gives the dog a bone”

7.17 **Şompi**  
\[\text{Şompi} \quad \text{añoọt} \quad \text{upi} \quad \text{Dakar}\]
şompi a- nóọt u- pi Dakar  
Şompi c1S take c2s goat Dakar  
“Şompi takes the goat to Dakar”

Following Hasplemath (2005), ditransitive clauses involve a verb denoting transfer of an entity (T) from an agent (A) to a recipient (R). As can be seen from the examples above, Mankanya does not use any special coding for either R or T (a double object construction). And the preferred order is to have the object denoting T, the entity being transferred, closest to the verb. This is not fixed and the two objects can be inverted. Because there is no overt coding this can lead to ambiguity in out of context sentences.
When the recipient R is human, and a pronoun that is not an affix is used, then the human pronoun immediately follows the verb. More detail can be found in sections 3.5 and 4.2.7.

7.18 **Dama awul baka umaanan**

Dama a- wul baka u- maanan
Dama c1S give c1P.OBJ c2S rice

“She give them some rice”

7.19 **Dama awulu umaanan**

Dama a- wul-u u- maanan
Dama c1S give 2S.OBJ c2S rice

“Dama gives you (sg) some rice”

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

7.20 **Dyila du an**

d- yil -a d- u an
1S send c1S.OBJ EXT LOC.DIST 2P.OBJ

“I sent him to you”

7.21 **Baluŋ kadookan du katoh**

ba- luŋ k- a- dook -an d- u ka- toh
C1P FUT IMPERF SER chase 2P.OBJ EXT LOC.DIST C3S house

“They will chase you from the house”

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

7.22 **Aŋal poonu abuk Dama maakan**

a- ŋal poonu a- buk Dama maakan
C1S like girl C1AS child Dama very

“He loved Dama’s daughter a lot”

7.1.1.1 **Existence**

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

7.23 **Uka du ukalabuŋ nataşa**

u- ka d- u u- kalabuŋ na- tasa
C2S have EXT LOC.DIST C2S prison C1S teenager_(boy)

“There was in the prison, a young man.”
7.24 Uka kak baaţ baloŋ
    u- ka kak b- aat ba- loŋ
    C2S have again C1P woman C1P INDEF
bannaţuŋ alow aşe ten
    ba- n- naţ -un a- low a- şe ten
    C1P COREF stand SEL SER be_far SER SEQ look_at
“The there were also some women there, standing at a distance, watching.”

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

7.25 Ayok maakan aka ṇntaam na itaka
    a- yok maakan a- ka ṇntaam na i- taka
    C1S be_full very SER have C2P livestock and C4P money
“He was very rich; he had flocks and money.”

7.1.2 Sentence with “wo” as a copula

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

7.1.2.1 Stative clauses (adjectival)

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

7.26 Katoh ki Naala kawo kafaatal
    ka- toh k- i Naala ka- wo ka- faatal
    C3S house C3S GEN Nala C3S be C3S white
“Naala’s house is white”

7.27 Katoh ki Naala kaanwo kajënēl
    ka- toh k- i Naala ka- an- wo ka- jënēl
    C3S house C3S GEN Nala C3S NEG be C3S black
“Naala’s house is not black”

7.1.2.2 Equative clauses (nominal)

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

7.28 Naala awo ṇajukan
    Naala a- wo na- jukan
    Nala C1S be C1S teacher
“Naala is a teacher”

7.29 Naŋoţ ńaat naweek awo abuk naan
    na- poţ ń- aat na- week a- wo a- buk naan
    C1S child C1S female C1S big C1S be C1AS child 1S.GEN
“The big girl is my daughter”
7.1.2.1 Genitive clauses

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

7.30 **Dama awo i pntuk pi Şompi**

Dama a- woi p- ntuk p- i Şompi

Dama C1S be GEN C4S group C4S GEN Shompi

“Dama is in Shompi’s group”

7.31 **Pdiim pawo pi Naala**

P-diim pa- wo p- i Naala

c4S voice C4S be C4S GEN Nala

“The voice is that of Naala”

7.1.2.2 Locative clauses

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

7.32 **Ppiiti pawo ti kabaŋ ki praata**

p- piiti pa- wo ţ- i ka- baŋ k- i p- raata

c4S pen C4S be INT LOC.PROX c3S side C3S GEN C6S bowl

“The pencil is next to the bowl”

7.33 **Awo du buro**

a- wo d- u buro

c1S be EXT LOC.DIST office

“He is at the office (far from here)”

7.1.3 Selectional suffix sentence

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

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

7.34 **Ul i ŋiinnitus atuunŋ ti**

ul i ŋ- iinnitus a- tu -uŋ ţ- i

3ssubj GEN C1S man C1S place SEL INT LOC.PROX

**uhaaş wi nul**

u- haas w- i nul

c2S soul C2S GEN 3s,poss

“It was she who he loved” (Lit: “She who the man had put in his soul”)

The topic of the sentence (ul – referring to Naala) is the object of the verb ţu “put”. The normal position of an object is after the verb, but the normal position for the topic is clause initial. Therefore to make the object the
topic, a relative clause structure (see section 9.4.3) is used to front the object. The only verb in this sentence is the one in the “relative clause”. A literal translation would be “She who the man had put in his soul” Note that no extra material (like “It was” in English) is needed.

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

7.35 Kê ulaar kak hênk uwoon̄ du
kê u- laar kak hênk u- wo -oŋ d- u
DS C2S spider again Narr C2S be SEL EXT LOC.DIST
katoh ki nambaabu
ka- toh k- i na- mbaabu
c3S house c3S GEN C1S western
“In the same way the spider was at the European’s house”

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

7.36 A-a , uyemaţ wi wi anuguŋ
a-a u- yemaţ w- i w- i a- nug -uŋ
no! C2S meat C2S DEM.PROX C2S GEN SER buy SEL
“No, it was meat that he bought”

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

7.37 A-a , Naala i i awinuŋ
a-a Naala i i a- win -uŋ
no! Nala DEM.PROX GEN C1S see SEL
“No, it was Naala who he saw”

7.38 A-a , du ufeeru di di
a-a d- u u- feeru d- i d- i
no! EXT LOC.DIST C2S market C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN
awinuluŋ
a- win -ul -uŋ
C1S see C1S.ALT.OBJ SEL
“No, it was at the market where he saw her”
Content interrogative clauses are often sentences like these. (See section 7.2.3)

7.39 In amaakun?  
in a- maak -uŋ  
who? c1S be_ill SEL  
“Who is ill?”

7.40 Wel wi bakdolun?  
wel w- i ba- k- dol -uŋ  
what? c2S GEN c1P IMPERF do SEL  
“What are they doing?”

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

7.1.4 Non-verbal clauses

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

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

7.41 Babuk naan biki biki  
ba- buk naan bik- i bik- i  
c1P child 1S.GEN c1P GEN c1P DEM.PROX  
“Here are my children”

7.42 Katoh ki ki  
ka- toh k- i k- i  
c3S house c3S GEN c3S DEM.PROX  
“This is the house”

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

7.43 Nji a !
   njii a
   1S.emph OBJ

“It is I!”

7.44 Ajug naan a !
   a- jug naan a
   1S GEN OBJ

“It’s my master”

It seems that a is an expletive pronoun.

7.2 Simple clausal modifications

7.2.1 Negative clauses

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

7.45 Dama aanka napot
   Dama a- an- ka na- pot
   Dama 1S NEG have 1S child

“Dama doesn’t have a child”

compared with:

7.46 Dama aka napot
   Dama a- ka na- pot
   Dama 1S have 1S child

“Dama has a child”

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

7.47 Kten kafeş !
   k- ten ka- fet
   NEG look at 3S behind

“Don’t look behind!”

Negation of imperatives can alternatively be expressed syntactically by using wut “leave” as an auxiliary, to create a prohibitive.
7.48 Nawutan kado buţaan
na- wut -an k- a- do b- uţaan
2P leave IMP IMPERF SER do C5S evil
“Don't do evil!”

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

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

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

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

7.51 Mënţ babuk naan biki biki
mënţ ba- buk naan bik- i bik- i
that C1P child 1S.GEN C1P GEN C1P GEN
“These aren’t my children”

7.52 Mënţ nji djejuŋ kanteeri
mënţ nji d- jej -uŋ ka- nteeri
that 1S.SUJ 1S take SEL c3S knife
“It wasn’t me who took the knife”

7.53 Mënţ naweeke naan awoŋ naşih
mënţ na- week naan a- wo -oŋ na- şih
that C1S elder_sibling 1S.GEN C1S be SEL C1S chief
“It isn’t my brother who is chief”

7.2.2 Yes/No interrogative clauses

A simple declarative clause can be transformed into a Yes/No question by the addition of the tag i at the end of the sentence. There is no special intonation for these types of questions.
7.54 Ńaaţ akuña uliik
   ű- aat a- kuña u- liik
   c1S woman c1S carry c2S peanuts
   “The woman is carrying peanuts”

7.55 Ńaaţ akuña uliik i ?
   ű- aat a- kuña u- liik i
   c1S woman c1S carry c2S peanuts QUEST
   “Is the woman carrying peanuts?”

### 7.2.3 Content interrogative clauses

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

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

7.57 **I**ka bapoţ hum ?
   i- ka ba- poţ hum
   2S have c1P child how?
   “How many children do you have?”

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

7.59 **I**wo abuk in ba ?
   i- wo a- buk in ba
   2S be c1AS child who? QUES
   “Whose child are you”

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

7.60 **W**el wi ikdoluŋ ?
   wel w- i i- k- dol -uŋ
   what? c2S GEN 2S IMPERF do SEL
   “What are you doing?”
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7.61 **Hum** di ŋhilanuŋ kabelana

```
hum d- i ŋ- hilan -uŋ k- a- bel -an -a
how? C9S GEN 1P be_able SEL IMPERF SER shield CAUS MID
```

**maak** p- i SIDA

illness C4S GEN AIDS

“How do we protect ourselves against AIDS?”

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

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

7.62 **In** ankkobuŋ plëmën

```
in a- n- k- kob -uŋ p- lëmën
who? C1S COREF IMPERF hit SEL C4S door
```

“Who's knocking at the door?”

7.63 **In** amaakuŋ

```
in a- maak -uŋ
who? C1S be_ill SEL
```

“Who is ill?”

Compare that with:

7.64 **Dama** amaakuŋ

```
Dama a- maak -uŋ
Dama C1S be_ill SEL
```

“It’s Dama who is ill”

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

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

7.65 **In** i **Tukma** akobuŋ

```
in i tukma a- kob -uŋ
who? GEN Thukma C1S hit SEL
```

“Who did Thukma hit?”
That example can be compared with the following which would be a marked form, used in echo questions.

### 7.66 Tukma akob in ?

Tukma a- kob in

Thukma c1S hit who?

“Thukma hit who?”

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

### 7.67 Wel ukaaŋ kë naanfiyaara ?

Wel u- ka -aŋ kë na- an- fiyaar -a

what? c2S have sel comp 2p neg believe obj

“Why don’t you believe him?”

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

### 7.68 In awoop naťilan ?

In a- wo -uŋ na- źilan

who? c1S be sel c1S liar

“Who is the liar?”

### 7.69 Katimu kawo hum ?

Katimu ka- tim -u ka- wo hum

c3S name 2s.Poss c3S be how?

“What is your name?”

### 7.70 Katohu kawo źuŋ ?

Katohu ka- toh -u ka- wo ź- uŋ

c3S house 2s.Poss c3S be INT loc.dist

“Where is your house?”

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

### 7.71 Wel wi wi ?

Wel w- i w- i

what? c2S gen c2S dem.prox

“What is this?”

An interrogative can replace a sentential complement.
7.72 Wel wi ifiyaaruŋ?
wel w- i- fiyar -uŋ
what? C2S GEN C3P believe SEL
“What do you believe?”

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

7.73 In aţuwiiŋ pdo haŋ ba?
in a- ţuw -i -ŋ p- do haŋ ba
who? SER place 2S.SEL.OBJ SEL INF do DEM QUES
“Who gave you permission to do this?”

7.74 Aba do do we ba?
a- ba do do we ba
C1S CMPLTV do do what? QUES
“What has he just done?”

7.2.4 Imperative clauses

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

7.75 Ţiin ibuuran ubida wi nu!
ţi -in i- buur -an u- bida w- i nu
run IMP 2S escape CAUS C2S life C2S GEN 2S.POSS
“Run and save your life!”

7.76 Kten kafeţ ibot iwat
NEG look_at C3S behind 2S do_something_next 2S leave
kanaţ nin dko dloŋ ţi
IMPERF SER stand NEG C9S place C9S INDEF INT LOC.PROX
utaak wi!
C2S country C2S DEM.PROX
“Don’t look back and don’t stop anywhere in this country!”
7.3 Noun Phrase

7.3.1 Structure

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

7.77 bapoŋ baweek bawajẽŋ
    ba- poŋ ba- week ba- wajẽŋ
    c1p child c1p big c1p three
    N ADJ NUM

“Three big children”

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

7.78 nin ŋaaŋ
    nin ŋaaŋ
    NEG person
    NEG N

“No-one”

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

NEG N GENN ADJ PTCP P NUM ORD GENP DEM QUANT RELC

Where

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

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

Here are some examples of noun phrases:
7.79 bapoţ ba-week bawajënţ biki
ba- pot' ba-week ba-wajënţ bik- i
C1P child C1P big C1P three C1P GEN
N ADJ NUM DEM
“These three big children”

7.80 bapoţ ba-week bawajënţ biki bti
ba- pot' ba-week ba-wajënţ bik- i bti
C1P child C1P big C1P three C1P GEN all
N ADJ NUM DEM QUANT
“All these three big children”

7.81 nin ñaaŋ (same as example 7.78)
nin ñaaŋ
NEG person
NEG N
“No-one”

7.82 nin uko uloŋ
nin u- ko u- loŋ
NEG C2S thing C2S INDEF
NEG N DET
“Nothing”

7.83 bapoţ biki Dama bti
ba- pot' bik- i Dama bti
C1P child C1P GEN Dama all
N [ GENP ] QUANT
“All Dama’s children”

7.84 bapoţ biinţ biki Dama bti
ba- pot' biinţ bik- i Dama bti
C1P child C1P man C1P GEN Dama all
N ADJ [ GENP ] QUANT
“All Dama's boys” (Lit. male children)

7.85 ba-week Dama bti
ba-week Dama bti
C1P elder_sibling Dama all
N GENN QUANT
“All Dama’s elder siblings”

7.86 ba-week Dama biinţ bti
ba-week Dama biinţ bti
C1P elder_sibling Dama C1P man all
N GENN ADJ QUANT
“All Dama's elder brothers”
Simple Syntax

7.87 **katoh** **ki** **naşih** **ki**
ka- toh k- i na- şih k- i
c3s house c3s gen c1s chief c3s dem.prox
N [ genp ] dem
“*This house of the chief*”

7.88 **katoh** **ki** **naşih** **i**
ka- toh k- i na- şih i
c3s house c3s gen c1s chief dem.prox
N [ genp ]
“The house of this chief”

7.89 **iko** **yi** **bți**
i- ko y- i bți
c3p thing c3p dem.prox all
N dem quant
“All these things”

7.90 **unuur** **uteek** **wi** **ufettu** **wi** **Şompi**
u- nuur u- teek w- i u- festu w- i Şompi
c2s day c2s first c2s gen c2s feast c2s gen Shompi
N ord [ genp [ genp ]]
“The first day of Shompi’s feast”

7.91 **ŋpi** **ŋwajênţ** **ŋteek**
ŋ- pi ŋ- wajênţ ŋ- teek
c2p goat c2p three c2p first
N num ord
“The first three goats”

7.92 **dko** **dmoyni** **danwoŋ**
d- ko d- moy n- i da- n- wo -oŋ
c9s place c9s bury caus ptcp c9s coref be sel
N ptcp [ relp ]
du **uţeeh** **meet**
d- u u- têeh meet
ext loc.dist c2s field inside
“the burial place that is in the field”

7.93 **dko** **dî Hankni** **ŋdeey** **ŋi** **naan** **bți**
d- ko d- han- k- n- i ŋ- deey ŋ- i naan bți
c9s place c9s keep caus ptcp c2p grain c2p gen 1s.gen all
N [ ptcp ]
“place for keeping all my grain”
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7.94 bteem bmpoti bbuurni
b- ṭeem b- m- poṭ -i b- buur -n -i
c5s pirogue c5s coref be_small ptcp c5s escape caus ptcp
N ptcp

“small rescue boat”

7.3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives follow the noun and agree with it.

7.95 katoh kajint
ka- toh ka- jinṭ
c3s house c3s clean

“clean house”

7.96 iyeeh ijon
i- yeeh i- jon
c3p song c3p old

“old song”

7.97 nasih najeenkal
na- śih na- jeenk -al
c1s chief c1s red chg

“red chief (paramount chief)”

7.98 ñnkaneel ñmpoti ñwaat
ñ- nkaneel ñ- mpoṭi ñ- waṭ
c2p sheep c2p small c2p female

“small ewes”

7.99 ñnkaneel ñwaat ñjėnal
ñ- nkaneel ñ- waṭ ñ- jën -al
c2p sheep c2p female c2p be_black chg

“black ewes”

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

7.100 katoh kaweek katum
ka- toh ka- week ka- tum
c3s house c3s big c3s many

“Many big houses”

7.101 meel mntiinku
meel m- ntiinku
water c8 in_small_amount

“a little water”
7.3.3 Cardinal Numbers

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

7.102 kpiiti ktëb kweek
   k- piiti k- tëb k- week
c5p.DEF pen c5p.DEF two c5p.DEF big
   “Two big pens”

7.103 kpiiti kweek ktëb
   k- piiti k- week k- tëb
c5p.DEF pen c5p.DEF big c5p.DEF two
   “Two big pens”

7.104 kpiiti kjeenkal ktëb kweek
   k- piiti k- jeenkal k- tëb k- week
c5p.DEF pen c5p.DEF red c5p.DEF two c5p.DEF big
   “Two big red crayons”

7.3.4 Genitive Constructions

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

7.105 aşin naşiḥ
   a- şin na- şih
c1as father c1s chief
   “the chief’s father”

The alienable construction requires the genitive particle.

7.106 upi wi naşiḥ
   u- pi w- i na- şih
c2s goat c2s gen c1s chief
   “the chief’s goat”

For more detail see section 7.3.4.2.

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

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

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

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

7.107

a. *naweek Nala*  
Nala’s older sibling

b. *naweek Naala niňt*  
Nala’s older brother

c. *naweek Naala anin Dama*  
The older brother of Nala  
the mother of Dama

d. *anin naşih*  
The chief’s mother

e. *babuk aşin*  
Siblings (father’s offspring)

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

7.3.4.2 Alienable Genitive Construction

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

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

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

- Possession

7.108 *katoh* \( \overset{\text{ki}}{\text{k- i}} \overset{\text{naşih}}{\text{na- şih}} \) \( \overset{\text{c3S house c3S GEN c1S chief}}{\overset{\text{C3S GEN C1S chief}}{}} \)  
“the chief’s house”

7.109 *upi* \( \overset{\text{wi}}{\text{w- i}} \overset{\text{naan}}{\text{naan}} \) \( \overset{\text{c2S goat c2S GEN 1S GEN}}{\overset{\text{C2S GEN} 1S GEN}{}} \)  
“my goat”
7.110 **katoh** ki **naweek i skoola**

```
ka- toh k- i na- week i skoola
```

c3S house c3S GEN c1S leader GEN school

“The head teacher's house”

7.111 **katoh** ki **aninun** ŋiint

```
ka- toh k- i a- nin -un ŋ- iint
```

c3S house c3S GEN c1AS mother 1P.OBJ c1S man

“My maternal uncle's house”

- **Origin**

7.112 **banyaŋ** biki **Bula**

```
ba- ŋaaŋ bik- i Bula
```

c1P person c1P GEN Bula

“the people of Bula”

- **Scope**

7.113 **naşiḥ** i **bahula**

```
na- şih i ba- hula
```

c1S chief GEN c1P Mankanya

“the king of the Mankanya”

- **Type**

7.114 **batani** bi **ŋnkuma**

```
b- tani bi ŋ- nkuma
```

c5S herd PAST c2P pig

“herd of pigs”

- **Location**

7.115 **ptoof** pi **bdęk**

```
p- toof p- i b- dęk
```

c4S half c4S GEN c5S sea

“middle of the sea”

7.3.5 *Demonstratives*

Demonstratives appear after adjectives and numbers in the noun phrase.

7.116 **katoh** **kaweek** ki

```
ka- toh ka- week k- i
```

c3S house c3S big c3S DEM.PROX

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

The demonstrative is different to adjectives which appear before genitive phrases.

This is different to adjectives which appear before genitive phrases.

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

“each day of rest”
7.123 iko iwuţaan indoli yi ŋleef
   i- ko i- wuţaan i- ndoli y- i ŋ- leef
   c3P thing c3P evil c3P each c3P GEN c2P body

ŋi ənja ənaluŋ
ŋ- i ənja ŋa- ənal -ŋ
c2P GEN 1P.poss c2P like SEL
“every evil thing that our bodies desire”

The position of łoŋ “indefinite” is quite variable.

7.124 pnkuŋ ploŋ pweek
   p- nkʊŋ p- loŋ p- week
   c4S hill c4S INDEF c4S older

“a big hill”

7.125 batani bweek bi ŋnkuma bloŋ
   ba- tani b- week b- i ŋ- nkuma b- loŋ
   c5S herd c5S big c5S GEN c2P pig c5S INDEF

“a big herd of pigs”

7.126 umpëlënŧ uloŋ ufaatal
   u- mpëlënŧ u- loŋ u- faatal
   c2S horse c2S INDEF c2S white

“A white horse”

7.127 ṭlemp ṭtum łożyć
   ṭ- lemp ṭ- tum ṭ- loŋ
   c2P work c2P many c2P INDEF

“many types of job”

7.128 ūţeeh uloŋ umpaţi
   u- ūţeeh u- loŋ u- mpaţ -i
   c2S field c2S INDEF c2S separately PTCP

“a different field”

7.129 iko iloŋ iweek injaŋ
   i- ko i- loŋ i- week i- n- ja -aŋ
   c3P thing c3P INDEF c3P big c3P COREF HAB SEL

ijeelah
i- jeehan
C3P shine
“some big things that shine”

7.3.7 Quantifiers

The two adjectives that quantify have been described in section 7.3.2 above. The invariable quantifiers bŧi “all, entirety” and ţañ “only” occur at the end of a noun phrase, even after a relative clause.
7.130 utaak bti
   u- taak bti
c2s country all
   “the whole country”

7.131 ŋko ŋmpoṭi bti
   ŋ- ko ŋ- mpoṭi bti
c2p animals c2p small all
   “all the little animals”

7.132 uko looloon ķaŋ
   u- ko u- looloon ķaŋ
c2s thing c2s one only
   “only one thing”

7.133 bukal batēb bti
   bukal ba- tēb bti
3p.subj c1p two all
   “both of them”

7.134 ŋwal ŋntiinku ķaŋ
   ŋ- wal ŋ- ntıinku ķaŋ
c2p time c2p in_small_amount only
   “just a little time”

7.135 uko looloon ķaŋ
   u- ko u- looloon ķaŋ
c2s thing c2s one only
   “only one thing”

7.136 baṅaaŋ biki mboš bti
   ba- ŋaaŋ bik- i mboš bti
  c1p person c1p GEN earth all
   “All the people of the world”

7.137 utaak wi ikwinuŋ wuŋ bti
   u- taak wi i- k- win -uŋ w- uŋ bti
c2s country c2s GEN 2s IMPERF see SEL c2s DEMDIST all
   “All that land that you see”

7.138 abukul i aŋaluŋ ķaŋ
   a- buk -ul i a- ŋal -uŋ ķaŋ
  c1as child 3s.POSS GEN c1s like SEL only
   “only his son whom he loved”

7.139 ŋko ŋmpoṭi ŋankiyuŋ bti
   ŋ- ko ŋ- mpoṭi ŋa- n- k- yiţ -uŋ bti
c2p animals c2p small c2p COREF IMPERF fly SEL all
   “all the little flying animals”
Compare 7.139 with the position of the quantifying adjective in 7.140 which comes before the relative clause.

7.140 Bañaŋ batum banktiinkuluŋ
   ba- ŋaŋ ba- tum ba- n- k- tiink -ul -uŋ
   c1P person c1P many c1P COREF IMPERF hear 3S.POSS SEL
   “many people who were listening to him”

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

7.141 ŋkat bti ŋi baṭi
   ŋ- kat bti ŋ- i ba- ŋi
   c2P bird all c2P GEN c5S sky
   “All the birds of the air”

7.142 iko inuura iweek bti yi
   i- ko i- nuura i- week bti y- i
   c3P thing c3P good c3P big all c3P GEN

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

The invariable quantifiers normally occur after a demonstrative:

7.143 iko yi bti
   i- ko y- i bti
   c3P thing c3P DEM.PROX all
   “All these things”

7.144 uṭaak wi bti
   u- taak w- i bti
   c2S country c2S DEM.PROX all
   “All this country”

7.4 Infinitival clauses

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

They can occur as the subject of a clause:
7.145 **Pwala**  
**katëmp**  
**paanwo**  
**nin**  
**uko**  
_p- wala_  
_ka- tëmp_  
_pa- an- wo_  
_nin u- ko_  
INF come_down  
C3S circumcision  
C4S NEG be  
NEG C2S thing

**uloŋ**  
_u- loŋ_  
C2S INDEF

“To be circumcised is nothing”

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

7.146 **dŋal**  
**pnug**  
**kamîşa**  
**kahalu**  
_d- ŋal_  
_p- nug_  
_ka- miṣa_  
_ka- halu_  
1S like  
INF buy  
C3S shirt  
C3S new

“I want to buy a new shirt”

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

7.147 **dŋal**  
**pjuk**  
**iyeeh**  
**yi**  
**nan**  
**yi**  
_d- ŋal_  
_p- juk_  
_i- yeeh_  
_i- nan_  
_i- yi_  
1S like  
INF learn  
C3P song  
C3P GEN  
2P.POSS  
C3P GEN

**bnuura**  
_bnuura_  
well

“I want to learn your songs well”

They can also be possessed:

7.148 **Mënṭ**  
**pbi**  
**pi**  
**nul**  
**paṭijuŋ**  
**uko**  
_mënṭ_  
_p- bi_  
_p- i_  
_nul_  
_pa- tiŋ -uŋ_  
_u- ko_  
INF come  
C4S GEN  
C1S.POSS  
C4S bring SEL  
C2S thing

**mënṭ**  
_mënṭ_  
that

“It was not his coming that caused this thing”

7.149 **phaj**  
**pi**  
**naan**  
_p- haj_  
_p- i_  
_haan_  
INF suffer  
C4S GEN  
1S.POSS

“my sufferings”

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

7.150 **dya**  
**pnug**  
**ulibra**  
**uhalu**  
_d- ya_  
_p- nug_  
_u- libra_  
_u- halu_  
1S go  
INF buy  
C2S book  
C2S new

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

A locative phrase is a phrase headed by one of the locative particles ţi, ţuŋ, di, duŋ, followed by a noun phrase.

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

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

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

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

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

7.155 ţi bko bloŋ uţeeh
- i b- ko b- loŋ uţeeh
INT LOC.PROX C7S object C7S INDEF under
“under a tree”

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

7.157 du pnkuŋ duuţ
- u p- nkuŋ duuţ
EXT LOC.DIST C4S hill on
“on top of the hill”
7.158 ți mboș mi pndiiș duuț
ț- i mboș m- i p- ndiiș duuț
INT LOC.PROX earth C8 GEN C4S desert on
“on the surface of the desert floor”

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

7.159 ți kadun
ț- i ka- dun
INT LOC.PROX C3S front
“in front”

7.160 ți kadeenu
ț- i ka- deenu
INT LOC.PROX C3S right
“on the right”

7.161 ți kadun ki katoh ki
ț- i ka- dun k- i ka- toh k- i
INT LOC.PROX C3S front C3S GEN C3S house C3S GEN

nașih
na- șih
C1S chief
“in front of the chief’s house”

7.162 ți kafeț ki þeem
ț- i ka- feț k- i b- þeem
INT LOC.PROX C3S behind C3S GEN C5S pirogue
“behind the boat”

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

7.164 ți kamayu ki așin
ț- i ka- mayu k- i a- șin
INT LOC.PROX C3S left C3S GEN C1AS father
“on the left of the father”

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

7.165 ţi  kadun  naan
        ţ- i ka- dun naan
    INT  LOC.PROX  C3S front 1S.Poss

“in front of me”

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

7.166 pkëş  pi  nu  pdeenu
        p- këş p- i nu p- deenu
    C4S eye  C4S GEN  2S.POSS  C4S right

“your right eye”

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

7.167 awin  plii̍k  ploŋ  du  ţeeh
        a- win p- liik p- loŋ d- u ţeeh
    C1S see C6S well  C4S INDEF  EXT  LOC.DIST  C2S field

“He saw a well in the field”

7.168 Du  ukalabuş  mënţ  di  di
        d- u u- kalabuş mënţ d- i d- i
    EXT  LOC.DIST  C2S prison  that  C9S DEM.PROX  EXT  GEN

Yotef  awooŋ
Yotef  a- wo -oŋ
Joseph  C1S be  SEL

“It was in the prison where Joseph was”

7.169 du  ţeeh  awin  plii̍k  ploŋ
        d- u ţeeh a- win p- liik p- loŋ
    EXT  LOC.DIST  C2S field  C1S see  C6S well  C4S INDEF

“In the field, he saw a well”

7.170 abëkan  napoţ  ţi  bko  bloŋ
        a- bëkan na- poţ ţ- i b- ko b- loŋ
    C1S put down  C1S child  INT  LOC.PROX  C7S tree  C7S INDEF

uţeeh
uţeeh
under

“She put him down under the tree”

7.171 bapën  du  Ziguinchor
        ba- pën d- u Ziguinchor
    C1P go_out  EXT  LOC.DIST  Ziguinchor

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

7.172 aban  du  ubeeka  
  a- ban  d- u - beeka  
  c1S  arrive  c2S  town  
  “He arrived at the town”

7.173 aban  ubeeka  
  a- ban  u- beeka  
  c1S  arrive  c2S  town  
  “He arrived at the town”

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

7.174 țenaan  meel  mntiinku  
  țen  -aan  meel  mntiinku  
  give_(as_present)  1s.OBJ  water  c8  in_small_amount  
  ți  pdunku  
  ț- i  p- dunk -u  
  INT  LOC.PROX  c4S  pot  2s.POSS  
  “Give me a little water from your pot”

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

7.175 aya  du  katoh  
  a- ya  d- u - toh  
  c1S  go  c3S  house  
  “He's going to the house” / “He's going from the house”

7.176 abi  du  katoh  
  a- bi  d- u - toh  
  c1S  come  c3S  house  
  “He's coming to the house” / “He’s coming from the house”

7.177 apoşar  du  katoh  
  a- poş -ar  d- u - toh  
  c1S  walk  c3S  house  
  “He’s walking towards the house”

Locative phrases can be also be used to express non-physical locations, e.g. ți and țuŋ are often used to express a location in time.
Temporal phrases

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

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

7.180 Dko   daluŋ    kajeeh     faan
d-   ko     da-   luŋ    k-   a-   jeeh      faan
c9s place c9s FUT IMPERF SER be_bright tomorrow
“The weather will be good tomorrow” (Lit: The place will be bright tomorrow)

7.181 Takal   na    uŧejan     dyeeh
takal   na    d-   tejan    d-   yeeh yesterday and c2s night c9s sing
“Last night, I sang”

Or more complex noun phrases:

7.182 Unuur     uŧebanţen   ,    banaţa   na    nfa
u-   nuur   u-   tēb   -anţen   ba-   naţ   -a   na    nfa
c2s day c2s two ORD c1p stand MID and morning

kub
kub
early
“On the second day, they got up early”

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

7.183 Wi    bapēnuŋ  ţi      meel
wi   ba-   pēn   -uŋ  ţ-  i      meel
when c1p go_out SEL INT LOC.PROX water
“When they came out of the water…”
“After some days had passed…”

“When day broke…”

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

“They're eating lunch with me today”

“So Naala set off that day to go to Dakar”

“Go tomorrow morning to Dakar”

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

“This thing will happen tomorrow”

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

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

Examples

7.184: **Wi ŋnuur ŋloŋ ŋaťepŋ**

> wi ŋ- nuur ŋ- loŋ ŋa- ŋep -uŋ

> when c2p day c2p indef c2p pass sel.

> “After some days had passed…”

7.185: **Wi ŋnuur uŋųŋųŋ**

> wi ŋ- nuur ŋ- jinţ -uŋ

> when c2s day c2s be_clean sel.

> “When day broke…”

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

7.186: **Bade nţa blant na njį**

> ba- de nţa b- lant na njį

> c1p eat today c5s lunch and 1s.subj

> “They're eating lunch with me today”

7.187: **Kē Naala ajej ŋnuur měnt bgah aya Dakar**

> kē Naala a- jej ŋ- nuur měnţ b- gah a- ya Dakar

> ds Nala c1s take c2s day that c5s way ser go Dakar

> “So Naala set off that day to go to Dakar”

7.188: **Yaan faan na nfa du Dakar**

> ya -an faan na nfa d- u Dakar

> go Imp tomorrow and morning ext loc.dist Dakar

> “Go tomorrow morning to Dakar”

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

7.189: **Uko měnt faan di di**

> u- ko měnţ faan d- i d- i

> c2s thing that tomorrow c9s dem.prox c9s gen

> ukwooŋ

> u- k- wo -oŋ

> c2s imperfect be sel.

> “This thing will happen tomorrow”
“That same night they gave their father wine”

“Shompi got up early in the morning”

### 7.7 Pronouns

#### 7.7.1 Personal pronouns

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

#### 7.7.1.1 Independent subject pronouns

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

**7.192 Bakob babi**

Bakob c1P drummer

babi c1P come

“The drummers are coming”

**7.193 Babi**

babi c1P come

“They are coming”

**7.194 Upi ude**

Upi c2S goat

ude c2S eat

“The goat is eating”

**7.195 Ude**

ude c2S eat

“It eats”

The subject prefix on the verb is still required even when a pronoun is used as the subject.
Independent subject pronouns are used to express the subject, when the subject is in marked focus. They can either be used in an independent vocative phrase:

7.196 ɿwi, iyeeh

ɿwi i- yeeh
2S.SUBJ 2S sing

“You, you sing”

Or in subject position:

7.197 Kë ul aşë yomp yomp

kë ul a- şë yomp yomp
DS 3S.SUBJ C1S SEQ be_quiet be_quiet

“But he remained silent”

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

7.198 Šompi aya afët du pnkuŋ, Šompi a- ya a- fët d- u p- nkuŋ

Shompi 1S go 1S dwell EXT LOC.DIST 4S hill

ul na babukul baat batëb
ul na ba- buk -ul b- aat ba- tëb
3S.SUBJ and C1P child 3S.Poss C1P female C1P two

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

7.199 Ul na baṭašarul baando hilan

ul na ba- tašar -ul ba- an- do hilan
3S.SUBJ and C1P follower 3S.Poss C1P neg INGR be_able

pde
INF eat

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

7.200 Nji na napot ŋya Ziguinchor

nji na na- poṭ ŋ- ya Ziguinchor
1S.SUBJ and 1S child 1P go Ziguinchor

“My child and I are going to Ziguinchor”

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

7.201 bhoŋar b- ŋi nji ndoluŋ

b- hoŋ -ar b- i nji n- dol -uŋ
C5S promise BEN C5S GEN 1S.SUBJ 1S.SEL do SEL

“the promise that I made”
7.202 **uko** wi njij nťupuŋ
   u- ko w- i njij n- tuj -uŋ  
   c2S thing c2S GEN 1S.SUBJ 1S.SEL announce SEL
   “the thing that I announced”

**7.7.1.2 Object pronouns**

Object pronouns follow the verb.

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

7.203 **Tukma akob Naala**
   tukma a- kob Naala
   Thukma c1S hit Nala
   “Thukma hits Naala”

7.204 **Tukma akoba**
   tukma a- kob -a
   Thukma c1S hit 3s.OBJ
   “Thukma hits her”

7.205 **Tukma akob bapotos**
   tukma a- kob ba- pot
   Thukma c1S hit c1P child
   “Thukma hits the children”

7.206 **Tukma akob baka**
   tukma a- kob baka
   Thukma c1S hit c2P.OBJ
   “Thukma hits them”

7.207 **Tukma akob upi**
   tukma a- kob u- pi
   Thukma c1S hit c2S goat
   “Thukma hits the goat”

7.208 **Tukma akob wa**
   tukma a- kob w- a
   Thukma c1S hit c2S OBJ
   “Thukma hits it (goat)”

In a ditransitive clause where the pronoun is written as independent word, the pronoun always follows the verb.
7.209 **Tukma aṭen kamişa Şaja**
tukma a- ̃en ka- mişa Şaja
Thukma c1S give (as_present) c3S shirt Şaja
“Thukma gives a shirt to Şaja”

7.210 **Tukma aṭena kamişa**
tukma a- ̃en -a ka- mişa
Thukma c1S give (as_present) OBJ c3S shirt
“Thukma gives her a shirt”

7.211 **Tukma aṭen ka Şaja**
tukma a- ̃en k- a Şaja
Thukma c1S give (as_present) c3S OBJ Şaja
“Thukma gives it to Şaja”

This is the case even for an indirect object.

7.212 **Tukma aṭen ikaalu upi**
tukma a- ̃en i- kaalu u- pi
Thukma c1S give (as_present) c3P food c2S goat
“Thukma gives food to the goat”

7.213 **Tukma aṭen wa ikaalu**
tukma a- ̃en w- a i- kaalu
Thukma c1S give (as_present) c2S OBJ c3P food
“Thukma gives it the food”

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

7.214 **Tukma aṭen ya wa**
tukma a- ̃en y- a w- a
Thukma c1S give (as_present) c3P OBJ c2S OBJ
“Thukma gives it (food) to it (goat)”

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

7.215 **Tukma awula a**
tukma a- wul -a a
Thukma c1S give 3s.OBJ OBJ
“Thukma gives him to her”

7.7.2 Non-personal pronouns

7.7.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

I have already discussed demonstratives in section 7.3.5.
They can also be employed as demonstrative pronouns, replacing a complete noun phrase, in either object or subject positions.

7.216 dŋal ki
d- ŋal k- i
1S like c3S DEM.PROX
“I want this one”

7.217 ŋi ŋawo ŋnuura
ŋ- i ŋa- wo ŋ- nuur -a
c2P DEM.PROX c2P be c2P be_good CMPL
“These are good”

7.7.2.2 Indefinite pronoun

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

7.218 Balon baanji bahil pnug ya
ba- lon ba- an- ji ba- hil p- nуг y- a
c1P INDEF c1P NEG HAB c1P be_able INF buy c3P OBJ
“Some people can’t buy them”

7.219 ŋloŋ ŋadaan meel
ŋ- loŋ ŋa- daan meel
c2P INDEF c2P drink water
“These (animals) drank water”
Chapter 8 - Verb System

8.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

8.2 Lexical aspectual classes

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

The most easily identifiable verbs are activities which have a nucleus that describes something that with a duration, for example yeeh “sing”. An event
of “singing” usually has a point where the singing starts, and some point where it ends. It could therefore simply be represented by:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
O : N : C
\end{array}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N
\end{array}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
O : N : C
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
O : N : C
\end{array}
\]

A significant indication of these change of state verbs is that they are not construed as in the past when used with the completive -i suffix (see section 8.5.1).
8.1 Baţoon ti utaak wi na nja
ba- ŭ- on ŭ- i u- ŭ- taak w- i ŭ na nja
C1P sit IMP INT LOC.PROX C2S country C2S GEN and 1P.OBJ
udëmi
u- ŭ- dem ŭ-i
C2S grow CMPL
“Let them live in this country with us - it is big”

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

8.2 Adêm te kë anin ado
a- ŭ- dem te kë a- ŭ anin a- ŭ ado
C1S grow until DS C1S mother C1S INGR

Kayana
kay -an -a
be_dry CAUS C1S.OBJ
“He grew until he was weaned”

8.3 Wi akŋogun ŭbeeka
wi a- k- ŭog ŭ-u ŭ ŭbeeka
when C1S IMPERF be_close SEL C2S town
“As he was approaching the town…”

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

N

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

8.4 Aşë win biinţ bawajanţ kë banaţ
a- şë win b- iinţ ba- wajanţ kë ba- naţ
C1S SEQ see C1P man C1P three DS C1P stand
du kadunul
d- u ka- dun ŭ-ul
EXT LOC.DIST C3S front 3S.POSS
“Then he saw three men standing in front of him.”

Also when they are used with the imperfective k-, they can only have a future reading, (not a current reading like activities, or a coming-to-be reading like change of state verbs).
8.5 In aknaţuŋ
   in a- k- naţ -uŋ
   “Who will stand?”

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

8.6 Anaţa
   a- naţ -a
   “He stood up”

8.3 Auxiliaries and Auxiliary Verb Constructions

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGR-AUX ASP-SER-STEM</td>
<td>a-luŋ k-a-niw katoh</td>
<td>He will build a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-AUX STEM</td>
<td>a-bi niw katoh</td>
<td>He built a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-AUX AGR-STEM</td>
<td>ba-ji ba-nug utėb</td>
<td>They always buy fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-AUX LOC PFX-STEM</td>
<td>ba-wo ţi u-lemn</td>
<td>They are working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-AUX AGR-GEN INF-STEM</td>
<td>ba-wo bik-i p-lemn</td>
<td>They should work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-AUX AGR-GEN ASP-SER-STEM</td>
<td>ba-wo bik-i k-a-lemn</td>
<td>They must work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1: Auxiliary verb constructions

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

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

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

8.4.1 Analysis of k-a- prefixes

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

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

The lexical verb in this structure has the form kaniw. This is the stem niw “build” plus some prefixes. These prefixes are invariable. I have analysed these as k- “imperfective” and a- “serial”, but an alternative might seem to
be the nominal class 3 singular prefix \textit{ka}-, or the habitual first person singular prefix \textit{ka}-. In the next few paragraphs I discuss why I prefer the first analysis.

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

8.8 \textit{ulemp} wi iñen yi naan
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{u-} & \textit{lemp} & w- & i & \textit{ñen} & y- & i & \textit{naan} \\
c2S & work & c2S & GEN & c3P & hand & c3P & GEN & 1S.GEN
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
“The work of my hands”

However, when it is used in the future construction with \textit{luŋ} it still takes \textit{k-} and \textit{a-}.

8.9 \textit{Aluŋ kalemp faan}
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{a-} & \textit{luŋ} & \textit{k-} & \textit{a-} & \textit{lemp} & \textit{faan} \\
c1S & FUT & IMPERF & SER & work & tomorrow
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
“He will work tomorrow”

The imperfective \textit{k-} indicates an action that has not yet finished. For example:

8.10 \textit{Alaalan umeesa wi akbomanuŋ}
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{a-} & \textit{laalan} & \textit{u-} & \textit{meesa} & w- & i & \textit{a-} & \textit{k-} & \textit{boman} & -uŋ \\
c1S & feel & c2S & table & c2S & GEN & c1S & IMPERF & make & SEL
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
“She is touching the table that she is making”

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

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

8.11 … \textit{woli naluŋ aya qrisiya ti dmaas}
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
\textit{woli} & \textit{na-} & \textit{luŋ} & a- & \textit{ya} & qrisiya & \textit{t-} & i & \textit{dmaas} \\
\textit{if} & 2P & FUT & SER & go & church & INT & LOC.PROX & Sunday
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
\textit{ŋya na baka}
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
\textit{ŋ-} & \textit{ya} & \textit{na} & \textit{baka} \\
1P & go & and & c1P.OBJ
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
“… if you go to church this Sunday, we will go with you”

This indicates that either there are two prefixes \textit{k-} and \textit{a-} or that \textit{ka-} has been replaced by \textit{a-}. If \textit{ka-} were the class 3 singular nominal prefix then \textit{a-} would also be expected to be a nominal prefix, the singular prefix of class 1.
This seems unlikely as that prefix is only used elsewhere on a very small group of kinship terms, e.g. aşin “father”.

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

8.4.2 Verbs with infinitive complements

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

8.12 Dŋal pjuk iyeeh yi nan
    dŋal  p- juk  i- yeeh  y- i  nan
    1s like  INF learn  c3p song  c3p gen  2p poss
“I want to learn your songs”

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

8.5 Complete and Imperfective

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

8.5.1 Completive

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

In a simple declarative sentence it is marked with the -i suffix.
With change of state verbs, the completive aspect expresses the actual state. Depending on the context this may be either present or past and this is reflected in the free translations of the examples below.

8.14 Naşih adeebaţi

na-şiḥ a- ḍeebaṭ -i
C1S chief C1S be_angry CMPL

“The chief was/is angry”

8.15 Wal wi Paapa akkeṭuŋ

w- al w- i paapa a- k- keṭ -uŋ
C2S moment C2S GEN daddy C1S IMPERF die SEL

uŋogi
u- ṭoŋ -i
C2S be_close CMPL

“The time when father was going to die was/is near”

8.16 Ado wa kē uyimani

a- do w- a kē u- yiman -i
C1S do C2S OBJ DS C2S respect CMPL

“He made it sacred”

8.17 Napoṭ aankeṭi

na- poṭ a- an- keṭ -i
C1S child C1S NEG die CMPL

“The child is/was not dead”

8.18 Baji na Naala kē Şompi abukul

ba- ji na Naala kē Şompi a- buk -ul
C1P say and Nala DS Shompi C1AS child 3s.POSS

abani
a- ban -i
C1S arrive CMPL

“They told Nala that Shompi her son had arrived”

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

Diagram 8:1: Timeline of completive with change of state verbs
The sense is similar with purely stative verbs:

8.19 Tenan baţi, ifēn njah woli
look at IMP c5s sky 2s count c2p star if

ihinani
i- hinan -i
C3p be_able_to CMPL
“Look at the sky, count the stars if you are able”

8.20 Woli Ajugun aşali, njuŋ
woli a- jug -un a- njal -i nj- luŋ
if C1as owner 1p.poss C1s like CMpl 1p Fut

kawo bajeb
ka- wo ba- jeb
C3s be C1p healthy
“If our Lord is willing, we will be healed”

8.21 Şompi kē aşē mēbana ți
şompi kē a- şē mēb -an -a ț- i
Shompi Ds C1s seq caus C1s.obj int loc.prox

kañen anaţana kē anaţi
ka- ñen a- naţ -an -a kē a- naţ -i
c3s hand ser stand Caus C1s.obj ds ser stand CMpl
“He took her in his hand, made her stand up and she stood”

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

Diagram 8:2: Timeline of completive with pure state verbs

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

8.22 Wi adoluŋ kē bamuuri aduka
wi a- dol -uŋ kē ba- muur -i a- duk -a
when C1s do sel DS C1p cross CMpl C1s leave Mid

aloolan
a- loolan
C1s one
“When he had made them cross, he was left alone”
The event described can be a negative activity as in example 8.23. Here the negative activity is explicitly temporally bound by the first half of the sentence.

8.23  Aţo a- da  ŋnuur  ŋwajanţ  aandee
        a-  tô  d-  a  ŋ-  nuur  ŋ-  wajanţ  a-  an-  de  -e
     C1S  sit  C9S  OBJ  C2P  day  C2P  three  C1S  NEG  eat  CMPL
aandaani
   a-  an-  daan  -i
C1S  NEG  drink  CMPL
“He stayed there three days, not eating, not drinking”

The completive -i makes the verb syntactically intransitive.

8.24  Awula  poot  kë  adaani
  a-  wul  -a  poot  kë  a-  daan  -i
C1S  give  C1S.OBJ  wine  DS  C1S  drink  CMPL
“She gave him wine and he drank”

8.25  *  Awula  poot  kë  adaani  pa
  a-  wul  -a  poot  kë  a-  daan  -i  p-  a
C1S  give  C1S.OBJ  wine  DS  C1S  drink  CMPL  C4S  OBJ
“She gave him wine and he drank it”

8.26  *  Awula  poot  kë  awaapi  pa  Dama
  a-  wul  -a  poot  kë  a-  waap  -i  p-  a  Dama
C1S  give  C1S.OBJ  wine  DS  C1S  sell  CMPL  C4S  OBJ  Dama
“She gave him wine and he sold it to Dama”

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

8.27  Ayişa  kë  adee  abot
       kë  a-  de  -e  abot
     C1S  serve_out_food  C1S.OBJ  DS  C1S  eat  CMPL  and
awula  poot  kë  adaani
   a-  wul  -a  poot  kë  a-  daan  -i
C1S  give  C1S.OBJ  wine  DS  C1S  drink  CMPL
“She served him and he ate, gave him wine and he drank”
Going to the well, she drew water in a gourd, filled it and gave it to the child, and he drank.

“With children or without children, separated, their marriage is not finished.”

“They told him all the things that they had done and taught.”

“A stone that was very large”

“I saw the tailor who made the dress.”

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

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

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

8.34 Dwin nälët ankmbomanuŋ
   d- win na- lët a- n- k- m- boman -uŋ
   1S see 1S tailor 1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL.
blaaŋ
b- laaŋ
C6S wrap
“I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

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

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

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

8.35 Wi nakuul aŋoguŋ
   wi na- kuul a- ñog -uŋ
   when 1S blind 1S be_close SEL
   “When the blind man had come close\When the blind man was near”

8.36 Wi nakuul akŋoguŋ
   wi na- kuul a- k- ñog -uŋ
   when 1S blind 1S IMPERF be_close SEL
   “As the blind man was\is approaching”

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

Diagram 8:5: Timeline of imperfective with change of state verbs
The imperfective is always marked in negatives:

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

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

8.38 **Dtiink** kë ikpoș ți uwoorta
   d- tiink kë i- k- poș ți i u- woorta
   1S hear COMP 2S IMPERF walk INT LOC.PROX C2S garden
   **kë nlënki**
   kë n- lënk -i
   DS 1S.SUB be_afraid CMPL
   “I heard you walking in the garden and I was afraid”

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

8.40 **Naşibaţi** ayeŋ napoț kë akdë
   na- şibaţi a- yeŋ na- poț kë a- k- dëm
   C1S God C1S guard C1S child DS C1S IMPERF grow
   “God was with the boy as he grew up”

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

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

8.42 **Awin** kë mboș manjun pkay
   a- win kë m- boș man- jun p- kay
   C1S see DS C8 earth C8 begin INF be_dry
   “He saw that the land had begun to dry”
If it has no object arguments then it is marked with the completive -i (see example 8.24 above).

### 8.6 Functional Overview

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<td>aya kaniw katoh</td>
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<td>Past</td>
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<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
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<td>AGR-STEM1 SER-ba STEM2</td>
<td>ade aba daan</td>
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<td>Obligative</td>
<td>AGR-w0 GEN ASP-SER-STEM</td>
<td>awo i kabi</td>
<td>He should work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.7 Tense

#### 8.7.1 Future

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

![Diagram 8.6: Timeline of future tense](image-url)
To indicate that something will happen in the future, it is possible to use three different auxiliaries: *luŋ* which cannot be used as a lexical verb (see discussion below), *ya* which as a lexical verb means “go, move away from the speaker”, and *bi* which as a lexical verb has the sense of “come, move towards the speaker”. Though there might have been differences in the past, current speakers do not consistently differentiate. In informal speech *ya* seems now to predominate, but the translation of the New Testament into Mankanya (translated over the period 2000-2010) mostly uses *luŋ*.

8.43  
\[\text{aluŋ } kaniw \quad \text{kotoh}\]
\[\text{a- luŋ k- a- niw ka- toh}\]
\[\text{C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house}\]
“He will build the house”

8.44  
\[\text{aya } kaniw \quad \text{kotoh}\]
\[\text{a- ya k- a- niw ka- toh}\]
\[\text{C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house}\]
“He will build the house”

8.45  
\[\text{abi } kaniw \quad \text{kotoh}\]
\[\text{a- bi k- a- niw ka- toh}\]
\[\text{C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house}\]
“He will build the house”

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

8.46  
\[\text{Na luŋ } kame \quad \text{manjoonan}\]
\[\text{na- luŋ k- a- me ma- njoonan}\]
\[\text{2P FUT IMPERF SER know C8 truth}\]
“You will know the truth”

8.47  
\[\text{Ba luŋ } kakeț \quad \text{jibi } \text{ŋlimariya } \text{ŋajaŋ}\]
\[\text{ba- luŋ k- a- keț jibi } \text{ŋ- limariya } \text{ŋ- ja } \text{-aŋ}\]
\[\text{C1P FUT IMPERF SER die like 1P animal C2P HAB SEL}\]

\[\text{ŋakeț}\]
\[\text{ŋa- keț}\]
\[\text{C2P die}\]
“They will die like animals”

8.48  
\[\text{Jdeey } \text{ŋaluŋ } \text{katum}\]
\[\text{ŋ- deey ŋa- luŋ k- a- tum}\]
\[\text{C2P grain C2P FUT IMPERF SER many}\]
“There will be much grain”

Note that in example 8.48 above, the future is profiling the nucleus/coda of a change of state verb, i.e. indicating that the state will be reached.
An important common feature is that the lexical verb in the construction is marked with the prefix k- “imperfective”. This is especially important because using bi without the imperfective marker gives the sense of something in the past (see section 8.7.2 below). The future is incompatible with the completive aspect -i.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But in the following example it adds the sense of future.
8.52 aya kaniw katoh (repeat of example 8.44)

aya ka- niw ka- toh
C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house

“He will build the house”

Ya can also be used with a verbal complement, a stem with the infinitive p-

8.53 Şompi aya pyit aşin

Şompi a- ya p- yit a- şin
Shompi C1S go INF meet C1S father

“Shompi is going to meet his father”

This construction still has the sense of motion, but the event of meeting is in
the future. Constructions like this probably influenced the development of

8.54 Zulu (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 163)

a bayaka eGoli

ba- ya- e- Goli
3:PL- go LOC- Johannesburg

“They are going to Johannesburg”

b bayakufika

ba- ya- ku- fika
3:PL- go INF arrive

“They will arrive”

8.55 Igbo (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 164)

a ó gà àbyá

he go come: NOMIN
“He’s going to come”

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

8.56 Abi kaniw katoh (Repeat of example 8.45)

abi ka- niw ka- toh
C1S FUT IMPERF SER build C3S house

“He will build the house”

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

Verb System 171
The grammaticalisation chain of a verb with the sense of “come” into a future tense marker is, like go, not unusual. Here are some further examples from Heine and Kuteva:

8.57 Bambara (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 76)

a  ù  te  nà
   3:PL  NEG:AUX  come
   “They didn’t come”

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

8.58 Zulu (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 77)

a  ngiyèza
   ngi-  ye-  za
   1:SG  -?  come
   “I’m coming”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.60  baankya  katoka  da
   ba- an- k- ya  k- a- tok -a d- a
   C5S  NEG  IMPERF  FUT  IMPERF  SER  break  MID  C9S  3.OBJ
“They will not be ruined there”

8.61  aankbi  kaťenk  baka
   a- an- k- bi  k- a- źenk  baka
   C1S  NEG  IMPERF  FUT  IMPERF  SER  help  C1P.OBJ
“He is not going to help them”

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

8.62  Baţi  uko  wi  bańaaŋ
   ba- ti  u- ko  w- i  ba- źaaŋ
   C1P  be_afraid_of  C2S  thing  C2S  GEN  C1P  person

bakbiŋ  kado
ba- k- bi -iŋ  k- a- do
C1P  IMPERF  FUT  SEL  IMPERF  SER  do
“They were afraid of what the people would do”

8.7.2 Past

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

Diagram 8:7: Timeline of past tense

8.63  Abi  niw  katoh
   a- bi  niw  ka- toh
   C1S  PST  build  C3S  house
“He built the house”
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8.64 Niiŋt abi ya du utaak

\[\text{ní- } \text{iin}t \text{ a- } \text{bi } \text{ya d- } \text{u } \text{u-taak}\]

\text{C1S man C1S PST go EXT LOC.DIST C2S country}

unlowuŋ

\[\text{u- } \text{n- } \text{ low -uŋ}\]

\text{C2S COREF be_apart SEL}

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

8.65 Ibi bi ptokun i

\[\text{i- } \text{bi } \text{bi p- } \text{tok } \text{-un } \text{i}\]

\text{2S PST come INF break 1P.OBJ QUEST}

“Did you come to destroy us?”

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

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

8.66 Şompi abi ťaf

\[\text{Şompi a- } \text{bi } \text{ţaf}\]

\text{1S PST grow_old}

“Shompi was old.”

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

8.67 Dțafi

\[\text{d- } \text{ţaf } \text{-i}\]

\text{1S grow_old CMPL}

“I am old.”

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

8.68 Pntalai pi nu pabi noor

\[\text{p- } \text{ntaali } \text{p- } \text{i nu pa- } \text{bi noor}\]

\text{C4S lineage C4S GEN 2S.POSS C4S PST get_tired}

“Our descendants are weary.”

8.69 Bațeŋan babi tum

\[\text{ba- } \text{ţeŋan } \text{ba- } \text{bi tum}\]

\text{C1P priest C1P PST be_numerous}

“There were many priests.”

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

8.70 Babuk naan babi Dakar
ba- buk naan ba- bi Dakar
C1P child 1S.GEN C1P come Dakar
“My children are coming to Dakar”

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

8.71 Abi pyit na iwi
a- bi p- yit na iwi
C1S come INF meet and 2S
“He’s coming to meet you”

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

8.72 Uñiiŋ na umaalu ŋabi anat
u- ŋiiŋ na u- maalu ŋa- bi a- naŋ
C2S hyena and C2S hare C2P come SER stand
ti ptooʃ
ṭ- i p- tooʃ
INT LOC.PROX C4S half
“Hyena and Hare came and stood in the middle.”

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

8.73 pliiŋ pi balempar naših babiiŋ
p- liik p- i ba- lempar na- ših ba- bi -iŋ
C6S well C4S GEN C1P servant C1S chief C1P PST SEL
ateha
a- teh -a
SER seize MID
“the wells that the servants of the chief had seized”

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

8.74 Naala aambi buk
Naala a- am- bi buk
Naala C1S NEG PST produce
“Nala hadn’t borne any children”

The grammaticalisation chain of a verb meaning “come” to a past tense marker is not uncommon. It occurs in French:
8.75 Je viens de manger
1s.SUB come.PRES from to_eat
“I just ate”

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

8.76 O ti lo
HE come.out go
“He has gone”

8.7.3 Sequential

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

Diagram 8:8: Timeline of sequential tense

8.77 Baya Dakar aşë nug şëb
ba- ya Dakar a- şë nug ş- şëb
C1P go Dakar SER SEQ buy C2P fish
“They went to Dakar, and then bought some fish”

8.78 Dpoş aşë yeeh
d- poş a- şë yeeh
1s walk SER SEQ sing
“I sing as I walk”

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

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

aannuura ti bten
a- an- nuura ɨ- i b- ten
SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks
“The eldest was Dama, but she wasn’t pretty to look at”

It is not always used with a serial prefix, as shown by example 8.80:
8.80 Kë baat batëb bukuŋ bašë wo na
kë b- aaţ ba- tëb buk- uŋ ba- šë wo na
DS C1P woman C1P two C1P DEM.DIST C1P SEQ be and
mben ṭi feţ
m- ben ṭ- i feţ
C6P swelling INT LOC.PROX back
“But these two women had humps on their backs”

There is no lexical meaning for this verb.
When used in a construction that requires the -uŋ marker, the final word form is şaaŋ. This seems to imply that the original form was şa.
Phonological degradation is a typical part of the process of grammaticalisation.

8.81 Wal wi Dama aşaanj atenën
w- al w- i Dama a- şa a- ten -ën
C2S moment C2S GEN Dama C1S SEQ SEL C1S look_at 1S.OBJ
“They give the king a fifth of what they harvest”

8.8 Aspectual constructions

8.8.1 Habitual

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

8.82 Aji lemp di Dakar
a- ji lemp d- i Dakar
C1S HAB work EXT LOC.PROX Dakar
“He works (all the time) in Dakar”

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

8.83 Baji bawul naşiḥ kafah kañeenanţëñ
ba- ji ba- wul na- şih ka- fah ka- ŋeen -anţëñ
C1P HAB C1P give C1S chief C3S part C3S five ORD
ti iko yi bakitunj
ti- i i- ko y- i ba- kit -uŋ
INT LOC.PROX C3P thing C3P GEN C1P harvest SEL
“They give the king a fifth of what they harvest”
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8.84 Bananŋ banwoonŋ na uʃal untuŋa
   ba- naŋ ba- n wo -oŋ na u- ʃal u- ntuŋa
   C1P person C1P COREF be SEL with C2S mind C2S wise

baji bakeț
   ba- ji ba- keț
   C1P HAB C1PC1P die

“Wise men always die”

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

atiink pdiim pi naniim
   a- tiink p- diim p- i na- niim
   C1S hear C4S voice C4S GEN C1S bridegroom

“The friend of the bridegroom is happy when he hears the bridegroom's voice”

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

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

bayaanț pi pi
   ba- yaaŋ pi pi
   C1P stranger C6S DEM.PROX C6S DEM.PROX

“When they brought the meal they said 'This is the strangers' meal' ”

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

8.87 Kë bangooli basë teema aji
   kë ba- ngooli ba- ʃë teem -a a- ji
   D3 C1P soldier C1P SEQ reply C1S.OBJ SER say

nayaanț aloŋ ankunjiiŋ pdunk
   na- yaaŋ a- loŋ a- n- kuŋ -i -iŋ p- dunk
   2P stranger C1S INDEF C1S COREF be_burdened MID SEL C4S pot

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

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

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

A feature of the habitual which is different from all the other AVCs in Mankanya is that the lexical verb agrees with the subject. In addition the
prefixes used are an unusual set. With any non-human subject, and with 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural human subjects, the lexical verb takes the same subject prefixes as the auxiliary, that is to say the normal verb prefixes. For example:

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

waat
w- aaṭ
C2S female
“The marriage is normally secured with a cow.”

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

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

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

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

8.89 Woli unwoo , kame
woli u- un- wo ka- me
if C2S NEG be 1S. ALT know
“If it is not so, I will know.”

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

na biki katohu
na bik- i ka- toh -u
and C1P GEN C3S house 2S POS
“If you don’t return her, you and all your household will die”

I can see no relationship between the habitual and the conditional with woli. I suggest that these maybe traces of a historical system of prefixes. It is interesting that Karlik notes that one of the prefix sets in Manjaku also has
ka- and k- (Karlik 1972, 266). This seems to parallel the Mankanya usage with woli, but not that of the habitual.

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

8.91 Unuur ji wuŋ, waanji .utfilma
u- nuur ji w- uŋ wa- an- ji u- ťilma
C2S day like C2S DEM.DIST C2S.NEG NEG HAB C2S forget

“A day like that will not be forgotten”

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

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

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

8.93 Naala awo wo ţi ŋwooni wi
Naala a- wo wo ţ- i ť- wooni wi
Nala C1S be be INT LOC.PROX C2P tears when

Dama abiŋ
Dama a- bi -iŋ
Dama C1S come SEL
“Naala was crying when Dama came”

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

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

8.8.2 Continuative

Events that are ongoing at the time of speaking and where the focus is on the duration are expressed with the auxiliary jon. It can often be translated into English by “still”. I will refer to it as continuative, to distinguish it from two other constructions that signify a continuous aspect, the progressive (section 8.8.5) and the persistive (section 8.8.3). The progressive describes an event that is ongoing without any other special focus. The persistive is close in meaning to the continuative, but whereas the continuative highlights the fact that the duration is longer than
expected, the persistive highlights the fact that the end of the event has not yet come. Following an idea from Botne (1983), these could be considered as external and internal views of the event.

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

![Diagram 8:9: Time of the continuative aspect]

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

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

8.96 **Bañaŋ** batiinka , ĭiki ajon
   ba- ūaŋ ba- tiink -a ĭiki a- jon
   C1P person C1P hear C1S.OBJ because_(of) C1S CONT
   kañojarën baka dayaamu di
   k- a- ūoŋar -ēn baka dayaamu d- i
   IMPERF SER be_surprised CAUS C1P.OBJ magic C9S GEN
   ajaŋ ado
   a- ja -aŋ a- do
   C1S HAB SEL C1S do
   “The people listened to him, because he continued to amaze them with the magic that he did”

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

8.97 **Ajon** kayit da na banohul
   a- jon k- a- yit d- a na ba- noh -ul
   C1S cont IMPERF SER meet C9S OBJ and C1P friend 3s.POSS
   “He often met there with his friends”
**Chapter 8**

8.98 **Aya aneej da, jibi ajonuŋ**

\[ \text{a- ya a- neej d- a jibi a- jon -uŋ} \]

**kado**

\[ \text{k- a- do} \]

**IMPERF SER do**

“He went there as he always did”

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

8.99 **Ajon pših źiki aya pa**

\[ \text{a- jon p- ših źiki a- ya p- a} \]

**č1S last č6S kingdom/throne because (of) SER go č6S OBJ**

**nampoti**

\[ \text{na- mpoți} \]

**č1S small**

“He lasted a long time on the throne, as he ascended to it as a child”

8.100 **Aluŋ kaniw jibi ajonuŋ**

\[ \text{a- luŋ k- a- niw jibi a- jon -uŋ} \]

**č1S FUT IMPERF SER build like SER last SEL**

“He will build as he always does”

8.101 **Wi baťoon ajon źi uŧaak**

\[ \text{wi ba- źo -oŋ a- jon źi i u- taak} \]

**when č1P sit SEL SER last INT LOC.PROX č2S country**

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

8.102 **Baloŋ bañehana ašo da a jon**

\[ \text{ba- loŋ ba- ñehan -a a- źo d- a a- jon} \]

**č1P INDEF č1P request č1S OBJ č1S sit č9S OBJ SER last**

**kė aandinani**

\[ \text{kė a- an- dinan -i} \]

**čS NEG agree CMPL**

“Some of them asked him to stay with them for a while, but he refused”

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

8.103 (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 255)

**Er ist beim Reiten geblieben**

He is at riding remain:PARTCP

“He stuck to horseback riding”
8.8.3 Persistive

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

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

![Diagram 8:10: Timeline of the persistive aspect](image)

With activity verbs the imperfective prefix is required:

8.104 Bahum *kaṭešer*

ba- hum ka- ţešer

c1P PSTV C3S exchange

“They were still discussing.”

8.105 Wi Naala *ahumuŋ *kaṭiini*

wi Naala a- hum -uŋ k- a- ţiini

when Naala C1S PSTV SEL IMPERF SER speak

“When Naala was still talking…”

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

8.106 Şompi *ahum nnaṭ ţi kadun*

Şompi a- hum n- nàt ţ- i ka- dun

Shompi C1S PSTV PSTV stand INT LOC.PROX C3S front

ki Naala

k- i Naala

c3S GEN Nala

“He was still standing in front of Nala.”

8.107 Ahum *nwo ţi bgah*

a- hum n- wo ţ- i b- gah

C1S PSTV PSTV be INT LOC.PROX C5S way

“He was still on the road.”

For change of state verbs, the completive suffix -i is required as well as the nasal prefix.
8.108 Ahum nlowi
a- hum n- low -i
C1S PSTV PSTV be_far CMPL
“He was still far away”

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

8.109 Ahum du dko di
a- hum d- u d- ko d- i
C1S still_be EXT LOC.DIST C9S place C9S GEN
“He was still in that place”

8.110 Æhum tì nfa mpoţi
ŋ- hum t- i nfa mpoţi
1P still_be INT LOC.PROX morning small
“We are still in the early morning”

8.111 Paapa ahum najeb i
paapa a- hum na- jeb i
daddy C1S still_be C1S healthy GEN
“Is father still healthy?”

8.8.4 Ingressive

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

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

```
Diagram 8:11: Timeline of the ingressive aspect
```

8.112 Aya adoo ban ubeeka
a- ya a- doo ban u- beeka
C go SER INGR arrive C2S town
“He went, until he arrived at the town”
“Many people came and crowded him to the point that he got into a boat and sat down”

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

“He does this thing for two or three years…”

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

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

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

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

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

ten -an Naala 1 na-yiŋ -uŋ
look_at IMP Nala GEN 2P be_related_to SEL
andoon awo naţaf awo kak na
a-n-do -ŋ a-wo na-ţaf a-wo kak na
C1S COREF INGR SEL C1S be C1S elderly C1S be again with
kayiŋ
ka-yiŋ
C3S stomach

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

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

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

“They ate it all until they were full”

This could be diagrammed like this:

```
O | N | C
```

Diagram 8:12: Time line of ingressive aspect with change of state verbs

8.119 Bawo katap baka mnlak
ba-wo k-a-tap baka mn-lak
C1P must IMPERF SER shoot C1P.OBJ C6P stone
badoo bakeş
ba-do -o ba-keş
C1P INGR C7S die

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

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

8.120 Ŋko ŋi uteeh ŋabi bti
ŋ-ko ŋ- i u-teeh ŋa-bi bti
C2P animals C2P GEN C2S field C2P come all
pmaal wa kē umaalu umpokuŋ
p-maal w- a kē u-maalu u-m-pok -uŋ
INF be_present C2S OBJ DS C2S hare C2S COREF refuse SEL
ulemp udo do bi
u-lemp u-doo bi
C2S work C2S INGR came

“All the wild animals came to witness it, even Hare who had refused to work came”
In the negative, it is the auxiliary do that takes the negative prefix.

8.121 **Baluk bi kli bakreŋ**

*balu* payment, *kli* GEN *bakreŋ* EIGHT

baando keš pa ēnaŋ andoli

ba- an-do -o keš pa ēnaŋ a- ndoli

c5S NEG INGR be_enough in_order_to person c1S each

ayeenk bnduŋ

a- yeenk b- nduŋ
c1S receive c5S bit

“Eight months wages would not be enough for each person to have a bit (of food)”

8.8.5 Progressive

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

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

![Diagram 8:13: Timeline of progressive aspect](image)

8.122 **Naala awo tı bŋoy bweek**

Naala a- wo t- i bŋoy b- week

Nala c1S be INT LOC.PROX c5S sleep c5S big

“Naala is sleeping deeply”

8.123 **Baniw bawo tı ulemp**

ba- niw ba- wo t- i u- lemp
c1P mason c1P be INT LOC.PROX c2S work

“The builders are working”

8.124 **Dwo tı pboman uniw kë**

d- wo t- i p- boman u- niw kë

1s be INT LOC.PROX c4S make c2S wall DS

ukaaru ušë jotna wa awat

u- kaaru u- şë jotna w- a a- wat
c2S car c2S SEQ hit_against c2S OBJ SER bring_down

“I was building the wall when the car knocked it down.”
And during that time many of the elders were in discussion.

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

“They refused to work”

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

“My name is Naala”
8.128 *Naweek* awo *Dama* aşë wo
na- week a- wo Dama a- şë wo
c1S elder_sibling c1S be Dama ser seq be
*aannuura* ti bten, *natëbënten*
a- an- nuura ū- i b- ten na- tēb -ēnten
c1S neg be_good int loc.prox c5S looks c1S two ord
*awooŋ* *nanuura* maakan awo *Naala*
a- wo -ōŋ na- nuura maakan a- wo Naala
c1S be sel c1S beauty very c1S be Naala
“The eldest was Dama who was not beautiful to look at; it was the second who was a great beauty, she was called Naala”

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

8.8.6 Repetitive

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

This can be shown on the time line diagram as:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIT</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
```

*Diagram 8:14: Timeline of repetitive aspect*

8.129 *Akak* abi
a- kak a- bi
c1S rep ser come
“He’s coming back again” or “He’s also coming”

8.130 *Dkak* aţupan uko wi
d- kak a- ū- p- an u- ko w- i
1s rep ser announce 2p.obj c2s thing c2s gen
“Again, I tell you this thing”

8.131 *Akak* amobana kaiŋ abuk
a- kak a- mob -an -a ka- yiŋ a- buk
c1S rep ser catch caus mid c3s stomach ser produce

*napoţ* niinţ
na- poţ n- ūnţ
c1S child c1S male
“She again became pregnant and gave birth to a son”
8.132 Pakak awo uki wi blaata
   pa- kak a- wo u- ki w- i b- laata
c4s rep ser be c2s dance c2s gen c5s metal_drum
“It is also used in the ‘blaata’ dance”

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

8.133 Baankak awul un balemparu
   ba- an- kak a- wul un ba- lemp -ar -u
c1p neg rep ser give 1p.subj c1p work ben 2s.poss
pbooli
p- booli
c4s reed
“They would no longer give us, your workers, straw”

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

8.134 Wi Dama akakuŋ du bhër
   wi Dama a- kak -uŋ d- u b- hër
when Dama c1s return sub ext loc.dist c5s hole
aanțënk da Şompi
   a- an- ţënk d- a Şompi
ser neg find c9s obj Shompi
“When Dama returned to the hole, she didn’t find Shompi there”

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

8.135 Şompi i bakakuŋ adu Piyeer
   Şompi i ba- kak -uŋ a- du Piyeer
Shompi gen c1p rep sub ser call Peter
“Shompi, who was also called Pierre”

8.8.7 Terminative

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

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

Diagram 8:15: Timeline of terminative aspect with infinitive
8.136 Wi Naala abaaŋ pțiini na Dama
   wi Naala C1S TMTV SEL INF speak with Dama
   when Nala C1S TMTV SEL INF speak with Dama
   “When Naala had finished talking with Dama...”

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

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

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

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

8.139 Abuk aşin aba apën
   a- buk a- şin a- ba a- pën
   C1AS child C1AS father C1S TMTV SER go_out
   “His brother finally came out” (Context: birth of twins)

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

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

8.141 Aambaŋ kapoşa
   a- am- ba -aŋ k- a- poş -a
   C1S NEG TMTV SEL IMPERF SER walk MID
   “He had never walked.”
8.142 Mëmbaaŋ  kapoka  nin
m-ëm- ba -aŋ k- a- pok -a nin
1S.NEG NEG TMTV SEL IMPERF SER refuse C1S.OBJ NEG

 pdo  uko  wi  ijakų
p- do  u- ko  w- i  l- jak -uŋ
INF do  c2S thing  c2S GEN  2S tell SEL

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

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

8.143 Naţijan  nṯëb  ṇị  nabaan  amob
na- tij -an  ṇ- tēb  ṇ- i  na- ba -aŋ  a- mob
2P bring  IMP  c2P fish  c2P GEN  2P TMTV SEL  SER catch

mob  ṇuŋ
mob  ṇ- uŋ
catch  c2P DEM_DIST

“Bring those fish you have just caught!”

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

8.144 Abuk  naan  aba  akeṭ  keṭ
a- buk  naan  a- ba  a- keṭ  keṭ
C1AS child  1S.GEN  C1S TMTV  SER die die

“My child has just died”

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

8.145 Baţašarul  baba  aŋoŋar  ŋoŋar
ba- tašar -ul  ba- ba  a- ŋoŋar  ŋoŋar
C1P follower  3S.POSS  C1P TMTV  SER be_surprised  be_surprised

maakan
maakan
very

“His followers were completely amazed”

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

8.146 pmaak  paba  adēm  dēm
p- maak  pa- ba  a- dēm  dēm
C4S illness  C4S TMTV  SER grow  grow

“The illness ended up getting worse”

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

“He ended up shouting louder”
Lexically it can follow a verb, meaning “to finish”, optionally with a time complement.

8.148 **Naala** aṭo du kathul aba

Naala C1S sit EXT LOC.DIST C3S house 3S.POSS SER finish

pili

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

8.149 **Bayeeh** aba, aşë pën

ba- yeeh a- ba a- şë pën

C1P sing SER finish SER SEQ go_out

“They left after they had sung”

8.150 **Wi** badaanuŋ aba, baneej kath

wi ba- daan -uŋ a- ba ba- neej ka- toh

when C1P drink SUB SER finish C1P enter C3S house

“When they had drunk, they entered the house”

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

**8.9 Modal constructions**

Auxiliary constructions are also used to make modal distinctions.

**8.9.1 Obligative and Epistemic**

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

The two constructions differ in that the Epistemic is expressed using the infinitive prefix p-, whereas Obligative modality is expressed with the stem prefixed by the k- “imperfective” and a- “serial” prefixes.
8.151 Ddo bane uniw afoyan
d- do ba- ne u- niw a- foy -an
1s do c5s last_year c2s wall ser encircle caus
katoh naan așė wo i pwat wa
ka- toh naan a- şė wo i p- wat w- a
c3s house 1s.gen ser seq be gen inf bring_down c2s obj
hènkuŋ
hènkuŋ
now
"Last year I built a wall around my house, but this year I have to knock it
down."

8.152 Kë woli iwo i pya ti ki inuh
kë woli i- wo i p- ya ti ki i- nah
ds if 2s be gen inf go because_(of) 2s miss
katoh ki şaş
kat- toh k- i şaş
c3s house c3s gen your_father
"If you must go because you miss your father's house..."

8.153 Iko mënţ iwo yi kawo
i- ko mënţ i- wo y- i k- a- wo
c4p thing that 2s be c4p gen imperf ser be
"These things must happen"

8.154 Naŋ ankbanuŋ pnuŋ awo
naŋ a- n- k- ban -uŋ p- nkunŋ a- wo
person c1s coref imperf touch sub c4s hill ser be
i kakeţ
i k- a- keţ
gen imperf ser die
"Anyone who touches the hill, will definitely die"

8.155 Anŋaluŋ pwo naweek ti
a- n- nal -uŋ p- wo na- week t- i
1s.nal coref like sub inf be c1s leader int loc.prox
an awo i kawo nalezaŋ
an a- wo i k- a- wo na- lempar
2p.obj ser be gen imperf ser be c1s servant
batęntul
ba- batęntul -ul
1p peer 3s.poss
"The one who wants to be a leader must be a servant to his peers"

The i after the wo agrees with the subject of wo for non-human subjects (see
example 8.153 above). I have analysed it as the genitive marker and it can
be seen to occur in that position after wo when used with a nominal.
8.156 Baji meel muŋ manwo mi baka
   ba- ji meel m- uŋ man- wo m- i baka
   C1P say water C8 DEM.DIST C8 be C8 GEN C1P.OBJ
“They said that this water is theirs”

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

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

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

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

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

8.9.2 Prohibitive

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

8.159 Ñwut kafiŋa
   ŋ- wut k- a- ŋ -a
   1P PRHB IMPERF SER kill C1S.OBJ
“Let’s not kill him.”

8.160 Aji na baka bawut kaţup nin Ñaaŋ
   a- ji na baka ba- wut k- a- řup nin Ñaaŋ
   C1S say with C1P.OBJ C1P PRHB IMPERF SER speak NEG person
“He told them not to tell anyone.”
It is often found as an imperative:

8.161 **Wutan** kalënk

\[
\text{wut} - \text{an} \quad \text{k-} \quad \text{a-} \quad \text{lënk}
\]

PRHB IMP IMPERF SER be_afraid

“Don’t be afraid!”

8.162 **Nawutan** kafiña

\[
\text{na-} \quad \text{wut} - \text{an} \quad \text{k-} \quad \text{a-} \quad \text{fiŋ} - \text{a}
\]

2P PRHB IMP IMPERF SER kill C1S.OBJ

“Don’t kill him!”

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

8.163 **Itim** yaŋ iwutan

\[
\text{i-} \quad \text{tim} \quad \text{y-} \quad \text{aŋ} \quad \text{i-} \quad \text{wut} - \text{an}
\]

c3P name c3P DEM c3P PRHB CAUS

\[
\text{katiinkana} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{itum} \quad \text{yi}
\]

IMPERF SER hear CAUS MID INT LOC.PROX c3P mouth c3P GEN

\[
\text{n} \quad \text{nan}
\]

nan

2P.POSS

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

8.164 **Nin** aloŋ awutan kapën

\[
\text{nin} \quad \text{a-} \quad \text{loŋ} \quad \text{a-} \quad \text{wut} - \text{an} \quad \text{k-} \quad \text{a-} \quad \text{pën}
\]

NEG C1S INDEF C1S PRHB CAUS IMPERF SER go_out

d\_ u d\_ ko d\_ i

d u d\_ ko d\_ i

EXT LOC.DIST C9S place C9S DEM.PROX

“No-one must leave this place.”

8.165 **Bawutan** kaneej ubeeka

\[
\text{ba-} \quad \text{wut} - \text{an} \quad \text{k-} \quad \text{a-} \quad \text{neej} \quad \text{u-} \quad \text{beeka}
\]

c1P PRHB CAUS IMPERF SER enter c2S town

“They must not enter the town.”

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

8.166 **Bawut** du ҭeeh ҭntaam ҭi

\[
\text{ba-} \quad \text{wut} \quad \text{d-} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{ҭ-} \quad \text{teeh} \quad \text{ҭ-} \quad \text{ntaam} \quad \text{ҭ-} \quad \text{i}
\]

c1P leave EXT LOC.DIST c2P field c2P livestock c2P GEN

baka

baka

c1P.OBJ

“They left their livestock in the field.”
Verb System

8.167 **Baankwut** nin katoh kaloŋ
   ba- an- k- wut nin ka- toh ka- loŋ
   c1P NEG IMPERF leave NEG C3S house C3S INDEF

kanaţ
   k- a- naţ
   IMPERF SER stand

“They will not leave one house standing.”

8.10 **Complex Auxiliary Verb Constructions**

Auxiliaries can be combined to create more complex AVCs.

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

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

```
Diagram 8:17: Timeline of ingressive and past combined
```

8.168 **Ddo** bi ḏupan
   d- do bi ḏup -an
   1s INGR PST speak 2P.OBJ

“I have already told you.”

8.169 **Bañaŋ** mënţ ado bi dat dat baka
   ba- naaŋ mënţ a- do bi dat dat baka
   c1P person that c1s do PST choose choose c1P.OBJ

“These people he had already chosen.”

8.170 **Ado** bi keţ
   a- do bi keţ
   c1s INGR PST die

“He is\was already dead”

8.171 **Bţeem** bado bi low low pkay
   b- teem ba- do bi low low p- kay
   c5s pirogue c1P INGR PST be_far be_far c4s dry_land

“The boat was already far from dry land”
8.172 Bado bi wo baristoŋ ti ŋrisiya
c1P INGR PST be C1P Christian INT LOC.PROX church

“They were already Christians in the Evangelical church”

8.173 Ado bi ka ka itaka itum
c1S INGR PST have have c4P money c3P many

“He already had a lot of money”

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

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

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

8.174 Ŭme na manjoonan kë nado bi
1P know and c8 truth d8 2P INGR PST

“Hā we really know that you are already doing this”

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

8.175 ţiki abi kado
ţiki a- bi k- a- do
because_(of) c1S PST IMPERF SER INGR

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

When the do bi combination is used in a clause, for example a relative clause, it is the ingressive do which takes the selective marker -uŋ (which phonologically changes to -oŋ).
8.176 ... kë bakak awo bukal batëb bti
kë ba- kak a- wo bukal ba- tëb bti
DS 3P REP SER be 3P.SUBJ C1P two all
bañaaŋ bandoōb abi ūf ūf
ba- ñaaŋ ba- n- do -oŋ a- bi ūf ūf
C1P.person 3P.COREF INGR SEL SER PST grow_old grow_old
"They were also, both of them, already very old."

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

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

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

```
TT    SitT    TA
```

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

8.177 Baando bi wata wal mënț
ba- an- do bi wat -a w- al mënț
C1P.NEG INGR PST bring_down C1S.OBJ C2S.moment that
ukalabuș
u- kalabuș
C2S.prison
“They had not yet at that time put him in prison”

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

```
TT    Expected TT    TA
```

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

8.178 Bahum baando bi piinț
ba- hum ba- ūn- do bi piinț
C1P.pstv C1P.NEG INGR PST lie_down
“They still hadn’t slept”
The sequential marker şë is always the first auxiliary when used in combination with other auxiliaries.

8.179  kê untaayi  usë  do  bi  neej  ţţ
        kê  u-  ntaayi  u-  şë  do  bi  neej  ţ-  i
        DS  C2S  spirit  C2S  SEQ  INGR  PST  enter  INT  LOC.PROX

Şompi
Şompi
“… but the spirit had already entered Shompi”

8.180  Kê  baňaañ  batum  bašë  ji  baya
cvê  ba-  ſnañ  ba-  tum  ba-  şë  ji  ba-  ya
du  a
du  a
EXT  LOC.DIST  OBJ
“And many people kept coming to where he was”

The habitual ji proceeds do and bi.

8.181  aloñ  aji  do  bi  banën  da
     a-  loñ  a-  ji  do  bi  ban  -ën  d-  a
     C1S  INDEF  SER  HAB  INGR  PST  arrive  CAUS  C5S  OBJ

uteek
u-  teek
c2S  first
“Someone always gets there first”

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

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

“You should come regularly”

So it seems that the order of the auxiliaries is not completely fixed, and some can be moved to create different nuances. Further research is needed in this area.
Chapter 9 - Complex clauses

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

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

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

9.1 Clauses joined by linking words

9.1.1 Balanced clauses

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>këme</td>
<td>alternative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hënk</td>
<td>result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeri</td>
<td>result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiki</td>
<td>cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bë</td>
<td>negative while</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word këme joins two clauses in a disjunctive alternative relation (section 9.5.5.1).
9.1 Iwi ti ulefu ijakun uko

2s INT LOC.PROX C2S body 2s.POSS 2s tell SEL C2S thing

waŋ këme balon baŋpuŋ haŋ
w- an këme ba- loŋ ba- ũp -uŋ haŋ

9.2 Jakun na baka iwo ata'anaan hënkg

jakan na baka i- wo a- ũta' naan hënkg
tell and C1P.OBJ 2s be C1AS young_sibling 1s.GEN so

itu bamëbanaan bnuura
i- ũtu ba- méb -an -aan b- nuura
2s place C1P. attach CAUS 1s.OBJ C5S goodness

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

9.3 ñdeey ñuŋ bahan k na pa

ñ- deey ñ- ũŋ ba- bahan ñ- a pa

çubal paaŋ na ulŋi ńi ubon hënkg
ç- ñubal paaŋ na u- loŋ ñ- i u- bon hënkg
c2P year six and C2S INDEF C2P keep C2P OBJ in_order to

baŋnaŋ biki utaak bawutna
ba- ñaŋ bik- i u- taak ba- wut -na
C1P person C1P GEN C2S country C1P leave INSTR

kakeč
k- a- keč
IMPERF SER die

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

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

9.4 Babuk başih keeri baanwo i

ba- buk ba- şih keeri ba- an- wo i
C1P child C1P chief in_that_case C1P NEG must GEN

kaluk
k- a- luk
IMPERF SER pay

"Therefore chiefs' children don't have to pay."
Complex clauses

9.5 Keeri idinan iyeenk uko wi
keeri i- dinan i- yeenk u- ko w- i
in_that_case 2s agree 2s receive c2s thing c2s gen
nwuliiŋ
n- wul -i -iŋ
1s.SUB give 2s.SUB.OBJ sel
“So please accept the thing that I give you.”

9.6 Tupun keeri , we wi iṣaluŋ
ṭup -un keeri we w- i i- šal -uŋ
speak 1p.OBJ in_that_case what c2s GEN 2s think SEL
“So tell us what you think.”

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

9.7 Dduka Dakar ṭiki dmaaki
d- duk -a Dakar ṭiki d- maak -i
1s leave MID Dakar because 1s be_ill CMPL
“I stayed in Dakar because I was ill”

9.8 Naṭṭiin iñaay na utaak bti
naṭ -i -in i- ŋaay na u- taak bti
stand MID IMP 2s walk_about with c2s country all
ṭiki dluŋ kawulu wa
ṭiki d- luŋ k- a- wul -u w- a
because_(of) 1s FUT IMPERF SER give 2s.OBJ c2s OBJ
“Get up and walk about all this land, because I will give you it.”

9.9 Babi bti ti a ṭiki batiink
ba- bi bti ṭ- i a ṭiki ba- tink
1p come all INT LOC.PROX OBJ because_(of) c1p hear
uko wi adoluŋ
u- ko w- i a- dol -uŋ
c2s thing c2s GEN c1s do SEL
“They all came to him because they had heard of the things he had done.”

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

9.10 Aji ti uṣaluł agar
a- ji ṭ- i u- ṣal -ul a- gar
1s say INT LOC.PROX c2s mind 3s.POSS c1s scatter
baniw na a bë aanktup bańaŋ
ba- niw na a bë a- ėn- k- ṭup ba- ŋaŋ
c5s fiancé(e) and OBJ CNTR c1s NEG IMPERF speak c1p person
“He thought that he would break off the engagement but not tell anyone”
9.11  ṭi iko yi naan bti
i- ten _dense  i- ko  y-  i  naan  bti
2s look_at  INT  c3p thing  c3p  GEN  1.s.gen  all
bë  liinwin  win  nin  kako  kaloŋ  ki
bë  i-  win  win  nin  ka- ko  ka- loŋ  k-  i
CNTR  2s  NEG  see  see  NEG  c3s container  c3s  INDEF  c3s  GEN
nu
2S.Poss
“You looked through all my things, but didn’t find any pot of yours”

9.12 Relations requiring deranking

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

ji bi  comparison or cause  
ji  comparison or cause  
pa  goal  
woli  irrealis  
le  irrealis  
ukaŋ kë  cause  
Cì  genitive (C is an agreement prefix)

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

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

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

9.12  ḥunuŋ  kaniw  jibi  ajonuŋ  kado
a- luŋ  k-  a- niw  jibi  a- jon -uŋ  k-  a- do
1s fut  imperf ser build  like 1s last sel  imperf  ser  do
“He will build as he always does”
9.13 **Jibi** awoonŋ aankak afiyaara,
   jibi a- wo -oŋ a- an- kak a- fiyaar -a
   like C1S be SEL SER NEG REP SER believe C1S.OBJ
aşë ŭup pyaŋt
a- ŋe ŭup p- yaŋt
SER SEQ announce INF go_visiting

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

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

9.14 Dŋal kakakalësan ntiink jibi
   d- ŧal k- a- kakalës -an ntiink jibi
   1S like IMPERF SER repeat 2P.OBJ a little like
nwoonŋ tfa ƫ i kpoŋ
n- wo -oŋ ņëfa ƫ i k- poŋ
1S.SEL be SEL in_the_past INT LOC.PROX C3S childhood

“I want to tell you a little of what I was like as a child”

9.15 Dlempar aşinan jibi nhiniŋ bti
   d- lemp -ar a- ňin -an jibi n- hina -iŋ bti
   1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS like 1S.SEL be_strong SEL all
   “I worked for your father as much as I could”

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

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

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

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

The word *pa* introduces a clause expressing a purpose (section 9.5.2.1). Karlík (1972) describes the same word in Manjaku and suggests that it is borrowed from Kriol.
When the subject of the clause expressing the purpose is identical to the subject of the matrix clause, the verb in the purpose clause takes an infinitive prefix.

9.18 Ñya  duuț  pa  pmeer  bahula
    ṅ- ya  duuț  pa  p- meer  ba-hula
    1P  go  up_there  in_order_to  INF  get_to know  C1P  Mankanya

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

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

9.19 Ñya  duuț  pa  nhil  njukan
    ṅ- ya  duuț  pa  n- hil  n- jukan
    1P  go  up_there  in_order_to  1S  be_able  1S  teach

uhula
u-  hula
C3S  Mankanya

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

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

9.20 Ñya  duuț  pa  Dama  ahil  ajukan
    ṅ- ya  duuț  pa  Dama  a- hil  a- jukan
    1P  go  up_there  in_order_to  Dama  C1S  be_able  C1S  teach

uhula
u-  hula
C2S  Mankanya

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

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

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

9.21 Wo-li  dtar  abi  kabi  de
    wo-li  d- tar  a- bi  ka- bi  de
    when; if  1S  be_fast  SER  come  1S.ALT  FUT  eat

“If I come back quickly, I'll eat”
9.22 ḳya ṭeēh woli bnuur baanyiki
   ṭ- ya u- ṭeēh woli b- nuur ba- an- yiik -i
   1P go C2S field when; if C7S sunlight C7S NEG be_hot CMPL
“We will go to the fields, if it isn’t too hot”

9.23 Tenan baṭi , ifēn ḳjah woli
   ten -an ba- ṭi i- ūn ḳ- jah woli
   look_at IMP C5S sky 2S count C2P star when; if
ihnani
i- hinan -i
2S be_able CMPL
“Look at the sky, count the stars if you are able”

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

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

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

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

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

9.27 Naluŋ kaya ḳrisiya
   na- luŋ k- a- ya ḳrisiya
   2P FUT IMPERF SER go church
“You are going to go to church”

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

9.28 Apiitaar le našē ūn te īneen
   a- piitaar le na- šē ūn te i- īneen
   C1S whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten
“When he whistles, you’ll count to ten”
If the subject in the clause marked with le is in the first person singular, the subordinate prefix *N*- is used. This is different to a clause with *woli*.

9.29 **Mpiitaar** **le** **našë** **fën** **te** **iñeen**

1S_SEL whistle IRL 2P SEQ count until C3P ten

“When I whistle, you'll count to ten”

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

9.30 **Awul** **le** **lah** **awul** **katuman**

a- wul le lah a- wul k- a-tum -an

C1S give IRL CNTRFACT C1S give IMPERF SER be_numerous CAUS

“If he had given, he would have given a lot”

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

9.31 **nluŋ** **le** **ka** **itaka** **kaniw** **katoh**

n- luŋ le ka i- taka ka- niw ka- toh

1S_SEL FUT IRL have C4P money 1S_ALT build C3S house

**kaweek**

ka- week

C3S big

“If I have the money I will buy a big house”

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

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

9.32 **Dmaaki** **ukaan** **kë** **dduka** **Dakar**

d- maak -i u- ka -añ kë d- duk -a Dakar

1S be_ill COMPL C2S have SEL COMP 1S leave MID Dakar

“I was ill, and for this reason I stayed in Dakar”

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

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

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9.33 Uka du ukalabuş naţaşa
aloŋ anwoŋ nalemp i naşiŋ i
bayeŋ ba- yeŋ

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

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

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

9.34 a) Anaţa ți pkeţ !

“He’s come back from the dead”

b) Ukaaŋ kë aka mnhina mi

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

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

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

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

9.35 Alaalan umeeşa wi akbomanuŋ

“She’s touching the table that she’s making”
9.36 Aŋal iko yi baknuŋ
    a-  näl  i-  ko  y-  i  ba-  k-  nug -uŋ
C1S  like  C3P  thing  C3P  GEN  C1P  IMPERF  buy  SEL
“She likes the things that they buy”

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

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

9.2 Clauses linked by verbal forms

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

9.38 Ukaŋa ujohara anog baka
    u-  kaŋa  u-  johara  a-  ŋog  baka
C2S  sort_of_bird  C2S  move_(a_little)  SER  be_close  C1P.OBJ
akak afuut kayeeh
    a-  kak  a-  fuut  ka-  yeeh
SER  REP  SER  splash  C3S  song
“The bird moved, came closer to them, and started singing again.”

9.39 Kē batooli abomandēr aṭonkandēr bti
    kē  ba-  tool -i  a-  bomandēr  a-  ṭonkandēr  bti
D8  C1P  straight  CMPL  SER  get_ready  SER  gather_together  all
ṭuŋ pnduud pi naśih nafeey
    ṭ-  ūŋ  p-  nduud  p-  i  na-  ṣih  na-  Feey
INT  LOC.DIST  C6S  compound  C4S  GEN  C1S  chief  2P  Feey
aya
    a-  ya
SER  go
“And straight away, they got themselves ready, and gathered together in the
chief of the Nafeey’s compound, and then left”

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

9.40 Dama ade ațiș aaŋŋoyẽnti
Dama a- de a- tiiș a- aŋŋ- nyoŋeŋ- i
Dama C1S cat SER go_home SER NEG sleep CMPL
“Dama ate, went home, but she didn’t sleep”

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

9.41 Šompi akob baka așe ya
Šompi a- kob baka a- še ya
Shompi C1S hit 3P.OBJ SER SEQ go
“Shompi hit Nala and then he (Shompi) left”

There will be more discussion on the use of kë in section 11.
An instrumental suffix -na on the verb in the second clause can be used to express purpose (section 9.5.2.3):

9.44  Aţup  baka  uko  wi  awinuŋ
  a-  ţup  baka  u-  ko  w-  i  a-  win  -uŋ
  c1s  announce  c1p.obj  c2s  thing  c2s  gen  c1s  see  sel

bawutna  kaya  ţi  dko
ba-  wut  -na  k-  a-  ya  ţ-  i  d-  ko
  c5s  leave  imperf  ser  go  int  loc.prox  c9s  place
duŋ  d-  ũŋ
  c9s  dem.dist

“He told them what he had seen so that they did not go there”

9.45  Wulun  kak  btepı  ņhilna  ņwọ
  wul  -un  kak  b-  tepı  ņ-  hil  -na  ņ-  wọ
  give  1p.poss  again  c7s  seed  1p  be able  instr  1p  be

bajeb
ba-  jeb
  c1p  healthy

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

9.46  Bańaaŋ  bawula  ņntaam  ŋi
  ba-  ŋaaŋ  ba-  wul  -a  ņ-  ntaam  ŋ-  i
  c1p  person  c1p  give  c1s.obj  c2p  livestock  c2p  gen

baka  ahlina  ade
baka  a-  hil  -na  a-  de
  c1p.obj  ser  be able  instr  ser  eat

“The people gave him their livestock, so that they could eat.”

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

9.47  Dwaap  mlemani  alukna  Dama
  d-  waap  m-  lemani  a-  luk  -na  Dama
  1s  sell  c6p  orange  ser  pay  instr  Dama

“I sold some oranges in order to pay Dama”

9.48  Ajaanŋ  awul  nashiŋ  najeenkal
  a-  ja  -aŋ  a-  wul  na-  ſiŋ  na-  jeenk  -al
  c1s  hab  sel  c1s  give  c1s  chief  c1s  redded  chg

kalomar  anejeŋa  pšiŋ
ka-  lomar  a-  neeq  -na  p-  ſiŋ
  c3s  key  ser  enter  instr  c6s  kingdom/throne

“It is he who gives the king the key in order to enter the kingdom”

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

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

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

9.50 **Dño**owa aśë wohara
   d- ŋow -a a- şë wohara
   1S wash MID SER SEQ wear_(clothes)
   “I wash and then get dressed”

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

9.3 **Semantics of clause relations**

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

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

9.4 **Subordinate clauses**

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

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

Semantically subordinate clauses are not necessarily syntactically
subordinate clauses.
9.4.1 Complement clauses

Cristofaro further divides up complement clauses into the following subgroups:

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

9.4.1.1 Modals

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

Obligation uses the form wo i ka- structure:

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

“We must walk three days.”

9.53 Iko mënţ iwo yi kawo
    i- ko mënţ i- wo y- i k- a- wo
    C3P thing that C3P be C3P GEN IMPERF SER be

“These things must happen.”

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

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

“Children of chiefs do not have to pay.”

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

“They must not climb the hill.”

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

9.56 **Nawutan** kalow maakan
   na- wut -an k- a- low maakan
2p leave IMP IMPERF SER be_apart very
“You must not go far”

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

9.57 **ŋhil** kado kañaay na
   ŋ- hil k- a- do k- a- ŋaay na
1p be_able IMPERF SER INGR IMPERF SER walk_about and
**utaak**
   u- taak
c2s country
“We can begin to move freely around the country.”

9.58 **Nin** ŋaaŋ aanhil kalempar
   nin ŋaaŋ a- an- hil k- a- lemp -ar
NEG person c1s NEG be_able IMPERF SER work BEN
**başiň** batëb
   ba- šiň ba- tëb
c1p chief c1p two
“No-one is able to work for two masters”

9.59 **ihnän** kaĵebanaan
   i- hınän k- a- jebaŋ -aan
2s be_able to IMPERF SER heal 1s.OBJ
“You can heal me”

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

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

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

9.60 **Ahinan** pyeeh
   a- hina p- yeeh
C1s be_able to INF sing
“He can sing”

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

It can be used for both future and past events. Compare the following two examples from the same text.
“The fish will die, the river smell, and people will not even be able to drink its water”

“The fish died, the river smelt, and people were not even be able to drink water”

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

“They were able to walk night and day”

“He is able to stand in front of you”

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

“Let him sing”

“He could ruin our work”
9.4.1.2 Phasals

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

9.67 Āşë jun pkul Naala ajugul
a- şë jun p- kul Naala a- jug -ul
c1s seq begin inf despise Nala c1as owner 3s.poss

“Then she began to hate Naala, her mistress”

9.68 Āşë jun pjukan baka
a- şë jun p- jukan baka
c1s seq begin inf teach c1p.obj

“Then he began to teach them”

9.69 Baţañan pniw ubeeka
ba- ţañ -an p- niw u- beeka
c1p stop caus inf build c2s town

“They stopped building the town”

9.70 Aţañan plempar nja
a- ţañ -an p- lemp -ar nja
c1s stop caus inf work ben 1p.obj

“She stopped working for us.”

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

9.71 Aţañan kabuk
a- ţañ -an ka- buk
c1s stop caus c3s birth

“She stopped giving birth”

9.72 Naşë ṇal pdo baka baţañan ulemp
na- şë ṇal p- pdo baka ba- ţañ -an u- lemp
2p seq like inf do c1p.obj c1p stop caus c2s work

“You want them to stop the work”

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

9.73 Mēŋŋal bayafan biki nja bado
mē- ŋal bayafan bik- i nja ba- do
1s.neg neg like c1p shepherd c1p gen 1p.poss c1p ingr

kaŋom
k- a- ŋom
imperf ser dispute

“I don't want our shepherds to begin arguing”
9.4.1.3 Manipulatives

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

9.74 Ado kë batuman ŋshaaku
   a- do kë ba- tum -an ŋ- ŋshaaku
   C1S do COMP C1P be_numerous CAUS C2P bag
   “He made them fill the sacks”

9.75 Naşih i bayeq ado kë Şompi
   na- şih i ba- yeq a- do kë Şompi
   C1S chief GEN C1P guard C1S do COMP Shompi
   aklempar baka
   a- k- lemp -ar baka
   C1S IMPERF work BEN C1P.OBJ
   “The head guard made Shompi work for them”

9.76 Bado kë bapënan baka ŋti
   ba- do kë ba- pën -an baka ŋ- ŋti
   C1P do COMP C1P go_out CAUS C1P.OBJ INT LOC.PROX
   dko
d- ko
   C9S place
   “They₁ made them₂ take them₃ from the place”

9.77 Aşë do kë bawul napoţ kë adee
   a- şë do kë ba- wul na- poţ kë a- de- e
   C1S SEQ do COMP C1P give C1S child DS C1S eat CMPL
   “Then he made them give the child something to eat”

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

9.79 Naşibaţi ado kë nṭilma unoor
   na- şibaţi a- do kë n- ŋtilma u- unoor
   C1S God C1S do COMP 1S.SEL forget C2S tiredness
   wi naan bti
   w- i naan bti
   C2S GEN 1S.SEL all
   “God makes me forget all my tiredness”
Complex clauses

9.80  
Ado wa kë uymani  
\((\text{same as ex. 7.16})\)  
a- do w- a kë u- yiman -i  
c1s do c2s obj comp c2s respect imp  
“He made it sacred”

Occasionally the \(kë\) is dropped.

9.81  
Ddo baka bapën  
d- do baka ba- pën  
1s do c1p.obj c1p go_out  
“I made them leave”

9.4.1.4 Desideratives

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

9.82  
Naŋal nwutanan naşiḥ \(i\)  
n- ŋal n- wut -an -an na- ših \(i\)  
2p loved 1s.sel leave caus 2p.obj c1s chief quest  
“Do you want me to release the chief to you?”

9.83  
Dŋal name kë djon ŋal pbi  
d- ŋal na- me kë d- jon ŋal p- bi  
1s like 2p know comp 1s cont like inf come  
du an  
d- u an  
ext loc.dist 2p.obj  
“I want you to know that I have for a long time wanted to come to you”

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

9.84  
Dŋal maakan pwinan  
d- ŋal maakan p- win -an  
1s like very inf see 2p.obj  
“I really wanted to see you”

9.85  
Aanŋal ppeeța \(ti\) kadun  
a- an- ŋal p- peeţ -a \(t\)- i ka- dun  
c1s neg want inf reveal mid int loc.prox c3s front  
ki bañaan  
k- i ba- ŋaaŋ  
c3s gen c1p person  
“He did not want to reveal himself in front of the people.”
9.86 INAL  kaya  na  ñiinå  i  i
i-ñal  k- a- ya  na  ñ- iinå  i  i
2S  want  IMPERF  SER  go  with  C1S  man  DEM.PROX  quest
“Do you want to go with this man?”

9.87  Naweeku  aŋal  kafînu
na- week  -u  a- ñal  k- a- fiŋ -u
C1S  elder_sibling  2S.POSS  C1S  like  IMPERF  SER  kill  2S.POSS
“Your brother wants to kill you”

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

9.88  Awin  kë  mboş  manjun  pkay
a- win  kë  m- boş  man- jun  p- kay
C1S  see  COMP  C8  earth  C8  begin  INF  be_dry
“He saw that the land was beginning to dry.”

9.89  Dwin  kë  dhil  kado  da
d- win  kë  d- hil  k- a- do  d- a
1S  see  COMP  1S  be_able  IMPERF  SER  do  C9S  OBJ
ulemp  unuura
u- lemp  u- nuura
c2s  work  c2s  good
“I saw that I was able to do good work there.”

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

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

9.91  ŞOMPI  akat  këşi  aşë  win  kë  Dama
ŞOMPI  a- kat  këşi  aşë  win  kë  Dama
Shompi  C1S  raise_(eyes)  eye  SER  SEQ  see  COMP  Dama
akbi
a-  bi
SER  IMPERF  come
“Shompi lifted his eyes and saw that Dama was coming.”
Complex clauses

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

9.93 Atiink bapoţ kë bakhurān
a- tìink ba- poţ kë ba- k- huuran
C1S hear C1P child COMP C1P IMPERF cry_out
“He heard the children shouting.”

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

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

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

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

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

9.4.1.6 Knowledge

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

9.97 Name kë dlempar aşinan
na- me kë d- lemp -ar a- şin -an
2P know COMP 1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS
“You know that I work for your father.”
9.98 Bame kë akeţi
   ba- me kë a- keţ -i
C1P know COMP C1S die CMPL
“They know that he is dead.”

9.99 Bañaaŋ bukuŋ baamme kë nduba
   ba- ŋaaŋ buk- uŋ ba- am- me kë nduba
C1P person C1P DEM.DIST C1P NEG know COMP boy
unŋ awo ŋi btuur meeţ
unŋ a- wo ŋi b- tuur meeţ
DEM.DIST C1S be INT LOC.PROX C5S coffin inside
“They people didn’t know that that boy was inside the coffin.”

9.100 Dme kë dţo ŋi na an bţi
   d- me kë d- ŋo ŋi na an bţi
1S know COMP 1S sit INT LOC.PROX with 2P.OBJ all
“I know that I am staying with you.”

9.4.1.7 Propositional attitude

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

9.101 Afìyaar kë dwoona du Ziguinchor
   a- fiyaar kë d- woonu d- u Ziguinchor
C1S believe COMP 1S come_from EXT LOC.DIST Ziguinchor
“He thought that I came from Ziguinchor.”

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

9.4.1.8 Utterance

Speech is always introduced by the verb ji “speak”. This can be used on its
own, or after a speech verb like teem “answer”, where it is prefixed with the
serial prefix a-.
9.103 Uliŋ unwoono i uših ujej
u- liŋ u- n- wo-øŋ i u- ših u- jej
c2s lion c2s COREF be SEL GEN c2s chief c2s take
bṭup aji ulemp ubaa
b- ṭup a- ji u- lemp u- ba -a
c5s speech SER say c2s work c2s finish CMPL
“The lion who was the king spoke up and said ‘The work is finished’ ”

9.104 Woli baṭij pde bajji pde pi
woli ba- ṭij p- de ba- ji p- de p- i
if c1p bring c6s meal c1p say c6s meal c4s GEN
bayaant pi pi
ba- yaant p- i p- i
c1p stranger c4s GEN c4s DEM.PROX
“When they brought them the meal they said ‘This is the stranger’s meal’ ”

9.105 Kë bangooli bašë teema aji
kë ba- ngooli ba- šë teem -a a- ji
ds c1p soldier c1p SEQ reply c1s.OBJ SER say
nayaant aloŋ ankunjīŋ pudunk
na- yaant a- loŋ a- n- kuŋ -i -iŋ p- dunk
c1s stranger c1s INDEF c1s COREF be_burdened MID SEL c4s pot
akbiŋ
a- k- bi -iŋ
c1s IMPERF come SEL
“And the soldiers replied ‘It is a stranger carrying a pot who is coming’ ”

9.106 ( Uliŋ )... aşë do kahuuh
u- loŋ a- şë do k- a- huuuh
c2s elephant SER SEQ INGR IMPERF SER shout
aji nabiini , nabiini.
a- ji na- bi -ini na- bi -ini
SER say 2p come IMP 2p come IMP
“Elephant started to shout out crying ‘come! Come!’ ”

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

9.107 Uji uwo wi pdo ukoolan
u- ji u- wo w- i p- do u- koolan
c2s say c2s must c2s GEN INF do c2s one_thing
“He said that he had to do one thing”

The verb sal also uses this structure. This verb is usually translated as “think”, but rather than propositional attitude, the use of ji suggests that it may rather denote internal speech, e.g “he said to himself”. 
9.108 Դսալ աջի ի ավւտառունջ իտակա
թմ աջ ի ա - ւտ -ար -ունջ ի - տակա

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

9.109 Բանաան բաշալ աջի դու ի բա ḡ?

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

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

9.110 Ասալ պատպահ

“He₁ thought that he₁ would release him₂.”

9.111 Բաշալ պարեն նա ան

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

9.4.2 Adverbial clauses

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

9.4.2.1 Temporal clauses

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

The verbs in the clause introduced by te use the subordinate form of the prefix for the first person singular. There are no other morphological or syntactic changes in the adverbial clause.
9.112 Naduka \( \text{ti} \) kawo ukalabu\( \text{s} \)
\( \text{na-} \) duk -a \( \text{t-} \) i k- a- wo u- kalabu\( \text{s} \)
2P leave M ID INT LOC.PROX IMPERF SER be C2S prison
\( \text{te n- do} \) ten me \( \text{ŋ- ŭp} \) \( \text{ŋ} \) i nan
until 1S.SEL INGR look_at know C2P speech C2P GEN 2P.POSS

\( \text{ŋajoonani} \)
\( \text{ŋa-} \) joonan -i
C2P be_true CMPL
“You will stay in prison until I know that what you say is true”

9.113 te baweek biki naan bańta\( \text{s} \)
\( \text{te} \) ba- week bik- i naan ba- an- ta\( \text{s} \)
until C6S elder_sibling C2P GEN 1S.GEN 3P NEG follow

\( \text{bgah męńtan} \)
\( \text{b-} \) gah męńtan
C6S way that
“until my brothers don’t follow that way”

9.114 Abi wo wo da te kańšęntę\( \text{n} \)
\( \text{a- bi} \) wo wo d- a te ka- nšęntę\( \text{n} \)
C1S PAST be be C9S OBJ until C3S umbilical_cord

\( \text{kajot jot} \)
ka- jot jot
C3S fall fall
“She stays there until the umbilical cord falls off”

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

9.115 Dko męńt te du umbań wi
\( \text{d- ko} \) męńt te d- u u- mbań w- i
C9S place that until EXT LOC.DIST C2S side C2S GEN

\( \text{ubeeka dawo na itant} \)
\( \text{u-} \) beeka da- wo na i- tant
C2S town C9S be with C3P river
“That area, as far as the town, was well irrigated” (Lit: was with rivers)

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

9.116 Ŋnal ptiįs ji uşubal ubi uşub
\( \text{ŋ-} \) p- ţiįs ji u- şubal u- bi u- şub
1P like INF go_home before C2S rain C2S PAST C2S rain
“We want to go before it rains”
This construction can only be used if the action expressed in the first clause will happen in the future. The futurity need not be expressed syntactically with a future auxiliary.

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

9.117 Dya kawina ji mbi
   d- ya k- a- win-a ji m- bi
   1s Fut imperf Ser see c1s.obj before 1sSel Fut
ndo kakeć
   n- do k- a- keć
1sSel ingr imperf Ser die
“I will see him before I die”

To describe a specific time, or duration of time a clause introduced by wi “when/while” is used. This is in fact a headless relative clause (see section 9.4.3.5) with an implicit head wal “time”. (So wi is actually w- i “c2s gen”). The verb is marked like other relative clauses where the antecedent is a non-subject, i.e. with a selectional suffix -uŋ, and where appropriate, the imperfective prefix -k. (see section 9.4.3.2).

9.118 Wi abanuŋ ašē jot di meel
   wi a- ban -uŋ a- ṣë jot d- i meel
   when c1s touch sel sel seq fall ext loc.prox water
“When she arrived, she fell in the water”

9.119 Wi ńdeeŋ a gunshot , ńtiṣ
   wi ń- de -eŋ a- ba ń- ṭiṣ
   when 1p eat sel sel cmpltv 1p go_home
“When we had finished eating, we went home”

9.120 Wi Naala aŋoguŋ dko di
   wi Naala a- k- ńog -uŋ d- ko d- i
   when Nala c1s imperf be_close sel c9s place c9s gen
bafetuŋ awin Dama
   ba- feṭ -uŋ a- win Dama
1p dwell sel ser see Dama
“As Naala got close to where they lived, she saw Dama”

9.4.2.2 Manner

As shown in section 9.1.2 ji “like” can be followed by a clause to show hypothetical manner.
9.121 Ḍṭaafi kē uwo wo ji dnaṭ ţi
d- Ḍṭaafi kē u- wo wo ji d- naṭ ţ- i
1S dream DS C2S be be like 1S stand INT LOC.PROX
Kabaŋ ki bdék
ka- bāŋ k- i b- dēk
C3S side C3S GEN C5S sea
“I dreamt that I was standing at the side of the river”

The word jibi shows real manner:

9.122 Aluŋ kaniw jibi ajonuŋ
a- luŋ k- a- niw jibi a- jon -uŋ
C1S fut IMPERF SER build like SER last SEL
Kado
k- a- do
IMPERF SER do
“He will build as he always does”

9.123 Balōŋ bado jibi bameeŋ di
ba- loŋ ba- do jibi ba- me -eŋ d- i
C1P INDEF C1P do like C1P know SEL EXT LOC.PROX
Ikow yi baka
i- kow y- i baka
C5P head C3P GEN C1P.POSS
“Some did as they thought they should”

9.4.3 Relative clauses

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

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

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

9.4.3.1 Antecedent is the Subject of the Relative Clause

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

9.124  

\[
\text{ateem naa ambukun ni a- teem naan a- m- buk -uŋ ni c1S grandparent 1S.GEN c1S COREF produce SEL my mother} \\
\]

“My maternal grandmother (Lit: my grandparent who gave birth to my mother)”

9.125  

\[
\text{prata panjotun p- raata pa- n- jot -uŋ c6S bowl c6S COREF fall SEL} \\
\]

“The bowl which fell”

9.126  

\[
\text{Dwin nalaet ambomanun blaaŋ d- win na- lēt a- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ 1s see c1S tailor c1Sa COREF make SEL c5S wrap} \\
\]

“I saw the tailor who made the dress”

9.127  

\[
\text{Dwin nalaet ankambomanun blaaŋ d- win na- lēt a- n- k- m- boman -uŋ b- laañ 1s see c1S tailor c1S COREF IMPERF COREF make SEL c5S wrap} \\
\]

“I saw the tailor who is making the dress”

9.128  

\[
\text{Dwin nalaet ankluŋ blaaŋ d- win na- lēt a- n- k- n- luŋ 1s see c1S tailor c1S COREF IMPERF COREF FUT kaboman blaaŋ k- a- boman b- laañ IMPERF SER make c5S wrap} \\
\]

“I saw the tailor who is going to make the dress”

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

9.129  

\[
\text{Anug ntaam nambukiŋ u teek a- nug nj- ntaam na- m- buk -i -iŋ u- teek c1S buy c2P livestock c2P COREF produce MID SEL c2S first} \\
\]

“He bought the animals that were born first”

9.130  

\[
\text{kanem kankmbiŋ k- nēm k- n- k- m- bi -iŋ c3S week c3S COREF IMPERF C8 come SEL} \\
\]

“Next week” (lit. “the week that is coming”)

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

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

9.131  Nhiŋt  anwooŋ  aambi  amaaki
        niŋt  aniŋ  a- n-  wo  -oŋ  a- am-  bi  a- maak  -i
     c2s  man  c1s  coref  be  sel  c1s  neg  come  c1s  be_ill  cmpl
“The man who hasn’t come is ill”

9.132  Nhiŋt  anwooŋ  aankbi
        niŋt  aniŋ  a- n-  wo  -oŋ  a- an-  k-  bi
     c2s  man  c1s  coref  be  sel  c1s  neg  imperf  come
amaaki
a- maak  -i
c1s  be_ill  cmpl
“The man who’s not coming is ill”

9.133  Dwin  nalët  anwooŋ  aankluŋ
        d- win  na- lët  a- n-  wo  -oŋ  a- an-  k-  luŋ
     1s  see  c1s  tailor  c1s  coref  be  sel  c1s  neg  imperf  fut
kaboman  błaan
k-  a- boman  b- laañ
imperf  ser  make  c5s  wrap
“I saw the tailor who is not going make the dress”

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

9.134  Dwo  na  biŋt  batëb  banwooŋ
        d- wo  na  b- iŋt  ba- tëb  ba- n-  wo  -oŋ
     1s  be  and  c1p  man  c1p  two  c1p  coref  be  sel
baando  bi  de
ba- an-  do  bi  de
1c1p  neg  ingr  past  eat
“I am with two men who haven’t yet eaten”

9.4.3.2 Antecedent is a non-Subject in the Relative Clause

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

As with other relative clauses, the first verb word takes the selective suffix -uŋ and when necessary the imperfective prefix k-.
9.135 Alaalan umeeṣa wi akbomanuŋ
   a- laalan u- meeṣa w- i a- k- boman -uŋ
   c1S feel c2S table c2S GEN c1S IMPERF make SEL
   “She's touching the table that she's making”

9.136 Aŋal iko yi baknunguŋ
   a- ṭal i- ko y- i ba- k- nug -uŋ
   c1S like c3P thing c3P GEN c1P IMPERF buy SEL
   “She likes the things that they buy”

9.137 Aŋal iko yi bakbiin kanug
   a- ṭal i- ko y- i ba- k- bi -iŋ k- a- nug
   c1S like c3P thing c3P GEN c1P IMPERF FUT SEL IMPERF SER buy
   “She likes the things that they are going to buy”

9.138 Ƞšë pēnan kakaarta ki aṣinun
   ṑ- ṓ pēnan ka- kaarta k- i a- ṣin -un
   1P SEQ take_out c3S card c3S GEN c1AS father 1P.OBJ
   apituŋ un
   a- piit -uŋ un
   c1S write SEL 1P.subj
   “We got out the map that our father had drawn us”

9.139 Mënte uko wi ijaŋuŋ
   më- n- te u- ko w- i i- jak -uŋ
   1S.NEG NEG hear c2S thing c2S GEN 2S tell SEL
   “I didn’t understand what you said”

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

9.140 Ado ulemp wi bawoon
   a- do u- lemp w- i ba- wo -oŋ
   c1S do c2S work c2S GEN c1P be SEL
   baŋŋali
   ba- an- ṭal -i
   c1P NEG like CMPL
   “He does the work that they don’t like”

9.141 Aŋal iko yi bawoon baŋji banug
   a- ṭal i- ko y- i ba- wo -oŋ ba- an- ji ba- nug
   c1S like c3P thing c3P GEN c1P be SEL c1P NEG HAB c1P buy
   “She likes the things that they don’t usually buy”

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

9.142 nalemp ṇnaat i ṣompi awuluŋ Dama
na- lemp ṇ- aaŋ i ṣompi a- wul -uŋ Dama
C1S worker C1S female GEN Shompi C1S give SEL Dama

abukul
a- buk -ul
C1AS child 3s.Poss
“the servant that Shompi had given to his daughter Dama”

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

ŋsubal kañeen
ŋ- șubal ka- țeen
C2P year C3S five
“the servant that they had given five years wages to”

9.4.3.3 Object pronouns in Relative Clauses

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

9.144 ṇnaŋ ampokanaŋ apokën
naŋ a- m- pok -an -aŋ a- pok -ěŋ
person C1S COREF refuse 2P.SEL.OBJ SEL C1S refuse 1S.OBJ
“The person who rejects you, rejects me”

9.145 uko wi baktaparuluŋ
u- ko w- i ba- k- tapar -ul -uŋ
C2S thing C2S GEN C1P IMPERF accuse C1S.SEL.OBJ SEL
“The thing they accused him of”

9.146 itaka yi nwuliiŋ
i- taka y- i n- wul -i -iŋ
C4P money C4P GEN 1S.SEL give 2S.SEL.OBJ SEL
“the money that I gave you”

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

It is possible to relativise a noun which is the modifier in a genitive phrase in the relative clause (for example a possessor). The structure is the same as that used for objects, but a resumptive pronoun is required, either as an object pronoun (e.g. ɲa in example 9.147) or as a verbal possessive suffix (e.g. -ul in example 9.148).
9.147 **Uwit** ukaș na upi ukaș ți
  u- wit u- kaș na u- pi u- kaș ți
  c2s cow c2s male and c2s goat c2s male c2p GEN
bațuuŋ pñaaŋ pi ña ți
  ba- ūŋ p- ñaaŋ p- giatan ți
  c1p place sel c4s blood c4s gen c2p obj int loc.prox

*“the male cow and the male goat, whose blood had been put in the very sacred place”*

9.148 **Dwin** ñiiŋt i nmeęŋ abukul
  d- win ñ- ñiŋt i n- me -ęŋ a buk ul
  1s see c1s man gen 1s know sel c1as child 3s.poss

*I saw the man whose child I know*

9.149 **Bannooruŋ** baanjii bayaa
  ba- n- noor -ęŋ ba- an- ji ba- ya
  c1p coref get_tired sel c1p neg hab c1p go

*“Those who were tired didn’t go”*

9.150 **Biki** nwinuŋ du baankmbi
  bik- i n- win -ęŋ d- u ba- an- k- m- bi
  c1p gen 1s see sel ext loc.dist c1p neg imperf neg come

*“Those I saw there aren’t coming”*

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

9.149 **Bannooruŋ** baanjii bayaa
  ba- n- noor -ęŋ ba- an- ji ba- ya
  c1p coref get_tired sel c1p neg hab c1p go

*“Those who were tired didn’t go”*

9.150 **Biki** nwinuŋ du baankmbi
  bik- i n- win -ęŋ d- u ba- an- k- m- bi
  c1p gen 1s see sel ext loc.dist c1p neg imperf neg come

*“Those I saw there aren’t coming”*

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

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

Example 9.151 from the beginning of a story, shows two non-restrictive relative clauses. Each add extra information and each could be removed from the sentence, and it would still make sense.
Later on in the same story, there is an example of a restrictive relative clause:

9.152 kē ņaat ašē ya aya ṭup
   kē ņ- aat a- ṭep ya a- ya ṭup
dS c1S woman SER SEQ go SER go announce
baniw , ul i analuŋ maakan
ba- niw ul i a- ṇal -uŋ maakan
c5S fiancé(e) 3s.subj GEN c1S like SEL very
“The woman went to talk to her beloved, he who loved her a lot”

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

9.153 ame kē naţaşa i ņaat
   a- me kē na- ˈtasa i ņ- aat
c1S know COMP c1S teenager_(boy) GEN c1S woman
analuŋ maakan aya pfër baniw
a- ṇal -uŋ maakan a- ya p- fër ba- niw
c5S like SEL very SER go INF spend_the_night c5S fiancé(e)
“He knew that the boy who the girl loved a lot was going to spend the night with her”

Here are several other examples of restrictive relative clauses.
9.154 \( \text{Ašë \ ji \ « \ bayaanţ \ bambaanţ} \)
\( \text{a-\-šë \ ji \ ba-\-yaanţ \ ba-\-m- \ ba \ -aŋ} \)
\( \text{SER \ SEQ \ say \ C1P \ stranger \ C1P \ COREF \ CMPLT \ SEL} \)
\( \text{abi \ kë \ ņšē \ kiijana} \)
\( \text{a- \ bi \ ŋ- \ ſë \ kiij \ -an \ -a} \)
\( \text{SER \ come \ DS \ 1P \ SEQ \ steal \ CAUS \ MID} \)

“They said ‘The strangers who have just come are robbing us’”

9.155 \( \text{ñaanj \ anduwaniŋ} \)
\( \text{ñaanj \ a- \ n- \ duw \ -an \ -i \ -ŋ} \)
\( \text{Nabanka \ Biyagi \ person \ SER \ COREF \ call \ CAUS \ MID \ SEL} \)
\( \text{Nabanka \ Biyagi} \)
\( \text{ašë \ wo \ da} \)
\( \text{a-\-šë \ wo \ d- \ a} \)
\( \text{SER \ SEQ \ be \ C9S \ OBJ} \)

“A person called Nabanka Biyagi was there”

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

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

A participle can also be the head of a participle clause, and the following two examples are repeated from that section. Compare example 9.156, which contains a participle clause \( \text{dbomanani ŋkaaru} \) “car repairing” with example 9.157 which contains a relative.

9.156 \( \text{añooţ \ ukaaru \ wi \ nun \ du} \)
\( \text{a-\ñooţ \ u- \ kaaru \ w- \ i \ nun \ d- \ u} \)
\( \text{C1S \ take \ C2S \ car \ C2S \ GEN \ 1P.Poss \ EXT \ LOC.DIST} \)
\( \text{dko \ dbomanani} \)
\( \text{ŋkaaru} \)
\( \text{d- \ ko \ da- \ boman \ -an \ -i \ ŋ- \ kaaru} \)
\( \text{C9S \ place \ C9S \ make \ CAUS \ PTCP \ C2P \ car} \)

“He took our car to the garage (lit. the car repairing place)”

9.157 \( \text{dko \ dambomanuŋ} \)
\( \text{na \ ņhen \ yi} \)
\( \text{d- \ ko \ da- \ m- \ boman \ -uŋ \ na \ i- \ ņhen \ y- \ i} \)
\( \text{C9S \ place \ C9S \ make \ COREF \ SEL} \)
\( \text{and \ C3P \ hand \ C3P \ GEN} \)
\( \text{bañaaŋ} \)
\( \text{bajën} \)
\( \text{ba- \ ſaanj \ ba- \ jën} \)
\( \text{C1P \ person \ C1P \ black} \)

“a place made by human hands”
9.5 Other types of clause linking

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linking type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I            | Temporal  
| Is           | Temporal Succession  
| Ir           | Relative Time  
| Ic           | Conditional  
| II           | Consequence  
| Iic          | Cause  
| IIr          | Result  
| IIp          | Purpose  
| III          | Possible Consequence  
| IV           | Addition  
| IVu          | Unordered addition  
| IVs          | Same event addition  
| IVe          | Elaboration  
| IVc          | Contrast  
| V            | Alternatives  
| Vd           | Disjunction  
| Vr           | Rejection  
| Vs           | Suggestion  
| VI           | Manner  
| Vlr          | Real  
| Vlh          | Hypothetical  

Table 9.1: Dixon's classification of clause relations

9.5.1 Temporal (I)

9.5.1.1 Temporal Succession (Is)

As noted in section 8.7.3 and also section 9.2 the primary use of şë is to indicate a successive event, and it is commonly found in serial clause constructions:
9.158 **Bko bæ bi dêm bnuura ašë keṭ**

b- ko ba- bi dêm bnuura a- šë keṭ

C7S tree C7S PAST grow well SER SEQ die

“The tree grew well and then it died”

9.5.1.2 Relative Time (Ir)

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

9.159 **Wi abanųŋ ašë jot di meel**

wi a- ban -uŋ a- šë jot d- i meel

when C1S touch SEL SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.PROX water

“When she arrived, she fell in the water”

9.5.1.3 Conditional (Ic)

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

9.160 **Woli dtar abi kabi de**

woli d- tar a- bi ka- bi de

when; if 1S be fast SER come 1S.ALT FUT eat

“If I come back quickly, I’ll eat”

9.161 **Ǐya uṭeeh woli bnuur**

Ǐ y- a- uṭeeh woli b- nuur

1P go C2S field when; if C7S sunlight

*baanyiiki*

ba- an- yiik -i

C7S NEG be hot CMPL

“We will go to the fields, if it isn’t too hot”

9.162 **Tenan baṭi , ifën Ǐjah woli**

ten -an ba- ti i- fën Ǐ- jah woli

look at IMP C5S sky 2S count C2P star when; if

*ihinani*

i- hinan -i

2S be_able CMPL

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

9.163 **Woli abi , Ǐfiŋ uguk**

woli a- bi Ǐ- fiŋ u- guk

when; if C1S come 1P kill C2S chicken

“If/When he comes we will kill a chicken”
9.164 Woli naluŋ aya ńrisiya ñya na baka
woli na- luŋ a- ya ńrisiya ñ- ya na baka
when; if 2p FUT SER go church 1p go and C1p.OBJ
“If you are going to go to church, we will come with you.”

9.165 Apiitaar le našë fën te iñeen
a- piitaar le na- šë fën te i- ñeen
c1S whistle IRL 2p SEQ count until C3p ten
“When he whistles, you’ll count to ten”

9.166 Mpitaar le našë fën te iñeen
m- piitaar le na- šë fën te i- ñeen
1S.SEL whistle IRL 2p SEQ count until C3p ten
“When I whistle, you’ll count to ten”

9.167 nluŋ le ka itaka kaniw katoh
n- luŋ le ka i- taka ka- niw ka- toh
1S.SEL FUT IRL have C4p money 1S.ALT build C3s house
kaweek
ka- week
C3s big
“If I had the money I would buy a big house”

9.5.2 Consequence (II)

9.5.2.1 Cause (IIc)

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

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

9.168 Dduka Dakar ūiki dmaaki
d- duk -a Dakar ūiki d- maak -i
1s leave MID Dakar because 1s be_ill CMPL
“I stayed in Dakar because I was ill”

9.169 Jibi awooŋ aankak afiyaara
jibi a- wo -oŋ a- an- kak a- fiyaar -a
like 1s be SEL SER NEG REP SER believe C1s.OBJ
aşë ūup pyaanţi
a- şë ūup p- yaanţi
SER SEQ announce INF go_visiting
“As he still didn't believe her, he said he was going to go on a voyage”
9.170 Dlempar aşinan jibi nhiniŋ bţi
   d- lemp -ar a- şin -an jibi n- hina -îŋ bţi
1S work BEN C1AS father 2P.POSS like 1S.SEL be_strong SEL all
“I worked for your father as much as I could.”

The expression ukaŋ kë mark the semantic focal clause.

9.171 Dmaaki ukaañ kë dduka Dakar
   d- maak -i u- ka -aŋ kë d- duk -a Dakar
1S be_ill CMPL C2S have SEL COMP 1S leave MID Dakar
“I was ill, and for this reason I stayed in Dakar”

9.5.2.2 Result (IIr)

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

9.172 Jakan na baka iwo at'a'naan
   jakan na baka i- wo a- ta' naan
tell and C1P.OBJ 2S be C1AS young_sibling 1S.GEN
hënk itu bamëbanaan bnuura
hënk i- tu ba- mëb -an -aان b- nuura
so 2S place c7s attach CAUS 1S.OBJ c5S goodness
“Say that you are my sister, so that you will cause them to be good to me”

9.173 Đđeey nʊŋ bahank ŋa pa
   nj- deey nj- uŋ ba- hank nj- a pa
c2P grain c2P DEM.DIST C1P keep C2P OBJ in_order_to
ńşubal paaj na ulọŋ Ṉi ubon hënk
ń- şubal paaj na u- loŋ nj- i u- bon hënk
c2P year six and C2S INDEF C2P GEN C2S hunger so
bǎnaañ biki uتاak bawutna
ba- faaŋ biki i u- taak ba- wut -na
C1P person C1P GEN C2S country C1P leave INSTR
kakeť
k- a- keť
IMPERF SER die
“This grain will be kept for the seven years of famine so the people of the country will not die”

Result can also be expressed with the word keeri.

9.174 Nawutan keeri kaţaaf uko
   na- wut -an keeri k- a- ŋażaf u- ko
2P leave IMP in_that_case IMPERF SER worry C2S thing
wi faan
w- i faan
C2S GEN tomorrow
“So don’t worry about tomorrow!”
9.175 Đșal keeri aji mēnkkak
d- šal keeri a- ji m- ēn- k- kak
1S think in_that_case SER say 1S.NEG NEG IMPERF return

pwinan
p- win -an
INF see 2P.OBJ
“I decided, therefore, not to come back and see you.”

9.5.2.3 Purpose (IIp)

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

9.176 îlya duuţ | pa nhil njukan
ŋ- ya duuţ pa n- hil n- jukan
1P go up_there in_order_to 1S be_able 1S teach

uhula
u- hula
c3S Mankanya
“We're going to the Casamance, so that I can teach Mankanya”

9.177 îlya duuţ | pa pmeer bahula
ŋ- ya duuţ pa p- meer ba- hula
1P go up_there in_order_to INF get_to_know c1P Mankanya
“We're going to the Casamance to get to know the Mankanya”

9.178 îlya duuţ | pa Dama ahil
ŋ- ya duuţ pa Dama a- hil
1P go up_there in_order_to Dama c1S be_able

ajukan uhula
a- jukan u- hula
c1S teach c2S Mankanya
“We're going to the Casamance, so that Dama can teach Mankanya”

9.179 Aşē do kē bayaarada Taara
a- şē do kē ba- ya -ar -ad -a Taara
c1S SEQ do DS c1P go DIR BEN c1S.OBJ Sara

pa aniima
pa a- niim -a
in_order_to c1S marry c1S.OBJ
“He made them go and fetch Sarah, so that he could marry her.”

Purpose clauses which have the same subject as the initial clause can also be introduced by adding the imperfective prefix in front of the serial prefix.
“They dug wells near the river, in order to have fresh water.”

“I was running in order to escape Naala.”

“They took him to the top of a hill, in order to push him off.”

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

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

9.5.4.1 Unordered addition (IVu)

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

9.185 Dwo ti kañog pliik kë
d- wo ŭ- i ka- ňog p- liik kë
1s be INT LOC.PROX C3S area near C6S well DS
baat biki ubeeka bâkpen pbi
b- aat bik- i u- beeka ba- k- pën p- bi
C1P woman C1P GEN C2S town C1P IMPERF go_out INF come
kaliik meel
k- a- liik meel
IMPERF SER draw_water water
“I am near the well, and the women of the town are coming to draw water.”

9.186 Wi abaâŋ ptiini na Šompi aşë ya
wi a- ba- aŋ p- ŭini na Šompi a- şë ya
when C1S tmtv SEL INF speak and Šompi SER SEQ go
kë Šompi aţiîš katóhul
kë Šompi a- ŭiš ka- toh -ul
DS Šompi C1S go_home C3S house 3s.POSS
“When he had finished speaking to Šompi, he left and Šompi returned to his house.”

9.5.4.2 Same event addition (IVs)

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

9.187 Akat këş aşë win biiñt bawajanţ
a- kat këş a- şë win b- iiñt ba- wajanţ
C1S raise(eyes) eye SER SEQ see C1P man C1P three
kë banaţ du kadunul
kë ba- naţ d- u ka- dun -ul
DS C1P stand EXT LOC.DIST C3S front 3s.POSS
“He lifted his eyes and saw two men standing in front of him”

9.188 Batëb ŭi biiñt bukuŋ
ba- têb ŭ- i b- iiñt buk- ŭŋ
C1P two INT LOC.PROX C1P man C1P DEM.DIST
bapënnna da aşë ya Tugtor
ba- pën -na d- a a- şë ya Tugtor
C1P go_out CFG C9S OBJ SER SEQ go Ziguinchor
“Two of the men left there, going to Ziguinchor”
9.5.4.3 Elaboration (IVe)

Elaboration is achieved simply by juxtaposing two clauses.

9.189 Kë Taara aşë wo aanhil pbuk
   kë Taara a-şë wo a-èn-hil p-buk
DS Sara SER SEQ be C1S NEG be_able INF give_birth

anka napoṭ
a-èn-ka na-poṭ
C1S NEG have C1S child
“But Sarah was unable to give birth, she had no children.”

9.5.4.4 Contrast (IVc)

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

9.190 Dwin Naşibaţi na këş naan aşë wo
   d- win Naşibaţi na këş naan a-şë wo
1S see God and eye 1S.GEN SER SEQ be
mënkeţi
m-èn-keţ-i
1S.NEG NEG die CMPL
“I saw God with my own eyes, but I didn’t die”

9.191 Naweeek awo Dama aşë wo
   na-week a-wo Dama a-şë wo
C1S elder_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be
aanuura ĭi bten
a-èn-nuura ĭ-i b-ten
SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks
“The elder one was Dama, but she was not beautiful to look at”

9.192 baṭa’ul babi du dko
   ba-ṭa-ul ba- bi d- u d-ko
C1P young_sibling 3s.POSS C1P come EXT LOC.DIST C9S place
di awooŋ aşë wo baanhinan
EXT LOC.PROX C1S be SEL SER SEQ be C1P NEG be_able_to
aṅoga ŭiki bañaaŋ
a-ńog-a ŭiki ba-ñaan
SER be_close C1S.OBJ because(of) C1P person
batumi
ba- tum -i
C1P be_numerous CMPL
“His brothers came to the place where he was, but they couldn't get near because there were so many people”
“Abel was a shepherd, but Cain was a farmer”

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

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

“They came to calm him but he refused”

“He₁ wanted to kill him₂ but he₁ was afraid of the people”
9.198 Mënţ ul akdukiŋ na iko
    mënţ ul a- k- duki -iŋ na i- ko
    that 3ssubj C1S IMPERF stay SEL and C3p thing
    yi nu , napoţ i ikbukuŋ
    y- i nu na- pot i i- k- buk -uŋ
    C3p GEN 2s.Poss C1S child GEN 2s IMPERF produce SEL
    akdukiŋ na ya
    a- k- duki -iŋ na y- a
    C1s IMPERF stay SEL and C3p OBJ
    “He won’t inherit your things, it’s the child who you will engender who will inherit them”

Note that şë on its own is not contrastive.

9.199 aten utaak bți ašë win udu
    a- ten u- taak bți a- šë win u- du
    c1s look_at C2s country all SER SEQ see C2s smoke
    kë ukpën da
    kë u- k- pën d- a
    DS C2s NEG go_out C9s OBJ
    “He looked at all the country and saw smoke rising there”

Neither is a redundant kë:

9.200 Aţup baka uko unţëpuŋ , kë
    a- ťup baka u- ko u- n- ţëp -uŋ kë
    C1s speak C1p.OBJ C2s thing C2s COREF pass SEL DS
    bašë lënk maakan
    ba- šë lënk maakan
    C1S SEQ tremble very
    “He told them what had happened and they were very afraid”

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

9.201 Iten ti iko yi naan bți
    i- ten t- i i- ko y- i naan bți
    2s look_at INT LOC.PROX C3p thing C3p GEN 1s.GEN all
    bë iiinwin win nin kako kaloŋ ki
    bë i- in- win win nin ka- ko ka- loŋ k- i
    CNTR 2s NEG see see NEG C3s container C3s INDEF C3s GEN
    nu
    nu 2s.Poss
    “You looked through all my things, but didn't find any pot of yours”
9.202 Aji  thi  ušalul  agar
    a-  ji-  t-  i  u-šal -ul  a- gar
   c1s  say  INT  LOC.PROX  c2s  mind  3s.POSS  c1s  scatter
baniw  na  a  bê  aankṭup  bañaan
   ba-  niw  na  a  bê  a-ën- k-  ṭup  ba- ūań
 c5s  fiancé(e)  and  OBJ  CNTR  c1s  NEG  IMPERF  speak  c1p  person
“He thought that he would break off the engagement but not tell anyone”

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

9.203 Mënhil  kado  nin  uko
   m-  ēn-  hil  k-  a-  do  nin  u-  ko
  1s.NEG  NEG  be able  IMPERF  SER  do  NEG  c2s  thing
uloŋ  bê  iindo  bi  ban  da
   u-  loŋ  bê  i-  in-  do  bi  ban  d-  a
 c2s  INDEF  CNTR  2s  NEG  INGR  PST  arrive  c9s  OBJ
“I can do nothing until you have arrived there.” (Lit “[...] while you have not
arrived there”)

9.204 Mënke  bê  mëntup  uko
   m-  ēn-  k-  de  bê  m-  ēn-  ṭup  u-  ko
  COREF  NEG  IMPERF  cat  CNTR  COREF  NEG  speak  c2s  thing
wi  nji  nwooŋ  i  kaṭup
   w-  i  nji  n-  wo-ŋ  i  k-  a-  ṭup
 c2s  GEN  1s  1s.SUB  must  SEL  GEN  IMPERF  SER  speak
“I will not eat until I have said the thing I must say.” (Lit “[...] while I have
not said the thing I must say”)

9.205 Nin  aloŋ  awutan  kamuur
    nin  a-  loŋ  a-  wut  -an  k-  a-  muur
   NEG  c1s  INDEF  c1s  phrb  CAUS  IMPERF  SER  cross
plëman  bê  nfa  maambani
   p-  lëman  bê  nfa  ma-  am-  ban  -i
 c4s  door  CNTR  morning  c8  NEG  arrive  CMPL
“No-one must go out the door until morning.” (Lit “[...] while morning has
not arrived”)

9.5.5 Alternatives (V)

9.5.5.1 Disjunction (Vd)

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

9.206 Alemp  thi  ṭe  këme  aya  ubeeka
    a-  lemp  ţ-  i  u-  ţe  këme  a-  ya  u-  beeka
   c1s  work  INT  LOC.PROX  c2s  field  or  c1s  go  c3s  town
“He’s working in the field or he’s gone to town”
9.207  Woli baanfiyaaru  awo baantiinku
woli ba- an- fiyaar -u a- wo ba- an- tiink -u
if C1P NEG believe 2S.POSS SER be C1P NEG hear 2S.POSS
“If they don’t believe you or listen to you...”

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

9.208  Awuluŋ  un mnhina manwoŋ
a- wul -un mn- hina ma- n- wo -oŋ
c1S give SEL 1p.subj C8 power C8 COREF be SEL
9.209  Êhokan  kado kalempar baka
ň- hokan k- a- do k- a- lemp -ar baka
1P prefer IMPERF SER do IMPERF SER work BEN C1P.OBJ
kë f di pkeť  ñi  ndiś
kë d- i p- keť ţ- i p- ndiś
d5 C9S DEM.PROX INF die INT LOC.PROX C4S desert
“We prefer to be made to work for them, rather than to die in the desert”

9.210  Êhokan  ťaŋ ahaj  ţi pdo
u- hokan ťaŋ ahaj ţ- i p- do
c2S prefer person C1S suffer INT LOC.PROX INF do
bnuura kë di ahaj ţi pdo
bnuura kë d- i a- haj ţ- i p- do
well d5 C9S DEM.PROX C1S suffer INT LOC.PROX INF do
bûtan
b- uţaan
c5S evil
“It is preferable for someone to suffer whilst doing good, rather than to suffer in doing evil”
9.5.6 Manner (VI)

9.5.6.1 Real (VIr)

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

9.211 **Aluŋ kaniw jibi ajonuŋ**
a- luŋ k- a- niw jibi a- jon -uŋ
   c1S FUT IMPERF SER build like SER last SEL

**kado**
   k- a- do
   IMPERF SER do

“He will build as he always does”

9.5.6.2 Hypothetical (VIh)

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

9.212 **Dțaafi kē uwo wo ji dnaţ ti**
d- tąאfı kē u- wo wo ji d- naţ t- i
   1S dream DS c2S be be like 1S stand INT LOC.PROX

**kabaŋ ki bdēk**
   ka- baŋ k- i b- dēk
   c3S side c3S GEN c5S sea

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

9.6 Conclusion

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

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

This is equally true of the types given by Dixon where the majority have no formal features beyond the linking word.
Table 9.2: Summary of formal differences in subordinate clause types

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Chapter 10 - Coherence in Texts

In this chapter I will discuss some of the different ways of creating continuity and discontinuity above the sentence level to make texts coherent. Most of the examples will come from texts of a narrative genre. I start with a discussion of participant reference, and then goes on to describe various renewal devices and other points of departure.

This is only an overview, and an in depth study is a matter for another thesis.

10.1 Participant reference

A primary aspect of what makes a text coherent is how participants are referenced from sentence to sentence within it. For the purpose of this discussion, a participant in a text is any entity that plays an ongoing role, and so may be human, animal or inanimate. Participants can be divided into major participants that play a significant role in the story and minor participants who do not. A participant is introduced, and once introduced they are referenced by noun, pronoun, or just a verbal prefix and the following sections describe how this is done in Mankanya.

10.1.1 Introduction of participants

New participants in a text are introduced with a noun phrase often followed by adjectives, a relative clause or a noun phrase in apposition.

```
Dka nantohi ajug katoh
 1S have C1S elder C1AS owner C3S house
anniimuŋ baat bateb
 1S COREF marry SUB C1P woman C1P two
```

“I’ll tell you about an old man, head of his household, who had married two wives.”
Example 10.1 is from the beginning of a story, and starts with a formulaic
introduction dka “I have”, and the participant being introduced is the
syntactic object of that verb. Here there is no proper noun, but the common
noun nantoḥi “old man”, is followed by a descriptive noun phrase and a
descriptive relative clause.

10.2 Ubi ka ţfa, di untanka
   u- bi ka ţfa d- i u- ntanka
   C2S PST have in_the_past EXT LOC.PROX C2S village
uloŋ, niinţ nawaap naţaf
   u- loŋ ţ- liiŋt na- waap na- ţaf
   C2S INDEF C1S man C1S seller C1S elderly
ammaakuŋ aniimar na napoţ ņaat
   a- m- maak -uŋ a- niim -ar na na- poţ ţ- aat
   C1S COREF be_ill SUB C1S marry BEN with C1S child C1S woman
   "There was once, in a village, an old ill seller, who married a young
   woman."

Example 10.2 is also from the beginning of a story, and starts with a
different formulaic introduction ubi ka ţfa “it had in the past”, roughly
equivalent to the English “Once upon a time”. This is followed by a
geo graphical scene-setting clause, before the participant is introduced as the
object, again with a descriptive noun phrase, and a relative clause. The
sentence finishes with a scene-setting action clause.

Note that in the last two examples, the two characters are major
participants. Despite not having names their importance is marked by the
absence of the indefinite particle -loŋ. Contrast this with the following
introduction of a minor participant:

10.3 Kē ņaat aloŋ naţaf kē aşe win
   kē ţ- aat a- loŋ na- ţaf kē a- şe win
   DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS SER SEQ see
jibi Naala ańaγani ti katoh
   jibi Naala a- ŋagan -i ţ- i ka- toh
   like Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house
   "An old lady saw that Naala was sad in the house"

In example 10.4 a character is introduced mid-narrative, along with some
minor characters (the villagers), where the major characters are Hare and
Hyena. She is introduced with a proper name, and a descriptive noun phrase
in apposition.
10.4 Kë Ţwaraati ahar umaalu na bayiț
kë Ţwaraati a- har u- maalu na ba- yiț
DS Tswaraati C1AS wife C2S hare and C1P relative
baka bți kë babi ațoo awooni
baka bți kë ba- bi a- țo a- wooni
C1P.OBJ all DS C1P come SER sit SER cry
“Tswaraati, wife of the hare, with all their relatives, came, sat and cried.”

Again in example 10.5 a minor character in the text (here an historical chief), is introduced with proper name and descriptive noun phrase.

10.5 Așë wo kë Jonu abuk Unjon
a- şë wo kë Jonu a- buk Unjon
SER SEQ be DS Jonu C1AS child Unjon

apayan pših
a- pay -an p- ših
SER raised CAUS C6S kingdom/throne
“So, Jonu, Unjon’s son, was raised to the throne.”

In animal stories major participants are often just introduced with a common noun used as a proper name.

10.6 Umaalu na Uloŋ ńawo ǯi
u- maalu na u- ǯo ńa- wo ǯ- i
C2S hare and C2S elephant C2P be INT LOC.PROX
dko dloolan
d- ko d- loolan
c9S place c9S one
“Hare and Elephant lived in the same place”

Sometimes the common nouns are formally converted to proper names by replace the class prefix u- with prefix ǯ.

10.7 Ŧniṕu na Ŧmaalu bațiini unuur
trzymać na Ŧ- maalu ba- țiini u- nuur
NAME hyena and NAME hare C1P speak C2S day

uloŋ pluŋ kaya pkiji maaj
u- ǯo p- luŋ k- a- ya p- kiji maaj
C2S INDEF INF FUT IMPERF SER go INF steal millet
“Hyena and Hare talked one day of going to steal some millet”

It is notable that unlike many languages, demonstratives play no role in the introduction of participants.

10.1.2 Participants which are syntactic subjects

Once a participant has been introduced, further reference to it depends on its context.
Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) suggest a way of describing participant reference in relation to the following contexts.

- the subject is the same as the previous proposition.
- the subject is the hearer of the preceding reported discourse
- the subject was as non-subject in the previous proposition
- all other cases of change of subject

Languages generally have a default rule for each of these cases, which is sometimes over-ridden for stylistic reasons.

I will now consider each of the above contexts.

Where the subject of a proposition is the same as the subject of the previous proposition then no noun or pronoun is needed and the verb takes the serial verb prefix *a-*.

Example 10.8 from an animal folk tale has two participants Hare and Tortoise, which although anthropomorphised, still take the class 2 prefixes normal for animals. The first verb therefore has the class 2 plural prefix *ŋa-*. However, though they continue to be the subject in the following two verbal groups, the prefix is substituted by *a-* in both cases.

Example 10.9 illustrates the same situation with human participants though this example doesn’t have a noun as an initial subject.
“They came and they learnt Mankanya, spoke it and also wrote it”

If the subject is the hearer of the preceding reported discourse then a nominal phrase is normally used.

“They said to Goat ‘You urinate inside’ ”

“And Goat answered ‘...’ ”

When the subject participant was a non-subject in the preceding proposition then the standard agreeing verb prefix is used.

“The farmer also shot him (the goat’s child), and he (the goat’s child) cried and left.”

In all other cases where the subject changes then a noun phrase is used.

“The bucket was raised from the well, the water came out”

The previous two examples also have the kë different subject marker which is explained in more detail in chapter 11.
10.1.3 Participants which are not syntactic subjects

In most cases, after their first mention, participants that are not subjects in the current proposition, are referenced by object pronouns or suffixes. This is the case when the non subject participant was a subject in the previous proposition.

10.14 kë uñiiŋ usë gat ituk kë bašë
dS c2S hyena c2S SEQ vomit c3P manioc dS c1P SEQ

mob wa
mob w- a
catch c2S OBJ

“And Hyena vomited manioc and so they hit him”

10.15 a Wi abanuŋ aşë jot di meel
wi a- ban -uŋ a- şë jot d- i meel
when c1S touch SUB SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.prox water

“When she arrived she threw herself in the water”

b Kë meel mankak alutana apēnan
kë meel man- kak a- lut -an -a a- pēn -an
dS water c8 REP SER jump CAUS c1S.OBJ SER go_out CAUS

bdig
b- dig
c5S outside

“and the water threw her out again, and she landed outside”

It is also the case when the participant was not a subject in the preceding proposition. In the following example Hare and Hyena are bakan “them” in both propositions.

10.16 Aneejan bakan tìi untabanka ala
a- neejan bakan t- i u- ntabanka a- la
SER insert c1P.OBJ INT LOC.prox c2S village SER seek

bakan meet katoh kanuura
bakan meet ka- toh ka- nuura
c1P.OBJ inside c3S house c3S good

“They₁ (villagers) brought them₂ (Hare and Hyena) into the village and they₁ looked for a nice room for them₂”
10.17 **ahaabëş** **inkuti** **yi** **bahankunj**
   a- **haabëş** i- **nkuti** y- i **ba**- hank -uŋ
   1S open C4P granary C4P GEN C1P keep SUB

**ndeeey** **ašë** **waap** **ña** **bañaaŋ**
   4C i- **waap** 4P **ña** a **bañaaŋ**
   c2P grain SER SEQ sell C2P OBJ C1P person

“He opened the granary where they had stored the grain and sold it to the people”

Sometimes however, if the participant is a 3rd person object in both propositions then it can be omitted in the second one.

10.18 **Kë** **untaayi** **ušë** **yeenk** **pben**
   kë u- **untaayi** u- šë **yeenk** p- **BEN**
   6S c2S demon c2S SEQ receive 6S swelling

**amëban**
   a- **mëb** -an
   SER carry CAUS

“The spirit took the lump, and carried it”

10.19 **Ajej** **plak** **ploŋ** **apaña** **bkw**
   a- **jej** p- **laak** p- **loŋ** a- **paf** -na b- **kow**
   1S take 6S stone 4S INDEF 1S put INSTR 5S head

“He took the stone and lay his head on it”

10.20 **Amar** **pko** **ploŋ** **tī**
   a- **mar** p- **ko** p- **loŋ** t- i
   1S pick_(fruit_etc.) 6S fruit 6S INDEF INT LOC.PROX

**bko** **mënť** **ade** , **akak** **awul**
   b- ko **mënť** a- **de** a- **kak** a- **wul**
   c7S tree that SER eat SER return SER give

**ayinul**, **kë** **adee**
   a- **yin** -ul kë a- **de** -e
   1AS husband 3S.POSS 6S 1S eat CMPL

“She picked some fruit from that tree, ate it, and returned to her husband, gave him some, and he ate”

This can also be the case with double object verbs.

10.21 **Ajej** **kapoom** **akiteš** **ka** **awul**
   a- **jej** ka- **poom** a- **kit** -eš k- a a- **wul**
   1S take 3S bread SER break CAUS 3S OBJ SER give

**baka**
   baka
   C1P.OBJ

“He took the bread, broke it and gave it to them”
Chapter 10

10.22 ( **Balanta** )... **apënan**  

The Balantas brought out a young woman and gave (her) to him.

In a presentation, Cobbinah (2018) noted similar behaviour in the related languages of Jóola Kujireray and Baïnounk Gubëeher.

When a non-subject participant has played no role in the previous proposition, then normally a full noun phrase is used.

10.23 a **kë umalu u- gat pdede**  

Hare only vomited the meal.

b **kë u- niin u- sé gat ituk**  

But Hyena vomited manioc.

10.1.4 VIP strategies

Sometimes, there are quite long passages in texts that do not follow the default behaviours given above. This is usually because a major character is being specially treated. The special treatment of a major character is referred to as using a VIP (Very Important Person) strategy by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) as the character is receiving special treatment like a real life VIP.

For example in the story “Hare and Hyena steal some millet”:

10.24 **Aji na uhar wa uya kë najaar**  

He told his wife to go, but the farmer hit her too. She cried and went back and he (Hyena) said to her.

Look at the passage laid out in chart 10.1 on page 257. The references follow the rules described above, until the last one. Here we would expect a
new noun phrase as the action switches from Hyena’s wife back to Hyena. However, we find Hyena referred to here just by a verbal prefix.

This seems to be possible as Hyena is the major participant. As we will see in Chapter 11 kë marks a switch in participant so we know the u- prefix does not refer to Hyena’s wife.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Phrase (subject)</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun Phrase (Object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aji</td>
<td>Ser.say</td>
<td>na uhar wa with c2S.wife c2S.GEN “to his wife” (Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“He said”</td>
<td>(Hyena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uya</td>
<td>c2S.go</td>
<td>“she went” (Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“she went”</td>
<td>(Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kë najaar</td>
<td>akak aya tap</td>
<td>wa 3s.OBJ “her” (Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS C1S.farmer “but the farmer”</td>
<td>C1S.REP SER.go hit</td>
<td>“he also hit” (Farmer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“he also hit”</td>
<td>(Farmer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kë</td>
<td>uwooni</td>
<td>na wa with c2S.OBJ “to her” (Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS “and”</td>
<td>C2S.cry</td>
<td>“she cried”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“she cried”</td>
<td>(Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>“she left” (Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SER.go</td>
<td>“she left” (Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kë</td>
<td>ukak aji</td>
<td>na wa with c2S.OBJ “to her” (Hyena’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS “and”</td>
<td>C2S.encore SER.say</td>
<td>“he said again” (Hyena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“he said again”</td>
<td>(Hyena)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chart 10.1: A VIP strategy*

Another example can be found in a different text.
“Now they (the women) dropped the bucket down the well, it started to go 'klung', the water slopped out, going 'thar, thar, thar', and he heard it again.”

The last u- in ukak refers to Hare, even though the bucket uses the same prefix.

In the both the previous examples, the sentence cited is the second repetition of a similar event, and so this could make it easier for the strategy to work as the hearer is expecting the same character to act.

### 10.2 Linking

Various devices are used to link sentences, paragraphs or episodes in a text.

#### 10.2.1 Demonstrative aŋ

A common method of linking propositions is using the neutral demonstrative aŋ often in combination with the word ko “thing”. In example 10.26 proposition b opens with uko waŋ “this thing” which refers back to the whole of proposition a.

10.26 a. Dwul naweeku itaka itum
d- wul na- week -u i- taka i- tum1s give c1s elder_sibling 2s.poss c4p money c4p many

maakan

very

“I'm giving you brother lots of money.”
Coherence in Texts

b. Uko waŋ ukyuuŋ baŋaŋ bi
   C2S thing C2S DEM C2S IMPERF show SEL C1P person all
banwoong na iwi kë iwo najinṭ
   C1P COREF be SEL and 2S DS 2S be C1S clean
ți uko untëpunŋ.

“This shows all those who are with you that you are pardoned of the thing that happened”

In example 10.27 proposition b starts with niiŋt aŋ “this man” referring back to the man introduced in proposition a.

10.27 a. Niiŋt aŋ aloŋ i bajaaŋ bado
   ŋ- niiŋt a- aloŋ i ba- ja aŋ ba- do
c1S man C1S INDEF GEN C1P HAB SEL C1P do
Korneliyut.
Korneliyut
Cornelius
“There was a man called Cornelius”

b. Niiŋt anŋ aji dëman akut afiyyar
   ŋ- niiŋt anŋ a- ji dëm -an a- kut a- fiyyar
   C1S man DEM C1S HAB grow caus SER also_be SER believe
Našibaṭi
Našibaṭi
God
“This man believed and worshipped God”

Example 10.28 starts with a temporal clause containing the noun phrase iko yaŋ “this thing”, referring to the events described in preceding sentences.

10.28 Wi iko yaŋ iṭëpunŋ ajon , kë
   wi l- ko y- aŋ i- iṭëp -uŋ a- jon kë
   when C3P thing C3P dem C3P pass SEL C1S last DS
bašë bi aji na Naala : « Šaas
   ba- šë bi a- ji na Naala šaas
   C1P SEQ PST SER say and Nala your_father
amaaki . »
a- maak -i
C1S be_ill CMPL
“Sometime later, Naala was told 'Your father is ill' ”
10.2.2 Renewal

Another linking method is the use of renewal, that is the use of structures that repeat something already stated in the text.

10.2.2.1 Nominal renewal

A frequent form of nominal renewal is the structure NOUN mënţan Cunj where C is a nominal prefix, mënţan is an invariable demonstrative and uŋ is the distal demonstrative root. It is only the distal demonstrative uŋ that is used in this construction and not the others i.e. i proximal, undu extra-distal and aŋ neutral.

10.29 Uşë kaban ti bko mënţan
   u- şë k- a- ban ţ- i b- ko mënţan
   c2s SEQ IMPERF SER arrive INT LOC.prox c7s tree DEM
bun , aşë jun uteek ...
b- uŋ a- şë jun u- teek
c5s DEM.dist SER SEQ begin c2s first
“He arrived at that tree and he started first.”

10.30 Kë batasa mënţan bukun , ñaan
   kê ba- ţaşă mënţan buk- uŋ ñaan
   ds c1p teenager_(boy) DEM c1p DEM.DIST person
anduwaniŋ Nabanka Biyagi aşë wo
   a- n- duw -an -i -iŋ Nabanka Biyagi a- şë wo
c1s COREF call CAUS MID SUB Nabanka Biyagi c1s SEQ be
da ...
d- a
c9s OBJ
“Amongst those boys, there was someone called Nabanka Biyagi”

Sometimes this form of renewal is used with the word wori “moment” to create a temporal renewal.

10.31 Kë uşë pēn wori mënţan wun , kê
   kê u- şë pēn wori mënţan w- uŋ kê
   ds c2s SEQ go_out time DEM c2s DEM.dist DS
ŋakak untanka
   ťa- kak u- ntanka
c2p return c2s village
“At that moment, he got out, and they returned to the village”

A nominal renewal of this form can refer to a whole situation, rather than a participant, or one aspect of it.
10.32 Kë Dama aşë win kë ayin baka
kë Dama a- şë win kë a- yin baka
DS Dama SER SEQ sec COMP C1AS husband C1P.OBJ

aŋal Naala apela
a- ŋal Naala a- pel -a
c1S like Nala SER be_more c1S.OBJ
“Dama saw that their husband loved Nala more than her”

ţi dup mënтан dup di
t- i d- un mënţan d- un d- i
INT LOC.PROX c9S DEM.DIST DEM C9S DEM.dist C9S GEN
di Dama abaŋ kabi şoor
d- i Dama a- ba -aŋ k- a- bi şoor
c9S DEM.PROX Dama c1S CMPLTV SUB IMPERF SER PST hate

şoor Naala ..
şoor Naala
hate Nala
“In this situation, Dama began to hate Nala.”

10.2.2.2 Verbal renewal
It also possible to use verbal renewal, where a verbal part of the sentence is repeated. Example 10.33 comes from the start of a new episode in a story. Elephant has succeeded in trapping Hare, and the next episode tells of his return to the village. The clause uşë tuh wa ţi bhër “he trapped him in the hole” in sentence 10.33a closes an episode, and a new episode is started by repeating the same phrase (with just a slight modification) in 10.33b.

10.33 a Uwajanţën kë uloŋ uşë tuh wa
u- waj -anţën kë u- loŋ u- şë tuh w- a
C2S three ORD DS C2S INDEF C2S SEQ close C2S OBJ

ţi bhër
t- i b- hër
INT LOC.PROX C5S hole

b Wal wi usaan aţuh wa
w- al w- i u- şa -aŋ a- tuh w- a
C2S moment C2S GEN C2S SEQ SUB SER close C2S OBJ

ţi bhër, kë uşë ţij mnob
ţ- i b- hër kë u- şë ţij m- nob
INT LOC.PROX C5S hole DS C2S SEQ bring C8 honey ...

muŋ ...
ma- un
C8 DEM.DIST
“The third time he closed him in the hole. When he had closed him in the hole, he took the honey ...”
Later in the same story there is another example of verbal renewal. This time the renewal (the repetition of *uşë pën* "he got out") marks the start of the conclusion.

10.34 umaalu kë usë pën, aşë mook
u- maalu kë u- şë pën a- şë mook
c2S hare DS c2S SEQ go_out SER SEQ hug

Thuaraatí aji: « ... »
Thuaraatí a- ji
Tswaraatsi SER say

Kë usë pën wori mënţan wuŋ kë
kë u- şë pën wori mënţan w- uŋ kë
ds c2s seq go_out time c2s dem dist ds

ŋakak untanka
ŋa- kak u- ntanka
c2p return c2s village
“Hare got out of the hole, embraced Tswaraatsi and said ’...’. When he had got out, they went to the village”

Example 10.35 shows a verbal renewal in the story of Nabanka Biyagi. After a war Nabanka Biyagi finally becomes king. Then the narrator gives us some background information about the royal compound. To restart the main narrative the narrator uses verbal renewal (the repetition of *aneejan pših* “he became king”).

10.35 Nabanka Biyagi kë anaţa, kë
Nabanka Biyagi kë a- naţ -a kë
Nabanka Biyagi DS c1s stand MID DS

bahula baţeŋana, kë aneejan
ba- hula ba- ţeŋan -a kë a- neejan
C1P Mankanya c5s sacrifice MID DS c1s insert
pših
p- şih
C6S kingdom/throne

[ ... Sentences containing background information not shown for clarity... ]

Kë Nabanka Biyagi kë aneejan pših
kë Nabanka Biyagi kë a- neejan p- şih
dS Nabanka Biyagi DS c1s insert c6s kingdom/throne
“Nabanka Biyagi stood up, the Mankanya made sacrifices, and he became king. (Background information about the name of the place) Nabanka Biyagi became king...”

These examples show that verbal renewal is a device that is used to provide coherence, while at the same time marking important points in the text e.g. episode changes.
10.3 Points of departure

In a text there are often discontinuities in the thread of the story, and these can be a jump in time, a change of location, or a change of reference.

The structures that occur at discontinuities to maintain cohesion are sometimes referred to as points of departure. Points of departure in Mankanya are usually sentence initial.

Temporal points of departure are often time noun phrases.

10.36 Ti usubal ulon, ti
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{INT} & \text{LOC.prox} & \text{C2S} & \text{INT} \\
\text{time} & \text{at} & \text{the} & \text{time} \\
\end{array}
\]

wal wi mnkaaju, w- al w- i m- nkaaju

“One year, at the time of the cashew harvest ...”

10.37 Na utaalke uket, wal wi
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{C2S} & \text{evening} & \text{C2S} & \text{GEN} \\
night & \text{evening} & \text{time} \\
\end{array}
\]
nanto̩hi ayaan, ke naaat ašë ya
na- ntohi a- ya -aq kē ni- at a- šë ya

“in the middle of the night, when the old man had gone, the woman went to talk with her lover”

They can also be headless relative clauses, with an implied head of wal “time”.

Locational points of departure can be locative phrases:

10.38 Ti ptoof pi bnkan kē
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{INT} & \text{LOC.prox} & \text{C4S} & \text{C5S} \\
\text{in} & \text{the} & \text{half} & \text{salt-marsh} \\
\end{array}
\]

našē to pfaasēr bka bi na
na- šē to p- faasēr b- ka b- i na

“in the middle of the salt-marsh, they stopped to share out their gains”
However, narratives often keep the “spotlight” on the main participants, so changes of location are often connected with a movement verb.

10.39  

Aşë  tool  aban  tun  kawuj  
ā-  şē  tool  a-  ban  ŭ-  uň  ka-  wuj  
SER  SEQ  leave  SER  arrive  INT  LOC.dist  C3S  entrance  

untabanka  

u-  ntabanka  
c2S  village  

“They left and arrived at the entrance of a village”

10.40  

Wi  nyaan  aban  ti  Gambi  
wi  Ż-  ya-  ān  a-  ban  ŭ-  i  Gambi  
when  1P  go  SER  arrive  INT  LOC.prox  Gambia  

awala  ti  pmuur  bdēk  
a-  wala  ŭ-  i  p-  muur  b-  dēk  
SER  come_down  INT  LOC.prox  INF  cross  C5S  sea  

“When we had gone a while, we arrived in Gambia, and got down to cross the river”

Sometimes a point of departure can be giving a reason for the following action, for example using jibi.

10.41  

Jibi  untanka  upoţun  ,  kē  baniw  
jibi  u-  ntanka  u-  poţ  -uň  kē  ba-  niw  
like  c2S  village  c2S  be_small  SUB  DS  C5S  fiancé(e)  

ţaaţ  natēbênten  ame  ...  
ţ-  aaţ  na-  tēb  -enţen  a-  me  
c1S  woman  c1S  two  ORD  SER  know  

“As the village was small, the second lover knew...”

10.42  

Jibi  nkø  nundu  naašan  awo  
jibi  Ż-  ko  Ż-  undu  na-  ša-  ān  a-  wo  
like  c2P  animals  c2P  DEM.VDIST  c2P  SEQ  SUB  SER  be  
ti  buwuukar  ,  awuuk  ukomal  
ti  ŭ-  b-  wuuk  -ar  a-  wuuk  u-  komal  
INT  LOC.prox  C5S  push  RCP  SER  push  C2S  hippo  

“As those animals were pushing, they pushed the hippo”

Another common point of departure structure is the use of hēnk followed by a relative structure introduced by di, which bases the new action on what has just gone on before.
So this is what she (Dama) kept doing to Nala.

And so Nala went at night, she found the spirits …

And so Dama also went at night, she found the spirits …
Chapter 11 - The particle kë

This chapter discusses the particle kë which is found throughout natural texts, but is far less frequently found in elicited sentences. Trifković (1969) glosses it simply as NARR (for narrative particle) in her texts at the back of her volume, and doesn’t describe it at all. When asked the meaning of the particle, native speakers tend to say “and” or “but”, which could be translations in certain contexts, but inadequately describes its behaviour.

It’s major use is to mark a different subject:

11.1 Kë nduba akak atëfa aţi , kë
    kë nduba a- kak a- tëfa a- tî kë
    DS boy c1S REP SER land_on_ones_feet SER run DS

nanug btuur kë aţi , kë naţoŋ
na- nug b- tuur kë a- tî kë na- ţoŋ
c1S buyer c5S coffin DS c1S run DS c1S driver

ukaaru akak aţi
u- kaaru a- kak a- tî
c2S car c1S REP SER run

“The boy landed on his feet and ran off, the owner of the coffin ran off, and the driver of the car he also ran off.”

But it is not required, and in some cases (particularly between sentences) a different subject is not marked explicitly with kë:

11.2 a Napoţ aţowna du meet ,
    na- poţ a- ţown -n -a d- u meet
c1S child c1S wash CAUS MID EXT LOC.DIST inside

uko unwoyi , du meet meet .
    u- ko u- n- way -i d- u meet meet
c2S thing c2S coref be ptp EXT LOC.DIST inside inside

“The child is washed inside, this thing is done inside”
Chapter 11

“The woman who has given birth, if she goes outside, it is to wash”

In some situations it occurs with the same subject:

11.3 Wori mëñtan ŋwo njì na Bernard na Marcel
wori mëñtan ñ- wo njì na Bernard na Marcel
time that 1P be 1S and Bernard and Marcel

kë ñpok p- ya ngrisiya
kë ñ- pok p- ya ngrisiya
DS 1P refuse INF go church

“At that time we were me and Bernard and Marcel, and we refused to go to church”

11.1 Clause chaining and switch reference

One of the primary uses of the particle kë is to mark a different subject in a clause chain. Therefore its gloss is DS (Different Subject).

In section 9.2 I described the fact that sentences can be formed of multiple non-subordinate clauses, juxtaposed without connectors. This phenomenon, known as clause chaining, is found elsewhere in Africa (Heine and Nurse, 2007) as well as other parts of the world, for example Papuan languages (Foley, 1986) Where the subject of a clause is the same as the previous one, the verb takes a special agreement prefix a-. However, this special prefix is identical to the prefix used for singular, class 1 nouns. Therefore there could be an ambiguity in certain situations, and kë can be used to clearly mark when a subject has changed.

To illustrate this, consider the multi-clause sentence from the “Two Humpbacked Wives” text shown in example 11.4 below. I have noted the subject of each clause in the right hand column.

This sentence consists of a chain of seven clauses, with no connecting words (apart from kë) between them. Chaining is common in narrative texts, though this example is longer than average.
When the same subject does several actions in a chain the verbal agreement prefix is substituted by a- on second and subsequent verbs. We can’t see this when the subject is a singular human, as the prefix is already a-, but this phenomenon is illustrated in clauses c and d in the example (repeated below).
The spirits ŋntayi form a circle and dance. On the first verb, they are referred to by the full prefix form ŋa-, but the special a- prefix is used on the second verb.

If we now consider the final three clauses, Naala is again the subject.

Here Naala is again the subject. But without kë there would be no way of telling the referent of the verb prefix. The kë indicates that there has been a switch to a different subject.

If we look again at the whole sentence, and look for where kë is used, we see that it occurs at the beginning of clauses a, c, and e. Leaving aside the beginning of the sentence, we can see that the kë occurs each time the subject changes. That is, Naala is the subject of clauses a-b, the spirits are the subject of clauses c-d (introduced by a kë) and Naala is again the subject of the final clauses e-g, (and kë again marks this switch of subject).

It should be noted that kë is used even though there are other indications that the subject is different, e.g. verb prefix in clause c ŋa- can only refer to the spirits.
The particle kë

A second example from the “Two Humpbacked Wives” text illustrates another situation where kë is used:

11.5 Wi ŋakiiŋ aban źi a
   wi ŋa- ki -iŋ a- ban ź- i a
   when C2P dance SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX OBJ
kë ašë ji na wi akabiranuŋ
kë a- źë ji na w- i a- kab -ir -an -uŋ
DS C1S SEQ say with C2S GEN SER be.near_to RCP CAUS SEL
“When they were dancing and they arrived at her, she asked her neighbour...”

Here the first clause is actually a subordinate temporal clause, but kë is used in the same way as in example 11.4. The subject of the subordinate wi clause is the spirits (shown by the ŋa- prefix), but Naala is the subject of the main clause. The kë indicates a different subject and makes clear the referent of the subject prefix on the first main clause verb.

The kë is not obligatory after a wi clause. This is illustrated in the following sentence where there is a wi clause, but no change of subject means no kë is needed.

11.6 Wi uwooŋ uunwina ašë ya na
   wi u- wo -oŋ u- un- win -a a- źë ya na
   when C2S be SEL C2S NEG see C1S.OBJ SER SEQ go and
pa
pa
in_order_to
“When it (the spirit) could not find her, it went with it (the hump).”

However, in the “Hare and the Elephant” text, a similar structure does use kë, even though the subject has not changed. This would seem to indicate that kë sometimes has a broader discourse function.

11.7 Wal wi uşaaŋ atuh wa
   w- al w- i u- źa -aŋ a- tuh w- a
   C2S moment C2S GEN C2S SEQ SEL SER close C2S OBJ
ţi bhër,
ţ- i b- hër
INT LOC.PROX C5S hole
kë ušë źij mnob muŋ akakanan
kë u- źë źij m- nob ma- uŋ a- kak -an -an
DS C2S SEQ bring C8 honey C8 DEM_DIST
aya di untanka
a- ya d- i u- ntanka
SER go EXT LOC.PROX C2S village
“When he (Elephant) had closed him (Hare) in the hole, he took the honey and returned to the village.”
Kë is also found in sentence initial position. This was seen in example in example 11.4 and is also seen in the following examples:

11.8 Kë biki untanka bti baṭi abi
kë bik- i u- ntanka bti ba- ti a- bi
DS c1P GEN c2S village all c1P run SER come
ayit
a- yit
SER meet
“This then all the villagers came running to meet together.”

11.9 Kë Ṭwaraaṭi , ahar umaalu , na
kë Ṭwaraaṭi a- har u- maalu na
DS Ṭwaraaṭi c1AS wife c2S hare and
baiṭ baka bti kë babi aṭoo awooni
ba- yit baka bti kë ba- bi a- ṭo a- wooni
c1P relative c1P.GEN all DS c1P come SER sit SER cry
“Tswarati, Hares wife, and all their relations, sat down and cried.”

11.10 Kë næaṭ aloŋ naṭaf kë aşë win
kë næ- aṭ a- loŋ na- ṭaf kë a- şe win
dS c1S woman c1S INDEF c1S elderly dS c1S SEQ see
jibi Naala aṅagani ti katoh
jibi Naala a- ñaṅan -i t- i ka- toh
like Nala c1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX c3S house
“An old lady saw how Naala was sad and staying in the house.”

This sentence initial kë can also occur after adverbial points of departure, and renewals.

11.11 ti pla a mēnten puŋ kë
ṭ- i p- la a mēnten p- ūŋ kë
INT LOC.PROX INF seek OBJ that c4S DEM.DIST dS
umaalu ubi gaṅir aka næaṭ
u- maalu u- bi gaṅir a- ka næ- aṭ
c2S hare c2S PST win SER have c1S woman
“In this courting, Hare succeeded in winning the woman.”

11.12 Uwaajaṅṭen kë uloŋ uṣē tuh wa
u- waj -aṅṭen kë u- loŋ u- ūṣē tuh w- a
c2S three ORD dS c2S INDEF c2S SEQ close c2S OBJ
ći bhēr
ṭ- i b- hēr
INT LOC.PROX c5S hole
“The third time, Elephant closed him into the hole.”
In the wider context of these examples, \textit{kë} is still marking a different subject.

This is also illustrated by the following single sentence example which has full noun phrases for most of the subjects:

\begin{verbatim}
11.13
Kë bašë ya pla mnob na  Subject
kë ba- šë ya p- la m- nob na  Hare and
DS C1P SEQ go INF seek C8 honey and
umaalu kë bko bašë wo  Elephant
c2S hare DS c7s object c7s SEQ be
kë bko bašë wo  Tree
dS c7s object c7s SEQ be
akab ṭi pliik  Tree
da_ kab ṭ- i p- liik
SER be_near_to INT LOC.PROX C6S well
awo na bhër  Tree
da_ wo na b- hër
SER be and c5S hole
kë bno bawo da  bee hive
kë b- nob ba- wo d- a
DS C5S beehive C5S be C9S OBJ

“So they (along with Hare) went to look for honey. Now there was a tree (bko) near to the well and it had a hole and there was a bee hive there.”
\end{verbatim}

We see therefore that a primary use of \textit{kë} is used to mark a change of subject, but if there are other indications that the subject has changed (e.g. different verb prefixes) then its presence is not obligatory. It is also occasionally used when there is no change of subject for reasons that need more research.

\subsection*{11.2 Kë after a noun phrase}

Though the main use of \textit{kë} is clause initially for marking a different subject it can also be found between a subject noun phrase and the verb. The following examples illustrate this.
11.14 Ḳë ṭwaratai Ḳë aşë bi , akak
           Ḳë ṭwarataţi Ḳë a- şë bi a- kak
            DS Tswaraatsi DS C1S SEQ come SER REP
awat bubdul wi nul ṭuŋ
           a- wat u- baldu w- i nul ṭ- un
SER bring_down C2S bucket C2S GEN 3s.poss INT LOC.DIST
pliik
           p- liik
C6S well
“So Tsewaratsi came, and she also lowered her bucket into that well”

11.15 Ḳë ñaat aloŋ naţaf Ḳë aşë win
           Ḳë ŋ- aat a- loŋ na- ţaf Ḳë a- şë win
            DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS C1S SEQ see
jibi Naala anagani ţi katoh
jibi Naala a- ḵagan -i ŭ- i ka- toh
like Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house
“An old lady saw how Naala was sad and staying in the house.”

In these examples the first Ḳë each time marks a subject switch, but the second does not have seem to have the same function. It does not occur every time there is a subject switch followed by a noun or noun phrase. The second Ḳë, between the subject noun or noun phrase seems to highlight the subject.

One possible reason for this highlighting function is contrast. In the following example there is partitive contrast between all the spirits in sentence 11.16a and the one who had taken Nala’s hump in 11.16b. (There are several occurrences of Ḳë in this example, including the complementising Ḳë COMP. The relevant one is underlined in sentence 11.16b.)

11.16a Ḳë ŋntaayi ŋaduka ki ki
           Ḳë ŋ- ntaayi Ḳa- duk -a ki ki
            DS C2P demon C2P leave MID dance dance
tuŋ te Ḳe unuur udo jinţ Ḳe
           Ū- ūŋ te Ḳe u- nuur u- do jinţ Ḳe
INT DEM.DIST until COMP C2S day C2S INGR be_clean DS
naşë jun pwayneř
na- şë jun p-wayneř
C2P SEQ begin INF disperse
“The spirits stayed dancing there until daybreak, and then they started to disperse”
The particle kë

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b Unšaan ayeenk pben Œ
c2ș COREF SEQ SEL C1Ș receive C4Ș swelling INT LOC.PROX
Naala kë ușë kak ala Œaŋ anwulūŋ
Naala kë u- ņe kak a- la ņaŋ a- n- wul -uŋ
Nala DS C2Ș SEQ again SER seek person C1Ș COREF give SEL

wa naŋot

w- a na- poț
c2ș OBJ C1Ș child
“The one who had taken the lump from Nala, looked again for the one who had given him the ‘child’”

It is also sometimes used as a way of introducing new characters:

11.17 Kë Twaraati , ahar umaalu , na
ds Twarański a- har u- maalu na
c1ș woman C1ś hare and
bayiț baka bti , kë babi ...
ba- yiț baka bti kë ba- bi
c1p relative c1p.OBJ all ds c1p come

“Then Tsewaratsi, Hare’s wife, and all their relations came …”

This is the first time in this story that Tsewaratsi has been mentioned. It is also the beginning of a new discourse unit.

11.18 Kë ņaat aloŋ națaf kë așe win
kë n- aat a- loŋ na- ţaf kë a- gë win
ds c1ș woman C1ś INDEF C1ś elderly DS SER SEQ see

jibi Naala aŋagan tı ti katoŋ
jibi Naala a- řagan -i t- i ka- toh
like Naala c1ș be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3ș house

“An old lady saw how Naala was sad and staying in the house.”

Here an old lady, a minor character, is introduced. As in the previous example this also begins a new discourse unit.

Sometimes its only use is to mark a new discourse unit. The following example from the story of Nabanka Biyagi comes after a non-event line discussion about why the royal compound is a symbol for the Mankanya people. The sentence starts a new discourse unit describing the events after Nabanka Biyagi (who is no longer a new character) becomes king.

11.19 Kë Nabanka Biyagi kë aŋeejan pșih
kë Nabanka Biyagi kë a- neejan p- řih
ds Nabanka Biyagi ds SER insert C6ș kingdom/throne

“So Nabanka Biyagi became king”

Here is another example from the “Hare and the Elephant” This starts a new discourse unit where Tsewaratsi’s actions reveal where Hare is trapped.
11.20 Kë Twaraati kë aşë bi akak
   kë Twaraati kë a- şë bi a- kak
   DS Tswaraatsi DS SER SEQ came SER return
awat ubaldu wi nul ūn
   a- wat u- baldu w- i nul ūn ūn
SER bring_down c2s bucket c2s GEN 3s.poss INT LOC.DIST
pliik
   p- liik
c6s well
“So Tsewaratsi came, and she also lowered her bucket into that well”

In all these examples above the kë between noun phrase and verb has occurred with the sentence initial kë marking a different subject. However, in the “Hare and Elephant” there are several places where kë does not occur in this position, even though there is a sentence initial kë marking a different subject. This shows it is not obligatory in this situation.

11.21 kë umaalu ubi gañir aka naat
   kë u- maalu u- bi gañir a- ka na- aat
   DS c2s hare c2s PST win c1s have c1s woman
“..Hare won the girl”

Udeeb kë usē de uloŋ
   u- deeb kë u- şë de u- loŋ
   c2s anger DS c2s SEQ eat c2s INDEF
“Elephant got angry” (Lit. “Anger ate Elephant”)

Here the kë highlights udeeb ‘anger’, and this indicates the beginning of a new discourse section. However, there is no sentence initial kë which would normally be associated with a different subject.

A similar situation occurs later in the story, after the women have lowered their bucket.

11.22 kë ukak atiink , aşë ji :“....”
   kë u- kak a- tiink a- şë ji
   DS c2s REP SER hear SER SEQ say
“He (Hare) heard it again and said “....” ”

Twaraati kë aşë hantla
Twaraati kë a- şë hantla
Tswaraatsi c1s SEQ look_up
“Tsavaratsi lifted her eyes ...”

It seems that where kë is used after the noun phrase, kë as a different subject marker before it is optional. This could be an indication that historically the kë after the noun phrase was in fact the same particle but has been moved to highlight the subject.
Though there are some instances where the use of kë after the noun phrase can be explained by contrast, the majority of cases of this usage of kë seem to mark the beginning of a new discourse unit. This might be considered a natural extension of its use, as often (but not always) the beginning of a discourse unit is in some way contrastive with the preceding unit.

Here is a breakdown of the discourse units in a story about Hare and Elephant. Where kë is used with a noun phrase the first part of each sentence of the unit is shown, and the kë is underlined. Some sentences also have a kë at the beginning of sentence indicating a different subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Unit</th>
<th>Sentence(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction and background</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant gets angry</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant tricks Hare and shuts him in a hole</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant returns to the village and tells his story</td>
<td>8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hare’s wife’s reaction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women draw water and hear Hare singing</td>
<td>11-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hare’s wife draws water and hears Hare singing</td>
<td>15-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hare’s wife tells women to draw water again and Hare sings again</td>
<td>18-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hare’s wife finds Hare and lets him out</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They return to village and conclusion</td>
<td>22-24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequency of this usage of kë varies from text to text.

### 11.3 Kë with hënk di

Kë at the beginning of a sentence is sometimes combined with hënk di ‘like this’. This is used three times in the “Two wives” story. The first time it introduces a summary statement that closes the introductory section.
"So this is what she (Dama) kept doing to Naala until she and her husband were in agreement, and the woman (Naala) was sad and stayed in the house."

The other two examples are parallel, and are the introductory clauses of each of Naala and Dama’s attempts to remove their humps. In these examples, though there is a subject switch, there is also a proper noun, so the ke is not required in order to disambiguate.

Another example of this construction can be found in the story of Nabanka Biyagi which tells his rise to the chiefdom of all the Mankanya, and the building of the first royal compound. Ke henk di is found at the end of the introductory section describing the expansion of Bula the chief village.
And so it was that all those villages that you know were appearing.

The expression hënk di does not require a kê as it also found twice in that story without it.

The first occurs at the end of the second section which describes how the older men have begun to fight over who will be king.

And so a mystic war started.

“So like this they started killing each other until the chief of the Nafeey formed his group of those who had been initiated there.”
Amongst those initiates, there was someone who was called Nabanka Biyagi, and he was the eldest.

Here the hënkg di still serves as a summariser, but the marker kë appears on the sentence before, and on the following sentence which is the beginning of a new episode.

The second occurs at the end of the story as a conclusion.

11.28 Hënkg di Nabanka Biyagi aneejanuŋ

apaş Pmesş

“So this was how Nabanka Biyagi became king and founded Pmesh”

Here kë is not used in any of the immediately surrounding sentences.

As both kë and hënkg di separately are used to mark discourse units it may be that using them together emphsises this marking.

11.4 What sort of information does kë occur with?

Some languages have words for marking discourse units which are only found in either background material or in the main event line. This is not the case in Mankanya with kë as it occurs in both situations. For example, the following excerpt is from the introductory section of the “Two Humpbacked Wives”, describing the household situation of the two wives. All the sentences are background material, but kë is found in sentences 11.29a and 11.29c.

11.29a Kë baaţ batëb bukuŋ başë wo

na mben ti feţ.

“And these two women had humps on their backs”
b Anwoong naweek i katoh awo
   a- n- wo -oŋ na- week i ka- toh a- wo
c1s coref be sel c1s elder_sibling gen c3s house c1s be
na pben pmpoți .
na p- ben p- mpoți
with c4s swelling c4s small
“The eldest in the household had a small hump.”
c Kë pi anwoong Naala pawooŋ
   kë p- i a- n- wo -oŋ Naala pa- wo -oŋ
d s c4s gen c1s coref be sel naala c6s be sel
pweek kë ašaan akaana kanuura
p- week kë a- ša -aŋ a- ka -an -a ka- nuura
c4s older ds c1s seq sel ser have caus mid c3s beauty
maakan .
maakan very
“But Naala’s was big, though she had great beauty.”
d Ul i ñiinţ ațuuŋ ti uhaas
   ul i ñ- iinţ a- tu -uŋ t- i u- haaş
3s.subj gen c1s man c1s place sel int loc.prox c2s soul
wi nul .
w- i nul
c2s gen 3s.poss
“It was her that the husband loved.”

In the story of Hare and Elephant kë introduces a reminder of background information at the start of a new section.

11.30 Kë išë me bko buŋ bakab
   kë i- šë me b- ko b- uŋ ba- kab
ds 2s seq know c7s object c7s dem.dist c7s be_near_to
tı dko di pliik pi
   t- i d- ko d- i p- liik p- i
int loc.prox c9s place ext loc.prox c6s well c4s gen
untanka wi bańaan bakliiknuŋ
u- ntanka w- i ba- ñaŋ ba- k- liik -n -uŋ
c2s village c2s gen c1p person c1p imperf draw_water caus sel
“Now you know that tree is near to the village well where people draw water.”

For examples of kë used in the main event line, we could look at many of the examples already given. Here are two more:
Now they (the women) dropped the bucket down the well, it started to go 'klung', the water slopped out, going 'thar, thar, thar', and he heard it again.

So the spirit took the hump and held it, and Naala entered the ring and danced.

This chapter has given a brief overview of some of the uses of *kë*. The primary function of *kë* with event line clauses seems to be that of signalling a switch in subject but it is occasionally used where there is no switch of subject.

Sometimes *kë* appears after the subject noun phrase, in order to mark that noun phrase, either for the purpose of contrast, or maybe for the introduction of a new character.

However, *kë* is sometimes used when the subject has not changed. Often these occur at the beginning of a new discourse unit, and highlight this change.

A more in-depth study of the discourse level uses of this word is required.
Chapter 12 - Glossed Texts

12.1 Two women who had humps

The following text was written in 2003 by an unknown author connected to the Mankanya literacy program in Goudomp run by Pkumel (the Mankanya cultural association) and SIL. It was written to go into a booklet of folk tales and was edited to correct orthographic errors.

The initial number of each line indicates the paragraph number, the second the sentence within that paragraph.

Ñiinț na baharul batëb banwooŋ na mben ţi feț

(A man and his two wives who had humps on their backs)

1.1 Dka nantohi ajug katoh
å- ka na- ntohi a- jug ka- toh
1S have 1S elder 1AS owner 3S house
anniimuŋ baat ţatëb
a- n- niim -uŋ b- aat ba- tèb
1S COREF marry SEL 1P woman 1P two
“There was once an old man who had married two women”

1.2 Naweek awo Dama aşë wo
na- week a- wo Dama a- şë wo
1S elder_sibling 1S be Dama SER SEQ be
aannuura ti bten, natëbënten
a- en- nuura t- i b- ten na- tèb -ënten
SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX 5S looks 1S two ORD
awooŋ nanuura maakan awo Naala
a- wo -oŋ na- nuura maakan a- wo Naala
1S be SEL 1S beauty very 1S be Nala
“The elder was Dama, and she was not beautiful; the second was very beautiful and was called Naala”
1.3 Kë baaṭ batēb bukuñ başë wo na
kë b- aat ba- tēb buk- uŋ ba- şē wo na
DS C1P woman C1P two C1P DEM.DIST C1P SEQ be with
mben ti feṭ .
m- BEN ṭ- i feṭ
c6p swelling INT LOC.PROX back
“But these two women had humps on their backs”

1.4 Anwooŋ na week i katoṭ awo
a- n- wo -oŋ na- week i ka- toh a- wo
C1S COREF be SEL C1S big GEN C3S house C1S be
na pben pmpoti .
na p- BEN p- mpoṭi
with C6S swelling C6S small
“The one who eldest in the house had a small hump”

2.1 Kë pi anwooŋ Naala pawooŋ
kë p- i a- n- wo -oŋ Naala pa- wo -oŋ
DS C6S GEN C1S COREF be SEL Nala C6S be SEL
pweek , kë aşaaŋ acaana kanuura
p- week kë a- ŝa -aŋ a ka -a -na ka- nuura
C6S older DS SER SEQ SEL 1S rfx C3S beauty
maakan .
maakan very
“Naala's hump was big, but she had great beauty”

2.2 Ul i ŋiinṭ atuuŋ źi
ul i ŋ- iinṭ a- źu -uŋ ź- i
3s.subj DEM.PROX C1S man C1S place SEL INT LOC.PROX
uhaaş wi nul .
u- haas w- i nul
C2S soul C2S GEN 3s.POSS
“The husband loved her”

2.3 Kë Dama aşē win kë ayin baka
kë Dama a- šē win kë a- yin baka
ds Dama C1S SEQ see COMP C1AS husband C1P.OBJ
aŋal Naala apel a .
a- ḋal Naala a- pel a
C1S like Nala SER be more OBJ
“But Dama saw that their husband loved Naala more than her”
“Because of this Dama began to hate Naala, and began to insult her every day, slandering her, saying to her husband how could he love someone who had such a big hump”

“Because of this Dama began to hate Naala until her husband agreed with her, and Naala stayed unhappily in the house”
Then an old lady saw how Naala was in the house, unhappy.

She said to her ‘If you want to have success with your husband, go at night to the side of your garden ’

“You’ll find spirits there, doing the circle dance”
When you arrive there, stop and join in with them and clap loudly. When the circling arrives with you, say to the person who is now next to you "hold the baby, it's my turn to dance" (this baby is that hump).

When you enter the middle of the dance, go out the other side, then start running to go home’”
“So Naala went at night, found the spirits that were doing the circle dance, and went up to them, stood and clapped hands with them.”

“When their dancing arrived with her, she said to the person who was now next to her "hold this baby, it’s my turn to dance”"

“So the spirit took the hump and held it, and Naala entered the dance”

“She arrived there, then left by another path, and began to run to come home”
6.2 Aban aneej meet apiint.
   a- ban a- neej meet a- piint
   c1S arrive SER enter room SER lie_down
   “She arrived, entered inside and slept”

6.3 Kë ŋtaayi ŋaduka ki ki ṭuŋ
   kë ŋ- ntaayi ŋa- duk -a ki ki ṭ- uŋ
   DS c2P spirit c2P leave MID dance dance INT DEM.DIST
   te kë unuur udo jinţ kë ŋaşë jun
   te kë u- nuur u- do jinţ kë ŋa- še jin
   until DS c2S day c2S INGR be_clean DS c2P SEQ begin
   pwayşër
   INF disperse
   “The spirits stayed dancing until day broke and then they began to leave”

6.4 Unşaaŋ ayeenk pben tı
   u- n- ŋa- a- yeenk p- BEN tı- i
   c2S COREF SEQ SEL SER receive c6S swelling INT LOC.PROX
   Naala kë uşë kak ała ŋaan anwuluŋ
   Naala kë u- še kak a- la ŋaan a- n- wul -uŋ
   Naala DS c2S SEQ turn SER seek person SER COREF give SEL
   wa napoţ
   w- a na- poţ
   c2S OBJ c1S child
   “The spirit who had taken the hump from Naala began to go around looking
   for the person who had given him the baby”

6.5 Wi uwoon uunwina aşë ya
   w- i u- wo -oŋ u- un- win -a a- şe ya
   c2S GEN c2S be SEL c2S NEG see c1S.OBJ SER SEQ go
   na pa a
   na p- a
   with c6S OBJ
   “When it couldn't see her, it left with it”

7.1 Kë Dama aşë naţa na nfa awin Naala
   kë Dama a- şe naţa na nfa a- win Naala
   DS Dama SER SEQ get up with morning c1S see Nala
   jibi ahetuŋ aşë ji akak
   jibi a- het -uŋ a- şe ji a- kak
   like c1S straighten up SEL SER SEQ HAB SER become
   apėnan pben pi nul
   a- pėn -aŋ p- BEN p- i nul
   SER go_out CAUS c6S swelling c6S GEN 3s.POSS
   “When Dama got up in the morning, she how Naala was straightened up,
   and how she had become, and that she had removed her hump”
7.2 "Ayinun afiyaar kadukin
a- yin -un a- fiyaar k- a- duk -in
C1S husband 1P.OBJ C1S believe IMPERF SER leave 1S.OBJ
» ašë deebaţ ado jot afiita .
a- ṣë deebaţ a- do jot a- fiita
C1S SEQ be_ANGRY C1S INGR fall SER faint

‘Our husband will think of leaving me!’ and she got so angry that she fainted.”

8.1 Kë Naala na pjoob bkow pi nul
kë Naala na p- joob b- kow p- i nul
DS Nala with INF cool C5S head C4S GEN 3s.POSS
atupa jibi adoluŋ kë pben pi
a- ṣë p- dol uŋ kë p- BEN p- i
C1S speak C1S.OBJ like C1S do SEL DS C6S swelling C6S GEN
nul pado pën .
nul pa- do pën
3s.POSS C6S INGR go_out

“But Naala was kind, and told her how she had made her hump go”

8.2 Kë hënŋ di Dama aakaŋ aya na
kë hënŋ d- i Dama a- ka -aŋ a- ya na
dS like_that C9S GEN Dama C1S REP SEL SER go with
utejan aya tênk ṣntaayi kë ṣnao ptoof
u- tejan a- ya tênk ṣ- ntaayi kë ṣ- na- do p- toof
C2S night SER go find C2P spirit DS c2P do C4S half
aki , kë ašë ban abí ya ya
a- ki kë a- ṣë ban a- bi ya ya
SER dance DS SER SEQ arrive SER PST go go
dí wi Naala awuluŋ pben
d- i w- i Naala a- wul -uŋ p- BEN
c9S DEM.PROX C2S GEN Nala C1S give SEL C6S swelling
anaŋ akob i- ŋen .
a- naŋ a- kob i- ŋen
SER stand SER hit C3P hand

“So Dama also went at night and found the spirits doing circle dancing; she arrived and went straight to the place where the spirit to whom Naala had given her hump was, stood and clapped her hands”
8.3 Wi ŋakiŋ aban ṭi a kē
w- i ŋa- ki -iŋ a- ban ṭ- i a kē
C2S GEN C2P dance SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX OBJ DS
ašë ji na wa umēbana
a- šë ji na w- a u- mēb -an -a
SER SEQ say with C2S OBJ C2S attach CAUS MID
napoţul akiina , akaan pki
na- poţ -ul a- ki -in -a a- ka -aŋ p- ki
C1S child 3s.Poss SER dance CAUS MID C1S REP SEL INF dance
“When the dancing arrived at her, she asked it to hold her baby as it was
her turn to dance, so that she could dance”

9.1 Kē untaayi ušë ji : « Yow !
kē u- ntaayi u- šë ji yow
DS C2S spirit C2S SEQ like yes!
“And the spirit said "Wait a minute!" ”

9.2 Hënk di aloŋ ajaknuŋ
hënk d- i a- loŋ a- jak -n -uŋ
like that C9S GEN C1S INDEF C1S tell 1s.OBJ SEL
mmēbana napoţ takal aşë ṭi
m- mēb -an -a na- poţ takal a- şë ṭi
1s.SUB attach CAUS MID C1S child yesterday SER SEQ run
adukaraan a , naam iwi a ?
a- duk -ar -aan a naam iwi a
SER leave BEN 1s.OBJ OBJ resemble 2s OBJ
“ "It was like this that someone asked me to carry their baby yesterday, and
ran, leaving it with me - don’t you look like her?” ”

9.3 Nje a awi . »
nje a a- wi
take OBJ C1S here IS
“ "Take him, here he is’’ ”
Chapter 12

9.4 Kë Dama ayeenk anaakrën na pi
kë Dama a- yeenk a- naakrën na p- i
ds Dama c1s receive ser mix with c6s gen
nul , ado pweek , aşë kowa pya
nul a- do p- week a- şë kowa p- ya
3s.poss ser do c6s older ser seq be_ashamed inf go
na pa katoh , aşë bi kaţi ti
na p- a ka- toh a- şë bi k- a- ti ti
with c6s obj c3s house ser seq pst imperf ser run run
pya kajot di bdëk kakeţ
inf go c3s fall ext loc.prox c5s sea imperf ser die
“So Dama received it, and mixed it with hers, which became big; she was
ashamed to go with it to the house and so straight away ran to throw herself
in the sea, in order to die.”

9.5 Wi abanuŋ aşë jot di meel
w- i a- ban -uŋ a- şë jot d- i meel
c2s gen c1s arrive sel ser seq fall ext loc.prox water

“When she arrived, she threw herself in the water.”

9.6 Kë meel mankak alutana
kë meel man- kak a- lut -an -a
ds water c8 rep ser jump caus c1s.obj
apën an bdi g aşë jaka , nji ,
a- pën -an b- dig a- şë jak -a nji
ser go_out caus c5s outside ser seq tell c1s.obj 1s
mnkyeenk ṇaŋ nado bwuţaan
mn- n- k- yeenk ṇaŋ na- do b- wuţaan
c8 neg imperf receive person c1s doer c7s evil
“But the sea threw her back again, out of the water and said to her "Me, I
don’t accept evil people!" ”
12.2 A voyage to the Casamance

The following text was transcribed from an oral recording with the help of the speaker. He had been asked to relate an incident that involved him, and he told the story of the first time he had returned with his brother to the Casamance area of Senegal as a teenager. The story is being told in Dakar.

1. Wi ŋwoonŋ i pya duuṭ, pya
   wi ŋ- wo -oŋ i p- ya duuṭ p- ya
   when 1P be SEL GEN INF go up_there INF go
   pme duuṭ, kē ašinun kē aşē
   p- me duuṭ kē a- şin -un kē a- şē
   INF know up_there DS C1AS father 1P.OBJ DS SER SEQ
   piitun kakaarta pa ŋmeena
   piit -un ka- kaarta pa ŋ- me -an -a
   write 1P.OBJ C3S card in_order_to c2P know CAUS MID
   bgah bnuura
   b- gah bnuura
   c5S way well
“When we had to go to the Casamance, to get to know the Cassamance, our father drew us a map, so that we would know the right route”

2. Wi ŋyeenkunŋ kakaarta mënţën kuŋ
   wi ŋ- yeenk -uŋ ka- kaarta mënţën k- uŋ
   when 1P receive SEL C3S card that C3P.cnt DEM.DIST
   aya ala ukaaru apaya atool aya
   a- ya a- la u- kaaru a- paya a- tool a- ya
   SER go SER seek C2S car C1S climb SER leave SER go
“When we had received this map, we went and looked for a minibus, climbed in and straight away we left”

3. Wi ŋyaaŋ aban ți Gambi
   wi ŋ- ya -aŋ a- ban ți- i Gambi
   when 1P go SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX Gambi
   awala ți pmuur bdēk
   a- wala ți i p- muur b- dēk
   SER come_down INT LOC.PROX INF cross C5S sea
“When we had gone a while, we arrived in Gambia, and got out to cross the river”
“When we had got out, they embarked the minibus, and we got onto the ferry on foot, then bought some things to eat there, and ate.”

“When we had crossed the river to the other side, we again took that minibus, and set off to go the Casamance”

“(you know the Casamance, the things that are eaten in the Casamance)”
“if they are here, they are expensive, some people cannot buy them and prepare them well"

“We began to buy cooked peanuts, and we were buying here and there, we bought bananas, we bought things everywhere, and we filled the sack that we had brought with us”

“We arrived at the bus garage, the minibus stopped, and we got out”
we got out the map that our father had drawn us, on which he drawn the whole route that we had to follow.

“for us to arrive without asking.”

When we had looked at the map, we straight away followed the route that he had showed us on the map.

“and followed it until we arrived and entered our uncle's house”

“When we arrived, we gave our greetings”
16 Nin a-łøj ți katoh
nin a- ło- j ț- i ka- toh
NEG C1S INDEF INT LOC.PROX C3S house

aanyikrēnun
a- ēn- yikrēn -un
C1S NEG recognise 1P.OBJ

“No-one in the house recognised us”

17 Aninun ŋiinť aando yikrēnun
a- nin -un ŋ- iinť a- an- do yikrēn -un
C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man C1S NEG INGR recognise 1P.OBJ

parce que wi awinunj un ujoni
wi a- win -uŋ un u- jon -i
when C1S see SEL 1P.subj C2S last CMPL

“Our uncle didn’t even recognise us, because it was a long time since he had last seen us”

18 Êhoj wori mënťan bapoț bampoți
ŋ- hoj wori mënťan ba- poț ba- m- poț -i
1P be still time that C1P child C1P COREF be_small PTCP

te ado ya adēm
te a- do ya a- dēm
until SER INGR go SER grow

“We were still, at that time, small children and since then we had been growing”

19 parce que wori mënťan nji dka ñşubal iñeen
wor- i mënťan nji d- ka ñ- šubal i- ñeen
time that 1S 1S have C2P year C3P ten

na ñpaaj na uloolan
na ŋ- paaŋ na u- loolan
and 1P six and C2S one

“because I was seventeen at that time”

20 ukaaŋ kē baanyikrēn un
u- ka -aŋ kē ba- an- yikrēn un
C2S have SEL DS C1P NEG recognise 1P.subj

“and so that's why they didn't recognise us”

21 Wi nji kapēnuŋ da , dka wori
wi nji ka- pēn -uŋ d- a d- ka wori
when 1S 1S.RES go_out SEL C9S OBJ 1S have time

mënțan ñşubal paaj
mënțan ñ- šubal paaj
that C2P year six

“When I left there I had been six years old”
“Eleven years had passed without them seeing me and this is why they didn’t recognise either me or my brother.”

“I ended up staying there and telling them all where we came from and they finally remembered.”

“Our uncle was very pleased and so was his wife.”

“They got out things to eat, things to eat from the Casamance.”
26  unkaara , mkonkombra , mnkem  kē  ṣde  
     u-  nkaara  m-  konkombra  mn-  kem  kē  ṣ-  de  
     C2S  peanuts  C6P  cucumber  C6P  palm_nut  DS  1P  eat  

 Ubuntu  bti  kē  balilani  
     ṭ-  uŋ  bti  kē  ba-  līl  -an  -i  
     INT  LOC.DIST  all  DS  C1P  be_good  CAUS  CMPL  
     “Peanuts, cucumbers, palm nuts, and we ate from them all and they were happy”

27  Faan  kē  afiŋarun  unkuma , adu  
     faan  kē  a-  fiŋ -ar -un  u-  nkuma  a-  du  
     tomorrow  DS  C1S  kill  BEN  1P.OBJ  C2S  pig  SER  call  

 Banaŋ  ado  mnīlan  
     ba-  niŋ  a-  do  mn-  lilan  
     C1P  person  SER  do  C8  happiness  
     “The following day he killed a pig for us, and called people to show their happiness”

28  Wi  ŋtoon  tuŋ  ŋnuur  
     wi  ŋ-  tō -ŋ  ṭ-  uŋ  ŋ-  nuur  
     when  1P  sit  SEL  INT  LOC.DIST  C2P  day  

 Nanduki  kē  pwin  bayiţun  
     ɲa-  n-  duk -i  kē  p-  win  ba-  yiţ  -un  
     C2P  COREF  leave  PTCP  DS  INF  see  C1P  relative  1P.OBJ  
     “While we stayed there the rest of the days that were left for seeing our relatives”

29  kē  ŋše  ji  ŋya  ŋt  ɲntabanka  
     kē  ŋ-  šē  ji  ŋ-  ya  ŋ-  i  ŋ-  ntabanka  
     DS  1P  SEQ  HAB  1P  go  INT  LOC.PROX  C2P  village  

 Nmpoti  ŋuŋ  
     ŋ-  mpoţi  ŋ-  uŋ  
     C2P  small  C2P  DEM.DIST  
     “we went to those little villages”

30  Antidi  ŋba  pnoorfēn  pi  ŋyaŋ  
     antidi  ŋ-  ba  p-  noorfēn  p-  i  ŋ-  ya  -aŋ  
     before  1P  tmtv  C4S  rest  C4S  GEN  1P  go  SEL  

 Ňhaay  baiyeţun  bti  ųgɔtor  ame  
     ŋ-  ŋaay  ba-  yiţ  -un  bti  ųgɔtor  a-  me  
     1P  walk_about  C1P  relative  1P.OBJ  all  Ziguinchor  SER  know  

 Bakan  bti  
     bakan  bti  
     C1P.OBJ  all  
     “Before we finished the holiday we had taken, we went around all our Ziguinchor relatives to know them all” (antidi is a Creole word)
31 Unuur wi ᵇ道歉 insensitive, baando
u- nuur w- i ᵉ- ᵇ道歉 -uŋ ba- an- do
c2s day c2s gen 1p imperf go_home sele 1p neg ingr
ŋal ᵇ道歉
ŋal ᵉ- ᵇ道歉
like 1p go_home
“The day that we left, they didn't even want us to go”

32 ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 na bakan ᵇ道歉 bti ,
ŋ- ᵇ道歉 -ad na bakan ᵇ道歉 -uŋ bti
1p get_used_to rcp and c1p obj int loc dist all
wi ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 , un ᵇ道歉 -ęndo ᵇ道歉
w- i ᵉ- ᵇ道歉 -uŋ un ᵉ- an- do ᵇ道歉
c2s gen 1p imperf go_home sele 1p subj 1p neg ingr like ᵇ道歉
p- ᵇ道歉
inf go_home
“We had got to know all of them there and when we were going home, we also
didn’t want to leave”

33 Parce que ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 bi ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉
ba- ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 b- i ᵉ- ᵇ道歉 -ad -uŋ
c1p relationship c1p gen 1p get_used_to rcp sele
na bakan , ᵇ bowel ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 -ę
na bakan ᵉ- bi ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 p- ᵇ道歉 d- a
and c1p obj 1p pst like like inf sit c9s obj
“Because of the relationships we had made, we just wanted to stay”

34 Ma ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 pli ploolan ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉
ma ᵉ- ᵇ道歉 -hara p- li p- lool an a- ꡡ ᵇ道歉
but 1p do conc c4s month c4s one ser seq go_home
kê ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 kê ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 tuŋ bti
kê ba- ᵇ道歉 ᵇ道歉 kê ba- lil -an ᵇ道歉 -uŋ bti
d s c1p person ds c1p be_good caus int dem dist all
“But even though we had stayed only a month before leaving, they were all
happy there”
References


References


Samenvatting


In hoofdstuk 1 wordt de Mankanya bevolking geïntroduceerd, samen met hun taal, het gebied waar ze wonen en relevante sociolinguïstische achtergrondinformatie.


Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de werkwoord morfologie. De voorvoegsels voor onderwerp corresponderen in persoon en getal. De eerste persoon enkelvoud heeft aparte voorvoegsels voor inclusief en exclusief. In constructies waarin meerdere zinnen achter elkaar staan zonder voegwoorden, is het onderwerpsvoorvoegsel gereduceerd tot het seriële voorvoegsel _a_. Ontkenning wordt gemarkeerd in de werkwoordsvorm door een voorvoegsel tussen het onderwerpsvoorvoegsel en de stam van het werkwoord. Het object is een achtervoegsel dat persoon en getal aangeeft.

Twee gebonden morfemen worden gebruikt voor aspect, het voorvoegsel _k_- dat onvoltooide tijd aangeeft en het achtervoegsel _-i_ dat markeert dat de actie van het werkwoord afgesloten is. Naast de lijdende en de bedrijvende vorm heeft de taal ook een vorm, aangeduid met het achtervoegsel _-a_, voor acties die hier semantisch tussen in liggen. Er zijn acht achtervoegsels om werkwoord afleidingen mee te maken. Combinaties zijn mogelijk. Het zijn onder andere de causatieve, de instrumentele en de benefactieve afleiding en de wederkerige vorm.

Hoofdstuk 5 beschrijft infinitieven en deelwoorden, die beide zowel verbale als nominale eigenschappen hebben. Infinitieven hebben het voorvoegsel _p_- in plaats van een onderwerpsvoorvoegsel en kunnen het hoofd zijn van een infinitief-zin. Infinitieven hebben geen vervoegingen, afleidingen zijn wel mogelijk. Een infinitief-zin kan het onderwerp of het object zijn van een ander werkwoord in de zin.

Deelwoorden worden gevormd door middel van het achtervoegsel _-i_. Zij hebben nominale voorvoegsels. Afhankelijk van de betekenis van de stam functioneren ze als zelfstandige of bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. Zij kunnen het hoofd zijn van een bijzin.

Hoofdstuk 6 beschrijft andere woordklassen. Woorden die iets zeggen over het zelfstandig naamwoord zijn onder te verdelen twee groepen. In de eerste groep hebben woorden een voorvoegsel dat correspondeert met de naamwoord klasse van het zelfstandig naamwoord (bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, lidwoorden, telwoorden en rangtelwoorden, aanwijzende en bezittelijke voornaamwoorden). De woorden in de tweede groep zijn onveranderlijk en corresponderen niet (hoeveelheidsaanduidingen, onveranderlijke bepalingen van plaats, anaforische aanwijzende voornaamwoorden). Woorden die corresponderen hebben hetzelfde voorvoegsel als dat van het zelfstandig naamwoord, of wat daarop lijkt. Er zijn twee paradigma's die enigszins van elkaar verschillen afhankelijk van de woordklasse. Hoewel telwoorden en rangtelwoorden meestal corresponderen, zijn sommige onveranderlijk.
Andere kleine woordklassen in dit hoofdstuk zijn voorzetsels, bijwoorden van plaats, voegwoorden, vraagwoorden, bijwoorden en idiofonen (woorden die bijvoorbeeld een geluid nabootsen).

Hoofdstuk 7 beschrijft de eenvoudige grammaticale constructies. De eenvoudigste zin is een enkel woord, meestal een werkwoord. De woordvolgorde in een ongemarkeerde bevestigende zin is onderwerp, werkwoord, object. Zinnen met wo als koppelwerkwoord drukken een toestand uit, stellen twee zaken aan elkaar gelijk, of duiden bezit of een plaats aan. Er zijn ook zinnen waarin het enige werkwoord in de zin gecodeerd is door het achtervoegsel -unj, dat specifiek gebruikt wordt voor focusmarkering of topicalisatie. Er zijn ook zinnen zonder werkwoord, deze worden gewoonlijk gebruikt om iets te introduceren.

Basismodificaties creëren negatieve zinnen, ja/nee vraagzinnen, open vraagzinnen en zinnen met een gebiedende wijs.

Zinsdelen met een zelfstandig naamwoord hebben gewoonlijk het zelfstandig naamwoord aan het begin, gevolgd door woorden die er iets over zeggen. Bezitsaanduidingen beginnen meestal met een partikel. Een klein aantal zelfstandige naamwoorden echter staat de aanwezigheid van dit partikel niet toe.

Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft ook infinitief-zinnen en bepalingen van plaats en tijd.

Persoonlijke voornaamwoorden worden normaal gesproken niet gebruikt voor het onderwerp in ongemarkeerde bevestigende zinnen. Zij kunnen wel gebruikt worden om focus aan te geven of één van de personen in een meervoudig onderwerp. Persoonlijke voornaamwoorden voor lijdend- of meewerkend voorwerp volgen op het werkwoord en staan altijd dichter bij het werkwoord dan een zelfstandig naamwoord, of het nu een lijdend of meewerkend voorwerp betreft.

Aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en de markeerder voor een onbepaalde persoon kunnen ook gebruikt worden als persoonlijke voornaamwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 8 beschrijft het werkwoordssysteem. Mankanya maakt de meeste verschillen in tijd, aspect en modaliteit door middel van hulpwerkwoorden die aan het hoofdwerkwoord voorafgaan. Sommige hulpwerkwoorden, zoals ya "gaan" dat als hulpwerkwoord voor de toekomende tijd fungeert, komen ook voor als hoofdwerkwoord. De combinatie van een hulpwerkwoord en een hoofdwerkwoord wordt in dit boek een hulpwerkwoordconstructie genoemd.
De aspecten dat een actie afgesloten is of dat die nog voortduurt worden morfologisch gmarkeerd met respectievelijk -i en -k. Daarnaast komt -k met dezelfde aspectuele functie ook voor in hulpwerkwoordconstructies.

Voor toekomende tijd gebruiken de meeste sprekers lug “gaan”, of ya “gaan” en bi “komen”, gecombineerd met het bovengenoemde aspectuele -k op het hoofdwordwoord. Verleden tijd wordt gmarkeerd met bi, maar zonder -k.

Een actie die volgt op een eerdergenoemde actie, wat beschouwd kan worden als relatieve tijd, wordt gmarkeerd door het hulpwerkwoord şë.

Constructies met andere hulpwerkwoorden die een aspect aangeven zijn: ji voor een actie die gewoonlijk uitgevoerd wordt, jon voor een actie die doorgaat, hum voor een actie die volgehouden wordt, do voor een actie die start, wo ţi voor een actie die aan de gang is, kak voor een actie die herhaald wordt en ba voor een actie die gestopt wordt.

Noodzakelijkheid en epistemische modaliteit kunnen worden uitgedrukt met het woord wo gevolgd door het genitieve partikel i en het hoofdwordwoord. Het hoofdwordwoord heeft het voorvoegsel p- bij noodzakelijkheid en k- en a- voor epistemische modaliteit.

Een verbod wordt gmarkeerd door het hulpwerkwoord wut.

Sommige hulpwerkwoorden kunnen samen voorkomen in een zin, zoals do (een actie starten) en bi (verleden tijd), die samen betekenen dat het begin van een actie in het verleden ligt.

Hoofdstuk 9 beschrijft meer complexe zinstypen, beginnend met een overzicht van de gevonden gevallen, gevolgd door een beschrijving van de manier waarop deze gebruikt worden om verschillende semantische relaties te vertegenwoordigen. Zinnen kunnen aan elkaar gekoppeld worden door verbindingswoord. Sammige daarvan vereisen dat één van de zinnen van een hoofd- een bijzin wordt, d.w.z. dat die zin een morfologische verandering ondergaat die verder niet voorkomt in hoofdzinnen. In sommige gevallen kunnen zinnen aan elkaar verbonden worden zonder voegwoord, maar met een aangepaste werkwoordsvorm in één van de zinnen.

De semantiek van bijzinnen wordt beschreven met de typologie die voorgesteld is door Cristofaro (2005): de hoofdindeling is complement, bijwoordelijke bijzin en relatieve bijzin. Hoofdzinnen worden beschreven met de typologie die Dixon (2009) voorgesteld heeft.

Hoofdstuk 10 bespreekt enkele van de methoden om van een tekst een samenhangend geheel te maken. De bekende strategieën voor de verwijzing
Samenvatting


Enkele manieren om delen van een tekst aan elkaar te verbinden worden toegelicht: zoals het gebruik van het neutrale aanwijzende voornaamwoord $aŋ$, of herhaling van het zelfstandig naamwoord of van het werkwoord.

Wisselingen in een verhaal worden aangeduid met een nieuwe start, gewoonlijk aan het begin van de zin. Een nieuwe start in de tijdlijn is vaak een bepaling van tijd. Een nieuwe locatie wordt meestal aangegeven door een bepaling van plaats.

Hoofdstuk 11 bespreekt het partikel $kë$ dat veel voorkomt in spontane tekst, maar veel minder in zinnen verkregen tijdens veldwerk. Eén van de hoofdfuncties van dit partikel is om een wisseling van onderwerp te markeren in constructies met meerdere zinnen achter elkaar zonder voegwoorden. Het is echter ook gevonden in situaties waarin het onderwerp dezelfde referentie houdt, wat erop kan duiden dat het een bredere discourse functie heeft.

Als het gebruikt wordt om een wisseling van onderwerp te markeren, dan staat $kë$ aan het begin van de zin. Er zijn gevallen waarin het volgt op het onderwerp, soms samen met $kë$ aan het begin van de zin. Het lijkt erop dat dit het onderwerp extra onder de aandacht brengt, ofwel om het te benadrukken, of om een nieuw karakter te introduceren.

Hoofdstuk 12 bevat twee teksten met een letterlijke vertaling. De ene is een volksverhaal, de andere is een persoonlijk verhaal in de ik-vorm.
Samenvatting
Timothy John Drew Gaved was born in Bromley, England on 21st January 1965. He completed his secondary education at Kelsey Park School, Beckenham, England in 1983, and then studied Electronic Engineering at the University of Essex, England where he received a BSc (Hons) in 1986. After a period of work in software engineering, he began working with SIL International in Senegal in 1999. From 1999-2012 he lived in Dakar and worked as a linguistic specialist, helping develop the languages of the region. As well as working with the Mankanya language, he was also involved with training and the coordination of SIL’s linguistic activities. In 2012 he returned to England and studied part time at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and received an MA in Linguistics in 2014. At the end of 2014 he became an external PhD student with Leiden University. Currently he works for SIL West Africa as a linguistics consultant, concentrating on the languages of Côte d’Ivoire.