A Grammar of Mani

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A Mani lament[1]

pelɔ mfɔkɔ ka, lɔmɔ kɔnya?
If you leave from here, where will you go?

fɔ n pɔŋun wɔŋ ko nyɛlɛ,
Unless you jump into the sea,

lɛ biyɛn fɛrɛ.
there is no other place to go.

mani dilan lɛi pɛ ke ki lɛ yema den.
The Mani culture that you see here will disappear.
(mb 5/15/05; jd 8/10/06)

If you do escape, where will you go? You have to plunge into the sea! You have no other recourse. The Mani culture is doomed to disappear.

– Morlaye Boyo Keita; Palatougou, Guinea (15 May 2005)

This quote comes from a history of the Mani people, as recounted by the renowned Mani historian Morlaye Boyo Keita. He was talking about the way in which the Mani people were forced off their ancestral lands by the advancing Soso interlopers (a parallel situation existed further south with pressure from the Temne). At this point the Mani could go no further – their backs were up against the sea and they were being overrun even there.

Acknowledgements

Funding support for the bulk of the Mani Documentation Project came from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP), at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Support for the pilot study was provided by the Endangered Language Foundation (New Haven, CT), the Bremer Stiftung für Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie (Bremen, Germany) and the Fulbright Hays Commission (USA). Later work formed a special part (the filming) of the Project Documenting the Kim and Bom Languages (DKB), which itself was also supported by the ELDP but also by the National Science Foundation (Award Number 652137).

The work could not, of course, be accomplished without the members of the project research team, as well as a great number of native speakers, most of whom are listed below. Others who contributed were the *responsables à l'Université de Conakry, University Gamal Abdel Nasser de Conakry*: Dr. Ousmane Sylla, Recteur; Dr. Alpha Mamadou Diallo, *Vice Recteur Charge de la Recherche*; Dr. N'Fally Kouyaté, *Directeur des Relations Extérieurs et Transport*, Mamadi Douno, *Directeur adjoint des Relations Extérieurs et Transport*, et Ansoumane Camara, *Doyenne de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.*[2] Particularly helpful were members of the *Centre d'Étude des Langues Guinéennes*: Djibril Batchily, Salilou Diallo, and Morlaye Camara.

The following officials and citizens on site in Guinea contributed as well: Forécariah: Henri Haba, *Préfet de Préfecture de Forécariah*; Sonah Mamadi Condé (*Secrétaire Général Chargé de l'Administration*; Benty: Facinet Touré, *Commandant de la Région d'Opérations Maritimes,* Abdulay Jean, *Président de la CRD district de Benty*, Lieutenant Pouna Constant, *Sous-préfet du CRD de Benty*, M. M. Conté (*Secrétaire Communautaire*), Abdoulaye Gassima, *Secrétaire de la Jeunesse*; Caton: Coléah Camara (*Chef du district de Palatougou*), Lamine Soumah, *Chef du secteur de Caton*, Sékou Modet Camara, *Notable de Caton*; Palatougou: Iyadi Sylla, Morelaye Boyo Keita; N'kompan: Imam Musah Camara.

The officials and citizens of Sierra Leone in Moribaya were similarly helpful: Pa Dikali Foday Turay, his wives Maseray and Marie, and his son Amara; teacher Ibrahim Bangoura; the teachers of Moribaya elementary school: Francis Sheku Turay (principal), Foday Malik Bangura, Tonko Turay, and Hassan Asanabi Camara as well as his father N'fasorid Camara.

I am also thankful for the support of my family, who just barely tolerated my long absences.

Dedication

This book is dedicated to Tony Traill (1938–2007), the renowned phonetician and expert on Khoisan and other languages of southern Africa, and to Foday J. D. Kamara (1962–2007), far and away the most dedicated worker on the Mani Documentation Project. Foday would often remark, "I love my language. I love speaking it. Whenever I find someone who speaks it, I will stop and chat with him."

Preface

This book provides a complete grammar of the Mani language spoken in the Samu (alternate French spelling "Samou") region of Sierra Leone and Guinea. The book's degree of completeness must be qualified with the reservations imposed by the limitations of time and data, as well as by the fact that the language is spoken by only a few hundred people in only a limited number of contexts if at all. The data come from a short pilot study conducted during July and August of 2000, and a larger study taking place over two years (the Mani Documentation Project or MDP, 2004–06, and two brief return trips in April 2009 and February 2010). That the Mani language will soon disappear is certain; just as certain is that this grammar will be the only one ever written.

The audience for this book will be primarily linguists but more specifically those from the following areas: historical-comparative linguistics, especially those interested in the classification of African languages; language typology; and likely theoretical linguistics, for the language presents some structures of considerable complexity. It will also appeal to those interested in language change, language shift, and language death. In addition, interest will come from non-mainstream linguists such as language planners, especially in Sierra Leone where there is some interest in and support for the indigenous languages. Ethnographers and other fieldworkers investigating the Mani language or people will also find the book useful.

The book also has considerable symbolic value for the Mani people. It is regrettable that few Mani speakers will ever read this grammar, although they may become familiar with a reduced, locally available version provided by the project. Nonetheless, just the fact that a book has been written about their language has great significance for the Mani people. Readers may also want to inspect a primer-like text distributed among the Mani people and available from the author.

Childs, G. Tucker. 2007. *Hin som sɛk! oma, si fɔ mfɔ mmani!* Portland, OR: Real Estate Publishers, Inc.

The translation of the title is, 'Let's eat mullet! or, let's speak the Mani language!' This question, 'Do you eat mullet?' has a special meaning for Mani speakers; it is said to be a "secret" way of asking strangers if they speak Mani (of asking whether they are truly Mani?). Some excerpts from the primer can be found in Appendix 2: Pedagogical materials (p. 250).

The theoretical approach adopted by this book is a relatively neutral one versed in what has been called the "language of observation" (Greenberg 1970). By this term is meant a pre-theoretical language accessible to all linguists and to relatively sophisticated non-linguists. Linguists use this language to make their data accessible to other linguists, and the grammar employs only accepted and well-established jargon and formalisms. In terms or organizing and presenting the data, it is probably closest to the "slot-and-filler" approach of the American structuralists (see Fischer-Jørgensen 1975). It is the language and system, for example, that introduces the facts of a more theoretically oriented paper before the theory is introduced. If any approach may be ascribed to this grammar, it is functional-typological, for the facts are often set in a typological framework and explained through reference to language functions. Finally, there is occasional reference to sociolinguistic factors most of which make reference to the precarious state of the language. The fact that Mani is dying has had some noticeable repercussions on its linguistic form. It should also be noted that the description here tends more towards "language documentation" in the sense of Himmelmann 1998 than to more traditional, strictly linguistic descriptions.

Because the author is familiar with other languages from the group formerly known as (West) Atlantic, the group of Niger-Congo to which Mani belongs, comparative comments are introduced as known and appropriate. Atlantic, however, has now been (rightly) divided into North Atlantic, South Atlantic, and the isolate Bijogo (Blench 2006). Mani is situated within the Bullom subgroup of South Atlantic, and some close comparisons are made to Kisi, a language that the author speaks and has presented in a grammar (Childs 1995), a dictionary (Childs 2000), and a number of articles. There are also some comparisons to other languages in the sub-group, including Kim and Bom, two other dying languages from the sub-group that represent the subject of current research (2007–10). With regard to the other member of the Bullom sub-group, Sherbro, there is other published work available for comparative purposes, the most important being Hanson 1979; Pichl 1963; Rogers 1967; Sumner 1921, as well as a thesis in progress (Corcoran To appear).

Several comments need to be made on the quality and quantity of the data. The most important fact affecting the data is that the language is in the last throes of language death. The relatively few speakers had limited proficiency in the language and even fewer spoke English or French. For example, morphological systems were not completely controlled (tense-mood-aspect-polarity, the noun class system, and verb extensions). It was also true that the time allotted to formally investigating the grammar itself was limited; the focus was more on language documentation (videotaping, photography, and recording). Because of this orientation, the data were collected intermittently over the period of the grant (2004–06) and not all of the two-year period was spent in the field by all mem-

bers of the team. Nonetheless, all of the examples have been checked with at least two informants or with a key informant at separate times.

Those wishing to examine the original data may do so through the archives at the HRELP's Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, or from the author at Portland State University, Portland, OR (USA). Comparable materials are also available at the University of Conakry, Guinea, and at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

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Conventions, abbreviations and symbols used

Conventions

The standard format for examples given in the text is as follows:

(0) ù lát kò dìpàlà

ù	lát	kò	dì-pàl-à
3SG	spread.PERF	to	NCM-sun-in

'He spread the rice (on the ground) in the sun.' (jd 1/28/06, 3/3/07; tc 7/9/08)

In the first line is a unique sequential number for the example. What follows is the way the utterance was originally transcribed with minor changes, oftentimes without tones. In the second line appears a phonemicized morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, regularized as necessary. In the third line appear aligned abbreviated English glosses of the individual morphemes. When glosses appear with a period between the English words, it indicates that distinct morphemes cannot be separated. The sequence "spread.PERF", for example, represents the Perfective form of the verb 'spread' (the Perfective is here realized as a high tone). Hyphens in the second and third lines represent separable morphemes. The last line represents a relatively free translation, usually designed to correspond more to the Mani sense than to idiomatic English when the languages are demonstrably different. Material in parentheses is added to clarify the meaning but is not directly represented in the Mani utterance.

The final item in parentheses after the gloss is the speaker and the date of the utterance when known. Different speakers are represented by different initials and a semicolon between them; different dates by the same speaker are separated by a comma. The first indicated speaker originally provided the utterance; other dates and speakers represent revisions. When more than one Mani sequence occurs in an example and only one speaker is credited in the last line, the speaker is responsible for the last example and for any preceding ones.

There are small variations in this format when the omitted information is not essential to the point being made. For example, a close phonetic transcription may not be necessary when discussing syntactic structure.

English glosses, other than those appearing in the morpheme-gloss line, are enclosed in single quotation marks, both within examples and within the text itself. Mani words and those from other non-English languages are italicized in the text and within such glosses.

Abbreviations

N.B. Abbreviations in small caps refer to language-particular grammatical glosses, as discussed in the text.

1SG	First singular
2SG	Second singular
3SG	3rd singular, etc.
ADJ	Adjective
ADP	Adposition
ADV	Adverb
AdpP	Adpositional phrase
ANIM	Animate
ATR	Advanced tongue root
BEN	Benefactive
C	Consonant
CIT	Citation form
COL	Collective
CPD	Compound
CS	Causative verb extension
DEM	Demonstrative
DEP	Dependent element
DFT	Default
DIST	Distributive
DIST	Distal
DKB	Documenting Kim and Bom
EMPH	Emphatic
Eng	English
EV	Extra vowel
Fr	French
G	Guinea
G	Glide
HORT	Hortative
i	Morpheme *–i*
IDPH	Ideophone
IPF	Imperfective
INANIM	Inanimate
INDEF	Indefinite
INSTR	Instrumental
L	Liquid /l/ or /r/
lit.	Literally
LOC	Locative
MDP	Mani Documentation Project
MID	Middle verb extension
misc.	Miscellaneous
N	Noun
N	Nasal
N/A	Not available
NCM	Noun class marker
NCP	Noun class pronoun
NGO	Non-govt. organization
NP	Noun phrase
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural, Pluraational
POST	Postposition
PRE	Prefix
PREP	Preposition
PRO	Pronoun
PROX	Proximal
Q	Question particle
RECIP	Reciprocal
REDUP	Reduplicated, reduplication
REFL	Reflexive
rev.	Revised, reviewed
SG	Singular
SL	Sierra Leone
So	Soso (Susu)
s.t.	Something
SUF	Suffix
tbu	Tone-bearing unit
TMA	Tense mood aspect
TMAP	Tense mood aspect polarity
V	Verb
V	Vowel
VP	Verb phrase

The phonological symbols in this book all come from the International Phonetic Association, except "ny" for the palatal nasal [ɲ] and "y" for the palatal glide [j]. In most cases the spelling used for Mani is phonemic, and IPA symbols have been used which represent the most prominent allophone. Less well-known IPA symbols used in this book are: [↓, ↑] for lowered register or downstep and raised register or upstep.

Chapter 1
Introduction

Speakers of the Mani language today occupy scattered, remote, and isolated pockets in the Samu (spelled "Samou" in Guinea) region straddling the border on the coastal plain of Sierra Leone and Guinea.[3] No villages in Guinea can be found in which Mani is the dominant language, although distinct sections and sometimes entire towns are ethnically Mani. In Sierra Leone, however, Mani remains a sometimes daily language in a small collection of geographically close villages around Moribaya in Kambia District. These are the remnants of a Mani kingdom which once held suzerainty over the entire Samu region, stretching inland from the sea in a coastal band from Freetown to Conakry (north beyond Conakry to Baga country according to Moity 1957). Over time, however, the kingdom dissolved and contracted. The Mani lost ground in successive generations to more powerful neighbors and retreated to peripheral and isolated enclaves.

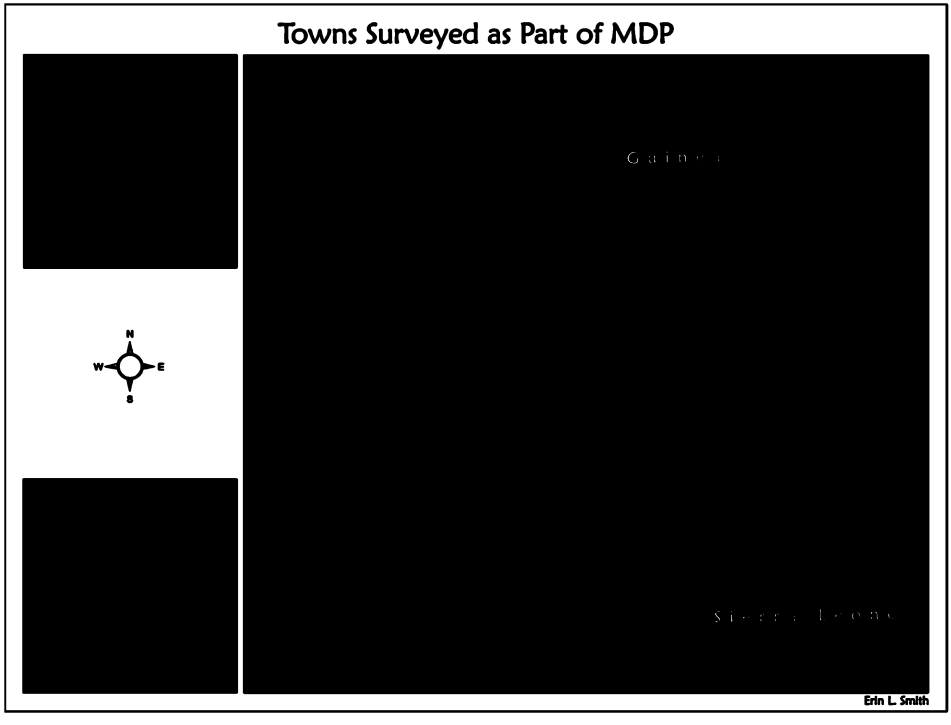
The geography of the area is coastal tidelands, consisting of an extensive low-lying sandy littoral, tidal estuaries, and mangrove swamps. The characteristic tree is the oil palm but other trees are plentiful as well, including the coconut, bamboo, and various other palms. The climate is tropical with a dry season (roughly November through May) and a wet season (June through October), although there have recently been instances of an early second rainy season. The heaviest rainfall of the rainy season occurs in June, but recently it has been preceded by a shorter set of rains in March, according to several farmers in Guinea. It was experienced in the second year of the study (2005), as well as further down the coast in Sierra Leone in 2007. The climate is generally hot and humid throughout the year (rarely below 30°C / 80°F) with sea breezes from the afternoon on.

Local economies are based on fishing and farming. Fishing includes freshwater, tidal, and open sea fishing with boats constructed from both single tree trunks and sawn planks; the latter type of boat is used on the open sea. Farming focuses on rice but also involves the cultivation of cassava, peppers, and other vegetables. Coconut and palm products figure prominently in the local cuisine. Another significant activity is salt extraction through the processing of saltwater from the ocean during the dry season; in Mani the process is known as *yàr ǹyèl* or 'salt cooking'. Charcoal production is a less common activity, one of the few not tied to a subsistence existence. Large-scale agriculture includes cooperatives, e.g., rice-growing on the island of Kabak, and a number of large plantations, e.g., oil palms, pineapple, bananas. In Guinea most of these plantations are the

legacy of colonial (French) banana plantations depending on impressed labor and still controlled, for the most part, by community outsiders. In fact, the Forécariah *préfecture*, within which the Guinea Mani area is located, was once devoted entirely to banana plantations, much of it worked with impressed labor. Near the Guinea research site in Caton were the relics of an abandoned town known as "Kissidougou", lit. 'town of the Kisi" in Malinké and other related languages. The town once belonged to impressed Kisi laborers brought down from the interior Forest Region of Guinea.[4]

1. Project location

Map 1 shows the towns surveyed as part of the MDP. The pilot study surveyed the Island of Kabak in the northeastern quadrant of the map. Although there were many who wanted to speak Mani, we found only a few residents who could actually do so, all of them fairly elderly (see section 1.3); there were a few others, fishermen or travelers from Sierra Leone.



Map 1. Major towns and locations of the research area

The study proper was based in Caton, Benty District, Forécariah Prefecture in the center of the map, but the main concentration of Mani speakers was found across the Sierra Leone border around the town of Moribaya. On the Guinea side we found only a few elderly people scattered in many towns, even though the district numbered some 22,542 souls as of 2003 after the "Rebels" had ceased operations (Réf - RGPH 1996 (*Resencement Général de la Population de l'Habitat*, réatualisé en 2003 par le Secrétaire Communautaire M. M. Conté).

But in Moribaya and especially on the island of Tangbaya we found a much more vital Mani culture including several Mani dance troupes and children who actually grew up speaking the language.

An area we were not able to investigate was the southern part of the Samu, especially the town of Kychom, where Mani chiefs are tradionally invested (see footnote 5). There were also some eldery speakers called to the Lungi paramount chief's quarters in 2006, but I was not able to reach there in time for their visit.

This grammar describes the Mani spoken by citizens of both Guinea and Sierra Leone. The only substantive work on Mani consists of dated missionary grammar Nyländer 1814. The time depth is wonderful for comparative purposes, but unfortunately the data and analysis are unreliable when compared to the data collected here. The grammar is based on a Latinate model looking for number and case declensions!

Koelle 1854 (republished as Koelle 1963) represents a more reliable source (see discussion in Childs 2003a), but he provides only limited word lists, and his informant comes from the very southern portion of the historical Mani area (Lungi Chiefdom, the destination of my ill-fated excursion in 2006 described above), which the Temne had already overrun by the middle of the 19th century. In fact Koelle's "informant", "Fúre Kába", had a Temne father. At three years old, however, he was

> brought to the Bulom [Mani] shore, opposite Freetown [Lungi Chiefdom], where he grew up in the hamlet of Túlun; and in about his twenty-fourth year came over to Freetown, where he has now been earning his bread as a seaman for about fifteen years" (Koelle 1963 (1854):2).

Thus, Fúre Kába was not a Recaptive, as were many other of Koelle's language consultants, but an actual resident of Freetown. Koelle writes further,

> The Bulom country, opposite Sierra Leone [= Freetown], borders on the Timne country in the east and north. Túlun is situate [sic] on the western part of the Búlom shore [a town *Tolung* is stated as having some thirty inhabitants by Nyländer], which is inhabited by Búloms only, whereas in the eastern part the Búloms and Tímne are mixed. The Búloms of the Búlom shore call those of the Sherbro country Mámpa [= Sherbro]. These two Búlom countries are separated from each other by the Tímne territory, which extends right down to the end of Sierra Leone" (Koelle 1963 (1854):2)

Koelle's vocabulary remained the only material known to be published on what was called "NB" or "Northern Bullom" but was in fact Mani. Dalby said it could be compared only with Nyländer's vocabulary, published some forty years before the *Polyglotta* (Dalby 1966:140), but in fact there was research being done on the other side of the border by a French anthropologist.

In addition to the early English and German work, there are some more contemporary brief linguistic notes (Moity 1948) and a brief ethnographic sketch (Moity 1957) containing some linguistic material, likely based on the earlier notes. At the time of this research, Moity felt the death of Mani to be imminent: he commented directly on the linguistic and cultural shift of the Mani to Temne and Soso, a process now virtually complete.

The Samu is a relatively small region, where movement back and forth across the border is fairly fluid, especially for those involved in fishing and with access to boats. Strong family ties bind the people of the area, despite differences in nationality. During the two research periods of this study (2000, 2004–06), Sierra Leone refugees could be found living in Guinea, having fled the civil war and having yet to return, despite the cross-border trip being a short one. A brief incursion by rebel forces from Sierra Leone immediately after the pilot study of 2000 was the last sign of unrest, but it was a fatal one. Villages were bombed and several people killed. One disabled old man in Mounkouro, unable to walk. could not come out of the house at the Rebels' command; they burned him alive in the house. Many villages that we visited were both burnt and shelled by the Sierra Leone rebels, and people in these towns were killed. There was nowhere near the death and destruction elsewhere in Sierra Leone, but what happened in the Samu was enough to create a significantly traumatized and displaced population.

Freetown, the capital city of Sierra Leone, bustled with NGOs and donations from abroad at the time of the study. Few of those resources, however, have reached the people of the Samu. A comparable state of affairs exists in Guinea. Promises were once made to develop the Samu on the Guinea side of the border as a tourist destination – a few roundels were built in nearby Benty (where we stayed before our house was refurbished) and a section of the road graded as the first stage of a development effort. Little was done, however, beyond these initial efforts, and already several of the rondels have collapsed. This endeavor has since been replaced by a new plan (2006), which sees the port of Benty as a major export center, but little action had been taken at the time of the project's completion.

In all interviews where the question was asked, subjects felt that things were worse today than they were in the past, perhaps a universal sentiment, but one certainly accurate in the Samu.

kà kàtón lɔ̀ cén nyùè kékécò kén kácè lábìlà

kà	kàtón	lɔ̀	cè-én	nùè	kékécò	kén	kácè	lábìlà
in	Caton	PRO	COP-NEG	nice	present	like	PAST	thus

'It is not as enjoyable in Caton today as it was in the past.' (Yaye Camara, 18 Nov 04, Caton, Guinea)

In this narrative, Yaye Camara characterizes the festivals, the dancing, and the extensive social interchanges that took place when she was a child (she was over sixty at the time of the interview). None are so robust today. Along with this cultural attenuation has been the ongoing disappearance of the language.

2. Mani nomenclature

A few remarks need to be made on nomenclature. All of the following are possible names for what the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) calls "Bullom So" (ISO reference "buy") and what will be here referred to as "Mani".

Mmani (Moity 1948; Moity 1957)
Búlom or North Búlom (Koelle 1854; Koelle 1963 (1854))
Bullom So (Iverson and Cameron 1986)
Bullom So, Northern Bullom, Bolom, Bulem, Bullun, Bullin, Mmani (Grimes 1996, Gordon 2005, Lewis 2009)
Mandingi (Mmani), Bullom (Dalby 1962)
Mandenyi, Mandeng (the names used by Soso speakers and by ethnic Mani in the Soso area of Guinea and Sierra Leone, 2006)
Bullom (Williams 1988:88, Footnote 2; popular Sierra Leone name, 2006)

The name in the literature closest to the name used by speakers ("Mani" [màní]) is "Mmani", with what looks like a syllabic nasal prefix (no tone markings have ever been used in other works). Syllabic nasals are widely used in Mani, usually as prefixes homorganic to a following consonant (see 2). When people refer to the language they call it *m̀fɔ́ m̀mànì* 'the Mani language'. The word for 'language' is *m̀fɔ́*, using the stem for 'speech, speak' preceded by the nasal noun class marker (/ǹ-fɔ́/ NCM-speak) with assimilation of the nasal to the following labiodental. It is thus likely that *m̀mànì* represents an adjectival form agreeing with the noun 'language', used for the language itself. Native speakers themselves provided no single form for 'the Mani language", and thus the simple stem for the ethnonym 'Mani' will be used for both the language and the people.

The most widely used name in Guinea, "Mandenyi" is that used by the Soso and by the Mani themselves in Guinea, featuring the Soso suffix *-i*, a definite marker. The Soso have generally used their own names for such (smaller) groups rather than the names the people themselves use (e.g., Baga "Kobé" for

"Pukur" (Voeltz 1996)). "Bullom" is the most widely used name for the variety and confusedly for several others in Sierra Leone.

The name "Bullom So" itself has an interesting provenance and reveals something of how the language is perceived. The additional "So" was used by Lutheran Bible Translators (TISLL) workers in Sierra Leone and has been adopted by SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) International as the standard reference name for the language. The name "Bullom So" relates Mani to the other Bullom languages to which it is genetically close (Bom, Sherbro (Sherbro is confusingly also known as "Bullom"), Kim, and Kisi). It also indicates the extent to which it has been influenced by the southwestern Mande language, Soso, the source of "So" (Iverson and Cameron 1986). An earlier researcher attempted a compromise by including all of the more prominent names in his discussion, labeling the variety variously as "Mandingi (Mmani)" and "Bullom" (Dalby 1962:63).

3. Demographics

It is uncertain how many speakers of Mani there are today, but there are not more than a few hundred. Part of the difficulty in reaching such an estimate is identifying speakers, for there are many more ethnic Mani than there are speakers of Mani. Ethnic Mani will graciously state that they speak the language, especially when they are made aware that the investigator is keen on finding speakers of the language. Later, more intensive investigation will often show that their knowledge of Mani is rudimentary at best. Thus a significant problem in a survey is determining in an expeditious manner whether (self-) identified speakers actually speak the language, and no such systematic survey was performed.

The best (generous) estimate is that one can find a few score speakers in Guinea (some of whom came from Sierra Leone as either spouses or refugees) and several hundred in Sierra Leone. In Sierra Leone the language is decidedly more vital than in Guinea. The district center of Moribaya is a partially Mani town, and is surrounded by several other towns with a strong Mani presence: Rotain, adjacent to Moribaya across a rainy-season stream; Pamalap, roughly a mile away (there is also, confusedly, a Pamalap in nearby Guinea); and the town of Tangbaya, a small and almost exclusively Mani town on an island of the same name (formerly a seasonal fishing and salt-cooking village). Other small towns where Mani is spoken in Sierra Leone are: Kibanka, Rolope, and Kychom, the last being the site of the present-day paramount chieftaincy of the Sierra Leone Samu.[5] In Guinea no such towns exist; Mani is spoken by only a few old men and women in all towns we visited.

Both the Guinea variety and the Sierra Leone varieties are heavily influenced by Soso, a Mande language belonging to the Mandeng sub-group; further south in Sierra Leone, away from the border beyond the Soso area, Temne dominates as a second language. A month-long survey of Guinea conducted in 2000 by myself and several colleagues from the University of Conakry found very few fluent speakers in Guinea. We traversed the islands of Kabak (and Matakan) and traveled along the frontier road to Benty in the Forécariah *préfecture* of Guinea (see section 1.6 of this chapter for a summary of that study). We found the same situation everywhere: only a few older women and fewer men could speak the language. We were told many times that in the next village, one which we had not yet visited, we would be sure to find a sizeable community of speakers, an assurance nearly always found to be inaccurate. A brief inquiry (2006) into Mani speakers at the southern end of the former range of the Mani Kingdom on the Lungi Peninsula north of Freetown turned up just three elderly speakers.

4. Classification

Figure 1 shows the generally accepted early brachiation of Niger-Congo. Although Kordofanian is the earliest branching group, Mande and Atlantic are shown as separating later simultaneously, also very early on; the Mande separation has been put at 2,000 BC (Dwyer 1989:50); Blench puts the date of Mande "expansion", based on an evaluation of internal diversity, much earlier at 6000 BP and Atlantic much earlier than that at 8000 BP (Blench 2006:133).

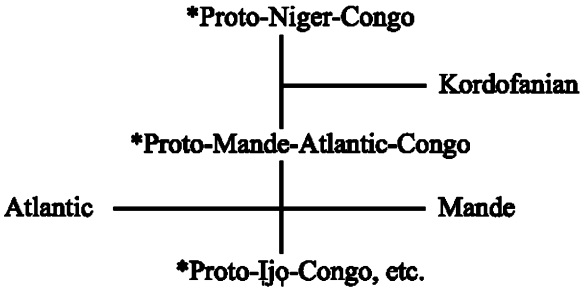


Figure 1. Niger-Congo (Williamson and Blench 2000)

At the level of Atlantic, however, the larger family to which Mani and its congeners have traditionally been assigned, there is more controversy. It is certain that Atlantic does not form a genetically coherent group; virtually all investigators agree on this point. Nonetheless, "Atlantic" has served a convenient referential function as the category for languages that are not Mande, a Niger-Congo

group with some considerable coherence, spoken in areas of West Africa shared with the Atlantic Group (see *Map 2*).

Typological arguments have been advanced for seeing the Atlantic languages as constituting an entity. In fact, the only features typically adduced are the presence of noun classes and verb extensions (Mani has both in attenuated form), features widely attested in Niger-Congo in general. A recent proposal gives the features as stated in *Table 1*, yet these features are also not shared throughout Atlantic. Typological distinctions thus fail to characterize Atlantic as a coherent group.

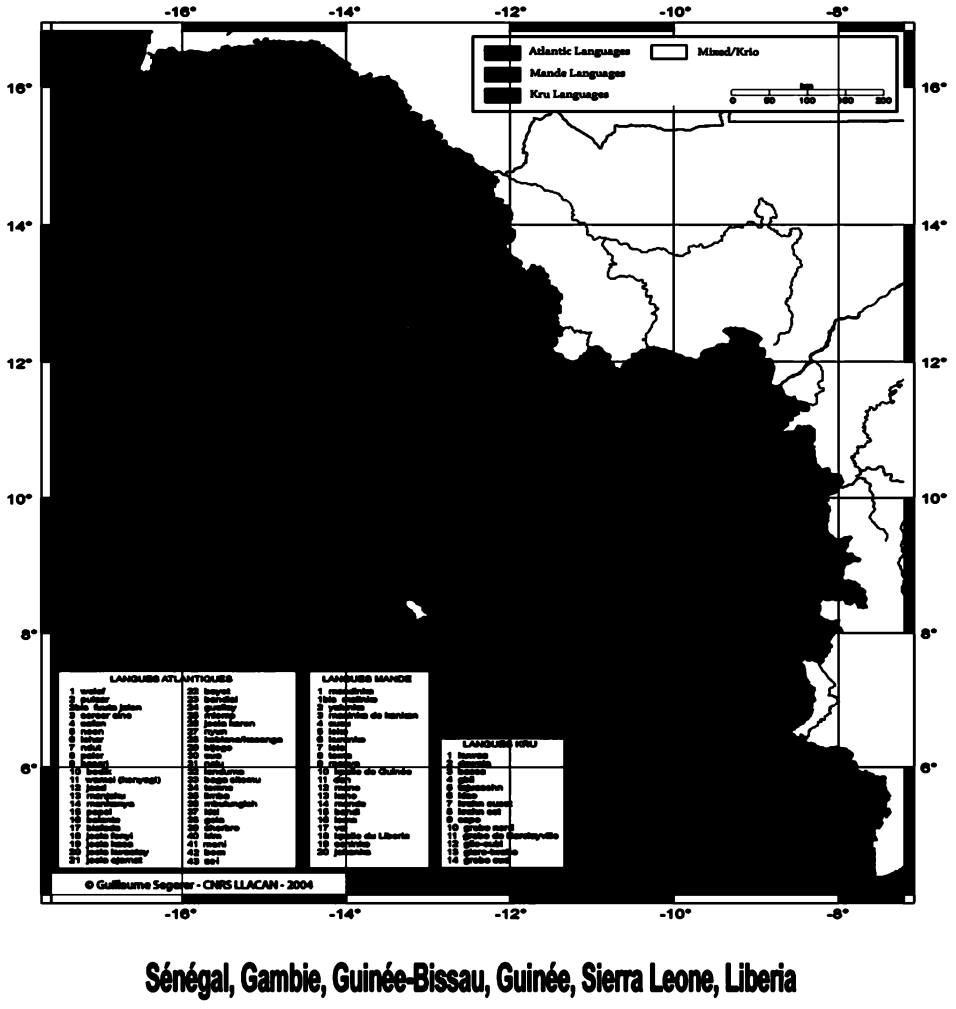
Table 1. Atlantic features (from Table 2.3 in Williamson and Blench 2000:22)

Domain	Atlantic realization
Noun classes	Full, original prefixes; weakened, renewed by suffixes, or augments
Verb extensions	Widespread
Pronouns	Inclusive/exclusive common
Sentence order	SVOA; Prepositions
Noun phrase	N+Gen (Gen+N in Sua); N+Num; N+Dem

Geographical considerations also enter in to the classification, especially since the Atlantic languages are far from the Benue-Congo heartland, where the most widely known class languages occur. Thus, it is only a combination of typology (weakly) and geography that can distinguish the group: "The two features that make Atlantic a meaningful entity are typology and geographical distribution" (Wilson 1989:81).

Part of the explanation for the lack of coherence to Atlantic may be historical, particularly with respect to the less widely spoken languages. The people who speak such languages (including Mani) have been subject to various waves of immigration and conquest, including Islamic jihads. The most per-vasive influence, however, has been the so-called "Mande Expansion", e.g., Murdock 1959, Brooks 1993, only part of which involved Muslim proselytizers. The first phase was peaceable and consisted of traders and Islamic missionaries; the second phase was consid-erably more warlike following the collapse of the Mail Empire in the sixteenth century.

Map 2 shows how Mande has divided and isolated Atlantic languages, invading them, pushing them to the coast, or forcing them into highland areas. The Mande Expansion has been the main threat to the vitality of the less widely spoken Atlantic languages (Childs 2010). This is dramatically the case with Mani, completely surrounded by Soso and their Atlantic counterpart, the Temne.



Sénégal, Gambie, Guinée-Bissau, Guinée, Sierra Leone, Liberia

Map 2. The Atlantic and Mande languages

One later problem for the coherence of individual Atlantic languages was the imposition of political boundaries by European colonists (see Reader 1998, Diamond 1997). The Mani have been divided by a modern political boundary, that between Sierra Leone and Guinea. In earlier times the division was imposed by the colonial powers, England in Sierra Leone and France in Guinea. How arbitrary and how volatile such borders can be is seen in the fact that the lower reaches of the Great Scarcies (a.k.a. Kolente) River, have been part of both colonies because of a shifting border, having been set definitively only in the late nineteenth century (Alie 1990).

Atlantic thus is not a unified group, certainly from a linguistic perspective. Bijogo is a language with closer links outside than within Atlantic and thus should be considered an isolate (Segerer 2000; Segerer 2001). Other languages in North Atlantic have similarly been argued to be more closely related to languages outside Atlantic (Doneux 1975). My own work has shown that South Atlantic forms no genetic unity with North Atlantic, even on the geographic and typological criteria typically used to unify the group (Childs 2001b; Childs 2003c). These findings have recently been integrated into a single representation, as shown in *Figure 2*. I have included only the top part of the figure down to just beyond Bijogo. The figure shows North Atlantic and South Atlantic as independent branches separating from the Niger-Congo stock at approximately the same time, but Bijogo separating much later.

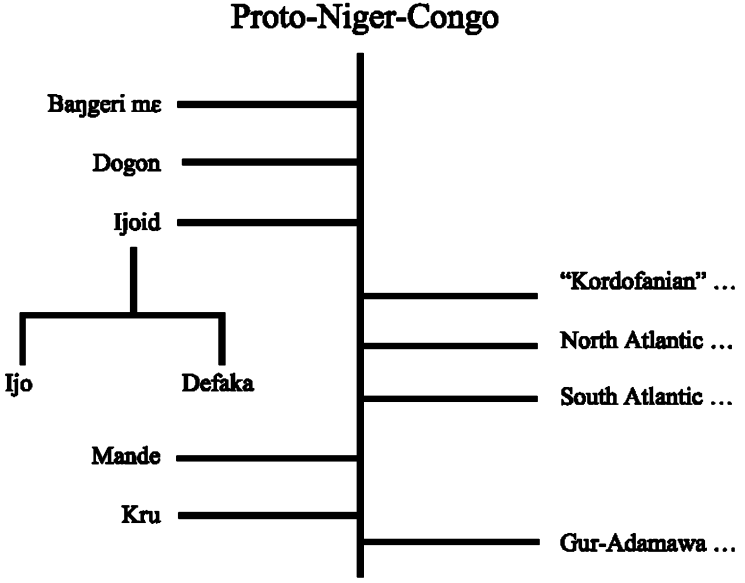


Figure 2. Niger-Congo (Blench 2006:118)

The genetic classification of Mani at lower levels is not controversial. Mani's closest relatives are the coastal Mel languages (Dalby 1965; Dalby 1962; Iverson and Cameron 1986; Pichl 1972, and Wilson 1989.) The Bulom subgroup within Mel contains Sherbro, Kim, Bom, and Kisi. Closely related to Mani within the Mel sub-group is Kisi, a language spoken primarily in the Forest Region of Guinea but spilling over into both Sierra Leone and Liberia. Kisi was separated from the other Bulom languages in historical times, during the 16th century Mane invasions (Rodney 1967; Rodney 1970) when the Kisi fled into the rain forest.

Other sub-groups within Mel are 1) Temne and the Baga languages, also spoken along the Sierra Leone and Guinea coasts; and 2) Gola, a single language spoken in the forest region straddling the border between Sierra Leone and Liberia (see *Map 1*). *Figure 3* shows the accepted classification of South Atlantic: the isolate Bijogo and North Atlantic are not shown.

South Atlantic
- A. Mansoanka
- B. Mel languages
  1. Baga: Temne; Baga Maduri, Baga Sitem, Baga Fore, Baga Kalum, Landoma
  2. Bulom: Kisi; Mani, Sherbro, Kim, Bom
  3. Gola
- C. Limba

Figure 3. The South Atlantic languages

5. Historical background

Little is known of the "prehistory" of the area, i.e., what transpired before the advent of the Europeans. Explaining that what is known goes back only 5,000 years, an archaeologist provides this following characterization.

> Sierra Leone had an industry similar to that of surrounding areas of West Africa, generally known as the "Guinea Neolithic" there was a gradual change from stone tool use to iron tool use in at least part of the country over the period from about the 8th to the 15th centuries. There are also indications that the stone tools may have been used for the working of wood, ivory, and other organic materials (and possibly even soap-stone) (Atherton 1984:245).

The area where Mani was historically spoken is certainly larger than that where it is spoken today. The Mani once occupied a much greater geographical area: at the beginning of the 18th century a Mani kingdom stretched from Sierra Leone north to the River Pongo in Guinea (Arcin 1907, as in Diallo 1974:36; see Moity 1957). Pichl 1980 states that the Mani were the first inhabitants of the coastal region between Freetown and Conakry, being later replaced by the Temne-Baga and still later by the Soso.

The small numbers of Mani speakers and their marginal location are the results of war losses and one "victory". The Mani fought unsuccessfully against the Temne for many years, losing great amounts of territory. Oral testimony relates how in the southern portion of the Mani kingdom in Sierra Leone, it was an invasion by the Temne that precipitated its downfall. More specifically, it was the kidnapping of a Mani king and the subsequent warfare that caused the

disintegration of the kingdom. To help withstand the Temne, the Mani called on the Soso, with whose aid they finally withstood the Temne. Unfortunately, soon thereafter the Mani were culturally overcome by the Soso.

The kingdom's demise was likely more gradual. Contributing to the effects of the Temne attacks on the southern flank of the Samu kingdom was the more pacific but no less linguistically devastating advent of the Soso, who were themselves pushed into the Samu by the Fulbe in the 18th century. Several jihads expedited the process of the Mani acculturation to the Soso and their conversion to Islam. Forcible conversion to Islam came later in the 19th century at the hands of the "Tourelakaï", warring Muslim Malinké on jihad (Diallo 1974:37). Morlaye Boyo Keita, an oral historian, relates how one of Sunjata's lieutenants (Kalmasine) threatened the Mani who had fled to Matakan, a small sometimes island (connected by a narrow isthmus only during low tide) off the larger island of Kabak in Guinea, one of the more productive areas surveyed in 2000. The following quote indicates how bent on destruction the invaders were.

nya lɛ, "lɔ fɔɛ ŋɔ yomɔ,
They (Sunjata's troops) said, "If God agrees,

lɔy cəpɛ ugbatɔ ka ŋsaŋgboŋ kaki,
when we start (to use) the sword here in Nsangbon,

fɔ si kɔ kɔ tɔk, ko matakaŋ ko nyɛlɛ".
we must wash it in the sea at Matakan." (Morlaye Boyo 5/15/05, jd 6/10/05)

Childs 2007 contains the complete text of Morlaye Boyo's story. One excerpt appears as part of the frontispiece of this book and a segment can be found in Appendix 2: Pedagogical materials, "Tomro and the hippopotamus", p. 244.

Without a doubt, the islamicization of the Samu has had a deleterious effect on the language and culture, at the least in terms of stigmatizing traditional practices, e.g., the drinking of palm wine (the mildly intoxicating sap of two palm species), and religious rites, e.g., ancestor worship, where the language is most likely to be preserved. Marcel Moity was the first to comment on the effects of Islam's advance, noting, for example, the disappearance of secret societies[6] featuring extended drinking bouts (Moity 1957:304). (At least the drinking part of these practices is preserved among the closely related Kim people of the southern Sierra Leone coast.)

The ultimate effect of these and other invasions was the shattering of the Mani kingdom into many smaller areas resulting in today's atomization and peripherality of the Mani people. Today no elders whom we interviewed knew very much about the early history of the Mani people. Most Mani know only the story of their particular village's founding and perhaps a few similar stories for

nearby or related villages. This is considerably less than the upper limit of 4–5 generations or 100–200 years found by Belcher 1999 elsewhere in Africa and possibly a consequence of the precarious state of the language and ethnic identity.

On the more local level, oral history suggests that the retreat of the Mani in Guinea was relatively pacific, although inexorable. When the Soso arrived in Mani villages, the Mani simply moved on and away, closer and closer to the ocean, eventually occupying islands and swamps among the tidal estuaries. Names of villages and other toponyms often reflect or memorialize a historical event, and such names have been used a tool to help in reconstructing the past, e.g., Niane 1989, Bühnen 1992, Agorsah 2006:185–186. A number of Mani names reflect the desperation of a people pushed to their limits by pressure from other groups. For example, Matakan, an outer island off the southeastern Guinea coast mentioned first on p. 7, has been translated variously as, "We stop here' and 'Let us hide here' (Momoh Seki Camara 2000 p.c.; cf. Mani *màtán* 'hide (oneself')).

Another place name, "Kakoluma", a mountain site outside Conakry, is the source of the name for a brand of bottled water in Guinea. The place name is Mani, where ironically, the name is, *ká kùlùmóé* , 'the place to drink palm wine', arising from the time when the Mani were "fleeing" the Soso. The fact that they had time enough to harvest and drink the palm wine – it takes 3 days for the palm wine flow to start after tapping, and the flow lasts 2–3 weeks before the tree is exhausted – suggests their flight may not have been too hurried.

Another slightly ironic use of a Mani toponym is the name of one of the most luxurious hotels in Conakry, the Hotel Camayenne, formerly owned by the Belgian airline Sabena and the site of negotiations over the future of Sierra Leone immediately after the civil war. The Mani word from which the name came, *kòkàmàyén*, was the name of a hamlet where the city of Conakry is now located.

(1) *kòkàmàyén*
kò kàmà àyéŋ
to Kama middle' i.e., in the middle of Kama

"Kama" is the name of the site where the domestic slaves of the Mani worked and lived (cf. Moity 1957). It is unlikely that even the original owners of the hotel knew this etymology.

6. Pilot study: Language assessment survey (2000)

A brief language assessment survey was conducted during July and August of 2000 with the cooperation of the *Centre d'Étude des Langues Guinéennes (CELG)* at the University of Conakry. Members of the survey team included the

author, Mamadou Camara, Director of CELG, and CELG member Djibril Batchily, as well as a 4th-year linguistics student, Mamadoubah Camara, married to a woman from the Mani area, the town of Bakia on the isle of Kabak. On Kabak we were provided invaluable assistance by Alpha Salilou Bangoura, *ingénieur agronome* from the Baga coastal area, who provided introductions and a strong shoulder when our car was mired in the rainy season mud.

The pervasive effect of Soso pressure on Mani cannot be overstated; it was evident even at this preliminary stage of the investigation. Very often Mani speakers were unaware they were giving Soso forms, even for such common words as 'sister' and 'elephant'. The Soso word *màgínè* was given first for 'sister', and no other word was immediately provided, even though Batchily, a native speaker of Soso, explained that *màgínè* was a Soso word and asked for another. The Mani speaker eventually came up with a Mani word, *wàncé mì*, lit. 'my younger sister'. Furthermore, the word she provided for 'uncle' ('mother's brother') was also Soso. It turned out that we were unable to uncover any native Mani word for 'uncle'; this inability indicated still further how Soso had influenced Mani (see Childs 2002 for an analysis of kinship term borrowing from Mande languages into Kisi).

Identifiable "errors", detectable even in the brief survey we conducted in 2000 were legion. The causes were many. One problem was certainly that the language of enquiry, for the most part, was Soso, the language the Mani people had shifted to. When it was not Soso, it was French, the language of schools, the government, and the former colonial power. Few speakers were fluent speakers of French. Even taking all of the exigencies of the somewhat desperate interview situation (and disparate situations) into account, we found what were errors, e.g., substituting a related form for the "correct" one, using a Soso word, inconsistencies in grammar, inconsistencies from one question to another, and considerable cross-speaker (and even intra-speaker) differences (stimulus sentences came from Bouquiaux and Thomas 1987). These characteristics were dramatically evident in the (lack of) these speakers' control of the rather complicated noun class system (characterized in some detail in Chapter 6). Lexical "errors" were not limited to familial relations, as discussed above. For example, one speaker gave the form *nár* 'cow' when asked for the word for 'elephant'; the best most of the other speakers could do was give the Soso word "*síli*". The closely related language Kisi has *kàmàá* and Temne has *ərəŋk*, so 'elephant' is not a word unknown in the group. These problems could not all be attributable to the elicitation context; more likely they proceeded from limited speaker competence in a dying language (see Childs 2009 for some discussion).

Several anecdotes from our preliminary investigation (2000) reveal the low status of the language; they are not unrepresentative, as confirmed by the fuller study. In Kigbali (Guinea), the Mani have been denied representation in the local cultural society because of their minority status. Each village has an organi-

zation that attends to the cultural side of life: dance, singing, handicrafts, and the like. When the Mani speakers (singers) tried to join the Kigbali cultural group and perform in their own language, they were told they could not perform in Mani because, the organizers said, no one would understand them, despite a sizeable population of Mani speakers in the town. Everyone else spoke Soso.

In the same town a teacher in the local school made a revelatory and not atypical comment. He said the Mani hide their language, "They are very discreet." We also observed many younger speakers who did not speak Mani greet members of the research team in Mani using a mocking tone. Nonetheless, the Mani of Kigbali were flattered by the attention being paid to them and their language. For example, when I took pictures of two elderly female informants, women at a woodworking shop next door yelled at me to take their picture, too, since they, too, could speak Mani.

An anecdote first reported elsewhere (Childs 2003b) illustrates the low esteem in which the language is held by people on the island of Kabak – even ethnic Mani. Alia Fadega, a citizen of the village of Kakende, when questioned about the use of Mani in his town, told us that he had heard only "the old people (*les vieux*)" speaking Mani. Quite revelatory was to whom he heard them speaking: to their dogs; and sometimes, he continued, his grandfather would go to a large kapok tree (*fromager*) behind the village and talk to "the devil (*au diable, i.e., les fétiches)*."

Nonetheless, there is some deep-seated and even fierce attachment to the language. An old man in Moribaya, Sierra Leone, said the Soso liked to argue overmuch; they were hardheaded and stubborn people (*tòntùbùlìyá*). He refused to speak Soso with anyone and would reply in Mani even if spoken to in Soso. (This individual was very much like an individual in Nancy Dorian's fieldwork, who would also reply in Gaelic when spoken to in English (Dorian 1973:437–38).

In Caton (Guinea), the research base for the 2004–06 project, we made some recordings of songs sung by women and a folk tale. One woman who asked to be recorded issued an unsolicited plea in the recording for the maintenance of Mani and chastised Mani women for not teaching the language to their children.

A less defiant comment was made by Momoh Seki Camara of Yankanya ("Yankaya" on some maps), near the road approach to the isle of Kabak in Guinea. He said that he and his (first) wife speak Mani between themselves but none of his (20) children speak it at all (his other three wives are all Soso). Both his parents and all their parents were Mani speakers. I asked him what he thought about his language disappearing; he looked at me rather despondently and said that he deeply regretted its passing.

These anecdotes (and many others) reveal that there is at least some residual fondness if not enthusiasm for the language. It is such sentiments that motivated the larger study forming the source for the data here. Whether these feelings will translate into dedicated efforts at language preservation is uncertain at best.

One production of the project is a Mani primer containing songs, stories and Mani history (Childs 2007).

Revitalization at the institutional level in Guinea seems unlikely (Childs 2011a). Virtually no government support exists. Institutions such as IRLA and the now defunct *Académie des langues*, which IRLA replaced, were established in Guinea for such work but have done very little since some initial enthusiasm. NGOs are dispersed and their efforts uncoordinated. Little interest in revitalization was expressed by anyone under forty. An ethnically Mani university student in Conakry earnestly stated that she would like to participate in the project but did not return for a scheduled appointment, when the project's plans were being formalized.

On the Sierra Leone side there exists a concerted effort to preserve the indigenous languages through what is called the "National Linguistic Program", a project devoted to developing indigenous languages. Many elementary school teachers underwent training in how to teach the national languages (among other things) as part of a "Distance Education Program" (2004–06). Textbooks have been developed in four of the most widely spoken national languages: Krio, Limba, Temne, and Mende. In fact, several teachers involved in the MDP learned how to teach Temne during the time of the project. Although these efforts focus on the more widely spoken languages, the political will is there to use the indigenous languages. No similar initiative can be found in Guinea. What this portends for the less widely spoken languages in Sierra Leone, however, is uncertain.

7. The Mani Documentation Project (2004–06)

This grammar is based primarily on further, more extensive fieldwork (2004–06) performed as part of the Mani Documentation Project (MDP). The core research team consisted of the author, Mamadou Camara, *Directeur du Centre d'Étude des Langues Guinéennes (CELG)*, Marta Piqueras Brunet, Research Assistant, and Foday J. D. Camara, Language Consultant.

Two research sites were established, one in Caton, Guinea, and a satellite site in Moribaya, Sierra Leone. Field activities focused on the documentation of the language and occurred over the period July 2004 through October 2006.

Documentation took a number of different forms, all of which have been housed in portable form at SOAS, at the author's home institution (Portland State University), and the Universities of Conakry and Sierra Leone. The linguistic data is organized into data bases consisting of a lexicon, concordance, and texts. There are files of accompanying metadata and other data bases of subjects, towns, interviews, photographs, and videos. In addition, there are digitized audio recordings, videos and still photographs. Published materials in

progress include this book, a dictionary, scholarly articles, and pedagogical materials (Childs 2007).

In April 2009 the author and several members of the research team visited Moribaya, Sierra Leone, for a day, and spent another day delivering primers on the Guinea side of the border. On the Guinea side we were able to visit the three major towns where we worked: Caton, the headquarters, presided over by town elder Sékou Modet Camara; Palatougou, the town of Morlaye Boyo Keita, our chief historian, Iyadi Syllah (deceased), and many other consultants; and N'kompan, the home of Imam Musah Camara, his two sisters (a third had died over the course of the project) and other family members, as well as many other language consultants. The elders were visited and the books delivered to little fanfare, for my Guinean colleague had been unable to arrange any formal ceremony. If anything the picture of the Mani was even glummer than when I had left since several elders had died and resources I had entrusted to the community, most notably the solar power system, had been appropriated by others.

On the other side of the border, however, a huge celebration had been organized. Led by local political leader, Councilor Sheka Ansumana Kamara, a speaker of Mani himself, community leaders had been able to set up a day of song, dance, and story-telling, all celebratng Mani culture. Eleven different dancing and singing troupes, not all of whom were able to perform, competed for prizes to be awarded by our group. The troupes ranged across age and gender, but crucially, all performed in Mani. Even more importantly, all of these performances were filmed in HD video.

Part of the party was my brother Barton Childs, an executive producer for Voice of America, who with his HD cameras and considerable experience and expertise was on loan courtesy of his employer. He and I had just come to the Samu from filming another research project, the DKB (a project documenting Kim and Bom, two dying languages related to Mani at the other end of Sierra Leone, on the southern coast).[7] The following address links to the three "vlogs" ('video blogs') sent back to the States during that trip. The first two treat the DKB, but the third treats the Sierra Leone Mani. It is appropriately entitled "The children" because of its focus on the young Mani performers, who are the real hope for the language's survival.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=84S9pZozGj4 (last accessed 3/26/2010)

The filming from that trip and another trip scheduled for 2010 will be used for two full-length programs on documenting dying languages in West Africa.

On the basis of this visit we were able to provide a more favorable assessment of the vitality of the Mani language. At the time I left the Samu in 2007 I was fairly pessimistic about the fate of the language (and culture). We had identified some two to three hundred speakers at best, all of whom were over fifty years old. Some of the young people forming part of a Mani dance troupe still

could use Mani, but their main languages were Soso and Temne, the major languages of the area, and they switched to these as soon as they were out of our hearing range. Mani was used nowhere on a regular basis and was not being learned by any children. The one exception was on the island of Tangbaya, where we knew of at least one boy who grew up speaking Mani. As he grew up during the time we were there, however, he gradually shifted to Soso, the dominant language in the area.

What surprised us during the Mani festival and as can be seen on the video was how many children spoke the language and how many children were able to sing songs and tell stories in Mani. All of them were from the enclave island of Tangbaya, where they were allowed to grow up speaking Mani and apparently continued to use it on a daily basis. Needless to say it was the Tangbaya children's group that carried the day and won first prize at the festival.

In the little time the Tangbaya school principal and I had to talk, I told him I would try to come back with resources to promote the study of Mani in his school. At the time of this writing (October 2010) a grant proposal has been submitted for such a project. Thus, our estimate of the language's vitality (Grenoble and Whaley 1998) has been seriously upgraded.

8. Typological overview

The segmental inventory of Mani (30 phonemes, 23 Cs + 8 Vs) is near the median size of phoneme inventories (Maddieson 1984), and is much like other languages in the area with a phonemic labialvelar stop and a number of prenasalized stops forming part of its inventory. With regard to vowels Mani has a symmetrical eight-vowel system: six vowels are evenly placed in matching front-back pairs about the periphery with only a low central vowel (represented as /a/) and a higher central vowel (/ə/) without a match. Mani is a level-tone language with two phonemic tones (high and low). Tone is lexically important and also marks grammatical contrasts in the verbal morphology. Most stems conform to a CVC template, as first noted in Moity 1957.

Mani is a prefixing noun class language with only seven noun classes, likely a result of noun classes combining since other related languages have more and there are semantic incongruities. Not all nouns have prefixes but all govern concord. Although the noun class system is undergoing some changes, all dependent elements in a noun phrase show agreement by means of a prefix. Dependent elements include an article, demonstratives, numeral and other adjectives. Verbs are also preceded by a concordant element. Each class has its distinctive pronouns, although there seems to be some neutralization of distinctions there as well. Personal pronouns have at least two forms, one used as a subject marker and the other used in nearly all other contexts.

Verbs have little morphology. Tense, mood, aspect, and polarity (TMAP) are generally shown by means of free morphemes, which both precede and follow the verb. Tone and segmental changes may also mark verbal distinctions. Mani has at least five fairly unproductive verb extensions, verb suffixes which affect argument structure.

Mani has a limited number of prepositions rather broad in meaning, but often used in conjunction with semantically narrower postpositions, which further specify meaning.

Most words functioning as adjectives in Mani are likely derived from verbs, although the directionality of derivation is not straightforward. The few words that function only as adjectives are relatively broad and basic in meaning, conveying such universal concepts as 'good', 'large', and 'white'. The adverb class is similarly restricted but semantically supplemented by ideophones. This latter highly idiosyncratic word category has a marked phonology as compared to the matrix language, and contains words that often underscore an action or sensation (see Childs 1994a).

Mani is basically a head-initial language, both syntactically and semantically: dependent elements generally follow those on which they are dependent. Verbs always follow subjects and objects follow verbs, although in some constructions, object pronouns are found before the lexical verb and after an auxiliary, as is not uncommon among the Atlantic languages, a partial instantiation of the S-Aux-O-V syntagm (Childs 2005).

With regard to movement rules, a focus construction fronts an item of focus and marks the focused item with a following element, usually a pronoun. Yes/no questions require a final marker; Q-word questions do not. In the latter type of question, the question word appears at the beginning of the question with a gap in the place where the questioned element would appear. Other sentence types are marked by intonation with no movement. Relative clauses are introduced by a pronoun and end with a relativization marker. They typically contain an unmarked gap identical to Q-word questions, although resumptive pronouns also occur.

The most striking fact about the language, however, from a field investigator's perspective is its variability, its variability across speakers and even within a single speaker. Only a few hundred speakers use Mani as their primary language, and no speakers are monolingual. Choosing what could be presumed to be the most common or shared form often proves to be problematic. That Mani is about to disappear has undoubtedly had severe repercussions for all parts of the grammar, as well as for its analysis.

Chapter 2
Phonemic inventory

This chapter presents the phonemic inventory of the language, beginning with the consonants. Both the consonants and vowels of Mani form typologically unmarked sets, skewed perhaps towards common West African patterns, with both a labialvelar and a series of prenasalized stops. All three palatal consonants take part in variable and perhaps "new" distributions.

1. The consonants of Mani

Table 2 presents the consonantal inventory of Mani, using IPA symbols with the counterparts to be used here when different from the IPA symbol after a forward slash. The table is followed by discussion of phonetic details and allophony.

Table 2. Consonantal inventory

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Glottal
Nasals	m	n	ɲ/ny	ŋ		
Plosives	p b	t d	ʧ/c	k	gb	
Pre-nasalized	mp	nt nd		ŋk		
Fricatives	f	s				h
Liquids		r l				
Glides			j/y		w	

Despite being a phonetic affricate, "c" will be discussed as part of the stop series and is located there in *Table 2*.

In the nasal series Mani presents four contrasts in place of articulation. The contrasts are not found in all environments, and the palatal nasal possesses only a tenuous phonemic status. All of the nasals contrast initially and medially, but finally there is no contrast between /n/ and /ŋ/, and the palatal nasal /ny/ never occurs there (see the alternations in (2)). Two forms in the third column of *Table 3* show the free variation between [n] and [ŋ] in final position.

Table 3. Nasal contrasts

mà	pro	bòmù	'large'	mám	'laugh'
nà	road, way	cúnú	'sense, smell'	màn/ŋ	'shine'
nyà	take	nànyé	'some days ago'		
ŋà	3rd pl pro	cùŋù	'throw into'	pàn/ŋ	'moon'

The dental and velar nasals are homorganic with a following consonant (the palatal nasal never occurs in such environments, representing another neutralized contrast). Before a voiceless stop the preceding nasal and the following oral stop are analyzed as a single phoneme (see the display in (10)). In addition, at the end of a word, when there is no following consonant, the neutralized nasal often disappears, being realized only as nasalization and sometimes with lengthening on the preceding vowel (see (22) and (23)). The palatal nasal is the least widely distributed of the nasals, and also the most unstable, as can be seen in its frequent alternation with the velar nasal and with /h/, another sound of limited distribution in Mani.

The ŋ/ny alternation. This alternation is most apparent in the name of the language and of the ethnic group. To some it is known as Mani [màní]; in the language itself this form occurs as an independent morpheme; see section 1.2 for a discussion of nomenclature. The two most common names in the area, how-ever, are Mandenyi [màndèɲì], and Mandeng [màndéŋ]. It is the last two forms that are of interest for they show the replacement of the palatal nasal by the velar nasal with the absence of a following (high front) vowel. Palatal nasals have a tenuous hold on phonemic status; they do not appear in final position and alternate with /h/ elsewhere (see the discussion of "rhinoglottophilia" around *Table 4*, p. 29). The ŋ/ɲ alternation is seen not only in the language name but also in other forms, as shown in (2). The velar nasal in final position alternates with the palatal nasal in medial position before [i], suggesting allophonic variation due to a conditioning environment, although they are alternations before other vowels. Note how the neutralization of the palatal and velar nasals has led to a lack of contrast between the 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns (see *Table 7*, p. 58).

(2) The ŋ/ɲ alternation

Mandenyi	[màndéɲì]	'greet'	ùléɲí / ùléŋ (citation)
Mandeng	[màndéŋ]	'you (2pl)'	ɲà / ŋà
(Mani	[màní])	'they (3pl)'	ɲà / ŋà

The discussion of /h/ below in this section shows how one allophone of the phoneme is the palatal nasal; the palatal nasal may also arise from the separate phonemes /y/ ([j]) and /h/ (the latter when it is preceded by /i/) through a process of regressive nasalization from a coda nasal.

Voiceless stops /p, t, c, k/. A notable feature of allophones of the voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ in coda position is their audible release with a slight puff of aspiration, as shown in (3). The release was particularly evident for the velar and alveolar stops, probably because of the sizeable resonance cavities in front of the release point, but could be heard also for the voiceless bilabial stop. (The palatal "stop" does not appear finally and is phonetically a palatalized alveolar or affricate.)

(3)	gbóp [gbóp^{h}]	'tress, plait'	cə́p [cə́p^{h}]	'start'
	pót [pót^{h}]	'weak, lazy'	rèt [rèt^{h}]	'bitterball'
	pɔ̀k [pɔ̀k^{h}]	'country'	lék [lék^{h}]	'horn'

Codas are important to the language; the "strength" of this position can be seen in a number of phenomena: in the aspiration shown in (3), in the fact that /r/ is trilled finally (elsewhere it is a tap), and in the presence of a short vowel after the two liquids when they appear finally.

Two of the phonemic voiceless stops, /t/ and /c/, have overlapping allophones. As mentioned above, all voiceless stops (excluding /c/) can be aspirated finally. The aspirated variant of /t/ is the realization least likely to be confused with /c/, because it appears only in final position, where /c/ is not found.

Mani has been called the [tʃɛ-tʃɛ] language by speakers of neighboring languages, probably because of the prolific use of the definite article. A tongue twister plays on this fact and the closeness of this sound to the alveolar. Thus, the repeated (alliterative) sound is actually two different phonemes, /t/ and /c/.

(4) A Mani tonguetwister

tə̀k tìkít-tìkít tìtì ticə̀ŋ gbáŋ gbɔ̀ŋ cə̀ŋ

tə̀k	tì-kít-tì-kít	tì-tì	tì-cə̀ŋ	gbáŋ	gbɔ̀ŋ	cə̀ŋ
stump	NCM-small-REDUP	NCM-black	NCM-two	struck	bundle	two

'Two short, black stumps struck two bundles.' (jd 4/15/05, cc 8/7/06)

The forms in (5), all meaning 'be close', presumably feature the same underlying forms. The phoneme /t/ is not palatalized or fricated in final position or before a consonant (a. and b.), but it is medially before a vowel. This suggests a neutralization of the t/c contrast in final position realized in favor of [t].

(5) a. *fɛ́t*
fɛ́t
close (citation)
'be close'

b. *ḿ fɛ́t mì*
ḿ fɛ́t mì
2sg close 1sg
'Come close to me!'

c. *yá fɛ́t cɛ́ mɔ̀*
yá fɛ̀c-ɛ́ mɔ̀
1sg close-ev 2sg
'I drew close to you.'

d. *ḿmɔ́ fɛ̀cɛ́ mí*
ḿ mɔ́ fɛ̀c-ɛ́ mí
2sg 2sg.emph close-ev 1sg
'You move next to me!' (jd 2/5/06)

The voiceless alveolar stop ranges from a dental [t̪] to an alveolar [t], and perhaps is articulated further back when preceding palatal vowels.

The alveopalatal "stop", denoted here as /c/, is more often an affricate [ts] or [tʃ], but fills a gap in the series and will be discussed with the other stops. It may be realized as an alveolar, but generally has a telltale hint of palatalization or frication marking it as contrastive with /t/. The phoneme /c/ has a somewhat tenuous status compared to other members of the stop series, as will also be seen for [ʃ] below in opposition to /s/. For one reason, the alveopalatal stop is more limited distributionally: it does not occur in final position, perhaps because it first appeared only when conditioned by a following vowel (cf. the discussion of the ŋ/ɲ alternation just above) since eroded. It is also much less common medially but does form minimal pairs with /t/ initially. The alveopalatal /c/ has all of the following allophones: [t] [ts], [tʃ], [tʲ], [kʲ]. Following palatal vowels tend to favor the more palatal variants. Illustrative forms contrasting /t/ and /c/ are given in (6).

(6) The phonemes /t/ and /c/

cà	'loan'	yètì	'seize'	kót	'sap'
tà	ti-class pro	fòtò	'female genitals'	gbɛ́t	'only, just'
cì	'bring'	pàcɛ́	'day before yesterday'		
tì	'black'	kɛ́kɛ́cò	'now'		

The voiced stops /b d gb/ are more limited in their distribution than their voiceless counterparts, being restricted from filling syllable codas. The voiced bilabial and alveolar stops are overwhelmingly more common initially than medially, and the labialvelar, oddly, is not found medially in monomorphemic words. With regard to palatalization and labialization, there is none of the allophony found with the voiceless stops.

Pre-nasalized stops. Synchronically fully voiced prenasalized stops are unevenly distributed in Mani, except in initial position, where they occur but only when the nasal element is syllabic, i.e., it carries a tone, and thus the sequence is

analyzed as constituting two separate phonemes, e.g., *m̀-bɔ́s* 'cowry'. The nasals here typically represent prefixed noun class markers. Otherwise, the fully voiced prenasalized stops are not found initially (shown by a preceding asterisk), with the few exceptions shown in (7).

(7) Initial voiced prenasalized stops

Bilabial	*mb (except in a few names)
Alveolar	one word: ndèkɛ̀ 'right (loc.)', no names
Palatal	*ɲɟ
Velar	*ŋg
Labialvelar	*mŋgb

The voiced prenasalized stops are generally found medially in only a few place names and "traditional" (i.e., pre-Islamic) names. This distribution suggests that they may have been part of an earlier stage of Mani, especially when comparing Mani to its sister language Kisi, where four and possibly five members of this series are attested in both initial and medial position.

(8) Voiced pre-nasalized stops in names

mbɔ̀nkí	'female name'		dèmbá	'male name'
		Also:	tàmbàlùmbé	'cassava snake'
*nd			kɔ̀ndɔ̀	'male name'
*ŋg			mɛ̀ŋgéyí	'male name'

The one exception to these generalizations is the alveolar prenasalized stop /nd/, which must be recognized as an independent phoneme.

/nd/. The alveolar member of this series is found in a number of monomorphemic words where it contrasts medially with the voiceless /nt/. Only one word, *ndèkɛ̀* 'right (loc.)', features the sound initially. Nonetheless, one member of the fully voiced series must be posited phonemically. Examples of /nd/ in medial position are provided in (9) along with some examples of medial /nt/ on the right (cf. the examples in (10)).

(9) Medial /nd/ contrasted with medial /nt/

bɔ́ndùl	'load'	bɔ̀ntɔ̀	'palm nut'
kɔ̀ndín	'traditional guitar'	sɛ̀ntɛ̀n	'claw'
tóndùn	'be ready'	gbántá	'hit, strike, play'

That the alveolar /nd/ is the only member of the series established in this position is shown by nativization patterns. The borrowing *mango* is nativized as [màŋkò] rather than [màŋgò], a form closer to its source phonology. This shows a constraint disallowing medial sequences of $NC_{[+voice]}$, unless they are alveolar.

/mp nt nc ŋk/ The voiceless prenasalized stops (nasals before voiceless stops forming a single phoneme) are also of limited distribution, but more likely claimants to phonemic status and have been accorded such status here. Members of this series are found only in syllable codas and medially (but not initially, for the nasal is almost always syllabic there). (In section 2 on syllable structure appear some further statements on this distribution and its implications for the development of prenasalized stops in the language.) In the first column of examples in (10), members of this series appear in medial position, and the next Mani column shows them in final position. The alveopalatal form is rare but attested in both medial and final position, mirroring the limited distribution of its counterpart /c/.

(10) The voiceless prenasalized stops /mp/, /nt/, /nc/ and /ŋk/

bilabial	bàmpɔ̀	'fish sp, mullet'	lɔ̀mp	'well (n)'
alveolar	lóntó	'palm nut'	m̀pánt	'work'
palatal	wàncɛ́	'sister'	kànc	'arm'
velar	bàŋkè	'dugout canoe'	tàŋk	'root'

The voiceless prenasalized stops have no notable allophones.

The fricatives /f s/: Mani has only two established voiceless fricatives. The alveopalatal [ʃ] has a limited distribution and no phonemic status. Although /h/ is presented as a "glottal" fricative in Table 2, its behavior merits discussion separate from the fricatives.

The labiodental fricative has no remarkable allophones being found commonly in initial position, less common medially, and finally in only one word.

(11) The distribution of /f/

fàrmá	'loincloth'	yèfɔ̀rè	'cooked rice flour'
fèt	'be near'	bɔ̀fùl	'wet, cold'
fórò	'mattress straw'	wɛ́fú	'fish sp, small mullet'

gbɔ́rɔ́f 'wink'

The (voiceless) alveolar fricative has a wider distribution, occurring freely in all positions.

(12) The distribution of /s/

sùrún	pestle	bùsɔ̀	plow	mús	cat
sà	red, ripe	bàsì	sweep	gbɔ̀s	odor
sál	rainy season	nìsí	rub	wís	animal, meat

Its one notable allophone is the palatalized variants [sʲ] or [ʃ] before high front vowels.

The alveopalatal [ʃ] has not been analyzed as a phoneme, despite its common occurrence. It appears in a number of words finally after a variety of vowels and initially before a variety of vowels, but in most cases [s] was also heard as a free variant. The problem of full dentition is a serious one in the Samu and was often a cause of the alternation.

In initial position, however, minimal and near minimal pairs can be identified, yet in final position [ʃ] alternated with [s] the few times it appeared there. The alveolar /s/ occurs freely in medial position but the alveopalatal is found there rarely if at all. The only occurrence medially is in what may be a reduplicated form: ʃɛ̀ʃɛ́ 'a type of fishing done by women', and there it occurs before a non-low front vowel, the conditioning environment for palatalization of /s/. Speakers generally accepted words with either the [s] or [ʃ] pronunciation.

(13)	ʃ/sɔ́k	chicken	sɔ̀	clear brush
	ʃà	beard	sà	red or ripe
	ʃí	fart	ʃ/sì	know
	ʃék	broken rice	sék	burnt skin
	kúʃ/s	vomit	kùs	saved food
	wìʃ/s	meat	tís	sap
	mùʃ/s	cat	gbɔ̀s	smell

Of the [ʃ] words found with Kisi cognates, several had Kisi counterparts featuring the sequence /si/ in place of the alveopalatal, e.g., Kisi *wìsì* 'meat, animal' (cf. Mani *wiʃ*), and *sìèí* 'beard' (cf. Mani *ʃà*). Thus, perhaps at an earlier stage of Mani, before Kisi and Mani separated, [ʃ] was an allophone of /s/ before high front vowels (Kisi has a phonetic [ʃ] or [sʲ] in such positions and no phoneme /ʃ/). The high vowels still found in Kisi (and presumably in the proto-language) conditioning the alternation have since, in some cases, been lost in Mani. The near phonemic status of [ʃ] is likely, then, a relatively recent phenomenon and is complicated by the still extant phonetic process in Mani of palatalization of /s/ before high front vowels.

/r/: [r], [ɾ], [ɹ]. Some speakers produced this sound with a notable pharyngeal component (and with rounding, much like the "r" in some American dialects). More commonly, however, one heard a tap or a trill. The trill was

found finally, especially when the word was pronounced in isolation. In addition, a very short vowel [ə] could be heard after a final [r], as could be heard after most other consonants, much like the Parisian or emphatic "*e muet*".

/l/. The lateral approximant contrasted with the central approximant in all positions and had no significant allophones (cf. the discussion of l/d around example (17)); utterance-final [l] may also be followed by a short vowel [ᵊ], as is the case with the central approximant.

(14) Contrasts between /l/ and /r/

rá	'scratch'	kàrà	'hoe'	bór	'family'
lá	'louse'	kàlə̀m	'palm wine'	bɔ̀l	'penis'

/w/: [w], [v], [ɥ] [w̃]. The two main allophones, [w] and [v], occur, roughly speaking and respectively, before back (rounded) vowels (including /a/) and before front (unrounded) vowels (including /ə/), although variation is possible before both /a/ and /ə/. The labiopalatal allophone has a much narrower distribution, being heard only before the high front vowel [i], as in the word for 'animal, meat': [ɥ̩ʃ]. The nasalized variant [w̃] is discussed in section 1 and identified as a product of regressive nasalization, a general rule of the language.

/y/. The palatal glide is found both initially and medially and has no significant allophones, except for a nasalized variant [ỹ] discussed above.

/h/. The "glottal fricative" is a relatively infrequent sound appearing initially before a score of words, all with a following nasal (see the discussion of "rhinoglottophilia" below, p. 29), as shown in (15); the exceptions to this generalization are names, borrowings, and ideophones. Medially it occurs in a few monomorphemic words, listed exhaustively below.

(15)

hún	'come'	nùhá	'sky'
hán	'manage'	yáhù	'enemy'
hín	'lie down'	mɔ̀hɔ́gbɪ̀lán	'ghost'
hám	'iguana'	nyàhàléŋá	'happy'
hint	'swell'	sànàhú	'a joking relationship'[8]

The only word without a nasal vowel following an initial [h] is the conjunction *hàlí* 'in order to, for', but it was also heard as [àlí] and is likely a borrowing. Only a few function words and borrowings begin with a vowel in Mani, and thus the [h] may be epenthetic, as it is in Kisi, to prevent onset-less syllables (Childs 1995). The same variation between [h] and 0 was heard in speakers' second or other languages, French, English, or Krio. The phoneme /h/ is thus not a sound of great stability nor of widespread distribution. Nonetheless, it will be considered a phoneme here, albeit with some reservations. Two other phono-

logical reasons can be advanced for its positing as a phoneme: its alternation with another phoneme[9] and its function as a source of (perceived) nasalization on following vowels. Another reason is that literate speakers write the sound when transcribing Mani.

The phoneme /h/ has no allophones but does participate in a fairly widespread alternation, both within Mani itself and cross-linguistically between Mani and Kisi (and likely, therefore, with other Bulom languages). The alternation is a superficially implausible one between the palatal nasal and the glottal fricative but is nonetheless well attested (see note 9). It becomes more believable when all the conditioning factors are taken into consideration, a following nasal or the inherent damping of the glottal fricative itself.

In the examples presented in *Table 4*, the second column presents internal variation, that is, alternations found within Mani, and in the third column are cognate forms from Kisi, where one lexeme in Kisi, the word for 'you (PL)', shows an alternation similar to that found within Mani.

Table 4. The h/ny alternation

gloss	Mani	Kisi
'fan, winnow'	hɛ́ / nyɛ́	hɛi
'come'	hún / nyún	huŋ
'wind (N)'	hɛ̀n / nyɛ̀n	hùèì
'swell (V)'	hín / nyín	hindu
'you (PL)'	hìà / nyà / ŋà	hìnyà / níà / nyá
'lie down'	hin / nyin	hini

In one word [h] alternates with the velar nasal across Mani speakers, 'fish (v)': [ŋɔ́t/hɔ́t].

The South Atlantic languages exhibit a great deal of nasality, including the kind associated with heavy airflow about the glottis with no nasal present (Childs 1991). Although exceptional because an areal word,[10] the conjunction word *haa* [hãã̄], 'extensive in space or time', dramatically illustrates the presence of a heavily nasalized vowel and no adjacent nasal. The nasal vowel is perceived there because of the heavy air flow from the glottal fricative, providing the same kind of "zeroes" or damping associated with nasalized sounds (Ohala 1975) in a phenomenon learnedly but limitedly known as "rhinoglottophilia" (Matisoff 1975). A similar phenomenon is found in the closely related languages Sherbro (Hanson 1979), Kisi, Bom and Kim. Thus, the h/ny alternation is not so surprising as it would seem at first glance, particularly with palatal vowels in the vicinity. In most cases, however, processes nasalizing vowels

must have a nasal nearby for nasalization to take place (see section 1), and there are no South Atlantic languages with (phonemic) nasal vowels.

In all cases, Kisi has an [h] where Mani has an alternation, meaning that the palatal nasal in such environments is likely an innovation. This was confirmed by informants who would typically prefer the [h] alternative when forced to make a choice, even though returning to the palatal nasal in another utterance. Thus, the palatal nasal in initial position is a relatively recent and ongoing innovation in Mani with some synchronic variability (see discussion surrounding the examples in (2)), as are the two other palatal sounds /c/ and [ʃ]. The phoneme /h/ seems better established than the palatal nasal from a diachronic perspective, and thus is treated as an independent phoneme.

The glottal stop [ʔ] was heard (phonetically) after word-final open syllables, especially at the end of monosyllabic stems, as in (16) (the nouns are shown without their prefixes), but also at the end of longer words ending in a vowel. It appeared mainly, but not exclusively, with high-tone vowels. The presence of the glottal stop could be another reflex of the coda-strengthening processes mentioned above (p. 23) and also may say something about the privileged status of the high tone. The glottal stop was heard nowhere else and disappeared when the word appeared in any other context. The presence of the glottal stop is likely a reflection of preferred CVC syllable structure (see section 2) and thus represents a phonetic constraint rather than a need for another phoneme.

(16) The glottal stop ([ʔ]) word/utterance finally

[mɔ́ʔ]	'breast'	[pʷèʔ]	'waterside'
[káráʔ]	'hoe'	[mùnáʔ]	'potato green'
[kàbíʔ]	'blacksmith'		

Another peripheral consonant is the velar fricative [x], whose source is clearly Soso, for only words borrowed from Soso contain the sound, e.g., *dèxɔ̀ mɔ̀* 'my cousin', *sòxò mì* 'my mother's brother'. At least one word borrowed from Temne also contains the sound (as well as an initial vowel), *àlàxàmúsà* 'Thursday' (see (55) for a full display of the days of the week).

One other alternation deserves mention, that between the voiced alveolar stop /d/ and the alveolar lateral /l/. These are two well-established phonemes in the language, yet there are alternations such as those in (17). In the first two cases both forms were regarded as acceptable (free variants).

(17)	sèdíyè / sèlíyè	'mosque' ('place of prayer' (< Arabic *salat* 'prayer')	
	ì-dwɛ́ / lùè	'enter'	(cf. Kisi: luɛi)
	lì / dì	'lɛ-class NCM'	(cf. Kisi: lè?)
	ìlíl / ìdíl	'name'	(cf. Kisi: dìò)
	lɛ́lí / dɛ́lí	'regard, look at'	

Such alternations are common in Mande and even in Northern Branch languages, where consonants often participate in an extensive system of consonant mutation or consonant alternation (see Childs 2003a:73–75). In Kisi there are phonological processes that change [l] to [d] after a nasal in certain environments but no unconditioned l/d alternations. In each case of an l/d alternation in Mani, there are clues as to the original or earlier form. In the case of the borrowing, the clue is in the non-variant form in the source language. For three of the other alternating words, there are cognate forms in the related language Kisi. The consideration yields an earlier "l" for three words and a "d" for the other, i.e., no monotonic directional progression from one sound to the other can be stated.

Before considering Mani vowels, one last phonetic comment should be made concerning Mani consonants with regard to pre-voicing or (word-level) pre-nasalization. Early on in the investigation many initial voiced consonants were transcribed as being pre-nasalized and some initial nasals were transcribed as being geminate. The phonetic detail, however, proved not to be significant and was ignored in later transcriptions.

2. The vowels of Mani

Mani has the symmetrical set of eight vowels given in *Table 5*. The seven peripheral vowels form a not unexpected pattern and the mid central vowel is not unusual, being found in the adjacent and related language Temne (Wilson 1961b), to which many Mani speakers in Sierra Leone are switching or have already switched. Minimal pairs appear in (18).

Table 5. Vocalic inventory

front	mid	back
i		u
e	ə	o
ɛ		ɔ
	a	

(18) /i/ vs. /e/: cí 'mortar' vs. ce 'IPF'
wí 'die' vs. wé 'bird'

/e/ vs. /ɛ/: ké 'see' vs. kɛ́ 'refuse'
dé 'cooked rice' vs. dɛ̀ 'hole'

/ɛ/ vs. /a/: cɛ́n 'think' vs. cán 'tooth'
pɛ̀n 'boundary' vs. pàn 'moon'

/ə/ vs. /ɛ/: cə̀m 'seat' vs. cɛ̀m 'time'
pə́nt 'twins' vs. pɛ̀n 'boundary'

/ə/ vs. /ɔ/: tə̀k 'stump' vs. tɔ̀k 'tree'
də́kə́l 'cultivate' vs. dɔ̀kɔ́l 'bind'

/ə/ vs. /a/: tə̀k 'stump' vs. tàk 'split'
cə̀n 'two' vs. cán 'tooth'

/u/ vs. /o/: bùl 'one' vs. ból 'head'
púl 'ashes' vs. pól 'light'

/o/ vs. /ɔ/: kò 'to' vs. kɔ̀ 'go'
tón 'few' vs. tɔ́n 'bathe'

/ɔ/ vs. /a/: cɔ́l 'night' vs. cál 'sit'
tɔ́n 'bathe' vs. tán 'rise'

Generally speaking, the two highest vowels, front and back, are likely to be confused with each other because of their proximity in the acoustico-perceptual space.[11] Both (/e/ and /o/) are closer than their cardinal counterparts and were often confused with /i/ and /u/. Another source of confusion arises when the (non-low) peripheral vowels are heard before codas filled with sonorants, particularly before nasals. All are perceptually lowered and perhaps centered as well. Thus, /e/ sounds like /ɛ/ before /ŋ/, for example, and /u/ sounds like /o/ before /l/, leading to some confusion: the first of the two sentences below, for example, was misheard as the second, even in an emphatic (stressed) context realized with a raised register, making the vowels more salient.

(19) Vowel quality confusion before sonorants

kà lɔ̀ dì ↑yíl 'This place is far!'
kà lɔ̀ dì ↑yél 'This place is cold!'

Vowel length is not phonologically contrastive, despite the fact that vowels vary greatly in duration and long vowels are found in surface contexts. The low vowel, inherently longer than higher vowels, is particularly prone to misinterpreta-

tion as a long vowel, especially when closed by a nasal, where it is realized as a nasalized vowel with compensatory lengthening. Both *báŋ* 'hill' vs. *báŋ* 'bad' were originally transcribed with long vowels [bɑ̃ɑ̃]. Similarly vowels are lengthened before the palatal glide, e.g., the name "Boyo" [bòòyò], and 'spider' /sáyɛ̀lɛ̀/ [sááyɛ̀lɛ̀]. I now turn to the individual vowels and their more prominent allophones.

/i/: [i] [i̟]. The high front vowel varies little and was rarely mistaken for any other vowel, except as noted above.

/e/: [e̟], [e], [eᴵ], [ɪ], [e̠]. The higher mid front vowel has a slightly lowered variant, most commonly heard before nasals because of heavy (vowel) nasalization, the formant damping associated with the anticipatory lowering of the velum. It can be easily misheard as /ɛ/ before nasals. It also has a raised variant in many contexts that overlaps with allophones of /i/. In open syllables where it is lengthened, the phoneme has a slight offglide [ᴵ].

/ɛ/: [ɛ̟], [ɛ], [ɛᴵ]. The lower mid front vowel has a high variant that can be mistaken for /e/ even in open syllables. As with its higher counterpart it has an allophone with a slight offglide. Occasionally words normally produced with [ɛ] will unpredictably feature [ɔ], e.g., the copula /lɛ̀/ was spoken as lɔ̀ in a recording and corrected by the recorded speaker to [lɛ̀] in the transcription process (yc 11/20/04). Front-back alternations are rife in Kisi with respect to the non-low i-u, e-o, and ɛ-ɔ pairs, especially in the verbal morphology.

/ə/: [ɨ], [ə]. The central vowel has at least two allophones, both of which can be heard in the word for 'lightning' *mətə̀l* [mɨtə̀l]. The higher variant was heard in open syllables and before apicals and palatal stops. The lower and more common allophone was heard before codas filled with liquids or nasals and generally elsewhere. The central vowel never appears at the end of a word in an open syllable, and rarely as the first syllable in a disyllabic word without /ə/ itself in the second syllable.

/a/: [a], [ɑ]. The low central unrounded vowel was rarely mistaken for anything else and was usually heard as the back rather than the front variant.

/ɔ/: [ɔ̟], [ɔ], [ə]. The lower mid back (rounded) vowel is not terribly rounded and certainly not as long as American English /ɔ/, occasionally sounding more like the unrounded /ə/.

/o/: [ʊ], [o̟], [o], [ɔ]. This vowel was confused more often with its higher than with its lower back counterparts, as would be expected on the basis of the first three of its allophones. It was heard as the lower variant [ɔ] before nasals or liquids.

/u/: [u]. The high back vowel is rarely confused with other vowels, even before nasals, as is also the situation with the high front vowel. There are, however, several inexplicable alternations with the high front vowel (see the discussion of /ɛ/ above).

Only a few diphthongs are phonemic in Mani: the three identified are all of limited distribution and all consist of a dynamic movement from the back to the front with no change in height: /oe/, /ɔɛ/, and /ui/. The first element is often realized as a labialvelar glide [w]. They appear as dialectal variants with single-speaker alternations as well, and are possibly relics of a former length distinction which has since disappeared.

3. Syllabic nasals

In addition to the vowels discussed above, Mani has the syllabic nasals [m̩ n̩ ŋ̩], appearing only, roughly speaking, in initial position. They serve primarily as noun class markers on nouns and dependent elements, or as subject markers on verbs. They also form parts of monomorphemic names and ideophones. They appear medially only in compounds and reduplicated forms. In the first pair of columns appear examples drawn from the noun class system, where the *ma*-class marker is a syllabic homorganic nasal. The second pair of columns contains examples containing the second-person singular pronoun, a syllabic nasal also homorganic with a following consonant.

(20) Syllabic nasals

m̀bɔ̀ntɔ̀	'palm nut oil'	m̀ bɔ̀ntɛ́	'you met'
m̀fál	'eyes'	ǹ dɔ́kɔ́l	'you made piles'
m̀gbɔ́l	'livers'	ŋ̀ kùlùmɔ́	'you nursed'
ǹsùé	'pus'		
ǹcèl	'climbing belts'	ḿ bɔ̀ntɛ̀	'Meet!'
ǹyál	'body'	ń dɔ̀kɔ̀l	'Cultivate!'
ǹdík	'hunger'	ŋ́ kùlùmɔ̀	'Nurse!'
ǹkɔ̀nkɔ̀ŋɔ́	'sesame seed'		
ŋ̀kém	'dew'		

As noted in section 1 of this chapter, prenasalized stops are rare in initial position. Their distributional complementarity with syllabic nasals suggests a unified treatment of the two but will not be pursued in detail here. The proposed analysis would see the vocalization of the nasal part of a prenasalized stop as a consequence of its initial position. The forms in (20), however, suggest their rather prosaic diachronic origin, as reduced forms of earlier CV morphemes, respectively, *ma* the noun class marker and *mɔ* the 2SG pronoun.

Further bolstering such an analysis are the distributional facts characterizing the emphatic marker. A revealing alternation appears between the emphatic marker /n/ in initial position and in final position (see 12 for discussion of its

function and distribution). One environment in which the marker can appear is before or after pronouns, which all take the form CV (see Table 7). When at the end of these pronouns, the pronoun fills the empty coda of such syllables (and is non-syllabic), but when it appears initially, it is always syllabic, although it can fill empty codas of preceding syllables and desyllabify (see section 3 of this chapter).

(21) The phonology of the emphatic particle /n/

ǹlà	(and)	làn	'it (emph)'	vs.	là	'it'
ǹŋà	(and)	ŋàŋ	'they (emph)'	vs.	ŋà	'they'

In summary, then, a constraint seems to disallow initial prenasalized stops, and all nasals become syllabic in this position.[12]

Chapter 3
Prosody

This chapter treats phonology larger than or "above" the single segment, i.e., suprasegmental or prosodic features. The first section discusses nasalization, and the next two treat syllable structure and phonotactics. The chapter then turns to tone and intonation.

1. Nasalization

In all cases vowels are nasalized when codas are filled with nasals and sometimes the regressive or anticipatory process extends further, when the onset of the syllable contains a glide or /h/. At the same time, the final nasal may be lost. Rarely, however, does the bilabial /m/ disappear, as it did once variably in the second representation of phonemic /wàm/ in the first line of (22). In this position only one other nasal is allowed to appear, realized variously as a velar or alveolar nasal, or simply as vowel nasalization. The /n/:/ŋ/ contrast is neutralized here and /ɲ/ is never present, even as a variant. This neutralized nasal was generally absent, as shown by the next three examples, often with compensatory vowel lengthening, as shown by the last two examples.

(22) Regressive vowel nasalization [tones not shown]

/wàm/	[wãm] / [wã]	'ten'
/tún/	[tũ]	'commit'
/bìn/	[bĩː]	'plank'
/nyèn/	[nyɛ̃ː]	'mouth'

The leftward process of nasalization can extend one segment further beyond the nucleus to the onset when the onset is not consonantal, i.e., the onset is filled with one of the two glides /w/ and /y/ or with /h/. The examples in (23) show how nasality may spread from a coda nasal beyond the vowel to initial glides and initial /h/. The last two examples illustrate the lack of specification for /h/; it takes on the place of articulation of the following vowel when nasalized (if it did not have it already; see Ladefoged 2001 on American English /h/). Regressive nasalization on to /h/ helps to explain some of the alternations between the palatal nasal and /h/ discussed in the first section of this chapter.

(23) Regressive nasal assimilation back to initial glide and /h/ (Tones not shown.)

/wɔn/	[w̃õn]	'blow on'
/wɔnɔ/	[ŋʷõnɔ] / [w̃õnɔ] / [ŋõnɔ]	DEM 'this (person)'
/yom/	[ỹõm]	'fire'
/yant/	[ỹãnt]	'baby'
/yɛn/ < yɛ n-	[ỹẽn]	'what NCM'
/hun/	[w̃ũn]	'come'
/hin/	[ỹĩn]	'lie down'

Early on in the study of Mani, words with initial palatal glides were (mistakenly) transcribed with the palatal nasal [ɲ] when nasals appeared in their corresponding codas, a sound phonetically similar to [ỹ].

2. Syllable structure

The representation below shows the syllable types of Mani. Far and away the most common types are CV and CVC. In addition, single nasals may constitute a syllable with neither an onset nor a coda. Both syllabic nasals and V-only syllables are relatively uncommon, being found only as prefixed bound (grammatical) morphemes (see (20) for some examples of syllabic nasals). Also uncommon are syllables with two vowels, analyzable as diphthongs; there are no phonemically long vowels in Mani. A few vowels also occur as independent (grammatical) morphemes, e.g., pronouns.

(24) Mani syllable structure: (C) V (C)
N

The initial consonant slot in CV(C) syllables can be filled with any consonant, except the prenasalized stops, and the V slot with any vowel, including the diphthongs (more below).

There are a few complications to these generalizations. In a few words one of the two liquids may form part of the onset in a sequence that could be represented as "CL". With regard to liquids in this position, the examples are few and inconclusive. In the cases identified, the cluster was of questionable status. One of the two words for 'red' was produced as [dré] 'red', but speakers also broke up the initial cluster with a vowel [dùré]. The same alternation could be observed with the word for 'anus' [prè / pùrè] and with a similar one for 'whirlpool': [gblàn / gbə̀làn]. There were no initial attested monomorphemic consonantal sequences of CL without variation.

Diphthongs and occasional vowel sequences could also result in a surface cluster, i.e., a sequence of consonant-glide .The first vowel, i.e., before another vowel, was either [i] or one of the back (rounded) vowels, [u], [o], and [ɔ]. When the vowel was [i], it palatalized preceding alveolar obstruents (see the discussion in section 1) and was occasionally realized as a palatal glide, e.g., kíú [kjú] 'crocodile'. Subjects, however, never identified the palatal glide as an approximant in this position but always as a vowel. When the vowel was one of the back rounded vowels, it could also be realized as a glide, in this case the labialvelar glide [w]. In only a few words, however, did subjects recognize the labialvelar glide as a phonemic glide rather than as a vowel, and then only after the velar: *kwà* 'oil', *kwé* 'take'. The few phonetic sequences of C[w], which subjects did not feel were sequences of CV, have been treated as consonant clusters, even though treating them as CC sequences complicates the statement of syllable structure in (24). In most cases the candidate glides were analyzed as vowels in this position. For example, the word for 'alcohol, palm wine' was heard as [mwɛ́] but was phonemicized as /mɔ̀ɛ́/. Similarly, the word for 'nose' /núí/ was produced as [nwí] and even [ŋʷí].

Thus, in addition to initial /kw-/, Mani syllable structure allows for two different vowels in the nucleus with limitations on what the first vowel can be. That first vowel can optionally change to a (phonetic) glide and both labialize and palatalize an initial segment.

Codas. The following segments are found in syllable codas (a recapitulation and summary from the individual segment distribution statements in section 1):

- the nasals /m "n"/ (but not the nasal /ɲ/)
- the voiceless obstruents /p f t s (ʃ) k/ (but not /c/)
- the prenasalized stops: /mp/ /nt/ and /ŋk/
- the two liquids /l, r/

The alveolar and velar nasals do not contrast in syllable codas; "n" here represents the neutralization of that contrast.

These constraints on codas and onsets lead to specific consequences within the morpheme and beyond, as will be discussed in the following section on changes in syllable structure. Challenging these constraints on syllable structure are processes from the morphology and syntax, which operate to disrupt syllable structure.

3. Syllable-structure changes

This section discusses ways in which syllable structure changes in strings longer than the syllable. The twin functions of structure preservation (ease of percep-

tion) and ease of articulation interact at one and the same time to produce strings acceptable to both speaker and hearer. The several phonological processes at work in Mani alter the syllabic status of existing segments, and add or delete segments, as presented in (25).

(25) Syllable structure changing processes

Epenthesis
Resyllabification or syllable reorganization
- Word-initial syllabic nasals following words with empty codas
- Coda nasal bleeding and compensatory lengthening
- [l] gemination

Contraction (function words combining)

Probably the most universally common process is (vowel) epenthesis, the insertion of a vowel between disallowed consonant sequences. The most favored vowel is the central vowel [ə], but the higher variant [ɨ] also occurs, always with the same tone as the preceding vowel. Intervocalic sequences of consonants are separated by a short vowel. Even the ideophone *yèktà-yèktà*, used to characterize (my) typing on a laptop, was produced as [yèkətà-yèkətà]. Subjects insisted there was no vowel between the consonants despite the fact that the schwa is a phoneme in the language.

More commonly than at the lexical level, consonant sequences at the phrase and clause levels were also broken up with vowels. The examples below show the range of epenthetic vowels: [ə] in (26a, c, d, and f); [ɨ] in (26b, e, and g).

(26) Epenthetic vowels between consonants

Between morphemes within a word
a. [lɔ́kə́lɔ́k] 'play (pl)' (from *lɔ́k* 'play')
b. [yàtɪ̀dí] and [yàtdí] 'has paddled' (from *yát* 'paddle' + dì PERF)

Between elements of a compound
c. [sɛ̀któl / sɛ̀kətól] 'ocean-going mullet' (from *sèk* 'mullet' + ?)

Between words
d. ńtɔ̀k [ə] ǹcɔ̀yá m̀bɛ̀n

ń	tɔ̀k	ǹ-cɔ̀yá	ǹ-bɛ̀n
2SG	wash	NCM-clothes	NCM-old

'Wash the old clothes!' (ab 7/22/2000)

e. vìsì cɛ́ wɔ̀nɔ̀ì lɛ̀k [i] bùl

wís	ì-cɛ́	wɔ̀nɔ̀-ì	lɛ̀k	búl	kɔ̀	bì
animal	NCM-DEF	DEM-*ì*	horn	one	PRO	have

'This animal had one horn.' (ys 7/20/2000)

By far the most common process, however, is resyllabification. As remarked in section 2, along with CV syllables, Mani favors CVC syllables. The strength of the coda position has been seen in a number of ways, as noted earlier in the discussion of consonantal allophony (section 1). They are recapitulated here for convenience to introduce resyllabification by coda filling.

(27) Coda strength

Aspiration of final voiceless stops
Glottal stops (phonetically) fill unoccupied codas
Pre-nasalized stops and obstruents richly attested in codas

One can see the process of coda-filling, albeit with the loss of a following segment, as another way of fortifying the position (as well as decommissioning a marked syllabic type (syllabic nasals) in the most common manifestation of the process). Word-final empty codas are most often filled with a syllabic nasal, which loses its syllabicity (and tone) in the process, as shown in (28).

(28) The filling of empty codas by following word-initial syllabic nasals

lè ŋ̀gbér kò còkɛ̀				>	[lèŋ gbér kò còkɛ̀]
lè	n̄-gbér	kò	còkɛ̀		
stars	NCM-plenty	to	sky		

'There are a lot of stars in the sky.' (as 7/22/2000)

nyèkì n̄pùtúl		>	[nyèkíŋ pùtúl]
nyèkì	n̄-pùtúl		
seed	NCM-rotten		

'The seeds are rotten.' (ab 7/22/2000)

The examples in (29) show an alternative strategy when the preceding word ends in a consonant: insert a schwa to create another syllable.

(29) Coda filling with epenthesis

a. ǹtɔ̀k ŋ̀ŋɔ̀l péétìrà > [ǹtɔ̀kə̀ŋ ŋɔ̀l péétìrà]
ǹ-tɔ̀k ǹ-ŋɔ̀l pé tì-rà
NCM-stick NCM-four rock NCM-three
'four sticks and three rocks'

b. m̀pùt m̀bònù > [m̀pùt-ə̀ŋ bòmù]
ǹ-pùt ǹ-bònŭ̂ŋ
NCM-intestine NCM-large
'large intestines' (om 7/23/2000)

The instability of the initial syllabic nasal can be seen in the following example in (30), where the noun class marker before 'one' completely disappears into the already filled coda of a preceding word.

(30) [ǹtìlín bùl] 'one urine'
ǹ-tìlín ǹ-bùl
NCM-urine NCM-one

Ironically, a further step in the process is to eliminate the nasal consonant, leaving only traces in vowel nasalization and an extra-long vowel, as shown in (31a). Compensatory lengthening has already been mentioned in the discussion of vowel allophony, as part of a several stage process (section 2 of this chapter). Vowels and sometimes preceding glides and /h/ are nasalized by a nasal in the coda (section 1). When the coda nasal is not /m/, the nasal often disappears. The vowel is then lengthened to compensate for the loss of the nasal mora, as shown in (31a). In this case lengthening compensates for both the coda nasal and the initial syllabic nasal on the definite marker; the combining of the two is a preliminary step to the whole process. In the b. example vowel lengthening occurs when the coda [l] is absorbed by the following [l]-initial onset. (See also the preceding examples of coda filling and compensatory lengthening in this section.)

(31) Compensatory lengthening

a. [m̀pâ̂ácé gbér kòcòkè]
ǹ-pàŋ ŋ̀-cɛ́ gbér kò còkè
NCM-moon NCM-DEF plenty to sky
'The moons are many in the sky.'

b. [pàà-lìká]
pàl lì-ká
sun NCM-DEM
'that sun' (bs 7/21/00)

In (32) appear two examples showing coda filling, coda emptying, and compensatory lengthening. That the initial syllabic nasal of the demonstrative has been resyllabified is shown by the nasalization of the preceding vowel, for nasalization proceeds leftwards from coda nasals.

(32) Coda filling with compensatory lengthening

mó ǹkákì > món kákì > mṍ: kákì
mó ǹkákì
breast DEM
'this breast'

mó ǹ-kól > món kól > mṍ: kól
mó ǹkól
breast DEM
'that breast' (im 7/30/00)

The example in (33) shows the operation of several different constraints. Epenthesis takes place to break up the sequence [sm] and resyllabification creates a new syllable with the epenthetic segment as the nucleus. The syllabicity of the initial syllabic nasal is lost as it fills the coda of the preceding (newly created) syllable.

(33) Epenthesis + resyllabification (nasalization not shown)

ìgbɔ̀s m̀pùt > ìgbɔ̀s [ə̀] m̀pùt > ìgbɔ̀sə̀m pùt
ì-gbɔ̀s m̀-pùt
NCM-odor NCM-intestines
'the smell of intestines'

A final way in which resyllabification changes lexical structure is by gemination. In the following example, the final [l] of *lɔ́l* 'sleep' geminates to fill the empty onset of the following negative particle *-én*.

(34) Coda and onset building by *l*-gemination

ù lɔ̀l -én > ù-lɔ̀l-lén She isn't sleeping.
3SG sleep NEG

In addition to the processes already discussed, there are numerous instances of contraction involving function words, particles, pronouns, and the like. Mani tends to have a dense and explicit system of "reference tracking" (Comrie 2004)

and thus provides many function words in an utterance. For example, the focus particle often combines with following pronouns and 3SG function words often contract and even disappear. In (35a and b) are combinations of the focus particle with two pronouns. In a sentential example (35c), the pronoun *kɔ̀* and 1SG *yà* are combined to form a single "word" *kà*.

(35) Contractions of function words

a. ŋɔ̀ à > ŋʷà
FOC 1SG

b. ŋɔ̀ wɔ̀ > ŋʷɔ̀
FOC 3SG

c. màní gbét ↑ká fɔ́
màní gbét kɔ́ yá fɔ̀
Mani only PRO.FOC 1SG speak
'I only speak Mani.'

Likely such processes as these and the frequency with which the 3SG subject marker is used are responsible for the absence of the marker in most positions.

4. Tone

Mani is a level-tone language with a high and a low tone. The high tone, especially at the beginning of sentences, is commonly accompanied by a lengthening of the vowel with which it is associated and is often a (phonetic) rise. Both of these phonetic features can be found internally in a sentence but are infrequent. In addition, an open syllable with a high tone can be followed by a glottal stop. The high tone is the marked tone of the pair because of these features, and also because it is less common than the low tone. Impressionistically, the high tone has much greater prominence. The rising tone is not lexical, but may be found on initial syllables in the circumstances mentioned above. In syllables with two vowels, tones never differ. No lexical falling tone was recorded, except as a consequence of intonational contours such as a declarative final fall.

The tone-bearing unit ("tbu") is the syllable nucleus, which at the lexical level is a single vowel (for the most part) or a syllabic nasal. Tone functions at the lexical level as is shown by the minimal pairs given in (36).

(36) Lexical minimal pairs

pá	'cut, sore'	tɔ́k	'wash'	hàlí	'for'
pà	'arm'	tɔ̀k	'tree'	hàlì	'lack'

wè	'fear'	bòl	'head'	kùtá	'plow'
wé	'bird'	ból	'lie'	kùtà	'sp. fish'
cú	'metal'	mèn	'down'	kénà	'please'
cù	'mangrove'	mén	'water'	kènà	'how'

Tone also functions at the grammatical level. All verbs exhibit at least the two-way tonal contrast between the Hortative and the Perfective given in (37a). The examples in (37b) represent a three-way tonal contrast. The first two show the same contrast as in (37a). The third member of the second contrasting set in (37b) is provided by the marker of the non-finite form of the verb, usually *ù-*, but here *ǹ-*. The verb for 'stand' thus provides a bonus minimal triplet because the nominalizing prefix comes from the *ma* class, namely, the low-toned homorganic nasal prefix *ǹ-*, segmentally identical to the 2SG subject marker.

(37) Grammatical tone

a. sí fɔ̀ màní
sí fɔ̀ màní
1PL speak Mani
'Let us speak Mani!'

sì fɔ́ màní
sì fɔ́ màní
1PL speak Mani
'We have spoken Mani.'

b. m̀ pò
2SG.HORT stand
'Stand up!'

m̀ pó
2SG stand.PERF
'You have stood.'

m̀-pò
NCM-stand
'standing / to stand'

As is detailed in the chapter on verbal morphology (Chapter 7), tone is just one way of marking verbal contrasts.

Two other tonal phenomena are of interest, High Tone Spreading (HTS) and the tonal polarity of the definite article. HTS causes one low tone to the right of a high tone to be raised; it applies across morpheme and some word boundaries. It is a widespread rule but not obligatory and doess not apply across major (phrase-level and above) syntactic boundaries.

Within phrases, however, it operates freely, as is shown by the examples in (38). The first example in (38a) shows no tonal changes because all tones on the noun *ìyèfɔ̀rè* 'rice flour' are low; the low-toned noun class marker (NCM) of the definite article remains low. In (38b) the tone of the same NCM is raised because the final tone on *ìnòkúlúŋ* 'dried rice' is high (tonal polarity is not shown).

(38) HTS: Spread a H one tone-bearing unit to the right

a. ì-yèfɔ̀rè ì-cɛ́ 'the cooked rice flour'
NCM-rice.flour NCM-DEF

b. ì-nòkúlúŋ í-cɛ́ 'the dried rice'
NCM-dry.rice NCM-DEF

The examples in (39) show the operation of the rule within the verb phrase. The first example in (39a) shows HTS spreading the final high tone of the verb *wɔ̀ŋɔ́* 'send' on to the low-toned pronoun *mì* 'me'; but note the high tone of the definite article *cɛ́* does not spread on to the verb. The example in (39b) shows the spread in a similar context from the verb *cɔ́p* 'start' on to *pé* 'again', but not from the high-toned verb *tɔ́k* 'wash' on to the lexical direct object *dòmɔ̀* 'clothes'.

(39) a. bɛ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mí ùlɔ̀ŋkòbɛ̀
bɛ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mì ù-lɔ̀ŋkòbɛ̀
chief DEF send 1SG NCM-sheep
'The chief sends me a sheep.'

b. ù cɔ́p pɛ́ hàlí tɔ́k dòmɔ̀ tì cɛ́
ù cɔ́p pɛ̀ hàlí tɔ́k dòmɔ̀ tì-cɛ́
3SG start again for wash clothes NCM-DEF
'He started washing the clothes again.'

This tonal data provides some weak support for the pronoun following the verb's forming a tonal domain for the mark of the Perfective. Thus, there is some tonological evidence for the organization of the VP discussed in Chapter 10.

The second tonal phenomenon of interest is the tonal polarity exhibited by the definite article (DEF) *cɛ*. When the preceding tone is low, the tone on the article is high, but if the preceding tone is low, DEF is high. Since DEF appears in limited syntactic contexts, the contrasts are few. DEF appears after the noun to which it refers and is prefixed by the noun class marker ("NCM") of that noun. Since all NCM's have low tones, there would not seem to be much opportunity for the article to exhibit its polarity. But there is one class which only optionally prefixes its NCM in such contexts, the *wɔ* class.

On the few occasions where the prefix is present for the *wɔ* class, DEF will be high (40a), as it is with the other classes. Time words, which also show variable behavior with regard to NCM's also provide an opportunity for the tonal polarity of *cɛ* to exhibit itself: in example c., the tone on *cɔ́l* 'night' is high and thus the tone on *cɛ* is low since there is no NCM to intervene.

(40) Tonal polarity of cɛ with *wɔ*-class nouns

a. *wɔ*-class NCM present:	cùŋk	ù-cɛ́	'the fishing net'
	fishing.net	NCM-DEF	
b. *wɔ*-class NCM absent:	sà	cɛ́	'the dry season'
	dry.season	Ø-DEF	
	kál cɛ̀		'the antelope'
c. time words without NCMs:	sì wé cól cɛ̀		
	sì-wé	cól cɛ̀	'We fear the night.'
	1PL-fear	night DEF	

The example in (38b) would thus be more phonemically represented as below (without the operation of Tonal Polarity and HTR). See also the example in (39a) (*bɛ̀* 'chief'), where the definite marker is high after a low-toned noun.

(41) ìnòkúlúŋ ìcɛ̀ 'the dried rice'
ì-nòkúlúŋ ì-cɛ́
NCM-dry.rice NCM-DEF

The polar tone of the definite article has at least one genetic parallel in South Atlantic. The definite article of Gola also has a tone opposite to preceding material (Sindlinger 1975:8). Although both Sherbro and Krim, two closely related languages, have a cognate definite article, there is no mention of a polar tone in what little has been written on those languages (Hanson 1979, Pichl 1972). (Another closely related language, Kisi, has no definite article.) Polar tones appear elsewhere in Africa, having been reported in both Hausa (Newman 1999) and Dagaare (Anttila and Bodomo 2000).

In the examples below both Tonal Polarity and HTS can be observed in (42b) In (42a) the NCM *dì-* has a low tone. When *dì-* is prefixed to the definite article *cɛ* and then follows *sál*, however, its tone is raised to H due to the preceding high tone (HTS), thus determining the tone of the definite article as L (Tonal Polarity).

(42) Tonal polarity and HTS

a. dì-sál	b. sál dí-cɛ̀
NCM-rainy.season	rainy.season NCM-DEF
'rainy season'	'the rainy season'

Tonal polarity is impervious, however, to the tone of an epenthetic segment. The following example shows that epenthesis (here [ə̀] between two voiceless obstruents) is a low-level phonetic process applying after tonal polarity in an ordered treatment. The low tone of the epenthetic vowel does not cause the tone of the definite article to be high (nor is it raised by the preceding high).

(43) ùkánt + cɛ̀ > ùkánt [ə̀]cɛ̀ 'the bicycle'

As will be seen in Chapter 7 on verbal morphology, the Perfective is the only tonal inflection on the verb. It is a high tone assigned to the final syllable of the verb. In an autosegmental treatment it would have to be seen as being assigned from right to left. Notably, verb extensions (Chapter 8) can be suffixed to the verb and form part of the verb stem and provide a test for this interpretation. In three of six cases, the high tone is assigned to the syllable formed by the extension, with the following qualifications for the other three. The high tone of the Perfective is never realized on the Completive extension (see the discussion around (257)). The Stative has its own (high) tone and the Plural is not relevant because of the reduplication. Thus, only the Causative, Middle, and Benefactive may be evaluated. The Benefactive receives the high tone in all cases, e.g., (44a). Although the examples are few, both the Causative and Middle also allow the high tone of the Perfective to be realized on the new syllable their suffixation has created, examples (44b) and (44c).

(44) a. ḿbòm bàsànɛ́ bɛ́cɛ̀
ḿbòm bàsà-nɛ́ bɛ́ cɛ̀
Mbom sweep-BEN chief DEF
'Mbom swept for the chief.' (jd 11/27/04, 3/13/05)

b. yá dìrí bànàn cɛ̀
yá dìr-í bànàn cɛ̀
1SG ripe-CS banana DEF
'I made the banana ripe.' (ys 7/29/00)

c. kél cɛ̀ cé làntə́n kò lóm cɛ̀
kél cɛ̀ cé lànt-ə́n kò lóm cɛ̀
monkey DEF IPF hang-MID to tail DEF
'The monkey was hanging by its tail.' (jd 2/25/06)

Thus we see some rather paltry evidence for the autosegmental assignment of tone. The only other evidence that appears is the high tone of the Perfective again will be realized on post-verbal pronouns after the verb (see Section 2).

5. Intonation

This section presents a brief characterization of the intonation system of Mani by identifying and describing a few of the more common intonation contours. Generally speaking, intonational patterns in fluent speech tend to obscure or even neutralize lexical and even grammatical tonal contrasts. Both questions and focus constructions are notable in this regard. Often before ideophones, particularly those with a raised register, tonal contrasts are particularly difficult to identify. After some preliminary comments on pausing, the first contour to be considered is that associated with simple declaratives.

In longer utterances, particularly in elicitation contexts, pauses are inserted at major syntactic boundaries, e.g., at the end of a fronted (and focused) constituent (see section 2), and accompanied by a small rise in pitch. These may be what have been called "Continuative boundary tones" (Rialland and Robert 2001:924), described also as a pitch rise followed by a pause.

Other places where speakers pause in a single clause are after a long subject NP and after the verb. In the two examples below in (45), the pause is indicated by a comma, as it is in following examples. A second pause appears after the verb in the second example, where it is followed by a lowered register, another optional feature after pauses.

(45) Pausing after a subject NP

a. púltìcɛ́ tànàí, tìtùkúl rès

púl	tì-cɛ́	tà-nàí,	tì	tùkúl	rès
ash	NCM-DEF	NCM-DEM	NCP	hot	still

'These ashes are still hot.' (bs 7/22/00; jd rev. 1/29/05)

b. wúdí yàŋàí, lè gbèndì bí, nén tì nyɔ̀l

wú	dí-yà	ŋàí,	lè	gbèndì	bí,	nén	tì-nyɔ̀l
death	NCM-mother	3PL	PRO	finish	hold	year	NCM-four

'The death of their mother occurred four years ago.' (jd 12/8/04)

Another place where pauses occur is after the verb, as shown in (46a and b) (and in (45b) above). A pause can appear after a simple verb with a pronominal subject, even with a direct object, as shown by the first example. When the verb is slightly more complex, as in (46b), a pause is also possible after the verb.

(46) Pausing after the verb

a. nyà sí, nɔ́ cɛ̀ wɔ̀nɛ̀
nyà sí nɔ́ cɛ̀ wɔ̀nɛ̀
2PL know person DEF 3SG.this
'You know this person.' (om 7/23/00)

b. à gbìndì té, cɔ́kù cɛ̀
à-gbɛ̀n-dì té cɔ́k ù-cɛ́
1SG-finish-CMP burn grass NCM-DEF
I burned the grass. (bs 7/23/00)

Pauses also appear after objects. The fall on *kô* 'to' in the closely transcribed line of (47a) is due to the rise of the preceding pause (*wɔ* has a low tone lexically as shown in the morpheme gloss line). In (47b) there is a pause not only after the object but also after the subject.

(47) Pausing after objects

a. wɔ̀ pún ràùwɔ́, kô bɛ̀ŋ
wɔ̀ pún rà wɔ̀ kò bɛ̀ŋ
3SG scratch skin 3SG to foot
'He scratched the skin on his foot.' (bs 2/15/05)

b. wàntàcɛ́, wɔ̀ nyɛ̀ ùpɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ̀, kɛ́kɛ́tɔ̀
wàntà cɛ́ wɔ̀ nyɛ̀ ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́ kɛ́kɛ́cò
girl DEF 3SG fan NCM-rice DEF now
The girl is fanning the rice now. (jd 11/16/04)

More expected pauses appeared at higher syntactic boundaries, e.g., between clauses, with the same phonetic features and will not be discussed here.

What is notable about these pauses is the presence of a slight rise, indicating that there is more to come. This is the same sort of prosody that is found after non-terminal items in a list and likely represents a very general, if not a universal, phenomenon, e.g., Bolinger 1978.

Commands (as illustrated in Chapter 7, section 5 on the Hortative) do not have an intonational pattern associated with them, although there may be an overall raised register and increased loudness depending on the context.

Yes/no questions as in (48), however, do have a final rise. They also feature a question particle *yá*, which may be reduced to [í] (the first sentence in example (48b)).

(48) Rising intonation for yes/no questions (glosses and analysis simplified)

a. kà kàtón, lɔ́ mɔ́ kì yá
kà kàtón lɔ́ mɔ́ kì yá
in Caton, PRO 2SG here Q
'Are you staying here in Caton?' (jd 2/19/05; 3/12/05)

b. mɔ̀ sɔ̀mà sɛ̀kì
mɔ̀ sɔ̀mà sɛ̀k-ì
2SG chew mullet-*i*
'Do you munch mullet?'[13]

ńn̄ yá sɔ̀mà ʃɛ̀k
ńn̄ yá sɔ̀mà sɛ̀k
yes 1SG chew mullet
'Yes, I munch mullet.'
(bs 7/15/00; jd 3/5/05)

c. lá ŋá cìkɛ́ kò kàbèndɔ̀ yá
lá nyà cìkɛ́ kò kàbèndɔ̀ yá
PRO 2PL bring from Kabendo Q
'Did you (pl) bring news from Kabendo?' (jd 2/6/05; 3/6/05)

There is also a vocative contour. The last syllable is lengthened and associated with a sustained final H, much like a raised register (said to be common cross-linguistically (Ladd 1996), (Rialland and Robert 2001:915)

Although no instrumental measurements have been made, the gradual narrowing of the pitch range over the course of the utterance is notable, as is the general fall of the absolute pitch. This fall culminates in a terminal fall, which often obscures tonal contrasts on the final syllable.

Specific contours are also associated with various discourse particles which are discussed in Chapter 4, section 12.

Chapter 4
Word categories

Mani has at least the word categories of nouns and verbs.[14] Adjectives are few and many of their functions are found in verbs. Locatives and time words are often transparently related to nouns, as are postpositions. Prepositions usually have no specific (lexical) meaning. Manner adverbs are also relatively few in number but are supplemented by ideophones. In addition, Mani has a large number of pronouns and other deictic expressions.

1. Nouns

Nouns are much less restricted with regard to their phonological form than verbs. Aside from a minimality constraint of all nouns being at least CV, no other constraints restrict the form of a noun, besides the generally applicable phonotactic constraints of the language as a whole.

Criterially nouns participate in the noun class system (see Chapter 6). This membership can have consequences for the form of the noun itself, generally in the form of a prefix identifying the class to which the noun belongs. *Table 6* shows some of those prefixes.

Table 6. Some nouns with their noun class prefixes

dì-wú	ǹ-wú	ù-pà	tì-pà	ŋ̀-kwà
NCM-funeral	NCM-funeral	NCM-hand	NCM-hand	NCM-fat
'funeral'	'funerals'	'hand'	'hands'	'fat, grease'

Noun class membership has consequences for the syntax in that dependent elements are prefixed with a concord element determined by the class of the noun on which they are dependent. Nouns, however, are not always prefixed with their noun class markers in such contexts (represented by the 0's below).

(49) 0-ʃɔ̀k ù-bùl
fowl NCM-one
'one fowl'

0-kɛ́n dí-dòìyá
knife NCM-sharp
'sharp knife'

ǹ-tílíŋ ǹ-cə̀ŋ	tì-flék tì-dèntɛ́
NCM-urine NCM-two	NCM-flag NCM-white
'two urines'	'white flags'

In fact, *wɔ*-class nouns generally appear without a prefix and their depen-dents also without a prefix, as shown in (50).

(50) *wɔ*-class nouns not showing concord

bókóló wíl	nàn bòmù	dòmò dèntɛ́ pɨ́-ɨ́-ɨ́
throat long	footprint big	shirt white IDPH
'long throat'	'big footprint'	'really white shirt'

Despite this fact, such words belong to this class since they satisfy all other criteria: *wɔ*-class plural forms of these nouns show concord, they behave syntactically like nouns, etc.

Nouns constitute a prototypical category with a number of less prototypical members. One such peripheral category is time words, which may be analyzed as nouns on the basis of their being sometimes prefixed with *ì-* (the noun class marker of the *nyɛ* class). Nonetheless they are used adverbially to indicate the time at which something occurred.

(51) Time words with the *ì-* prefix

í-náŋ	'today'
ì-pàl	'day, afternoon'
ì-sɔ̀	'morning'
ì-yɛ̀k	'day after tomorrow'
ì-pàŋ	'moon'
ì-cólì	'all night'

It is not always the case, however, that time words have the prefix, e.g., *cól* '(at) night', nor is it always true that words with the prefix will have it in all contexts. Compare the examples in (52a and b).

(52) Time words with and without a NCM

a. à lɔ̀lɛ́n ìnàŋ ìcólì

à	lɔ̀l-ɛ́n	ìnàŋ	ì-cólì
1SG	sleep-NEG	today	NCM-night

'I didn't sleep last night.' (jd 1/24/05)

b. ù cé tìrìŋ nàŋ cól
ù cé tìrìŋ nàŋ cól
3SG IPF snore today night
'He was snoring last night.' (jd 3/13/05)[15]

Some time words never have a prefix.

(53) gbèn 'tomorrow'
làcìpéwé 'long ago'
cònk 'three days hence'

Other time words, including those listed without a prefix are discussed below in section 8.

2. Names

Because they function syntactically like nouns but possess no nominal morphology, names may be considered another such peripheral category. Names have a phonology (along with ideophones) somewhat different from nouns (see Nemer 1987 for examples from nearby and genetically related Temne).

- Names may be longer than most nouns and may be compounds, e.g., *kùnìbùndùbá*, *tòŋkòyá*.
- Syllabic nasals occasionally have a lexical high tone in names, *ńtùmà*, *ŋ́kùnì*.
- Names may have long vowels, e.g., *kààbò*, *kèmóó*.

Place names occasionally have a special syntactic feature attributable to their derivational history (see section 1.5 for some historical insights garnered from Mani place names). Those derived from Mani with the locative preposition *kò* as the first part of the name do not require the general locative preposition in locative constructions. The first example in (54) illustrates a place name without the incorporated preposition *kò*, and thus requiring a preposition. The second shows a place name with the incorporated preposition and thus without the preposition.

(54) a. yá kón kò bèntì
yá kòn kò bèntì
1SG go to Benty (from *m̀bèncí* 'you have to come with')
'I'm going to Benty.' (jd 1/23/05)

b. yá kɔ́n kwègbál
yá kɔ̀n kò-ì-gbál
1SG go to-NCM-Guinea.plum
'I'm going to Kigbali (place of the Guinean plums).' (jd 1/23/05)

Other names have been borrowed and typically exhibit some phonological irregularities. For example, names for the days of the week are all borrowed from Temne except 'Friday', which comes directly from Soso. (Cf. comparable terms from Arabic in the leftmost column.[16]

(55) The days of the week

	Mani	Temne	Arabic
Saturday	*símìtì*	*əsimiti*	Yaumus Sabt
Sunday	*làhátì*	*əlati*	Yaumul Ahad
Monday	*tèènέ*	*ətɛnέ*	Yaumul Ithnain
Tuesday	*àlàtà*	*ətalatá*	Yaumuth Thulatha
Wednesday	*àrábà*	*əraba*	Yaumul Arbiaa
Thursday	*àlàxàmúsà*	*əlaxamusa*	Yaumul Khamees
Friday	*àrímè*	*əyúma*	Yaumul Jumuah

Two notable irregularities are the long vowel in 'Monday' and the voiceless velar fricative in 'Thursday' (a regular phoneme in Soso, the language to which Mani speakers have switched).

The full complement of temporal expressions is discussed in Chapter 8 on adverbs.

3. Pronouns

It is something of an understatement to say pronouns are used prolifically in Mani. Any examination of a naturalistic Mani text (see Appendix 1: Texts) or participation in a normal conversation will reveal just how widely used they are. Pronouns are used in expected ways to make reference to nouns and the like, but also to make reference to virtually any other constituent, except purely grammatical items. Across sentences the references back to what has happened and perhaps back to a participant, certainly the one if not the other, abound. There are repetitions of references, and both commonly used emphasis and focus constructions require pronouns, as do relative clauses and almost any other (mostly clause-)linking mechanism, e.g., see the discussion around (139) for a correlative use of pronouns. Several conjunctions are composed of what look to

be pronouns (see *Table 17.* Conjunctions). Multiple pronouns in the same sentence can refer to the same entity.

Impressionistically on the basis of analyzing a number of texts, information-packaging in Mani is done in terms of relatively discrete chunks with one new piece of information per chunk. These chunks are linked to each other by pronouns. If there were an index of such linking, the extent to which adjacent chunks are related, Mani would have a very high one, with most of the work being done by pronouns. To analyze the language, then, let alone to understand and speak it, requires some control over a myriad of pronoun uses. A more detailed analysis is needed to survey and analyze their many functions.

This section examines personal pronouns, noun class pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and "other" pronouns. There is some overlap in the first two categories since the third person pronouns are the same as the *wɔ-* and *ŋa*-class pronouns. Whether subject and even object pronouns constitute what is called "markers" in the Africanist literature is a question that is discussed in both Creissels 2005 and Creissels, Dimmendaal, Frajzyngier, and König 2008. The practice here has been to call agreement morphemes on dependent elements and on most nouns as "markers" and the often formally distinct forms used pronominally but also as subjects and as objects as "pronouns", even when these forms appear, e.g., within a split predicate.

3.1 Personal pronouns

Table 7 lists the personal pronouns of Mani. A few explanatory comments need to be made. All but the last column illustrate the pronouns used in a major syntactic environment. The rightmost column contains the "emphatic" pronouns. Formally, these are subject pronouns with a final nasal, which is likely a reduced form of *-nɛ̀*, related to the near demonstrative of identical form. When the emphatic forms are used for subjects, they are often followed by a brief pause and the regular subject markers before the verb (see example 351 for one use of the emphatic form in topicalizing constructions followed by a similar pause). Thus, the use of these pronouns has more pragmatic than grammatical motivation.

The subject markers (SM) are found obligatorily before the verb in all tenses but one. ("Tense" is used here and elsewhere in the Africanist way as a cover term for all Tense-Mood-Aspect-Polarity distinctions, e.g., Welmers 1973.) The subject pronouns (SUBJ) replace them in only one tense, the Habitual, and there receive a high tone. These pronouns are also used with stressed subjects, in conjunction with (following) subject pronouns, sometimes with the emphatic marker. Because the SM are inseparable from the verbs they proceed, there is some evidence for considering them as prefixes on a par with the prefixed noun class markers (NCM) of the noun class system.

Table 7. Personal pronouns

	SM	SUBJ	OBJ	POSS	FOCUS	EMPH
1SG	à	yà	mì	mì	mì	yán / yánè
2SG	ǹ	mɔ̀	mɔ̀	mɔ̀	mɔ̀	mɔ́n / mɔ́nè
3SG	ù	wɔ̀	wɔ̀	wɔ̀	wɔ̀	wɔ́n / wɔ́nè
1PL	sì	sì	hìn	hìn	hìn	sín / sínè
2PL	nyà	nyà	nyà	nyà	nyà	nyán / nyánè
3PL	ŋà	ŋà	ŋà	ŋà	ŋà	ŋán / ŋánè

These pronouns also appear in focus constructions and are the basis for the emphatic forms (EMPH) in the last column. The object pronouns are found in non-subject positions and differ in only two persons (1SG and 1PL) from the subject pronouns. In all cases the possessive pronouns are identical to the object pronouns.

There is, however, some variation in the forms of the 2PL and 3PL pronouns. To start with, the palatal nasal of the 2PL pronoun is often replaced by the velar nasal, and a few times vice-versa: the 3PL pronouns were produced with a palatal nasal replacing the velar nasal. The alternation between these two nasals is discussed in some detail in section 1 on consonants. Furthermore, the 1PL pronoun hìn was produced as [nyiǹ] by several speakers; section 1 also treats this alternation. Finally, subjects used both [hì] and [sì] for the 1PL subject pronoun.

3.2 Noun class pronouns

Noun class pronouns are independent words of relatively free distribution, as are their personal pronoun counterparts. They occur in all positions in which nouns appear, limited only by their semantics and pragmatics.

Table 8 displays the noun classes of Mani. Rough semantic characterizations for the noun classes appear in the rightmost column. Note that there is overlap, as with most Niger-Congo noun class systems, between the third person personal pronouns and the *wɔ/ŋa* (animate sg/pl) classes. In addition, the *sa class* contains many animal plurals and uses the *a*-class pronoun *ŋà*. In the third column are the "subject markers" or SM; they have roughly the same distribution as their counterpart in the personal pronouns and for that reason they are given that name here. They also appear as agreement markers before adjectives and the like, where they take the same form. As can be seen from a comparison of the first two columns, it is the pronouns unmarked for tone that serve as the reference name for each class, except for the *sa class*, which has the same pronoun as the *ŋa* class.

Table 8. Noun class pronouns

	PRO	NCM	Semantic characterization
Class			
wɔ	wɔ̀	à	many sg, human beings (cf. 3SG in Table 7)
ŋa	ŋà	à	human plurals (cf. 3PL in Table 7)
si	ŋà	sì/à	animal plurals
lɛ	lɛ̀	dì	small misc. class
nyɛ	nyɛ̀	ì	large misc. class, sg and pl
ta	tà	tì	inanimate plurals
ma	mà	ǹ	collectives, liquids, some plurals
pɛ	pɛ̀	pì	indefinite

Speakers are inclined to use the 3SG and 3PL personal pronouns (corresponding to *wɔ-* and *ŋa*-class pronouns) in place of the agreeing noun class pronouns, especially in the case of animate entities. This phenomenon is discussed as "animate concord" below on p. 124 and following. See also the discussion of subject pronouns as part of the tense system in Chapter 7.

The next set of pronouns to consider is the demonstratives.

3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Mani has a rich inventory of demonstratives, allowing speakers to make reference to entities near and far in a number of ways. Moreover, these demonstratives are supplemented with the locative deictics 'here' and 'there' to increase the richness of the distinctions that can be drawn, although the precise conditioning factors are difficult to identify.

Demonstrative pronouns are formed by prefixing a noun class pronoun to one of the two elements shown in the first two lines of Table 9. Roughly speaking, the first one, the demonstrative suffix *-nà* or *-nɔ̀*, is used for close referents (physically or metaphorically) and *-nɛ̀* is used for more distant ones. In addition, the locatives *kì* ('here') and *kól* ('there'), shown in the next two lines, can be used independently for near and far deixis, or in conjunction with one of the other demonstratives to supplement the system. The second column contains a rough semantic characterization, and the third some brief comments on morphosyntax.

Table 9. Mani demonstratives

Pronouns	-nà / -nɔ̀	'this/these', near, proximal	prefixes PRO
	-nɛ̀	'that/those', far, distal	prefixes PRO
Locative adverbs	kì	'here', proximal	follows DEM
	kól	'there', distal	follows DEM

With regard to the proximal demonstrative *-nà*, the form *-nɔ̀* appears as a possible vowel harmonic variant after the pronouns *wɔ̀* (3SG and u class) and *kɔ̀* (INDEF): thus, *wɔ̀nɔ̀* 'this one (person)' and *kɔ̀nɔ̀* 'this one (indefinite, anything)'.

In (56) appear some examples of *ma*-class demonstrative pronouns.

(56) à ké mànà / à ké mànɛ̀

à	ké	mà-nà	/	à	ké	mà-nɛ̀
1SG	see	PRO-DEM	/	1SG	see	PRO-DEM
'I saw this (*ma* class).'			/	'I saw that (*ma* class).'		

Despite the fact that *kì* and *kól* appear in the same position immediately after the noun class pronouns, they are free morphemes not bound to the pronouns; the suffixes *-nà/-nɔ̀* and *-nɛ̀* are bound morphemes. That the former should be seen as separate words and not as forms prefixed with the pronouns on a par with *-nà* and *-nɛ̀* is based on their appearance elsewhere as separate words with meanings of 'here' and 'there'.

In (57a) appear examples of *kì* and *kól* used alone with the noun class pronouns. When used by itself the form *kì* has a proximal sense (translated below as 'here'), but that distance may be real or metaphorical and thus the form is used after both the proximal and distal demonstratives (57b). The form *kól* performs much the same duty with a distal meaning ('there' in (57c)). The two can even be used together in either order (57d).

(57) Demonstratives *kì* and *kól*

a. à ké màkì / à ké màkól

à	ké	mà	kì	/	à	ké	mà	kól
1SG	see	PRO	here	/	1SG	see	PRO	there

'I saw this (nearby).' / 'I saw that (far away).'

b. à ké mànà kì / à ké mànɛ̀ kì

'I see this here.' / 'I see that here.'

c. à ké mànà kól / à ké mànɛ̀ kól
'I see this one there.' / 'I see that one there.'

d. à ké mà-kól kì / à ké mà-kì kól
'I see that one here.' / 'I see this one there.'

The demonstrative pronouns appear in all nominal environments; some representative examples are given in (58). The first example (58a) contains the far demonstrative *-nɛ̀*, and the (58b) example has *-nɛ̀* with *kì*.

(58) Demonstratives from other classes in context

a. *ŋa* class: ànyámɔ̀ ŋànà
à-nyá mɔ̀ ŋà-nà
NCM-family 2SG 3PL-DEM
'These are your relatives (your family).' (jd 1/30/05)

b. *nyɛ* class: ìmám nyɛ̀kì
ì-mám nyɛ̀-kì
NCM-tear PRO-DEM
'Those are tears.' (jd 12/7/04)

Demonstrative pronouns can be differentiated from the demonstrative adjectives in a number of ways in addition to the syntax as exhibited in (58). Demonstrative adjectives can appear only after a noun and always prefix a noun class marker, rather than a noun class pronoun. Demonstrative pronouns can also appear after nouns in a similar context with much the same meaning, but only if the nouns are followed by the definite article *cɛ*, as shown in (59). There is often a pause after the first part of the construction, as indicated in the first line of the *ti*-class examples by a comma. The presence of this break underscores the disjunctive constituency.

(59) Demonstrative pronouns after nouns

ti class: bèn-tì-cɛ́, tànà / bèn-tì-cɛ́, tànɛ̀

bèn	tì-cɛ	tànà	/	bèn	tì-cɛ	tànɛ̀
foot	NCM_{ta}-DEF	DEM_{ta}	/	foot	NCM_{ta}-DEF	DEM_{ta}

'these feet' / 'those feet'

nú ticɛ́, tànà / nú tìcɛ, tànɛ̀

nú	tì-cɛ̀	tànà	/	nú	tì-cɛ́	tànɛ̀
ear	NCM_{ta}-DEF	DEM_{ta}	/	ear	NCM_{ta}-DEF	DEM_{ta}

'these ears' / 'those ears'

púltìté tànà, tìtúkúl rès

púl	tì-cɛ́	tànà	tì-tùkúl	rès
ash	NCM_{ta}-DEF	DEM_{ta}	NCM_{ta}-hot	still

'These ashes are still hot.' (bs 7/22/00)

wɔ class: ránɔ́ cɛ̀ wɔ̀nɔ̀ / ránɔ́ cɛ̀ wɔ̀nɛ̀

ránɔ́	cɛ̀	wɔ̀nɔ̀ /	ránɔ́	cɛ̀	wɔ̀nɛ̀
farmer	DEF	$DEM_{wɔ}$/	farmer	DEF	$DEM_{wɔ}$

'this farmer' / 'that farmer' (jd 8/10/05)

ŋa class àrácɛ̀ ŋànà

à-ra	à-cɛ̀	ŋànà
$NCM_{ŋa}$-farmer	$NCM_{ŋa}$ -DEF	$DEM_{ŋa}$

'these farmers'

àrácɛ̀ ŋànɛ̀

à-rá	à-cɛ̀	ŋànɛ̀
$NCM_{ŋa}$-farmer	$NCM_{ŋa}$ -DEF	$DEM_{ŋa}$

'those farmers' (jd 8/10/05)

3.4 Indefinite and locative pronouns

In addition to personal pronouns, noun class pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns, Mani has a few other words that can also take the place of nouns. Pronouns discussed in this section show some features as defined morphosyntactically within the noun class system. Nonetheless, they are analyzed here as pronouns because they do not have all features of a noun. The two examples in (60) show how the pronoun replaces a noun even when its antecedent occurs in the immediate context. In (60a) it functions as the subject marker; it also substitutes for the expected agreeing (*wɔ*-class) pronoun *wɔ̀* before the demonstrative. In the second b. example it replaces *mà* of the first (60b) example, and in fact was the first choice when a replacement for the noun was sought. The second example in (60b) shows the noun (variably) replacing the expected pronoun *mà*. In the (60c) example it was the only pronoun used when a pronominal form was sought as the subject for two negative sentences. (60d) also features a demonstrative, but this time the distal *kɔ̀né*, and the pronoun as a subject marker making reference to *ùcé* 'tree'. What would be more expected here in the positions of *kɔ̀* are the *wɔ*-class dependents showing concord with the noun 'tree'. Thus, the demonstrative would then be *wɔ̀né* and the verb would have the*wɔ*-class subject marker *ù* (or ∅).

(60) The indefinite pronoun *kɔ̀*

a. ùpɛ̀l ùcɛ́ kɔ̀nɔ̀ kɔ̀ bì sìsú
ù-pɛ̀l ù-cɛ́ kɔ̀-nɔ̀ kɔ̀ bì sì-sú
NCM-net NCM-DEF PRO-dem PRO have NCM-fish
'The fishing net has fish.' (bs 7/22/2000)

b. ḿpɔ̀n ùsùrún cɛ̀ / ḿpɔ̀n kɔ̀ / ḿpɔ̀n mà
ḿ-pɔ̀n ǹ-sùrún cɛ̀ / ḿ-pɔ̀n kɔ̀ / ḿ-pɔ̀n mà
sm-throw NCM-pestle DEF / sm-throw PRO / sm-throw PRO
'Throw the pestle!' / 'Throw it!' / 'Throw it!' (jd 1/30/05)

c. ùpɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́ ùsɛ̀kɔ́l
ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́ ù-sɛ̀kɔ́l
NCM-rice DEF NCM-dry
'The rice is drying.'

kɔ̀ sɛ̀kɔ́lɛ́n / kɔ̀ cɛ́n ùsɛ̀kɔ́l
kɔ̀ sɛ̀kɔ́l-ɛ́n / kɔ̀ cɛ́-ɛ́n ù-sɛ̀kɔ́l
PRO dry-NEG / PRO aux-NEG NCM-dry
'It is not dry.' / 'It is not dry.' (jd 2/29/05)

d. tɔ̀k ùcɛ́ kɔ̀né kɔ́ bí tàŋk víl
tɔ̀k ù-cɛ́ kɔ̀-né kɔ̀ bí tàŋk wíl
tree NCM-DEF DEM PRO have root long
'That tree has long roots.' (ab 7/22/00)

Another versatile pronoun is the indefinite pronoun *là*, used in much the same way as *kɔ̀*, for non-animate indefinites. As with other pronouns, it can serve as a subject (61a), as part of a demonstrative (61b), in (61c) as a predication, in (61d) as an object, and in (61e) as an object within a "split predicate", roughly speaking, a tensed preverbal element, the whole structure often referred to as S-Aux-O-V-X (see Chapter 10).

(61) The indefinite pronoun *là*

a. là bìɛ́n dènódèn
là bì-ɛ́n dènódèn
PRO have-NEG nothing
'It doesn't matter.'
(jd 1/23/05)

b. cɛ́m rɔ́k ŋɔ̀ là kì
cɛ́m rɔ́k ŋɔ̀ là-kì
time harvest FOC DEM
'It is now time for harvesting.'
(jd 1/22/05)

c. pótónɔ̀ nɔ̀ dìntɛ́ wɔ̀ là
pótónɔ̀ nɔ̀ dìntɛ́ wɔ̀ là
European person white 3SG PRO
'The European is a white person.' (jd 12/10/04)

d. ḿ mùnì là
ḿ mùnì là
2SG repeat PRO
'Repeat it!' (jd 11/15/04)

e. yá là bɔ̀
yá là bɔ̀
1SG PRO be.able
'I can do it.' (fc 7/15/04)

Furthermore, the pronoun may combine with the demonstrative suffixes to form near and far indefinite demonstratives.

(62) à ké lànà / à ké lànɛ̀
1SG see dem / 1SG see dem
'I saw something nearby.' / '... far away.' (jd 8/10/05)

A second pro-form introduced in the preceding section is the locative *lɔ̀*, taking the place of any locative expression but also serving as an indefinite pronoun when the antecedent place is not specified or unknown. In (63a) the pronoun replaces a prepositional phrase. In the (63b) example, the location is specified explicitly, immediately following *lɔ̀* (and the negative particle). In the (63c) example the antecedent (Benty, a town in Guinea) had been specified in the preceding sentence.

(63) The locative pro-form *lɔ̀*

a. kò kyámp lɔ̀ dìwíl
kò kyámp lɔ̀ dì-wíl
to Freetown PRO NCM-far
To Freetown is far. (jd 8/10/05)

b. nɔ̀ cé lɔ̀n kò kìlɛ̀
nɔ̀ cé lɔ̀-én kò kìl-ɛ̀
person COP PRO-NEG to house-inside
There is no one there in the house. (jd 12/7/04, rev 2/20/05)

c. à wɔ́n lɔ̀ pàcɛ̀
à wɔ́n lɔ̀ pàcɛ̀
1SG come there day.before.yesterday
I came there [to Benty] the day before yesterday. (jd 11/27/04)

The examples in (64) show how *lɔ̀* is closer to a pronoun (64a) than to a simple locative adverb 'there', as is *kól* in (64b). Pronouns move "inside", i.e., between the two parts of such predications (aux-verb or verb-verb). Here both *lɔ̀* and the pronoun *mì* 'me' precede the verb *lènyí* 'greet', where the adverb *kól* is not allowed. (64c) shows the place of *kól* after the (second) verb or "outside". The movement to a position before the verb is available only to pronouns.

(64) The locative *lɔ̀* as a pronoun, the locative *kól* as an adverb

a. ń kɔ̀ mì lɔ̀ lènyí̀
ń kɔ̀ mì lɔ̀ lènyí̀
2SG go 1SG loc visit
'You go (come) visit me there (my house)!'

b. *ń kɔ̀ mì kól lènyí̀
*ń kɔ̀ mì kól lènyí
*2SG go 1SG adv visit
*'You go (come) visit me there (my house)!'

c. ń kɔ̀ mì lènyí kól
ń kɔ̀ mì lènyí kól
2SG go 1SG visit there
'You go (come) visit me there (my house)!' (jd 2/18/05)

Nonetheless, it does not have all properties of pronouns: the locative does not combine with the demonstrative suffixes, as do some of the other indefinite pronouns.

(65) *à ké lɔ̀nɔ̀ / *à ké lɔ̀nà

Another pronoun is the indefinite personal pronoun *pɛ̀*, peripherally part of the noun class system (*pi* class; see Chapter 6). The first example in (66) shows the pronoun in the singular, the second as a plural with the *ŋa*-class NCM; *ŋà-pɛ̀* with the noun class pronoun is also possible.

(66) The indefinite pronoun *pɛ̀*

pɛ̀ kóm mí kò fɔ̀lɔ̀
pɛ̀ kóm mì kò fɔ̀lɔ̀
PRO bear 1SG to world
'Someone born (gave birth to) me into the world.' (om 7/23/00, jd 8/8/05)

à pè tɔŋwùlɔ́ wɔ̀ céntà
à pè tɔŋwùlɔ́ wɔ̀ céncà
NCM PRO bury 3SG yesterday
'They buried him yesterday.' (jd 11/28/04)

3.5 Reflexivity and reciprocity

Two other functions which are often handled by pronouns are reflexivity and reciprocity. Mani uses single forms, showing no inflection to perform these functions, although the reflexive may be interpreted as doing so. Mani has a reflexive morpheme *yètɛ́*, translated 'self', which is followed by a personal pronoun, much in the same way pronouns follow nouns when used as possessives. The form used here is undoubtedly related to the word *yètè* 'body', a not uncommon development, the reflexive often coming from such a source in African languages (Heine and Kuteva 2002).[17]

(67) The reflexive function in Mani

yètɛ́-mì	'myself'	yètɛ́-nyì	'ourselves'
yètɛ́-mɔ̀	'yourself'	yètɛ́-nyà	'yourselves'
yètɛ́-wɔ̀	'3SG-self'	yètɛ́-ŋà	'themselves'

Some sentential examples of the reflexive follow in (68).

(68) Sentential examples of the reflexive

a. làŋgbán ùcɛ́ ùmàrá yètɛ́ò
làŋgbán ù-cɛ́ ù màrá yètɛ́-wɔ̀
adult.male NCM-DEF 3SG love REFL-3SG
'The man loved himself.'

b. à ké yètɛ́mì kò bùnt cɛ̀
à ké yètɛ́-mì kò bùnt cɛ̀
1SG see REFL-1SG to pool DEF
'I saw myself (my reflection) in the pool (of standing water).'

c. ŋà tìyɛ́ yètɛ́ŋà ùnèkí ŋwàà gbé kò gbáŋ cɛ̀
ŋà tìyɛ́ yètɛ́-ŋà ù-nèkí
3PL feel REFL-3PL NCM-hurt
ŋwà à gbé kò gbáŋ cɛ̀
when 3PL walk to sword.grass DEF
'They hurt themselves when they walked through the sword grass.' (jd 12/13/04)

The post-verbal morpheme *nìn* expresses reciprocity ('each other') with plural subjects but without a following personal pronoun. The first example in (69a) shows the form with the 1PL pronoun and the second contrasts a roughly comparable sentence involving two singular pronouns without the reciprocal. A comparison here reveals that the singular object pronoun *mɔ̀* appears before the verb (a criterial feature for pronouns), as does not the reciprocal. The two examples in (69b) illustrate how the form is used with the other plural pronoun subjects (2PL and 3PL).

(69) The reciprocal *nìn*

a. sí pɛ̀ ké nìn tánà
1PL again see RECIP later
'We will see each other later.'

yá mɔ̀ pɛ̀ ké
1SG 2SG later see
'I will see you later.'

b. nyá ké nìn
2PL see RECIP
'You (pl) will see each other.'

ŋá ké nìn
3PL see RECIP
'They will see each other.' (jd 12/13/04)

The reciprocal has a possible cognate in the noun stem *nín* 'people'.

4. Numbers

The numbering system below twenty is base five or 'hand'-based, although there is a separate word for 'ten'; it is not 'two fives'. Thus, 'six' is 'five plus one', 'eleven' is 'ten plus one', and 'sixteen' is 'ten plus five plus one'.

Numbers twenty and above are based on twenty (a "vigesimal" system). Thus, 'thirty' is 'twenty plus ten', 'forty' is 'two twenties', and so on. This same organization is found in related Temne (Kamarah 2006), Kisi (Childs 1995), Bom and Kim (Childs 2012; see Wilson 1961a).

Low numbers prefix a concord marker showing agreement with the noun they modify. The *wɔ* class, as illustrated with the singular of 'arm' in the first

Table 10. Mani numbers 1–20

nìnbúl	1	wàm-nù-bùl	11 (10 and 1)
nìncáŋ	2	wànùcáŋ	12
nìnrá	3	wànùrá	13
nìŋnyól / nìnyól	4	wànùnyól	14
nìmán	5	wànùmán	15
mènbúl	6 (5?+1)	wàm-nù-mèn-bùl	16 (10-and-5-1)
mèncáŋ	7	wànùmèncáŋ	17
mènrá	8	wànùmènrá	18
mènnyól	9	wànùmènnyól	19
wàm	10	ùtòŋ	20

line of the first column, is exceptional in this regard, having no concord marker; it contrasts with 'water', a *ma*-class noun in the second column, where 'one' has the *ma*-class prefix *ǹ-*. (See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of the morphosyntax of the noun class system.)

Table 11. Agreement ("NCM") on numeral adjectives

pà bùl	'one arm'	mén ǹ-bùl	'one water'
arm Ø-one		water NCM-one	
pà tì-càŋ	'two arms'	mén ǹ-càŋ	'two waters'
arm NCM-two		water NCM-two	
pà tì-rà	'three arms'	mén ǹ-rà	'three waters'
pà tì-nyòl	'four arms'	mén ǹ-nyòl	'four waters'
pà tì-màn	'five arms'	mén ǹ-màn	'five waters'

Numbers above 'five' are less regular in their agreement patterns. The entire number will be prefixed when below 'ten', as in (70a), and the low number forming the second part of the compound, as in (70b), when the number is above '10'.

(70) a. pòkáná mènìrà 'eight men' (om 7/23/00)
0-pòkán á-màn-rà
(ncm$_{ŋa}$-)man NCM$_{ŋa}$-five-three

b. tì-pél wànún-tì-cə̀ŋ 'twelve eggs' (om 7/23/00, jd 8/11/05)
tì-pél wànún-tì-cə̀ŋ
NCM_{ta}-egg ten-NCM_{ta}-two

Not all nouns show such agreement.

(71) cól cól bùl cól cə̀n cól ra
night night one night two night three
'night' 'one night' 'two nights' 'three nights' (jd 1/22/05)

The alternative words for '100' in Mani illustrate two consequences of what happens when one language is under pressure from another, namely, both formal borrowing and borrowing of a semantic structure or calquing. The first word, *kémè*, comes directly from Soso, the main language pressuring Mani. The Soso word for '100' is found widely in nearby Mande languages (cf. Maninka *kémè*) and is linked to the word for 'stone'. The alternative Mani form for '100' is *pé* identical with the Mani word for 'stone'.

Table 12. Mani numbers by tens

Mani	Gloss	Analysis	Comment
ùtɔ̀n	20		ù- = SG NCM
ùtɔ́n-núwàŋ	30	20 + 10	
ìtɔ́n-cə̀ŋ	40	2 × 20	ì- = PL NCM
ìtɔ́n-cə̀ŋ-núwàŋ	50	20 × 2 + 10	
ìtɔ́n-rà	60	20 × 3	
ìtɔ́n-rà-nú-wàŋ	70	20 × 3 + 10	
ìtɔ́n-nyɔ̀l	80	20 × 4	
ìtɔ́n-nyɔ̀l-nú-wàŋ	90	20 × 4 + 10	
kɛ̀mɛ̀ / pé	100		
wúlú	1,000		

Comparing the numbers of Mani to those of Kisi, one finds a number of potential cognates with the lower numbers: the words for 'three' and 'four' are the most obvious, but more striking is how they each recapitulate the other's five-based system of counting.

Table 13. Mani and Kisi numbers 1–10

	Mani	Kisi
1	nìnbúl	pìlɛ̀ɛ́
2	nìncán	mùúŋ
3	nìnrá	ŋgàá
4	nìnɲɔ́l	hìɔ́ɔ́lú
5	nìmán	ŋùɛ̀ɛ́nú
6	mènbúl	ŋɔ̌mpûm
7	mènìcán	ŋɔ̌méú
8	mènìrá	ŋɔ̌máà
9	mèniɲɔ́l	ŋɔ̌màhìɔ́ɔ́lú
10	wàn	tɔ́

Kisi's numbering system from twenty and above, however, is not based on twenty but rather on tens:

Table 14. Kisi numbers by tens: 20

tɔ́	'10'	
bídìíŋ	'20'	?
bélé-yáá	'30'	10 × 3
bélé-híɔ́ɔ́lú	'40'	10 × 4
bélé-ŋùɛ̀ɛ́nú	'50'	10 × 5

The fact that the systems (and cognates) are not shared above 'nine' shows that the counting system above 'nine' is a relatively recent development in at least one of the two languages and perhaps in both, having occurred after the two languages separated. The numbers below ten, however, probably all go back to a proto-numbering system. On the basis of cognates with non-Atlantic languages, it seems that at least Kisi has borrowed some of its higher numbers and likely Mani has as well. Both have borrowed the same term from a Mande language – the word for '100', namely, kèmè (and Mani a meaning). They have different words for '1,000': Mani *wúlú* (*-bùl* 'one') and Kisi *wàá*.

5. Adjectives and related forms

Mani features both derived and underived adjectives. Derived adjectives come from verbs. In terms of phonological substance, when the two differ, the adjective is generally greater (see (81) for an example). Verbs can be inflected and also allow more verb extensions. In addition to the derived adjectives, there are also underived or "true" adjectives.

5.1 Adjectives

The number of true adjectives is relatively small (less than forty) conveying such basic concepts as 'big', 'old', 'white', 'good' and 'bad'. Adjectives typically prefix the concord element of the noun they modify. For example, the word *tík* for 'a little' in (72) prefixes the concord element *ì-* of the *nyɛ*-class noun 'salt', which it modifies and follows.

(72) ŋ̀kàmì nyèlì ték
ń kà mì nyèl ì-ték
2SG give 1SG salt NCM-small
'Give me a little salt!' (ab 7/22/00, jd 8/10/05)

Typically the pronoun and the NCM appear before the adjective in predicative constructions, as in the (73b) and (73d) examples below.

(73) a. ǹlèmp m̀pɔ̀mɔ̀
ǹ-lèmp ǹ-pɔ̀mɔ̀
NCM_{ma}-well NCM_{ma}-small
'small wells'

b. ǹlèmp màm̀pɔ̀mɔ̀
ǹ-lèmp mà ǹ-pɔ̀mɔ̀
NCM_{ma}-well PRO_{ma} NCM_{ma}-small
'The wells are small.'

c. kìl tícɛ́ tì tòlìyén
kìl tì-cɛ́ tì-tòlìyén
house NCM_{ta}-DEF NCM_{ta}-low
'the low houses'

d. kìl tícɛ́ tá tì tòlìyén
kìl tì-cɛ́ tá tì-tòlìyén
house NCM_{ta}-DEF PRO_{ta} NCM_{ta}-low
'The houses are low.' (jd 8/10/05)

The copula *cè* must be used before adjectives in predicative constructions when the Past marker *ká* is present. The singular for 'pirogue' belongs to the *wɔ* class,

which rarely prefix adjectives which modify them (see (76) and surrounding discussion); the plural of 'pirogue' belongs to the *nyɛ* class.

(74) a. gbànkè cɛ́ kɔ̀ ká cè sànàì

gbànkè	cɛ́	kɔ̀	ká	cè	sànà
pirogue	DEF	PRO	PAST	COP	new

'The pirogue was once new.'

b. ìgbànkè cɛ́ nyɛ̀ ká cè ìsànà

ì-gbànkè	cɛ́	nyɛ̀	ká	cè	ì-sànà
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-pirogue	DEF	PRO$_{nyɛ}$	PAST	COP	NCM$_{nyɛ}$-new

'The pirogues were once new.' (jd 1/28/06)

For future and negative predications, the imperfect marker *cé* is used, as with other verbs, but adjectives still prefix the noun class marker of the noun to which they refer.

(75) Future: ìlɔ̀mp ìcɛ́ nyɛ̀ bí àlì cé ìtʊ̀ŋk

ì-lɔ̀mp	ì-cɛ́	nyɛ̀	bí	hàlì	cé	ì-tʊ̀ŋk
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-well	NCM$_{nyɛ}$-DEF	PRO$_{nyɛ}$	have	for	IPF	NCM$_{nyɛ}$-deep

'The wells will have to be deep (after digging).' (jd 1/28/06)

Negative: ìmúsmɛ̀nɛ̀ àcɛ́ ŋà cén àwòyɛ́n

ì-músmɛ̀nɛ̀	à-cɛ́	ŋà	cé-én	à-wòyɛ́n
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-water.cat	NCM$_{ŋa}$-DEF	PRO$_{ŋa}$	COP-NEG	NCM$_{ŋa}$-frightening

'Water cats are not scary.' (jd 1/28/06)

Words that can be used as adjectives do not necessarily prefix a noun class marker. The *wɔ* class often has neither the NCM nor the subject pronoun. The singular of 'house' belongs to the *wɔ* class (76a), while the plural belongs to the *ti* class (76b). No prefix appears on the adjective 'low' nor before the article in the first example; in the second they can be seen both before the article and before the adjective. The example in (76c) shows another *wɔ*-class noun, one with the optional prefix, but with no prefix on the adjective. The (76d) example shows the absence of the prefix in a predicative construction.

(76) a. kìlcɛ́ tòlìyɛ́n

kìl	cɛ́	tòlìyɛ́n
house	DEF	low

'the low house'

b. kìl tìcɛ́ tá tì tòlìyɛ́n

kìl	tì-cɛ́	tá	tì-tòlìyɛ́n
house	NCM$_{ta}$-DEF	PRO$_{ta}$	NCM$_{ta}$-low

'The houses are low.' (jd 8/10/05)

c. ùsùrùŋ yíl
ù-sùrùŋ yíl
$NCM_{wɔ}$-pestle long
'long pestle'

d. sùrùŋ ùcɛ́ kɔ̀ yíl
sùrùŋ ù-cɛ́ kɔ̀ yíl
pestle $NCM_{wɔ}$-DEF PRO long
'The pestle is long.' (jd 8/10/05)

Rarely will the noun class marker be absent in such constructions with other noun classes. An example from the *ta* class is presented in (77), where the NCM is *ti-* and the subject pronoun is *ta*. Note that the "adjective" in the second construction does not prefix a concord element (here it would be *ti-*) as a verb does not (although the definite article does). Thus, the adjective 'rotten' is here analyzed as derived from the verb 'be rotten'.

(77) pèpè tì pùtúl
pèpè tì-pùtúl
calabash NCM_{ta}-rotten
'rotten calabashes'
(jd 1/30/05, 3/12/05)

pèpè tìcɛ́ tà pùtùlɔ́
pèpè tì-cɛ́ tá pùtúlɔ́
calabash NCM_{ta}-DEF PRO rotten
'The calabashes are rotten.'

But the pronoun is absolutely necessary in predicative constructions, as shown by the ungrammaticality of example (78c), where verbal morphosyntax is used with adjectival meaning.

(78) a. íbót átòŋá
í-bót à-tòŋá
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-mudskipper $NCM_{ŋa}$-fried
'fried mudskippers'

b. ìbót ŋáá tòŋá
ì-bót ŋá à-tòŋá
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-mudskipper $PRO_{ŋa}$ $NCM_{ŋa}$-fried
'The mudskippers are fried.' (jd 8/10/05)

c. *ìbót ŋáá tòŋá
ì-bót ŋà à-tòŋá
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-mudskipper $PRO_{ŋa}$ $NCM_{ŋa}$-fried
'fried mudskippers'

One sure test for verbs, of course, is whether or not they show tense, moord, and aspect contrasts by being inflected; thus, adjectives used with such markers are ungrammatical as in (79a, b, and c) Similarly 'big', a word that exists only as an adjective, is ungrammatical with verbal syntax as in (79e); the proper adjectival construction in (79f) is acceptable.

(79) a. * fòdè ká pót
'Foday has been lazy.' (PAST)
*fòdè ù pót
'Foday is lazy.' (PERF)

b. * fòdè pót-ɛ́
'Foday was lazy.' (IPF)
*ń-pót
'Be lazy!' (IMP)

c. * ìlə̀mp ìcɛ́ ìtúŋk-dì
ì-lə̀mp ì-cɛ́ nyɛ̀ túŋk
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-well $NCM_{nyɛ}$-DEF $NCP_{nyɛ}$ deep
'The wells are deep.' (PERF)

d. ìlə̀mp ìcɛ́ ìtúŋk 'The wells are deep.'
ì-lə̀mp ì-cɛ́ ì-túŋk
NCM-well NCM-DEF NCM-deep

e. * mà bòmù
mà bòmù
* NCP big
'They (the palm nuts) are big.'

f. mà m̀-bòmù
mà ǹ-bòmù
NCP NCM-big
'They are big.' (jd 2/4/06)

As for other adjectival morphology, adjectives are reduplicated to intensify their meaning with noun class markers on both parts of the reduplicated form. Phrases appear in examples (80a–c); example (80d) contains a reduplicated form in a sentence, the same word 'short, small' as in (80c) but with different class markers. (The verb 'hit' in (80d) is reduplicated as well).

(80) Reduplicated adjectives

a. péétí cóntìcón
pé tí-cón-tì-cón
stone NCM-small-NCM-small
'very small stones'

b. pé tí-bomun-ti-bomun
pé tí-bomun-ti-bomun
stone NCM-large-NCM-large
'enormous stones' (jd 12/16/04, 8/10/05)

c. ànyá àkítàkít
ànyá à-kít-à-kít
NCM-people NCM-short-NCM-short
'extremely short people' (jd 1/31/05)

d. ŋá lɔ̀klɔ̀k wɔ̀m cɛ̀ nùn ǹtɔ̀k ŋ̀kìtə̀ŋ kít àlí wɔ̀lí súsìcɛ́
ŋá lɔ̀klɔ̀k wɔ̀m cɛ̀ nùn ǹ-tɔ̀k ŋ̀-kìt-ŋ̀-kít
3PL hit.pl boat DEF with NCM_{ma}-stick NCM_{ma}-small-REDUP
'They drum on the boat with small sticks (to scare the fish into the net).'
(jd 1/29/06)

In cases when related verbs and adjectives differ, the adjective is phonologically longer than the verb, as mentioned above, as are all other derived forms, suggesting that the verb (in its shorter form) is basic when formally and semantically related verbs and adjectives exist.

(81) ìpàŋ pèyé / ìpàŋ ìcé nyè pé
ì-pàŋ pèyé / ì-pàŋ ì-cé nyè pé
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-moon full / NCM$_{nyɛ}$-moon NCM$_{nyɛ}$-DEF PRO$_{nyɛ}$ full
Adj: 'full moon' / Verb: 'The moon is full.' (jd 8/10/05)

Adjectival ideophones do not show agreement with their respective nouns. Normally the adjective for 'black' would be prefixed with an agreeing noun class marker *ì-* in the following construction, but because it is used ideophonically with expressive components (raised register and lengthening), it does not have the marker.

(82) ì twì cè nyè ↑tí-í-í-ì-ì
ì-tú cè nyè tíí
NCM-pot DEF PRO black
'The pot is really black.'

A second link to another word category is that between adjectives and nouns. What are adjectives in other constructions become the object of such verbs as 'have' in predicative constructions.

(83) ná í-pòt / ná tí-pòt
road NCM-muddy / roads NCM-muddy
'muddy road/s'

ná cè ŋɔ̀ bí ìpòt
road DEF PRO have mud
'The road is muddy.'

Adjectives can also be used as substantives, as is *kit* 'small' followed by *cɛ*.

(84) bɔ̀lɔ̀ ǹ dèké ùbàŋk yíl cè núŋ kít cè kò tóntó cè àlɔ̀
bɔ̀lɔ̀ ǹ dèké ù-bàŋk yíl cè
then 2SG put NCM-rope long DEF
núŋ kít cè kò tóntó cè àlɔ̀
with short DEF to *tonto* DEF under
'Then, you put in the long rope with the short one under the *tóntó*.'
(jd 2/ll/06)

See Chapter 5 for some further examples representing bodily and mental states.

5.2 Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives function similarly to demonstrative pronouns in indicating distance or relevance; at the same time they behave syntactically as adjectives rather than as pronouns. As do other adjectives, demonstrative adjec-

tives prefix the noun class marker of the noun to which they refer and which they follow. Thus, demonstrative adjectives consist of two parts, the first, prefixed element showing agreement with the referent, and the second element indicating the physical, discourse, or metaphorical proximity.

The examples in (85) show three examples of near and far demonstratives from the *ma* class, one example from the *lɛ* class, and another from the *nyɛ* class. The first column contains what qualifies as a near demonstrative; the second contains the far demonstrative. The first *ma*-class example (first column) shows the short form of the near demonstrative, i.e., without kì; the second ma-class example with a different noun shows the long form; the third ma-class example shows the (optional) long form.

(85) The demonstrative adjectives *ká (kì)* and *kól*
(Cf. *kà* 'in, at', *kì* 'here', and *kól* 'there')

ma class:	ǹ-kwá ǹ-ká	ǹ-kwá ǹ-kól
	NCM_{ma}-oil NCM_{ma}-this	NCM_{ma}-oil NCM_{ma}-that
	'this oil'	'that oil'
	m̀mɔ́ ŋ̀kákì	m̀mɔ́ ŋ̀kól
	m̀-mɔ́ ǹ-kákì	m̀-mɔ́ ŋ̀-kól
	NCM_{ma}-breast.milk NCM_{ma}-this	NCM_{ma}-breast.milk NCM_{ma}-that
	'this breast milk'	'that breast milk'
	m̀pùtɛ̀ŋ ká(-kì)	m̀pùt ŋ̀-kól
	ǹ-pùt ǹ-ká(-kì)	ǹ-pùt ǹ-kól
	NCM_{ma}-intestine NCM_{ma}-this	NCM_{ma}-intestine NCM_{ma}-those
	'these intestines'	'those intestines'
lɛ class:	pàà lìká	pàl lì-kól
	pàl lì-ká	pàl lì-kól
	sun $NCM_{lɛ}$-this	sun $NCM_{lɛ}$-that
	'this sun'	'that sun'
nyɛ class:	ìpákì ká	ìpákì kól
	ì-pák ì-ká	ì-pák ì-kól
	$NCM_{nyɛ}$-bone $NCM_{nyɛ}$-dem	$NCM_{nyɛ}$-bone $NCM_{nyɛ}$-dem
	'these bones'	'those bones'

For some speakers the definite article *cɛ̀* alone was sufficient to mark something 'near' in minimal pairs with the far demonstrative (examples (86a) and (86b)). The definite article was also used in sentential contexts with demonstrative

meaning (c. example), and together with the near demonstrative in the d. example.

(86) a. *wɔ* class: pèlɛ̀ cɛ́ / pèlɛ̀ kól
rice def / rice that
'this rice' / 'that rice'

b. *ma* class: mɔ̀ɛ̀ n̄-cɛ̀ / mɔ̀ɛ̀ n̄-kól
alcohol NCM-DEF / alcohol NCM-dem
'this alcohol' / 'that alcohol'

c. ù gbéndì kwé tɔ̀kùkít cɛ̀ kɔ̀nɔ̀ kì cém cɛ̀ kì

ù	gbén-dí		kwè	tɔ̀k			
3SG	finish-CMP		take	stick			
$ù_{wɔ}$-kít	cɛ̀	kɔ̀nɔ̀	kì	cém	cɛ̀	kì	
NCM-short	DEF	DEM_{indef}	here	time	DEF	here	

'He grabbed the short stick at that time.' (ab 7/22/00, jd rev 3/30/05)

d. mɛ́n n̄-cɛ̀ mànàkì mà gbéndí bɔ̀súl

mɛ́n	n̄-cɛ́	mànà	kì	mà	gbén-dì	bɔ̀súl
water	NCM_{ma}-DEF	DEM_{ma}	here	PRO_{ma}	finish- CMP	cold

'This water here is cold.' (lt 7/23/00, jd 8/8/05)

Further details of the definite article's distribution are given in the next section.

5.3 Articles

This section treats the definite article of Mani along with the word for 'one', which can be used to mark indefinites – typically indefinite nouns are unmarked. Mani has one form for marking an object as already specified or known and thus as within the speaker's immediate frame of reference, referred to here and elsewhere as the "definite marker".

As first mentioned in section 4 of Chapter 3, the definite article has a tone opposite to the immediately preceding tone. The article *cɛ* is preceded by the noun class marker of the noun to which it refers (87a). As is the case with other dependent elements, *wɔ*-class nouns do not usually have a concord element preceding *cɛ*; the noun itself similarly often appears without its prefix (87b).

(87) Concord elements on the definite marker *cɛ̀*

a.	*ŋa* class:	à-ránɔ̀ à-cɛ́	'the farmers'
	ma class:	m̀-pùt ǹ-cɛ́	'the intestines'
	sa class	sì-tàmbàlùmbé sì-cɛ́	'the cassava snakes'
	li class:	pàl lì-cɛ́	'the sun'
b.	*wɔ* class:	pɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́	'the rice'
		nɔ̀pòkàn cɛ́	'the man'

Syntactically the concord element is prefixed, but phonologically it often combines with a preceding syllable as dictated by syllable structure conditions (see section 3). The article stays close to the noun rather than at the end of the NP; its presence there suggests that the definite article may be becoming something of a suffix (see Childs 1983 for an overview of similar phenomena in North and South Atlantic).

The functions of DEF and the near demonstratives overlap (see the discussion of an English example in Trask 1996:134) and they can be used together, with the article inside or closer to the noun they refer to. In (88a) the definite article and demonstrative occur together. In the (88b) example they are both used to refer to a proper name.

(88) DEF and DEM used together

a. vìsì cɛ́ wɔ̀nɔ̀ lɛ̀k bùl

wìs	ì-cɛ́	wɔ̀nɔ̀	lɛ̀k	bùl	kɔ̀	bì
animal	$NCM_{nyɛ}$-DEF	$DEM_{wɔ}$	horn	one	PRO_{indef}	have

'This animal had one horn.' (ys 7/20/2000)

b. nɛ̀ràkà cɛ́ wɔ̀nɔ̀, wɔ́ gbɛ́-ɛ́

nɛ̀ràkà	cɛ́	wɔ̀nɔ̀	wɔ́	gbɛ́
Neraka	DEF	$DEM_{wɔ}$	$PRO_{wɔ}$	walk

'This Neraka walked quite a bit! (mb 5/15/05)

Mani speakers may use the word *bùl* 'one' for an indefinite, but more commonly they leave the noun unmarked. Both possibilities are shown in (89).

(89)

mém-bùl		à ké nɔ̀pòkán		
mén	m̀-bùl	à	ké	nɔ̀pòkán
water	NCM-one	1SG	see	man
'a/one water'		'I saw a man.'		

5.4 Quantifiers and ordinal numbers

Quantifiers function as adjectives prefixing the noun class marker (indicated by a hyphen) of the noun that they quantify. In (90) appear a list of such words followed by some examples.

(90) Quantifiers in Mani

-gbér 'many' (used ideophonically as well, see example (96))
-pòm 'some, a few' (partitive)
-cón 'small, a few'
-ték 'a little'

a. cólcɛ̀ wɔ̀nɛ̀ ǹlɛ̀ ŋ̀gbér mà kòcòkɛ̀

cól	cɛ̀	wɔ̀nɛ̀	ǹ-lɛ̀	ǹ-gbér	mà	kòcòkɛ̀
night	DEF	DEM	NCM-star	NCM-plenty	PRO	sky

'That night had many stars.' (mb 7/21/00, rev jd 2/21/00)

b. ŋ̀ kòɛ́ ìwís ìpòm

ǹ	kòɛ́	ì-wís	ì-pòm
2SG	take	NCM-meat	NCM-some

'You took some meat.' (jd 1/30/05)

In addition the word *búléŋ* 'all' appears in the same slot after a nominal but takes no agreement marker (91a). It can be used with both count and mass nouns. A second special feature is that it may be preceded by an upstep or raised register (91b), much as would an ideophone.

(91) a. ŋ̀wís ǹcɛ́ búléŋ / ìcàmàt ìcɛ̀ búléŋ

ǹ-wís	ǹ-cɛ́	búléŋ	/	ì-càmàt	ì-cɛ́	búléŋ
NCM-meat	NCM-DEF	all	/	NCM-shell	NCM-DEF	all

'all the meat(s)' / 'all the water(s)' / 'all the palm kernel shells' (jd 8/11/05)

b. ḿ bùn ŋà búléŋ
ń bùn ŋà búléŋ
2SG beat 3PL all
'Beat them all!' (jd 8/11/05)

Quantifiers may not enter into predicative constructions, as can other adjectives, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (92b).

(92) a. m̀bítə̀r m̀pùm
ǹ-bítə̀r ǹ-pùm
NCM-bottle NCM-some
'some bottles'

b. *m̀bítə̀r mà ǹ-pùm
m̀-bítə̀r mà ǹ-pùm
NCM-bottle PRO NCM-some
'The bottles are some.' (jd 8/10/05)

Except for 'first', ordinal numbers are formed with *mɔ̀ké*, the ordinal marker or ORD, followed by the number.

(93) Ordinal numbers

à nyètìé mɔ̀ké ǹcɔ́n ǹcé
à nyètìé mɔ̀ké ǹ-cɔ́n ǹ-cé
1SG choose ORD NCM-two NCM-DEF
'I chose the second one.'

à nyètìé mɔ̀ké ǹrà ǹcé
à nyètìé mɔ̀ké ǹ-rà ǹ-cé
1SG choose ORD NCM-three NCM-DEF
'I chose the third one.' (jd 3/5/05)

One translation for 'first' is simply the word for 'one'. The other is an independent word *ǹsè* 'first'.

(94) à nyètìé bùl
à nyètìé bùl
1SG choose one
'I chose the first one.' (jd 3/5/05)

ìpɔ́r ǹʃè
ì-pɔ́r ǹsè
NCM-rain first
'first rain' (jd 1/30/05)

Reduplication can be used to convey a meaning of 'first', in the sense of 'the first (born)' or 'very first (born)'.

(95) tàmì bénbèn / wàmì bénbèn
tà-mì bén-bèn / wà-mì bén-bèn
son-1SG first.born / daughter-1SG first.born
'my oldest son' / 'my oldest daughter' (fb 2/24/05)

The meaning likely proceeds from the iconic association of intensity or quantity associated with reduplication in the language (see above in this same section for the cases of reduplicating adjectives and section Chapter 8 for the process of verb pluralization by reduplication).

There are also ideophone-like words that indicate the quantity or intensity of an entity, action or experience. The words *gbó* and *gbét* in (96a), both meaning 'only', are pronounced with a raised register. In (96b) it is *gbá* 'a lot', and in (96c) it is *gbér* 'much'.

(96) Ideophone-like quantifiers

a. ùmànì ká ↑gbó fɔ́ mànì ↑gbét kɔ̀ sì fɔ́

ù-mànì	kɔ́	yà	gbó	fɔ́	mání	gbét	kɔ̀	sì	fɔ́
NCM-Mani	FOC	1SG	only	speak	Mani	only	FOC	1PL	speak
'I speak just Mani.'					'We speak only Mani.'				

b. fìbà ŋɔ̀ gbén mì ↑gbá

fìbà	ŋɔ̀	gbén	mì	gbá
fever	PRO	affect	1SG	a.lot

'Fever is troubling me seriously.'

c. m̀pàà ŋ̀cɛ́ ↑gbír kòtùkè

ǹ-pàŋ	ǹ-cɛ́	*gbér*	kò	còkɛ̀
NCM-moon	NCM-DEF	plenty	to	sky

'The moons are many in the sky.' (bs 7/21/00, jd 8/11/05)

Mass nouns which cannot be counted are preceded by a quantifiable noun. The word *nyíní* 'pile' is used to indicate a finite quantity of non-count nouns, e.g., in selling small cones of peanut butter at a market.

(97) bɔ̀tà *pl / pán bɔ̀tà / pán tí bɔ̀tà
butter / cup butter / cup NCM-butter
'butter' / 'cup of butter' / 'cups of butter' (jd 2/4/06)

ùgbèŋgbè / ǹyíní / ìyíní ùgbèŋgbè

ù-gbèŋgbè	/	ǹ-yíní	/	ì-yíní		ù-gbèŋgbè	
NCM-pepper	/	NCM-pile	/	NCM-pile		NCM-pepper	

'pepper' / 'pile' / 'piles of pepper' (jd 2/4/06)

The state of [+mass] is not always transparently obvious. Harvested pepper, i.e., the fruits plucked from the plant, cannot be counted, but pepper plants, the short, erect stems on which the peppers grow, can be quantified and show agreement in the *wɔ* and *nyɛ* classes.

6. Verbs and verbal forms

Verbs are defined in terms of their morphology and syntax. Mani has two basic word orders, SVO and S-AUX-O-V, the latter representing a "split" predicate in the sense of Gensler and Güldemann 2003. The common pattern in North and South Atlantic, however, is for only pronouns to be allowed in the O (object) slot of the split predicate (Childs 2005), and this is what is found in Mani (see Chapter 10). Because the auxiliary carries tense, pronouns in this medial position form part of what is called here the "Inner Verb", as might not be otherwise expected.

The boundary between verbs and adjectives is a permeable one: single, phonologically identical forms belong to both categories, but not all adjectives can be verbs, nor can all verbs be used as adjectives. One test to differentiate the two already discussed is to assess whether candidate forms can be preceded by a subject marker that is different from the noun class marker (NCM), used before adjectives. Such differences occur with the *ma* class (*mà* vs. *ǹ*), the *i*-class (*nyè* vs. *ì*), etc., and with the personal pronouns (1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 1PL). A second morphosyntactic test is to evaluate whether candidate forms allow the suffixation of verb extensions. These are suffixes that can alter the valency and meaning of a verb (see 1.1). Another test is how they are presented in citation form and whether they take the verbal prefix *ù-*. Other specific characteristics will be discussed below.

Verbs overwhelmingly take the form CV(C) or CVCV, representing the syllabic template for verbs. When changed by the morphology, e.g., by the addition of verb extensions, the verbal complex may change its phonological form to conform to this template.

One striking feature to the phonology of Mani verbs is the presence of an extra vowel at the end of Mani stems, dubbed rather unrevealingly here, "extra vowel (EV)". Many closed monosyllabic verbs have a form in addition to that given in citation and most commonly used elsewhere in verbal paradigms. In (98) is first given the citation form, then an example of the same form in context, and in the third column appears the same form but this time with an extra vowel ("EV").

(98) Extra vowel on verbs

gbàŋk	sì ká gbàŋk dì	sì gbàŋká ǹʃɛ̀k
'smoke'	'We have smoked mullet'	'We smoked mullet.' (jd 3/5/05)
fɛ̀t	ù fɛ́t/fɛ̀cɛ́í yɔ́mdì cɛ̀	cùk cɛ́ wɔ̀nɔ́í, ŋɔ̀ fɛ̀cɛ́ kìl cɛ́
'sit next to'	'She is next to the fire.'	'That trash is near the house.' (jd 12/10/04)

yɔ̀k	ń màr mí sí yɔ̀k tèbɛ̀l cɛ́	ń yɔ̀kɔ̀ mí búk cɛ̀
'bear, bring'	'Help me carry the table!'	'Carry the book for me!'

(jd 12/12/04, 2/12/06)

The optionality of the process can be seen in that 'be next to' in the second column allows both forms.

A phonological explanation seems the most satisfactory, invoking vowel harmony or vowel copying since the vowel in these cases replicates the last vowel in the stem, as shown by all of the examples in (98). The process is a bit more complicated, however, as will be shown below, representing a manifesttation of vowel harmony.

The extra vowel has no readily identifiable meaning, appearing in the Perfective with no apparent change in the meaning of the inflected verb, which does show changes representing the Perfective. It is part of the tense system rather than a verb extension, which category also appears on the right edge of verbs. In (99a and b) are some pairs close in meaning, but in context the form suggests some completion and/or pastness, as shown by the following examples, (99c and d), as does the Perfective; the extra vowel, in fact, always carries the high tone of the Perfective, thus making it part of the stem.

(99) Examples of the extra vowel

a.	dùl	'fall'	b.	lɔ̀l	'sleep'
	dùlɔ́	'fall, be fallen'		lɔ̀lɔ́	'sleep, be asleep'

c. yá wɔ́l 'I am breathing.'
à wɔ̀lɔ́ 'I was breathing (and have since stopped).' (jd 12/7/04)

d. ŋɔ̀ pɔ̀r cɛ́ hùnɔ̀í, ǹlàbí là, ù cɔ́k cɛ̀ kɔ̀fó

ŋɔ̀	pɔ̀r	cɛ́	hùn-ɔ́-í,	ǹlàbílà,	ù-cɔ́k	cɛ̀	kɔ̀	fó
PRO	rain	DEF	come-EV-*í*,	therefore,	NCM-grass	DEF	PRO	grow

'Because the rain arrived, the grass will grow.' (jd 1/24/05; 1/30/06)

That it is a verbal entity rather than an adjective is shown by the following examples, which feature a verb in (100a) (without a noun class marker) and an adjective in (100b) with the noun class marker *ǹ-*, agreeing with 'clothes' and no extra vowel.

(100) Extra vowel found only on verbs

a. ǹcòyá ǹcɛ̀ má bɔ̀fù lɔ́í
ǹ-còyá ǹ-cɛ̀ má bɔ̀fùl-ɔ́-í
NCM-cloth NCM-DEF PRO wet-EV-*í*
'The clothes have been wet.'

b. ǹcòyá ǹcɛ́ mà (í) ǹbɔ̀fúl
ǹ-còyá ǹ-cɛ́ mà ǹ-bɔ̀fúl
NCM-cloth NCM-DEF PRO NCM-wet
'The clothes are wet.'

Without the suffix, however, verbal forms can be ungrammatical, as shown in (101), but the form with the extra vowel does not seem to be the basic one as reflected in the pairs given in (99).

(101) *mà bɔ̀fúl nàŋ
*mà bɔ̀fúl nàŋ
PRO wet today
'They (the clothes) were wet today.' (cf. (100a))

It also cannot be directly negated, as in (102). The general negative marker *-én* is used without the extra vowel (cf. 6).

(102) a. mà bɔ̀fùllɔ́í nán
mà bɔ̀fùl-ɔ́-í nán
PRO wet-EV-*í* today
'The clothes were wet today.'

b. mà bɔ̀fùllén nâŋ
mà bɔ̀fùl-én náŋ
PRO wet-NEG today
'The clothes are not wet today.' (jd 12/7/05)

Thus, the environments in which the extra vowel are extremely limited.

The vowel harmonic process is a relatively straightforward one. The extra vowel is one of the three lower vowels [a ɛ ɔ]. It is [a] if the last stem vowel is [a]; otherwise it agrees in backness with that vowel (with [ə] forming part of the front group). In the first column of

Table 15 are the three conditioning groups of stem vowels, in the second are the harmonizing suffixes, and in the remaining columns are examples, first of the stem without the extra vowel, then the stem with the extra vowel.

Table 15. Vowel harmony shown by the extra vowel

Stem V	EV	Examples					
[u, o, ɔ]	-ɔ́	tɔ̀ŋwùl	tɔ̀ŋwùlɔ́	pò	pòɔ́	wɔ́l	wɔ̀lɔ́
		'bury'		'fly'		'breathe'	
[a]	-á	càl	càlá	táŋ	tàŋá	gbàŋk	gbàŋká
		'sit'		'mount'		'smoke'	
[i, e, ɛ, ə]	-ɛ́	gbíl	gbìlɛ́	gbèn	gbènɛ́	nyɛ̀l	nyɛ̀lɛ́
		'lay (eggs)'		'finish'		'boil'	
		sɛ̀kə̀l	sɛ̀kə̀lɛ́				
		'be dry'					

As mentioned above, the process of attaching an extra vowel is not an entirely productive one but does seem to be entirely regular from a phonological perspective. Likely the process is a synchronic attestation of the language's preference for disyllabic verbs. From a diachronic perspective one could see the process as the result of incomplete "phonological erosion" (Heine and Reh 1984): only the remnant of a second syllable existing in the form of a partially specified vowel found only in one tense. Alternatively, the extra vowel may be necessary to carry the tone of the Perfective.

Related to the vowel harmonic extra vowel found on monosyllabic (and a few disyllabic) stems is the presence of a grammatical clitic *-í*, which marks the right edge of the Inner VP (Chapter 10), the location of Tense with its attendant pronouns. All of the examples above in this section can appear with *-í* after the extra vowel. Sentential examples are given in (100a), and (102a), where it is designated in the morpheme gloss line simply as "*-í* ".

Other phonological changes having to do with tense mark only verbs. Moreover, verbs criterially show the morphosyntax characteristic of verbs discussed in detail in Chapter 7. For example, the Mani verb is immediately preceded by the subject (although there are a few contexts where verbs appear without subjects), as is not the case in closely related Kim and Bom. When a pre-verbal element is marked for tense, pronominal objects may appear between that element and the verb. This complexity is also reflected in the position of the negative marker. It is the use of such markers as these that distinguish verbs from other word categories.

7. The copula

Mani has two copulas (with no or ∅ copula in some places). The contexts in which the two can be used admit to no easy semantic generalization, but their different, complementary distributions are summarized below in Table 16. The copula *lɛ* is used, roughly speaking, in affirmative, realis contexts. The copula *lɛ* itself has meaning in some contexts: a deontic force, as will be shown in detail below, along with a probably derivative epistemic component. The form *ce*, on the other hand, is used in negative contexts and is formally identical to a preverbal particle, with which it shares some of the same imperfective meaning mentioned in the previous section and examined in depth below in section 3. Thus both of them have semantic content despite being used in copular contexts. For ease in discussion they will be referred to as the "Realis Copula" and as the "Irrealis Copula".

Table 16 summarizes the use of the two as to which elements they can co-occur with. As stated above, the two are in complementary distribution. The first set of columns indicates the constituents that follow, and the second set represents the verbal particles which each copula can follow. The first set of rows represents affirmative contexts, and the second set represents negative ones. Tones have been omitted from the display.

The most striking generalization is that *lɛ̀* cannot be negated except when preceded by *ce*. In addition, *ce* does not occur with nominal complements, but then that is just where *lɛ* appears. Also unexceptional is the absence of any copula verb extensions, as represented by in the rightmost column. Whenever a preverbal marker appears, *ce* replaces *lɛ*, except when that replacement is *ce* itself. The two copulas have in common that neither allows verb extensions and neither follows all verbal patterns of tense marking.

Table 16. Copula distribution

	Following constituent			Preceding verbal markers				
	_NP	_S		_NP	_S		_NP	_S
Affirm			Affirm			Affirm		
lɛ	+	+	*lɛ*	+	+	*lɛ*	+	+
ce	–	–	*ce*	–	–	*ce*	–	–
Neg.			Neg.			Neg.		
lɛ	–	–	*lɛ*	–	–	*lɛ*	–	–
ce	+	+	*ce*	+	+	*ce*	+	+

No copula is used before locative expressions, thus filling the gap where neither copula is allowed. I next provide some examples.

The copula *lɛ* is used for linking nominals to the subject, as in (103).

(103) a. ránɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ nyùmbɛ̋̀
ránɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ yómbɛ̀n
farmer DEF 3SG COP old.man
'The farmer is an old man.' (ys 7/22/00, jd 8/10/05)

b. kàbínɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ bɛ̀
kàbínɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ bɛ̀
blacksmith 3SG PRO COP chief
'The blacksmith is chief.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 8/8/05)

c. yà lɛ̀ pòtònɔ̀
yà lɛ̀ pòtònɔ̀
1SG COP European
'I am a European.' (ys 7/29/00)

d. sí lɛ̀ àmànî
sí lɛ̀ à-mànî
1PL COP NCM-Mani
'We are Mani.' (mc 3/21/05, jd 2/5/06)

Nominalized bodily states (see 2 for some details) can serve as subjects to represent the state of the post-copula predicate nominal.

(104) kùlí mɛ́n lɛ̀ mí
kùlí mɛ́n lɛ̀ mí
drink water COP 1SG
'I am thirsty.'

dìbàn lɛ́ m̀bɔ̀m
dì-bàn lɛ̀ m̀bɔ̀m
NCM-anger COP Mbom
'Mbom is angry.' (jd 1/24/05)

The Realis Copula *lɛ̀* is not used with adjectives, as the ungrammatical sentences in (105a and c) show. Grammatical counterparts for these two are shown, respectively, in (105b) and (105d). No copula is required for adjectives, as shown by the grammatical examples in (105e and f), nor for any other items except nominals: prepositional phrases, locatives and temporal expressions.

(105) a. * ìlɔ̀mp ìcɛ́ lɛ̀ ìtúŋk
ì-lɔ̀mp ì-cɛ́ lɛ̀ ì-túŋk
NCM-well NCM-DEF COP NCM-deep
'The wells are deep.'

b. ìlɔ̀mp ìcɛ́ ìtúŋk
ì-lɔ̀mp ì-cɛ́ ì-túŋk
NCM-well NCM-DEF NCM-deep
'The wells are deep.'

c. * yá lɛ̀ còn
1SG cop small
'I am small.'

d. yá còn
1SG small
'I am small.'

e. pɛ́ pì-bán
PRO NCM-bad
'It is bad.'

f. yá bɛ̀n
1SG big
'I am big.'

The following examples feature zero-copula constructions with locative expressions, realized as single words (106a and b) and as prepositional phrases (106c and d) (cf. longer examples in (117), where there are contrasts with negated expressions).

(106) a. mɛ́n mà kì
water PRO here
'Water is here.' (ys 7/27/00)

b. cɛ̀ŋ wɔ́ kì
sweetness 3SG here
'This is sweet.' (jd 12/9/2004)

c. ŋ̀kɔ̀ŋ cɛ́ má kò gbàtɔ́ mɔ̀
ǹ-kɔ̀ŋ ǹ-cɛ́ má kò gbàtɔ́ mɔ̀
NCM-blood NCM-DEF PRO to lance 2SG
'There is blood on your spear.' (ys 7/20/00, rev jd 8/11/05)

d. múʃmɛ̀nɛ̀ cɛ́ kà lɔ̀wɔ̀
músmɛ̀nɛ̀ cɛ́ kà lɔ̀wɔ̀
water.cat DEF in DEM
'The water cat is (found) in this place.' (jd 1/23/05)

The following near minimal pair illustrates the difference between the status of NPs and PPs, even if the PP is frozen into a compound (107b). NPs require the copula (107a) while even idioms with a nominal meaning do not (107b).

(107) a. tɔ̀ŋkɔ̀ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ ǹʃɛ̀ì cɛ́
tɔ̀ŋkɔ̀ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ ǹsɛ̀ cɛ́
Tonko PRO COP first def
'Tonko is the first.'

b. tɔ̀ŋkɔ̀ wɔ̀ kòbɔ̀l
tɔ̀ŋkɔ̀ wɔ̀ kòbɔ̀l
Tonko PRO to.head
'Tonko is a leader.' (jd 8/10/05)

This retention of syntactic status for such compounds is similar to the way in which town names formed with prepositions retain some of their etymological history in not requiring prepositions.

Temporal expressions similarly follow an NP without an intervening copula.

(108) ùbɛ̀líl cɛ̀ gbɛ̀n
ù-bɛ̀líl cɛ̀ gbɛ̀n
NCM-baptism DEF tomorrow
'The baptism will be tomorrow.' (tt 8/9/05)

tɔ̀n lɔ̀wɔ́ cɛ́ncà
tɔ̀ŋ lɔ̀wɔ́ cɛ́ncà
burial here yesterday
'The burial was yesterday.' (tt 8/9/05)

The copula *lɛ* cannot be negated without a preceding *ce*. Note, however, that the negative clitic attaches to the copula *lɛ* rather than to *ce*, thus suggesting that *lɛ* still carries TMAP information. Example (109a) represents an affirmative sentence which is grammatically negated in (109b) with NEG cliticized to *lɛ*. Example (109c) is unacceptable with *ce* bearing the mark of negation. The pair in (109d and e) exhibit the same point: an ungram-matical *ce* negation in (109d) and its grammatical counterpart with *lɛ* negated.

(109) a. ìlélí mì nyɛ̀ lɛ̀ yóm
ì-lélí mì nyɛ̀ lɛ̀ yóm
NCM-name 1SG PRO COP Yom
'My name is Yom.'

b. ìlélí mì nyɛ̀ cé lɛ́n yóm
ì-lélí mì nyɛ̀ cé lɛ̀-ɛ́n yóm
NCM-name 1SG PRO IPF cop-NEG Yom
'My name is not Yom.'

c. * ìlélí mì nyɛ̀ cén lɛ̀ yóm
ì-lélí mì nyɛ̀ cɛ̀-ɛ́n lɛ̀ yóm
NCM-name 1SG PRO IPF-NEG COP Yom
'My name is not Yom.' (jd 12/10/04, 1/11/06)

d. *nɔ̀làkán cén lɛ̀ bɛ̀
nɔ̀làkán cɛ̀-ɛ́n lɛ̀ bɛ̀
woman IPF-NEG COP chief
'A woman is not chief.'

e. nɔ̀làkán cɛ̀ lɛ́n bɛ̀
nɔ̀làkán cɛ̀ lɛ̀-ɛ́n bɛ̀
woman IPF COP-NEG chief
'A woman is not chief.' (jd 2/4/06, 2/11/06)

The last morphosyntactic criterion that can be used to differentiate the copula from verbs is the absence of any verb extensions on *lɛ*, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of all of the sentences in (110). The Completive (cmp) is ungrammatically affixed to *lɛ* (a. example), and to *ce* in (b.). The Stative (c.) and Benefactive (d.) are similarly disallowed.

(110) a. * nɔ̀làkán lɛ̀dì bɛ̀
nɔ̀làkán lɛ̀-dì bɛ̀
woman COP-CMP chief

b. * nɔ̀làkán cé-dì lɛ̀ bɛ̀
woman IPF COP-CMP chief

c. * nɔ̀làkán lɛ̀-yɛ́ bɛ̀
woman COP-STAT chief
'A woman is chief.'

d. * nɔ̀làkán lɛ̀-nɛ̀ wɔ̀ bɛ̀
woman COP-BEN 3SG chief
'The woman is chief for her.' (jd 2/4/06)

The Irrealis Copula can be preceded by the IPF *cé* (111a) or *ká* and *cè* (111b) together (but not *ká* alone), but it itself carries no discernible temporal or aspectual meaning.

(111) a. fòdè cé lɛ̀ bɛ́
fòdè cé lɛ̀ bɛ́
Foday IPF COP chief
'Foday was chief.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 1/30/06)

b. kàbínɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ́ ká cè lɛ̀ bɛ̀
kàbínɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ́ ká cè lɛ̀ bɛ́
blacksmith DEF 3SG PAST IPF COP chief
'The blacksmith had been the chief.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 8/8/05)

As an addendum to the discussion of *lɛ* as Irrealis Copula is a deontic or even an epistemic use of the form. In (112) the copula appears in a modal function, roughly comparable to the English construction, e.g., "They are to go." In this construction the copula *lɛ* has a high tone (it normally has a low tone), just as the Hortative (see 5), and is followed by a full S. In (112a) it is followed by an S with the 2SG subject marker *ǹ* (see 1), and in the second (112b) by an S with the subject pronoun *wɔ̀*. (Note also how the object pronoun *mì* moves inside, between the subject and verb, just as it would in non-embedded sentences.) These examples show that the material following the deontic use of *lɛ́* constitutes a full S.

(112) a. mɔ́ lɛ́ ǹ dɔ̀kɔ́l
mɔ́ lɛ́ ǹ dɔ̀kɔ́l
2SG must 2SG make.heaps
'You have to make the heaps (for planting).' (jd 12/8/04, 8/10/05)

b. wɔ́ɔ́ lɛ́ wɔ̀ mì pàkà
wɔ́ lɛ́ wɔ̀ mì pàkà
3SG necessary 3SG 1SG pay
'It is necessary for him to pay me.' (jd 12/18/04, 3/13/05)

The example in (113) shows the same modal use of *lɛ*, yet this time is followed by a subject-less S. (More discussion and examples of the extensive expression of modality are found in 4.) Reduplicated forms (*lɛ́lɛ́*) may be used to increase

intensity, here the sense of obligation, just as pluraaction is marked with verbs (see Derivational morphology, section 1.6 Pluractional reduplication). Note here how the material following *lɛ* in (113b) consists of only a subject-less verb and its object. In (113c) the subject appears before *lɛ*, which in turn is followed by the Past marker and the copula *ce* with a sense of the assertion being certain. The example in d. shows *lɛ* used in both functions, hortative and copular.

(113) a. lá lélɛ́ pàkà mí

lá	lɛ́lɛ́	pàkà	mí
PRO	necessary-PL	pay	1SG

'It is absolutely necessary (for him) to pay me.' (jd 12/18/04, 3/13/05)[18]

b. lá lɛ̀ kɔ̀l tìpót tìcàŋ

lá	lɛ̀	kɔ̀l	tì-pót	tì-càŋ
PRO	COP	ball	NCM-mud	NCM-two

'It is necessary (to have) two balls of mud.' (jd 2/ll/06)

c. wɔ̀ lɛ̀ kà cè fɔ́nɔ́ m̀ból

wɔ́	lɛ̀	kà	cè	fɔ́nɔ́-ǹ-ból
3SG	COP	past	IPF	teller-NCM-lie

'He was (definitely) a liar. (It is the case that he was a liar.)' (jd 2/ll/06)

d. mɔ́ lɛ́ ń cé lɛ̀ bɛ́ cɛ̀

mɔ́	lɛ́	ń	cé	lɛ̀	bɛ́	cɛ̀
2SG	COP	2SG	IPF	COP	chief	DEF

'Be the chief! (Let it be the case that you are chief.)' (jd 2/4/06)

Note how in all cases where a contrast is possible, i.e., with the personal pronouns (113c and (113d), vs. *ù* and *ǹ* respectively), it is the emphatic pronoun that is used rather than the normal Subject Pronoun. That the pronoun is necessary, even with proper names, can be seen in the grammaticality of (114a) and the ungrammaticality of (114b).

(114) a. fòdè wɔ́ lɛ́ tɔ̀k ǹcòyá

fòdè	wɔ́	lɛ́	tɔ̀k	ǹ-còyá
Foday	3SG	COP	wash	NCM-clothes

'Foday is to wash the clothes.' (jd)

b. *fòdè (Ø) lɛ́ tɔ̀k ǹcòyá

The implication of these facts, *lɛ* having verb-like properties (affixing Neg when the auxiliary *ce* is present, semantic content), is that *lɛ* is something of a defective verb, just as the other copula *ce* is not. A cognate form *lɛ* in Bom functions

as only a copula, but a related form *lɛ* in Kim has more verbal functions including the meaning 'stay, remain'.

Example (115) shows how the copula *ce* is found in affirmative sentences only in conjunction with the Past *ká* (see *Table 16*).

(115) ránɔ̀ cɛ́ ká cè yòmbɛ̃́ cf. (103).

ránɔ̀	cɛ́	ká	cè	yómbɛ̀n
farmer	DEF	PAST	COP	old.man

'The farmer was (an) old (man). (ys 7/22/00, jd 8/10/05)

The form *cè* cannot be used affirmatively as a copula with *lɛ*, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (116a) The preferred way of conveying the same meaning is given in (116b), and in (116c) the sentence is negated.

(116) a. * ù cé lɛ̀ cón
'She was small.'

b. ù cè cón
'She was small.'

c. ù cè-n cón
'She was not small.'

The examples in (117) show that no copula is needed with locatives, as first shown in (106) in simple affirmative sentences, but that a copula is required when a locative expression is negated. The meaning is realis in the third clause, but what follows the predicate is not a nominal but rather a locative. Therefore, no copula is used. The (negated) Realis Copula can be used before both adjectives and nouns, as shown by the first two clauses in each example.

(117) a. ù cèn cón, ù cén bòmù, wó gbó kò làyén

ù	cè-én	cón,	ù	cé-n	bòmù,	wó	gbó	kò	làyén
3SG	cop-NEG	small	3SG	cop-NEG	big,	3SG	just	to	middle

'She is not small, she is not big, she is just in the middle.'

b. àkìrìyóŋ àcè ŋà cé lén ànyá àti-í-í, ŋà cè lén àpòtò, ŋá gbó kòlàyéŋ

à-kìrìyóŋ	à-cè	ŋà	cé	lé-én	à-nyá		à-ti,	
NCM-Krio	NCM-DEF	3PL	AUX	COP-NEG	NCM-people		NCM-black	
ŋà	cè	lè-én		à-pòtò	ŋá	gbó	kò	làyéŋ
3PL	aux	cop-NEG		NCM-European	3PL	just	to	middle

'The Krios are not Africans (black people), they are not Europeans, they are something in the middle.' (jd 2/ll/06)[19]

The example in (118) shows the ungrammaticality of *cé* as a simple (affirmative) copula.

(118) * fɔ́nɔ́ cé m̀ból
fɔ́nɔ́ cé ǹ-ból
3SG COP liar
'He is/was a liar.' (jd 2/ll/06)

As a copula linking nominals, *cè* can be used only in negative constructions (119a). It is not required that the negative marker be suffixed to the copula itself, as shown in example b., where the negative marker appears after the locative pronoun *lɔ̀*, pronouns forming a verbal constituent with the tense-marked form.

(119) a. nɔ́mbɔ̀t cén pàntɔ̀nɔ̀
nɔ́mbɔ̀t cé-én pànt-nɔ̀
leper cop-NEG bind-person
'A leper can't bind someone.' (Lit. 'is not a binding person', a proverb: because the leper's hands are worn away by the disease.) (jd 1/31/05)

b. nɔ̀ cé lɔ̀n kò kìlɛ̀
nɔ̀ cé lɔ̀-én kò kìl-ɛ̀
person COP PRO-NEG to house-inside
'There is no one in the house.' (jd 12/7/2004, 2/20/05)

Realis *ce* precedes adjectives in negative constructions (but without a copula in affirmative, as shown above in (118)); *lɛ̀*, of course, allows only NPs (and Ss in its deontic use) and cannot be directly negated. Similarly, adjectives appear after (affirmative) *ká cè* copula constructions (120b).

(120) a. mà cén ǹdrɛ̀
mà cè-én ǹ-drɛ̀
PRO cop-NEG NCM-ripe
'They are not ripe.' (jd 2/19/05)

b. ìgbànkè cɛ́ nyɛ̀ ká cè ìsànà
ì-gbànkè cé nyɛ̀ ká cè ì-sànà
NCM-pirogue DEF PRO PAST COP NCM-new
'The pirogues were once new.' (jd 1/28/06)

When Imperfective *ce* is negated in copular constructions with *ce*, the former is marked with the Negative, the other is simply the Imperfective Copula. In (121a.), featuring a predicate adjective, no copula is needed. The second example (121b) shows the mperfective copula negated; the auxiliary *cé* is necessary to dock NEG.

(121) a. m̀pánt ǹcɛ́ màŋ kátɔ́l cɛ́ncà
ǹ-pánt ǹ-cɛ́ mà ǹ-kàtɔ́l céncà
NCM-work NCM-DEF PRO NCM-hard yesterday
'The work was hard yesterday.'

b. gbèn ǹ-pántə̀ǹcɛ́ mà cén cé ǹkàtɔ́l
gbèn ǹ-pánt ǹ-cɛ́ mà cè-én cé ǹ-kàtɔ́l
tomorrow NCM-work NCM-DEF PRO aux-NEG COP NCM-hard
'Tomorrow the work will not be hard.' (jd 3/6/05)

The examples in (122) contain the copula *lɛ* in conjunction with *ce*. The latter is used because *lɛ* cannot carry any tense information unless used deontically. Thus, in both examples *ce* precedes the copula *lɛ*. In example (122b) it is preceded by Past *ká*.

(122) a. fòdè cé lɛ̀mbɛ́
fòdè cé lɛ̀ bɛ́
Foday AUX COP chief
'Foday was chief.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 1/30/06)

b. kàbínɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ́ ká cè lɛ̀ bɛ̀
kàbínɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ́ ká cè lɛ̀ bɛ́
blacksmith DEF 3SG PAST IPF COP chief
'The blacksmith was the chief.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 8/8/05)

For future negative meaning, two *ce* forms are needed, the first an auxiliary, which can be negated, and the second *ce* a copula like *lɛ*, which is not directly negated. The example in (123a) shows an affirmative form (without a copula), the second shows the copula negated with the Imperfective *ce* used here to convey future. The rather long sentence in (123c) shows a sentence similar to (123a) negated, followed by a clause identical to (123b), thus contrasting negated forms differing in tense.

(123) Double *ce* constructions with Neg

a. m̀pánt ǹcɛ́ mà (í) ǹkàtɔ́l cɛ́ncà
m̀-pánt ǹ-cɛ́ mà-í ǹ-kàtɔ́l cɛ́ncà
NCM-work NCM-DEF PRO-*í* NCM-hard yesterday
'The work was hard yesterday.'

b. gbèn m̀pánt ǹcɛ́ mà cén cé ǹkàtól
gbèn m̀-pánt ǹ-cɛ́ mà cè-én cé ǹ-kàtól
tomorrow NCM-work NCM-DEF PRO COP-NEG IPF NCM-hard
'Tomorrow the work will not be hard.' (jd 2/19/05, 3/6/05)

c. ǹcén ŋ̀kàtól céncà, ǹcén má cé ŋ̀kától gbèŋ
ǹ cè-én ǹ-kàtól céncà,
NCM IPF-NEG NCM-hard yesterday
ǹ cè-én má cé ǹ-kától gbèŋ
NCM IPF-NEG NCP COP NCM-hard tomorrow
'The work was not hard yesterday, nor will it be hard tomorrow.' (jd 2/4/06)

Contrary to what was found in non-embedded sentences, affirmative *ce* as a copula was found without a subject in several environments. First of all, it appeared after the complementizer *àlì* and before an adjective (note the noun class marker on the adjective), as in (124a). In sentence b., *ce* similarly does not require a subject, here in a non-embedded (negated) clause.

(124) a. ìlàmp ìcɛ́ nyɛ̀ bí àlì cé ìtùŋk
ì-làmp ì-cɛ́ nyɛ̀ bí àlì cé ì-tùŋk
NCM-well NCM-DEF PRO have for IPF NCM-deep
'The wells will have to be deep (after digging).' (jd 1/28/06)

b. cén tànà tàí yèmà
cè-én tànà tà-í yèmà
COP-NEG DEM PRO-*ì* want
'These are not the ones I want.' (jd 1/31, 3/5/05)

8. Adverbs

The adverb class contains words not belonging to other classes, lacking inflection, agreement, and grammatical function. Ideophones, which can be characterized in the same way, are treated in the following section due to their unusual phonology. Adverbs number less than 100 in a lexicon of 2,310 entries; ideophones number fewer but likely form a larger class but are much more difficult to elicit, especially in a dying language, and thus likely remain underrepresented in the lexicon. For heuristic purposes, adverbs are here sub-categorized as to function: place, time, or manner. I begin by discussing the adverbs which express how something was done. Of the three semantic functions, manner adverbs overlap most in function with ideophones.

"Manner" is occasionally conveyed not only by ideophones but also by other word categories such as nouns and verbs, and thus the inventory of adverbs is rather limited. For example, a noun appears after 'sing' to convey 'bitterness' or 'plaintiveness'.

(125) àlàkán àcɛ́ ŋà cándì ǹkàtàlá́

à-làkán	à-cɛ́	ŋá	cán-dì	ǹ-kàtàlá
NCM-woman	NCM-DEF	PRO	sing-CMP	NCM-bitterness

'The women are wailing bitterly.' (jd 2/4/06)

The display below represents some of the manner adverbs identified. In the first two columns are monomorphemic adverbs. In the last column appear compound adverbs formed from adjectives using *yéŋ* 'thing', as the first element. This form is used in other word-formation processes and is discussed more fully in Chapter 9. I have also listed several quantitative expressions (last two rows), which indicate the extent to which something was done.

(126) Manner adverbs

lɛ́mp	'slowly'	ícèntènì	'loudly'	yèŋbáŋ	'badly'
kɛ̀kɛ̀	'quickly'	sɛ̀kɛ̀	'well'	yɛ̀nkɛ̀lɛ̀ŋ	'well'
sià	'partially, a little'	ìsícé	'enough'	nún	'no longer'
gbɛ́t	'alone, only'	pè	'again'		

Other adverbs are split between locatives and temporal adverbs, both of which are deictic in their orientation. Adverbs not falling into any of these three categories will be classified as "Other", the last sub-category to be discussed.

A representative sample of locative adverbs is provided in (127). Several of them represent compounds of preposition + noun, but have been lexicalized enough for speakers to consider them "single words", i.e., *àtók*, *kòbòl*, and *dìwíl* (cf. the discussion around examples in 107).

(127) Locative adverbs

kól	'over there'	dìwíl	'distant'	kà	'here'
àtók	'atop, up high'	kòbòl	'in front'	tólón	'straight ahead'
mìnɛ̀	'to the left'				

Mani is particularly rich in temporal expressions, most of which require some reference to context. Section 1 treats temporal expressions in a more systematic way, presenting several central paradigms. Here I exemplify several different

ways of denoting time, 'now', 'then', 'later', and the elaborate system for denoting days other than 'today', making reference to the present. Words for the days of the week are borrowed from Temne, for the most part, and Mani has no words for the months of the year, nor for times of the day. These meanings are conveyed by verbs, e.g., 'spend the night/day'.

(128) Temporal adverbs

céncà	yesterday	cémpùm	sometime	cóyà	now
kácè	in the past	ìcólì	all night	gbó	just, recently
kékécò	immediately	làsípèyè	long ago	lɔ́kólɔ̀kɔ̀	frequently

From a functionalist perspective, one might see the richness of the temporal category of adverbs as compensating for the paucity of verbal distinctions in tense (see Chapter 7). Some monomorphemic verbs also contain a temporal component, e.g., *sákà* 'pass the night, *pikè* 'pass the afternoon or evening', and are widely used in greetings, a knowledge of which is a social necessity.

9. Ideophones

The discussion of ideophones can begin with the following definition.

> ideophones exhibit unusual phonological properties (e.g., its raised pitch range or register), morphological properties (e.g., reduplication), syntactic properties (e.g., its sentence-final position set off phonologically from the rest of the utterance), semantic properties (e.g., translation [is a challenge!] ..., and historical properties (e.g., an obscure origin or a nonce creation) (Childs 1994a:247).

All of these properties are characteristic but not essential; this fact often leads to their bleeding off into other word categories and the word class of ideophones is best seen as a prototype category (Childs 1992, Moshi 1993). Verbs are the category with which they are most commonly associated (Childs 1988), but this is not entirely the case with Mani. Mani adjectives also possess features characteristic of ideophones. Adjectives such as *dìwíl* 'far' and *yíl* 'tall' are almost always used with expressive phonology (prolongation, raised register). The quantifier *gbér* 'much, many, a lot' may show agreement as in (a.), but can also appear finally with ideophone features rather than follow the noun it modifies (b.), albeit with different meaning.

(129) a. sɔ̀sìcɛ̀ ŋáá gbér kɔ̀ kìlcɛ̀

sɔ̀	sì-cɛ̀	ŋá	à-gbér	kɔ̀	kìl	cɛ́
chicken	NCM-DEF	PRO	NCM-many	to	house	DEF

'The chickens are many in the house.'

b. ìsɔ̀kìcɛ́ kɔ̀ kìlcɛ̀ gbér

ì-sɔ̀k	ì-cɛ́	kɔ̀	kìl	cɛ̀	gbér
NCM-chicken	NCM-DEF	to	house	DEF	much

'The chicken is in the house a lot.' (jd 1/11/06)

The Mani word, *hááá* [↑hā́-ā́-ā́] 'extending in time or distance, going on until (some unspecified target in time or space)' is particularly remarkable in this respect and appears in many other languages in the area, e.g., Soso (the language to which Mani speakers are switching in Guinea) Malinké, Bom, Krio, and Kisi. It is at once an ideophone and a conjunction when it appears between clauses.

With regard to social factors, it has been shown that ideophones are deeply integrated into social structure (Childs 2001a), especially serving to symbolize local identity (Samarin 1971; Samarin 1991, Childs 1998). The negative correlation to this generalization is that ideophones are generally eschewed by the more urbanized sector of a speech community (Childs 1996), those without ties to the local community. Thus, it is not surprising that ideophones exhibit some sensitivity to social factors, some individual variation, and susceptibility to rapid language change. Their full status and vitality would therefore be somewhat unexpected in a dying language. In addition to the fact that ideo-phones are restricted to contexts often unavailable to researchers or under-represented in the data collected by researchers, difficulties are further compounded in that ideophones often disappear in conditions of language shift (Childs 1994b). Thus, the problems of ideophone research are manifold in a dying language, and the inventory of ideophones assembled in this study surely under-represents their number in Mani in the language's s fully vital state. A second reason for believing under-representation to be the case is the paucity of manner adverbs discussed in the preceding section. The missing notions need to be expressed some way in the language, and ideophones are a common way to do so.

In the MDP investigation of Mani, a lexicon of over 2,310 entries contained only 50 ideophones. This latter number pales in comparison to other African languages.

> ideophones often represent a sizeable proportion of a language's lexicon: 8,000 to 9,000 in Gbaya (Samarin 1979:55); 25% of the lexicon in Nupe (Roger Blench 1988 personal communication); 2,600 in Zulu (Fivaz 1963, revised upward to over 3,000 in Staden 1977). In Kisi a lexicon of 4,000 words contains

> 363 ideophones. Bohnhoff 1982 finds comparable numbers for Yag Dii: 535 ideophones in a lexicon of 4,244 words. In addition, ideophones constitute an open and productive class in most languages, e.g., Yoruba (Awoyale 1988), Igbo (Maduka 1983–84), Nembe (Maduka 1988), and Yag Dii (Bohnhoff 1982). (Childs 1994a:249)

Nonetheless, despite their relative paucity in Mani, they exhibit all of the features listed above. Examples illustrating those features follow, but not all of the features of the class can be fully illustrated. I begin with a discus-sion of their phonology.

In addition to the prosodic features of extra-long vowels, expanded register, and raised pitch range discussed above, ideophones often violate the phonotactic constraints of the language. The first column contains the ideophone itself, the second a gloss, and the third an indication of the phonotactic constraint violated.

(130)	pŕ-ŕ-ŕ	intensely white	syllabic liquid
	yɛ̀ktà-yɛ̀ktà	of a tapping	morpheme-internal sequence of two obstruents
	fű-ű-ű	of sand being thrown, rice being broadcast	unconditioned nasal vowel

Although reduplication occurs in many parts of Mani grammar, it is much more common with ideophones. Typically ideophones are not reduplicated, but when they are reduplicated it is usually just two times (first two rows), rarely three (third row), although some ideophones may be repeated indefinitely (fourth row).

(131)	bèlè-bèle	of people crying
	sià-sià	of gently falling, of soft rain
	kɔ̀-kɔ̀-kɔ̀	of a chicken clucking
	béŋ-béŋ-béŋ ...	of cracking palm kernels

Ideophones are often introduced by what has been called a "dummy verb", a semantically bleached verb that carries no sensory information. Such a verb in Mani is *fɔ́* 'say'.

(132) mén cɛ̀ mà fɔ́ pɔ̀tɔ̀-pɔ̀tɔ̀ ...

mén	ǹ-cɛ̀	mà	fɔ́	pɔ̀tɔ̀-pɔ̀tɔ̀ ...
water	NCM-DEF	PRO	say	glug-glug

'The water poured out glug-glug.' (jd 2/6/05)

Their location is nearly always sentence-final after an adjective or verb.

(133) dòmɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ́í drè ↑yòrúŋ
dòmɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ́ drè yòrúŋ
shirt DEF PRO red IDPH[20]
'The shirt is really red.' (jd 3/6/05)

ìkàntìcɛ́ kɔ̀ cándì lɛ́mp (lɛ́mp)
ì-kànt ì-cɛ́ kɔ̀ cán-dì lɛ́mp (lɛ́mp)
NCM-bicycle NCM-DEF PRO pass-CMP fast
The bike goes by very quickly. (ft 2/24/05)

Ideophones are invariably (and notoriously) difficult to translate (Noss 1988). This difficulty is due to the fact that they usually depend heavily on the verb or adjective with which they co-occur, sometimes merely underscoring the meaning, and/or deriving much of their meaning from context. Example (134b), for example, was uttered immediately after the tree limb actually fell and would be hard to interpret exactly without that context. These characteristics can be seen in almost all of the examples of this section. In English such words are rare (but see the second example in (132)), although they were more common in Middle English (Smithers 1954).

African ideophones stand in stark contrast to those found in Asia. Japanese ideophones, for example, typically characterize physical or psychological states, e.g., Ono 1984, Kita 1997. African ideophones are more external and refer to perceived events as processed by the senses, sight and sound (not necessarily onomatopoeic) being the most common.

(134) a. pán cɛ̀ ŋɔ̀ì ŋá fóŋ
pán ǹ-cɛ̀ ŋɔ̀ ŋá fóŋ
pot NCM-DEF FOC PRO IDPH
'The pots are completely empty.' (jd 3/6/05)

b. màŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ kɛ́ntì-dì mà tɔ̀rì bɔ̀tɨ̀ bɔ̀tɨ̀
màŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ kɛ́ntì-dì mà tɔ̀rì bɔ̀tɨ̀ bɔ̀tɨ̀
mango DEF PRO break-PERF PRO fall idph
(A branch of) the mango tree broke and fell PLOP.' (mp 7/25/05)

One cannot think of ideophones as merely onomatopoeic for occasionally two ideophones are used in the same context for the same event. Both ideophones in (135a) represent the sound of a flock of birds moving off in a group. In (135b) and many others, some given above, there is no reference to the sound made by slowly walking.

(135) a. ŋà pò fú-ú-ú / bó-ó-ó
3PL fly IDPH / IDPH
'The birds flew away in a noisy rush.' (jd 1/29/06)

b. à ké kòlo wɔ̀gbɛ dwɛ̀ŋ-dwɛ̀ŋ / ↑ʃɔ́íʃɔ́í

à	ké	kòlò	wɔ̀	gbɛ̀	dwɛ̀ŋ-dwɛ̀ŋ	/	↑ʃɔ́íʃɔ́í
1SG	see	chameleon	3SG	go	slowly	/	slowly

'I watched the chameleon walking slowly along.' (ys 7/29/00)

Aside from the phenomenon of onomatopoeia, a more subtle but still iconic relationship can hold between word and referent. With an overwhelming tendency greater than chance frequency, languages encode size in non-arbitrary ways. This generalization has been captured in the "frequency code", "a cross-species association of high pitch vocalizations with smallness (of the vocalizer), lack of threat, and of low pitch vocalizations with the vocalizer's largeness and threatening intent" (Ohala 1983; Ohala 1984). One way this association carries over into human language is the correlation of high front vowels with small things, and low back vowels with large. The frequency code manifests itself only minimally in Mani, but it is evident in the ideophonic sub-system, as shown in (136).

(136)	gbíŋ-gbíŋ	sound of (the high-pitched) *bòté* drum
	tɔ́r	underscores falling heavily

The same correlation exists in such adjectives as *bòmù* 'large' and *kít* 'small'.

As to their involvement in social structures, there was not enough time nor enough Mani speakers to permit a study of ideophone variation. That at least one (educated) Mani speaker did not consider them to be "real words", however, is an indication of their relatively low status to such speakers.

10. Adpositions

Mani has a relatively rich set of adpositions including prepositions, postpositions, and the two used together. The pre-nominal slot is filled by the more grammatical and less lexical of the two slots; the post-nominal slot constitutes a relatively more varied position allowing a number of words with full lexical status in other word categories, especially locative adverbs and nouns. (The semantics of this distribution parallels that found in Kisi (Childs 1995).) All of the postpositions require the preposition *kò*, although it can be used independently. The adpositions in (137) represent the totality of such words.

(137) Adpositions in Mani

Prepositions		Postpositions (all with *kò*)	
kò	'to'	*àyì*	'through'
nùŋ / ànùŋ	'with'	*-è*	'in, inside'
àlí / hàlí	'for, on behalf of'	*àlɔ̀ / kòlàlɔ̀*	'under'
bènún	'before'	*tòk / àtok*	'above'
kà	'at, in'	*ǹcɛ̀nt*	'near'
kén	'like, as'	*ŋɔ̀nɔ̀*	'inside'
mù	'of, for'	*yèlèŋ*	'behind'
		yéŋ	'in the middle'

In addition, some of these adpositions combine unpredictably in the pre-nominal position, as is suggested by the examples in (137); see the discussion of compounds in Chapter 9 for some examples.

The preposition kò is not always required before place names, specifically, those which have been derived from locative expressions featuring the preposition as a constituent, e.g., *Kigbali* (from kò-è-gbál 'at the place of the "plum" trees'). See the discussion of place names around example (54).

11. Conjunctions

Conjunctions represent a closed class of words connecting equivalent constituents, either in a coordinating or subordinating relationship. They number some twenty-five and are exemplified below in *Table 17*.

Several of these words have functions besides that of conjoining equivalent constituents. The conjunction *hàlí* is also used as a preposition with the meaning of 'for, on behalf of', and the conjunction *lɔ̀* also functions as a locative pronoun 'where'.

At the level of the phrase, the conjunction *nún* 'and, with' is used, as well as *òmà* 'or'. The functions of the others at the clause level are discussed in Ch. 12.

(138) a. bɔ̀lɔ̀ ń tɔ́k pántìcé, nùn pèpè cé nùn ùʃɛ̀tɔ̀ŋkɔ́

bɔ̀lɔ̀	ń	tɔ́k	pán	tì-cé	
then	2SG	wash	plate	NCM-DEF	
nùn	pèpè		cé	nùn	ù-sɛ̀tɔ̀ŋkɔ́
and	calabash		DEF	and	NCM-spoon

'Then you wash the plates and the calabash and the serving spoon.'

Table 17. Conjunctions

conj	gloss
hàlí	'for, because, in order to'
bàrí	'as, since, because'
bènú, bènúŋ	'before'
bɔ̀lɔ̀, bɔ̀lɔ́	'and, (and) then, next'
dɔŋkɛ̀	'after'
kàŋkà	'so that'
kènɛ̀, kèrɛ̀	'but'
làŋà	'if, when'
lɔ̀	'if, when'
lóŋgbéŋ	'after'
lɔ̀pɛ̀, lèpè	'whether, if' (see lɔ̀ 'if, when')
lɔ̀pélɛ̀	'if, when' (see lɔ̀pɛ̀ 'whether, if')
ǹlàbí	'therefore' (possibly a compound)
núŋ, nùn, ǹ	'and, with'
òmà	'or'

b. pómùyókà ómá ùpóm cɛ̀
póm ù-yókà ómá ù-póm cɛ̀
leaf NCM-cassava or NCM-leaf DEF
'cassava leaf or the leaf (-based sauce)' (jd 1/28/06)

As was remarked at the beginning of the preceding section on pronouns (section 3), pronouns are prolific in Mani. One way in which they are used is as conjunctions (see also the discussion of relative clauses in Chapter 12). One example of a correlative use of pronouns is used in the following example (139). Here the indefinite pronoun *pɛ̀* is preceded by the emphatic particle *ǹ-*, with a meaning of 'whether or or'.

(139) Pronouns as correlative conjunctions

lɔ̀ǹ pó hàlí hùn kài, mɔnɛ tàràì, ń wɔ̀nɔ̀ mì,
lɔ̀ ǹ pó hàlí hùn kà-ì,
when 2SG rise for come here-*ì*
mɔ̀-nɛ̀ tàrà-ì, ń wɔ̀nɔ̀ mì,
2SG-DEM cousin, 2SG bring 1SG
ǹpɛ̀ sɔ̀kì̀ ǹpɛ̀ kópɔ̀rì, ǹpɛ̀ yènóyèn.
ǹ-pɛ̀ sɔ̀k-ì̀ ǹ-pɛ̀ kópɔ̀r-ì
EMPH-PRO chicken-*ì* EMPH-PRO money-*ì*
ǹ-pɛ̀ yèn-ó-yèn.
EMPH-PRO thing-DIST-thing
'When you are ready to come here, cousin, you must bring me (something), be it a chicken, money or something else.' (hc 4/15/06)

12. Particles

In this admittedly wastebasket category can be found forms that serve a grammatical function but belonging to no inflectional paradigm, often con-stituting less than a phonological word and cliticizing to adjacent forms. Particles functioning at the higher level of discourse are discussed in 1. One example is the question particle ("Q") *yà*, realized as [jà] (spelled with a "y" in the examples) in its fullest manifestation but also as [ɲà] after nasals. The particle appears utterance finally in most cases in question-word questions.

(140) The question particle *yà*

a. lɔ́mɔ́ kɔ̀njà
lɔ́ mɔ́ kɔ̀n-yà
where you go-Q
'Where are you going?'

b. lɔ́ŋfó kwɛ̀
lɔ́ ǹ fókɔ̀-yà
where you come.from-Q
'Where are you coming from?

The full set of question words appears in Section 1 on question in Chapter 11.

A second example is the focus particle *ŋɔ̀*, used in (141a) to focus the subject and in (141b) in a question, where a temporal expression is questioned. Two representative examples appear here; Sections 1 and 2 contain fuller exemplification and discussion of pronouns used for the same function.

(141) a. bókólòwɔ̀ ŋɔ̌ yíntdì
bókólò wɔ̀ ŋɔ́ yínt-dì
neck 3SG FOC swell-PERF
'His neck is swollen.' (ay 7/20/00, jd 2/5/06)

b. nyɛ̀n cɛ́m ŋɔ́mɔ́ hùnà
nyɛ̀ ǹ-cɛ́m ŋɔ́ mɔ́ hùn yà
what NCM-time FOC 2SG come Q
'When will you come?' (om 7/23/00, jd 1/30/06)

Other particles are presented below and cross-referenced when there is further discussion elsewhere.

(142) Negative particle *-én* (see section 6 of Chapter 7)

à cɛ̀-én yò pɛ̀-nɛ̀ kì
à cɛ̀-én yò pɛ̀-nɛ̀ kì
1SG AUX-NEG eat NCM-DEM here
I don't eat this.' (ow 7/23/00 jd 1/30/06)

The relative particle appears at the end of relative clauses.

(143) Relative particle *-wɔ̀/-yɔ̀* (see section 2 of Chapter 12)

yá téɛ́ àlàkánàcɛ́ ŋɔ́ ŋà cɔ̀nɔ̀
yá té -yɛ́ à-làkán à-cɛ́ ŋɔ́ ŋà cɔ̀n-yɔ̀
1SG hear-STAT NCM-woman NCM-DEF PRO 3PL sing-REL
'I hear the women singing.' (om 7/23/00; jd 1/30/06)

At the end of both phrases and subordinate clauses appears a not well understood element, which seems solely to mark the end of that constituent, labeled here "PRT". Its distribution in this function is much more widespread in Kim and Bom, where it closes temporal, causal, and conditional clauses.

(144) bɔ̀lì ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ŋɔ̀ sɔ́yɔ̀, à sɔ̀tɛ́núŋ hàlí látìdól
bɔ̀lì ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ŋɔ̀ sɔ́í -ɔ̀
since DEM PRO morning PRT
à sɔ̀t-ɛ́n núŋ hàlí lát tì-dól
1SG get-NEG still for saliva NCM-bitter
'Since this morning, I have not had even bitter saliva (to eat)!'
(hc 5/12/05; jd 8/11/06)[21]

Another particle is the emphatic nasal, whose details are discussed in Chapter 2 on phonology (section 3) and in section 3 on pronouns above in this chapter. It can appear before the emphasized item as a syllabic nasal or after as a coda-filling (non-syllabic) nasal. The same particle is found in Bom and Kim, though not as a prefixed element. The Central Chadic language Mina uses a final nasal in distributionally much the same way, but it functions as a topicalization marker (Frajzyngier, Johnston, and Edwards 2005:122).

(145) The emphatic nasal *ǹ-/-n* (see Sections 3 and 3)

ǹyà kàmàlí sɛ́ wɔ̀
ǹ-yà kàmàl-í sɛ́ wɔ̀
EMPH-1SG mature-CS mature 3SG
'I made him mature.' (jd 11/27/04; 2/5/06)

bɛ́ cɛ̀ wɔ́ yàŋ à bòyá ìsɔ̀k
bɛ́ cɛ̀ wɔ́ yà-ŋ à bòyá ì-sɔ̀k
chief DEF FOC 1SG-EMPH 1SG deliver NCM-chicken
'It's the chief I delivered a chicken to.' (ys 7/29/04; jd 1/30/06)

There is also an optional emphatic particle *yò/yè* used after an NP, especially after names, perhaps related to the areal West African vocative particle *-o* (Childs 1995).

Chapter 5
Some remarks on semantics

Rather than attempt a broad semantic analysis, this section explores several fields which were accessible to study in the extant field conditions. The several domains that have been chosen are those of lexical proliferation or some systematicity. They are frequently paradigms that signal no grammatical distinctions but rather have strong cultural ties. A few of them may have been mentioned above but were not discussed in their entirety.

The numbering system has already been discussed in 4 and was seen as supplemented by borrowings for higher numbers. Another focus of linguistic study, the color system, is similarly impoverished. Mani has only three basic colors, 'black', 'white', and 'red', with borrowings supplementing the inventory, in accord with the implicational hierarchy proposed in Berlin and Kay 1969. The related languages Kim, Bom, and Kisi also have only the three basic colors. Unlike the other languages, however, Mani does have a word for 'color' itself, *kèn*, as well as a borrowing from English, *kùlɔ̀r*, used by younger speakers. Other, fuller semantic fields are presented below.

1. Family relations

Kinship terms offer an accessible, highly systematized pattern amenable to structural analysis. Cultural effects are clearly seen in Mani kin terms where the importance of age and gender are readily apparent, as well as some encyclopedic information. A 'woman' is married; therefore, both of the terms 'wife' and 'woman' are unneeded ('my woman' = '(my) wife'); the same is true for 'husband' and 'man'. Moreover, because the expectation is that everyone will marry once old enough to do so, being an adult and being a husband or a wife are synonymous. Such facts as these play a role in the names of relations and the appellations used for relations.

The naming of Mani family relations conforms to an areally common type, the "extended" family, where relations outside the Western nuclear family are given titles usually restricted to the nuclear family in the West. Another important feature is that, generally speaking, the father's relations are more highly integrated than the mother's. For example, a man's brother is referred to as 'father' (*pòá*) or 'small father' (*pòá-pɔ̀mɔ̀*) by his children, but the mother's brother is referred to as *sòxò,* a term borrowed from Soso, the language and culture to which the Mani have shifted.

In addition, age distinctions are marked more prolifically than in, e.g., English. There are many borrowings from Mande[22] languages. The significance of such borrowings in Kisi has been shown to reflect the dominance of the Mande peoples over the speakers of South Atlantic languages during the time of the Mande Expansion and beyond (Childs 2002).

Another way in which gender inequities manifest themselves is in the classification or categorization of relatives, for example, in the expansive use of the term for 'grandchildren'. Both grandchildren and a son's wife are referred to as *màmàdéní* 'grandchildren'. Thus, a wife is demoted from the generation to which she usually belongs by virtue of her age, and is thus considered to be somewhat junior, belonging to a younger generation than her husband and his siblings. Women are ordered about by men, just as are children, especially by their husbands and near male relatives; they are considered to be a central part of the work force and at the same time produce children to supplement the work force (and to provide for their parents' (father's?) old age). The woman joins the husband's household as an unequal member, perhaps something of a chattel. If a divorce is decided on, the children stay with the father and the wife moves back to her family's home.

That a married woman is considered inferior or subordinate to her husband can be seen in other practices: when a man dies his widowed wife is offered (as a wife) to close male relatives, first to the brothers of the deceased and then to their fathers. In both Mani and Kim a woman's husband's brothers are addressed as 'day husbands', presumably because they partake of all the benefits of marriage except those of the night or bedroom. Thus, when a man dies, his wife is considered the wife of his brother or the nearest male relative, with all the rights and responsibilities assumed by both parties. The brother of the deceased, however, doesn't necessarily have to accept his brother's widow as wife, an option not available to the woman. Furthermore, no such offers are made of a widower, i.e., to his wife's sister.

There are few differences between the terms referring to a relative and those addressing a relative. In both contexts the possessive is usually used; as with body parts, relatives must belong to someone (are inalienably possessed; see the discussion around example (294)). In *Table 18* the kin terms are, for the most part, shown without the possessives. Then first form, *là* 'wife (woman)', for example, when actually used in context would be *làmì* 'my woman' (or with some other possessive depending on context). The second form, 'first wife', a compound, actually includes the possessive within its parts.

Note also that both the forms *pò* and *là(kán)* 'woman, female' are used to create compound forms, when needed, to mark gender differences in kin terms that do not register gender (distinctions not shown below). Virtually any kin term can also be used as a term of address with, of course, a first-person possessive. Politicians and others wishing to ingratiate themselves are notorious for

Table 18. Kin terms

wife	là	lit. 'woman'
first wife	là-mì-ɲsè	'my first wife' (woman-1sg-first)
second wife	gbèrínyènyí	borrowed (from Soso?)
husband	pò	lit. 'man'
older sibling or cousin	tàrà	
younger sister	wàncé	
younger brother	pìncé	
mother	yà	
mother's sister, father's brother's wife	yàpòmò	lit. 'small mother'
mother's sisters' husbands	bà	also, a general term of respect
mother's brother and his wife	sòxò	bor. from Soso
mother's brother, father's sister's husband	sò	
father	pòà	
father's brother	pòá(pòmò)	lit. '(small) father', sometimes 'mother's sister's husband'
father's sister	tènè	
father's sisters' husband	bà	See 'mother's sister's husband'
daughter; father's brothers' daughters	wàn	
son; daughter's husband; father's brothers' sons	cò	
son's wife, grandchild	màmàdí	
mother's siblings; father's sisters' children	dèxò	bor. from Soso
grandfather, grandparents' brothers	yóm	also: 'any old male'
grandmother, grandparents' sisters	làm	also: 'any old female'
grandmother, grandparents' sisters	mámá	
grandmothers' brothers	bìmbà	
parent-, older sibling-in-law	bítán	also: 'any unrelated elder'
younger sibling-in-law	nàsìn	

exploiting this practice for their own political ends (see the discussion around example (373)).

There is no marking of "half" relations, i.e., relatives sharing only one parent, as in English. Half-brothers and half-sisters, for example, are known simply as 'brothers' and 'sisters'.

2. Mental and bodily states

This subsection does not explore the semantics of this domain but rather the different formal expressions of bodily and mental states. The examples in (146) show the most common, a noun specifying the state with its noun class pronoun followed by a personal pronoun of the affected, e.g., lit. 'cold PRO me'. The patients (1SG) in the first line have been deliberately chosen to show that the affectee is considered an object since 1SG shows case, the object pronoun *mí* vs. nominative *yà*.

(146)

bɔ̀fúl kɔ̀ mì	ǹdík mà mí	ǹdwɛ́ mà mí
bɔ̀fúl kɔ̀ mì	'I am hungry.'	'I am sleepy.'
cold PRO 1SG		
'I have a cold.'		

In the similar examples in (147), the state is again expressed as a nominal but this time with a verb, here two of the most common, 'have' and 'carry'. In all of the cases shown here, the state shows that it is a nominal by prefixing a noun class marker ("NCM").

(147) a. làŋgbáŋ cɛ̀ wɔ̀ mì yɔ̀kɔ̀ ùtút

làŋgbán	cɛ̀	wɔ̀	mì	yɔ̀kɔ̀	ùtút
adult	DEF	3SG	1SG	bear	NCM-jealousy

'The man is jealous of me.'

b. ù bí ùbóltàŋà

ù	bí	ù-bóltàŋà
3SG	have	NCM-depression

'He was depressed.'

c. mómɔ́ bí ǹlàŋbán

mómɔ́	bí	ǹ-làŋbán
Momoh	have	NCM-arousal (lit. 'manhood')

'Momoh is sexually excited.'

In a few cases a verb is used, as shown in (148). That 'constipated' is a verb is shown by the second example, where tense is shown.

(148) a. à bànkɔ̀m
à bànkɔ̀m
1SG constipated
'I am constipated.'

b. m̀bòm wɔ́ bànkɔ̀m lɛ̀pɛ́ yó ǹdé wɔ́ ǹdé pɛ̀
m̀bòm wɔ́ bànkɔ̀m lɛ̀pɛ́ yó ǹdé wɔ́ ǹdé pɛ̀
Mbom 3SG-HAB constipated if eat rice 3SG rice again
'Mbom will be constipated if she eats any more rice.' (jd 2/25/06)

Occasionally the exact construction cannot be determined. In the two examples below, the syntactic status of the states is ambiguous. The words for 'happy' and 'sad' could be nouns (without prefixes) or adjectives (without agreement markers).

(149) a. lóŋ ǹ fɔ̀ màní ǹcɛ̀ yènkɛ̀lɛ̀ŋ, yáné ŋɔ̀ɛ́
lóŋ ǹ fɔ̀ màní ǹ-cɛ̀ yènkɛ̀lɛ̀ŋ yá-né nyùɛ̀
when 2SG speak Mani NCM-DEF well 1SG-EMPH happy
'When you speak Mani well, I will be happy. (yt 6/7/05; jd 2/25/06)

b. wɔ́ sɛ́nòbòl àlí wúdí yánt wɔ̀
wɔ́ sɛ́nòbòl àlí wú-dí yánt wɔ̀
3SG sad for die-CMP child 3SG
'She is sad because her child died.' (lt 7/23/00); jd 8/11/05;1/30/06)

In addition, mental states are expressed metaphorically, as in English. Being 'hot' can mean that one is excitable or even angry, i.e., 'hot (tempered)'; being 'cold', on the other hand, can mean that one is taciturn or saturnine, 'cold (tempered)'.

3. Time words

Mani has a highly articulated system for referring to days in reference to the present day, both in the future and in the past, as seen in (150). Distinct forms exist for up to 'five days hence' and 'three days ago'. These words were not known to the less proficient speakers. Few of them have cognates in the closely related languages Kim, Bom, and Kisi; certainly no language has so fully articulated a system.

(150) nàn, ìnàn 'today'
gbɛ̀n 'tomorrow'
yɛ̀k 'day after tomorrow'
dìt 'day after the day after tomorrow; three days hence'
còŋk 'four days hence'
cɔ̀mɔ̀t 'five days hence'

cɛ́ncà 'yesterday'
pàcɛ́ 'day before yesterday'
pàpàcɛ́ 'day before the day before yesterday'
nànyɛ́ 'two or three days ago'

Another way of making such reference in the past is to use of form of the verb 'have', as in the French construction *il y a.*

(151) lɔ̀kɔ̀ bí ǹdùɛ́ ǹrà, bɔ̀lɔ̀ ùkòtcɛ́ kɔ́ pùtùlɔ́ / ùpùtúl

lɔ̀kɔ̀	bí	ǹ-dùɛ́		ǹ-rà,	bɔ̀lɔ̀
when	have	NCM-day		NCM-three	then
ù-kòt			cɛ́	kɔ́	pùtùlɔ́
NCM-palm.heart			DEF	PRO	rot

'After some three days' time, the heart of the palm rots.' (jd 2/ll/06)

A night is considered to be part of the following rather than the preceding day. Thus (English) 'last night' is literally 'today's night' in Mani.

(152) ù cé tìrìŋ nàŋ cɔ́l

ù	cé	tìrìŋ	nàŋ	cɔ́l
3SG	IPF	snore	today	night

'He was snoring last night.' (jd 3/13/05)

Other time words are discussed as part of the section on (temporal) adverbs in 8.

4. Mood

The Mani people exhibit a great deal of politeness, as do most West Africans, and use a variety of linguistic means in doing so. At least some politeness is encoded, for example, through the use of the Hortative for indirectness, by animating inanimates for avoiding the attribution of blame ('The car jumped off the road.'), and the most obvious to outsiders, the use of titles and exalted terms of address, especially those denoting familial relations (see 1).

This section, however, looks at more subtle means of linguistically conveying attitudes and orientations, ones that were less obvious but widely used during the fieldwork period. Personally striking was the apparent marking of evidentiality, e.g., (Chafe and Nichols 1986, Speas 2003). Obvious means were such overt expressions such as, 'They say …' or 'One hears ', but others were less obvious.

The ones discussed here are encoded in the tense system but are not, as would be expected, easily accessible in a language that is about to disappear. Moreover, mood is not studied in closely related languages, nor is it studied much in African languages in general (Cover 2010), although it has been discussed as part of "tense" in some Bantu languages (Nurse 2008; cf. Heine and Nurse 2008). Nonetheless, because politeness and evidentiality seem important enough to be expressed linguistically, I discuss them here (warily). In this section I briefly look at the different manifestations of mood, primarily but not only as it is expressed by verbal distinctions.

The social system has changed dramatically in historical times. Due to the Mande Expansion (Brooks 1993) and European colonialism, the Mani have gone from a relatively flat, hamlet-sized social organization to a broader and more hierarchical one. Deference upwards towards those in power, typically outsiders, has been necessary for survival. Politeness, a possible term for such behavior, is expressed primarily through address terms, but also through indirection. Address terms have some flexibility, except with close (more powerful) relatives. In all cases, especially with relatives of superior status (older, male vs. female, etc.), the exact address terms are used, e.g., *tàràmì* 'my older sibling', *yàmpɔ̀mɔ̀* 'my mother's sister or father's brother's wife' (see *Table 18*). Kin terms are also widely used for conveying both friendliness or affection and respect.

Terms of address also include words with an age component such as *bèn* 'elder, old one', *làŋgbán* 'adult male, man' (vs. 'boy'). Because age is so important to Mani society (in something of a gerontocracy, 'older' is 'better'), the older one is, or is addressed as being, the higher one's status and the more respect one is accorded. Kin terms and age-related terms of address can be combined to show even greater respect. The address term *yómbèn* lit. 'old grandfather' is a combination of *yóm* 'grandfather' and *bèn* 'old'.

Indirectness is another way of being polite, and Mani has a range of degrees of indirectness, i.e., attenuating the deontic force. The first alternative, part of the Hortative paradigm is shown as the first example in (153), translated with the English Imperative. Two progressively weaker alternatives are presented after. The third way with the copula *lé* is often used epistemically, expressing the speaker's belief about the state of affairs in the following phrase.

(153) Relative strength of deontic expressions

Strongest:	m̀pàkà mí					'Pay me!'[23]
	ǹ	pàkà	mí			
	2SG	pay	1SG			
Weaker:	ḿbí ḿpàkà mí					'You have to pay me.'
	ń	bí	ń	pàkà	mí	
	2SG	have	2SG	pay	1SG	
Weakest:	mó lɛ́ àlí pàkà mí					'You should pay me.' (jd 12/18/04)
	mó	lɛ́	àlí	pàkà	mí	
	2SG	COP	for	pay	1SG	

The use of indirection is widespread. Mani speakers will rarely ask for anything directly but will rather posit a desire or need for the item of interest, or simply comment on the desirability of the object in question. People are often unwilling to even ask in this indirect way: they will simply appear, offer a greeting, and simply linger.

The epistemic mood can also be expressed in ways formally comparable to those discussed above. As with the Irrealis Copula *lɛ* (see the discussion around example (114)), the verb *bi* 'to have or hold' can be used with modal meaning, much as in English. The sense is that the speaker is certain of the predication and thus *bi* qualifies as an epistemic, sometimes translated with the future in English.

The context in (154a) is that if you go to a party, you will be likely to dance through the night. In the b. example the context is that the speaker knows that the woman will return because she has responsibilities that require her attention. In the c. example the weather conditions and the lateness of the season make it certain that the speaker will be doing some plowing on the morrow. With respect to what has above been called the Habitual, subjects insisted that the form was also used for 'future'. If indeed *bi* can be said to represent 'future', it is a more certain future than the Habitual/Future. Furthermore, there are other more direct ways to express the deontic sense of 'have to' (see the discussion around examples in (240, 242, and 262). Note how the complementizer *hàlì* 'for' is used in examples (154a) and (154c), but not in example (154b), suggesting that *bi* may be on the way to grammaticalization (e.g., Hopper and Traugott 2003) since that is one of the slots reserved for other verbal particles.

(154) Modal use of 'have'

a. ŋá bì hàlì yé háá ìsɔ́
   nyá bì hàlì yé háá ìsɔ́
   2PL have for dance until morning
   'You will be dancing until morning.'

b. wɔ̀ bì hún símìtì
   wɔ̀ bì hún símìtì
   3SG have come Saturday
   'She will have to return Saturday.' (jd 3/5/05)

c. à bí àlí gbùsɔ̀ gbèŋ
   à bí àlí gbùsɔ̀ gbèn
   1SG have for plough tomorrow
   'I have to plough tomorrow.' (jd 2/5/04)

Admittedly these comments are brief and represent only a simple introduction. They are presented here only because they are likely the only ones ever to appear in print and because they are widely used in the culture.

Chapter 6
The noun class system

This chapter treats the pervasive noun class system of Mani, somewhat attenuated in comparison with other, more robust systems of Niger-Congo but nonetheless still fully operant and an integral part of the language.

Every Mani noun (stem) belongs to at least one noun class. Furthermore, all Mani nouns govern agreement on various dependent elements. It is this membership and agreement which define nouns as a class. This system of concord and its formal manifestation constitute Mani's noun class system.

The Mani noun class system has likely undergone some changes over time in both form and function. The semantic features of Niger-Congo noun classes generally include animacy, number, and often configurational properties such as shape, size, distribution, etc. These features are also important in Mani. The language, however, possesses little of the neatness that may have originally characterized the system in Proto-Bantu (e.g., Denny and Creider 1986). The semantic features which operate to determine membership in a class are [human], [animacy], [number], [mass vs. individuated], and perhaps [diminutive] and [abstract]. A few other configurational features group sub-categories within possibly collapsed classes.

In *Table 19* appear the names given to each class and brief semantic characterizations, to be expanded on below. The names of the classes are referred to by the class pronouns since the classes cannot be defined semantically. In the last column appears the number of nouns in each class.

Table 20 shows the various manifestations of membership in a noun class. In this table appear each class's pronouns and agreement markers. They are arranged as to syntactic position, as indicated by the syntactic positions across the top.

There is more formal variation than can be represented in this table; some of the details are spelled out below.

Table 19. Sizes and semantic characterizations of noun classes

Name	Semantic characterization	No.
wɔ	Human singular; default singular (includes 62 *nɔ* singulars)	742
ŋa	Human plural (8 *ŋa* only; 58 *wɔ* / *ŋa* pairings; 59 *nɔ* / *ŋa* pairings)	125
lɛ	Some singulars; diminutive, abstractions (somewhat productive)	14
sa	Most animal plurals (all *wɔ* / *si*)	49
nyɛ	Sg some animals, sg articles of daily use, collectives, abstractions, some plurals, time words	213
ta	Most inanimate plurals	170
ma	Plurals of internal body parts (liver, intestines), pl of some fish and animals, pl of plants, mass nouns such as grains, liquids	222
	Total	1535

N.B. the total does not represent the total number of nouns since many nouns belong to more than one class (see the discussion around (186)).

Table 20. Mani noun classes

	SUBJ	OBJ	/NOUN	/VERB	/ADJ	DEM	NUM	POSS
wɔ	wɔ̀	wɔ̀	ù-	ù	ù-	wɔ̀-	u- /∅	wɔ̀
ŋa	à	ŋà	à-	à	à-	ŋà-	a-	ŋà
lɛ	lɛ̀	lɛ̀	dì-	dì	dì-	dì-	dì-	lɛ̀
sa	sà/ŋà	sà/ŋà	sì-	sì/à	sì-	ŋà-	sì-	sà/ŋà
nyɛ	nyɛ̀	nyɛ̀	ì-	ì	ì-	ì-	ì-	nyɛ̀
ta	tà	tà	tì-	tà	tì-	tà-	tì-	tà
ma	mà	mà	m̀-	m̀	m̀-	m̀-	m̀-	mà

In (155) are some nouns with their prefixes (noun class markers or "NCM"), and some typical singular/plural pairings. Examples for each class are discussed below and in Section 1 on the Mani noun phrase.

(155) ì-cáŋ / ǹ-cáŋ	'tooth/teeth'	ǹ-fál (sg) / tì-fál	'eye'
ì-hèl / ǹ-hèl	'salt'	ù-bɛ̀l / ì-bɛ̀l	'palm nut'

Below appear some representative examples of agreement. These are discussed in some detail below in this section and also in Chapter 10, Section 1. In the way of introduction (156a) shows the regular noun class agreement between the definite article and a noun. The subscript "$_{wɔ}$" in the morpheme gloss line indicates that the noun 'grass' belongs to the *wɔ* noun class. The noun classes are designated by their pronouns as in the first column of *Table 20*. The subscript "$_{wɔ}$" on the definite article shows agreement with the noun. Agreement markers and noun class prefixes are not necessarily phonologically identical. The next set of examples in (156b) show similar agreement patterns, first the noun followed by a definite marker (as in (156a)), and then the noun followed by an adjective, also with a prefixed agreement marker.

(156) a. ù-tɔ̀k ù-cɛ̀
NCM$_{wɔ}$-grass NCM$_{wɔ}$-DEF
'the grass'

b. ǹ-pùt ǹ-cɛ́ 'the intestines'
NCM$_{ma}$ -intestines NCM$_{ma}$ -DEF
m̀pùtə̀m bòmù 'big intestines'
ǹ-pùt ǹ-bòmù
NCM$_{ma}$ -intestines NCM$_{ma}$ –big

I now turn to details of the individual classes, discussing them in the order given in *Table 19*.

1. The *wɔ* class

Virtually all human beings and many animals take their singulars in the *wɔ* class, but so does a miscellany of other things. The *wɔ* class is far and away the largest, containing over half of the nouns (not half of the total noun stems since noun stems usually belong to more than one class). No exact semantic characterization is possible beyond that already stated, although certain subsets, such as human beings, a separate class in some Niger-Congo languages, suggests some combining or collapsing of classes. In its present state the *wɔ* class constitutes

the default singular class in Mani as the resting place for borrowings and many other non-human stems in Mani, as well as most non-finite verbs (see section 1.2). All nouns with the agentive marker *nɔ* also belong to this class. A few human singulars can be found in other classes. For example, *ì-dɔ̀ŋhó*, 'blind person', belongs to the *nyɛ* class, despite taking its plural in the *ŋa* class, *à-dɔ̀ŋhó*.

The *wɔ*-class prefix *ù-* is rarely present on frequently used nouns. One informant (Bundu Sisi 2000 p.c.) remarked that the *ù-* is there in the long form for people who don't know the language; it is not used by those who really know the language. Nonetheless, it is present on many lower frequency nouns, in citation forms, and in several other contexts, and *wɔ*-class concord is regularly marked on dependent elements, as already seen in (156a). The example below in (157) shows how both the prefixed ncm and the agreement marker are absent on a typical high-frequency noun.

(157) dɔ̀mɔ̀ tí 'black shirt'
Ø-shirt Ø-black

A subset of *wɔ*-class nouns features the agentive *nɔ* 'person, someone who does STEM' (see Chapter 9 on compounding), with no other mark of their class, i.e., no noun class prefix. In the plural they prefix the *ŋa*-class marker *a-*, the regular human plural affix. Its function then is similar to the noun class prefix in marking the resultant noun's membership in the *wɔ* class, but additionally it has lexical meaning, more constant and specific than any other noun class marker.

Moreover, the *nɔ* sub-class is marked by either a prefix or a suffix (see Chapter 6); the suffixed forms thereby violate the pattern of prefixes for all (other) noun class markers. Some examples appear in (158). No semantic significance is attached to the morpheme's position. The suffixed forms, however, may have implications for the diachronic change from prefixes to suffixes (Childs 1983).

(158) Prefixed and suffixed *nɔ*

Prefixed: nɔ́bɛ̀n 'elder', nɔ́-wù 'deceased person', nɔ̀-m̀bɔ́l 'liar', nɔ́-kòndɛ̀kɛ̀ 'person without any slave ancestry' (vs. nɔ́-kòmìnɛ́ 'someone with slave ancestry'), etc.

Suffixed: kàbí-nɔ̀ 'blacksmith', pɔ́tɔ́-nɔ́ 'European (< 'Portuguese')', dwí-nɔ́ 'thief', yé-nɔ̀ 'dancer', kùrùbánɔ̀ 'title for a war chief', etc.

2. The *ŋa* class (human plurals)

The *ŋa* class contains nouns denoting human plurals, both those belonging to the singular *wɔ* class and those with the element *nɔ*. The example in (159) shows the typical agreement pattern for the plural of *bùlùnɔ̀* 'farmer'. The NCM prefixing the noun and the agreement marker on dependent elements are identical (*-à*).

(159) *ŋa*-class (animate plural) agreement

à-bùlɔ́	'farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-cɛ́	'the farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old Mani farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-pót à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old lazy Mani farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-kàtəl à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old industrious Mani farmers'

Its semantic pairing with the *wɔ* class is evident in that speakers are uncertain about the plurals of nouns denoting people with a permanent and obvious physical infirmity, i.e., those who are blind, deaf, or crippled. Such nouns are found in the *nyɛ* class (prefix *i-*), which does not ordinarily take *ŋa* plurals. These human nouns, however, regularly take *ŋa*-class plurals, as shown in (160). Thus, the semantic feature of [+human] overrides the morphology; this phenomenon is sometimes referred to as a manifestation of the "Animacy Hierarchy" and is discussed in 4 on the *sa* class, where the override is more consistent and widespread.

(160) Human semantics overrides morphology

a.	bóbó-nɔ̀, Ø-bóbó deaf.person-AGENT	'mute person'
	à-bóbó[24]	'mute people'
b.	ì-nàmtá NCM$_{nyɛ}$-crippled.person	'crippled person'
	à-nàmtá NCM$_{ŋa}$-crippled.person	'crippled people'

Nonetheless, a number of human nouns invariably do not have their plurals in the *ŋa* class. Although their singulars all belong to the *wɔ* class (only the last singular noun in (161) has the *wɔ*-class prefix *u-*), their plurals do not belong to

the expected *ŋa* class. Most of these non-*ŋa* plurals have plurals that belong to the *nyɛ* class, although one, the word for 'child', oddly belongs to the *ma* class, as shown in (161).

(161) Human beings with their plurals not in the *ŋa* class

	sg	pl
'child born after twins'	sàyón	ì-sàyón
'policeman'	màsényà	ì-másényà
'enemy'	yáhù	ì-yáhù
'old people'	nyómbèn	ì-nyómbèn
'adult male'	làŋgbán	ì-làngbán
'lover'	tɔ̀bɔ̀	ì-tɔ̀bɔ̀
'menopausal woman'	yàkà	ì-yàkà
'mediator, go-between'	sàbù	ì-sàbù
'child'	ù-nyànt	ǹ-nyànt

3. The *lɛ* class

The tiny *lɛ* class is a mixed bag containing only eight core members. They are listed in their entirety in (162). As can be seen, they have no derivational relationships with other words.

(162) Some (mostly non-derivative) members of the *lɛ* class

fɔ́l	'eye'	*ta*-class pl (tì-fɔ́l)
kén	'knife'	*ma*-class pl (mà-kén)
lɛ̀	'land'	*wɔ*-class sg (lɛ̀)
lòm	'voice'	*ta*-class pl (tì-lòm)
pàl	'sun'	* pl
sál	'rainy season'	* pl
wá	'palm leaf'	* pl
yɔ́m	'fire'	* pl

The regular agreement pattern of the *lɛ* class is shown in (163). The word for 'knife' has no prefix here, but in other environments it has the prefix *dì-*, the same form as the agreement marker.

(163) kéndí nyùr dì-cə̀n
kén dì-nyùr dì-cə̀n
knife $NCM_{lɛ}$-dull $NCM_{lɛ}$-two
'two dull knives' (jd 12/12/2004)

In (164) appear some derivative members representing abstractions.

(164) Some derivative members of the *lɛ* class

bàn	'anger'	* pl (cf. *báŋ* 'bad')
bɛ́	'chieftaincy'	* pl (cf. *bɛ́* 'chief')
kándɛ̀	'paramount chieftaincy'	* pl (cf. *kándɛ̀* 'paramount chief')
ból	'headship'	* pl (cf. *ból* 'head')
wú	'funeral'	*ma*-class pl (cf. *wú* 'die')
fókódíbàrè	'initiation ceremony'	* pl (a compound)

With regard to the form of the prefixed *lɛ*-class markers, there is an alternation between [lì] and [dì]. The alternation may represent the collapsing of two formerly distinct classes in Mani or may be the relic of consonant alternation (see Sapir 1971). Other such alternations are discussed in 1.

The *lɛ* class may be used for diminutives, as suggested by the data in (165). The form *wà* was given for 'palm tree'. When asked for the word for 'palm leaf', something much smaller than the tree itself, the forms *dì-wá* and *wà dì-cɛ̀* were given for 'palm leaf' and 'the palm leaf', both with the *dì-* prefix.

(165) *wà* 'palm tree'
dì-wá 'palm leaf'
wà dì-cɛ̀ 'the palm leaf'

The class prefix *dì-* was also used when talking about single drops of water, as seen in (166). 'Water' belongs to the *ma* class and is usually considered to have neither a singular nor a plural. The *lɛ*-class marker individuates 'water' into separate drops.

(166) mɛ́m màtɔ̀rì dìbùldìbùl
mɛ́n mà tɔ̀rì dì-bùl-dì-bul
water PRO_{ma} drip $NCM_{lɛ}$-one-$NCM_{lɛ}$-one
'The water drips down drop by drop.' (im 7/30/00)

A final, perhaps unrelated, use of the prefix is before adjectives, which use intensifies the sense of the adjective but may just be another instance of forming

an abstraction. A possible analysis under this assumption is given beneath the example in (167a).

(167) a. kà lɔ̀ dì ↑yíl
kà lɔ̀ dì-yíl
at PRO NCM$_{lɛ}$-far
'This place is far!' (lit. 'At this place (it) is a distance.')

b. kà lɔ̀ dì ↑yél
'This place is cold!'

4. The *sa* class (animal plurals) and animate concord

The *sa class* is also rather small (n = 49) consisting exclusively of animal plurals, although not all animal plurals are found in the class. The semantic atrophy of the class can be seen in this fact, and also in the fact that nouns in the *sa class* take animate agreement using the *ŋa*-class marker (see the discussion preceding the examples in (171) below). Some representative examples (with their *wɔ*-class (unprefixed) singulars) appear in (168).

(168)	tɔ̀rmà	sì-tɔ̀rmà	'tortoise/s'
	kɔ́ŋkɔ̀lɔ̀n	sì- kɔ́ŋkɔ̀lɔ̀n	'millipede/s'
	kùlùŋ	sì-kùlùŋ	'goat/s'
	lòntɔ̀r	sì-lòntɔ̀r	'snake/s'
	nár	sì-nár	'cow/s'
	pò	sì-pò	'grey dove/s'

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, not all animals have plurals in the *sa* class. As shown in (169), a number of nouns designating animals have plurals in the *nyɛ* class (with singulars in the *wɔ* class).

(169) Animals with plurals in the *nyɛ* class

bót / ì-bót	'mudskipper/s'	sɔ̀ndà / ì-sɔ̀ndà	'tiger/s'
sìlɔ̀ / ì-sìlɔ̀	'insect/s'	sùé / ì-sùé	'horse/s'
lá / ì-lá	'louse/lice'	sèrèk / ì-sèrèk	'shark/s'(< Eng)
pèlìŋkɔ̀bɔ̀ / ì-	'praying mantis/es'	sílì / ì-sílì	'elephant/s' (< Soso)

That two borrowed words for animals ('elephant' and 'shark'), the last two members of the far columns, do not follow the established *wɔ-si* pairing pattern shows the erosion of the vitality of the *sa class* for animal plurals.

Normally *sa*-class nouns would be expected to take concord in the *sa* class, namely, by means of the prefixed agreement marker *si-*, for this is the pattern followed by all of the other noun classes. Dependent elements show concord

with the (formal) noun class of the head noun. This happens rarely with animal plurals in the *sa* class but a few examples can be seen in (170).

(170) *sa*-class agreement
sìtùmɛ̀, tùmɛ̀ sìcə̀ŋ, tùmɛ̀ sìrà

sì-tùmɛ̀	tùmɛ̀	sì-cə̀ŋ	tùmɛ̀	sì-rà
NCM_{sa}-dog	Ø-dog	NCM_{sa}-two	Ø-dog	NCM_{sa}-three

'dogs, two dogs, three dogs' (lt 8/12/2005, jd 8/11/05)

It is usually the case, however, that animal plurals govern agreement based on their semantics, their animacy, and take agreement markers from the *ŋa* class, as described below.

Animate concord. Mismatches exist between formal and semantic agreement, primarily due to [animacy], for not all animate entities belong to formally animate classes. For example, the stem *mùs* 'cat' has a *nyɛ*-class prefix for its plural but takes concord in the *ŋa* class (animate plural). This mismatch is most widely attested in the *sa* class, the class containing only animal plurals. The verbal concord marker of the class is *sì-*, which is distinct from all other concord markers, yet *sa-class* nouns normally take their agreement markers from the human plural class *ŋa*. Such exceptions may be understood by an appeal to what has been called the "Animacy Hierarchy" (Silverstein 1976), where the distribution of formal features is governed not by the morphosyntax but by a ranking on a semantic scale of "animacy". Animate concord usually occurs only with subject pronouns but may also be found with objects and demonstratives (vs. agreement markers on dependent elements). The same pattern is found in the related languages Bom and Kim.

Some examples are presented in (171). Here the governing noun in the noun phrase belongs to the *sa* class, but other markers take concord, for the most part, in the *ŋa* class (human plurals). In example (171a), morphological agreement is seen on the definite article, but animacy determines its pronoun, as well as the noun class marker on the following adjective. The *sa* class features animate concord not only more than other classes but also deeper into the grammar, as shown by (171b), where animate concord is registered on adjectives, numbers, and the definite article.

(171) a. tùmɛ̀ sìcɛ́ ŋàà pót

tùmɛ̀	sì-cɛ́	ŋà	à-pót
dog	NCM_{sa}-DEF	$PRO_{ŋa}$	$NCM_{ŋa}$-weak

'The dogs are weak.' (jd 8/10/05)

b. sìsú àdìntɛ̀ àcə̀ŋ àcɛ́

sì-sú	à-dìntɛ̀	à-cə̀ŋ	à-cɛ́
NCM$_{sa}$ -bird	NCM$_{ŋa}$ -white	NCM$_{ŋa}$ -two	NCM$_{ŋa}$ -DEF

'the two white birds' (jd 12/12/04)

The second example shows "animate concord", when semantics completely overrides morphology. The *sa* class (prefix *si-*) contains the plural of animals, which class controls agreement in the human plural class *ŋa* (prefix *a-*) rather than agreement in its own class.

It has been suggested that the impetus for classifying animals with human beings comes from folk tales (Greenberg 1978), where animals often serve as human surrogates. A Kisi folk tale about a long-tailed rat, for example, showed just such mismatched concord (Childs 1983) but only in the story.

5. The *nyɛ* class

There are two classes into which non-human plurals fall, *ta* and *nyɛ*, containing, respectively, 170 and 213 members. But the *nyɛ* class also contains many singulars, once again suggesting a diminution in the original number of classes. The *nyɛ* class is the location for a great variety of things, all of them inanimate; its membership includes, as seen in some of the examples in (172) and below, both singulars and plurals of everyday objects, plurals of plants, and a number of abstractions. With regard to number, the class this contains singulars, plurals, and mass nouns.

(172) Singulars, plurals, and non-count nouns in the *nyɛ* class

sg		plural		non-count	
wís	'meat'	bùr	'scar'	tɛìŋkɔ́l	'music'
yèl	'island'	gbɛ̀ŋgbɛ̀	'pepper plant'	fórò	'straw'
lél	'name'	bèrɛ̀	'tree core'	gbɔ̀s	'odor'
sék	'burnt skin'	làlà	'paddle'	nyɛ̀múní	'metal'
cú	'cooking pot'	càmàt	'palm kernel shell'	sèdí	'rice gruel'

Speakers sometimes strongly feel that nouns belong to only one class. This is particularly true of liquids, collectives and other non-count nouns. Only when pressed, for example, would an informant give 'one sand' *ù-súŋ bùl* for 'a single grain of sand', likely the concocted "singular" of *ì-sún* 'sand'.

Many animals have their singulars in the *nyɛ* class.

(173) Animal singulars in the *nyɛ* class
(with plurals in the *sa* class due to animate concord)

tɛ̀l	'crab'	pér	'bush pig'
káŋk	'ant sp.'	sɔ̀k	'chicken'

Agreement occurs as below with the dependent element, the adjective *tì* 'black' prefixing the NCM *i-* for the *nyɛ* class, the class to which the controlling noun *kúp* 'hair' belongs.

(174) ìkúpí tì 'black hair'
ì-kúp í- tì
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-hair $NCM_{nyɛ}$-black

At times animate concord (see 4) will override noun class membership in the *nyɛ* class, just as it does for the *sa class*. The example in (175a) shows the *nyɛ*-class singular noun *ìbɔ́k* 'tortoise' with the *wɔ*-class pronoun (animate singular *wɔ̀*). The example in (175b) illustrates a *nyɛ*-class plural noun (*ìlá* 'lice') taking *ŋa*-class (animate plural) concord, despite showing *nyɛ*-class concord on the definite marker *cɛ*. In (175c) a similar mismatch is shown: corresponding concord on the number 'three' (the *i-* prefix corresponding to *ì-bɔ́r* 'family') but animate concord on the subject pronoun (*ŋa* rather than *nyɛ*). Example (175d) shows animate concord on both an adjective (the phrase, mismatch between *nyɛ and ŋa*) and on a pronoun and noun class marker (full sentence, same mismatch).

(175) Concord mismatches in the *nyɛ* class

a. ìbɔ́k wɔ́lɔ̀l
ì-bɔ́k wɔ́ lɔ̀l
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-tortoise $PRO_{wɔ}$ sleep
'The tortoise sleeps.' (ab 7/22/00)

b. ìlá ìcɛ́ ŋà kúl ùnyànt cɛ́ ǹkɔ̀ŋ wɔ́
ì-lá ì-cɛ́ ŋà kúl
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-louse $NCM_{nyɛ}$-DEF $PRO_{ŋa}$ drink
ù-nyànt cɛ́ ǹ-kɔ̀ŋ wɔ́
$NCM_{wɔ}$-infant DEF NCM_{ma}-blood 3SG
'The lice sucked the baby's blood.' (jd 1/24/05)

c. ìbɔ́r ìrà ŋà kò kìl cɛ́ ŋɔ̀nɔ̀

ì-bɔ́r	ì-rà	ŋà	kò	kìl	cɛ́	ŋɔ̀nɔ̀
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-family	$NCM_{nyɛ}$-three	3PL	to	house	DEF	inside

'There were three families living in the house.' (jd 1/22/05)

d. ìbót átòŋá

ì-bót	à-tòŋá
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-mudskipper	$NCM_{ŋa}$-fried

'fried mudskippers'

ìbót ŋáá tòŋá

ì-bót	ŋá	à-tòŋá
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-mudskipper	$PRO_{ŋa}$	$NCM_{ŋa}$-fried

'The mudskippers are fried.' (jd 8/10/05)

In addition to the singulars and plurals of animals, the *nyɛ* class also contains a number of time words, as originally presented in (51).

(176) Time words in the *nyɛ* class (repeated from (51)

í-náŋ	'today'	ì-yɛ̀k	'day after tomorrow'
ì-pàl	'day, afternoon'	ì-pàŋ	'moon'
ì-sɔ̀	'morning'	ì-cɔ́lì	'all night'

6. The *ta* class (inanimate plurals)

The *ta* class contains only inanimate plurals (n = 170) and is the plural class for borrowings, just as the *wɔ* class is the default singular class for singulars, e.g., 'book' *ù-búk*, *tì-búk* and 'drinking glass' *kèŋkà*, *tì-kèŋkà* (from Portuguese *caneca*). The plurals of most body parts are here, as are the plurals of most everyday objects.

(177) Some representative (plural) nouns from the *ta* class

dòmɔ̀	'shirt, robe'	kàrà	'hoe'
cùr	'village, town'	lɛ̀	'branch'
bòl	'head'	támp	'mark'

In (178) is shown the prefixe *tì-* on dependent elements characteristic of the *ta* class.

(178) Agreement patterns in the *ta* class

tìgbìŋgbíŋ tìtì / tìgbìŋgbíŋ tì-cɛ́ tà tìtì

tì-gbìŋgbíŋ	tì-tì	/	tì-gbìŋgbíŋ	tì-cɛ́	tà	tì-tì
NCM_{ta}-wall	NCM_{ta}-black	/	NCM_{ta}-wall	NCM_{ta}-DEF	PRO_{ta}	NCM_{ta}-black

'black walls' / 'The walls are black.' (jd 8/10/05)

7. The *ma* class

The *ma* class (n = 222) is the largest of the "plural" classes, with nearly half of its nouns belonging exclusively to this class. In the first column are plural nouns belonging to this class, i.e., those with attested singulars, with their meanings in the second column. Nouns belonging only to this class are mass nouns, collectives, and liquids. Some representative examples of these nouns appear in the third column ("non-count") with their glosses in the last column.

(179) Nouns from the *ma* class (without their prefix *n*-)

plurals		non-count	
cè	'mortar'	kàlèm	'palm wine'
gból	'liver'	gbàntí	'leftovers'
tòŋ	'bamboo'	dwɛ́	'sleepiness'
pòmùl	'spirit, *jinn*'	ból	'lie'
cék	'field, farm'	pùt	'intestines'

Some of the non-count nouns, for which such a process is semantically plausible, may be individuated and thereby enumerated with such words as 'pile' or 'lump', as seen in (180).

(180) Lumps and piles

a. m̀bòt ǹsùé ǹrà

ǹ-bòt	ǹ-sùé	ǹ-rà
NCM_{ma}-lump	NCM_{ma}-soap	NCM_{ma}-three

'three pieces of soap'

b. m̀bòt ǹsúkà ǹcə̀n

ǹ-bòt	ǹ-súkà	ǹ-cə̀n
NCM_{ma}-lump	NCM_{ma}-sugar	NCM_{ma}-two

'two lumps of sugar' (jd 2/19/05)

c. ǹyíní m̀pùt ǹrà
ǹ-yíní m̀-pùt ǹ-rà
NCM-pile NCM-entrails NCM-three
'three piles of intestines'

d. ǹyíní ùgbèŋgbè ǹnyɔ̀l
ǹ-yíní ù-gbèŋgbè ǹ-nyɔ̀l
NCM_{ma}-pile NCM_{ma}-pepper NCM_{ma}-four
'four piles of peppers'

e. ǹyíní ǹrèt ǹmàn
ǹ-yíní ù-gbèŋgbè ǹ-màn
NCM_{ma}-pile $NCM_{wɔ}$-pepper NCM_{ma}-five
'five piles of pepper' (jd 3/12/05)

The current *ma* class likely represents the collapsing of at least two semantically distinct classes, the liquids and a set of collective nouns whose semantic core is difficult to discern ('particulate but uncountable'?). There are several reasons for believing in such a collapse. The first is the lack of congruity between the class pronoun *mà* and the noun class marker, a syllabic, homorganic nasal. *Table 20* shows that in no other noun class, where [animacy] is not a confounding factor, is there such a distinct phonetic difference between the two in both vowel and consonant. (The [l/d] alternation in the *lɛ*-class is found within the noun class system and elsewhere (see 1)).

The most telling evidence for a collapse, however, appears when the Mani *ma* class is compared to other languages to which it is closely related, such as those shown in Sapir 1971. In Kisi, for example, the *ma* and *ŋ* classes are distinct, each governing a separate concord marker, as in (181).

(181) The separate *ma* and *ŋ* noun classes of Kisi (Childs 1995)

pro	ncm	Semantic characterization
ŋ	*-óŋ*	Pl: metals, some body parts; collective: small, round objects such as grains, etc.
ma	*-áŋ*	Liquids and juicy plants; pl: sharp, pointed objects

A third hint that the *ma* class represents a collapsing of at least two classes is the presence of initial m- on several "basic" liquids ('water', 'breast milk', 'alcohol', 'tears') and juicy fruits ('lime, 'soursop (*Anona muricata*)'), which could be the relic is the presence of initial [m-] on several "basic" liquids ('water', 'breast milk', 'alcohol', 'tears') and juicy fruits ('lime, 'soursop (*Anona muri-*

cata)'), which could be the relic of an earlier distinct liquid-class prefix. The logic here is that the nasal element represents the relic of an earlier prefixing system which has since been renewed (Greenberg 1977; Greenberg 1978). As such, the bilabial nasals represent nominal prefixes that have fused and are no longer separable from a stem. In Mani this generalization holds synchronically. Although the other nasals in Mani possess different allophones and even exhibit some variation, the bilabial does not.

Nonetheless, despite this possible difference in provenance, all nouns belonging to this class are well-behaved and show the same agreement and require the same pronouns. Typical agreement patterns are shown in (180) above, but another example appears below.

(182) ŋ̀kén ǹdòìyá ǹtìn cə̀n ǹcɛ́

ǹ-kén	ǹ-dòìyá	ǹ-tì	ǹ-cə̀n	ǹ-cɛ́
NCM_{ma}-knife	NCM_{ma}-sharp	NCM_{ma}-black	NCM_{ma}-two	NCM_{ma}-DEF

'the two sharp knives' (jd 12/12/2004)

8. The noun-like indefinite pronoun *pɛ*

This section presents a pronoun which has been partially integrated into the noun class system. It is discussed here rather than in the section on "Indefinite pronouns" because it exhibits more nominal features than the other indefinites, namely, in controlling an agreement marker. Data showing some noun class features of *pɛ* are given in (184) and following. The first point to be made is that the pronoun *pɛ̀* is used for subjects and objects, and the prefixed NCM *pì-* for marking agreement on demonstratives and the like.

In (183) we see the pronoun *pɛ̀*.

(183) ǹwɔ̀ wɔ̀ŋ́ mì pɛ̀

ǹ-wɔ́	wɔ̀ŋ́	mì	pɛ̀
emph-3SG	send	1SG	$PRO_{pɛ}$

'He sent something for me.' (jd 2/5/05, 3/6/05)

The first set of examples in (184a) show a prefix intensifying adjectives, something like the way the noun class prefix *di-* of the *lɛ* class is used for diminutives ((165) and (166)) and for abstracts of elsewhere existing noun stems (167).

(184) The diminutive prefix *pì-*

a. pì-yìrìyɛ́n 'very wide'
pì-cón 'very small'
pì-cə̀ŋə́l 'very sweet'

The first example ((185a)) shows the pronoun as part of a demonstrative. Only noun class pronouns do this elsewhere in the language. Some further evidence can be found in (185b), where the prefix is found first in a compound, following the pattern of noun class markers in other compounds and then as a simple prefix. In (185c) the indefinite *yén* 'thing, something' is followed by the partitive 'some' (see (90) for a list of quantifiers) and prefixed by *pì-*, just as would be an adjective when following any other class noun, i.e., prefixed by the agreeing noun class marker. The demonstrative also shows *pɛ* agreement. If there is a *pɛ* class, then, it has only one member *yèn* 'thing', for nowhere else in the language is there a noun showing *pɛ*-class behavior.

(185) Nominal uses of *pɛ* and *pi*

a. à cɛ̋yó pènà
   à cè-én yò pè-nà
   1SG AUX-NEG eat $PRO_{pɛ}$-DEM
   'I don't eat this.' (ow 7/23/00)

b. yèn-pì-pòm / pì-pòm
   thing-$NCM_{pɛ}$-some / $NCM_{pɛ}$-some
   'some (little) thing, some of it; gift'

c. yèn pìcé pènè pìyìrìyén
   yèn pì-cé pènè pì-yìrìyén
   PRO $NCM_{pɛ}$-DEF $DEM_{pɛ}$ $NCM_{pɛ}$-wide
   'This thing was very wide.' (jd 1/30/05)

Despite these many nominal features, such pronouns as *pè* and other indefinite pronouns do not form part of the noun class system, primarily because they prefix no nouns and lack other criterial features. Nonetheless, such agreement patterns show the overlap of the pronoun category with that of nouns.

9. Final comments on the noun class system

To conclude this section, I make a few comments on the noun class system as a whole. As may have been obvious from the examples above, noun stems can belong to a number of different noun classes, more than to just a singular-plural pairing based on number. In (186) we see the extent to which such changes in noun class membership can change meaning. Here we see stems change meaning with different prefixes indicating their membership in different noun classes.

(186)

ù-mɔ́	'breast'	m̀-bɛ̀l	'palm nuts'
m̀-mɔ́	'mother's milk'	ì-bɛ̀l	'palm nut clusters'
wá / ì-wá	'palm tree/-s'	ì-cú	'(metal) cooking pot'
dì-wá	'palm leaf'	ù-cú	'metal'

These changes in meaning as to noun class membership show that the noun classes have some semantic content, even if that meaning is diffuse or multiple.

Despite these facts the final assessment of the neatness and vitality of Mani's noun class system must be that is undergoing some erosion and change. How much of this is attributable to the normal processes of language change (assuming language contact is not involved) and how much to the perilous state of the language is difficult to discern (Childs 2009). Classes have combined, concord markers have disappeared in some contexts (the *wɔ* class in particular), and the new feature [animacy] trumps morphologically determined concord. There is little sign, however, of the changeover to a suffixing system, as can be seen in all of the languages closely related to Mani (Childs 1982; Childs 1983). There are a few hints, as mentioned above: the phonological movement of a marker to the end of a noun (= before dependent elements), zero prefixing, and the use of *nɔ̀* as both prefix and suffix.

Chapter 7
Verbal morphology

In its most restricted form, the verb consists of the lexical verb itself and at least one tense, mood, aspect, or polarity distinction (referred to collectively here as "tense", as in many other places, following Welmers 1973 and general Africanist practice). Tense distinctions may be marked on the verb (segmentally or tonally), may consist of independent morphemes preceding the verb, or may involve a choice of subject pronoun, which may also be marked by tone. Strictly speaking, then, this section treats not only verbal inflectional morphology but also some verbal syntax. The verb may also be expanded by suffixed verb extensions, discussed in section 1.1 of the following chapter on derivational morphology. The full verb phrase is discussed in 2.

Two aspectual distinctions, one modal distinction and negation form the core verbal morphology: Habitual ("HAB" in the morpheme gloss line), Perfective ("PERF"), and Hortative ("IMP"). The names are meant more as useful mnemonics than as restrictive characterizations of each distinction's semantics, for there are complex interactions with other distinctions marked on the verb (verb extensions) and the semantics of the verb itself.

I begin by discussing the place of subject pronouns in the system, then turn to specific tense distinctions. This brief disquisition provides an introduction to the Habitual, for this distinction is marked by the choice of pronoun and by tone.

Two types of pronominal elements can appear in subject position, i.e., immediately before the verb. The first is what are here called "subject markers" (SM), found only in subject position – the second occurs in other positions, and for some pronouns in all other positions (see *Table 21*). The term SM is chosen to underscore the overlap with the noun class system and is the reason for seeing them as prefixes on verbs. Third singular forms, singular and plural, also take part in the noun class system; in fact, the markers are identical to their counterpart noun class markers, as is usually the case in languages with noun class systems, e.g., Meissner and Storch 2000.

Personal pronouns, which are also used for focus, objects, possessives, etc., can also appear in subject position, both with and without the SMs. There is the marking of case only in the first person singular pronoun (*ya* in subject position, *mì* elsewhere) and differentiation from subject markers for only some members of the paradigm (see *Table 7*). The display in *Table 21* recapitulates those differences.

Table 21. Personal pronouns (adapted from *Table 7*)

	SUBJ	SM
1SG	yà	à-
2SG	mɔ̀	ǹ-
3SG	wɔ̀	ù-
1PL	sì	sì-
2PL	nyà	nyà-
3PL	ŋà	ŋà-

The subject pronouns (SUBJ) are found in, roughly speaking, the same pre-verbal position, obligatorily for the Habitual when they are marked for "tense" and optionally for emphasis. The SMs, on the other hand, are found only in subject position and in all other tenses. Thus, the SMs are much more grammatical in being closely tied to the verb. All singular pronouns are formally distinct from their SM counterparts: the SM consists of less phonological substance (contrast the forms in the first column with those in the second) and always carries a low tone. When in pre-verbal position the SUBJs, on the other hand, can carry a high tone, e.g., the Habitual.

Table 22 shows the seven noun classes of Mani. In the first column is the name of each class as to how its designated in this book, which is equivalent to the pronouns in the second column. The equivalents of SUBJs are these pronouns in the second column and the NCMs are the equivalents of SMs in the third (adapted from *Table 8*). (See Chapter 6 for details of the noun class system).

Table 22. Noun class SUBJs and SMs (adapted from *Table 8*)

Class name	PRO (SUBJ)	NCM (SM)
wɔ	wɔ	ù-
ŋa	ŋa	à-
sa	sa	sì-
lɛ	lɛ	dì-
nyɛ	nyɛ	ì-
ta	ta	tì-
ma	ma	ǹ-

The example in (187a) contains an example from the *ma* class. Note how the prefix on both 'clothes' and 'urine' is the NCM *ǹ-*, while the subject marker is distinctively the class pronoun (*ma*). The example in (187b) shows the same contrast, but this time involving the *ta* class: the prefix on 'hoe' contrasts with the subject pronoun.

(187) a. ǹ-còyá wɔ̀ màbí ǹtílíŋ
ǹ-còyá wɔ̀ má bí ǹ-tílíŋ
NCM-clothes POSS SUBJ hold NCM-urine
'His clothes have urine on them.' (bs 7/20/00)

b. kárátícɛ́ tà kɛ́ntìdì
kárá tí-cɛ́ tá kɛ́nt-dì
hoe NCM_{ta}-DEF PRO_{ta} break-CMP
'The hoes are broken.' (ys 7/27/00)

The following examples in (188) illustrate the situation with predicative adjectives (among other things), where the NCM (*tì*) is used before adjectives, *tùkúl* in (188a) and in *yɔ̀rún* (188b).

(188) Nouns and predicative adjectives

a. púl tìcɛ́ tànà tìtùkúl rɛ̀s
púl tì-cɛ́ tànà tì-tùkúl rɛ̀s
ash NCM_{ta}-DEF DEM_{ta} NCM_{ta}-hot still
'These ashes (sg) are still hot.' (bs 7/22/00, jd 1/29/05)

b. kùfànà tíwé cɛ̀ wɔ̀nɛ̀ kɔ́ tékól yɔ̀, tá tíyɔ̀rún
kùfànà tí-wé cɛ̀ wɔ̀nɛ̀ kɔ́ tékól yɔ̀
wing NCM_{ta}-$Ø_{wɔ}$-bird $Ø_{wɔ}$-DEF $DEM_{wɔ}$ PRO_{LOC} yonder REL
tá tì-yɔ̀rún
PRO_{ta} NCM_{ta}-red
'The wings of that bird over there are red.' (ys 7/20/00; jd 2/20/05, 8/11/05)

Thus, a distinction can indeed be drawn between pronouns and subject markers, even if they are formally identical for some persons and for some noun classes. The Habitual makes use of this distinction as well as tone in marking its function.

1. Habitual

The Habitual marks action that is ongoing, (present) progressive, habitual, or future. The name is unsatisfactory, of course, but serves a useful purpose in focusing on the basic aspectual notion of the distinction. The Subject Pronouns (SUBJ, see *Table 21*) are used and have a high tone; the tone or tones on the verb are low, unless the verb is lexically high or High Tone Spreading (HTS) has raised the first tone of the verb.

That the pronoun is marked for tense is important for "object movement" into the vacancy created by a split predicate, where a tense marker or auxiliary occurs as a separate word with material intervening between it and the lexical verb (see Chapter 10 for a full discussion). In all other cases of object movement, a separate morpheme (Auxiliary") carries tense after which the objects appear. In the Habitual the objects can move in between the subject and verb, as they can with no other distinction. This is one way of confirming the importance of the high-toned Subject Pronoun as a carrier of tense information.

In (189) the regular, habitual action of collecting ("bringing down") the palmwine[25] is underscored by the two distributive constructions, conveying that the action takes place on a series of mornings and evenings (although palm wine from a given tree can be harvested for only a finite period of 2–3 weeks.) Note that the 2SG pronoun *mɔ̀* (vs. *ǹ*) is used with a high tone. The tone on 'go' is high because of HTS (see discussion around 192 below) and has been adjusted in the morpheme analysis line. HTS spread can also be seen in c.

(189) Illustrations of the Habitual

a. ìsɔ̀ɔ́ìsɔ̀ ŋ̀ pàrɛ̀mópàrɛ̀m/pàrɛ̀mwópàrɛ̀m mɔ́ kɔ́ tòlí ǹkàlɛ̀m ǹcɛ́
ìsɔ̀ɔ́ìsɔ̀ ŋ̀ pàrɛ̀mópàrɛ̀m
morning.DIST and evening.DIST
mɔ́ kɔ̀ tòl-í ǹ-kàlɛ̀m ǹ-cɛ́
2SG go descend-CS NCM-palmwine NCM-DEF
'Every morning and evening you have to bring down the wine.' (jd 2/ll/06)

b. yá bɛ̀mpà ǹswé
yá bɛ̀mpà ǹ-sué
1SG make NCM-soap
'I make soap (for a living).'

c. yá tílà ùpɛ̀lɛ̀
yá tílà ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀
1SG sell NCM-rice
'I sell rice (regularly, at the market).'

In example (190a) the high-toned pronoun *wɔ́* and the lowtone on the verb register the Habitual. The second example shows that the form of the subject and verb do not change even with the addition of the (high-toned) stative verb extension.

(190) a. làmìnà wɔ́ hùn
làmìnà wɔ́ hùn
Lamina 3SG come
'Lamina will come.'

b. làmìnà wɔ́ hŭn yɛ́
làmínà wɔ́ hùŋ-yɛ́
Lamina 3SG come-STAT
'Lamina is coming.' (mf 7/15/04, jd 2/12/06)

As will be seen in the discussion of the Imperfective, there is an overlap in the division of the imperfective space between the Habitual and the Imperfective with regard to time. The Imperfective is used for past (and sometimes present); the Habitual is used for present and future time.

The two examples in (191) illustrate some other features of the Habitual. In the first the word 'can' means not that one is able to do something – there is a separate verb for that. It rather means than one does something occasionally or on a regular basis. Here the subject harvests rice every year. The first sentence in b. means that 'typically' or 'usually' I stand. The second, with the addition of the stative extension, an eminently compatible extension with the Habitual, means that the state of upright posture has been achieved, and there is no immediate end in sight.

(191) a. wɔ́ rɔ̀k ùpèlɛ̀
wɔ́ rɔ̀k ù-pèlɛ̀
3SG harvest NCM-rice
'He can harvest rice.' (jd 12/7/04)

b. yá ʃɛ̀m / yá sɛ̀myɛ́
yá sɛ̀m / yá sɛ̀m-yɛ́
1SG stand / 1SG stand-STAT
'I (usually) stand / will stand.' / 'I am standing.' (jd 12/12/04, 2/12/06)

In (192a) the first tone on the verb *wɔ̀ŋɔ̀* 'send' is high as it has been raised (optionally) by the high tone on the pronoun. That it is HTS and not a verbal melody can be seen in its optionality and in the fact that when there is intervening material between the Subject Pronoun and Verb, the same verb has all low tones, as in b. Thus, with an intervening pronoun, the tone on the subject pronoun remains high and the tone on the verb will not be raised.

(192) a. yá wɔ́ŋɔ̀ tàrámì ùlɔ́ŋkɔ̀bɛ̀
yá wɔ̀ŋɔ̀ tàrá mì ù-lɔ́ŋkùbɛ̀
1SG send older.brother 1SG NCM-sheep
'I will send my older brother a sheep.' (jd 2/5/05)

b. ŋ̌ mì wɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ùbó
ŋá mì wɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ù-bó
3PL 1SG send NCM-bread
'They will send me bread.' (jd 2/18/05)

The ungrammaticality of sentences without these marks can be seen in (193). The sentence is ungrammatical without the pronoun, despite the fact that 3SG subjects are often absent in such contexts. The pronoun cannot be here omitted without loss of habitual meaning. (Note: The verb *báŋ* has a lexical high tone that stays associated with the verb in the Habitual.)

(193) a. * ḿbòm báŋ wɔ́m
ḿbòm báŋ wɔ́m
Mbom build boat
'Mbom is building a boat.'

b. ḿbòm wɔ́ báŋ wɔ́m
ḿbòm wɔ́ báŋ wɔ́m
Mbom PRO build boat
'Mbom is building a boat.'
(jd 2/4/06)

The Habitual is negated with *cè-én* in the same way that the Imperfective is negated, as shown in (194) (see discussion around (208) and 231 below).

(194) a. yá cɛ́nìn ((dì) nàpùm)
yá cènìn ((dì-) nàpùm)
1SG think ((NCM-) something)
'I am thinking (about something).'

b. à cén cènìn
à cè-én cènìn
1SG IPF-NEG think
'I am not thinking.' (jd 2/5/06)

The examples below contrast the Habitual with the Perfective, the latter being the topic of the next section. In (195a), the house has been built – it's done. In (195b) the action is ongoing and there's nothing said about its completion. In the next pair of examples, (195c) specifies no time since either *céncà* 'yesterday' or *ìnàŋ* 'today' could be used, but not 'every day'. The example in (195d) can be used with both 'every day' and 'tomorrow'. Speakers insist on such meaning for the Habitual; its counterpart, as in (195a) and (195c) cannot be used with habitual meaning. The third person plural features no formal difference between the two pronouns (195a) (Perfective) and (195b) (Habitual)), but in examples (195c) and (195d) one sees the difference (*à* vs. *yà*).

(195) a. ŋà yók kìl cɛ́
ŋà yók kìl
3SG build house
'They built the house.'

b. ŋáá yòk kìl cɛ́
ŋá yòk kìl cɛ́
3PL build house DEF
'They are building the house.' (jd 2/4/06)

c. à kùbìyɛ́ ìtɛ̀l ìcɛ́
à kùbì-yɛ́ ì-tɛ̀l ì-cɛ́
1SG open-STAT NCM-crab NCM-DEF
'I opened the crab (could be right now or yesterday).'

d. yà kùbí ìcɛ̀l
yá kùbí ì-tɛ̀l
1SG open NCM-crab
'I open crabs (every day, on a regular basis). (jd 12/11/04, 3/13/05)

2. Perfective

The Perfective indicates that an action is complete, perfect, and seen in its entirety (see, e.g., Comrie 1976, Comrie 1985). It contrasts with both the Habitual and the Imperfective, both of which see the action as ongoing and incomplete.

The Perfective features a high tone on the rightmost syllable of the verb stem with a subject, when it is a personal pronoun, represented by the low-toned subject marker, as shown in (196).

(196) a. ŋà wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mì ùbó
ŋà wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mì ù-bó
3PL send 1SG NCM-bread
'They (have) sent me bread.' (jd 2/18/05)

b. ìnyɛ̀lì cɛ́ nyɛ̀ déndì
ì-nyɛ̀l ì-cɛ́ nyɛ̀ dén-dì
NCM-salt NCM-DEF PRO disappear-CMP
'The salt has disappeared.' (jd 1/30/05)

b. ù càl lái kù kìl cɛ́ yəlìŋ
ù càlá-ì kò kìl cɛ́ yèlèŋ
3SG sit-*i* to house DEF behind
'He is seated behind the house.' (ow 7/23/00, jd 1/30/06)

c. cɛ̀ncà ǹkón ↑tólón
céncà ǹ kón tólón
yesterday 2SG go straight
'Yesterday you went straight ahead.' (jd 2/5/05)

d. m̀pànt ǹcɛ́ mà gbéndì cé ǹkàtɔ́l
m̀-pànt ǹ-cɛ́ mà gbén-dì cé ǹ-kàtɔ́l
NCM-work NCM-DEF PRO finish-CMP COP hard
'The work was hard.' (jd 2/19/05, 3/6/05, 3/12/05)

Example (196a) can be contrasted with the Habitual equivalent in (192b). Other minimal-pair contrasts between the Habitual and Perfective appear in 195. In example (197) the action of the first verb has been completed and the second is ongoing.

(197) ùʃí wɔ̀ kɔ̀ɔ́ tún
ù sí wɔ̀ kɔ́ tùn
3SG fart.PERF 3SG.FOC PRO.HAB smell
'He farted and it smells.' (jd 2/5/05, rev 3/6/05)

Verbal semantics can interact with the Perfective. Stative verbs such as *sìnɔ́n* 'be spoiled' (198a) and *hínt* 'be swollen' (198b) have a particular affinity with the Perfective. The verb (*gbén*) 'finish' (198c) is almost always used in the Perfective along with the Completive verb extension. At one point it was thought that this form of the verb with its extension, i.e., *gbén-dì*, was a stem and even earlier a Perfective marker simply because it was so widely used in such contexts (see Section 8 of this Chapter for some discussion of "incipient" verbal particles). As the Stative extension often accompanies the Habitual, so the Completive walks with the Perfective. These associations provide some reinforcement of meaning for both distinctions.

(198) a. ìnɔ̀kúlúŋ ìcɛ̀ nyà pìn yɔ́ nyɛ̀ ʃínɔ́ndì
ì-nɔ̀kúlúŋ ì-cɛ́ nyɛ̀ à pìn yɔ́
NCM-husked.rice NCM-DEF PRO sm buy REL
nyɛ̀ sìnɔ́n-dì
PRO spoil-CMP
'The husked rice that I bought is spoiled.' (jd 11/27/04)

b. pàmì ŋɔ̀ héntɔ̀dì
pà mì ŋɔ̀ hínt-dì
hand 1SG FOC swell-CMP
'My hand has swollen up.'

c. ù gbéndì nyɛ̀ ùpɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́
ù gbén-dì nyɛ̀ ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́
3SG finish-CMP winnow NCM-rice DEF
'She finished winnowing the rice.' (jd 11/16/04)

There are some variations on the tonal realizations of the Perfective. When a verb extension with a high tone is suffixed, the Perfective high tone is absorbed and the verb stem has all low tones.

(199) à gbènyɛ́
à gbèn-yɛ́
1SG finish-STAT
'I finished.' (jd 2/4/06)

When the extension is toneless or has a low tone, the high tone stays on the verb.

(200) à cùnúndì náŋ ìwís tòŋà
à cùnúŋ-dì náŋ ì-wís tòŋà
1SG smell-CMP then NCM-meat fried
'I smelled fried meat then (after I came back from the farm).'
(jd 2/19/05)

Occasionally, however, the high tone will shift rightward on to the low-toned extension in a variation on HTS. (The morpheme analysis line shows the underlying form of the verb + extension without HTS.)

(201) rànɔ́ cɛ̀ ránɛ́ nyì
rànɔ́ cɛ̀ rá-nɛ̀ nyì
farmer 3SG clear-BEN 1PL
'The farmer cleared (the field) for us.' (ys 7/29/00)

More revealing for the VP analysis discussed in Chapter 10 is how the high tone of the Perfective spreads on to following pronouns. Although it may be just another variation on HTS (see the discussion around the preceding example), it may also be phonological evidence that post-verbal pronouns form a constituent with the verb (as do most verb extensions). The examples in (202) show how the pronouns following the verbs, respectively 3SG *wɔ* in (202a) and 1SG *mi* in (202b), have a phonetically high tone (first line of both examples). In the second line appears the (lexical) form without the high tone. In the first sentence the high on the verb does not appear, but on the second it remains associated with the final tone-bearing unit of the stem. Thus the evidence is suggestive but inconclusive. The first example suggests the pronoun forms a constituent with the inflected verb, but (202b) suggests HTS.

(202) a. yámì, à sàmbà wɔ́ ìsɔ̀k
yá mì à sàmbà wɔ́ ì-sɔ̀k
mother 1SG 1SG.SM send 3SG NCM-fowl
'My mother, I sent a chicken to her.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 3/13/05)

b. bɛ́ cɛ̀ wɔ̃̀hɔ̃̀ mí ùlɔ̀ŋkòbɛ̀
bɛ́ cɛ̀ wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mí ù-lɔ̀ŋkòbɛ̀
chief DEF send 1SG NCM-sheep
'The chief sent me a sheep.' (jd 3/13/05, 12/7/04)

3. Imperfective

Imperfective *ce* functions in a number of different ways and is one of the possible forms in split predicate constructions to function as an "auxiliary" in the terminology of the S-Aux-O-V-syntagm discussion; the lexical verb ("V") forms the other part as the final element on the right with object(s) ("O") in between. In addition to its functions as a copula and as an auxiliary (see 7), *ce* is fully involved in the tense system of Mani with imperfective meaning. Phonologically there is little variation in the form as to linguistic environment. There are grammatical differences in tone, but the only contextual changes occur when *ce* is followed by the negative clitic *-én*. In these circumstances, the vowel is nasalized, as has been observed more generally in the language (see 2).

Examples of the Imperfective appear in (203). Note how *ce* "AUX" appears with a high tone and is followed with a low-toned verb, except when HTS operates or there is a lexical high tone as on *fɔ́* 'speak, say' in (203c).

(203) a. ù cé yò
ù cé yò
3SG aux eat
'She was eating.' (jd 11/16/04)

b. ù cé kùs búléŋ pɛ̀nɛ̀ yó wɔ̀
ù cé kùs búléŋ pɛ̀nɛ̀ yó wɔ̀
3SG aux vomit all DEM eat REL
'He was vomiting everything he had eaten.' (om 7/23/00, jd 8/11/05)

c. ù cén fɔ́ dònódòn ù cén kɔ̀ kà cɛ̀nìŋ
ù cé-én fɔ́ dònódòn ù cé-én kɔ̀ kà cɛ̀nìŋ
3SG aux-NEG say nothing.DIST 3SG AUX-NEG go PAST think
'He does not say anything, nor did he go on thinking.' (om 7/22/00, jd 1/30/06)

What makes its meaning somewhat questionable as representing past imperfective in this context is that it can also be used with Past *ka*, as in (203c). More likely its primary imperfective meaning secondarily conveys past. The Habitual covers the semantic ground of present and future imperfective, as discussed above (p. 139), and thus there is some overlap. When asked about sentences marked with the Imperfective, nonetheless, subjects said that the state or action could be continuing on into the present. Imperfective thus seems more central than tense. Furthermore, as the first clause in example (203c) shows, when the Imperfective is negated, subjects give a present imperfective reading to the form. Past needs to be explicitly marked when it needs to be differentiated from unmarked tense. In the second clause with Past *kà*, the meaning is that the thinking had been going on but has now stopped. Thus, tense is at least subsidiary to the meaning of the Imperfective when only the Imperfective is marked.

In the example below, *ce* precedes the lexical verb (*ton* 'bathe') and carries information about aspect (IPF) but none about tense, although the Perfective marking in the first clause and the pragmatics convey such information, and Past *kà* is not required.

(204) à kɔ́í àlí lényí bé cɛ̀, kéré ù cè tón

à	kɔ́	àlí	lényí	bé	cɛ̀,	kéré	ù	cè	tón
1SG	go	for	greet	chief	DEF	but	3SG	IPF	bathe

'I went to greet the chief, but he was bathing.' (jd 11/16/04, 2/17/06)

Some complicated, but more telling, examples can be seen below. The example below shows that *ce* says nothing necessarily about the past, except that the activity has been going on for some time and therefore must have begun in the past. In examples (205b and c), the dancing could have continued on into the next day. There is, of course, nothing in the sense of *ce* that conveys that the action is complete. It is telling, in example (205d) that the Imperfective can be explicitly used with the word *rès* meaning 'still'.

(205) a. ù hìnén, kéré ù cé lɔ̀l

ù	hìn-én	kèrè	ù	cé	lɔ̀l
3SG	lie-NEG	but	3SG	IPF	sleep

'He did not lie down, but he is (still) sleeping.' (om 7/23/00, jd 8/11/05)

b. ŋà cé yé háá ìsɔ́

ŋà	cé	yé	háá	ì-sɔ́
3PL	aux	dance	until	NCM-morning

'They were dancing until the morning (and may be still). (jd 3/5/05)

c. ŋà cé yé sémbé ùrɔ̀tól ɔ́ cè ùrɔ̀tólè
ŋà cé yé sémbé ù-rɔ̀tól-è
3PL IPF dance energetically NCM-dark-inside
'They have been dancing energetically since dark (and are still).' (jd 3/5/05)

d. ŋà cé rès bèmpà ùlàntáŋ cè ǹlài nyér kò wɔ̀mè
ŋà cé rès bèmpà ù-làntáŋ cè
3PL IPF still make NCM-bridge DEF
sì nyér kò wɔ̀m-è
1PL cross to boat-in
'They are still building the bridge (so) we crossed in the canoe.' (jd 3/5/05)

In (206) below one sees that only the Habitual can be used with future meaning (206a), in (206b) that Imper-fective cannot. IPF + NEG, however, can be used in negative sentences (206b) for the future. Both distinctions have a single negative form *cén*. Example c. shows the negated Habitualexpressing future.

(206) Imperfective and future meaning

a. ŋá húŋ gbèŋ
ŋá hùŋ gbèŋ
3PL come tomorrow
'They will come tomorrow.'

b. * ŋà cé hùn gbèŋ
ŋà cé hùn gbèŋ
3PL IPF come tomorrow
'They will be coming tomorrow.'

c. ŋá cén hùn gbèŋ
ŋá cé-én hùn gbèŋ
3PL IPF-NEG come tomorrow
'They will not come tomorrow.' (jd 2/4/06)

We have seen above that the position of the Imperfective is directly before the verb and is negated there, but there are significant differences when objects are pronouns. Thus, the rest of the syntax of the Imperfective is rather remarkable and has already been introduced in the section on its use as a copula. When the predicate is "split", pronominal objects must appear in the fissure between the auxiliary and the verb. If the sentence is negated, the negative particle goes between the two, on the object or on the rightmost object if there is more than one. When the sentence in (207a) is negated as in (207b), or when (207c) is negated as in (207d), the negative marker cliticizes to the object, not to *ce*, as it would were there no intervening material.

(207) a. ŋă wɔ̀ gbɔ́p
ŋá wɔ̀ gbɔ́p
3PL 3SG plait
'They are plaiting her (hair).'

b. ŋà cé wɔ̀n gbɔ́p
ŋà cé wɔ̀-én gbɔ́p
3PL aux 3SG-NEG plait
'They're not plaiting her (hair).'

c. wɔ̌ mɔ̀ bún
wɔ́ mɔ̀ bún
3SG 2SG beat
'She will beat you.'

d. ù cé mɔ̀n bún
ù cé mɔ̀-én bún
3SG IPF 2SG-NEG beat
'She will not beat you.' (jd 2/19/05)

The examples in (208) make the same point as the examples in (207), but make the additional point that negative sentences with *ce* represent a neutralization of the Imperfective-Habitual contrast in the Negative (see (194) and discussion around (231) for parallels).

(208) Neutralization of Imperfective and Habitual when negated

a. yà cé lɔ̀ kɔ̀
yà cé lɔ̀ kɔ̀
1SG IPF PRO go
'I was going there.'

b. yà cén lɔ̀ŋ kɔ̀
yà cé lɔ̀-én kɔ̀
1SG IPF PRO-NEG go
'I was not going there.'

c. yá lɔ̀ŋ kɔ̀
yá lɔ̀ kɔ̀
1SG.HAB PRO go
'I go there.'

d. yà cén lɔ́ŋ kɔ̀
yà cé lɔ̀-én kɔ̀
1SG IPF PRO-NEG go
'I do not go there.' (jd 2/6/05)

Imperfective *ce* has a possible cognate in Kisi *co* since front-back alternations are widespread in Kisi (relatively rare in Mani), and the form of the negated copula is *ce*. The Kisi form covers much of the same semantic ground as its Mani counterpart. Furthermore, the Kisi form is also used as a copula, albeit the main one – Kisi has no direct counterpart to the realis Mani copula *lɛ*.

4. Past

Tense is generally not marked in Mani, the common distinctions being aspectual and modal. Nonetheless, the language has at least one way of marking an event that has already occurred without making reference to its state. Its meaning has been identified by speakers as taking place in the past and no evidence challenges that identification. It has also been stated as taking place in the 'distant' past. The contrast in those contexts where that claim was made was in compari-

son to the Imperfective, which is felt also to have a past component (3). In a few cases anteriority may be important, but the evidence is ambiguous on this point. Past *ka* is used independently with lexical verbs and also in conjunction with Imperfective *ce*. It appears with a high tone before the verb and before Imperfective *ce*, but with a low tone in other contexts, i.e., when negated.

In simple affirmatives, Past *ka* behaves syntactically like Imperfective *ce* in that it appears independently, immediately before the verb.

(209) a. màŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ ká dìrdì
màŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ ká dìr-dì
mango DEF FOC PAST ripe-CMP
'The mango was/has been ripe.'
(ys 7/27/00, jd 1/30/06)

b. ù ká gbɛ̀ kò kàtón
ù ká gbɛ̀ kò kàtón
3SG PAST walk to Caton
'He walked to Caton.' (jd 2/5/05)

c. à ká tɔ̀k dòmɔ̀mì
à ká tɔ̀k dòmɔ̀ mì
SG PAST wash shirt 1SG
'I washed my shirt.'

d. fòdè ká rà
fòdè ká rà
Fodé PAST clear
'Fodé cleared the field.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 1/30/06)

The past marker is also used with the copula, as detailed in 7. I present comparable examples here (see Table 16 for an overall view). In (210a) the example shows a simple use of the copula *lɛ̀* in the present (realis) . In (210b), when ká is used, *cè* in its copular function replaces *lɛ̀* with *ká* for past, and in (210c) it is used with the copula *lɛ*, albeit with *cè* intervening. The difference between (210b) and (210c) is that the farmer in (210b) could still be an old man, but the blacksmith in (210c) was the herbalist at some point for a period in the past but is no longer.

(210) *cè* and *ká*

a. ránɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ yómbɛ̀n
ránɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ lɛ̀ yómbɛ̀n
farmer DEF FOC COP old.man
'The farmer is an old man.' (ys 7/22/00, jd 8/11/05)

b. ránɔ̀ cɛ́ ká cè yómbɛ̀n
ránɔ̀ cɛ́ ká cè yómbɛ̀n
farmer DEF PAST COP old.man
'The farmer was an old man.' (ys 7/22/00, jd 8/11/05)

c. yómbɛ̀n cɛ́ wɔ́ ká cè lɛ̀ sókónɔ̀
yómbɛ̀n cɛ́ wɔ́ ká cè lɛ̀ sókónɔ̀
blacksmith DEF 3SG PAST IPF COP herbalist
'The blacksmith was the herbalist.' (ys 7/29/00, jd 8/10/05, 2/5/06)

In (211) *ka* and *ce* are used together before regular verbs, both with their full semantic import. Past *ka* puts the action in the past, while the Imperfective *ce* conveys the ongoing nature of the non-punctual action (in the past). The boy in (211a) is now dead, but he was alive over an extended period but in the past. Similarly, the town in (211b) was once big (but now it is small) but was big for some time.

(211) *cè* and *ká* before verbs

a. ŋɔ̀ɔ́ càŋà cɛ́ ká cè tènkɛ́l yɔ̀ (í),ŋà màrá wɔ̀n
ŋɔ̀ cà ŋà cɛ́ ká cè tènkɛ́l yɔ̀,
when boy 3PL DEF PAST IPF alive REL
ŋà màrá wɔ̀-én
3PL love 3SG-NEG
'When their boy (who) was alive, they did not love him.' (jd 2/18/05)

b. cúr cè ŋɔ̀ì bòmù
cúr cè ŋɔ̀ bòmù
town DEF PRO big
'The town is big.'

c. cúr cè ŋɔ̀ ká cè bòmù
cúr cè ŋɔ̀ ká cè bòmù
town DEF PRO PAST IPF big
'The town was big.' (jd 2/4/06)

As mentioned elsewhere (see Chapter 10 for the fullest treatment), pronouns can appear between the two parts of a predicate, the first being, roughly speaking, an auxiliary in an S-Aux-O-V syntagm. As opposed to *ce*, *ka* can exhibit this pattern only if *ce* follows, and the pronoun(s) appear between *ce* and the verb,

ka remaining before or outside a possible constituent beginning with *ce*. The ungrammaticality of *ka* alone is illustrated by example (212a) The grammatical form of the same utterance is given in (212b). Other ungrammatical examples with single pronouns are given in (212c) and (212d).

(212) Split predicates with *ka*

a. * ù ká ŋà mà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀
ù ká ŋà mà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀
3SG PAST 3PL PRO send
'She had sent them it (water).'

b. ù ká cè ŋà mà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀
ù ká cè ŋà mà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀
3SG PAST IPF 3PL PRO send
'She had sent them it.' (jd 2/4/06)

c. * ù ká nyɛ̀ yò
ù ká nyɛ̀ yò
3SG PAST PRO eat
'She ate them (cassava-pl).'

d. * ù ká kɔ̀ yò
ù ká kɔ̀ yò
3SG PAST PRO eat
'She ate it (cassava-sg).'

Examples (213a and b) show the grammaticality of constructions with either pronoun of the ditransitive verb featured in 212. Both are preceded by the *ká cè* sequence. Example (213c) introduces example (212d) where both pronominal objects have moved inside, as in (212b).

(213) More split predicates with *ka*

a. ù ká cé ŋà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀ m̀mén
ù ká cé ŋà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀ m̀-mén
3SG PAST IPF 3PL send NCM-water
'She sent them water.'

b. ù ká cé mà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀ àwɔ̀rɔ̀k àcɛ́
ù ká cé mà wɔ̀ŋɔ̀ à-wɔ̀rɔ̀k à-cɛ́
3SG PAST IPF PRO send NCM-worker NCM-DEF
'She sent it to the workers.' (jd 2/4/06)

c. ù ká cè mì pàkà kɔ̀pɔ̀r
ù ká cè mì pàkà kɔ̀pɔ̀r
3SG PAST IPF 1SG pay money
'She paid me money.'

d. ù ká cè mì ŋɔ̀ pàká
ù ká cè mì ŋɔ̀ pàká
3SG PAST IPF 1SG PRO pay
'She paid me it.' (jd 2/4/06)

What happens when *ká cè* constructions are negated is also fairly complex, with or without pronouns moving inside. The examples in (214) show what happens when no object pronouns are involved. The *ka ce* must be preceded by an additional *ce*, which carries the mark of negation, as shown in (214c).

(214) a. à cé gbùsɔ̀
1SG IPF plow
'I was plowing.'

b. à ká cè gbùsɔ̀
1SG past IPF plow
'I was (once) plowing.'

c. à cén ká cè gbùsɔ
à cè-én ká cè gbùsɔ̀
1SG IPF-NEG past IPF plow
'I had not been plowing.'

The examples in (215) show a stative verb illustrating some of the same contrasts. The first sentence (215a) illustrates the non-past negative. (215b) and (215c) contrast the affirmative Past Imperfective and the negated Past Imperfective.

(215) a. ùmàŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ céŋ dùmɔ́
ù-màŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ cè-én dùmɔ́
NCM-mango DEF PRO IPF-NEG strong
'The mango is not strong (fully grown).'

b. kɔ̀ ká cè dùmɔ́
kɔ̀ ká cè dùmɔ́
PRO PAST IPF strong
'It (the mango) had been strong.'

c. kɔ̀ cén kà cè dùmɔ́
kɔ̀ cè-én kà cè dùmɔ́
PRO IPF-NEG PAST IPF strong
'It was not strong.' (jd 2/5/06)

The examples in (216) show where the negative appears when pronouns are involved ((216c) only; (216a and b) where it cannot appear). As shown in (216a and b), neither *ka* itself nor *ce* can be negated in such constructions, with or without *ce* (represented by *ce* in parentheses). (Other logical possibilities not shown are equally ungrammatical.) Only with the pronoun moved up or leftwards to abut *ce* can the sentence become grammatical. As in many other environments involving "Pronoun Movement",[26] only the rightmost pronoun bears Negation.

(216) a. * à (ce) kán cè kɔ̀ bɛ̀
à ká-ɛ́n cè kɔ̀ bɛ̀
1SG PAST-NEG IPF PRO put
'I had not been putting it.'

b. * à (ce) ká cèn kɔ̀ bɛ̀
à ká cè-ɛ́n kɔ̀ bɛ̀
1SG PAST IPF-NEG PRO put
'I had not been putting it.' (jd 2/5/06)

c. à cè kɔ́n kà cè bɛ̀
à cè kɔ̀-ɛ́n kà cè bɛ̀
1SG IPF PRO-NEG PAST IPF put
'I had not been putting it.' (jd 2/5/06)

Tense with accompanying pronouns on the left of the VP form a sub-constituent within the VP proper. Thus, pronouns move in front of *ka ce* to follow the first *ce* and there receive the mark of negation, just as it does in other contexts (see Section 6 of this chapter).

The question that remains about *ka* is, Why do speakers not consider it on a par with *ce* and thus permit it to serve as the target for Negation and Pronoun Movement? One diachronic consideration may be that *ka* is a newer marker, still not syntactically integrated within the verbal core. That it is further away from the verb when used with *ce* might also be indicative of such status. Semantically, the fact that it signals tense (narrowly speaking) and not aspect in a overwhelmingly aspectual system is another consideration. These speculations and others are unified in a more general analysis in the Chapter 10, Section 2.3 The Inner VP. Roughly speaking, it is argued there that Tense and pronominal objects form a constituent (the "Inner VP") within the VP proper.

5. Hortative

The hortative is distinguished is by its tone and by its use of subject markers (as opposed to the subject pronouns of the Habitual). The subject marker receives a high tone, the verb and what follows have low tones, if no other tones are assigned. An optional final H may be added for politeness on the last syllable.

(217) a. sí fɔ̀ màní
sí fɔ̀ màní
1PL speak Mani
'Let us speak Mani!' (jd 12/13/04)

b. ńlèlì mí
ń lèlì mí
2SG regard 1SG
'Look at me!'

c. ŋá kɔ̀n
ŋá kɔ̀n
3PL go
'They should go.' (jd 1/23/05)

d. àlàkán àcɛ́ ŋáá lɛ́, ŋá bí fɔ̀sɔ̀
à-làkán à-cɛ́ ŋá lɛ́, ŋá bì fɔ̀sɔ̀
NCM-women NCM-DEF PRO COP PRO have strength
'It should be the case that the women be strong!' (jd 2/4/06)
('Women are supposed to be strong.')

No pronouns are allowed to appear between the subject markers and verb, i.e., there is no pronoun movement (see note 26).

Because hortatives often stress the importance of the agent, pronouns can precede subject markers for strengthening the force of the hortative. There are accompanying tonal changes – the high tone shifts leftward onto the pronoun and an "*i*" can be added after the pronoun, as shown in (218), for further bulk (see the discussion around example (314)).

(218) a. wɔ̀í, ù-màr wɔ́
wɔ́-í ù màr wɔ́
3SG 2SG love-*i* 3SG
'She must love him.'

b. yáí, à màr wɔ́
'I must love her.'

c. ŋáí, ŋà màr wɔ́
'They must love her.' (jd 2/18/05)

Pronouns notably do not move inside or before the verb for the same reasons given above for *i*-Insertion, as shown in (219b).

(219) a. ḿ bɔ́nt à dɔ̀ŋhú àcɛ̀
ḿ bɔ́nt à-dɔ̀ŋhú à-cɛ́
2SG meet NCM-blind NCM-DEF
'Meet the blind people!'

b. ḿ bɔ̀ntəŋá
ḿ bɔ̀nt ŋá
2SG meet 3PL
'Meet them!' (jd 2/11/06)

The exception is when the hortative negative particle *mà* is used. Sentence (220b) is the negative of the affirmative in (219a), where the pronominal object appears after the verb. In the example below, when *mà* is present, the pronoun *ŋà* is now found between the negative marker and the lexical verb. The negative particle carries Tense and attracts pronouns as in all other cases. The (220a) and (220b) examples form the basis for the comparison of (220c) and (220d). In

(220c) the pronoun is outside, but with the presence of the negative marker in d. it moves inside (more discussion in section 6 of this chapter).

(220) The Hortative Negative as a split predicate

a. ń fɔ́ rɔ̀m cɛ́
ń fɔ́ rɔ̀m cɛ́
2SG say truth DEF
'Speak the truth!'

b. ḿ má ŋà bónt
ń mà ŋà bónt
2SG NEG 3PL meet
'Don't meet them!'

c. ń fɔ́ kɔ̀
2SG say PRO
'Speak it (the true story)!'

d. ń mà kɔ̀ fɔ̀
2SG NEG PRO say
'Don't speak it!' (jd 2/11/06)

This movement parallels the movement of pronouns elsewhere in the language, as expanded upon in Chapter 10.

In an earlier characterization of the Hortative (Nyländer 1814:25), the particle "*ngha*"([ŋa]? [nya]?) was identified as important: "the Bulloms [Mani] make use of *ngha* to express the English word 'let, permit'. "

(221) *ngha a tüi* 'Let me hear.'
ngha ū ko 'Let him go.'
ngha hë kë 'Let us see.'
ngha ngha ramling 'Let them pray.' (Nyländer 1814:25)

There is no trace of such a particle in the synchronic grammar, although it is cognate with 'they' (the 3pl pronoun) and, for some speakers, with 'you (pl)'.

6. Negative

This section covers changes in verbs as they are negated, virtually the only kind of negation in the language, aside from a few lexical items with negative meaning. Negation is managed locally with pre-verbal and post-verbal particles; it varies as to verbal inflection, involving not only separate morphemes but also segmental and tonal changes. Thus, as in many other African languages, e.g., Welmers 1973, polarity can be considered another tense on a par with aspect, tense (proper), and mood. Moreover, it interacts with the other tenses in complex ways. The different ways of negating the other tenses have been illustrated individually above. The formal distinctions in the negative, however, are not as extensive as those in the affirmative.

In (222) appear the two negators of Mani. The two are in complementary distribution as they are not in the closely related languages Bom and Kim; Kisi has a completely distinctive system of negation I begin by discussing the more restricted member of the paradigm, the Hortative negator *mà*.

(222)

	Syntax	Tenses
mà	pre-verb	Hortative
-én	post "inner VP"	all others

The form of *mà* is invariant and the marker appears in only one position. The Hortative negator appears after the subject and before the verb. Note that the form for the subject is the subject marker (SM) *n* in both (223a and b), as opposed to *mɔ*, the subject pronoun used in the Habitual (see the first part of section 1 above for remarks on the sig-nificance and details of the distinction).

The example in (223a) shows a simple negated command without an object. Sentence (223b) shows a negated command with a full NP object. The next set of sentences in (223c) show first an affirmative command with an object, followed by its negated counterpart with the pronoun coming before the verb and after the negator *mà*. The (223d) example shows that the position of the negator is unchanged when two pronouns appear after *mà* before the lexical verb 'show', representing another split predicate.

(223) a. ń mà cáŋ

ń	mà	cáŋ
2SG	NEG	cry

'Don't cry!' (ow 7/23/00)

b. ḿmà túmá ípák ìcɛ́

ń	mà	túmá	í-pák	ì-cɛ́
2SG	NEG	suck	NCM-bone	NCM-DEF

'Don't suck the bone!' (om 7/23/00, jd 8/11/05)

c. ń fɔ́ kɔ̀
2SG say PRO
'Tell it (the truth)!'
(repeated from 220)

ń mà kɔ̀ fɔ̀
2SG NEG PRO say
'Don't tell it !' (jd 2/11/06)

d. ḿ mà mì lɔ̀nɛ̀ còŋkí

ń	mà	mì	lɔ̀nɛ̀	còŋkí
2SG	NEG	1SG	DEM	show

'Don't show me that (the place)!' (jd 2/18/05, 3/12/05)

In this case of a split predicate, the negative particle is the bearer of tense information, here just negative polarity and mood (along with the choice of pronoun). As the first example in (223c) shows, the pronoun does not move inside when *mà* is absent.

The negator *mà* can, of course, be used after other Hortative subjects, as shown by the following example.

(224) *mà* after other Hortative subjects

u ma we yɛ, ya yema kɔn ayeŋ lɛŋp
ú mà wè-yé, yá yèmà kɔ̀-n àyén lémp
3SG NEG stay-STAT 1SG want go-MID through fast
'You should not be staying long, I want to go through it quickly.'(hc 4/12/05)

The second negator *-én* can be considered a clitic (e.g., Zwicky 1985; Zwicky and Pullum 1983) and attaches to the right edge of Tense and any pronominal objects when present. In a split predicate this is the right edge of what is here called the Inner VP, introduced above and detailed in Chapter 10. It otherwise appears after the verb and any object pronouns.

With regard to phonology, NEG has two allomorphs and results in a form of one or two syllables; only a few verbs have three syllables – all pronouns, the other form to which NEG attaches, are monosyllabic. The two surface forms are [én] (225a and b) after closed two-syllable verbs,

(225) a. yá cɛ̀nìnén
yá cɛ̀nìn-én
1SG reflect-NEG
'I am not reflecting.' (jd 2/19/05, 3/6/05)

b. kɔ̀ sɛ̀kɔ́l-én
PRO dry-NEG
'It is not dry.' (jd 2/19/05)

and [´n], seen in the (226a and b), after open two-syllable verbs.

(226) a. ŋà gbàntán tùmé céncà
ŋà gbàntá-én tùmé céncà
3PL beat-NEG dog yesterday
'They didn't beat the dog yesterday.' (jd 2/19/05)

b. ù sɔ̀tèn hálí
ù sɔ̀tè-én hálí
3SG get-NEG nothing
'He got nothing.' (jd 2/23/05)

All of the forms above are disyllabic, the prototypical form of verbs in the language. Negation can also be marked on monosyllabic pronouns forming part of the Inner VP, with the same generalization holding. The example in (227) shows that the form is [ń] after monosyllabic pronouns ending in a vowel, the form of all pronouns.

(227) à bɔ̀ŋtɛ́ wɔ̀ lɔ̀n
à bɔ̀ntɛ́ wɔ̀ lɔ̀-ɛ́n
1SG meet 3SG PRO-NEG
'I did not meet him there.' (jd 1/30/05, 3/12/05, 2/12/06)

The generalization is that the surface form of NEG is determined by the final segment; if the final segment is a consonant, the form is *-ɛ́n*, after vowels it is realized as [ń].

The situation with monosyllabic verbs, however, is slightly different, allowing the *-ɛ́n* variant when monosyllabic verbs end in a vowel. Given the syllable structure constraints of the language, i.e., that vowel sequences are generally prohibited, [ń] is expected for it also appears after monosyllabic pre-verbal particles, as below.

(228) à cén cɛ̀nìn
à cè-ɛ́n cɛ̀nìn
1SG IPF-NEG reflect
'I will not reflect.' (jd 2/19/05, 3/6/05)

That prohibition, however, is overridden by a stronger preference for disyllabic verbs. Monosyllabic verbs ending in a vowel feature the post-consonant variant *-ɛn*, as shown by the three examples in (229).

(229) a. ùkɛ̀ɛ́n
ù kè-ɛ́n
3SG belch-NEG
'He didn't belch.' (jd 2/5/05)

b. à bìɛ́n hàli
à bì-ɛ́n hàlì
1SG have-NEG nothing
'I have nothing.' (jd 12/7/04, 3/13/05)

c. ù gbèén kò kàtón
ù gbè-én kò kàtón
3SG walk-NEG to Caton
'He didn't walk to Caton.' (jd 2/5/05)

The preference for disyllabic verbs is occasionally seen when the *-én* variant is used on disyllabic verbs ending in a vowel, as in (230). However, the vowel here is the "extra vowel", a vowel harmonic with the last stem vowel and of limited distribution and no discernible semantic import (see section 6). In such cases the vowel of the variant replaces the vowel so as to retain the desirable canonical two-syllable form for verbs.

(230) à gbùsó
à gbùsó
1SG plough.PERF
'I have ploughed.'

à gbùsén
à gbùs-én
1SG plough.PERF-NEG
'I have not ploughed.' (jd 2/5/04)

It is clear there are not as many contrasts in the negative as there are in the affirmative (first mentioned in discussion around example (208); cf. (194)), a situation commonly found in African languages (e.g., Welmers 1973). In Kisi, the negated Perfective and the negated Habitual are formally identical, being referred to together there as the "General Negative", as in Swahili (Ashton 1944:71). Both (231a) (Habitual) and (231b) (Imperfective) are negated as in (231c). The Habitual cannot be negated, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (231d).

(231) Tense neutralizations in the Negative

a. yá gbùsɔ̀
'I plow.'

b. à cé gbùsɔ̀
'I was plowing'

c. à cè-én gbùsɔ̀
'I don't/wasn't plowing.'

d. *yá-n gbùsɔ̀ (jd 2/5/06)

The other tenses have their own, distinct ways of being negated.

In addition to demonstrating how negative and affirmative contrast (232a) vs. (232b), (232c) vs. (232d), and (232e) vs. (232f), the following examples show two other, perhaps more significant facts. First of all they show the negation of the Perfective (232a) vs. (232b), (232c) vs. (232d), and (232e) vs. (232f). Example (232b) shows how NEG attaches to verbs when a full NP follows. Examples (232d) and (232f) show how Negative cliticizes to pronouns. This fact will be important for the Inner VP discussion in Chapter 10.

(232) a. à ké dípàl
à ké dí-pàl
PRO see NCM-sun
'I saw the sun.'

b. à kǐn dèpàl
à kè-én dì-pàl
PRO see-NEG NCM-sun
'I didn't see the sun.' (im 7/30/00, jd 3/13/05)

c. à ké lɛ̀
à ké dí-pàl
PRO see NCM-sun
'I saw the sun.'

d. à kí lɛ̀n
à ké lɛ̀-én
PRO see PRO-NEG
'I didn't see it.' ((bs 7/22/00, jd 1/30/06))

e. ŋà gbɔ̀pɔ́ wɔ̀ì
ŋà gbɔ̀pɔ́ wɔ̀-ì
3PL plait 3SG-*ì*
'They plaited her (hair).'

f. ŋà gbɔ̀pɔ́ wɔ̀n
ŋà gbɔ̀pɔ́ wɔ̀-én
3PL plait 3SG-NEG
'They did not plait her.' (jd 2/19/05, 3/6/05)

A second important generalization about verbal negation being marked on pronouns is that it appears on pronouns even when they are moved inside split predicates.

(233) Negation on pronouns within split predicates

a. ŋǎ wɔ̀ gbɔ́p
ŋá wɔ̀ gbɔ́p
3PL 3SG plait
'They're plaiting her (hair).'

b. ŋà cé wɔ̀n gbɔ́p
ŋà cé wɔ̀-én gbɔ́p
3PL IPF 3SG-NEG plait
'They're not plaiting her.' (jd 2/19/05)

c. à bɛ́ɛ́ kɔ̀n náŋ
à bɛ́ kɔ̀-én náŋ
1SG put PRO-NEG today
'I did not put it today.' (jd 2/5/04)

NEG appears after the rightmost pronoun when more than one pronoun is present. In (234) affirmative sentences with compound predicates and pronoun obects are negated ((234a) and (234b), (234c) and (234d)). Example (234b), with two pronouns occur within the split predicate shows how negative *-én* is on the second of these, *ŋɔ̀* 'it' rather than *mì* 'me'. The same pattern occurs when there are three pronouns present, as in (234d): NEG appears on the rightmost member of the three pronouns, i.e., on the pronoun *lɛ̀* 'it (the chieftaincy)'.

(234) a. ù ká cè mì ŋɔ̀ pàká
ù ká cè mì ŋɔ̀ pàká
3SG PAST IPF 1SG PRO pay
'She has paid me it.'

b. ù ká cè mì ŋɔ̀-n pàká
ù ká cè mì ŋɔ̀-én pàká
3SG PAST IPF 1SG PRO-NEG pay
'She has not paid me for it.' (jd 2/4/06)

c. ŋá mì wɔ̀ lɛ̀ pɔ̀lɔ̀nɛ̀
ŋá mì wɔ̀ lɛ̀ pɔ̀lɔ̀-nɛ̀
3PL 1SG 3SG PRO elect-BEN
'They will elect her it (chief) for me.'

d. ŋá mì wɔ̀ lɛ̀-én pɔ̀lɔ̀nɛ̀
3PL 1SG 3SG PRO-NEG elect-BEN
'They will not elect her it for me.' (jd 2/11/06)

The Mani facts contrast with the those of Kisi negation. In Kisi negation is marked in two ways: first of all with a sentence-final particle *lé*, but also by tonal changes and sometimes segmental changes on the verb. In Kisi, then, one cannot see the negative particle as forming part of the Inner VP, except for the verbal marking. In fact, it enjoys some special status related to focus since the focus particle also appears finally and the two cannot be used together in the same clause (see Childs 1997). Both Kim and Bom conform generally to the system of negation in Mani.

In addition to the facts of negation presented above, there are a number of lexical examples: *dèn* 'nothing' and its distributive form, *dènódèn* 'nothing (dist)', perhaps related to the verb *dèn* 'disappear'. The word *hàlì* 'lack, want' can also have a meaning of 'nothing', as in 'not having anything, being in want or need of something'.

7. Co-occurrence of *ka* and *ce* (summarized)

In previous sections of this chapter and in the section on the copula, it has been noted that the two verbal markers *ka* (PAST) and *ce* (AUX and more) co-occur in a number of environments. In this section I summarize those observations, at the same time looking back to the copula (section 4.7) and looking ahead to split predicates (section 10.2). The form *ce* appears in many more contexts (Imperfective, Copula, Auxiliary) than *ka*; *ka* can only mean (usually distant and per-

haps circumscribed) past and is more limited in its distribution. Because *ce* appears with *ka* in some environments where *ka* cannot appear alone, one interpretation is that *ce* provides the support (Tense) that *ka* lacks. Tense is crucial for two syntactic operations discussed both above and below, negation and pronoun movement.

(235) Environments where *ka* can appear alone and before *ce*

- Before verbs in affirmative (Past)
- Before a sequence of *ce* + verb (Past Imperfective)
- Before *ce* as a copula in affirmative (Past Copula)

Thus, in such contexts *ka* has a meaning of past and appears before items with Tense (affirmative verbs and copular *ce*). As was pointed out in 7, the Irrealis Copula *ce* is not totally devoid of semantic content, representing a contrast with the Realis Copula *lɛ*.

In (236) are listed the contexts where *ka* cannot appear alone (without *ce* support).

(236) Environments where *ka* cannot appear alone

- Before the realis copula *lɛ* in affirmative, negative clauses (**ka lɛ*, **ka-én lɛ*)
- In negated copula constructions (**ka-én ce*, only *ce-én ka ce*)
- Negating verbs (**ka-én* Verb), only *ce-én ka* Verb
- Pronoun movement into split predicates (**ka* Pro Verb), only *ka ce* Pro Verb)

Thus, *ka* allows neither Negation nor Pronoun Movement. Therefore, it does not carry Tense, Tense having been shown as necessary to these two processes, which fact will be discussed below as Past being outside or not part of the Inner VP. This interpretation is plausible in that *ka* is syntactically outside or to the left of other markers, except when *ce* intercedes to receive Negation before it (see Section 4 of this chapter for a possible explanation).

8. Other verbal matters

Many words behave semantically and syntactically similarly to the pre-verbal markers of tense, mood, and aspect (TMA), but have lexical meaning in other positions and behave as verbs elsewhere. They will here be referred to as "possible" verbal particles. Their semantics are similar to other verbal markers, conveying tense information, but they exist also as full lexical verbs. Their syntax

also accords with regular auxiliaries: they appear before the verb and trigger pronoun movement before the verb.

The word *gbèn* 'finish' is one widely used form for perfective aspectual meaning, often with the Completive verb extension *-di*, as seen in (237a), first mentioned in the discussion around example 198. This coupling, however, is not necessary: in examples (237b and c), the verb is used without the extension. As do pre-verbal markers with Tense (*ce* and the Habitual pronoun), so does 'finish' require movement of pronominal objects after itself and before the second verb (the pronoun kɔ̀ in example (237c)), comparable to what happens with split predicates (first reference p. 138).

(237) a. ù gbéndí gbɛ̀ kɔ̀ kàtón
ù gbén-dí gbɛ̀ kɔ̀ kàtón
3SG finish-CMP walk to Caton
'He has walked to Caton.' (jd 2/5/05, 3/12/05)

b. lɔ̀ sí gbèn ràí, sítípɛ̀ bùsɔ̀ tɛ́
lɔ̀ sí gbèn rà, sí típɛ̀ bùsɔ̀ cɛ́
when 1PL finish brush, 1PL begin till DEF
'After we finish the brushing, we begin the tilling.' (mmt 2/24/05)

c. lɔ̀ŋ gbéŋ kɔ̀ dɔ̀kɔ̀lí, bɔ̀lɔ̀ ń bèmpà ìtànɔ̀ cɛ̀
lɔ̀ ǹ gbéŋ kɔ̀ dɔ̀kɔ̀l-ì, bɔ̀lɔ̀ ń bèmpà ì-tànɔ̀ cɛ̀
when 2SG finish PRO pile-*i*, then 2SG prepare NCM-funnel DEF
'After you have piled it up, then you prepare the funnels.' (jd 2/11/06)

d. lɔ̀ŋgbéŋ kùtàí òmà ùbùsɔ́í, bɔ́lɔ̀ ǹ sàŋ ùpɛ̀lɛ̀
lɔ̀ ǹ gbéŋ kùtá-í òmà ù-bùsɔ́-í,
when 2SG finish hoe-*i* or NCM-plow-*i*
bɔ́lɔ̀ ǹ sàŋ ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀
then 2SG sow NCM-rice
'After you finish hoeing or plowing, then you sow the rice.' (jd 1/29/06)

The verb *gbèn* 'finish' can also be used to intensify a state or action, much as the word *feni* in Liberian English (Singler 1999) and elsewhere in Africa (Heine and Kuteva 2002). In (238a) it is used before *kér* to intensify that state, and in (238b) sentence it is used to intensify the adjective *kàtɔ́l* 'hard'.

(238) a. ùkèr kɔ̀ mì / à gbéndì kér
ù-kér kɔ̀ mì / à gbén-dì kér
NCM-fatigue PRO 1SG / 1SG finish-CMP tired
'I am tired.' / 'I'm really tired!' (jd 1/24/06, 3/12/05, 2/12/06)

b. m̀pànt ǹcɛ́ mà gbéndì cé ǹkàtɔ́l
ǹ-pàntǹ cɛ́ mà gbén-dì cé ǹ-kàtɔ́l
work DEF PRO finish-CMP COP NCM-hard
'The work was really hard.' (jd 2/19/05, 3/6/05, 3/12/05)

Another possible auxiliary is the motion verb *kɔ* 'go'. In the first two examples of (239), the verb is used with the meaning of 'future'. In the third example, it is used after a conditional and in this use is something of a hypothetical.

(239) The possible auxiliary 'go'

a. ù bàtɔ́ cɛ̀ kɔ̀ dí kèr cɛ̀
ù-bátɔ́ cɛ̀ kɔ̀ dí kèr cɛ̀
NCM-stick DEF go kill snake DEF
'The stick will kill the snake.' (jd 11/28/04)

b. pɛ̀ kɔ̀ lɔ́kì sàŋgbà ìcɛ̀
pɛ̀ kɔ̀ lɔ́k ì-sàŋgbà ì-cɛ̀
PRO go tap NCM-drum NCM-DEF
'Someone is going to play the drum.' (jd 11/28/04)

c. lɔ̀ fɔ̀è ŋɔ̀ yòmɔ́, yá kɔ́ lènyì bɛ́ cɛ̀
lɔ̀ fɔ̀è ŋɔ̀ yòmɔ́, yá kɔ̀ lènyì bɛ́ cɛ̀
if God PRO agree, 1SG go greet chief DEF
'If God agrees, I will greet the chief.' (jd 11/16/04, 3/13/05)

A second widespread use of 'go' is with the Hortative. In this context there is a softening of the illocutionary force of the request by putting the requested action at some distance, physical or temporal. One must 'go' (travel somewhere) to do it or do it in the future. Thus, it functions more as a politeness device than as a marker of tense. The highly articulated expression of politeness in Mani is discussed in Chapter 13.

In both examples of (240), there is pronoun movement, just as there is when tense is marked before the verb.

(240) a. ńkɔ̀ mì dér
ń kɔ̀ mì dér
2SG go 1SG accompany
'Come accompany me!' (jd 11/16/04)

b. sí kɔ̀ wɔ̀ kús
sí kɔ̀ wɔ̀ kús
1PL go 3SG bury
'Let us go bury him!' (jd 1/23/05)

When the verb is used in the Perfective, as in (241), it can have only its motion sense.

(241) a. ù kɔ́ pín ì sɔ̀k
ù kɔ́ pín ì-sɔ̀k
3SG go buy NCM-fowl
'He went and bought the fowl.'

b. ù kɔ̀ lɔ́í bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín wɔ̀
ù kɔ̀ lɔ́-ì bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín wɔ̀
3SG go PRO-*i* then 3SG buy 3SG
'He went there and then bought it.' (jd 11/28/04, 3/13/05)

Although there are not as many examples as with 'go', the verb *hun* 'come' also has an aspectual or modal sense with auxiliary syntax. Once again with the Hortative in (242a), the verb softens the illocutionary force. In both (242b) and (242c) it is something like an incipient marker with a possible translation of 'soon'.

(242) a. sí hùn màtɔ́n kà
sí hùn màt-ɔ́n kà
1PL come hide-MID here
'Come let's hide ourselves here!' (msc 7/30/00, jd 3/13/05)

b. wɔ́ hùn kòmɔ̀
wɔ́ hùn kòmɔ̀
3SG come give.birth
'She will have her baby.' (jd 1/22/05, 3/12/05)

c. màŋkò ǹcɛ́ mà yèmà hùŋ dír
màŋkò ǹ-cɛ́ mà yèmà hùŋ dír
mango NCM-DEF PRO want come ripe
'The mango is almost ripe.' (jd 12/10/04)

Although it is likely 'come' also allows pronoun movement, only one example appears in the data (the 1SG pronoun *mi*), but here with 'come' in its motion sense.

(243) nyáná ṹ mì bùlɔ́ nɛ̀ ɔ̀, á wè yɔ́nɔ̀ mámú
nyànà hún mì búlɔ́-nɛ̀ yɔ̀, á wɛ́yɔ́nɔ̀ mámó
2PL.dem come 1SG work-BEN REL, 1SG bid thanks
'You people who have come to work for me, I thank.' (mmt 2/24/05, jd 3/6/05)

Several verbal constructions feature what could be considered impersonal verbs, those with a dummy subject and unspecified agent or patient. In (244) are several examples of the impersonal verb 'want, be desirous of'. The subject is the default subject marker *ì* of the *nyɛ* class, as can be seen by its following pronoun in sentences (244a) and (244c).

(244) a. ìfèlá kúl nyèmì
ì-fèlá kúl nyè mì
1SG-desire drink PRO me
'I feel like drinking.'

b. ì fèlà mén
ì-fèlá mén
1SG-desire water
'I want water.' (jd 12/7/04)

c. ì fèlà nólàkàn nyɛ́ mì
ì-fèlá nólàkàn nyɛ́ mì
1SG-desire woman PRO 1SG
'I want a woman.' (jd 1/20/06)

Although the following example in (245a) was somewhat forced (see the example in (245b) for the more common alternative), it shows that other verbs may be used similarly to *fèlà*.

(245) a. lái tèrènà ù húŋ wɔ̀ kà
lá-ì tèrènà ù húŋ wɔ̀ kà
pro-*ì* surprising 3SG come FOC here
'It is surprising that she came here.'

b. yá tèrènà làkì
yá tèrènà làkì
1SG surprising DEM
'I am surprised by this.' (jd 2/11/06)

Chapter 8
Derivational morphology

This chapter treats Mani derivational morphology, changes that often alter the word category of a word and that may also or only modify the word's syntax and meaning. The most prolific of such processes is that of verb extensions. The formation of derived verb stems ("extended forms") is a robust process in Kisi (but not in either Bom or Kim) and in many other North and South Atlantic languages.

Although not discussed here, many Mani verbs can change voice without any morphological marking, in a process Carlson labels a "Good Trick" (Carlson 2000; see Reineke and Miehe 2005 for Gur examples). Many of the other functions performed by verb extensions may also be achieved periphrastically, typically through adpositions. Some of these latter cases are exemplified below (see also the discussion of adpositions in 10).

1. Verb extensions

Along with noun classes, verb extensions represent one of the most well researched grammatical systems in Niger-Congo. Verb extensions are derivational morphemes that affect argument structure and often much more. Mani has at most five verb extensions, with only one exhibiting any real productivity. This lack of productivity contrasts sharply with that of Niger-Congo in general and with both North and South Atlantic (e.g., Santos 1996, Soukka 2000). Two closely related languages (Kim and Bom), even more in danger of disappearing, has only four. Kisi also has only four, but they are all quite productive. Thus, this relative poverty of productivity and number may be due to the impending demise of the language.

That Mani has a distinct and independent system of verb extensions was initially in doubt; that it has more than the Benefactive and perhaps the Stative continues to be doubtful. The evidence for the system, however, is compelling, both morphosyntactic and phonological.

- extensions all appear in the same post-verbal slot sequentially
- extensions are not involved in Pronoun Movement or Negation
- extensions co-occur with all tmap inflections
- when extensions are toneless, Perfective H moves onto extensions
- the (morphophonemic) form of extensions is dependent on the shape of the stem

In addition, cognate forms of Mani extensions are found in Kim, Bom, and Kisi. Each one of these points will be exemplified below.

For each extension I characterize its meaning and form with examples; the section concludes with a brief discussion of how the forms interact. One extremely problematic field issue, as might be suggested by the statement regarding the limited productivity of verb extensions in Mani, is the difficulty of eliciting extended forms. They rarely appear in (recorded) texts and subjects rejected formally possible extended verbs. Periphrastic constructions were used, e.g., the preposition 'for' to mark the benefactee being particularly common (see discussion around 247). Many examples come by way of comparing related forms, inferring the relationship between the words and then confirming that relationship with native speakers. Comparison to closely related languages sometimes aids in the analysis.

1.1 Benefactive

The most productive verb extension is the Benefactive. It is formed by adding *-nè* to the verb stem, as seen in (246). The Benefactive allows for the addition of a non-subject argument, the benefactee (or recipient) of the verb's action. The first two examples show the Benefactive in two different tenses: the (246a) sentence in the Perfective and the (246b) sentence in the Hortative. The (246a) and (246d) examples show how the high tone of the Perfective is realized on the extension rather than on the verb itself, where it occurs without the extension. Examples (246c) and (246d) exhibit the Habitual and Imperfective, and also illustrate how pronouns occur between the parts of the split predicate with the extension uninvolved.

(246) The Benefactive

a. à tɔ̀nɛ́ bɛ̀ cɛ̀
à tɔ̀-nɛ̀ bɛ́ cɛ̀
1SG plant-BEN chief DEF
'I planted for the chief.'

b. ń tɔ̀nɛ̀ wɔ̀
ń tɔ̀-nɛ̀ wɔ̀
1SG plant-BEN 3SG
'Plant for him!' (jd 11/27/04, 3/13/05)

c. wɔ́ wɔ̀ rɔ̀kɔ̀nɛ̀
wɔ́ wɔ̀ rɔ̀kɔ̀-nɛ̀
3SG 3SG harvest-BEN
'He harvests for him.'

d. à cɛ̀ wɔ̀ rɔ̀kɔ̀nɛ̀
à cɛ̀ wɔ̀ rɔ̀kɔ̀-nɛ̀
1SG IPF 3SG harvest-BEN
'I was harvesting for him.' (jd 11/27/04)

e. ḿbòm bàsànɛ́ bɛ́cɛ̀
ḿbòm bàsà-nɛ́ bɛ́ cɛ̀
Mbom sweep-BEN chief DEF
'Mbom swept for the chief.' (jd 11/27/04, 3/13/05)

The benefactive function can also be expressed periphrastically without the verb extension, substituting the preposition *hàlí/àlí* 'for' in (247a) (with the optional Stative extension). The equivalent sentence with the extension is given in (247b).

(247) a. wɔ̀ ʃɛ̀nìyɛ́ŋ yɛ́ kíl cɛ́ (í) hàlí bɛ̀ cɛ̀
wɔ̀ sɛ̀nìyɛ̀ŋ (-yɛ́) kíl cɛ́ hàlí bɛ́ cɛ̀
3SG clean(-STAT) house DEF for chief DEF
'He cleaned the house for the chief.'

b. wɔ̀ ʃɛ̀nìyɛ̀ŋ né bɛ̀ cɛ̀
wɔ̀ sɛ̀nìyɛ̀ŋ-nɛ́ bɛ́ cɛ̀
3SG clean-BEN chief DEF
'He cleaned the house for the chief.' (jd 11/27/04)

Objects may be moved inside with the Benefactive still attached, as seen in (248), be there one pronominal object (248a), two pronominal objects (248b), or even three (248c).

(248) a. wɔ́ mɔ̀yáràné
wɔ́ mɔ̀ yàrà-nɛ̀
3SG 2SG cook-BEN
'He cooked for you.' (ys 7/20/00)

b. wɔ̀ mì là nyànɛ́
wɔ́ mì là nyà-nɛ́
3SG 1SG PRO do-BEN
'He will do it for me.' (jd 1/30/05, 3/12/05)

c. ŋá mì wɔ̀ lɛ̀ pɔ̀lɔ̀-nɛ̀
ŋá mì wɔ̀ lɛ̀ pɔ̀lɔ̀-nɛ̀
3PL 1SG 3SG PRO elect-BEN
'They will elect her it (to the paramount chieftaincy) for me.' (jd 2/11/06)

1.2 Causative

The Causative also allows for the addition of an argument, this time as subject, the causer of the action that patient or object has undergone. The example in (249a) shows the verb *dèn* 'disappear' suffixes the Causative extension *-í* inside the stative extension *-yé*. The (249b) example shows the periphrastic version with the same meaning as the Causative using the verb 'do, make'. Note how the verb *dèn* appears without the Causative.

(249) a. à dèní yé ìnyèl ìcé

à	dèn-í-yé	ì-nyèl	ì-cé
1SG	disappear-CS-STAT	NCM-salt	NCM-DEF

'I made the salt disappear (e.g., by dissolving it in the water).

b. à nyá ìnyèlì cé nyè dèn

à	nyá	ì-nyèl	ì-cé	nyè	dèn
1SG	make	NCM-salt	NCM-DEF	PRO	disappear

'I made the salt disappear.' (jd 8/8/05)

The examples in (250) show first the stem of 'ripe' and then two examples with a causative extension. In b. the verb is followed by a full NP; in c. the pronoun appears between the two parts of a split predicate, thus showing that the *-ì* is the Causative rather than Inner Verb final *-ì*. Both examples are in the Habitual. The d. example is unusual in that there is a change in the stem vowel in the Causative: the stem is *càl* 'sit', here changing to *cél-í*. This is one of the few places where such a change occurs; such changes are prolific in Kisi, especially in the inflectional morphology, but also in the system of verb extensions and elsewhere.

(250) The Causative

a. dìr
'ripe'

b. yá dìr-ì bànàn cè

yá	dìr-ì	bànàn	cè
1SG.HAB	ripe-CS	banana	DEF

'I make the banana ripe.'

c. yá mà dìrì

yá	mà	dìr-ì
1SG.HAB	PRO	ripe-CS

'I make it ripe.' (ys 7/29/00)

d. ńkɔ̀ wɔ̀ cɛ́lí ǹsɛ̀kɛ̀
ń-kɔ̀ wɔ̀ cɛ́l-í ǹ-sɛ̀kɛ̀
2SG-go 3SG sit-CS NCM-pawn
'Go make him sit as a pawn (pawn him)!' (jd 1/30/05; 3/12/05)

In Table 23 appear several verbal stems with their extended counterparts.

Table 23. Stems and causatives

hín	'lie down'	kɛ́nt	'broken'	kɛ̀t	'clear, cut down'	lɔ̀l	'sleep'
hìnì	'lay, put, make lie down'	kɛ́ntì	'break'	kɛ̀tì	'clear'	lɔ̀lí	'make sleep, store'

1.3 Stative

In its formal manifestation, the Stative is much more common than the Causative, but its semantics are far more elusive. Its focus seems to be on the state of the action or on the process of something being done. Sometimes it has a sense of 'past', i.e., of the state having been achieved, but this does not seem so basic as is the state itself. It is sometimes translated by the English progressive. Thus, its semantiucs suggest something more of an aspectual inflection rather than a derivation changing argument structure. It is more often used with active rather than stative verbs. Nonetheless, it is treated here as an extension because of its syntax, appearing in the same slot as other extensions, both within Mani and within South and North Atlantic as a whole. Moreover, semantically similar extensions are found also in other languages, both South Atlantic, e.g., Kisi, and North Atlantic, e.g., Manjaku (Karlik 1972). Finally, it is this extension that is most often used when verbs are changed into adjectives.

In the (251a) sentence, the focus is on the process of coming. In (251b) someone made the rice (Causative) enter into the state of being white, or 'clean' in this case, the color of rice after it has been threshed. In (251c) the state of being broken is underscored by use of the Stative, and in d. the Stative focuses on the stage of inserting the iron rod to clean the hole through which the palm wine will drain – not a punctual process).

(251) a. ŋá hùn yɛ́
ŋá hùn-yɛ́
3PL come-STAT
'They are coming.' (jd 2/4/06)

b. pɛ̀ dìntìyɛ́ ùpɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́
pɛ̀ dìnt-ì-yɛ́ ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀ cɛ́
PRO white-CS-STAT NCM-rice DEF
'Someone cleaned the rice.' (jd 1/28/06)

c. nyà sìnìyɛ́í kɛ́ŋká cɛ̀
nyà sìn-ì-yɛ́ kɛ́ŋká cɛ̀
2PL broken-CS-STAT bottle DEF
'You (pl.) broke the bottle.' (jd 1/30/05; 2/12/06)

d. lɔ̀ gbén gbènìyá, bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù kùyɛ́ cɔŋkó cɛ̀
lɔ̀ gbén gbènìyá, bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù kwɛ̀-yɛ́ cɔŋkó cɛ̀
when finish clean, then 3SG take-STAT iron.rod DEF
'After finished cleaning, he takes a sharp iron rod.' (jd 2/11/06)

Forms clearly demonstrating the core semantics of the Stative is *sàn* 'sow' and *sèŋyɛ́* 'be scattered or separated' (the vowel change is irrelevant). The first form is typically used for broadcasting rice; the second appears many times in the story of how the Mani were dispersed by the warriors of Sunjata before coming down to the Samu (see thee details of Mani history above in Chapter 1).

The most common form of the Stative is *-yɛ́*, as seen in the examples above in (251), but it also realized without the glide as *-ɛ́* after consonants. Notably it has a (lexical) high tone.

(252) à sɛ̀kúlɛ́ sìsù cɛ́ ŋàná bɛ́ ŋà kò dìpàlá yɔ̀
à sɛ̀kúl-ɛ́ sì-sù cɛ́ ŋàná
1SG dry-STAT NCM-fish DEF DEM
bɛ́ ŋà kò dì-pàlá yɔ̀
put 3PL to NCM-sun REL
'I am drying the fish(pl) by putting them in the sun.' (jd 2/5/06)

In its somewhat quirky productivity, the Stative does not occur with all verbs, even those with which it might be expected to occur, such as 'offer', 'sleep', and 'build', as shown in (253).

(253) a. *ŋà bòyá yɛ́ ǹdé
ŋà bòyá-yɛ́ ǹdé
3PL offer-STAT food (jd 2/19/05)

b. *à lɔ̀l-yɛ́
1SG sleep-STAT

c. *ḿbòm bàn-yɛ́ wɔ́m
Mbom build-STAT boat (jd 2/4/06)

It is possible that the Stative is encroaching on the tense-aspect-mood system based on analogy with Soso, which uses post-verbal particles in addition to a split predicate. Informants did not necessarily see that the post-verbal extensions were any different from the pre-verbal particles. Such comments were particularly common for this extension, as it was seen to be an alternate form for both the Perfective and Habitual.

1.4 Completive

Because its function is similar to the Perfective, the term "Completive" has been chosen to avoid confusion with the Perfective, which can be and often is used in conjunction with post-verbal Completive *–dì*, which is here treated as another verb extension. As first discussed around example (198), this affinity extends to its use with stative verbs. Its semantics seem virtually indistinguishable from the Perfective, signaling that some action has been viewed as a coherent entity and is in fact complete.

(254) a. pɛ̀ ká yòkɔ̀dì kìl
pɛ̀ ká yòk-dì kìl
PRO PAST build-CMP house
'Someone has built a house.'
(jd 11/28/04, 2/12/06)

b. nyɛ̀ cɔ́tdì
nyɛ̀ cɔ́t-dì
PRO set-CMP
'It (the moon) has set.'
(ft 2/24/05)

b. sùé cɛ̀ ù cán dì
sùé cɛ̀ ù cán-dì
horse DEF 3SG pass-CMP
'The horse has passed.' (jd 12/12/04; 3/13/05)

Thus, semantically the Completive functions as part of the TMA system but morphosyntatcially, it is more like a verb extension. The Perfective is shown in (255a), the Habitual in (255b), and the Completive in (255c). To native speakers, there is no obvious contrast in meaning between the Perfective and Completive.

(255) a. ùmáŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ dúm
ù-máŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ dúm
NCM-mango DEF PRO strong.PERF
'The mango is (already) ripe.'

b. kɔ́ dùm
kɔ́ dùm
PRO.HAB strong
'It (the mango) will be ripe.'

c. ùmáŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ dùmɔ́dì
ù-máŋkò cɛ́ kɔ̀ dùmɔ́-dì[27]
NCM-mango DEF PRO strong-CMP
'The mango has ripened.' (jd 2/5/06)

The Completive cannot be used with certain tenses. It cannot be used with the Imperfective (256a) and Past Imperfective in (256b), but it can be used with the simple Past (256c). Sentence (256d) contains a verb marked only with the Past with little meaning difference with (256c).

(256) a. *à cè gbèn dì
à ká cè gbèn-dì
1SG PAST IPF finish-CMP

b. *à ká cè gbèn dì
à ká cè gbèn-dì
1SG PAST IPF finish-CMP

c. à ká gbèndì
à ká gbèn-dì
1SG PAST finish-CMP
'I finished (in the past).'

d. à ká gbèŋ
à ká gbèn
1SG PAST finish
'I finished (in the past).' (jd 2/4/06)

Completive is also rejected as impossible for many verbs by native speakers, e.g. 'beat (in a mortar)', 'serve (food)', 'clean (a field of brush)', etc.

The high tone of the Perfective does not move over on to the Completive, except phonetically as part of HTS, when the H shows up on both the verb and the Completive. In (257) all three examples show that the Completive retains its low tone and the Perfective high tone stays on the stem.

(257) a. ḿbòm bándí wɔ́m
ḿbòm bán-dì wɔ́m
Mbom build-CMP boat
'Mbom built a boat.' (jd 2/4/06)

b. à lántdì kél cɛ̀ kò lóm wɔ̀
à lánt-dì kél cɛ̀ kò lóm wɔ̀
1SG hang.PERF-CMP monkey DEF to tail 3SG
'I hung the monkey by its tail.' (jd 2/25/06) (also appears in 261)

c. pór cè sùkúdì sù-ù-ù ...
pór cè sùkú-dì sù-ù-ù ...
rain DEF drop-CMP idph
'The rain poured down.' (jd 2/4/06)

Another way in which the Completive is different from the other tense markers is in not receiving the mark of Negation, which the Stative may receive. The Completive cannot be directly negated; in cases where the negated counterpart of an affirmative Completive is sought, *dì* is absent.

(258) a. tà kéntòdì
tà ként-dì
PRO break-CMP
'They broke.'

b. tà kèntén
tà kènt-én
PRO break-NEG
'They have not broken.' (jd 1/29/06)

A final striking feature of the Completive is its behavior with respect to Pronoun Movement. Pronominal objects normally appear to the immediate right of the stem unless there is a split predicate, in which case they move inside between the two parts of the predicate.

In the case of the Completive, however, pronouns move to its left, i.e., between the (lexical) verb and CMP. In (259a) the sentence has full NPs as both agent and patient, and the verb has the Completive extension. In (259b) when the patient is changed to a pronoun, the pronoun moves to the left of the Completive.

(259) a. bòntó cèndéndí tòŋkò
bòntó cèndén-dì tòŋkò
Bonto pass-CMP Tonko
'Bonto has passed Tonko.'

b. ù cèndé wò ndì
ù cèndé wò-n dì
3SG pass 3SG-EMPH CMP
'She has passed him.' (jd 12/7/04; 3/13/05)

In (260) appear more examples, where the Negative marker also appears inside the Completive. In (260a and b), the object pronoun is once again inside the Completive but so, too, is Negative (marked on the verb). (260c) shows how pronouns behave with most other extensions. Another extension, the Stative *yé*, appears on the verb *cènì* 'think'. The pronoun *pèn* 'it' in this sentence does not move to the left of that extension as it does move to the left of the Completive. The Stative is more tightly bound to the verb.

(260) Pronouns and Negative between verb and Completive *dì*

a. à bín pèndì
à bí-én pèn dì
1SG catch-NEG PRO CMP
'I didn't catch it.'

b. à bín wòndì
à bí-én wòn dì
1SG catch-NEG PRO CMP
'I didn't catch it.' (jd 12/7/04; 3/13/05)

c. à cènì yé làndì
à cènì-yé làn dì
1SG think-STAT PRO CMP
'I was thinking about it.' (jd 2/5/06)

Thus the Completive does not seem as tightly bound to the stem as either the Benefactive nor Stative. It is independent phonologically because of its tonal behavior; syntactically it is more separate in that it allows Pronoun Movement to ignore it as if it were not part of the stem. The conclusion must be that the Completive, then, is not part of the stem on a par with the other extensions.

1.5 Middle

The semantics of the Middle are just as problematic as those of the Stative and Completive, and even less specific. Furthermore, its lack of productivity makes it difficult to analyze. Ideally one would like the Middle to work in a complementary way to the Causative, subtracting an argument and promoting the patient, much like a passive but without the necessity of having an agent expressed. In several cases that is the relationship between the Middle and its stem. In Mani the action can be performed on oneself by oneself or by others or by some unspecified entity. It can sometimes mean only that the state of its related form has been achieved by the subject with no agentivity involved. This somewhat unsatisfactory term has also been used in Childs 1995, where a productive cognate form, *-nŭŋ/-ŏŋ* is found in Kisi. Because of its lack of productivity, the few examples that exist do not provide sufficient data on which to form a final assessment of its semantics.

A contextualized example may help to clarify the meaning. In (261) the verb 'hang' appears with two different extensions. The (261a) sentence represents the fullest regular form of the extension [-én] (but see *nyà-nán* 'do-MID' in Table 24, the one example of *-nán* as a Middle), as well as a clear expression of the extension's semantics. A little more context may be needed to understand the (261b) sentence: the monkey had been killed for meat, and its meat was being sold at the roadside, hung for display. In the second sentence the Completive is affixed to the stem, underscoring the Perfective.

(261) Middle vs. Completive

a. kél cɛ̀ cé làntɔ́n kò lóm cɛ̀

kél	cɛ̀	cé	lànt-ɔ́n	kò	lóm	cɛ̀
monkey	DEF	IPF	hang-MID	to	tail	DEF

'The monkey was hanging by its tail.'

b. à lántdì kél cɛ̀ kò lóm wɔ̀

à	lánt-dì	kél	cɛ̀	kò	lóm	wɔ̀
1SG	hang.PERF-CMP	monkey	DEF	to	tail	3SG

'I hung the monkey by its tail.' (jd 2/25/06)

In Table 24 appear several verbal stems with their Middle-extended counterparts. The semantics are relatively straightforward, and the morphophonemics accord, to a certain extent, with what was found with the Benefactive. Derived forms are constrained to acquire or retain the two-syllable ideal for verbs.

Table 24. Verb stems and the Middle

nyà	'do, make'	sòl	'defecate'	mát	'hide'
nyà-nán	'happen'	sòl-ɔ́n	'defecate on self'	màt-ɔ́n	'hide self'
yèsì	'dress (someone)'	pèrí	'teach'	cún	'smell'
yèsì-n	'dress (oneself)'	pèrí-n	'learn'	cùn-ùn	'smell'

In many places a post-verbal [n] appears with no apparent Middle meaning (see the discussion around the examples in 259). Its most frequent appearance is with the verb 'go', as shown in (262a). It has no obvious source other than the Middle. In the way it is used, it means that one is simply 'going' in the same way that the [-n]-less version does, but with a modal sense, that one will go, that one is somehow compelled to go. In short, it is more certain that one is going. Without the extension, 'go' means simply that one is going – it can be used as one stands and chats, but when one uses the extended form it is usually to take one's leave, indicating that one is under some compulsion to go, that one will definitely go. The Completive extension *-dì* is not used without the Middle extension here but is commonly used with the Middle, as shown by the last form in (262a). The example in (262b) with the Middle suggests the correctness or the certainty of the action (the last use of 'go'), as contrasted with the other two preceding negated uses in the sentence.

(262) a. kɔ́ 'go'
kɔ́-n 'make oneself, being made to go'
go-MID

kɔ́-n-dì 'be gone'
go-MID-CMP

b. m̀mákɔ̀ kò mìné, m̀mákɔ̀ kò ǹdìkɛ̀, ŋ́kɔ̀n tólòŋ

ǹ	má	kɔ̀	kò	mìné	ǹ	má	kɔ̀	kò	ǹdìkɛ̀
2SG	NEG	go	to	left	2SG	NEG	go	to	right
ń	kɔ̀-n	tólóŋ							
2SG	go-MID	straight							

'Don't go to the left, don't go to the right, go straight ahead!' (jd 2/5/05)

That the meaning difference is subtle with some verbs may explain why speakers often insist there is no difference between the stem and the extended form and also why the morpheme often appears unexpectedly before the Completive. The lack of a robust contrast may also be due to language change or language death. In these and many other similar cases, it seems best to see the *-n* suffix as a highly lexicalized form of the Middle, in many cases being a variant of the stem with no (obvious) contrastive meaning.

Speakers never provide the Middle as a translation of 'passive'. In such cases, the indefinite 3SG subject pronoun *pɛ̀* 'someone' is used as subject, as in (263a and b). To give further emphasis to the patient, focus may be used, as in (263c) (see 2), with the fronting of *ìsàŋgbà* 'drum', still with the unspecified, indefinite 3SG subject pronoun *pɛ̀* 'someone' as subject.

(263) a. pɛ̀ ká yòk dì kìl

pɛ̀	ká	yòk-dì	kìl
pro	PAST	build-CMP	house

'Someone built a house.' / 'A house was built.'

b. pɛ̀ tɔ̀ŋwùlɔ̀ wɔ̀í céntà

pɛ̀	tɔ̀ŋwùló	wɔ̀-ì	céncà
PRO	bury.PERF	3SG-*ì*	yesterday

'Someone buried him yesterday. / He was buried yesterday.' (jd 1/29/06)

c. ìsàŋgbà ìcɛ̀ pɛ́yɛ̀ lɔ̀k

ì-sàŋgbà	ì-cɛ̀	pɛ́	nyɛ̀	lɔ̀k
NCM-drum	NCM-DEF	PRO.HAB	PRO	play

'Someone will play the drum.' / 'The drum will be played.' (jd 11/28/04)

1.6 Pluractional reduplication

The Pluractional is realized in an iconic reduplicated form.[28] It generally has no affect on argument structure, affecting the verb or its arguments only quantitatively. More agents or patients or actions are involved, the event takes place repeatedly, or the action of the verb is performed with greater intensity. That it should be included in the discussion requires a word of explanation.

In some ways it is a "wastebasket" decision – the process can go nowhere else, except in a general discussion of reduplication. It is not part of the inflectional morphology, nor does it change the word category as do other derivational processes. Furthermore, reduplication is found nowhere so productively as here with verbs. In other related languages "Plural" is a bona fide extension not involving reduplication, e.g., Wolof and Fula. The Kisi Plural features a complex of processes including vowel lengthening, full and partial reduplication, as well as the addition of a distinct morpheme equivalent to the Causative with complex morphophonemics (Childs 1987; see *Table 25* below). Finally, postverbal morphemes appear outside or after the reduplicated forms, as shown by the Stative in (265b) below.

Example (264a) contains a verb in its un-reduplicated form with a singular subject; in (264b) the subject is plural; and in c. the verb is pluralized. The plurality of the verb is much more inclusive than the plurality of the object since it usually includes the plurality of the object or subject. In this particular case, it is difficult to think of a single cow being sacrificed more than once, i.e., a pluractional verb with a singular patient, and thus the pragmatics likely dictate the necessity of a plural object (264c).

(264) a. pɛ́ fɔ́k sàkàtà nár gbèn
pɛ́ fɔ̀k sàkàtà nár gbèn
PRO.HAB perform sacrifice cow tomorrow
'A cow will be sacrificed tomorrow (lit. Someone will sacrifice a cow tomorrow.'

b. pɛ́ fɔ́k sàkàtà sì-nár gbèn
pɛ́ fɔ̀k sàkàtà sì-nár gbèn
INDEF.HAB perform sacrifice NCM-cow tomorrow
'Cows will be sacrificed tomorrow.'

c. pɛ́ fɔ́kfɔ́k sàkàtà sì-nár gbèn
pɛ́ fɔ́k-fɔ́k sàkàtà sì-nár gbèn
PRO.HAB perform-PL sacrifice NCM-cow tomorrow.
'Many cows are being sacrificed tomorrow.' (jd 11/28/04)

It is likely, then, but not necessarily required, that arguments be pluralized. The action can be done repeatedly when the pragmatics are right, and no argument needs to be pluralized. The example in (264c) above shows that no plural subject is required. The example in (265a) shows that no plural object is required, and the (265b) example shows that neither needs to be pluralized; it is the action that is repeated by a single subject on a single patient. (Note also how the Stative morpheme is found after the repeated verb.)

(265) a. ŋá lɔ̀klɔ̀k wɔ̀m cɛ̀
ŋá lɔ̀klɔ̀k wɔ̀m cɛ̀
3PL.HAB drum-PL ship DEF
'They drum on (the gunwales of) the ship …'

b. bɔ̀lɔ́ ń sɔ̀lìsɔ̀lìyɛ́ nú sɛ̀ cɛ́
bɔ̀lɔ́ ń sɔ̀lì-sɔ̀lì-yɛ́ nú sɛ̀ cɛ́
then 2SG stir-PL-STAT with spoon DEF
'Then, you stir (multiple times) with a spoon.' (jd 1/28/06)

In one comment on the b. example in a discussion of why the verb was pluralized, a consultant stated, "It's plural because you have to stir it a lot."

The example in (266) (repeated from (113a)) shows how the force or intensity of the verb can be enhanced with the Plural (here the hortative use of the copula *lɛ*).

(266) lá lɛ́lɛ́ pàkà mí
lá lɛ́lɛ́ pàkà mí
PRO be.necessary-PL pay 1SG
'It is absolutely necessary (for him) to pay me.' (jd 12/18/04, 3/13/05)

In (266) neither the subject pronoun nor the following phrase can be considered pluralized.

The morphology of the Plural is straightforward: the verb is copied in its entirety (including tone), as shown by the examples in (267a and b), a verb with a lexical high tone, then the examples in (267c and d), a verb without.

(267) a. yá bwé tìdɛ̀
'I dig holes.'

b. yá bwébwé tìdɛ̀
'I dig holes continuously.'

c. yá kètì
'I cut.'

d. yá kètìkètì
'I cut many times.' (jd 11/28/04)

1.7 Final comments on verb extensions

This overview of the verb extensions of Mani has shown us that the system is in much disarray, except for the Benefactive and perhaps the Stative extensions. The semantics are hazy and the productivity of most extensions is limited; the Completive does not even seem to be part of the verb stem. Although some sequences may have been inferred from the discussion above, it remains a future task to explicitly characterize the morphotactics of Mani's verb extension system.

The example below in (271), nonetheless, attempts to order several verb extensions and perhaps all except the Pluractional, which, as was said in 8.1.6, is not an extension with the same status as the others. The order here is STAT-MID-CMP and just possibly, if the [i] can be considered an instantiation of the Causative, there is the full set with the Causative closest to the verb. Unfortunately, there is no existing verb *pèr* to confirm that the [i] is an extension.

(268) Verb extension morphotactics

mɛ́n ǹcɛ́ mà pèrìyɛ́n dì			
mɛ́n	ǹ-cɛ́	mà	pèrì-yɛ́-n-dì
water	NCM-DEF	PRO	spill-STAT-MID-CMP

'The water spilled.' (ys 7/27/00; jd 1/30/06)

Fortunately, however, there are examples of the Causative coming before the Stative, as seen in (271), and several places above (e.g., 251b and c), as well as in the examples in (269).

(269) Causative before Stative

a. nànás drè

nànás	drè
pineapple	ripe

'The pineapple is ripe.'

b. à d[ù]rìyé nànás

à	drè-ì-yɛ̀	nànás
1SG	ripe-CS-STAT	pineapple

'I made the pineapple ripe.' (jd 11/2704; 3/13/05)

c. lɔ̌ŋ gbèn nyì yɛ́, bɔ̀lɔ́ ń sòrɔ́ pɛ̌ ùsòtɔ́ cɛ́

lɔ́	ń	gbèn-ì-yɛ́,	bɔ̀lɔ́	ń	sòrɔ́	pɛ̀	ù-sòtɔ́	cɛ́
when	2SG	finish-CS-STAT	then	2SG	insert	again	NCM-pipe	DEF

'When you finish cleaning, then you put the pipe back in again.' (jd 2/11/06)

The Benefactive appears after the Stative, as seen in (270).

(270) ù ʃènìyènɛ́ bècè

ù	sènì-yè-né	bɛ́	cè
3SG	clean-STAT-BEN	chief	DEF

'He cleaned the house for the chief.' (jd 12/19/04)

Temptingly, there is a verb *sɔ̀* 'clean around the house', which would mean an order of mid-CS-STAT-BEN (sè-n-ì-yè-nɛ́), with a stipulated alternation between front and back vowels. However, this does not exactly conform with what has been seen thus far, as represented in (271). If this one counter-example could be ignored, the order of verb extensions could be,

(271) Verb extension morphotactics: Causative-Stative-Middle-Completive
Stative-Benefactive

Given the separability of the Completive, it is not surprising that the Completive is the rightmost extension, but no easy explanation can be advanced for the ordering of the others. The lack of a complete paradigm for any single verb does not exist in the data, and its absence is not surprising, in that so many verbs do not allow enough extensions to reach a decision.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, noun classes and verb extensions represent the most fully researched formal systems in the Niger-Congo languages. Within North and South Atlantic they are also well studied, even among the Mel languages of South Atlantic, to which sub-group Mani belongs (also, Kim, Bom, and Kisi). Thus, some direct comparison can be made and some cognates established.

Table 25. Verb extensions in Mel

	CS	CMP	MID	STAT	BEN	PL	INSTR
Mani	-i	-di	-əŋ/-nəŋ	-yɛ́	-nɛ̀	redup	
Kim/Bom	-i		-n	-ɛʔ			-ga
Kisi	-i		-nŭŋ/-ŏŋ		-lul	redup V: -uu/-ia/-i	

The Kisi verb extension morphotactics are: Stem-CS-BEN-MID-PL while the two established orders for Kim are: CS-MID and CS-INSTR

2. Other derivational processes

Other derivations more often involve a change in word category. In Mani there are no identifiable processes transforming another word category into verbs, but there are numerous processes that clearly go the other way. In the following discussion, the verb will most often be seen as basic and other forms as derived.[29]

2.1 Adjectivalization

As first mentioned in section 4.5.1 on adjectives, semantically appropriate verbs have adjective counterparts, which are seen as derived (see the discussion around (81)). In addition to these derived adjectives, Mani also has a small set (less than forty) of underived adjectives, i.e., adjectives without verbal counterparts. It is that latter set that one regards as basic adjectives. Other than deriving adjectives from verbs, no other processes exist for producing new adjectives (other than borrowings, e.g., *trɔ̀ŋ* 'strong' from Krio). Some correspondences between verbs and adjectives are presented in (272).

In many cases the verbs and adjectives are identical. In (272a) (singular noun) and (272b) (plural) 'rotten' appears as a verb, clearly so because of the subject pronoun and no noun class marker, the tonal inflection, etc., and the stem is identical to the adjective in the two nominal phrases. The examples in (272c and d) (singular and plural forms again) contain nouns modified by adjectives. Examples in (272e and f) feature a verb-adjective pair with first the verb then the adjective 'dry'. The verbs are preceded by a pronoun and the adjectives by a NCM (or nothing, as in (272c))

(272) Verb-adjective correspondences

a. pèpè cé ŋɔ̀ pùtùlɔ́í
   pèpè cé ŋɔ̀ pùtùl-ɔ́-í
   calabash DEF PRO_{INDEF} rotten-EV-*i*
   'The calabash is rotten.'

b. pèpè tìcé tá pùtùlɔ́í
   pèpè tì-cé tá pùtùl-ɔ́-í
   calabash NCM_{ta}-DEF PRO_{ta} rotten-EV-*i*
   'The calabashes are rotten.'

c. pèpè pùtúl
pèpè pùtúl
calabash rotten
'rotten calabash'

d. pèpè tì pùtúl
pèpè tì-pùtúl
calabash NCM_{ta}-rotten
'rotten calabashes'

e. dɔ̀mɔ̀ tìcé tà sɛ̀kɔ́l lɛ̀
dɔ̀mɔ̀ tì-cé tà sɛ̀kɔ́l lɛ̀
clothing NCM_{ta}-DEF PRO_{ta} dry ground
'The clothes are drying on the ground.'

f. dɔ̀mɔ̀ tìsɛ̀kɔ́l
dɔ̀mɔ̀ tì-sɛ̀kɔ́l
clothing NCM_{ta}-dry
'dry clothes' (jd 1/30/05, 3/2/06)

The case of derivational direction, noun > adjective, is clear in such pairs as in (273) because of the extra phonetic matter. Moreover, many (derived) adjectives and verbs have a phonetically similar suffix *-ɔ́l* / *-úl*. See the examples in (272).

(273) kàt 'problem, difficulty' kàtɔ́l 'hard, difficult'
dɔs 'weight' dɔ̀sɔ́l 'heavy (verb)'

2.2 Nominalization

Verbs are productively nominalized by prefixing the noun class marker *ù-* from the *wɔ* class, as shown in (274a). This non-finite nominalized form is given as the citation form. An example of a nominalized verb's use is given in (274b).

(274) Verb nominalization

a. ù-lát 'spread rice on the ground to dry'
ù-nyɔ̀ntí 'pull fish from a net'
ù-bànkɛ̀m 'be constipated'
ù-kùtá 'plow, hoe'
ù-sɔ́m 'bewitch, entrance, put under a spell'

b. yá kèr ùbàl
yá kìr ù-bàl
1SG.HAB tired NCM-write
'I am tired of writing.' (jd 1/23/05)

Several "nominalized" verbs in other classes have different meanings but still related to their verbal source, as shown in (275).

(275)	bár	ù-bár	bár-nɔ̀ / à-bár
	'tap palm trees'	'palmwine.tapping'	'palmwine.tapster/s'
	gbə̀ntə́k	ù-gbə̀ntə́k / tì-gbə̀ntə́k	
	'cover'	'lid, cap, cover, covering/pl'	
	cɔ́ŋ	ù-cɔ́ŋ / tì- cɔ́ŋ	cɔ́ŋ-nɔ̀ / à- cɔ́ŋ
	'sing'	NCM-song / pl.	'singer / pl.'
	fɔ́	ǹ-fɔ́	ù-fɔ́k / ǹ-fɔ́k
	'speak'	'language'	'talk, news, gossip, speech'

Another process of nominalization, involving mostly nouns, was mentioned in the discussion of the *lɛ* class (section 3). There the *dì-* prefix, also seen below, was noted as a way to form abstracts and diminutives. The example in (276) shows a noun derived from a verb.

(276)	wú	dì-wú / ǹ-wú
	'die'	'NCM$_{lɛ}$-funeral/ NCM$_{ma}$-funerals'

2.3 Masculine and feminine nouns / animals

In an early study of Mani (Nyländer 1814), the morphemes *pokan* 'male' and *lakan* 'female' were noted as being used to assign gender to animals.These are still productive processes in troday's Mani.

(277)	nàr-pòkàn	'bull '
	nàr-làkàn	'cow'

The form for 'male' is also used in denoting the 'thumb' and the large toe: *sú-pòkàn*, lit. 'male finger'.

2.4 Adverbialization

In a few cases, Mani adds an adjective to *nyè* 'thing, something' to form adverbs from adjectives (mentioned first in the section on adverbs (8) and similar to a process in Kisi). The two instances in the first column of (278a) are derived

from the adjectives *báŋ* 'bad' and *kèlèŋ* 'good'. The noun is also used in some compounds as shown in the second group. In example (278b) is a sentential example of 'well'.

(278) a. yèŋbáŋ 'badly' yə̀nkèlèŋ 'well'
yèŋ-báŋ
thing-bad

yèndè 'food' (cf. Kisi *nèdìá* 'food (thing-eat)')
yèn-dè
yènpìpóm 'gift'

b. à lɔ̀lɔ̀í yèŋkèlèŋ
à lɔ̀l-ɔ́-í yèŋ-kèlèŋ
1SG sleep-EV-*i* thing-good
'I slept well.'

Forming locative expressions from nouns is discussed around examples in (127).

Chapter 9
Compounding

Compounding is a relatively common process in Mani, involving the simple juxtaposition of two or more elements, following the regular syntax of the language. As to a distinctive phonology for compounds, there is little to be said: the only operant phonological processes are those general ones discussed in Chapter 3, which operate at morpheme boundaries. Lexical tones remain in place and compounds have no distinctive tonal pattern (cf. the distinctive tones of, e.g., Krio compounds in Fyle and Jones 1981). The types of compounds treated in this chapter are listed below.

- Noun-Noun
- Noun-Adjective
- Noun-Verb
- Noun-AdpP
- Noun-Locative, i.e., lexicalized AdpP such as *kɔ̀*-NP
- The special case of agentive *-nɔ*

Noun-Noun compounds are the most frequently occurring type in the language. That two nouns are adjacent and linked semantically forming a single word confirms the presence of a compound. Nouns appear sometimes with their noun class markers, sometimes not. There is no way to identify Noun-Adjective compounds, and in fact there might not be such an item except as discernible through their special semantics. Noun-Verb and Noun-AdpP compounds can be identified by their morphosyntax. Verbs show no morphology and adpositional phrases do not occur in their normal slot after the verb but as part of a noun phrase.

(279) Noun-noun compounds in Mani

cɛ́kn̄cù	cɛ́k-n̄-cù swamp-NCM-mangrove	'mangrove swamp'
fɔ́k-bɛ̀	fɔ́k-bɛ̀ ceremony-chief	'enthronement, investiture'
lɛ́k-tàbàk	lɛ́k-tàbàk horn-tobacco	'snuff horn'
pɔ́mlàkɔ̀, ìpɔ́mìlàkɔ̀	pɔ́mlàkɔ̀, ìpɔ́mìlàkɔ̀ leaf-garden	'green for sauce'

(280) Noun-verb compounds

bèt-fɔ́	'radio, lit. box-talking'
bárá-ǹ-wìs	'animal trap, lit. catch-NCM-animal'
cémfó	'growing season, lit. time-grow'
cèmrɔ́k	'harvest season, lit. time-harvest'
ménńtòlɔ̀	'waterfall, lit. water-fall'
sè-tɔ̀ŋkɔ́	'large serving spoon, lit. spoon-cook-it'
sé-hèmènè	'spoon for eating, lit. spoon-?'
sè-yɔ̀-kɔ́	'eating spoon, lit. spoon-eat-it'
ù-pél-hìn-ké	'hammock, lit. NCM-fishing.net-lie.down-?'
wɔ̀nɔ̀-bí	'person in the right in a court case, lit. this.person-have'
wɔ̀nɔ̀-bí-yén	'person in the wrong, lit. this.person-have-thing-NEG'

(281) Noun-AdpP compounds

bél-kɔ̀-cùr	'town rat, lit. rat-to-town'
bél-kɔ̀-tɔ̀fɛ́	'bush rat, lit. rat-to-forest'

(282) Noun-adjective compounds

bàtɔ̀-n-pól	'small, light cutlass, lit., stick-NCM-light
bɛ́ŋ-sɔ̀kùlɔ̀	'athlete's foot, lit. foot-itchy'
yál-sɔ̀kùlɔ̀	'dishcloth (a skin disease), lit. skin-itchy'
cù-drɛ́	'red mangrove, lit. mangrove-red'
kwá-ǹ-sà	'(red) palm oil, lit. palm.oil-red'

Adposition compounding, especially with *kɔ̀* 'to', is fairly productive and has already been discussed in section 10. See the examples in (281).

A few compounds involve more than two elements, as shown in (283).

(283) Three element compounds

N-N-Adp: mús-mèn-è 'water cat, lit. 'cat-water-in'[30]

There is the somewhat special case of *-nɔ̀* compounds with a foot in three camps: the noun class system, derivational morphology (nominalization), and here in compounds. The agentive form *-nɔ̀* forms many compounds designating the person who performs the action of the other part of the compounds. I some examples in Table 26. The form *-nɔ̀* can function both as a suffix and (less often) as a prefix but only with family positions, much as a NCM. See additional examples of prefixed and suffixed *nɔ̀* in (158).

Table 26. nɔ̀ compounds

singular	plural	gloss
nɔ́	à-nín (à-pɔ̀kán)	'person (male)'
nɔ̀-pɔ̀kàn	à-pɔ̀kán	'man'
nɔ̀-làkàn	à-làkán	'woman'
búlá-nɔ̀	à-búlá	'farmer'

A full set kin terms is found in *Table 18*.

Compounds modified by adjectives take agreement with the head (first) noun in the compound, as shown in (284).

(284) Compound agreement patterns

a. kìlpé / kìl-tì-pé

kìl-pé	/	kìl-tì-pé
house-rock	/	house-NCM$_{[house]}$-rock
'rock house/s'		

b. kìl-pé sà kìl-tì-pé tì-sà

kìl-pé	sà	/	kìl-tì-pé	tì-sà
house-rock	red	/	house-NCM$_{ta}$-rock	NCM$_{ta}$-red
'red rock house'		/	'red rock houses'	

There are also many compounds with *yèŋ* 'thing', some of which have been exemplified in (278).

Chapter 10
Phrase-level syntax

Much of the morphosyntax of both the noun phrase (NP) and the verb phrase (VP) has already been introduced. Because the noun class system impacts so heavily on the NP, little needs to be said here beyond what was discussed there (Chapter 6). Both agreement and syntax were discussed, but different types of noun phrases need to be identified.

With regard to the VP, verbal markers have been discussed, most of them phonologically separate from the verb itself. Thus, some VP syntax was introduced, especially with regard to negation (considered a tense) and pronoun movement within the split predicate. The last topic is discussed in greater detail here, specifically how the VP should be considered as consisting of both a VP proper and what will here be called the "Inner VP", a syntactically significant sub-constituent having considerable repercussions in the syntax.

1. The noun phrase

Chapter 6 has already shown the following features of the NP:

- Nouns are prefixed with a noun class marker
- All dependent elements follow the head noun
- Dependent elements include: the definite article, low numbers, demonstrative adjectives, adjectives
- The prefix of the *wɔ* class is often absent on both nouns and their dependents

In this section I discuss the syntax of the noun phrase and illustrate a little more about agreement patterns. The following sections on possessives and attributives spell out some of the details. Number phrases have already been covered in 4, the section on numbers.

The noun phrase is represented schematically in (285). The noun comes first prefixed with its class marker; with some noun classes the prefixed marker is optional. Dependent elements (DEP) follow, each prefixed with the noun class marker (NCM) of the head noun, identical in form except for some relatively minor segmental changes (assimilation and resyllabification; and minor tonal changes (High Tone Spreading (HTS) and tonal polarity on the definite article).

(285) NCM-noun
noun NCM-Dep$_1$ (NCM-Dep$_2$) (NCM-DEF)

In (286) are presented some analyzed examples using the word 'knife'. Its singular and plural are shown in (286a). The singular of knife does not always appear with its noun class marker, as shown in (286b). All of the examples which follow feature the plural 'knives', which consistently prefixes its marker. The example in (286c) shows the plural of 'knife' with one of the same adjectives in b. and the definite article. The example in (286d) replaces the definite article with the number 'two'. The final example in (286e) combines those two dependent elements, the definite article, and an additional adjective, 'black'.

(286) Noun class concord, 'knife' (*lɛ* and *ma* classes)

a. dìkén / ŋ̀kén 'knife' / 'knives'
dì-kén / ǹ-kén
NCM$_{lɛ}$-knife / NCM$_{ma}$-knife

b. kéndí dɔ̀yá kéndí-nyúr
kén dí-dɔ̀yá kén dí-nyúr
knife NCM$_{lɛ}$-sharp knife NCM$_{lɛ}$-dull
'sharp knife' 'dull knife'

c. ŋ̀kén ńdɔ̀yán cɛ́
ǹ-kén ǹ-dɔ̀yá ǹ-cɛ́
NCM$_{ma}$-knife NCM$_{ma}$-sharp NCM$_{ma}$-DEF
'the sharp knives'

d. ŋ̀kén ńdɔ̀yán càn
ǹ$_{ma}$-kén ǹ$_{ma}$-dɔ̀yá ǹ$_{ma}$-càn
NCM-knife NCM-sharp NCM-two
'two sharp knives'

e. ŋ̀kén ńdɔ̀yán tìncàn ǹcɛ́
ǹ-kén ǹ-dɔ̀yá ǹ-tì ǹ-càn ǹ-cɛ́
NCM$_{ma}$-knife NCM$_{ma}$-sharp NCM$_{ma}$-black NCM$_{ma}$-two NCM$_{ma}$-DEF
'the two sharp black knives'

The following displays in ((288) and (287)) show agreement from the *ŋa* and *nyɛ* noun classes (somewhat regularized and schematized).

(287) *ŋa*-class agreement (repeated from (159))

à-bùlɔ́	'farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-cɛ́	'the farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old Mani farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-pót à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old lazy Mani farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-kàtə̀l à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old industrious Mani farmers'

(288) *nyɛ*-class agreement

a. ì-nyɛ́l ì-dìntɛ́ ì-cɛ́
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-salt NCM$_{nyɛ}$-white NCM$_{nyɛ}$-DEF
'the white salt'

NCM$_{nyɛ}$-salt NCM$_{nyɛ}$-dry NCM$_{nyɛ}$-DEF
ì-nyɛ́l ì-sɛ̀kɔ́l ì-cɛ́
'the dry salt'

ì-nyɛ́l ì-sɛ̀kɔ́l ì-dìntɛ́ ì-cɛ́
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-salt NCM$_{nyɛ}$-dry NCM$_{nyɛ}$-white NCM$_{nyɛ}$-DEF
'the dry white salt'

b. vìsì cɛ́ wɔ̀nɔ̀ kí, pákì wó nyɛ̀nɛ̀ kí ɲɛ̀ɛ́í ì bòmù
vìs ì-cɛ́ wɔ̀nɔ̀ kì
animal NCM$_{nyɛ}$DEF DEM here
pák-wó nyɛ̀nɛ̀ kí nyɛ̀ ì-bòmù
bone-3SG DEM.FOC here PRO$_{nyɛ}$ NCM$_{nyɛ}$-big
'This animal, its bone is big.'

The only dependent element to appear after the definite is the demonstrative.

(289) Demonstratives with and after the definite article

ŋ̀kɛ̀nt cɛ́ mànà / ŋ̀kɛ̀nt cɛ́ mànɛ̀

ŋ̀-kɛ̀nt	ǹ-cɛ́	mànà	/	ŋ̀-kɛ̀nt	n-cɛ́	mànɛ̀
NCM$_{ma}$-arm	NCM$_{ma}$-DEF	DEM$_{ma}$	/	NCM$_{ma}$-arm	NCM$_{ma}$-DEF	DEM$_{ma}$

'these arms' / 'those arms' (im 7/30/00, jd 2/5/06)

1.1 Possession

Possessive constructions are formed by juxtaposition, with the possessor following the possessed noun and prefixing the NCM of the head noun. Personal possessives have the same form as Subject Pronouns (see *Table 7*). The possessed noun is optionally preceded by its NCM. The examples in (290) show possession with the second personal singular and third person singular pronouns.

(290) Possession with personal pronouns

a. mɔ̀ sɔ́sɔ́k fál tí mɔ̀
mɔ̀ sɔ́sɔ́k fɔ́l tì-mɔ̀
2SG rub eye NCM$_{ta}$-2SG
'You rubbed your eyes.' (mt 7/20/00; jd 8/8/05)

b. wɔ̀ sɔ́sɔ́k fál tí wɔ̀
wɔ̀ sɔ́sɔ́k fɔ́l tí-wɔ̀
3SG rub eye NCM$_{ta}$-3SG
'She rubbed her eyes.' (mt 7/28/00; jd 8/8/05)

What is somewhat unusual about possessive constructions is the position of the possessive when adjectives or nouns follow the possessed noun. The possessive pronoun stays next to the noun and adjectives follow, as seen in (291).

(291) a. wá yíl
wá yíl
palm.tree tall
'tall palm tree'

b. wámɔ̀yíl
wá mɔ̀ yíl
palm.tree 2SG tall
'your tall palm tree'

c. wá ì-yàntà
wá ì-yàntà
palm.tree NCM-young
'young palm tree'

d. ìwá ìnyì yàntá
ì-wá ì-nyì ì-yàntá
NCM-palm NCM-PRO NCM-young
'our young palm trees'

e. tàrá mì làkán
tàrá mì làkán
older.sibling 1SG female
'my older sister'

f. tàrá mì pòkán
tàrá mì pòkán
older.sibling 1SG male
'my older brother'(ow 6/20/00; jd 2/5/06)

Example (292) shows how the definite marker is optionally allowed after possessives followed by adjectives. (Preceding examples, e.g., (291), illustrate its absence.)

(292) a. wɔ́m mì bòmùŋ cɛ́
wɔ́m mì bòmùŋ cɛ́
boat 1SG big DEF
'my big boat'

b. wɔ́m-mɔ̀ bòmùŋ cɛ́
'your big boat'

c. wɔ́m-tì-ŋà tì-bòmùŋ tì-cɛ́
'their big boats' (jd 1/19/05)

d. kìl wɔ̀ bèn cɛ́
house 3SG old DEF
'her old house'

e. kìl tì-wɔ̀ tì-bèn tì-cɛ́
house NCM-3SG NCM-old NCM-DEF
'her old houses'

Example (293) shows the indefinite pronoun *lán* 'its' is used when the referent is non-human.

(293) a. bòl lán
bòllán
head PRO
'its head'

b. kárá cɛ̀ bòl lán ŋɔ́ còn
kárá cɛ̀ bòl lán ŋɔ́ còn
hoe DEF head PRO PRO.HAB small
'The head of the hoe is small.' (yt 7/17/05; jd 2/26/06)[31]

Because of inalienable possession, body parts, certain relatives, etc., appear with possessive pronouns (294). Thus, one cannot give the simple form 'head' or 'cousin'; it must always be someone's head or cousin. (Also see examples in (290) and (291).)

(294) Some inalienably possessed nouns

a. Relations:	yá-nyì	tènè à-ŋà	pìncé wɔ̀
	mother-1SG	aunt NCM-3PL	younger.sibling 3SG
	'our mother'	'their aunts'	'his younger sibling'
b. Body parts:	mèléŋ dì-mì	bókólò wɔ̀	núí tì-ŋà
	tongue NCM-1SG	neck 3SG	ear NCM-3PL
	'my tongue'	'her neck'	'their ears'

c.	pà	tì-hìn	tì-yíl		d.	pà	tì-mì	tì-yíl
	arm	NCM-1PL	NCM-long			arm	NCM-1SG	NCM-long
	'our long arms'					'my long arms' (im 7/30/06)		

Personal possessive pronouns are identical to subject pronouns and prefix the NCM of the noun they possess, as shown in (295). To show possession for other nominals, the possessor follows the possessed sometimes with, sometimes without, the prefixed NCM of the possessed on the possessor. If the NCM of the possessor is retained, the NCM of the possessed precedes the possessor noun, whose prefix will follow that of the possessed (295d). Example (295c) shows that the personal possessive precedes a second, even if the second is also an inalienable body part. The initial NP, then, is something like, 'the thigh's your skin' (for 'your thigh's skin'), perhaps yet another manifestation of the Animacy Hierarchy (first mentioned p. 75).

(295) a. yá wé sèŋtèŋ tì-gbél

yá	wé	sèŋtèŋ	tì-gbél
1SG	fear	claw	NCM-panther

'I fear the claws of the panther.' (ys 7/25/00; jd 1/30/06)

b. ù sí-n ì-lél lí yà-mì

ù̀	sí-én	ì-lél	í-yà		mì
3SG	know-NEG	NCM-name	NCM-mother		1SG

'He doesn't know the name of my mother.' (mb 7/21/00; jd 2/20/05)

c. kòr mɔ́ làtàŋ cɛ́ ŋɔ́í dìntɛ́

kòr	mɔ̀	làtàŋ	cɛ́	ŋɔ́-í	dìntɛ́
skin	2SG	thigh	DEF	PRO_{INDEF}.HAB-*i*	white

'The skin of your thigh is white.' (jd 12/12/04; 3/13/05)

d.

cómnólàkàn		cóm tíàlàkàn	
cóm	nólàkàn	cóm	tì-à-làkán
stool	woman	stool	NCM_{ta}-$NCM_{ŋa}$-woman
'woman's stool'		'women's stools' (jd 1/29/06)	

Occasionally NCMs will remain before their possessed nouns (as in compounds) when the NP consists of more than a simple noun. See the examples in (295b) and (291d). Compounds follow basically the same syntax as possessive constructions.

Thus the statement from (285) must be slightly modified to show that the possessive, when it appears, immediately follows the possessed noun, and no definite marker follows when it is the sole element following. When an adjec-

tive appears after the possessive, a definite maker may follow the adjective. Because possessor nouns follow the same syntax as pronouns, "POSS" can be either a pronoun or a noun.

(296) (NCM-)noun (NCM-POSS) (NCM-Dep_1) (NCM-Dep_2) … (NCM-DEF)

One other construction is used for what in English would be a possessive (297). The possessive on an object is promoted to a verbal argument. Instead of a Noun-Poss structure the order is NP NP, with the second noun being marked with the possessive.

(297) a. ùbɛ̀tɔ̀dì kɛ̀r cɛ́ bɔ̀lùwɔ́

ù	bɛ́t-dì	kɛ̀r	cɛ́	bɔ̀l	ù-wɔ̀
3SG	cut-CMP	snake	DEF	head	$NCM_{wɔ}$-3SG.POSS

'He has cut (off) the snake's head.' Lit. '… cut the snake its head.' (om 7/23/2000)

b. ìlá ìcɛ́ ŋà kúl ùyànt cɛ́ ǹkɔ̀ŋ wɔ́

ì-lá	ì-cɛ́		ŋà	kúl
$NCM_{nyɛ}$-louse	$NCM_{nyɛ}$-DEF		3PL	drink
ù-yànt	cɛ́	ǹ-kɔ̀ŋ		wɔ̀
$NCM_{wɔ}$-infant	DEF	NCM_{ma}-blood		3SG.POSS

'The lice sucked the baby's blood.'Lit. '… sucked the baby its blood.' (jd 1/24/05)

In both cases the possessor is animate and an appeal to the Animacy Hierarchy is again appropriate, i.e., justification for more animate arguments moving closer to the verb.

The same order applies when names replace animate entities.

(298) Possession with names

máátà bɔ̀lùwɔ́ ŋwɔ̀í pègèlè-pègèlè

máátà	bɔ̀l-wɔ́	wɔ̀nɔ̀-ì	pègèlè-pègèlè
name	head- NCM	PRO-*ì*	jumbled

'Maata's head (thinking) is all jumbled.' (jd 1/28/06)

A similar alternative strategy is to focus the possessor.

(299) a. làkán tʃé wɔnɔ́ kí, sì ké tàrà wó
làkán cɛ̀ wɔnɔ́kí, sì ké tàrà-wɔ́
woman DEF DEM, 1PL see older.sibling-3SG.POSS
'We saw the big brother of this woman.' (bs 2/19/06)

b. làmì wàncé wɔ́, wɔ́ɔ́ kì
là mì wàncé wɔ́ wɔ́ kì
wife 1SG.POSS sister 3SG.POSS 3SG.HAB this
'This is the sister of my wife.' (as 7/22/00; jd 2/20/05)
(Lit. 'It is my wife her sister is this.')

A final way of indicating possession is with the preposition *mù*, which can be translated as 'of, for'.

(300) a. tùk ù pàl lìcɛ́
tùk mù pàl lì-cɛ́
heat of sun NCM-DEF
'warmth of the sun' (jd 1/22/05)

b. ǹtʲáŋ múŋ túmɛ̃́
ǹ-cáŋ mù tùmɛ́
NCM-tooth of dog
'teeth of the dog' (bs 7/20/00; jd 2/20/05)

c. nàmùànín mà kì
nà mù à-nín mà kì
footprint of NCM-people PRO here
'These are footprints.'

If any generalization can be made about the constructions featuring possessor animates (including names), it is that speakers avoid having them in the post-possessed position, where possession is marked by simple juxtaposition.

1.2 Attributive constructions

Attributive constructions take the form N-Adj, where the adjective shows agreement with the noun, as shown by the examples in (301a and b).

(301) (NCM-)noun NCM-Adjective constructions

a. dòmɔ̀ tìtí ìkúp ìtì
dòmɔ̀ tì-tí ì-kúp ì-tì
shirt NCM-black NCM-hair NCM-black
'black shirts' 'black hair' (bs 7/19/00)

b. ǹkén ǹdòìyá ǹtì ǹcɔ̀n (ǹcɛ́)
ǹ-kén ǹ-dòìyá ǹ-tì ǹ-cɔ̀n (ǹ-cɛ́)
NCM-knife NCM-sharp NCM-black NCM-two (NCM-def)
'two sharp black knives' (jd 12/12/04)

Agreement markers are sometimes omitted when a series of dependent elements follows. The definite article is missing a prefix in (302a) and the adjective itself in (302b).

(302) Agreement markers omitted

a. àránɔ́ àbòmùŋ cɛ̀
à-ránɔ́ à-bòmùŋ cɛ̀
NCM-farmer NCM-fat Ø-DEF
'the fat farmers' (im 7/30/00, jd 1/30/06)

b. à tɔ́kdì dòòmwà tì-mì sànà
à tɔ́k-dì dɔ̀mɔ̀ tì-mì sànà
1SG wash-CMP clothes NCM-1SG Ø-new
'I washed my new clothes.' (ab 7/22/00, jd 8/11/05)

Despite these exceptions, examples in 286 and (287), similar to (301b), show how "relentless" the prefixed agreement markers can be.

1.3 Distributive

The mark of the Distributive is the morpheme *ó* between singular forms of the relevant nouns (with their prefixes), and the meaning of the construction is 'every __'.

(303) The distributive

a. ìsɔ́ɔ́ísɔ̀
ì-sɔ́-ɔ́-í-sɔ̀
NCM-morning-DIST-NCM-morning
'every morning'

b. pàrɛ́nópàrɛ́n
pàrɛ́n-ɔ́-pàrɛ́n
evening-DIST-evening
'every evening' (jd 2/11/06)

c. nɔ́ònɔ́ wɔ́ yèmà làn

nɔ́-ò-nɔ́	wɔ́	yèmà	làn
person-DIST-person	PRO	want	PRO

'Everyone wants one.' (yt 7/17/05)

2. The verb phrase

Because a great deal has already been said about the verb phrase, this section looks at several verb phrase topics that need to be treated in their entirety as coherent phenomena. Readjustments to argument structure have been discussed in the section on verb extensions (1). In the first section is detailed the rule of *i* Insertion. The fact that the Mani verb can be split has already led to some considerable exploration of the verb phrase, but split predicates and the S-Aux-O-V syntagm are treated in greater detail below. In the final section I conclude the discussion of the verb phrase by arguing for the Inner VP, a sub-constituent of the VP consisting of Tense and pronominal arguments.

2.1 *i* Insertion

The process of *i* Insertion at first glance might be considered a phonological process "*i* Epenthesis", but because it is syntactically conditioned, being particularly sensitive to verbal constituents, it is treated here as part of the verb phrase, more specifically, as part of the Inner Verb. Early on in the analysis it seemed that the presence of a word-final [i] was arbitrary and perhaps a consequence of phonological phrasing. Later on, however, it became obvious that it was highly constrained in its distribution and reinforced some suspicions about a sub-constituent within the VP.

A few caveats must be presented before the analysis, which must be considered extremely tentative, some of them distinct to the particular phe-nomenon. Because *i* was not found in all possible contexts ("possible" in the sense of conforming to the analysis presented below), its status is uncertain. Furthermore, its analysis was neglected and its presence sometimes ignored because its distribution was initially thought to be arbitrary and later phonologically conditioned. Speakers varied as to their use of the particle; whether due to individual variation or to the nature of the language itself was difficult to determine. Thus, the analysis is advanced with some hesitation.

In the examples which follow its gloss in the morpheme line is represented by "i" (with variable tone). I now consider its distribution. The last part of this section is devoted to its function. Little needs to be said about the particle's phonology. Its segmental content does not change and in all cases, the clitic *-i* is

toneless and takes on the tone of the preceding vowel. It always appears at the right edge of a constituent and does not affect syllable structure.

I begin with a look at different tenses because the particle seems to be closely related to the verb phrase; more particularly *-i* is sensitive to Tense. Insertion takes place, first of all, after verbs in the Perfective with the extra vowel first discussed in 6. The examples in (304) show the clitic after the inflected verb in every case. Arguments or other material may follow, as shown in examples (304b and c). That it is indeed the Perfective tense is shown by both its semantics and its form, the L-H tonal pattern. The third example (304c) is significant in that the morpheme is on the second of two clauses, where the first is negated. The significance of these facts is discussed below.

(304) *i* after verbs with an extra vowel in the Perfective

a. à nyɛ̀lɛ̀í ǹdé
à nyɛ̀l-ɛ́-í ǹ-dé
sm.1SG taste-EV-*i* NCM-food
'I tasted the food.' (jd 2/19/05)

b. ù gbɔ̀pɔ́í mààtà ì-dìrèŋ wɔ́
ù gbɔ̀p-ɔ́-í mààtà ì-dìrèŋ wɔ́
3SG plait-EV-*i* Maata NCM-hair 3SG
'She has plaited Marta's hair.' (jd 2/19/05)

c. àpùmàcɛ́ ŋà ʃɛ̀mɛ́n ŋà càlái
à-pùm à-cɛ́ ŋà sɛ̀m-ɛ́n ŋà càl-á-í
NCM-some NCM-DEF 3PL stand-NEG 3PL sit-EV-*i*
'Some are not standing up, they are seated.' (om 7/23/00; jd 8/11/05)

As was mentioned above and must be understood throughout this section, just because a distribution can be stated, it does not mean the particle is always found in that context. The particle's presence can in no way be considered obligatory, although in some cases a sentence was considered ungrammatical without the morpheme.

In the Habitual, insertion can take place after the subject and only there when there are no pronominal objects, as in (305). In this tense the subject carries the mark of Tense, as demonstrated in 1. It will also be recalled that subject pronouns rather than subject markers are used, and *i* appears only on these pronouns. The other mark of the Habitual is high tone, which spreads to *-i*. The examples show the clitic with different pronouns.

(305) *i* after subjects when the verb is in the Habitual

a. sɔ̀k ùcɛ́ wɔ́́í bòmù
sɔ̀k	ù-cɛ́	wɔ́-í	bòmù
chicken	NCM-DEF	PRO-*i*	big

'The chicken is big.' (ys 7/29/00; jd 3/13/05)

b. cɛ́m cɛ̀ ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ŋɔ̀í kàtɔ́l[32]
cɛ́m	cɛ̀	wɔ̀nɔ̀	ŋɔ́-í	kàtɔ́l
time	DEF	DEM	PRO-*i*	hard

'Times are rough.' (Lit. 'This time is hard.') (jd 1/22/05; 3/12/05)

c. kól lɔ̀í dìyíl
kól	lɔ́-í	dì-yíl
there	PRO-*i*	emph-far

'That place is far.' (jd 2/18/05; 3/6/05)

d. pétí cɛ̀ tái kó nà
pé	tí-cɛ̀	tái	kó	nà
stone	NCM-DEF	PRO-*i*	to	road

There are some rocks in the road. (jd 12/7/2004, 2/16/2005)

In (306a) the particle *-i* occurs after the pronoun *wɔ*, the object of *tɔ̀ŋwùlɔ́* 'bury'. In comparable (306b), in which a full NP (*bɛ̀ cɛ̀* 'the chief') appears in the same slot, *-i* does not appear after the nominal object. It is allowed only after the verb 'bury' marked with tense (Perfective), as shown in (306c).

(306) *-i* after a single pronominal object following a verb

a. à pɛ̀ tɔ̀ŋwùlɔ́ wɔ̀í céncà
à-pɛ̀	tɔ̀ŋwùl-ɔ́	wɔ̀-ì	céncà
NCM-PRO	bury-EV	3SG-*ì*	yesterday

'He was buried yesterday.'

b. *ànínà cɛ̀ ŋà tɔ̀ŋwùlɔ́ bɛ̀ cɛ̀-ì
à-nínà	à-cɛ̀	ŋà	tɔ̀ŋwùl-ɔ́-í	bɛ̀	cɛ̀
ncm-person	ncm-def	3pl.sm	bury-ev-i	chief	def

'They buried the chief.'

c. ànínà cɛ̀ ŋà tɔ̀ŋwùlɔ́í bɛ̀ cɛ̀
'They buried the chief.' (jd 11/28/04)

d. pɛ̀ kóm wɔ̀ì kɔ̀ fɔ̀lɔ̀
pɛ̀ kóm wɔ̀-ì kɔ̀ fɔ̀lɔ̀
PRO bear 3SG-*i* to world
'Someone brought him into the world.' (om 7/23/00)

Thus the right edge of the tensed verb without following pronouns and the tensed verb with following pronouns are both recognized by *-i* as a landing spot for insertion and attachment.

In (307a) is an example of *-i* after a second pronominal object following a verb. Thus, it appears after the rightmost pronoun. Without the *-i* (example (307b)) the subject felt the sentence to be ungrammatical, as shown in (307b), his intuition supporting the non-optionality of the marking (in his grammar).

(307) *i* after the second pronominal object following a verb

a. ŋà wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mì kɔ̀ì
ŋà wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mì kɔ̀-ì
3PL send 1SG PRO-*i*
'They sent it (the bread) to me.'

b. *ŋà wɔ̀ŋɔ́ mì kɔ̀
'They sent it (the bread) to me.' (jd 2/18/05)

That *-i* appears not on the rightmost tensed item or on multiple items is shown by the example in (308). The marker occurs after the pronominal object *ma* of the higher clause but not on the subject *ma* or the verb of the embedded sentence.

(308) à ké màì má sɔ̀rìnìn
à ké mà-ì má sórí nìn
1SG see.PERF PRO-*i* PRO mix RECIP
'I saw them (the waters) mixing with each other.' (jd 11/27/04)

When the clauses are coordinate, once again the clitic appears only once, in the first possible spot. In both (309a and b) *-i* attaches to the pro-nominal object *lɔ̀*. In (309c) it is on the verb *ye* 'dance', in (309d) on *hùnɔ̀* 'come'

(309) *-i* on the first of two or more coordinate clauses

a. ù kɔ́ lɔ̀ì bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín ŋwɔ́
ù kɔ́ lɔ̀-ì bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín wɔ̀nɔ̀
3SG go there-*i* and 3SG buy it (a hoe)
'He went there (to the market) and he bought it.' (jd 11/28/04, 8/8/05)

b. ù kɔ́ lɔ́í bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín ŋɔ́ bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù mùní
ù kɔ́ lɔ́-í bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín ŋɔ́ bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù mùní
3SG go PRO-*i* and 3SG buy PRO and 3SG return
'He went there and bought it (the hoe) and came back.' (jd 11/28/04)

c. nɔ̀pòkán yéí, nɔ̀pòkán pùm cɛ́lcɔ̀ cɔ́ndí
nɔ̀pòkán yé-í, nɔ̀pòkán pùm cɛ́lcɔ̀ cɔ́n-dí
man dance-*i* man some other sing-CMP
One man danced, the other sang. (ys 7/20/00, jd 9/23/03)

d. ŋɔ̀ pɔ̀r cɛ́ hùnɔ̀í, nǐlàbí là, ù cókɛ̀ kɔ̀fó
ŋɔ̀ pɔ̀r cɛ́ hùn-ɔ̀-í, nǐlàbí là
PRO rain DEF come-REL-*i* therefore PRO
ù-cɔ́k cɛ̀ kɔ̀ fó
NCM-grass DEF go grow
'Because it rained, the grass will grow.' (jd 1/24/05; 1/30/06) (from (99))

The next step is to show what happens when object pronouns move into the gap created by a split predicate, when Tense is carried by the first part of the verb, as in the Habitual. The example in (310a) shows that the clitic appears after the pronoun within a split predicate. In (310b) appears an example similar to (310a) but with a different pronoun.

(310) *-i* follows a single pronoun within the split predicate

a. wɔ́ tù ùpɛ̀lɛ̀ / wɔ́ kɔ̀ì tú
wɔ́ tù ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀ / wɔ́ kɔ̀-ì tú
3SG beat NCM-rice / 3SG PRO-*i* beat
'He will beat the rice.' / 'He will beat it.'

b. à cé làì cɛ̀nìn
à cé là-ì cɛ̀nìn
1SG IPF PRO-*i* think
'I was thinking about it.' (jd 2/5/06)

The clitic *-i* likewise follows the second of two pronouns within the split predicate.

(311) *-i* after the second pronoun inside a split predicate

ŋà cè mì kɔ̀ì wɔ̀ŋɔ́
ŋà cè mì kɔ̀-ì wɔ̀ŋɔ̀
3PL IPF 1SG PRO-*i* send
'They were sending it (the bread) to me.' (jd 2/18/05)

The examples in (312) show that when a verb extension becomes part of the verb, the *-i* is placed after the extension (and the verb is tensed). Example (312a) shows the verb without its extension but with its extra vowel and *-i*. (The object is optional.) In (312b) the Benefactive *nɛ* is present and the *–i* comes after it.

(312) a. à sɔ̀tɔ́í (nyémpìpùm)
à sɔ̀t-ɔ́-í (nyémpìpùm)
1SG get-EV-*i* (something)
'I got (something).'

b. à sɔ̀tɔ̀nɛ́í tàrà mì pɔ̀kán cɛ̀ nyémpìpùm
à sɔ̀tɔ̀-nɛ́-í tàrà mì pɔ̀kán cɛ̀ nyémpìpùm
1SG get-BEN-*i* older.sibling 1SG male DEF something
'I got something for my older brother.' (jd 2/23/05)

Yes/No questions also feature *-i*, in exactly the same way as declaratives, as do questions with question words.

(313) Questions with *–i*

a. ǹ tè làí?
ǹ tè là-í
2SG hear PRO-*i*
'Do you hear it (the pot boiling)?' (mr 7/19/05; jd 2/26/06)

b. ǹdɔ̀lɔ́í ɲɛ̀ŋ kɛ̀lɛ́ŋ
ǹ lɔ̀l-ɔ́-í yɛ̀ŋkɛ̀lɛ́n
2SG sleep-EV-*i* well
'Did you sleep well?' (my 7/17/00, rev jd 2/20/05)

c. yɛ̀ cɛ́m ŋɔ́ì kì yà
yɛ̀ cɛ́m ŋɔ́-ì kì yà
what time PRO.HAB-*i* here Q
'What time is it now?' (jd 1/22/05)

Another environment is the emphatic Affirmative Hortative. Tense moves from the closest pronoun to a co-referent and preceding subject pronoun, *-i* appears after this subject pronoun (see the discussion preceding example (218) for details on the process). The examples are repeated here.

(314) *-i* after the subject pronoun in the emphatic Affirmative Hortative

a. wɔ̀í, ù màr wɔ́
wɔ̀-í ù màr wɔ́
3SG-*i* 3SG love 3SG
'She must love him.' (jd 2/18/05) (from (218))

b. yáí, à màr wɔ́
'I must love her.'

c. ŋáí, ŋà màr wɔ́
'They must love her.

Most of the environments discussed in detail thus far involve individual simple clauses. The one comment that was made about multi-clause structures was that the particle appears in expected places on the first of a series of coordinate clauses and on the higher and first of two clauses where the second is embedded. The situation is a bit more complicated in other subordinate clauses, where the marker does not appear in its expected position.

In most cases, *-i* comes at the end of the subordinate clause after a relative marker or binding particle (see Chapter 4, section 12), in which sections the following examples also appear. In the first example (a.), the morpheme would be expected to appear after one of the tensed verbs, not after the relative marker. In b. it also appears unexpectedly after the relative marker. Example c. is odd, not because of an unexpected placement but because of a double placement, on both verbs in the first subordinate clause containing coordinate vebs.

(315) Subordinate clauses with *-i*

a. ìnòkúlúŋ ìcɛ̀ nyà pìn yɔ́í nyɛ̀ ʃínándì
ì-nòkúlúŋ ì-cɛ̀ nyɛ̀ à pìn yɔ̀-í nyɛ̀ sìnán-dì
NCM-rice NCM-DEF PRO 1SG buy REL-*i* PRO spoil-CMP
'The husked rice I bought is spoiled.' (jd 11/27/04) (from (198) and (355) b)

b. ŋɔ́ɔ́ càmɔ̀ cɛ́kaćɛ̀ tènkɛ́l yɔ́í, ŋà màrá́wɔ̀n
ŋɔ̀ càmɔ̀ cɛ́ kaćɛ̀ tènkɛ́l yɔ̀-í
PRO boy DEF formerly alive REL-*i*,
ŋà màrá wɔ̀-én
3PL love 3SG-NEG
'When the boy was alive, they didn't love him.' (jd 2/18/05) (from 211)

c. lɔ̀ŋgbéŋ kùtàí ɔ̀mà ùbusɔ́í, bɔ́lɔ̀ ǹ sàŋ ùpɛ̀lɛ̀
lɔ̀ ǹ gbéŋ kùtà-í ɔ̀mà ù-bùsɔ́-í
when 2SG finish hoe-*i* or NCM-plow-*i*
bɔ́lɔ̀ ǹ sàŋ ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀
then 2SG sow NCM-rice
'After you finish hoeing or plowing, then you sow the rice.'
(jd 1/29/06) (from 237d)

These examples are not fully understood and are presented to show areas of future work. The syntax is complicated but constrained and at least partially susceptible to analysis. The semantics of *-i*, however, are elusive; subjects could offer no explanation and the distribution was not transparent.

Crucially, however, *-i* is incompatible with Neg, thus suggesting something about its semantics. In (316a) sentence, repeated from 310, *-i* appears right where it should. In (316b) it is replaced by the negative marker, showing that the two are in complementary distribution.

(316) The incompatibility of *-i* with Neg

a. à cé làì cènìn
à cé là-ì cènìn
1SG IPF PRO-*i* think
'I was thinking about it.'

b. à cé làn cènìn
à cé là-én cènìn
1SG IPF PRO-NEG think
'I was not thinking about it.' (jd 2/5/06)

The closest one can get to the semantics, then, is that *-i* is associated with affirmative sentences.

With this extensive set of examples, one can see how tightly constrained the appearance of *-i* is. The generalization that will become clear with exemplification from other parts of the grammar is that the Inner VP is the relevant constituent for the location of *-i*, as well as for Neg.[33]

2.2 Split predicates, the S-Aux-O-V-X syntagm

This section treats Mani in terms of what has been known as the "S-Aux-O-V syntagm" (Gensler 1994; Gensler 1997) or "split predicate" (Gensler and Güldemann 2003). Most languages such as Mani with this syntagm also have the alternative word order SVO when there is no auxiliary. The one major difference from the prototypical exemplar is that the Atlantic languages, except for Kisi, move only pronouns within the split predicate, as exemplified above and below. Languages with "true" split predicates allow one or more objects in the slot. A detailed analysis of the phenomenon in the closely related language Kisi can be found in Childs 2005, along with some discussion of the phenomenon in the Atlantic languages in general. In that paper, the term "auxiliary" was used broadly to include pre-verbal particles or even pronouns that carried TMAP information. That practice will be followed here.

The general finding in Childs 2005 was that predicate splitting by pronominal object arguments was rather more common in Atlantic than had hitherto been known. Because it was so widespread, it was suggested that the structure be at least one of the reconstructed word orders for Atlantic and that the com-

monality might reflect a (typological) unity to the group otherwise found to be fairly elusive (Wilson 1989). Mani provides evidence to further strengthen that claim.

Predicate-splitting features only pronominalized objects in Mani, as is the general pattern elsewhere in Atlantic. Only in Kisi do all objects move inside, although a few Atlantic languages hint at such a movement. Thus, in the broad sense of auxiliary used here, several Mani pre-verbal markers qualify as forming part of a tense-bearing con-stituent for the many reasons advanced above; qualifying markers appear in (317).

(317) Mani auxiliaries, i.e., preverbal carriers of Tense

Pronouns in the Habitual (the "Subject Pronouns", Section 1 in Chapter 7)
Imperfect and auxiliary *ce* (see Section 3 in Chapter 7)
"Strong" Hortatives (see 5 in Chapter 7)
Negative Hortative *mà* (6 in Chapter 7)

All three "auxiliaries" are targets for Pronoun Movement. When object pronouns (verbal arguments) are present, they appear between the auxiliary and the verb (the "O" in S-Aux-O-V), i.e., between the two parts of the split predicate. Thus, the key factor is pre-verbal tense marking or auxiliary status, as has been also found throughout Atlantic, despite the rarity of the phenomenon elsewhere in the world's languages (considered a "quirk" even in Niger-Congo (Gensler 1997:68).[34] What is possibly unique about Mani is that object pronouns form part of these constituents, as well as with tensed verbs when the pronouns appear after the lexical verbs.

Some representative examples are provided below. Full exemplification can be found in each of the respective sections given above in (317). The first example comes from the Habitual. As can be seen, pronouns (here the pronoun *kɔ̀*) are inside the split predicate or between aux, here represented by the pronoun *pɛ́* (with a high tone; it is normally low-toned), and the lexical verb *dɔ̀kɔ́l*.

(318) lɔ́ pɛ́ kɔ̀ dɔ̀kɔ́l yɔ̀

lɔ́	pɛ́	kɔ̀	dɔ̀kɔ́l	yɔ̀
PRO.LOC	PRO_{INDEF}.HAB	PRO_{INDEF}	pile.up	REL

'(Then they carry it to the place) where they are collecting it.' (jd 2/ll/06)

That Pronoun Movement is obligatory can be seen by the ungrammaticality of (319c). The first two grammatical examples (319a and b) show how pronouns must move inside when the predicate is split in either an affirmative or a negative sentence.

(319) Imperfect *ce* (see 3)

a. à cé kɔ̀ bɛ̀ kò tìbɛ̀kɛ̀
à	cé	kɔ̀	bɛ̀	kò	tì-bɛ̀kɛ̀
1SG	IPF	PRO	put	to	NCM-bag

'I was putting it into bags.'

b. à cé kɔ̀n bɛ́
à	cé	kɔ̀-én	bɛ́
1SG	IPF	PRO-NEG	put

'I will not put it (into bags).'

c. *à cé bɛ̀ kɔ̀ kò tìbɛ̀kɛ̀
à	cé	bɛ̀	kɔ̀	kò	tì-bɛ̀kɛ̀
1SG	IPF	put	PRO	to	NCM-bag

'I was putting it into bags.' (jd 2/5/06)

Pronouns appear inside the split predicate (320a and b) and receive the mark of negation (320b).

(320) a. yá wɔ̀ mìntà
á	wɔ̀	mìntá
1SG	3SG	fearless

'I am fearless of him.'

b. à cé wɔ̀n mìntá
à	cé	wɔ̀-én	mìntá
1SG	IPF	3SG-NEG	fearless

'I am afraid (not fearless) of him.' (jd 1/22/05, 3/12/05)

It is also possible for two and even three objects (see 248c) to move inside the split predicate, as in (321a). In (321b) the pronominal objects remain outside after the Perfective, and in (321c) moving them inside in the Perfective is ungrammatical.

(321) Two pronouns inside split predicate in Habitual

a. wɔ́ mì là nyànɛ́
wɔ́	mì	là	nyà-nɛ́
3SG	1SG	PRO	do-BEN

'He will do it for me.'

b. ù nyà-nɛ́ mì là
ù	nyà-nɛ́	mì	là
3SG	do-BEN	1SG	PRO

'He did it for me.' (jd 1/30/05, 3/12/05)

c. * ù mì là nyànɛ́

There is also the special case of *ce* negation of *ka ce*, resulting in a double-*ce* construction, the first representing an auxiliary, the second the Imperfective. This time the pronoun moves to the leftmost *ce*, where the pronoun receives the mark of negation.

(322) à cè kɔ́n kà cè bɛ̀
à cè kɔ̀-ɛ́n kà cè bɛ̀
1SG AUX PRO-NEG PAST IPF put
'I was not putting it.' (jd 2/5/04)

The examples below (323b-g) display grammaticality judgements based on (323a). In (323b) the 'palm trees' are pronominalized and the tense is Past Imperfective, pre-verbal *ká cè*. With Tense to the left of the verb on a pre-verbal element, pronouns (here only *nyɛ̀*) settle in between AUX and the verb. Because of the presence of the pronoun, to negate sentence (323b), one cannot simply put the negative on either Imperfective *ce* or on the pronoun, but rather must supply an auxiliary *ce* before *ká*. The auxiliary itself cannot be marked for negation (323d), but only the pronominal object, now immediately to the right of the tensed auxiliary (323g).

(323) a. bárnɔ́ wɔ́ bàr ìwá ìrà cɛ̀mbúl
bárnɔ́ wɔ́ bàrì-wá ì-rà cɛ̀m-búl
tapster 3SG.HAB tapNCM-palm NCM-three time-one
'The tapster is tapping three trees at once.'

b. bárnɔ́ ká cè nyɛ̀ bàr
tapster PAST IPF PRO tap
'The tapster was tapping them (the trees).'

c. * bárnɔ́ ká cè-n nyɛ̀ bàr

d. * bárnɔ́ ká cè nyɛ̀-n bàr

e. * bárnɔ́ cè-n ká cè nyɛ̀ bàr

f. * bárnɔ́ cè-n nyɛ̀ ká cè bàr

g. bárnɔ́ cè nyɛ̀-ɛ́n ká cè bàr
tapster AUX PRO-NEG PAST IPF tap
'The tapster had not been tapping them.' (jd 2/25/06)

What the extended example in (323) shows is that Negative Placement and Pronoun Movement have different landing sights but both bear witness to a constituent with Tense within the VP.

What the totality of the examples in this section show is that object pronouns must appear immediately to the right of the tensed element in a verb phrase.

That tensed element may be any one of a number of distinctions marked on the verb or marked independently on preverbal elements. Tense and its attendant object pronouns form an independent constituent to which Negation pays attention. The negative marker cliticizes to the rightmost member of this constituent, which is discussed in the next section as the "Inner VP".

2.3 The Inner VP

This section presents some arguments for considering pronominal objects as part of a verbal constituent larger than what is usually considered the verb yet smaller than and/or distinct from what could be considered the verb phrase. It draws on data presented elsewhere, e.g., Chapter 4, but particularly on the preceding section, the discussion of the S-AUX-O-V syntagm in section 10.2.2, which in itself depends on much foregoing discussion. The purpose of this section is to collate all these previous statements into a coherent analysis.

The arguments are several and have been put forward elsewhere piecemeal. Here they are summarized. The reasons for including pronominal objects as part of a Tense-plus complex, the Inner VP, are at least the facts below.

- Pronominal objects appear immediately after Tense, with no intervening material, whether Tense is marked on the verb, a pronoun, or an auxiliary
- When there is no tensed element on the left to be negated, an auxiliary is used to the left of the non-tense-bearing element (*ka*) with which pronouns then form an indissoluble constituent.
- The negative clitic always appears after the constituent therein formed
- *i* Insertion also recognizes the Inner Verb (and is in complementary distribution with Neg)
- Pronouns appear after the pre-verbal Negative Hortative marker *ma*, which replaces the Subject Pronouns as the carrier of tense (the Subject Markers are now used to register person).

The Inner VP, then, is a grammatical constituent consisting of

(324) Inner VP: [Tense (pro) (pro) (pro)].

Tense is here understood as being expressed on one of three potentially tensed constituents: the lexical verb, an auxiliary, or a subject pronoun.

The final piece of evidence for the Inner VP is the process of *i*-Insertion. First discussed in conjunction with the harmonic extra vowel (6) and again with the Perfective (2), and explored in depth in Phrase-level syntax, Section 2.1 *i* Insertion, this element also pays attention to the rightmost boundary of the In-

ner VP. It appears in three affirmative environments: after a subject pronoun marked for tense (Habitual), after the Perfective with a extra vowel, and after any pronoun objects. These three environments are just those marking the right edge of the Inner VP. As does Negation, so is the process of *i*-Insertion sensitive to the right edge of the Inner VP.

Tonal behavior (HTS) seems to pay attention to the boundary, although not enough evidence exists to make a strong argument in support of this claim (see also the discussion around 202). The example in (325) (and others) is nonetheless suggestive. On the pronoun *lɔ́* 'there' with *í* attached is a high tone, presumably the mark of the Perfective, normally on the verb *kɔ* itself. That it is not High Tone Spread (HTS) is shown by the fact that there is no high tone on the verb itself, only the L of the LH contour. What this means is that the high tone on the pronoun is the Perfective high, assigned to the rightmost syllable of the verb. In this case, then, the post-verbal pronoun is considered a domain for tense marking, thus forming a constituent with the verb, supporting the core argument of the Inner VP claim. Unfortunately there is immediate counterevidence in the second clause – the Perfective high appears on the verb, not its object pronoun.[35] It is the inconsistency of evidence such as this which makes the claim for support from tonal evidence somewhat equivocal.

(325) ù kɔ̀ lɔ́í bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín wɔ̀

ù	kɔ̀	lɔ́-í	bɔ̀lɔ̀	ù	pín	wɔ̀
3SG	go	there-*i*	then	3SG	buy	3SG

'He went there and bought it.' (jd 11/28/04, 3/13/05) (repeated from (241))

In summary, then, the entity designated the Inner VP has importance for several syntactic processes. In addition, it provides another parameter for evaluating the syntax of split predicate constructions, one that applies equally well to those languages with the less grammaticized split predicate in more analytical languages, such as Mande, Kru, and likely Senufo, but also to more synthetic languages such as Bantu. Similar facts obtain in at the two related but incompletely analyzed languages Kim and Bom.

3. The adpositional phrase

Adpositional phrases consist of an adposition and a noun phrase. Mani has a number of adpositions, a few multipurpose prepositions but a possibly open class of postpositions, serving elsewhere as locative adverbs. The postpositions, however, never appear alone but occur only in tandem with a preposition. Some

examples of prepositions appear in (326); postpositional phrases are found in (327), appearing only with the multipurpose preposition *kò* 'to, on, etc.'

(326) Prepositional phrases

a. ù bĩ̋ ŋ̀kóŋ kò pà wɔ̀
ù	bí-n	ǹ-kɔ̀n	kò	pà	wɔ̀
3SG.SM	have-MID	NCM$_{ma}$-blood	to	hand	3SG

'He has blood on his hand.' (lt 7/20/05; ys 7/25/00; jd 2/20/05)

b. ìpáìcɛ́ nyɛ́ ká bòlyɔ̀
ì-pá	ì-cɛ́	nyɛ́	kà	bòl-yɔ̀
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-sore	NCM$_{nyɛ}$-DEF	PRO$_{nyɛ}$.HAB	on	head-REL

'these sores which are on (my) head' (im 7/30/00; jd 3/13/05)

c. ǹdík mù wís máŋá kì
ǹ-dík	mù	wís	má	ŋà	kì
NCM$_{ma}$-hunger	of	meat	PRO$_{ma}$.foc	3PL	here

'They are hungry for meat.' (jd 7/23/00, 8/11/05)

d. kɛ́r cɛ̀, pɛ̀ dìwɔ̀ì nù bàtɔ́
kɛ́r	cɛ̀	pɛ̀	dì	wɔ̀ì	nù	bátɔ́
snake	DEF	PRO	kill	3SG-*i*	with	stick

'The snake, someone killed it with a stick.' (jd 11/28/04)

(327) Postpositional phrases

a. ǹkéén ǹcɛ̀ màĩ̋? kò tébɛ̀l tók
ǹ-kén	ǹ-cɛ̀	mà-ì	kò	tébɛ̀l	tók
NCM-knife	NCM-DEF	PRO-*i*	to	table	top

'The knives are on the table.'

b. à ké nɔ́ kò tò àyì
à	ké	nɔ́	kò	tò	àyì
1SG	see.PERF	person	to	forest	inside

'I saw someone in the forest.' (jd 12/12/06, 2/12/06)

c. nɔ̀ɔ̀ céé lɔ̀n kò kìlɛ̀?
nɔ̀	cé	lɔ̀-én	kò	kìl-ɛ̀
person	COP	PRO-NEG	to	house-inside

'There is no one in the house.' (jd 12/7/2004, 2/20/05)

Chapter 11
Clause-level syntax

This chapter looks at processes that take the entire sentence as their domain. These include question formation, focus, and topicalization.

1. Questions

Two formally different types of questions are found in Mani, Yes/No questions and those requiring a question word, Q-word questions. Yes/No questions are distinguished solely by a final intonational rise. Word order is identical to that of statements, and *i*-Insertion is common at the right edge of the Inner VP (b. and c. examples), just as in declaratives.

(328) a. ù yó gból ìwís ìcɛ́
ù yó gból ì-wís ì-cɛ́
3SG eat liver NCM-animal NCM-DEF
'Did he eat the liver of the animal?' (jd 2/19/05)

b. mɔ́ sɔ̀-í
mɔ́ sɔ̀-i
2SG clean-*i*
'Are you cleaning?'

c. ḿmɔ́ sɔ̀ yɛ̀í
ḿ mɔ́sɔ̀-yɛ̀-í
2SG 2SG clean-STAT-*i*
'Are you the person cleaning?' (jd 2/4/06)

d. m̀gbíndì yòí
ǹ gbén-dì yò-í
2SG finish-PERF eat-*i*
'Have you finished eating?' (jd 11/17/04)

The syntax of Q-word questions requires an initial question word followed by the sentence in its normal order with a gap at the point of extraction. In addition, a question particle *yà* appears sentence finally. Q-word questions are formed with the following words:

(329) Question words

lɔ́	'where'	ŋɔ́	'how'
nyɛ́/yɛ́	'what, which, who'	kéná	'how'
nyɛ́ ŋ̀-cɛ̀m	'when, what time'		
what NCM-time			

Some examples of questions appear in (330).

(330) Q-word questions

a. lɔ́pɛ́ mɔ̀ì yà
   lɔ́ pɛ́ mɔ̀ì yà
   where PRO come.from Q
   'Where are you (lit. someone) coming from?' (jd 1/24/05)

b. nyɛ́ hùn yà
   nyɛ́ hùn yà
   who come Q
   'Who came (here)?' (om 7/23/00; jd 1/30/06)

c. ŋɔ́nyá ǹ sì láí yà
   ŋɔ́nyá ǹ sì là-ì yà
   how 2SG know PRO-*i* Q
   'How did you manage to know it?' (jd 1/23/05, 8/8/05)

There is also a way to form tag questions using an areally common form found at least in Mani, Soso, and local French, namely, [nyɛ̌] roughly translated as 'right' or 'not so' (from French *hein* [ɛ̃]?). (Bom, Kim, and Mende use [hìyɛ].) In Fula and Malinké, the two other major languages of Guinea, the word [nɛ̌] (also from French *hein* according to Mamadou Camara (2006 p.c.)) is used. Its meaning can range from a simple channel-checking mechanism to an aggressive demand for a response, much as British English *in't it?*.

(331) à kɔ́ndì. yá mɔ̀ bɔ̀nt, nyɛ̌
   à kɔ́-n-dì yá mɔ̀ bɔ̀nt nyɛ̌
   1SG go-MID-CMP 1SG 2SG meet tag
   'I'm gone. I'll see you, okay?' (mc 11/12/05; jd 2/5/06)

2. Focus

Focus represents another sentence-level phenomenon syntactically similar to question-word questions in fronting a focused constituent with a gap at the point of extraction.[36] The basic generalization is that nouns and NPs can be focused by fronting them and following them with a pronoun. With verbs the process is a little more complicated because verbs must be nominalized before being fronted, and the original tensed verb remains in situ no different from its form in a non-focused sentence.

A great number of constituents can be focused, but not all follow the prototypical pattern of NP focus, i.e., fronting followed by a pronoun and a gap at the point of extraction. The first three items in (332) fit the prototypical pattern. The other three fit in increasingly less prototypical ways as indicated. The discussion is organized according to the order below.

(332) Focusable items

- NPs in any of the following syntactic positions: subject, object, indirect object, predicate nominal
- Full clauses
- Adpositional phrases
- Locative expressions
- Verbs nominalized and fronted, the verb left *in situ*
- Adjectives with their agreeing noun class markers, the adjective left *in situ*
- Pronouns with a change in case for the fronted element but no gap

Example (333a) represents a non-focused transitive sentence. Example (333b) shows the subject being focused and (333c) shows the object being focused. (Here and elsewhere in this section, I have opted for fairly non-English sounding sentences, primarily to clarify the structure of the construction.)

(333) a. càmɔ̀ cɛ́ yó ǹdé ǹcɛ̀

càmɔ̀	cɛ́	yó	ǹ-dé	ǹ-cɛ́
boy	DEF	eat	NCM-food	NCM-DEF

'The boy ate the rice.'

b. càmɔ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ yó ǹdé ǹcɛ̀

càmɔ̀	cɛ́	wɔ̀	yó	ǹdé	ǹ-cɛ̀
boy	DEF	PRO.foc	eat	NCM-food	NCM-DEF

'It is the boy [who] ate the rice.'

c. ǹdé ǹcɛ́ má cámɔ̀ cɛ́ yó
ǹ-dé ǹ-cɛ̀ má cámɔ̀ cɛ́ yó
NCM-food NCM-DEF PRO.FOC boy DEF eat
'It is the rice the boy ate.' (jd 2/4/06)

In the two examples below objects are focused first from the *ta* class and then from the *ma* class to show how different agreeing pronouns are used after the item of focus, the pronoun determined by the noun's noun class (Kim and Bom use default pronouns in such contexts).

(334) a. kìltìcɛ́ tá ŋá sìnìyɛ́
kìl tì-cɛ́ tá ŋá sìnì-yɛ́
house NCM-DEF PRO.FOC 3PL destroy-STAT
'It is the houses they (the rebels) destroyed.'

b. mɛ́ǹ-cɛ́ máŋá pèrìyɛ́
mɛ́n ǹ-cɛ́ má ŋá pèrì-yɛ́
water NCM-DEF PRO.FOC 3PL spill-STAT
'It is the water they spilled.' (jd 2/11/06)

In (335) a full sentence is focused.

(335) ùʃí wɔ̀ kɔ̀ɔ́ tún
ù sí wɔ̀ kɔ́ tùn
$SM_{wɔ}$ fart.PERF 3SG.FOC PRO.HAB smell
'He farted (and) it smells.' (jd 2/5/05, 3/6/05)

The examples in (336) show how an adpositional phrase (AdpP) can be focused. Neither the object nor the adposition itself can be focused alone. The whole phrase must be fronted and is focused by means of a locative pronoun. (336a) contains the unfocused sentence; (336b) contains the focused one.

(336) a. ḿbòm wɔ́ báŋ wɔ́m kò cɛ́
ḿbòm wɔ́ báŋ wɔ́m kò cɛ́
Mbom 3SG.HAB build boat to land
'Mbom is building a boat on land.'

b. kò cɛ́ ǹlɔ̀ ḿbòm wɔ́ báŋ wɔ́m
kò cɛ́ ǹ-lɔ̀ ḿbòm wɔ́ báŋ wɔ́m
to land EMPH-PRO.FOC Mbom 3SG.HAB build boat
'It's on land Mbom is building a boat.' (jd 2/4/06)

Locative expressions can also be focused. Similarly to nouns they are followed by a (locative) pronoun and a gap appears where the locative would normally appear.

(337) kà lɔ́ wɔ́ lɔ̀l

kà	lɔ́	wɔ́	lɔ̀l
here	PRO.foc	3SG.HAB	sleep

'Here he sleeps.' (ow 7/23/00, jd 2/12/06)

Less prototypical members of the focusable list in (332) follow. The example in (338) shows an intransitive verb focused. The verb is nominalized and fronted, followed by the default inanimate pronoun *kɔ̀*, and the inflected verb remains in place.

(338) ùkɛ́ kɔ̀wɔ̀ kɛ̀

ù-kɛ́	kɔ̀	wɔ̀	kɛ̀
NCM-belch	PRO.foc	3SG	belch

'It is belching he's doing.' (jd 2/5/05, 3/6/05)

The examples in (339) show that both the verb and the full VP can be focused. In sentence (339a) it is just the verb, and in (339b) it is the verb with its object. The same focus pronoun *kɔ́* is used for the nominalized verb with and without its object.

(339) Verb and VP focused

a. ù bán kɔ́ ḿbòm wɔ̀ báŋ wɔ́m yɛ̀

ù-bán	kɔ́	ḿbòm	wɔ̀	báŋ	wɔ́m-yɛ̀
NCM-build	PRO.FOC	Mbom	3SG	build	boat-STAT

'It is building a boat that Mbom did (built a boat).'

b. ù bán wɔ́m kɔ́ ḿbòm wɔ̀ báŋ yɛ̀

ù-bán	wɔ́m	kɔ́	ḿbòm	wɔ̀	báŋ-yɛ̀
$NCM_{wɔ}$-build	boat	PRO.FOC	Mbom	3SG	build-STAT

'It is building a boat Mbom built a boat.' (jd 2/4/06)

As the default inanimate pronoun *kɔ́* is used for inanimates and indefinite focused items (see (338) and 339); the default animate pronoun *ŋɔ̀* is used for animates. Normally the animate pronoun *wɔ* would be used in (340), but the default animate pronoun *ŋɔ́* replaces it.

(340) póténɔ̀ ŋɔ́ yà lɛ̀
póténɔ̀ ŋɔ́ yà lɛ̀
European PRO.foc 1SG cop
'It is a European I am.' (ys 7/29/00; jd 2/12/06)

Note also the gap after the copula where the predicate nominal would normally appear and that predicate nominals can also be focused.

Adjectives, like verbs, require that the original adjective be left in place but have no focus pronoun. The adjective itself appears in the same form as the original, that is, with its noun class marker prefixed. Unfocused sentence (341a) has its focused counterpart in (341b). Similarly, sentence (341d) is the focused counterpart of (341c).

(341) a. kìl tìcɛ́ tà tìkít
kìl tì-cɛ́ tà tì-kít
house NCM_{ta}-DEF PRO_{ta} NCM_{ta}-small
'The houses are small.'

b. tìkít kìl tìcɛ́ tà tìkít
tì-kít kìl tì-cɛ́ tà tì-kít
NCM_{ta}-small house NCM_{ta}-DEF PRO_{ta} NCM_{ta}-small
'Small, the houses are small.' (jd 2/4/06)

c. mén ǹcɛ́, mà ǹték
mén ǹ-cɛ́ mà ǹ-ték
water NCM_{ma}-DEF PRO_{ma} NCM_{ma}-small
'There's a little water.'

d. ǹték, mén ǹ cɛ́ mà ǹték
ǹ-ték, mén ǹ-cɛ́ mà ǹ-ték
NCM_{ma}-small water NCM_{ma}-DEF PRO_{ma} NCM_{ma}-small
'A little, the water is a little.' (jd 2/4/06)

To reiterate, there is no pronominal focus marker, only fronting of the adjective with its NCM, leaving the original form in place, just as with verbs. The pause after the fronted material, indicated by a comma in the first line seems also to be a part of the pattern.

In the following example a pronoun is focused, fronting in its demonstrative form, also followed by a slight pause. The subject marker precedes the verb.

(342) a. ù ké mì
ù ké mì
3SG see 1SG
'He sees me.'

b. wɔ̀nɛ́, ù ké mì
wɔ̀nɛ́, ù ké mì
DEM 3SG see 1SG
'It is this (person), he sees me.' (ys 7/29/00)

An alternative or supplemental strategy to simple focus is to front the focused element and then relativize it, as shown in (343). Since the focus element (a pronoun) and the relativizer (a pronoun) are formally indistinguishable, the final relativizing particle *yɔ̀* provides the only clue that relativization is involved.

(343) kìl cɛ́ ŋɔ́ bɛ́ cɛ̀ yók yɔ̀
kìl cɛ́ ŋɔ́ bɛ́ cɛ̀ yók yɔ̀
house DEF FOC chief DEF build REL
'It's the house that the chief built.' (ys 7/29/00; jd 1/30/06)

In the rather complicated example in (344) I have attempted to clarify with bracketing in the morpheme gloss line, a full NP with its relative clause is focused and then relativized, as in (343).

(344) Focus of an NP with its relative clause re-relativized

ǹtétɔ̀l ǹcɛ́ ŋà sìnìyɛ́ pènɛ̀ wɔ́ ŋɔ́
ǹ-tétɔ̀l ǹ-cɛ́
[NCM-insect NCM-DEF
ŋà sìnì-yɛ́ pènɛ̀ wɔ́ ŋɔ́
[PRO.REL destroy-STAT millet REL] PRO.FOC]
ŋà yó ìpóm ìlànɔ̀
ŋà yó ì-póm ì-làn wɔ̀
3PL eat NCM-leaf NCM-PRO REL
'The insects destroyed the millet by eating the leaves.' (jd 2/25/06)
(lit. 'The insects who destroyed his millet who ate its leaves.')

As a final note to this section on focus, I include a few comments on comparable processes in related languages. The North Atlantic language, Balanta, has a similar system using pronouns (Fudeman 1999), similar to Temne (referencing Hutchinson 1969:40,44), a more closely related language belonging to South Atlantic.

When nominal or nominalized constituents are focused in Kisi, an even more closely related language, the focused constituent is fronted, as in Mani, but no discernible mark occurs on the focused element, except for verbs, which are nominalized as in Mani and stay in place as well ("verb copying" in Koopman 1997). Pronouns change case, also as in Mani. But significantly different from

Mani, Kisi has a focus particle that appears clause finally, in the same privileged position also occupied by the Kisi Negative, another major difference from Mani, Bom, and Kim.

3. Comparative constructions

When two equal entities are being compared, the preposition *kén* 'like, as' is used in a single-clause construction, in affirmative (345a) or negative (345b) comparisons.

(345) a. bòyò wɔ́í kàtɔ́l kén màtó

bòyò	wɔ́-í	kàtɔ́l	kén	màtó
Boyo	PRO-*i*	strong	like	Mato

'Boyo is strong like Mato.'

b. bòyò ùcén kàtɔ́l kén màtó

bòyò	ù	cé-én	kàtɔ́l	kén	màtó
Boyo	3SG	cop-NEG	strong	like	Mato

'Boyo is not as strong as Mato.' (jd 12/11/04)

Constructions expressing inequality (superiority or inferiority; see Stassen 1985) consist of two separate clauses, one stipulating the dimension on which two entities will be compared, and the other stipulating which is superior using the verb *can* 'pass, surpass'. Examples comparing verbs ('crab-eating consumption') appear in (346), showing how the clauses can appear in either order, with no coordinating conjunction.

(346) Comparative constructions with verbs

a. ù cán mì ù yó tɛ̀l sìcɛ́

ù	cán	mì	ù	yó	tɛ̀l	sì-cɛ́
3SG	pass	1SG	3SG	eat	crab	NCM-DEF

'She ate more crabs than I.' Lit: 'She surpasses me she ate the crabs.'

b. ù yó tɛ̀l sìcɛ́ ùcán mì

ù	yó	tɛ̀l	sì-cɛ́	ù	cán	mì
3SG	eat	crab	NCM-DEF	3SG	pass	1SG

'She ate the crabs more than I.' Lit: '... she surpasses me.' (jd 12/11/04)

Comparison involving adjectives works the same way as verbs, as shown in (347), a two-clause structure, involving a standard for comparison and the relative ranking of the two entities with regard to that standard.

(347) bòyò wɔ́í kàtɔ́l ùcándí màtó

bòyò	wɔ́-í	kàtɔ́l	ù	cán-dì	màtó
Boyo	PRO-*i*	strong	3SG	pass-CMP	Mato

'Boyo is stronger than Mato.' (jd 12/11/04)

In these examples we see two-clause structures as represented schematically in (348) below, apparently with no difference in meaning with a change in order.

(348) Variations on the "Action Schema" (Heine and Kuteva 2001:404)

- [X *is* Z] [X *surpasses* Y])
- [X *surpasses* Y] [X is Z])

In closely related Kisi, a nominalized form of the verb may replace the "quality" clause, using the other variant these authors mention, X *surpasses* Z Y-*ness* (p. 405).

One argument for Africa comprising a linguistic area is based on the form of the comparative construction, just as featured here (Greenberg 1959; cf. Heine and Nurse 2008). The *surpass* construction or "Action Schema" differentiates Africa from Europe, Asia, the Americas, and the Indian/Pacific Ocean. It is found in 57% (n = 23) of the African languages in a "balanced" sample; moreover, the vast majority of the languages using this schema (85%; n = 109) are found only in Africa with a distribution cutting across both genetic and regional boundaries (Heine and Kuteva 2001).

Superlatives are rendered as 'pass everyone' (rather than "B", the person or entity to which A is compared) and use the same structure as comparatives.

(349) Superlatives

a. bòyò wɔ̀ì kàtɔ́l ùcáŋ ŋàì búléŋ

bòyò	wɔ̀-ì	kàtɔ́l	ù	cáŋ	ŋà-ì	búléŋ
Boyo	3SG-*i*	strong	3SG	pass	3PL-*i*	all

'Boyo is the strongest of all.' Lit: 'Boyo is strong; she passes all.'

b. bòyò wɔ̀ì fɔ̀ ùcáŋ ŋá búléŋ

bòyò	wɔ̀-ì	fɔ̀	ù	cáŋ	ŋà	búléŋ
Boyo	3SG-*i*	talk	3SG	pass	3PL	all

'Boyo talks the most of all.' (jd 12/11/04)

As to similar structures elsewhere, using a verb meaning 'pass' in comparative constructions is an areal feature in this part of Africa (Greenberg 1983) and indeed is found in the closely related language Kisi. Kisi also has the two-clause options for comparative constructions and differs in no significant way from Mani in superlatives and comparison of equals.

4. Topicalization

There are at least two ways to introduce a topic in Mani. One is with the preposition *àlí* '(as) for', as shown in the first two examples in (350). As indicated by the commas, the topic phrase is also set off by a pause. In addition, the b. example adds further emphasis to the topic ('the chief') by following the phrase with an agreeing pronoun in its emphatic form. In the c. example the second way is illustrated, a variation on the first: using the same preposition but this time in conjunction with and followed immediately by another preposition *ŋàlì* 'about'. In all cases there is no extraction gap.

(350) a. àlí sùsìcɛ́, làlɛ́? pɛ̀ gbáŋkɔ́ŋà

àlí	sù	sì-cɛ́	là	lɛ́	pɛ̀	gbáŋk	ŋà
for.TOP	fish,	NCM-DEF	PRO	COP	PRO	smoke	3PL

'As for the fish (pl), they need to be smoked (it should be that someone smokes them).' (jd 1/29/06)

b. àlí bɛ́ cɛ̀ wɔ̀ní, à fɔ̀ mɔ́ wɔ̀ì céncà

àlí	bɛ́	cɛ̀	wɔ̀nɔ̀-í,	à	fɔ̀m-ɔ́	wɔ̀-ì	céncà
for.top	chief	DEF	DEM-*i*,	1SG	speak-EV	3SG-*i*	yesterday

'As for the chief, I spoke to him yesterday.' (jd 1/29/06)

c. àlí ŋàlì mí, à cén yò

àlí	ŋàlì	mí	à	cɛ̀-én	yò
for	about	1SG,	1SG	IPF-NEG	eat

As for me, I won't eat.' (jd 1/29/06)

An alternative means was used in another context. Here the emphatic form of the pronoun is all that is required, as was used jointly with the preposition *àlí* in (350b). The scenario in (351) requires some introduction. The speaker is seeing Mbom today as part of a series of scheduled meetings, but cannot see Bonto, who was scheduled to come the next day, because the speaker will not be there. Here the topic of Bonto was introduced with her name followed by a demonstrative pronoun, the whole topicalized phrase being set off by pauses on both sides.

(351) yá cé kà àlí ke m̀bòm,
yá cé kà àlí kè m̀bòm,
1SG COP here for see Mbom,
bòntó wòn, à céŋàŋ ǹcé
bòntó wònò, à céŋà-én ǹ-cé
Bonto PRO-emph, 1SG meet-NEG NCM-place
'I will be here to see Mbom, as for Bonto, I will not be at the place.'
(jd 2/4/06)

Chapter 12
Subordination and coordination

This chapter treats three different means of subordination. The first is by embedding, the second by relativization, and the third is by using conjunctions. The final section deals with coordination at the clausal level.

1. Embedding

This section discusses bi-clausal sentences where no relativization and no conjunction is used and the second clause is subordinate to or embedded in the first. Clauses can be embedded after verbs of perception, mental states or attitudes; such verbs may represent the first link a grammaticalization chain, i.e., on their way to becoming, e.g., modal auxiliaries. Note, however, that there is a pronoun referring to the clause (*là* in 352a) or subject (352b) (*mà* in 352c) that follows, i.e., no deletion under identity.

(352) Embedded clauses

a. à lànɛ́ lài ìpɔ̀r cɛ̀ wɔ̀ hún
   à lànɛ́ là ì-pɔ̀r cɛ̀ wɔ̀ hún
   1SG sure PRO NCM-rain DEF 3SG come
   'I am sure it will rain.' Lit. 'I am sure [of] it, the rain will come.'

b. à ké wɔ̀í wɔ̀ɔ̀ cán
   à ké wɔ́-í wɔ́ cán
   1SG see 3SG-*i* 3SG pass
   'I saw him passing by.' Lit. 'I saw him he passed.'

c. à kéí, mɛ́n ńcɛ̀ŋ mà sɔ̀rìnìn
   à ké-í mɛ́n ń-cɛ̀ŋ mà sɔ̀rì nìn
   1SG see-*i* water NCM-two NCP mix each.other
   'I saw the two waters mixing.' Lit. 'I saw the two waters, they mix each other.' (jd 12/8/04)

Many verbs discussed as "near" auxiliaries in Section 6 take VP complements. Several examples are shown in (353). This class contains such verbs as 'finish',

'go', and 'come'. For example, the verb *càp* 'start' takes a VP complement in (353a) and 'go' in (353b).

(353) a. ìpàŋ ìcé nyè càpé? kɔ̀

ì-pàŋ	ì-cé	nyè	càp-yé	kɔ̀
NCM-moon	NCM-DEF	PRO	start-STAT	go

'The moon (has risen and) is starting to go.' (jd 8/10/05)

b. ń kɔ̀ wɔ̀ célí ǹsèkè

ń	kɔ̀	wɔ̀	cél-í	ǹ-sèkè
2SG	go	3SG	sit-CS	NCM-pawn

'Go make him sit as a pawn!' (ld 3/21/04; jd 8/8/05)

Others take full S complements.

(354) à nyá ìnyèlì cé nyè dèn

à	nyá	ì-nyèl	ì-cé	nyè	dèn
1SG	make	NCM-salt	NCM-DEF	PRO	disappear

'I made the salt disappear (e.g., by dissolving it in the water).

Other verbs that behave similarly are 'want' and 'like'.

2. Relativization

As has been indicated above, Mani (and Kisi) relatives involve "bracketing", i.e., relative clauses enclosed by two elements (Kuteva and Comrie 2005:222; cf. Lébikaza 2005:237 for comparable examples in Temne, another South Atlantic language). The first element is pronominal and a particle.

Relative clauses follow nouns in the same way as adjectives and other modifiers. They begin with a pronoun (usually a demonstrative) and are closed with a particle ("REL"), as can be seen in the examples in (355). The particle *yɔ* usually takes the form [yɔ̀], but [wɔ̀] was recorded in a few places and reduced to [-ɔ̀] in a few others. The last two variants come only after vowels; [yɔ̀] also appears after vowels but in addition comes after consonants and is thus seen as the basic form.

(355) a. à ké mén ńcè mànà kɔ̀cí wɔ̀ tɔ̀rìyɔ́

à	ké	mén	ń-cè	mànà	kɔ̀cí	wɔ̀	tɔ̀r-í	yɔ̀
1SG	see	water	NCM$_{ma}$-DEF	DEM$_{ma}$	Kochi	3SG	pour-CS	REL

'I saw the water that Kochi spilled.' Lit. 'I saw the water this Kochi made pour.'

b. ìnòkúlúŋ ìcè nyà pìn yɔ́ nyè ʃínɔ́ndì
ì-nòkúlúŋ ì-cè nyè à pìn yɔ́-í nyè sìnɔ́n-dì
NCM$_{nyɛ}$-rice NCM$_{nyɛ}$-DEF PRO$_{nyɛ}$ 1SG buy REL-*i* PRO$_{nyɛ}$ spoil-CMP
'The husked rice I bought is spoiled.'
Lit. 'The rice this I buy it has spoiled.' (jd 11/27/04)

c. kùfànà tíwé cè wɔ̀nè kɔ́ tékól yɔ̀, tá tíyɔ̀rún
kùfànà tí-wé cè wɔ̀nè kɔ́ tékól yɔ̀
wing NCM$_{ta}$-bird DEF DEM$_{wɔ}$ PRO$_{INDEF}$ there REL
tá tì-yɔ̀rún
PRO$_{ta}$ NCM$_{ta}$-red
'The wings of the bird over there are red.' Lit. 'The wings of the bird it it [is] over.there REL they are red.'[37] (ys 7/20/00, rev jd 2/20/05, 8/11/05)

In a few cases the first part of the bracketing will be absent, i.e., there will be no initial (demonstrative) pronoun, as seen in the following example. (Note that the *sa* class (animal plurals) takes agreement in the *ŋa* class (human plurals) due to animate concord.)

(356) yésícè ŋákàìyɔ̀
yé sí-cè Ø ŋá kà-ì yɔ̀
bird NCM$_{sa}$-DEF (DEM$_{ŋa}$) PRO$_{ŋa}$ here-*i* REL
'the birds which are here' (im 7/30/00, rev jd 3/31/05)

Typically it is a pronoun in agreement with the noun being relativized, as in the examples above in (355), but often one of the default pronouns is used. In the example below in (357a), the noun being relativized is *ìpèlè* and the corresponding demonstrative pronoun would be *nyènè*. Instead of the agreeing pronoun, however, the default (indefinite inanimate) demonstrative pronoun *kɔ̀nɔ́* is used instead.

(357) à ké ì pèlè cɛ́ kɔ̀nɔ́ rɔ̀kɔ́
à ké ì-pèlè cɛ́ kɔ̀nɔ́ rɔ̀k-ɔ́-yɔ̀
1SG see NCM-rice DEF PRO harvest.PERF-EV-REL
'I saw the rice that he harvested.' (jd 8/8/05)

Another feature of the relative clause in (357) is that there is no overt subject marker for the verb *rɔ̀k* 'harvest' in the relative clause. The verb is in the Perfective but there is no apparent subject 'he'. As in many other contexts, the 3SG subject marker is absent. The same is true when the subject in the higher clause is the same. In example (358), the verb *yó* 'eat' has no overt subject; the demonstrative *pènè* refers to what he was vomiting.

(358) ù cé kùs búléŋ pènè yó wɔ̀
ù cé kùs búléŋ pènè yó wɔ̀
3SG IPF vomit all DEM eat REL
'He was vomiting everything he had eaten.' (om 7/23/00, jd 8/11/05)

The relative marker *-yɔ̀* is also used to bind clauses with non-nominal antecedents, as in (359). In (359a) the antecedent is something close to manner, in (359b) it is an event, in (359c) it is a place, and in (359d) it is a time.

(359) REL as a binding particle without nominal antecedents

a. kémálé ŋɔ̀nà à-nyá mì ŋà yón mì yɔ̀
so how.DEM NCM-family 1SG 3PL raise 1SG REL
'Thus my family raised me …' (bb 11/4/04)

b. yà ŋà tèyɛ́ ŋɔ́ màm yɔ̀
yá nyà tè-yɛ́ ŋɔ́ màm yɔ̀
1SG 2PL hear-STAT PRO laugh REL
'I am hearing you (pl.) laughing.' (om 7/23/00, jd 2/12/06)

c. lɔ̀ pɛ̀ bíl yɔ̀
lɔ̀ pɛ̀ bíl yɔ̀
where PRO hold REL
'where someone holds (it)' (yt 7/17/05, jd 2/24/06)

d. háán à cál-nɔ̀ yɔ̀
háán à cál-nɔ̀ yɔ̀
until 1SG sit-person REL
'up to the time I was a wife.' (bb 11/4/04)[38]

Typically the initial pronoun is the indefinite pronoun *ŋɔ̀* or some variant. The locative pronoun *lɔ̀* can also be used, as in (359c), when the antecedent is a locative, or no pronoun at all, just a temporal expression (359d).

Relative clauses can also function as NPs in Mani. In (360a) the relative clause functions as a direct object; in (360b) it is the object of the preposition *àlí*.

(360) a. ń té ŋɔ̀ pɔ́m cɛ̀ kɔ́ nyèl kò cù (ì) yɔ̀
ń té ŋɔ̀ pɔ́m cɛ̀ kɔ́ nyèl kò cù yɔ̀
2SG hear PRO leaf DEF PRO boil to pot REL
'(Do) you hear the leaves boiling in the pot?' (mr 7/19/05; jd 2/26/06)

b. ùwí hàlí ŋɔ́ wɔ̀ kùl m̀wɛ́ɔ́
ù wí àlí ŋɔ́ wɔ̀ kùl mɔ̀è-yɔ́
3SG die.for PRO 3SG drink alcohol-rel
'He died because of his drinking.' (jd 1/31/05)
Lit: '… for/because [that he drinks alcohol]'

Some examples of relative clauses serving other functions are discussed below in (365b) and (366). Clauses there have the same structure as the examples below, a clause introduced by a pronoun and ending with the relative marker. Thus, what is been called relative clause marking here is something more extensive in function than that illustrated here.

3. Subordinate clauses

The conjunctions that can subordinate one clause to another have been listed in *Table 17* above. This section exemplifies some of the uses to which they can be put. Several temporal clauses are shown in (361).

(361) Temporal subordinate clauses

a. ŋá sás ùgbòm cɛ́ bènùmpɛ̀ nyèlí kɔ̀
ŋá sás ù-gbòm cɛ́ bènùn pɛ̀ nyèlí kɔ̀
3PL filter NCM-mud DEF before PRO boil PRO
'They filter the salty mud before boiling it.' (jd 1/29/06)

b. lɔ̀ŋgbéŋ kùtàí òmà ùbùsɔ́í, bɔ́lɔ̀ ǹ sàŋ ùpɛ̀lɛ̀
lɔ̀ ǹ gbéŋ kùtá-í òmà ù-bùsɔ́-í
when 2SG finish hoe-*i* or NCM-plow-*i*
bɔ́lɔ̀ ǹ sàŋ ù-pɛ̀lɛ̀
then 2SG sow NCM-rice
'After you finish hoeing or plowing, then you sow the rice.' (jd 1/29/06)

In (362) are conditional clauses using three different coordinating conjunctions.

(362) Conditional subordinate clauses

a. lɔ́mbìyɛ̀n yèndé mɔ̀ wú
lɔ́ ǹ bì-én yèndé mɔ́ wú
when 2SG have-NEG food 2SG.HAB die
'If you don't have food, you will die.'

b. lɔ̀pélɛ̀ ń rúnt wɔ̀ wɔ́ dùl
lɔ̀pélɛ̀ ǹ rúnt wɔ̀ wɔ́ dùl
when 2SG push 3SG 3SG.HAB fall
'When you push him (the child), he falls.' (jd 8/11/05)

c. lɔ́ŋkɔ́ ńpìnɛ̀ mí úgbɛ̀ŋgbɛ̀
lɔ́ ǹ kɔ́ ń pìn-nɛ̀ mì ù-gbɛ̀ŋgbɛ̀
if 2SG go 2SG.HORT buy-BEN 1SG NCM-pepper
'If you go, buy me a bunch of peppers.' (jd 1/24/05, 3/12/05)

Purpose clauses are introduced with the complementizer *àlì*, often translated simply as 'for', but which could equally be thought of as meaning 'in order to' or 'for (the purpose of)'. In the first sentence of (363) the subject of the purpose clause is (optionally) deleted, but it appears in the (363b).

(363) Purpose clauses

a. bùlùnɔ̀ cɛ̀ kɔ̀ndí ǹlɔ̀pɛ̀tìlàìyɔ̀ àlì kɔ̀ pín kàrà
bùlùnɔ̀ cɛ̀ kɔ̀n-dí ǹ-lɔ̀pɛ̀tìlàìyɔ̀ àlì kɔ̀ pín kàrà
farmer DEF go-CMP NCM-market for go buy hoe
'The farmer went to the market to buy a hoe.' (jd 11/28/04)

b. pɔ̀kán cɛ̀ wɔ́ dí ǹwís àlí ù yó wɔ̀
pɔ̀kán cɛ̀ wɔ́ dí ǹ-wís àlí ù yó
man DEF 3SG.HAB kill NCM-animal for 3SG eat
'The man kills animals to eat.' Lit. '… so that he eats.'
(om 7/23/00; jd 8/11/05)

The rather long example in (364) features the conjunction *kànkà* used in much the same way, to signal the purpose or result of the first clause.

(364) nɔ́pɔ̀kán-kɔ̀ndɛ̀kɛ́, ùyɛ̀lìyɛ́ nɔ̀làkán-kɔ̀mìnɛ́, ŋwɔ̀nɔ́ ká à-nyá wɔ̀ ì-nɔ̀kùlúŋ bɛ́k tì-rà, kànkà ù-nɔ̀ wɔ̀
nɔ́pɔ̀kán-kɔ̀ndɛ̀kɛ́, ù yɛ̀lì-yɛ́ nɔ̀làkán-kɔ̀mìnɛ̀,
man-right-handed, 3SG free-STATwoman-left-handed
wɔ̀nɔ́ ká à-nyà wɔ́
DEM give NCM-parent 3SG
ì-nɔ̀kùlúŋ bɛ́k tì-rà
NCM-rice bag NCM-three
kànkà ù nɔ̀ wɔ̀
so.that 3SG marry 3SG
'The right-handed man redeemed the left-handed woman by giving her parents three bags of rice so that he could marry her.' (jd 1/30/05; 3/12/05, 2/12/06)[39]

In the interests of completeness, I include a few other examples of conjunctions linking a dependent to a main clause in (365). The second example (365b) replicates the structure of the relative clauses discussed in Chapter 12 (initial pronoun, binding particle *yɔ*), yet with no antecedent.

(365) Other subordinating conjunctions

a. bàrí wɔ́ bí kɔ̀pɔ̀r, wɔ́ mì màr

bàrí	wɔ́	bí	kɔ̀pɔ̀r,	wɔ́	mì	màr
because	3SG.HAB	get	money,	3SG.HAB	1SG	help

'Since she has money, she will help me.' (jd 2/5/06)

b. ŋɔ̀ pɔ̀r cɛ́ hùnɔ̀í, ǹlàbí là, ù cɔ́k cɛ̀ kɔ̀fó

ŋɔ̀	pɔ̀r	cɛ́	hùn-yɔ́-í,			
PRO	rain	DEF	come-rel-*i*			
ǹlàbí		là	ù-cɔ́k	cɛ̀	kɔ̀	fó
therefore		PRO	NCM-grass	DEF	go	grow

'That it rained, therefore, the grass will grow.'
(jd 1/24/05; 1/30/06) (from (99))

In the first clause in (366), the relative marker *yɔ̀* is used (followed by *-í*). A more literal translation might be, 'it (time?) the boy was formerly alive'. An understanding of the structure can be better understood by looking at (365). In both cases what is in fact a relative clause functions to denote the time or condition of the following action.

(366) ŋɔ́ɔ́ càmɔ̀ cɛ́ kácɛ̀ tènkɛ́l yɔ́í, ŋà màrá wɔ̀n

ŋɔ́	càmɔ̀	cɛ́	kácɛ̀	tènkɛ́l	yɔ̀-í
PRO	boy	DEF	formerly	alive	REL-*i*
ŋà	màrá		wɔ̀-ɛ́n		
3PL	love		3SG-NEG		

'When the boy was alive, they didn't love him.'
(jd 2/18/05) (from 211)

Chapter 12 contains a full discussion of relative clauses including examples in (360) with relatives acting as NPs.

4. Coordination

The conjunction *bɔ̀lɔ̀* in (367) can connect two or more clauses.

(367) Coordinate clauses with *bɔ̀lɔ̀* 'and, then, and then'

a. ń pánt ùgbòs cɛ́ ùbàŋk lán kó ìkòŋ ìwácɛ̀ bɔ̀lɔ̀ ǹ tól
ń pánt ù-gbòs cɛ́ ù-bàŋk lán
2SG tie NCM-gourd DEF NCM-rope PRO
kó ì-kòŋ ì-wá cɛ̀ bɔ̀lɔ̀ ǹ tól
to NCM-frond NCM-palm DEF then you descend
'You tie the gourd to the palm fronds and then you descend.' (jd 2/11/06)

b. ù kɔ́ lɔ́í bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín ŋɔ́ bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù mùní
ù kɔ́ lɔ́-í bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù pín ŋɔ́ bɔ̀lɔ̀ ù mùní
sm go there-*i* then 3SG buy PRO then 3SG return
'He went there and bought it and came home.' (jd 11/28/04)

In (368) are two examples of clauses joined with *kɛ̀rɛ̀* 'but'.

(368) Coordinate clauses with *kɛ̀rɛ̀* 'but' (alternative form *kɛ̀nɛ̀*)

a. ù hìnén, kɛ́rɛ́ ù cé lɔ̀l
ù hìn-én kɛ̀rɛ̀ ù cé lɔ̀l
3SG lie.down-NEG but 3SG IPF sleep
'He is not lying down, but he was (rather) sleeping.'
(om 7/23/00, jd 8/11/05)

b. à cé nyá m̀pánt kò kìl cɛ́, kɛ́rɛ́ à gbèn yɛ̀n nún
à cé nyá ǹ-pánt kò kìl cɛ́
1SG IPF do NCM-work to house DEF
kɛ́rɛ́ à gbèn-yɛ̀-én nún
but 1SG finish-STAT-NEG yet
'I worked on the house yesterday, but I have not yet finished.' (jd 1/30/05)

In several cases there are no connections between what appear to be coordinate clauses.

(369) nɔ́pòkán dùlɔ́í ùfók kò tɔ́kùcɛ́
nɔ́pòkán dùl-ɔ́-í ù fók kò tɔ́k ù-cɛ́
man fall-EV-*i* 3SG come.from to tree NCM-DEF
'The man fell from the top of the tree.' (om 7/23/00, jd 8/11/05)

Chapter 13
Discourse and pragmatics

This section presents a smattering of Mani discourse and pragmatics observations. The first section discusses an assortment of forms closely tied to context; the second sections looks at greetings and other politeness phenomena.

Impressionistically, Mani discourse has a plethora of anaphoric expressions resulting in thick, tightly connected language. In connected discourse, generally speaking, all clauses after the first must begin with a pro-word or have one appear very early on. Clauses typically contain only one new piece of information, thus resulting in a combination of both old and new information.

1. Discourse particles

This section contains a listing of vocatives and other discourse particles used in everyday interaction. A first observation is that everyday interactions are "high involvement" situations. Interlocutors are fully engaged and signal that engagement overtly with continuous feedback. When the speakers are comrades, friends, or close relatives, there is an even distribution of the feedback, but when there are sharp status differences between the interactants, the feedback is less evenly distributed, emanating primarily from the lower status participant(s).

Aside from simple acknowledgements through paralinguistic means (murmurs of assent and the like), there is the linguistic form *àwà* (intonation varies) meaning something like 'Yes, I hear or understand'. The word comes from Soso and is used in a variety of contexts generally to signal an acquiescent response to some directive or set of instructions. It is also used to mark the end of an interaction.

Another discourse particle is phonetically realized as [n̥n̥ʔ], a simple voiceless nasal or a nasalized vowel followed by a glottal stop. It is used to express disbelief in or reservations about a statement or a plan of action. Pragmatically it may be construed as indicating surprise in a statement.

The expression [hʔɛ-ɛ-ɛʔ], typically prolonged with a high tone is usually used in response to a question (overt or implied). It signifies that the questioner has underestimated the intensity of the topic of discussion. The speaker then provides some details showing how the topic was so much more severe or intense than the questioner's understanding.

The vocative contour and particle are widely used to call children by name (or a woman by a husband or another male) and change slightly when the first

call is not heeded. The first call features a fall-rise sequence with a slight fall at the end; the second call omits the final fall and the rise is higher. The loudness varies as to a number of pragmatic factors, the expected distance of the child from the adult, the urgency of the call, and the degree of urgency felt by the adult. The response varies widely but is usually a fairly sonorant vowel or the Soso *năm* (from Arabic, also used in Swahili and Mende). There are also two vocative particles used in such contexts. They are a final *-ó* and a final *-é*, the latter has more urgency and usually immediately follows the absence of an immediate response.

Another expression used by adults when addressing children is a stop-your-present-activity particle, something like English 'Hey!'. Phonetically it may be something like a voiceless [ɛ], followed by its voiced counterpart, and terminated with a glottal stop: [ɛ̬ɛ̬ʔ], but there is a great deal of variation in its realization. It is used when a child is willfully doing something that an adult wants the child to stop doing, such as hitting another child with a stick. It may also be used with dogs and other animals to convey the same information, e.g., when a raptor tries to snatch a chick. It may be repeated: [hɛ́ʔ-hɛ́ʔ-hɛ́ʔ / héʔ-héʔ-héʔ].

In addition, there are many different shades of meaning that can be conveyed by 'yes' and 'no', a phenomenon too complex to be described here.[40] There is, however, a dramatic fall-rise that shows agreement with a negative statement, e.g., with a statement such as, "The chief won't agree." The carrier of the contour is usually a prolonged syllabic nasal, either bilabial or alveolar.

It is difficult to say where the particles listed above originate since they are used both by Soso and Soso-Mani speakers (and some also by the Kisi). Without a doubt, however, they are tied to power differentials, many of which proceed from age and gender differences. These same differences play an important role in the choice of address terms.

2. Salutations, politeness formulae, terms of address

As in much of West Africa, greetings are of great importance and vary as to the time of the day, the addressee, and the context. What follows is a list of the most common, formulaic greetings, some of which may be preceded by the singular or plural second person pronoun, depending on whether one or several people are being greeted. Many speakers, however, do not strictly observe the sg/pl distinction, typically those who do not use the language on a regular basis. This neutralization of the number distinction likely represents another symptom of language death, since the lack of a distinction was much more commonly observed among non-regular users. Another indication of the impact of language contact is the substitution of non-Mani forms in such formulaic expressions.

With regard to phonology, intonation is crucial: the initial greeting is uttered with a rising intonation, as a question, forming an adjacency pair with the reply. The first member of such question pairs is also marked with the particle *-ì*. The response to the question greetings is generally positive, basically affirming that all is well. The morning greeting goes up to midday (Mani speakers in Guinea start using French *bon soir* 'good evening' around noon). The greetings are all accompanied by a final rise, and the responses may be uttered with different degrees of enthusiasm and intensity.

Table 27. Standard greetings and responses

	Time of day	Translation
lèmó	general salutation	'greetings'
màmó	general greeting	'welcome, thank you'
kénà	general greeting	'please'
màmànùŋ	general greeting	'greetings'
ŋɔ́ là fɔ̀ yà	general greeting	'What's up?'
ǹdɔ̀lɔ̀í	early morning greeting	lit. 'How did you sleep?'
ǹsàkàí	morning greeting	lit. 'How did you spend the night?'
m̀pàràí	afternoon greeting	lit. 'How did you spend the day?'
m̀pìkèí	evening greeting	lit. 'How did you spend the evening?'
sɛ̀kɛ̀ (sɛ̀kɛ̀)	response to greeting	'good, fine, well'
yɛ̀nkɛ̀lɛ̀ŋ	response to greeting	'good, fine, well' (lit. 'thing good')

The general greeting *màmó* 'welcome' also can be used to thank someone, although thanks is not proffered nearly so often as in middle class American or British culture. A borrowing from Arabic is used to more formally thank someone, e.g., a host after being served dinner.

(370) m̀- / nyà-màmó 'thank you (sg / pl)'
(àl-)bárkà 'thank you' < Arabic *barka* 'blessing'. (cf. Kisi *báléká* 'thank you')

The form *kénà* 'please' is also used as a politeness marker, in addition to being used as a greeting. Another form can be used for underscoring the importance of

the request or "begging", meaning something like 'please' *yàndí*, a word used for the same purpose in Kisi.

Typically greetings extend beyond a salutation and an inquiry as to the addressee's health or whether the time has passed agreeably for the addressee on to similar questions with regard to the addressee's family, e.g., a person's mother or spouse as in (371). The response is invariably positive.

(371) yà mɔ̀ wɔ́ lɔ̀ì

yà	mɔ̀	wɔ́	lɔ̀-í
mother	2SG	PRO	PRO-*i*

'Is your mother all right?'
it. 'Your mother is there?'

yà mì wɔ́ lɔ̀y yéŋkɛ̀lɛ̀ŋ

yà	mì	wɔ̀	lɔ̀-ì	yènkɛ̀lɛ̀ŋ
mother	1SG	3SG	PRO-*i*	well

'My mother is fine.' (mc 8/15/05)

Expressions for leave taking are given in *Table 28*.

Table 28. Leave taking

	Time of day	Translation
sípàrò	early in the day	'until the evening'
sìyàlɔ́í	any time	'We'll see you!'
sílɛ̀ló/hí-	any time	'Goodbye!'

Some more elaborate final items in a leave-taking exchange are given in (372).

(372) Leave-taking expressions

à kɔ́ndì. yá mɔ̀ bɔ̀nt, nyɛ̌

à	kɔ́ndì	yá	mɔ̀	bɔ̀nt	nyɛ̌
1SG	gone	1SG	2SG	meet	tag

'I'm gone. I'll see you, okay?' (mc 11/12/04)

kánká ŋɔ̀ ǹ sɔ́ hɛ́rì

kánká	ŋɔ̀	ǹ	sɔ́	hɛ́rì
may	pro	2sg	morning	good

'May you have a good morning!' (mc 8/16/05)

A final leave-taking item is used by children to adults and may be borrowed from Soso [wóòwó]; it seems to be an intonational contour of fall-rise spread over the entire utterance.

Terms of address may also be used in greetings, e.g., *yàmì* 'my mother', even to an unknown female of appropriate age or status. Familial relations (see *Table 18*) and the great proliferation of titles are exploited to express politeness. On the other hand, virtually any relation name is possible to convey intimacy; such uses are routinely exploited by politicians, e.g., the address form used by a man running for paramount chief in (373).

(373) Politicians exploiting greeting formulae

ìpòámì ìyámì ...
ì-póá mì ì-yá mì
NCM-father 1SG NCM-mother 1SG
'My fathers, my mothers …' (jd 1/30/05, 2/12/05)

Appendices

Appendix 1: Texts

"How to fish on the open sea"
Foday J.D. Kamara (28 Jan 2006)

Notes: The following text represents a relatively coherent and continuous narrative describing fishing (by men) on the open sea. Transition notes to make the process clear are included in parentheses. The descriptive narrative was elicited (and transcribed) sentence by sentence.

Ugbɛnt sisu ko nyɛlɛ ('Fishing on the open sea')

ùgbɛ́nt sìsú kònyɛ̀lɛ̀
ù-gbɛ́nt sì-sú kò nyɛ̀l-ɛ̀
NCM-fish NCM-fish to sea-in
'fishing on the open sea'

(First,)
ḿ bɛ́ kò m̀bàŋk
ń bɛ́ kò ǹ-bàŋk
2SG put to NCM-rope
'You attach the ropes (on the edge of the net).'

(Then)
ḿ bɛ́ sɛ̀t bùl cɛ́ ŋ̀-kɔ̀k
ń bɛ́ sɛ̀t bùl cɛ́ ŋ̀-kɔ̀k
2SG put side one DEF NCM-cork
'You attach the corks on one (the top) side.'

ḿ bɛ́ ǹtúmbù sɛ̀t bùl cɛ́ pɛ́
ń bɛ́ ǹ-túmbù sɛ̀t bùl cɛ́ pɛ́
2SG put NCM-weight side one DEF again
'You attach the weights on the other (the bottom) side.'

(After you have prepared the boat,)
ḿ pélɛ́ kɔ̀ kò wɔ́mɛ̀
ḿ pélɛ́ kɔ̀ kò wɔ́m-ɛ̀
2SG put.in PRO to boat-in
'You put it (the net) on the boat.'

ŋă pèlɛ́n áyát àcɛ́ wó ŋá kɔ́n kò ŋɛ̀lɛ̀
ŋá pèlɛ́-n á-yát à-cɛ́ wó
3PL embark-MID NCM-paddle NCM-DEF together
ŋá kɔ́-n kò nyɛ̀l-ɛ̀
3PL go-MID to sea-in
'They embark with the paddlers (and) they go to sea.'

ŋá bɛ́ ùpèlɛ̀ cɛ́ kò mɛ́nɛ̀
ŋá bɛ́ ù-pèlɛ̀ cɛ́ kò mɛ́n-ɛ̀
3PL drop NCM-net DEF to water-in
'They drop the net in the water.'

là ŋà ké sú sìcɛ́, ŋá kámpɔ̀r súsìcɛ́ kò kùŋkɛ̀
là ŋà ké sú sì-cɛ́
when 3PL see fish NCM-DEF
ŋá kámpɔ̀r sú sì-cɛ́ kò kùŋk-ɛ̀
3PL enclose fish NCM-DEF to fence-in
'When they see the fish, they enclose (encircle?) the fish with (the) net.'

ŋá dɛ́ swéswé kò làyè àlán
ŋá lɛ́ swéswé kò làyè àlán
3PL COP enclosed to inside that
'They become enclosed inside (the net).'

(The fishermen then make noise with sticks on the side of the boat so that the fish panic and swim around crazily, getting caught in the net.)

ŋá lɔ̀klɔ̀k wɔ̀m cè nùn ǹtɔ̀k ŋ̀kìtɛ̀ŋ kít àlí wòlí súsìcɛ́
ŋá lɔ̀klɔ̀k wɔ̀m cè nùn ǹ-tɔ̀k ǹ-kìt-ǹ-kít
3PL hit.pl boat DEF with NCM-stick NCM-small-NCM-small
àlí wòlí sú sì-cɛ́
for scare fish NCM-DEF
'They drum on the boat (going around the net) trying to scare the fish inside the net.'

sùsìcɛ́ ŋà sèŋyɛ́ nìn kò kùŋkɛ̀ àyì
sù sì-cɛ́ ŋà sèŋ-yɛ́ nìn kò kùŋk-ɛ̀ àyì
fish NCM-DEF 3PL scatter-STAT RECIP to fence-in throughout
'The fish will get scattered inside the fence trying to get away.'

bòlɔ̀ ŋá kɔ́ kàkàtər kò pèl cɛ́
bòlɔ̀ ŋá kɔ́ kàkàtər kò pèl cɛ́
then 3PL go entangle to net DEF
'Then they go entangle themselves in the net.'

(The net starts in a semi-circle, which the fishermen untie to close and then draw tighter.)

bòlɔ̀ pɛ́ tìntìyɛ́ ùpèl cɛ́ pɛ́ pélɛ̀ ŋà kò wɔ́mɛ̀
bòlɔ̀ pɛ́ tìntì-yɛ́ ù-pèl cɛ́
then PRO loosen-STAT NCM-net DEF
pɛ́ pélɛ̀ ŋà kò wɔ́m-ɛ̀
PRO draw.in PRO to boat-in
'Then they untie the ends (where it's attached) and draw the net closer.'

ŋá nyɔ̀ntínyɔ̀ntíyɛ́ sùsìcɛ kò pèl cɛ̀
ŋá nyɔ̀ntínyɔ̀ntí-yɛ́ sù sì-cɛ kò pèl cɛ̀
3PL pull.PL-STAT fish NCM-DEF to net DEF
'They pull (pl) the fish from the net.'

(They continue to pull the fish in as they return to shore. They make only one trip if the catch is plentiful, two or three if not.)

ŋá húŋ tɔ̀k
ŋá húŋ cɔ̀k
3PL come landwards
'They return (come back) to land.'

(Once onshore the fishermen put the fish in big pans.)

pɛ́ téŋkɛ̀ sùsicɛ́ kò cɛ́
pɛ́ téŋkɛ̀ sù sì-cɛ́ kò cɛ́
PRO carry fish NCM-DEF to land
'The fish are carried onto land.'

bɔ̀lɔ̀ ŋá tìlà ŋà
bɔ̀lɔ̀ ŋá tìlà ŋà
then 3PL sell them
'Then they sell them (the fish).'

A section from a Mani history

"Tomro and the hippopotamus"
by Morlaye Boyo Keita (Oct. 12, 2005)

English summary

Preamble: At the time this part of Morlaye Boyo Keita's account of Mani history takes place, the Mani people are being pushed towards the ocean by the expanding Soso peoples. Four Mani brothers, two of them hunters, are all searching for a new place to settle (a common motif in town-founding stories, e.g., Abraham 1971). This snippet comes from the part dealing with Tomro's quest and how he reached modern-day Benty, a former port of the French colonists and slaving entrepôt, at the mouth of the River Forécariah, a tidal estuary at that point.

> Tomro (one of the four founding Mani brothers) left and went down to Titike. The river was still high and he went down. He crossed over to the town which was there, the place they call Kotombo. It was just a stream there to cross over to Kakut, so he crossed there. He had gone to hunt there, but after three days of hunting hunger seized him. Then he saw a hippo that was crossing to Benty side. The hippo is the animal that the Soso call "mali" Just as the hippo dove, Tomro himself dove into the river and grabbed on to the hippo's tail. Once they were standing on land, he let go because the hippo is a terrifying animal.

Afterwards: Tomro is still hungry on the other side and is magically visited by his brother who tells him he should have brought along some food. This admonition is the source of Benty's name (somewhat changed by Soso speakers after originally being borrowed from Mani).

The following transcript is a rendering of Morlaye Boyo's peroration and a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis. The last line contains a relatively free translation, which the reader may note is somewhat different from the English version given above. In what follows I have tried to be true to the Mani while at the same time making the Mani intelligible to the reader.

Interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and translation

tàmrɔ̀-ì	ǹ-wɔ́	kɔ́-n-i	ù	tól	kò	tìtìkɛ̀-i	
Tamro-*i*	EMPH-3SG	go-MID-i	3SG	descend	to	Titike-i	

Tamro left, he went down to Titike.

ù-sàl	cɛ́	kɔ̀	cè	nún	ù-bòmùn	bɔ̀lɔ̀	ù	tól
NCM-river	DEF	PRO	COP	now	NCM-big	and	3SG	descend

The river was still high so he went down (somewhere else).

ù	nyér	kò	yèl	ì-cɛ́-i	nyɛ̀	lɔ̀	kól	yɔ̀
3SG	cross	to	hamlet	NCM-DEF-*i*	PRO	PRO	there	REL

He crossed over to the town which was there,

ǹ-lɔ̀	pɛ̀	nyàlɛ́	kò-tòmbò
EMPH-PRO	PRO	say	Kotombo

the place they call Kotombo.

ù-tɔ̀nt	kɔ̀	kɔ̀	lɔ̀	cè	hàlí	nyér	kò	kàkùt
ncm-stream?	PRO	PRO	PRO	COP	for	cross	to	Kakut

A stream was there (that was necessary) to cross to (get to) Kakut,

bɔ̀lɔ̀	ù	nyér	pɛ̀rɛ̀	kól.	lɔ̀	kɔ̀	pɛ̀rɛ̀	pɛ̀l	kól
and	3SG	cross	also	there	PRO	PRO	also	hunt	there

so he crossed there. He also went to hunt there.

ŋɔ̀nɔ̀	pɛ̀l	yɔ̀	mɔ̀kɛ́	ǹ-dɔɛ	ǹ-rà	ǹ-cɛ́
when	hunt	REL	ORD	NCM-day	NCM-three	NCM-def

After hunting for three days

ǹ-dík	ǹ-cɛ́	mà	gbén	wɔ̀	yètì
NCM-hunger	NCM-DEF	PRO	finish	3SG	grab

hunger really seized him.

ŋɔ̀	pɔ̀k	cɛ́	wɔ̀	nyér	kà	gbèntí	kà	lèl	yɔ̀
PRO	hippo	DEF	3SG	cross	in	Benty	in	side	REL

(He saw) that this hippo was crossing to Benty on the (other) side

pɔ̀k	cɛ́	pónún-dì
hippo	DEF	dive-CMP

the hippo dove.

ù-pɔ̀k	cé	ì-wís	wɔ̀	là
NCM-hippo	DEF	NCM-animal	3SG	PRO

ŋɔ̀	à-sós	à-cé	ŋàlɛ́	mali	yɔ̀
PRO	NCM-Soso	NCM-DEF	say	"mali"	REL

The hippo is the animal that the Soso call "mali".

ŋà	ká	cè	kà	sàl	cé	kɔ̀nɔ̀
3PL	PAST	COP	in	river	DEF	DEM

They were in that river.

wɔ̀-n	pèrè	bɔ̀lɔ̀	póŋ-ùn	ù	bíl	ù-lóm	wɔ̀
3SG-EMPH	also	and	dive-MID	3SG	grab	NCM-tail	3SG

He dove into the water and grabbed onto its tail.

ŋà	sém	kò	cé	bɔ̀lɔ̀	ù	mɛ́l	wɔ̀
3PL	stand	to	land	and	3SG	release	3SG

(Once) they stood on land, he let go

bá	ì-wís	wòyɛ́n	wɔ̀	là
because	NCM-animal	scary	3SG	PRO

because the animal was terrifying.

A Mani lullaby

The deep poverty of Yafondo
M'Mahawa Bangoura (1 Oct 2005)

Poor old Yafondo dies of complete poverty and one of his "friends", Mono, after stating he knew nothing of the death, asks the other, Dadi, for what is left of Yafondo's palmwine. Dadi then says to him, "Sorry, I've already drunk it." This lullaby is highly ironic and much different from the others. It also reveals the cultural importance of palm wine.

èèè yàfɔ̀ndɔ̀ wínà mɔ́nɛ́ wóóó

èèè	yàfɔ̀ndɔ̀	wí	ìnàn	mɔ̀nɛ̀	wó-ó-ó
INTERJ	Yafondo	die	today	poverty	INTERJ

E-e-e, Yafondo died today of utter poverty.

èèè yàfɔ̀ndɔ̀ wínà mɔ́nɛ́ wóóó

èèè	yàfɔ̀ndɔ̀	wí	ìnàn	mɔ̀nɛ̀	wó-ó-ó
INTERJ	Yafondo	die	today	poverty	INTERJ

E-e-e, Yafondo died today of utter poverty.

àkásílán ĩyèèè mɔ̀nɔ́ ɥí fɔ̃́dɔ́wɔ́ɔ́ó
à ká sì là-én nyɛ̀ é-é-é mɔ̀nɔ̀ wí fɔ̀ndɔ̀ wɔ́-ɔ́-ɔ́
1SG PAST know PRO-NEG PRO EXCL Mono die Yafondo INTERJ
I did not know about it, Mono, the death of Yafondo.

ǹcɔ̀nɔ̃́ cɛ́ mà déwɔ́ dàdí ńkámílɔ́ mɔ̀lɔ̀yɛ̀
ǹ-cɔ̀n ǹ-cɛ́ mà dè-yɛ́ wɔ̀ dàdí
NCM-small NCM-DEF PRO remain-STAT REL Dadi
The small amount (of palmwine) that is left, Dadi,

ǹ ká mì lɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ̀ yɛ̀
2SG give 1SG remainder PRT
give me the remainder!

àgbàmìyànə̀ gbɛ́m àkúl
à gbén mà yà-n à gbén mà kúl
1SG finish PRO 1SG-EMPH 1SG finish PRO drink
(Too late) I finished it, I finished drinking it. (mmb 7/28/00; jd 8/9/06)

Some Mani proverbs

ùpɛ̀ŋkàrɛ́ŋ ùcɛ́ wɔ̀ cɛ́ŋ kìmɔ̀ ìpál ↑fúfáfú
ù-pɛ̀ŋkàrɛ́ŋ ù-cɛ́ wɔ̀ cè-én kìmɔ̀ ì-pál fúfáfú
NCM-frog NCM-DEF 3SG AUX-NEG flee NCM-sun nothing
'The frog does not flee the the sun without cause.' (hc 4/12/05, jd 4/15/05)

tùmɛ̀ tɛ́ wɔ̀ cɛ́ŋ pɔ̀rɔ̀ŋ tóntùn
tùmɛ̀ cɛ́ wɔ̀ cè-én pɔ̀rɔ̀n tóntùn
dog DEF 3SG AUX-NEG forget squat
'The dog doesn't forget how to crouch down.' (jd 4/15/05)

ùsú bùl kɔ̀ cɛ́ŋ kòè ùbɛ̀l
ù-sú bùl kɔ̀ cè-én kwɛ̀ ù-bɛ̀l
NCM-finger one PRO AUX-NEG pick.up NCM-oil.palm
'One finger does not lift a palm tree.' (hc 4/12/05, jd 4/15/05)

yóm bɛ̀n cɛ́ŋ bùs nyàŋkàrá wɔ̀ hàlí sì
yóm bɛ̀n cè-én bùs nyàŋkàrá wɔ̀ hàlí sì
grandfather old AUX-NEG lower shorts 3sg for fart
'An old man does not pull down his trousers to fart.' (hc/mc 4/15/05)
Le vieil homme n'abaisse pas le pantalon pour péter.

kér bìén bóndùl
kér bì-én bóndùl
snake have-NEG load
'The snake has no load.' (hk 2/6/05 with jd)

nómbɔ̀t cén pànt nɔ̀
nómbɔ̀t cé-én pànt nɔ̀
leper COP-NEG bind person
'A leper can't tie anyone up.' (jd 1/31/05)

ùlóŋkùbè cé ùcàŋ wɔ́ nú ŋɔ̀ ìnárə̀ cè kɔ̀ cén ùbùl
ù-lóŋkùbè cé ù-càŋ wɔ̀ núŋ
NCM-sheep DEF NCM-cry 3SG and
wɔ̀ ì-nár cè kɔ̀ cè-én ù-bùl
PRO NCM-cow DEF PRO COP-NEG NCM-one
'The cry of the sheep is not the same as that of the cow.' (im 3/21/05; jd 2/12/06)

ǹ céŋ dè kìlè ùsómì bèl ǹdé, ǹ lánén kɔ̀t tìmɔ̀
ǹ cè-én dè kìlè ù-sómì bèl ǹ-dé,
2SG AUX-NEG enter group NCM-chew palm.kernel NCM-food
ǹ lánè-én kɔ̀t tì-mɔ̀
2SG certain-NEG molar NCM-2SG
'Don't join people crunching on palm nuts, if you are not sure of your molars!'

Some Mani insults

Note: Insults are used mostly by boys and young men. Most of them refer to body parts, especially those used for excretion. When these insults are uttered, it is usually the last stage of verbal conflict between two swains; the interaction then escalates into a physical fight. All of them come from jd 12/13/04.

mɔ́ sólèn kékétò / yà mɔ̀ sólí yà
mɔ́ sólèn kékécò / yà mɔ̀ sól-í yà
2SG defecate-MID right.now / 1SG 2SG defecate-CS now
'You shat just now.' / 'I will make you shit right now.'

mɔ́ tìl / yá mɔ̀ tílí yà
mɔ́ tìl / yá mɔ̀ tílí yà
2SG urinate 1SG 2SG urinate-CS now
'You will piss!' / 'I will make you piss right now!'

fín tìmɔ̀ / fíntí durè
fín tì-mɔ̀ / fín tí-durè
anus NCM-2SG / anus NCM-RED
'Your butt-hole!' / 'Red butt-hole!'

ù bí pùrè bòmù
ù bí pùrè bòmù
3sg have anus big
'He has a big anus!' (insult)

ńlèlì nyèŋwɔ̀ bòmùn cé ŋ̀wɔ̀né
ǹ lèlí nyèŋ wɔ̀ bòmù ǹ-cé ŋ̀-wɔ̀né
2sg look mouth 3sg big ncm-def emph-dem
'Look at this his big mouth!' (insult)

wɔ̀ lè yáŋgàmàdì
3SG COP bastard
He's a "bastard" (has many fathers).' (term of abuse)[41]

Appendix 2: Pedagogical materials

This page and the following one are materials developed as part of the Mani Documentation Project.

Sample pages from a Mani primer (Childs 2007)

Below appear the front and back covers of a Mani primer produced as part of the Mani Documentation Project (2004-06).[42]

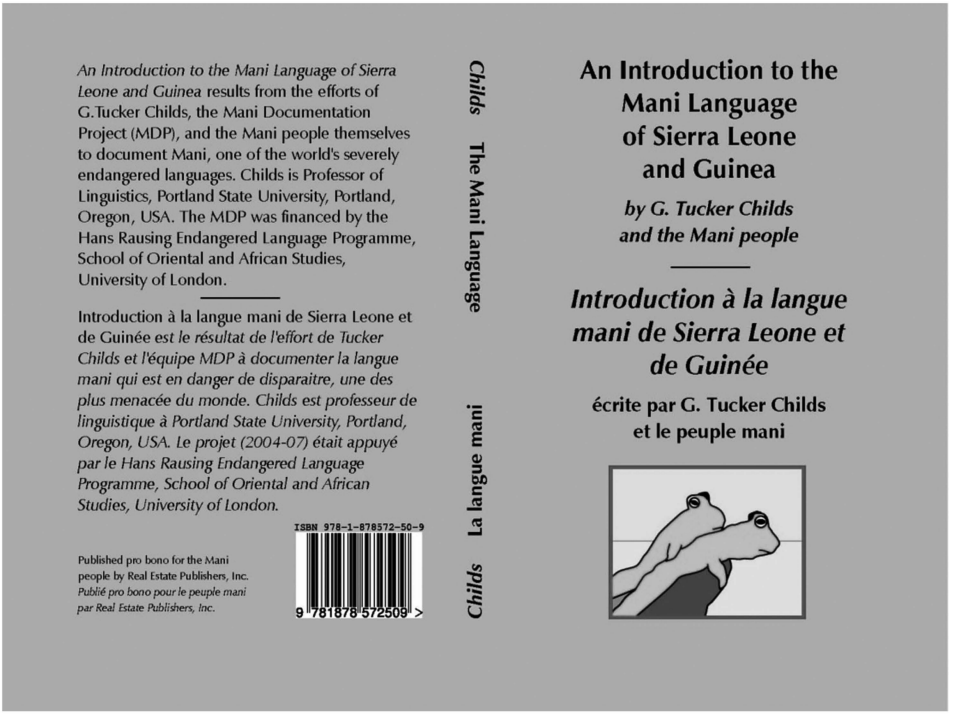


Figure 4. Cover pages to a Mani primer

The first part of the book was devoted to written symbols. Each image on the page represents a word beginning with the letter on the page. On the page below, one introducing the letter "b", the three words are,

batɔ 'cutlass, machete'
bera 'axe'
bot 'mudskipper'

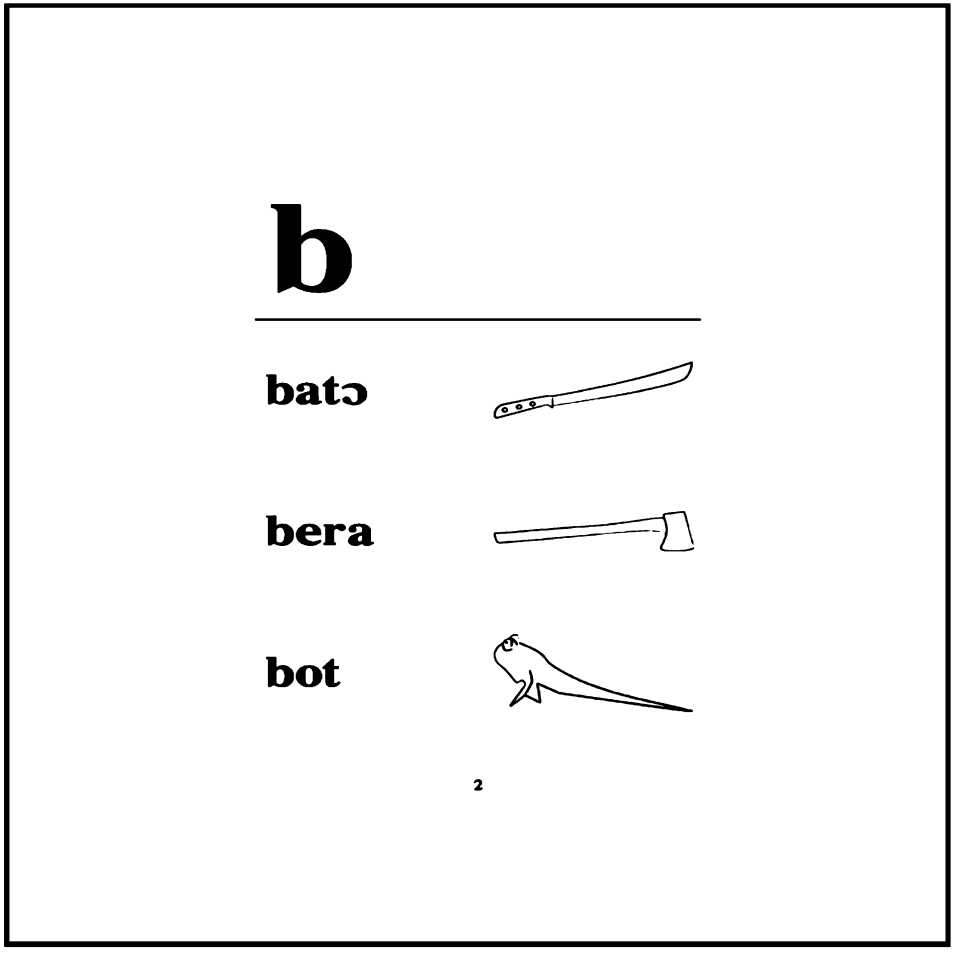


Figure 5. The letter "b" in a Mani primer

Story from a Mani primer

A. This is the fully glossed version of "A Mani lament", appearing on page v. This excerpt forms part of Morlaye Boyo's history of the Mani people, which appears in a complete (non-interlinearized) version in *Hin som sɛk! oma si fɔ mfɔ mmani! (A Mani primer)*.

pelɔ	mfɔkɔ	ka,	lɔmɔ	kɔnya?				
pé	lɔ̀	ǹ	fɔ̀kɔ́	kà	lɔ̀	mɔ́	kɔ̀-n	yà
INTERJ	if	2SG	leave	here	where	2SG	go-MID	Q

If you depart from here, where will you go?

fɔ n pɔŋun wɔŋ ko nyɛlɛ,
fɔ́ nì pɔ́ŋ-ùn wɔ̀m kɔ̀ nyɛ̀l-ɛ̀
unless 2SG dive-MID now to sea-in
Unless you dive into the sea,

lɛ biyɛn fɛrɛ.
lɛ̀ bì-ɛ́n fɛ̀rɛ̀.
must have-NEG way
there is no other possibility (place to go).

mani dilan lɛi pɛ ke ki lɛ yema den.
màní dì-là-n lɛ̀-ì pɛ̀ ké kî lɛ̀ yɛ̀má dén.
Mani NCM-PRO-EMPH PRO-*i* PRO see here PRO want lost
The Mani culture that you see here will disappear. (mb 5/15/05; jd 8/10/06)

If you do escape, where will you go? You have to plunge into the sea! You have no other recourse. The Mani culture is doomed to disappear (Morlaye Boyo Keita; Palatougou, Guinea; 15 May 2005).

Notes

1. A morpheme-by-morpheme analysis can be found in Story from a Mani primer in Appendix 2: Pedagogical materials, p. 251.
2. The university was drastically reorganized during the final year of the project (2006) and continues to be reorganized even today (2009); this reorganization means that many of the positions (and titles) have changed from what they are given as here.
3. More information on the Mani can be found at the project web site (under construction) http://www.pdx.edu/linguistics/mani-documentation-project (last accessed 22 July 2011).
4. It is also the name, more appropriately, of a large town in the traditional Kisi area of Guinea.
5. The translation of the town name "Kychom" is 'place of the seat or stool' When a paramount chief is invested, he is said to be "chaired", and his investiture involves sitting on a low stool (along with a change in his name and some training).
6. "[A] crucial institution in defense of traditional principles of ranked lineage authority the Poro provided a sacred and secret arm of political authority and intergroup diplomacy that helped to maintain stability through appeal to the gerontocratic and hierarchical principles derived from the ideal model of the ranked-lineage structure of the past." (d'Azevedo 1962:516 as in Griffiths and Singler 2004:31).
7. A preliminary website has also been set up for the DKB (still under construction): http://dkb.research.pdx.edu/index.htm (last accessed 7/22/2011).
8. The form is likely a borrowing from Soso or more generally Mandeng word *senankuya* (Pageard 1958, Belcher 1999).
9. The ɲ/Ø alternation may be a more natural one, as pointed out by Matthew Dryer, which would strengthen the case for not (his underlining) treating [h] as a phoneme.
10. The word is found in Mani, Kim, Bom, and Kisi and in many other nearby languages, including the Mande languages Mende and Soso, as well as in the extended pidgins Krio and Liberian English.
11. The confusion might, of course, be attributable to the linguists' first languages. The three analysts spoke English, Catalan, and Malinké as their first languages. Native speakers had no problems differentiated the sounds.
12. In the orthography syllabic nasals need to be marked with tone to differentiate a sequence of [n̩]-[j] from the palatal nasal [ɲ].
13. The b. example, which means literally, 'Do you chew mullet?' has an additional meaning for Mani speakers since it is claimed to be a "secret" way of asking other people if they speak Mani (see p. ix).

14. In determining word categories Africanists have been particularly troubled by determining what the criterial features of adjectives are and where ideophones belong, e.g., Olawsky 2004, Newman 1968.
15. 'Last night' is considered 'today's night'
16. The verification of these names comes from the website: http://www.sarnia-muslims.com/arabicClass/archives/2003/02/arabic_numbers.html, accessed 19 Dec 2008.
17. Greenberg 1959 based a similar observation on the commonality of the reflexive being represented with 'he with his head' but 'body', as correctly noted here, is the superior characterization, being found in over half of the sample languages using a nominal source (n = 39 of the 62 total Africa languages). Moreover, African languages with reflexive structures using 'head' form a separate area of their own.
18. The name of a song song by the women of Moribaya in April 2009 was "*lɛ lɛfɔi*", which was translated as 'You must look up to God', but could as easily been rendered 'God is necessary'
19. The Mani and even other non-Krios look upon the Krios as not being on a par with the indigenous peoples of Sierra Leone, often referring to them as "tobacco-leaf" people because the men often wear ties (tobacco leaves) and rarely go up-country.
20. When there is no easy translation of the ideophone for the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss line, I use "IDPH" as an admission of failure.
21. A somewhat formulaic, idiomatic (and often used!) phrase expressing great hunger.
22. See Ferme 2001 for some remarks on the cultural significance of the kinship terms in Mende, a Southwestern Mande language.
23. Note that even the direct command, the strongest, does not carry the force of a direct command in English or other European languages. What were perfectly simple requests expressed in this way were often found extremely offensive, especially by Western women when the commands came from Mani men.
24. The *nyɛ*-class *ì-bóbó* was also given as a plural for a mute person.
25. Palmwine or 'food', as it is known in Mani, is the sap of a palm tree, producing a naturally alcoholic drink. The type here, the raffia, is tall and must be climbed using a belt similar to that (once?) used by linemen climbing (wooden) telephone poles. Thus, the palmwine must be 'brought down'
26. "Pronoun movement" is refers to the presence of pronouns in the gap engendered by the split predicate construction. The implied comparison is to verbs without the split, i.e., with no Tense-bearing Aux.
27. The vowel [ɔ] in *dùmɔ́dì* does not affect the meaning of the word. See discussion of the extra vowel p. 82.
28. "Pluractional" is a term recommeded by Mouton editor Matthew Dwyer and seems in line with general Africanist usage, e.g., Newman 2000 in Afroasiatic and Collins 2001 in Khoisan. This choice is to avoid the confusion with number marking on nouns and to capture the aspectual nature of the distinction.
29. In one case, however, the directionality is likely from noun to verb: 'head/s' *bo̍ tî-bo̍* beside the verb *ko̍bo̍* 'to head or lead' and the noun *dî-bo̍* 'leadership, headship'

30. A 'water-cat' is a sort of water spirit found in certain places in rivers.
31. The head of the hoe is where the hoe blade is inserted.
32. The verb *kàtəl* 'be.hard' in (305) b. has a lexical L-H tone pattern, which should not be mistaken for the grammatically assigned L-H of the Perfective.
33. See Andersen 2009 for discussion of a remarkably similar particle in Surkum and other languages belonging to the Northern Burun branch of Western Nilotic.
34. To be fair, Gensler 1997 speaks only of the full-blown manifestation, where any verbal object moves before the verb, as is in Mande (Dwyer 1989) as well as in Kisi (Childs 1997) and several other Niger-Congo languages (Gensler 1994).
35. Furthermore, the high on the first pronoun may be attributable to intonation (list rise), and the final low to an utterance-final low.
36. An early version of this section appeared as, Focus in Mani and Kisi. 2006. In *Focus and Topic in African Languages* (*Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter / Frankfurt African Studies Bulletin* (FAB) 18), ed. by Sonja Ermisch. 27-50. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften, Goethe-Universität.
37. Note that it is the bird (*wɔ* class) that are being seen as "over there", not the wings (*ta* class).
38. A wife is considered a 'sitting-down person' because she is preoccupied with the activities of minding a household and raising children, as opposed to an unmarried woman, who is more likely to circulate.
39. Handedness is a euphemistic way of referring to people's earlier status as slaves. 'Left-handed' people have slaves in their ancestry, while 'right-handed' people do not.
40. See Dalby 1972 for the African source of "unhuh" 'yes'
41. "Bastard" was the word used to translate the Mani because there is no equivalent term in English. The gist of the insult is that one's mother has had sexual relations with many men.
42. My thanks once again to Real Estate Publishers, Inc., for their generous support of the project. They underwrote the costs of publishing this primer.

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N.B. Upper case entries are proper names or refer to language-particular grammatical features. Thus, "Imperfective" refers to the Mani verbal distinction while "imperfective" refers more generally to the aspectual function.